

**THE OTHER INDIA -  
A SOCIO-LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SELECT  
WORKS OF MARK TULLY**

**Thesis submitted to the  
University of Calicut  
for the award of the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH  
by**

**ARYA GOPI**

**Under the supervision of  
Dr. SAJITHA M.A.  
Assistant Professor, Department of English,  
Farook College (Autonomous), Calicut**



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## **DECLARATION**

I, **ARYA GOPI** , hereby declare that the thesis entitled **THE OTHER INDIA - A SOCIO-LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SELECT WORKS OF MARK TULLY** submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English is an original record of observations and bona fide research carried out by me under the guidance of **Dr. Sajitha M.A.**, Assistant Professor of English, Farook College and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

CALICUT  
15-1-2018

**ARYA GOPI**

**Dr. SAJITHA M.A.**  
**Assistant Professor of English**  
**Department of English**  
**Farook College (Autonomous)**  
**Calicut**

**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **THE OTHER INDIA - A SOCIO-LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SELECT WORKS OF MARK TULLY** submitted by **ARYA GOPI** to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English is an original record of observations and bona fide research carried out by her under my supervision and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

CALICUT  
15-1-2018

**Dr. SAJITHA M.A.**  
**Research Supervisor**

**Dr. SAJITHA M.A.**  
**Assistant Professor of English**  
**Department of English**  
**Farook College (Autonomous)**  
**Calicut**

**CERTIFICATE**

I, **Dr. Sajitha MA**, Research Supervisor, Farook College, hereby certify that my Research Scholar Arya Gopi has incorporated the changes suggested by the adjudicators of this PhD thesis **THE OTHER INDIA - A SOCIO-LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SELECT WORKS OF MARK TULLY.**

CALICUT  
28-7-2018

**Dr. SAJITHA M.A.**  
**Research Supervisor**

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## CONTENTS

Chapter I	<b>Introduction: The Tradition of ‘Other Indian’ Dialogism</b>	1
Chapter II	<b>Polyphonic Historiography: Art of Tully’s Narration</b>	35
Chapter III	<b>Tully’s ‘Other Indian’ Serendipities</b>	63
Chapter IV	<b>Tully’s ‘Other Indian’ Kaleidoscope</b>	151
Chapter V	<b>Foreign Pretenses: A Comparison with Tully</b>	203
Chapter VI	<b>Indian Pretexts: A Comparison with Tully</b>	250
Chapter VII	<b>Conclusion: Tullyian Artefact of ‘Other India’</b>	286
	<b>Works Consulted</b>	299
	<b>Web Sources</b>	308

## **A Note on Documentation**

The Researcher follows *MLA Handbook Eighth Edition* for the purpose of documentation in this thesis. Maximum care has been taken to make this thesis faultless in terms of documentation

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION: THE TRADITION OF 'OTHER INDIAN' DIALOGISM

India is an immensely diverse country with many distinct pursuits, vastly disparate convictions, widely divergent customs and a veritable feast of viewpoints. (Sen ix)

In *The Argumentative Indian*, Amartya Sen says that any attempt to talk about the culture of India or its past history or contemporary politics, inescapably involve considerable selection. Indians form one-sixth of the world population. It is an incredible crowd. A land of ancient civilisations as well as a modern democratic republic, India is a nation of several diverse cultural reflections and a space of both comfort and chaos. An independent country at only 70 years, India is a place of destinations familiar and remote. A realm of religious, spiritual, secular, iconoclastic prototypes, at times India becomes its own synecdoche – truly heterogeneous and unexpectedly insidious. Her peculiarity lies in an invisible majority and a privileged minority. Not much was written or documented in the classical, traditional and chronological framework of Indian history about this invisible majority, otherwise called the 'other India'. Writers – Indian and foreign, voluntarily engaged in the famous 'tryst with destiny' when they traversed India. Some chose to keep it straightforward, others painted a clear-eyed picture, yet another group twisted reality while there were still others who negotiated their own ignorance and ambitions upon this land. Their writings were meant for a global audience and not reserved for India alone. This thesis encounters unique approach of Mark Tully, who was



the BBC's 'voice of India' for nearly half a century and BBC chief of bureau in Delhi, in portraying the socio-literary realities of 'other India.' Each moment in the history of independent India became rare implications then. As the country later passed from old to new, certain ages ended and the genuine soul of the nation, long suppressed by colonialism, emerged through independence. Midnight arrived, on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, brimming with the hope of freedom in what was a sublime moment as the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, echoed through the consciousness of a newborn India that peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom.

Today, India is understood to be a superior democracy and an emerging global power. Change in perceptions about India's reputation has always varied from one writer to another. Preconceived notions and popular beliefs have been questioned and challenged all the while; the undercurrent of unity that binds the myriad diversities – Gods and Satans, working as a pattern. It offers a framework of the times formulated by the narrations – of history, past, present, memories, future thoughts, religionism and secularism. Here, the pre-modern continues to co-exist with the modern. Indian historical researches and social theories are unfit, even today, to capture the ramified cultural dimensions of India. The theoretical overburden can be one reason. Historical events like colonialism that paved the way for modernism in India are saddled with theoretical definition. Indian modernity is not primarily normative. Autonomous individuality, freedom and implemental rationality have never underlined the norms of Indian modernism. The requirements of modernism in accordance with the Western formula are always unfulfilled in the Indian scenario. In the West, modernity was used to mercilessly implement the agenda of Industrialization, urbanisation, nationalism and secularism.

Many times, this was not possible in a country like India where sociological conditions were not mature enough to accept the notions of modernism. Any work of contemporary Indian history takes a holistic panorama of the country's socio-cultural evolution since independence, assessing it in the background of nearly two centuries of colonial imperialism and an extended and coercive anti-imperialistic crowd agitation, which resulted in the birth of the independent Indian democratic republic. Many historians, Indian or foreign, have provided an impartial outlook and several others gave an exaggerated account of the country in their attempt to portray a definitive picture of India through their words. Amongst those writers, almost all of them failed to picturise the framed concept of 'other India'. None other than Mark Tully, whose name and voice became synonymous with the country he has made his home, did justice to this original concept through his works. 'Other India' points to an Indian identity unlike that otherwise experienced by a global audience and the Indian population. 'Other India' is not the same India one already frames based on reading, reconnoitring or sightseeing experiences. It is the other dimension of the country. The 'other' in the context of this thesis is theoretically, sociologically and ideologically different from the 'other' discussed in the context of the post-colonial and subaltern theories. In both the cases, it stands for marginalised. The 'other Indian' marginalisation is more about intellectual marginalisation than historical or ideological. It is a neglect rather than a historical isolation. Before defining 'other India' in eloquent terms, a quick review of the image of India as essayed by other writers will be helpful to consolidate the idea of the same. Most foreign writers were interlopers who viewed India superficially. They never presented the true India. The images conjured by them were limited to certain epitomes – India as a

land of fantasy, religion, nightmare, magic, gods, beliefs and several other values - thus concreting these metaphors as ideals of Indian consciousness. This later became an acquainted pattern of delineation followed by some of the Indian writers. Mainstream historical data and well-documented facts were also superimposed by prejudiced views on India, writers inserting their creativity and imagination as they pleased and drawing the socio-historical accounts of India in a twisted manner. This lopsided characterisation of Indian reality misguided Indian and global readers. Pavan K. Varma makes the difference clear between what India and being Indian is in his book *Being Indian*:

India is a difficult country to characterize and Indians not easy to define, especially today when they are in transition, emerging from the shadows of history into the glare of a globalizing world. (1)

The demarcation between the classic concept of India as a nation state and its democratic ideologies is not very clear. When the question of 'other India' comes up for scrutiny, in the linguistic and the hegemonic sense, it becomes more complex. Since 'other India' is a reality and co-exists with India, it is difficult to seek a clear definition of the concept of this thesis. The thrust of Indian consciousness and Tully's argument rests on this momentum, the 'other India'. The most relevant and widely read national narratives, the story of nation foundation, history of independence, political and economic upheavals, all had foreign and Indian writers as its most popular chroniclers. English authors such as Gillian Tindall, John Kedy, Geoffrey Moorhouse and now William Dalrymple have written voraciously on Indian history. Thus Indian history can claim many versions of evaluation, but the 'other India' cannot claim even one. Mark Tully, one of the world's leading writers and broadcasters on India, makes a turnaround

and reaps the soulfulness of this relevant concept from the contemporary scenario.

Greek travellers including Megasthenes, Chinese travellers such as Fa Hien (Faxian) and Huan-tsang (Xuan Zang), Muslim pandits and scholars Al Biruni (Abu Rayhan al Biruni), Ibn Battuta and Abdul Razzak, Italian travellers Marco Polo and Niccolo de' Conti, Portuguese Vasco da Gama and Domingo Paes, Russian Afanasy Nikitin and British Thomas Roe and Sir William Norris have all explored India, noting experiences that were new and strange to them thereby making impressive donations to the historical comprehension of early Indian society. Megasthenes threw light upon ancient India, its dynasties and rich cultural heritage a reminder of the splendid Greek culture. Al Biruni travelled to India to learn about Hindus and quiz them on religion, science and literature. He stayed on in India for thirteen years to imbibe the essence of the country.

When historians become 'mythohistorians', the readers are removed from the factual representations of reality, as the fabricated and prejudiced narratives are always misleading, though it cannot be generalised by blaming all the foreign writers for a partial approach on India. Many foreign nationals who fell in love with Indian culture were quick to relocate and adapt to their new surroundings. While Jim Corbett, Rudyard Kipling, Ruskin Bond, Tom Alter and Mark Tully were born in India others such as Mother Theresa, Annie Besant, William Dalrymple, Bob Christo, Gregory David Roberts, Mirra Altassa or The Mother and Sister Niveditha chose to make India their home at later stages of their lives. The dialectic between traditional India and modern India can be measured with three distinct features – spiritual, secular and iconoclastic, all of which co-exist in the 'other India'. Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Nirad C. Chaudhari

focused on these three phases of India in the order as follows: Gandhi represented a phantasmal spiritual India; Nehru combined tradition and modernism offering a more rationalised, secular India while Nirad C. Chaudhari was a non-conformist. An individual reading of these icons will never provide a wholesome view of India as the real image is a *mélange* of their introspections. There is a move to place Gandhian discourses within a classical space based on a contemporary understanding of classical Indian philosophy. Reality is Janus-faced. It internalises and thus incorporates one while trespassing into the other.

Orientalists always preferred a compassionate image of India. Some writers like Louis Dumont looked for mendacious accounts on the country but others such as E.M. Forster sympathised with the complexities prevalent in the Indian scenario. *Freedom at Midnight*, a vigorous record of Indian independence and partition by French writer Dominique Lapierre and American Larry Collins was read as a trusted paperback for the Indian middle class during the mid-70s as it suited their Orientalist inclinations where Western-oriented stories found more takers than works that described conditions prevalent in the real India. The Western media was thoroughly obsessed with poverty and sordid news from India's streets. Many other foreign writers also presented a bleak analysis of India. Arthur Koestler even criticizes India's natural terrain, confusing the cultural identity of the land with its topography.

No one can write the last word on the subject called India – its religion, spirituality, philosophy, literature, economy and socio-cultural life. Spanish writer Mosen Diego de Valera, author of *Chromica and Espana Abrivida*, collected many traditional myths and phantom stories based on India which resulted in the Spanish readers viewing

India as a land of fantasy, the *Chromica* being a distorted version of this perspective. Fray Bartolome de Las Casas, another Spanish intellectual, in his *Apologetica Historia Sumaria de Las Indias*, discusses the moral life of the religious natives. The Americans always saw India as a land of all things alien and strange occurrences, forcing them to believe many misconceptions. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau studied Indian culture and civilisation deeply. Their quest to confront colliding ideas of the new and old worlds, and their spiritual pursuit directly led them to the East, namely, India.

Many British writers, though attracted to Indian philosophy, failed to find a meeting ground where their realisations from the East could make peace with the conditioning of their Western upbringing. Percy Bysshe Shelley was deeply interested in India. James Joyce's orientation towards Indian values enabled him to compose an aesthetic tone of the Oriental and the Occidental. The art critic of the Victorian Era, John Ruskin took a very harsh stance on Indian art. Religion had a major influence on art in India, especially temple structures that were of importance to Hindus and this was treated unsympathetically by Ruskin. Writer-poet Alfred Tennyson was deeply influenced by the sociopolitical backdrop of the time which reflected in his attitude towards India. The colonial superiority of his country over India gave him much satisfaction. D.H. Lawrence was mesmerised by the charm of Eastern civilisations but could not place himself anywhere in India's cultural frames. Indian epics and folklores stimulated the Burmese and Rumanian as well. Political issues kept Burma and India apart in the modern era. Afanasy Nikitin, one of the first Russians (after Niccolò de' Conti) to travel to and document his visit to India, holds a very biased yet contradictory view of India, especially native women and their morality, as accounted in his 15<sup>th</sup> century travelogue *Voyage*

*Beyond Three Seas*. It holds an important place in Russian literature. French scholars Montesquieu and Voltaire chose to incorporate India into their works based on second-hand information, namely derived from accounts by passing travellers and Christian missionaries. Indian fiction and non-fiction writers remained unsure of their target readership. They concentrated on the market psyche rather than the national psyche to find readers. Michael Wood, of the *The London Review of Books*, recorded in a survey regarding English-language fiction and non-fiction literature in India:

Some five per cent of the [Indian] population can read English...Readers and writers of English are thus a tiny minority....much Indian fiction in English is written for readers abroad or indeed written abroad. (34)

One of the sad truths – perhaps the naked truth – that should be read along with Wood’s perspective is that Indian English writers, both poets and novelists, often remain neglected or unnoticed unless they compel attention, popularity and critical appraisal abroad. Their recognition at home only follows, ironically, after critical acclaim has been achieved outside India. The intellectual elite, albeit few in number, never opened their minds to the works of localised themes portrayed in words. It is in this inevitable scenario that Indian English fiction and non-fiction works on India should be analysed. But *Granta Book of India: Another Way of Seeing* introduces the same topic in a different manner:

India has developed a bustling publishing industry, where once a few respectable imprints specialised in educational titles and refined works of socioeconomic history. The Indian writer no longer looks over his shoulder at his imagined

audience abroad; many if not most of his readers are much closer - are Indian like him. (10-12)

Indian journalist Amitava Kumar in the cultural narrative magazine *The Caravan* observes that Indian writers translated too much, and that their writing was an act of translation on behalf of the West. This is debatable because, after economic liberalisation in 1991, there was an increase in middle-class income that helped people to afford books. This gave them a wider perspective of society changing around them. These arguments will become more evident when the lineage of Indian English writing history is traced back and forth. Mulk Raj Anand, known as the father of Indian English Fiction, wrote about the Indian underdog as a voice for the oppressed and proclaimed his art as propaganda. Raja Rao merged the mythical reflections of ancient Indian tradition into his works realistically. R.K.Narayan became the father of regional novels and his localised themes served as mirrors, reflecting the real face of South Indian middle class life. Bhabani Bhattacharya, Nayantara Sahgal, K. S. Venkataramani, Kamala Markandaya, Ruth Praver Jhabvala, Manohar Malgonkar all dealt with contemporary Indian situations ranging from the effect of modernity upon tradition through agrarianism and the struggle for independence to the political state of affairs.

The image of Gandhi was a common picture in many Indian English writings. East- West conflicts, the tradition-modernity clash and other elements became the backdrop of urban India. The long and illustrated history of Indian English novels started with Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay who wrote the first novel by an Indian in English, which was published in 1864. The first English non-fiction work of prose by an Indian came to light in 1794, called *Travels* by Sake Dean Mohammed. The 19<sup>th</sup> century



produced some of the finest prose writers of the Indian Renaissance. Patriotism rang in the air as Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendranath Banerjee, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sri Lankan-British Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy took to the written word to express their feelings for the country. Their writings highlighted the brutality of the British rule while also discussing Hindu epics such as *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata*. A collection of their political speeches painted a picture of contemporary India of the times. The Bengali trio, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobindo and Swami Vivekananda, were masters of Indian English prose as they deftly weaved nationalism and patriotism into their works. They were fearless in their criticism of colonial imperialism, denouncing political suppression and monetary exploitation by the Europeans. Aurobindo and Vivekananda, spiritual leaders in their own right, brought the same quality into their writings as well. They introspected on the Indian way of life, offering every possible metaphysical connotation. Through every such effort, Indian writers of prose, fiction and a long line of poets tried to dissect the real India, their formulation to a certain extent limited to being fragmentary and lopsided and the real India lost in writing. Overall, the writings had common ground yet they were dissimilar in their conclusions. It is at this juncture that Khushwant Singh (in 1977) said, and rightly so, “One Indian’s India.” (3)

In Indian fictional world, many foreign writers encapsulated their Indian experience, creating a lineage of travelogues and reportages. Paul M. Scott, a British commissioned officer, based in India from 1942 during World War II produced an epic four-volume novel called *The Raj Quartet* (1966-75). It delves into the intricate sociopolitical, economical relationship between the colonised country and imperialist

power. Gregory David Roberts is another Western writer who was fascinated by India. Rohinton Mistry's *A Fine Balance* (1995) and *Family Matters* (2002), Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* (1993), Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988), Sujith Saraf's *The Peacock Throne* (2007), Amitav Ghosh's *The Glass Palace* (2000), Vikas Swarup's *Q&A* (2005) and *Six Suspects* (2008), David Davidar's *The House of Blue Mangoes* (2002) and Manil Suri's *The Death of Vishnu* (2001) closely knit the history and cultural traits India is popular for with its innumerable problems to present their works as a literary craft that reflects the state of the nation.

Mark Tully's works belong to the prose-reportage-travelogue lineage of literature. He worked with the BBC for a period of thirty years and held the position of Chief of Bureau, BBC, Delhi, for 20 years. Authenticity prevails only if the homework for travel writings and reportages are done in the Indian context. The impression of India formulated by the country's travel writers and visitors are contradictory at many points. The former exaggerates the religious and spiritual elements, coming across as eager to disassociate themselves from their country. The latter compares India with their countries, finding fault wherever possible. Some staunchly support the proclaimed Indian identity while not necessarily taking measurable efforts to unveil the underlying factors of this aspect. Certain writers have developed a love-hate relationship with all things Indian, their objective analysis being futile in projecting the true Indian identity. Travel narratives are non-fictional prose forms that can be treated as a textual ground for historical and cultural documentation. Mark Tully's works are a consistent interplay between the two extremes – reportages and travel narratives. Robert Louis Stevenson in *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writings* says, "there is no foreign land: it is only the traveller that

is foreign” (1). Merriam Webster’s *Encyclopedia of Literature* says, “in this nonfictional prose form, the traveller himself has always counted for more than the places he visited, and in the past, he tended to be an adventurer or a connoisseur of art, of landscapes, or of strange customs who was also, occasionally, a writer of merit” (1128) .

The traveller’s power of observation is sharp; he traverses from one region to the other, giving information and commentaries about the landscape and the people he sees. This makes a travelogue an individual’s work, often written in the first person narrative. It follows a discourse particularly designed to explain the geographical landscape and cultural spaces that surround the area. Sometimes travel narrations end up being a mere cataloguing of incidents and time periods. The power of representation in the travel writer’s narrative is valuable because the interpretations of a land and its people with all their sociocultural dimensions are preserved in that writing. Travel transgresses ideas, writing being the creative aspect of the same. Cultural, racial, ethnic, social, religious, economical and gender-based borders are violated when a travel writer approaches his place of writing. But often, it ends up as a destructive process if the writer lacks the innate talent to deal with situations in an unbiased manner. The disadvantage then is that the perceptions formed by him/her will shape the views of the reader as well. Local folklore and beliefs held in reverence by natives should not be misinterpreted or lost when communicated by such travel writers. It is not to say that he should only highlight the pleasant experiences of his travels. The power of travel narratives to mirror life’s reality does not communicate successfully in every writer’s attempts. Travel documentations also intermittently become autobiographical accounts. Sharp critical notes by a writer devalue the authenticity of the work. Value based assessments derived

by comparing a writer's culture and the 'other' culture make travel narratives pretentious. A travel writer's account often ends up being a curious record of encountering a foreign culture. The narrator, out of his curiosity, many a time, ends up being a mere guide who leads a reader to the place he has visited. Though a first person narrative tightens the frame work of the narrative, the experience of the narrator is placed on the backburner at times. Cultural encounters by travel writers all over the world are preconditioned to a certain extent to read partially as documents. Tully's narrative, a mixture of travel narratives and reportages, never dislocates the reader's perspective regarding a place in a particular time. On the other hand, he observes, interprets, articulates and explains everything that he comes across with a layman's point of view. Many a time, the chasm between the two styles, travelogue and reportage, is no less a gulf than that between fiction and non-fiction with several travel writings being so private that they tremble on the edge of being a metaphor or fiction. Many travel writings are crammed with contingent details usually found in novels than in newspaper reports. Such travelogues stray into inconsequential details akin to the smells of a place and behaviour of dogs in the locality, with no respect for basic journalistic priorities.

“Intent reading of the landscape is both the travelers' primary means of personal navigation and his/her best tool for discovering the mind of the strangers who live there” (x), writes Jonathan Raban in the introduction to the *Granta Book of Travel*. This tendency to read the landscape results in producing nothing but a mere description of his sight-seeing trips thus transforming the travel writer to a plain memoirist. Though travel writings are read as eyewitness accounts, they often fail to fulfil the purpose, owing to the loose, fictional manner of narration. However, the capacity to survive the test of time

gives travelogues more readership than any reportage, which usually deals with topics that are relevant at the time of writing. Moreover, the latter is yet to develop as a literary genre, despite having a frequent presence in periodicals. Linguistic constraints cause the writer to fail in comprehending the foreign cultures that one comes across. Such a narrative becomes undependable and cannot bring out a vivid picture of the place or people that the author tries to mention. Tully who has been residing in India for more than 30 years overcomes this barrier of language easily in many of his works. The new genre in which he writes is not simply cataloguing material but strongly interrelated with the images of 'other India'.

'Other Indians' are India's imperceptible majority. They were distorted and positioned as a faceless crowd with no travelogue helping to give them an identity. Courageous Indian and foreign writers have travelled to some of the inaccessible regions of India to pick up astonishing stories and come across those who form the underprivileged Indian majority who are then written about out of a discovery-based curiosity. The writers make it more secretive and enigmatically mysterious as it becomes a factor of attraction. It convolutes the situation of the 'other Indians' who are placed as specimens of Indian extraordinariness.

To exist is to engage in dialogue and this discourse must not come to an end. Dialogues do not occur between fixed positions or subjects. People are also transformed through dialogue, fusing with parts of the others' discourse. It can change everything in one's own consciousness or perspective. Dialogue can produce a decisive reply that produces actual changes. Even within a single perspective, there are always multiple voices and interpretations, because the language that is used has been borrowed from

others. Dialogism involves a particular ethic that can be applied on a political and daily basis. On the one hand, it is a refusal of closure: it opposes the fixation on any particular monologue. On the other hand, it also refuses dominant liberal forms of coexistence and tolerance. Different perspectives are not partial, complementary truths. Rather, the dynamic interplay and interruption of perspectives are taken to produce new realities and perspectives of seeing. It is incommensurability that gives dialogue its power. India, as a country has been enjoying a long tradition of argumentative or dialogic culture, providing space and support for various ideologies that exist between times. Indian history, in each of its junctures, supports an 'other India', a different view, in literally everything, whether it is social, religious or economical discourses and debates. Together, called the 'Argumentative Indian tradition', it paved the way for an oral history that connects different classes of society through varied power structures that dominated different eras due to factors that vary from economic to social positioning. This thread of conversation-based, debate-centric social formation is an invaluable element of archaic Indianness. Like any dialogic society, skepticism and doubts were two factors that drove Indian history – even the Vedas raised questions on how the world evolved, shedding light on theories of evolution that took centuries since to get its current form in a rather subtle manner. This argumentative culture was well formed by the time of the twelfth Buddhist emperor Asoka and Muslim emperor Akbar, who had pioneered the creation of a legacy of debates around topics such as social living and religion, respecting all other streams of thinking, resulting in the formation of heterodoxy of Indian culture.

The dialogic culture supports democracy, secularism and politics, pursuing mathematics and science. It was the result of such a culture that scholars like Kautilya

and Aryabhata enjoyed during their time. The rulers were open to discussions and expanded their support to keep such an ecosystem abuzz. Also, as noted by many, it is the reason for *The Mahabharata* alone being about seven times longer than *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* put together. Many social historians, including Amartya Sen, credit public reasoning prevalent among Indians since ancient times for the country's democracy.

Indians have been especially fortunate to have a long tradition of public arguments with tolerance and intellectual heterodoxy, the connection between democracy and public reasoning has been particularly effective in India. (10)

Considerable credit must be given to the early Indian Buddhists for developing a mature public reasoning in India with a great commitment to discussion as a means of social progress. Asoka and Akbar, even with 2,000 years between them, have contributed to the much-celebrated Indian culture of ongoing discourses and public debates, cementing its position distinctly among other countries. The tolerance of diversity has also been explicitly defended by strong arguments in favour of the richness of variation. A. C. Bouquet, an expert on comparative religion, believed that religion limited India's potential, arguing that traditional teachings of the country did not have the versatility to solve a layman's confusion relating to philosophy and religion. This argumentative nature was not restricted to political discourses, extending instead to areas such as science as is evident in the arguments between Aryabhata and Brahmagupta. However, this disparity did not bridge them due to the strong dialogic aspects of society as noted by Al Biruni, the Iranian astronomer who travelled extensively in the country after their golden era. He noted that Brahmagupta had used Aryabhata's method at a practical level despite the high degree of arguments. Having said so about this argumentative tradition, Indian

conditions were not so democratic thus a social asymmetry was evident in the records of the time. The caste system was only one such example. In India, the inequality is divided between two concepts – recognition and acceptance.

In the colonial age, the general perception about India underwent a significance change due to various factors including the West-centric approach towards Indian history, its regions in particular and society in general. The spirit of nationalism evolved through various adaptations and changes and public discourses, but did not make it to the history books in the post-industrial revolution age, as Rabindranath Tagore rightly pointed out in his amazing essay *The Message of History*:

The history of India we read about in schools and memorize to pass is the account of a horrible dream – a nightmare through which India had passed. It tells of unknown people from no one knows where entering India, bloody wars breaking out; father killing son and brother killing brother to snatch at the throne; one set of marauders passing away with another coming in to take its place; Pathan and Mughal, Portuguese, French and English... all helping to add to the nineteenth century nightmarish confusion. (101)

The history of India does indeed contain many disturbing elements, but it also includes conversations and discussions, extensive joint efforts in literature, music, painting, architecture, jurisprudence and a great many other creative activities. It has included ways and means of allowing people of dissimilar convictions to live together peacefully rather than constantly going for each other's jugular. The history of India lost track of its argumentative nature with the domination of colonial texts, a post-imperial hangover.



This led to the common man with a difference in opinion losing his imprint on Indian mainstream conversation which otherwise forms the larger and wider perspective of the country through a different, varied and argumentative collective consciousness of the state from the days of the Vedas to the present day. Due to the emergence of Hindutva in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, riding on the ideologies forwarded by other secular religions, this pluralistic society has gradually faded, making way for an intolerant society. This is not an overnight phenomenon.

The internal identities of Indians have been deeply affected by colonialism over the centuries, the influence being collateral and dialectical – under the influence of various cultural elements from outside. The influence of Western images on internal Indian identities is not altogether straightforward. This difference is most obvious when considering James Mill's imperialist *The History of British India* and contemporary Indian right-wing historians. The former drew an image that was of a grotesquely primitive culture whereas the latter's representation was dazzlingly glorious. There are several fundamentally contrary ideas and images of India, and they have clear roles in the Western understanding of the country. This also influences the self-perception of Indians. Amartya Sen has bifurcated the foreign imagery of 'Indianness' into three different categories – exoticist, magisterial and curatorial approaches. Though Sen has created this division from a perspective of history, it is true in all aspects of literature with special focus on travelogues and reportages. The first category concentrates on the fascinating aspects of India; the second relates to the exercise of imperial power and sees India as a territory from the point of view of the British governors as seen in *The History of British India*. The curatorial approach involves their own inclinations at different levels but it

sees India as very special and extraordinarily interesting. A fine example of this approach is Al Biruni's *History of India*, a book which presents a remarkable account of Indian intellectual tradition and social customs of early 11<sup>th</sup> century. He developed it by mastering Sanskrit as well as reading and conversing with people. It is an earnest approach to exploring an unknown territory, riding on genuine curiosity about the land, its culture and people. Similarly, Chinese travellers Faxian (Fa-Hien or Fa-Hsien) and Xuanzang who spent many years in India in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively produced a large account of Indian stories. Westerners like Jesuit Roberto de Nobili, who learnt Sanskrit and Tamil, had brought many intellectual discourses and debates to historic writings in both Latin and Tamil languages. Sir William Jones, a towering figure in intellectual transitions, had set the base for many foreign writers in the colonial period. Oriental scholar Sir William Jones had made tremendous attempts to understand the country through The Asiatic Society, Kolkata (formerly The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) with the active patronage of Warren Hastings. This initiative proved instrumental in translating many Indian scripts into English. Whenever the argumentative tradition was overlooked it became magisterial writing as in the case with *The History of British India* where he disputed and dismissed practically every claim ever made on Indian culture and its intellectual tradition, concluding it as primitive and rude. There arose the argument of bringing 'barbaric' India under the benign and reformist administration of the British Empire. Having written this book without knowing India, its people or culture, he even dismissed the fact that Arabic numerals was discovered by Indians, saying they were even more ancient and not worthy of discussion. He was as obstinate about the astronomical and scientific progress of ancient India, arguing that the orbital rotation of the Earth was a

European concept. This despite a clear mention in Alberuni's book of the arguments between Aryabhata and Brahmagupta on orbital rotation, and the latter's observation of gravitational force. Later, Thomas Babington Macaulay, who formed India's early educational system, claimed Mill's text as the greatest historical work since that of Edward Gibbon, furthering this magisterial attitude when he wrote the minutes on Indian education. This attitude was not restricted to the Europeans alone with Rudyard Kipling and Katherine Mayo following the same style in their writings. *Mother India* even attacked Mahatma Gandhi, elaborating on the vast inequality in India. It is a work that Gandhi himself referred to read for internal use. The exoticist writings outlined fairly negative views on Indian traditions, ensuring that any claims to the pre-eminence of Indian culture was vehemently denied. E. M. Forster remarked that London was a city of 'boom and bust', but that description applies generally to the Western appreciation of exotic aspects of Eastern cultures. Mystic and anti-rational elements enjoy more prominence in every exoticist writing on India. Meanwhile, as Nehru pointed out in *The Discovery of India*, Indian writers have repeatedly used positive remarks mentioned by foreigners about India while conveniently neglecting any opposing views. What is in dispute here is not the recognition of mysticism and religious initiatives in India, or by Indians, but the overlooking of all other intellectual activities that were as abundantly present. This view has predominantly denied the facts mentioned widely by intellectuals such as Voltaire who even listed the many things that generated and evolved in India -- numbers, backgammon, chess, first principles of geometry and fables that are very much Indian in origin. However, it is not a lack of writing representational of multi-cultural society that resulted in the dialogic culture going amiss. It was, in fact, a lack of reading

with the help of theories of historicism that made a difference. Indian writing, especially journalistic and descriptive literature, has not been read in the context of history and culture unlike in the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe. India has miserably failed to, conceive of a literary text as situated within the totality of the institutions, social practices and discourses that constitute the culture of a particular time and place, and with which, the literary text interacts as both a product and a producer of cultural energies and codes. (Nehru 74)

Through the years, Mark Tully, has created a path of his own with works that more or less bridged the gap between reportage and travelogue, portraying the past and present of the country through the eyes of rural Indians who are too religious and heavily optimistic. None of his books are restricted to one particular topic, a key factor that differentiates reportage from travelogue. In that sense, Thomas L. Friedman's *The World is Flat* or P. Sainath's *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* are classic examples of reportages, though they are not often called so. Tully is not a lone foreigner who made India his favourite topic. He saw the rural India that many others did not. A few always remain outsiders, while several others, disguised as insiders, create a statistical, superficial, shining and oriental India. V. S. Naipaul, in the forward to his most famous and controversial work *India: A Wounded Civilisation*, writes, "India is for me a difficult country. It isn't my home and cannot be my home; and yet I cannot reject it or be indifferent to it; I cannot travel only for sights"(7). As pointed out by many a critic, Naipaul, without an insider's view, criticizes the country and its people in each page of his books, namely *India: A Wounded Civilisation*, a most poignant example. Paul Theroux, a writer who travels extensively across the country, always identifies himself as a passing

traveller who made no major effort to mark the country's rural lives. Theroux's works are peripheral yet readable accounts. Dalrymple, who has been mentioned previously in this thesis, is a Scottish writer who has made India his home, often making efforts to simplify history for laymen apart from attempting to record an account of downtrodden lives in India as seen in his *Nine Lives*, a work that caters only to the personal history of a few who live away from the political, economic and social set-up of the country. He either writes history or retreats into personal tales, succeeding at both. There are others in the journalist-turned-writer category whose works on India received enormous recognition at the global scale. Edward Luce is one such example with *In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India* apart from Oliver Balch's *India Rising*, Patrick French's *India: A Portrait* and many more. All these works depend on facts and figures or key personalities – businessmen and politicians in particular – the finding often going wrong.

Mark Tully took the road less travelled. Unlike his contemporaries, Tully chose to keep himself close to rural India. In this approach, he has a similar *modus operandi* to Indian writers than his 'compatriots'. The narrative techniques and approaches of popular Malayalam travel writers Raveendran and Vikraman Nair are similar to that of Tully's. Neither travel writing nor reportage, it is a genre that holds its own, based on the marginalised sections of India, its religions, castes and obviously, its superstitions. The writings are political in nature and personal histories in treatment. It often "lives in the villages", he said quoting Mahatma Gandhi while explaining the reason to opt for such a style in the introduction to *The Heart of India*, "India lives in her 7,00,000 villages, obscure tiny out of the way villages....I would like to go and settle down in some such village that is real India, my India"(x).

He goes on elucidating his affection, “I am a journalist, so I decided the best way to write about the Indian villager was to go into the village and towns of the Eastern half of Uttar Pradesh to look for stories and then report them”(xi). However, he failed to keep the boundary intact. “The stories took on new and unexpected shapes. That is how what started as journalism became fiction. But the stories are realistic”(xii), he writes in *The Heart of India*. Though this observation is most accurate for the book, it is more or less true about many of his other works including *No Full Stops in India*, *India in Slow Motion*, *India's Unending Journey*, *The Heart of India* and *Non-Stop India*.

He has woven ‘stories’ that explore everything from communal conflict in Ahmedabad to Communism in Kolkata, from Kumbh Mela in Allahabad to the televising of a Hindu epic. Tully has managed to create a unique space for himself through his books best labelled as ‘travelogue’ and ‘reportage’ at the same time. His accounts of rural India give a different yet realistic version of political, social and cultural incidents of the country since Independence. No other writer has done the same. There are books of history, reportage and travelogues but Mark Tully's books are all in one, nevertheless, not replacing anyone. It is not easy to shake the beliefs of the common man in India, their lives and traditions that densely intertwined with religion and caste, the hierarchical systems so bound by rituals, rites and superstitions. As a land dominated by religious thinking, the culture and identity of India reflect in its language and religion. All of this together constitutes the Indian value system thereby complementing each other. Tully’s works are prototypes of Indian Dalit sufferings and realities in the wake of religious and social conditions that make them the so-called ‘lower class’. Tully is the global voice of rural India. This study profoundly examines the social realities, rituals, rites and

superstitions portrayed in his select works – *No Full Stops in India*, *India in Slow Motion*, *India's Unending Journey*, *Non-Stop India* and *The Heart of India*.

The way of life for Dalits have not changed much especially in Northern India despite attempts to bring related literature to the mainstream and even after it gets brand ambassadors such as Arundhati Roy and Arvind Adiga. None can trace where religion ends and superstitions begin. There was hardly any attempt to establish a strong pro-Dalit identity in journalistic literature in the country. Typical to hardcore reportage, any Dalit journalistic literature comes with a third party point of view and has little or limited options to spread Dalit's own identity, as in the case of Dalit literary movements of the late 1960s. Tully is often considered the voice of India before a global audience and his reportages and books have contributed a lot to a fair image of India abroad. However, as with a majority of foreign journalists, his views are partial, having failed to see beyond the immediate acts of wrongdoing. On many occasions, it indulges in the superficial layers of society. Like the mainstream media in the country, it has neither rejected nor opposed the superstitious rituals prevalent in Indian society, choosing to merely focus on the evil practices and highlighting them. Tully rightly points out that these religious superstitions are not limited to any age group. As described earlier, he also finds shelter in seeking out the positives of the caste system, "providing security and a community to millions of Indians... It gives them an identity that neither Western science nor Western thoughts have yet provided, because caste is not just a matter of being a Brahmin or a Harijan. It is also a kinship system"(7).

In *The Heart of India*, he reported from the rural parts of middle India, collecting many stories from the villages. Though presented in a realistic tone, they seemed

unnatural, concluding in a mysterious manner. His work, of journalistic speech genre, contributed extensively to the oral history of post Indian independence. None of his works can be separated from the historical context it is placed in and automatically widens its scope as a literary text. *Cambridge Modern History*, states,

Historians of a later generation consider that knowledge of the past has come down through one or more human minds, has been “processed” by them and therefore cannot consist of elemental and impersonal atoms which nothing can alter... The exploration seems endless, and some scholars impatiently take refuge in scepticism, or at least in the doctrine that, since all historical judgments involve persons and points of view, one is as good as another and there is no “objective” historical truth. (12)

Most often, journalistic writings are an account of day-to-day activities and one way or the other; it is no different from marking historic facts with an objective intention. This can go beyond a straightforward interpretation of facts and convey the true spirit and atmosphere that surrounded any particular event. Despite its overwhelming likings towards objectivity, when a journalist interviews someone on any subject that can have an impact on the future with a tape recorder, he is in fact adding a leaf to the oral history of the event. For accuracy, most journalists now record every interview, thanks to sophisticated modern technologies. Mark Feldstein of George Washington University describes oral historians and journalists as “kissing cousins”, related but separate. He reminds that their similarities are their biggest differences and both of them can benefit by borrowing techniques from the other’s discipline. The real difference is born when the interviewer comes to writing or editing a copy – the journalist often falls prey to the



inherent weaknesses of the profession, being more interested in sensationalism than historical accuracy. Even if the interviewer does not want to make any addition to the facts, he always finds it is difficult to know at what point the process crosses the line of historical credibility into journalistic license. Unfortunately, it happens often. Though there are a good number of journalists turned oral historians across the globe who have successfully managed to walk on the edges of oral historic precision and journalistic freedom, India does not have a deeper contribution in this segment. Our lack of interest in oral history has contributed significantly to this. However, there are a few really great reportages that are worth reading against the light of oral history. Many of these works have done well to emulate oral history's exhaustive and nuanced approach to research evidence, except its preservation of interview transcripts that allow public inspection and verification. M. J. Akbar's *Riot after Riot* and P. Sainath's *Everybody Loves a Good Drought* are classic examples of such writings, though they are not often called so. If the original records of the interviews are provided for public or academic verification, its historic credentials add a new dimension to the works. Sadly, it remains yet to be recorded. These reportages have a more subjective approach to the topic than journalistic objectivity. Tully is a pioneer in drafting the oral history of post-independent India. With its nature of recording things in a more realistic manner, travel writings have a better reputation as a history tool than reportages. That is one reason why an entire era was understood by reading between the lines from the books of travel writers such as Ibn Battuta. The closer the reportage goes to travelogue, the better the truthful emotions of all those who are involved become expressed.

Tully meets people; he goes to rural spaces and inaugurates friendships with

common, ordinary people as well as with celebrated political figures of the period like ambassadors, bureaucrats and other praised personalities. So Tully's writing is filtered through the perspective of different narrators. He never pretends to be an all-knowing, omniscient narrator who reflects the workings of rural other Indians. To represent the manifold experiences undergone by other Indians during several crucial post-independent events in history and the present, Tully has resorted to multiple acuties in their narratives like the polyphonic method of narration recognized by Bakhtin.

Conformist travel writers visited places with the explicit resolution of understanding the living circumstances, backgrounds, secretarial systems, art and architecture and the like and illustrated them candidly in their travelogues. As the description filtered through the discernment of the sightseer himself these travelogues were in the monologue style. Travelogues of famous travel writers like Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, Fahien and Hieuen-t-sang are classical examples. Tully deviates from the predictable route taken by travel writers implementing polyphony and a non-linear form of narration. By journeying into inaccessible rural Indian places, he immerses himself into its history and culture, engaging in a conscientious editorial investigation of that particular field. He comes into contact with the people of the country; disseminates his own interest in their ways of life, culture and tradition and studies the glitches that they have come across by piloting interviews and friendly tête-à-têtes with them. The discourses of the other Indians who initially experienced these circumstances are alleged through multi-pointed perspectives. Bakhtin pointed out the polyphonic style in the novels of Dostoevsky. But these 'many voices' find similarity in Tully's narrative style also. Tully integrates the voice of the rural other Indian, apart from his authorial voice

and creates the polyphonic narrative platform open to the sociopolitical and cultural influences and connections of the environments. Polyphonic narrations are democratic ones. 'Equivalence of utterance' is the centripetal strength of such narration. Though these kinds of narrations happen in polyphonic novels, Tully successfully adopts it for his fictionalization of other Indian stories. Tully's writings are monologic. They are based on the dialogic (polyphonic) argumentative tradition of Indian culture. Arran E. Gase observed, "a polyphonic grand narrative in the form of a dialogic discourse could take into account the diversities of cultures and multiplicity of local stories by which humanity has formed and is forming itself" (140). Dialogic narratives facilitate the annexation of all accomplishments of other Indian communities (in Tully's case), societies and public. The tendency of history to focus on the rise of Western civilisation and to deny a narration to societies subjugated by it is avoided (143). Here, for instance, the general tendency of mainstream history to overlap upon the subjugated tales of other Indians is to an extent confronted by Tully's polyphonic narrations of rural India.

It is said that 'fiction is a lie', 'fiction is born out of a lie', 'fiction and lie are twins', but Tully erases the limitations of fiction and reality, blending these two separate worlds. In novel it is metafiction; since Tully's writings do not belong to the novel genre the title 'metafiction' cannot be applied to it. But his historiographical meta-narration questions the cogency of several versions of history that one is familiar with to conclude as factual. Instead of just recording fact, Tully supersedes the past. He approaches each of the incidents with a journalistic outlook, never cramming his report with evidence and documents of the event, but attempting to pose it to discover the different versions that arise out of a single occurrence flouting all the boundaries of literature and history.

Argumentative Indianness is founded on the pre-colonial ingenuousness of dialogic activities. It should be restored to the post-colonial context that has made problematic interrogations of depiction, supremacy and historicity. The colonial system of subjectivity produced through technologies and practices of power or knowledge should be confronted and efforts made to do away with the disproportionate relations of power that operated in the colonial era. Tully's narratives are stratagems of suppression and a corroboration of the hegemonic versions of the colonised as objects without history. He salvages people's history and records their past and present. It reflects the Indianness in a more dialogic manner.

The objectives of the study revolve around how Tully explains different political, social, economic and cultural developments in the country since Independence and how it equally distances itself from the techniques of travelogue and reportage to create a space of its own. This new genre should be highlighted through the study of its tools and methods. It is important to observe how his works are unique from other similar works that look into the same issues. How the difference in approach affects the final result is also relevant. This has to be done by comparing Tully's works with books that portray leaders and businessmen while dealing with the same topics such as in *The World is Flat* by Friedman, *India: A Portrait* by Patric French or *India Rising* by Oliver Balch. Added to this, the works of Vikraman Nair, Anita Nair, Vikram Seth, M J Akbar and P Sainath form the major textual corpus of the study. A social, political and historical study is also included as the topic always deals with the same. Generally, how Indian post-independence history is revealed through common men will be traced. Frontline history and journalism narratives will also be evaluated.

The proposed study is carried out using two methods – one is the method of social studies where social parameters play a major role, and the other, literary study methods that look into the ways this unique genre is manipulated. It is essential to consider different social parameters while doing a reality check of Tully's portrayal of Indian villages and economy. The primary theoretical framework is provided by texts such as *New Historicism* in addition to conceptualizations drawn from social and political theory, especially post-colonial study. A comparison of treatments and style of narratives used by different writers who come under both travel writings and reportage, make clear how Tully creates his own path of writing that is more realistic in comparison with travel writing and more fictionalised than a reportage. Though the comparison is mainly based on the topic they handle, the study is also extended to the language and style they have used through socio and cultural linguistics methods. The review of works includes the reportages and travel writings of many writers both Indian and foreign in which rural India has been discussed. *Nine Lives: In Search of the Sacred in Modern India* by William Dalrymple, *Everybody loves a good Draught* by P. Sainath, *Riot after Riot* by M. J. Akbar, *Great Railway Bazaar* by Paul Theroux and *The Granta Book of India* edited by Ian Jack have dealt with the subject in cultural contexts. V. S. Naipaul's works, *India: A Wounded Civilisation* and *An Area of Darkness* are widely read and studied. There is an extensive body of literary, political and cultural critiques dealing with the topic of rural India as it is the background and subject of innumerable Indian novels in English and fiction in regional languages. But since this thesis focuses on the reportage - journalistic genre of writing and also Tully's experimental style of presentation, the vast panorama of Indian novel genre is not considered for research here because it will reduce the

importance of the select medium of study here. A few instances of popular cultural studies, historic, political and cultural texts are also available as a 'Review of Earlier Works'. The study is relevant for two reasons. The foreign writers who made India their country are often considered authentic voices on the country all over the world, though many of them touch only a part of the reality. A detailed study of Indian writers who follow the same path as Tully provides us with an opportunity to look at the facts. It also invariably opens up a study of major political, social and religious changes in the country. It is hoped that a detailed socioliterary study of Tully's works assists in a better understanding of how different kinds of travel and reporting texts of foreign writers cast a shadow over the country.

The introductory chapter of this thesis titled, "Introduction: Tradition of the 'Other Indian' Dialogism", deals with the consolidation of the idea of India, Indianness, real India and 'other India'. The chapter aims to give a brief description how travelers who came to India and the native Indians who travelled length and breadth of India, during the early centuries, illustrated India. The dialogic culture of the country is examined and established in the light of India's early argumentative tradition, which positions the cultural base. It also connects the 'other Indian' concept with the dialogic nature of the nation's history.

The second chapter, "Polyphonic Historiography: Art of Tully's Narrative", discusses the discourse/dialogue centric narrative of Mark Tully, which can easily be associated with the argumentative tradition, read with the new- historicist theories of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Tully's writings are polyphonic as it brings in different perspectives of the same incident disallowing all possibilities of disagreement, a major aspect of the new

historicism. The polyphonous nature is the 'other Indian' sacrilege as it often disagrees to imitate the imperialistic approach towards the history. It collates testimonies of real Indian life, keeping all its disagreements and contradictions. He positions life in the middle of everything he discusses. Tully's works are read in the light of theories of Foucault or Mikhail Bakhtin. Epitomising Foucault's power theories, Tully's texts are never in a position of exteriority in relation to this power structure of the society. His works are strategic codification of certain unique points of resistance and thus that has positioned all his arguments on 'other India'. Tully's contexts cannot be reduced to an indiscriminate 'textuality' or isolated from the 'other Indian' context out of which it is made of. This chapter theorizes the thesis.

Tully's 'other Indian' narratives are discussed in detail in the next two chapters. The third chapter, "Tully's 'Other Indian' Serendipities", deals with the subjects such as religion and politics on which the writer spent years researching to create a parallel/ oral history, giving a third dimension to matters of importance in the post-independent India. Tully retells or substantiates the recent history by placing the common man at the centre of events. The polyphonic narrative style constitutes the cultural civilisation of a particular place. He has seen things differently and portrays it different, and that too as political act of writing.

The fourth chapter, "Tully's 'Other Indian' Kaleidoscope", discusses Tully's select books, which are explored to extract the various aspects of 'other Indian' society, economy, religion and political affairs. The true life defines and underlines his perspectives. This chapter also discusses the plurality of Indian tradition which is an essential point for the unity of the nation. Through many different stories, Tully identifies

the reasons for India being one of the most successful democratic countries in the world. He salutes Indians ability to acknowledge the uncertainty of certainties.

To understand Tully's 'other Indian' perspectives vividly, it is essential to compare Tully's works with the works of the other foreign writers on India and Chapter five – "Foreign Pretenses: A comparison with Tully" -- is a detailed study of the same. Most of the books written on India by foreign authors share one mannerism with a peculiar gesticulation: the authors come for a short visit, travel either for a short while or extensively, then will leave the land and start to write about it authentically. Works of Tully's contemporary writers such as Sam Miller, Oliver Balch, Ian Jack, Saul David, Braja Sorensen, Sarah Macdonald, Martin Buckley, William Dalrymple, Paul Theroux, V S Naipaul and similar others are studied in detail in this chapter.

"Indian Pretexts: A Comparison with Tully", the sixth chapter, critically evaluates the approach of select Indian English non-fiction writers. The chapter brings the colonial hangover in their narratives on India to the light, in spite of following different value systems and style and points to the facts that how many of these metro-living Indian writers overlook the Indian scenarios. However, the country has witnessed a surge in its documentation of the people's life since its independence, though highly influenced by the moral consciousness of the Victorian age, following its two centuries of colonial rules.

The conclusion, "Tullyian Artefact of 'Other India' ", consolidates the writer's effort to make historiography by juxtaposing different perspectives without disagreement. He brings in multiple faces of truth to every event. The narrative style grows along with



the argumentative Indian tradition of dialogism of this country's culture and the new genre to which Tully's works belong is more unpretentious, open, genuine and natural than reportage and travel writing. His works document the pulsating transformation of the country through the last few decades, but with a difference. In a global age, which has seen India being misrepresented and distorted among the global audience, Tully makes all efforts to nullify the damages created to the image of the country through a series of human-centric historiography. Tully took a road less travelled and came up with a new genre of writing with which he drove into the deeper stratum of the social echelons in quest of the 'other Indian' authenticities and emerged successful and it also leaves room for various research activities in future.

## Chapter II

### POLYPHONIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: ART OF TULLY'S NARRATION

History is just another narrative, as Hayden White says, "History is another kind of narrative, just like fiction, and use fictional devices such as emplotment"(326). One can clearly see through the nebulous and complicated nature of history and fiction in world literature as portrayed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. When it comes to the case of narrating history, everything is both topic and tool. An event is sure to make an appearance in more than one story. Historical narratives are supposed to be broad, leaving no stone unturned in the quest for factual perfection. Individual viewpoints and societal perspectives form the past or present, create multiple narrations of history every moment. A repertoire 'of emplotted stories' locates one narrative within a big structure of history.

New historicism opened a method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same period, without placing the former on a pedestal. Literature did not take up the stage anymore while history was relegated to the background. In other words, texts or phenomena cannot be torn from history and analysed in isolation, outside of the historical process, as M. A. R. Habib pointed out in *Modern Literary Criticism and Theory*. Instead, both enjoy equal pride of place. It promoted a culture of reading all textual traces of the past, fiction or otherwise, besides placing the literary work within the framework of a non-literary text. Every text is read along with its context, providing a historical anecdote, relating the text to the time. Greenblatt, one of the main promoters of New Historicism called it the 'Will of the World'. The magical

rapid institutionalisation of the twin movements of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism within literary studies is considered by many as one of the most important incidents in critical history in the early 1980s.

Proclaimed by Stephen Greenblatt in 1982 as a novel reading method that would shy away from the critical deficiencies of both the traditional historical school and the various formalist movements by which it was replaced, New Historicism as practiced by Greenblatt and many other Anglo-American Renaissance scholars, gained the immediate interest of those who had become dissatisfied with the stringent textualist ideology upheld by most American deconstructionists.

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New Historicism made an instant impact because of the double promise it held for practitioners, whether theoretical or practical. This stream of thinking holds something for everyone as it was based upon the best of post-structuralism put forward by legends such as Foucault, Derrida, de Certeau, and Barthes and so on. The theory was broad enough to make a platform for various investigative fields, in addition to the areas for which it was initially planned. It has been studied beyond the self-deconstructive rhetoric of canonical literary texts. As Greenblatt himself once put it, post-structuralism in its deconstructive guise “was not only the negative limit but the positive condition for the emergence of New Historicism” (xv). Soon after its introduction, New Historicism was widely accepted by many because of its versatility in terms of use. However, it took a few years before a book was published on the subject. In the second half of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a theoretical survey of the movement’s affiliations with the work of

Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Raymond Williams and Michel de Certeau, penned by Clair Colebrook was published. Later, in an attempt to bridge the gap between the theoretical analyses and practical approach, John Brannigan published a mass study on New Historicism and Cultural Materialism.

If Brannigan is to be believed, the latter is an unrealistic option to New Historicists: according to them, subversion is always contained by the power that it is supposed to undermine, if only because it results from the very framework set up by that power. "[W]ith its insistence that there is no effective space of resistance," Brannigan writes, "new historicism often makes for grim reading". Cultural Materialists, he goes on to argue, are "slightly more hopeful": the space of resistance that Brannigan finds lacking in the work of their American counterparts is opened up in the space of critical reading itself – indeed, critical reading is that space.

([http://pmc.iath.virginia.edu/text-only/issue.100/10.2.r\\_pieters.txt](http://pmc.iath.virginia.edu/text-only/issue.100/10.2.r_pieters.txt))

Michel Foucault, believed by many to be the chief influence behind the theory, asserted that the works of New Historicists bring together different perspectives and the unheard voices of society. However, the influence of Foucault on critics like Greenblatt has not been established here. As an aftermath of historicism, the old hierarchy literature and its historical background were reconsidered. The book and its background were opened for a parallel reading. The method of using history as just a background was dropped. In New Historicism, history is represented and read as it is documented in history – as text. The word of the past replaces the world of the past. The aim is not to represent the past as it really was, but to present a new reality by resituating it. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault brought in a radical positivism that can be considered a model for

the later evolution of New Historicism. Critics have claimed that Greenblatt could see the complexities of history only on one basis – power, with all social and cultural forms in its foreground. Brannigan criticised Foucault for his monologic view of power, which he claimed many of the later historicists blindly followed. However, Foucault's theory of power based on the conflict between domination and resistance should be considered as the base for all historicist readings. These attempts have given a good lead to understanding how a work of art can be taken up in different social formations. Often, this can be treated as a manifestation of power within the framework of social life. The same power works to make something possible and many others impossible at the same time. Later, it even overturns conditions. Foucault has never highlighted this as a unique general theory. Michel Foucault had set a new tone to the reading under the influence of New Historicist theories through his observation that New Historicism was always anti-establishment, on the side of liberal ideas and personal freedoms. It opened up anti-establishment conversations around every topic in wide public discussions at the personal level, whereas his idea was one of an all-seeing – panoptic – surveillance. The state exerts power through discursive practices, circulating ideology through the body-politic, he observes.

A drastic change is nearly impossible for the state because of its monolithic structure. According to him, what counts as 'the truth' is a product of discourse and power. The will-to-truth can be displaced by the will-to-power, changing the dynamics of overall social conditions at any given moment. Foucault has widely used the rules, systems and procedures that gradually constitute 'will to knowledge'. The above circumstances can create a platform for discursive practices. The knowledge of a society

is formed as a bi-product of such discourse happening within the rules and procedures of society. As Foucault asserts towards the beginning of *The Order of Discourse*, "In every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a...number of procedures...These processes, of formation and constraint, production and exclusion, are inseparable. More than this, they are both complimentary and constitutive of one another; discourse is formed and exists through their mutual constitution"(52).

He had to deal with the mechanism affecting the discourse. This was the discourse "which dispensed justice and gave everyone his share; the discourse which in prophesying the future not only announced what was going to happen but helped make it happen"(54).

Every life habit was formed from the innate nature of humans to exercise power in society. If there is a force that makes any utilitarian values and knowledge, that is this habit. This has made a huge difference in the way the world has looked at certain fabrics of life. Discourse revolves at the centre of all these. For Foucault, truth is relative and all its conditions equal. The status merely depends on the situation and possibilities of different interpretations. The matrix of historical and socio-political conditions has a major influence on truth conditions, according to Foucault. This paves the way for social discourses of different levels.

Foucault's view that the discourse of an era, instead of reflecting pre-existing entities and orders, brings into being the concepts, oppositions and hierarchies of which it speaks; that these elements are both products and propagators of power, or social forces; and that as a result, the particular discursive formations of an era determine what is at the time accounted to be knowledge and truth, as well as what is

considered to be humanly normal as against what is considered to be criminal or insane, or sexually deviant.(Abrams 245)

Mark Tully's discourses are a mixture of history and socio-political occurrences and this results in deep social discourses that form the social history. The New-Historicist opened up a world where every text is considered a contribution to the body of truth that is relative and equal, depending merely on context or interpretative perspective. To make a conclusion, it is important to consider different views or perceptions on topics that have equal importance. Louis Montrose's work, *Shaping Fantasies*, reinforces the idea that literature plays off reality and vice-versa. Jay Stevenson has observed that the movement focused on the way literature expresses – and sometimes disguises – power relations at work in the social context in which the literature was produced. Often, this involves making connections between literary work and other kinds of texts. Literature is often shown to “negotiate” conflicting power interests. “Much new historicism focuses on the marginalization of subjects such as those identified as witches, the insane, heretics, vagabonds, and political prisoners”(67), observes Jay Stevenson. This positioning of other voices directly into the stream of things through conversations to the mainstream of political discourses marks the evolution of a pluralistic society. However, it is important to understand how ideologies of a different era contribute and form the dominating ideology, belief or discourse. According to revisionist Marxist thinker Louis Althusser,

Ideology manifests itself in different ways in the discourse of each of the semi-autonomous institutions of an era, including literature, and also that ideology operates covertly to form and position the users of language as the subjects in a discourse, in a way that in fact subjects them – that is, subordinates them, to the

interests of the ruling classes. (Abrams 245)

The ideology always lacks history as it is formed from social life and merges back into it, said Althusser. The distinction between the subject and the person who addresses the subject is not so wide that both may acknowledge it at the moment of calling. Likewise, every human being has to deal with ideologies at every sphere of their social life – be it in the family, the school, the church and so on.

In this sense it is clear that there can be no question of a theory of ideologies in general, since ideologies (defined in the double respect suggested above: regional and class) have a history, whose determination in the last instance is clearly situated outside ideologies alone, although it involves them. (Sharma, and Gupta 99)

When it is emphatically said ideology has no history, it just means that it has no history of its own. However, it lives in the history of the time it originated and evolved. According to Althusser, ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationship of individuals in proportion to their real conditions of existence. It opens up discourses and conversations, as it is imaginary, leaving space for discussions against his/her real conditions of existence. It is a manifestation of their real conditions in the imaginary form. At the individual level, there is always a way someone follows life. If he believes in God, he goes to church to attend mass, kneels, prays, confesses, does penance (once it was material in the ordinary sense of the term), naturally repents and so on. The attitude of the person changes with his belief system. A believer of God keeps an attitude inscribed in the ritual practice where someone who believes in justice follows what the law says. Both



of them will even protest when they feel their belief system is being violated. The clash between the 'ideal' and 'real' is a truth in both personal and social life. This imaginary or materialistic ideology operates covertly to form and position the users of language as the subjects in a discourse, in a way that in fact subjects them – that is, subordinates them, to the interests of the ruling classes, he opines. It dominates and sets the tone of an age, irrespective of what is what and what is not.

New Historicism also opened its eyes to the conflicting voices every literary text incorporates as Mikhail Bakhtin theorised. He emphasised historical, cultural and social specificity in texts and practices saying texts should not be read through a modern gaze, but through their context. He also suggested that particular themes cannot be separated from their place in genres and structures of texts. Phenomena should be composited, theorised and understood, not simply seen as single instances. In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin developed the concepts which were to inform much of his work. The concept of 'polyphony' (borrowed from music) is central to this analysis. Polyphony literally means multiple voices. For Bakhtin, Dostoevsky's work is an amalgamation of different voices that convey one perspective. Many a time, it is not always dominated by the voice of the author. Every voice has its own value, perspective and validity throughout the novel. The author does not highlight his own narrative voice between the character and the reader, but rather, allows characters to make twists and turns within the plot. It is as if the books were written by multiple characters and not a single author. His works are read as different worlds with a plurality of consciousness in its own world, rather than only through the author's voice. Reality is also plural in nature and distinct from character to character. Tully organises the union of several faces of

reality which are polyphonic in nature.

However, dialogism cannot be seen as just different perspectives on the same conditions. Different elements of every perspective with equal value are to be looked in. Critics like Bakhtin have taken a very different stand by pointing out the fact that there is no role where at least one of the views must be wrong, if there is a disagreement. As there is no single truth, it needs multiple voices to establish the real truth. Unity is not an ideal paradigm in literary conversations, often denying the possibility of transcendence of difference (a major contrast between dialogics and dialectics, according to Hegel). Every moment is a co-living of separateness and simultaneity. The world is a juxtaposition of a multitude of meaning. According to Bakhtin, language is “an ongoing, unending chain of meaning that is constantly renewed and reborn through each link in the chain” (22). The language and culture is connected to everything else by the chain of meaning that keeps them unfinished as there is no absolute death to anything in the chain.

One aspect of this analysis is the idea of speech-genres. There are standard ways in which a language is combined, apart from different forms of language. This depends on the speech genres. There is a gap between the speech-act and the language that is defined by the speech genre. It even contradicts with the freedom usually attributed to the speaker. From journalistic styles to regional dialects, the speech genre varies and each comes with different social values, worldviews and space-time references (chronotopes). New Historicism emphasises that only a close reading of literary text, be it fiction or non-fiction, would reveal the full meaning of the text and should be done within and without the speech genres. At the same time, through his *Thick Description Theory*, Clifford Geertz observes the close analysis or reading of a particular production or event so as to

recover the meaning it has for the people involved in it as well as to discover, within the overall cultural system, the network of conventions, codes and modes of thinking with which the particular item is implicated, and which invests the item with those meanings.

To understand the dialogic nature of Indian literary and oral tradition, it is important to read Indian literary texts through the perspective of New Historicism. It is to understand how different discourses emerge, as Foucault suggested, and mingle with different ideologies, as Althusser theorised, giving space to different conflicting inner voices, as Bakhtin observed. There is a lack of real New Historicist reading in Indian fiction and non-fiction writings, as a result of which the dialogic culture has not been predominantly discussed across platforms, widening the gap between the ancient argumentative Indian culture and present day discourses.

In this study, how Mark Tully's presence brought different conflicting voices of the common man to the fore in the historic perspective of events as and when it unfolded is analysed. In the selected works, history/context is as important as the text and one does not exist without the other. They complement each other. It brings in the voice of the ruling class, or the voice that is highlighted, but at the same time represents a group of people whose language is unstructured and unorganised. Mark Tully's works, reportages in general, need to be read with a New Historicist perspective to analyse how the common man is brought to the fore to establish the dialogic nature of Indian literary tradition.

The question of what makes Tully's narrative a historical one is relevant. Mark Tully's narrative style offers 'a cognitive framework'. He exchanges the parables of the

common people through his writing. Tully follows a specific discourse of his own followed neither by travel writers, memoirists or historians. His writings are pregnant with innumerable parables. Each piece is independent, fierce, complete and self-contained as compartments. Small real stories are brought together on the basis of the main characteristic feature that is the 'other India'. They have accordance with the narratives featured in the Labovian Model – small, real-life stories presented as a part of a trajectory of interactions. The constant unfolding as the narrative of a story being constructed, it is as part of a larger historical framework of interactions in which they are inter-textually linked and available for recontextualisation in various 'other Indian' settings, as Georgakopoulou was quoted in David Herman's *Basic Elements of Narrative*,

Mundane conversational narratives of personal experience constitute the prototype of narrative activity rather than the flawed by-product of more artful and planned and narrative discourse. (34)

Harry S. Truman said, "The only thing new in the world is the history you do not know" (*Mr. President*, 1). Once that unknown history is known in the form of narratives, then it is no longer unacknowledged or unexplored. Famous art historian Russell Porter commented that history can only live if one recovers its strangeness, its singularity, even its shock. Its purpose is to give essence to, beguile and astonish through the stories that uncover and regain people, events, incidents, actions and expansions, which have been lost to history. Those perspectives, unknown to mainstream history, resonate in the main narratives of traditional history. Some historians recollect the social being-ness of human beings and retell the events of a land/country. Thus history exists but there is no factual history. Writing history is a selective process. Sometimes multiple histories become a

continuous process. Therefore it never culminates as a reconstruction of the past by scholars or academicians. Mark Tully presents history as ideas told through people. He works on a generative framework for gathering more details over the course of time. Empirical, ethnographic and experimental sociological questions continuously act as counter attacks on fictional history. Experience is the key term in these historical narratives. So-called fictional historians see themselves in the narrative instead of viewing it as a nugget of history from a third-person perspective. Social, cultural and linguistic experiences are configured and articulated as the history of the time parried.

Everyday life engages in the popular cultural temperaments of the present moment and constantly produces narratives of one kind or the other. These narratives act as a link between individuals with different social experiences. Thus it is able to bring the past and present into relative coherence making historical narratives cultural discourses as well. A text is not a mere 'text' as it transcends 'textual' appearance. Discourses position literary texts within the space of non-literary texts making history a 'lived experience' in Tully's narrative. A parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts of the same period initiates the thrust point of New Historicism. It is not a doctrine, rather, a textual practice and exercise. The historicity of texts and the textuality of history meet at several places. Author, intention, genre, historical situation, all become important here and are taken into account. New Historicism supports the idea that 'art is social' and hence it presumes more than one consciousness. Both 'reading' and composing/writing become important here. It is the historical situation that implies human characteristics according to historians. But cultural and social poetics interpret each man as a historian with 'lived experiences.'

The stories in Mark Tully's works are narrated by the common rural folks of India,

getting embedded into the narrative structure of traditional history-making. Just like 'culture', 'history' is also a complicated word in the English language. It is a word with more than a thousand shadows. History is not a monolithic concept. All histories – alternative, parallel, sub, complementary, oppositional, twisted, tweaked, interpreted, comprehended, dominant, forgotten and flashback culminate themselves into the superstructure of so-called mainstream history. Arnaldo Momigliano in *Historicism Revisited* says: "Historicism is the recognition that each of us sees past events from a point of view determined or at least conditioned by our own individual changing situation in history" ([www.dwc.know.ul/DL/publications](http://www.dwc.know.ul/DL/publications) PV 00009792 pdf).

Changes in the thinking of the 'text' happened during the 1970s and 1980s. In the postmodern era, when history itself is treated as a discourse/text, literature is twice removed from textual reality. Literary creativity and power linkages are the catalysts of these associations. The shadow of the panoptical past never haunts the modern writer; so also the reader. They even treat the shadow lines as mere colour texture variants to their narrative (historical), personalized experience. Textualism and contextualism never organise their writings. Mark Tully's works on India contributed to the country's image of the 'other India'. Tully's works on India meets the New Historicist parameters. Tully's first book on India came out in 1985. It was *Amritsar: Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle* (1985), co-authored with his colleague at BBC Delhi, Satish Jacob. Several events and issues that occurred in the country found a place in the book. It dealt with incidents leading up to Operation Blue Star, the Indian Army's attack on Sikh fighters in the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The central idea of the New Historicism theory is how every text shows signs of the times and the society it is produced in. Tully, as a journalist and a human being, is

never subjective or free from the perceptions of his time and space. New Historicism deals with power struggles within the social framework, how the power system affects people and also how they rebel against it. Tully's work presents several real examples of power struggles between the institutions such as religion and citizens. Both New Historicism and Cultural Materialism are based on culture. It defines society; both texts and contexts are interlinked within its spread. "The term culture is reserved for what most literary academics would now consider to be a rather narrowly defined 'high' culture" (Bertens 135).

How (literary) texts are related to their contextual historical background is the pivotal piece of discussion when the New Historicism theory is applied to any text. These theories argue that the texts can never be understood out of context – both cultural and historical. The author is also not a separate entity then. Naturally, he is also a subject to his context and historical background, living atmosphere, class and religious circumstances, family and global view. As Bertens says: "The notion of the self, of discourse and of power" (140) pervades central to the application and understanding of this theory. How the author perceives himself in his writing and in his living, how he interacts with those around him, how power is used as an object, all these basic questions regarding the theory become that of the reader's also. Here, writer and reader, text and context replicate in the name of interrelated historicism. These texts do not only reflect history. Mark Tully's works are not mere photocopies of Indian history. They create history. As Bertens says, "They actively make history" (140).

A cultural materialistic (historical) view is an ideology-based theory. Marxist ideology connects to the core of cultural materialism. New Historicism is power- based.

Power relations finally culminate in the knowledge of post-structuralism. Mark Tully's works are parallel history. They neither distort nor reflect the history that was previously written. They just treat literary/non-literary and the discourse with equal importance.

The actual reader and the implied reader are distinct from the narrator, who plays the role of an 'audience' more or less as explicitly inscribed in a narrative text. Tully, as a retrospective homodiegetic (or autodiegetic) narrator, speaks about his observations and experiments through his works. They are also telling commentaries on the situation in post-independence India of which he is also a part. His narration is an active process as it becomes one by which the history of the country is updated. The process of narration usually involves complex combinations of views in different channels such as visual, auditory and tactile, yielding to multimodal versus monomodal narration. The theorists in the field of narrative study also talk about story levels and discourse (text) levels on the basis on which stories can be reconstructed. Here such reconstructions are done with utmost sincerity because the aim of Tully's narration is to project the real 'other Indian' aspects and not its fictional paraphernalia. The narration which discloses the observed experiments naturally produces the discourse of his thinking.

Story is a synonym for narrative. Mark Tully's books are full of stories, not fictional, but simply realistic. Whether it is 'histoire' (French) or 'fabula' (Russian Formalists), it constructs with discourses. It can be a chronological sequence of incidents, situations and events reconstructed on the basis of certain discriminative stimulus provided in a narrative text. Mark Tully's works are all evaluations. His writings address the Other Indians and their social issues. In his evaluations, Tully argues that the 'Indians do as much of the speaking as possible.' Issues are raised; an analytical approach that combines



post-colonial theory, new historicism and ideological criticism can methodologically dissect the 'storified' discourse of Tully. Evaluation, in the Labovian model, refers to the expressive resources used by storytellers to signal the point of narrative. 'Experientiality' is a term used by Monika Fludernik to define the evocation of consciousness (in terms of) cognitive scheme of embodiedness that relate to human existence and human concerns. The experientiality of post-colonial writers and critics has played a role in nation building, of the once colonised countries. Here 'nation' is denoted as a 'construct'. History writing is always hegemonical. The dominance of the powerful group will kill/hide the history of the lower powerful group. Through manufactured consent, they sustain their domination. India, once a colonial nation, also faced these problems in books on India. Stories/ideas in these books easily shore up hegemony in the form of 'master narratives'. Mark Tully's narratives are parallel ones and they are history of 'other Indians', poor Indians and the most real Indians. They offer counter narratives, couched as a report by Tully. Sometimes a hypo diegetic narrative style gives strength to the evaluation and the experientiality of the author shown in the discourse.

Social discourse or society as an open text can be denoted as paratext in Tully's narrative world. Mark Tully is only an agent who produces a narrative in that way. All his orientations are to focus on the Indianness, limitlessly. As a narrator and storyteller, according to the Labovian model, he provides information about the context in which the unexpected or non-canonical, complicated actions occur. With this, he makes his narrative interesting, thus pointing out the most beheld, but unnoticed issues against the backdrop formed by everyday expectations and norms of a nation, which is worth reporting. Though the narrative structure of his works is highly complicated and yet

difficult to categorise using theoretical classifications, it is very important to notice that the text-type is contrasted with those of narrative and disruption. Both qualitative and quantitative explanations fall within the domain of exploration which he sometimes mixes up with his descriptive narrative style. Expositions are often given as a presentation in the form of a thick back story of the situation and events from a context or background for getting in touch with action in the narrative. The title of his books/the title of his chapters in the books, serves as an 'abstract' in the Labovian narrative model as a pre-announcement of the gist of a story/issue to be discussed. As Gilles Deleuze said: "All history does is to translate a co-existence of becomings into a succession" (Lampert 7).

Mark Tully transliterates this 'co-existence of becomings' into a realisational succession. The nation always beheld its history. So also when victors write history, the common story is kept with the people who lived it and took their leaves. So Tully's books are attempts to keep the voice of the streamlined narrations which can be passed into the memory-less, dark shadows at any point of time. These are not personal tales; but personalised histories and at the outset, rationalised histories.

The West would easily forget the colonial factors and real facts. The annals of the post-colonial world also fail to reflect the many truths with dual faces. Each find their narratives too profoundly undetermined and unresolved by the other. The Janus-faced truths of imperial history had two basic interpretations: the first happens at the end of their colonial rule and the second at the end of the rewriting of the master narrative created by the imperial pen.

Mark Tully never does any magic. He never tries to invent and outdo the truth. He just briefs the real 'other India' through a non-methodological narrative style. One cannot write a true story merely on the basis of prejudices or glimpses into the lives and stories of real Indians. To build a testimony on the account of their thoughts and beliefs, the writer needs to be one among them. Though not Indian by birth, Tully tried to be in the company of real Indians, more so than many Indians did. His was a kind of desperate pursuit and a road less travelled. Thus stories bloomed as fictionalised reportages with an aura of truth behind its narrative pulse. V.S. Naipaul once commented that nonfiction can distort, facts can be realigned, but fiction never lies. Tully's writings show a fictional narrative style. It never realigns and re-orders the facts. There is zero distortion of actual facts in Tully's writings.

Mikhail Bakhtin opines that a literary text incorporates a number of conflicting voices that represent diverse social classes and interests. These conflicting voices create society. A heterogeneous space like India is a fine example where events arising out of such an environment decide the social fabric of the country. This assortment creates a class and maintains the hierarchy; it forms the basis of art and literature. Yet, although pluralistic, when we consider a piece of art by one artist at a time, it represents an individual's voice. A conflict is easily visible when considering texts in general at any time unless an authoritative voice decides to mute this diversity. This maintains the argumentative or dialogic culture of India. Tully captures this spirit of the nation in his accounts of major Indian events thereby recreating the authentic social fabric of this nation.

The idea of narrativity and fictional politics exemplifies the writings of Tully's

factual fictions, as Lennard David puts it. Tully marks a sense of ‘other Indian’ life through narration. His work embraces the universality of the human experience, his narrative style as grand as it does justice to the inherent polyphony of ‘other Indian’ realities.

Mikhail Bakhtin echoes one of the most characteristic features of prose as the possibility of employing different discourses at a time with all their expensive capacities intact without the need for a common denominator. According to Sandra Gilbert “every text can be seen as in some sense a political gesture” (*What do Feminist Critics Want?* 31). What Gilbert said about feminism can be read in the ‘other Indian’ context also, rather than feminist gender power discourses. Then the multifaceted production of veracity through dominant dogmatic-political discourses that postulate certain pieces of information as accuracy inevitably gives way to resistances especially in the case of other Indian representations. The fact is that foreign authors who criticise India or Indian authors who praise India fail to identify specific voices that take up critical positions in about to the other Indian culture that cherishes their fancy thoughts.

The intention of the writer influences the way that she/he comprehends the complexity of ‘other Indian’ experiences. New Historicism in a wider paradigm foregrounds Tully’s ‘other Indian’ writings amidst all the parallel history textbooks and research writings. The study of Tully was necessitated because, though writings on India by Indian and foreign writers have always been a constituent and regular part of Indian travel writing and journalistic reportages, no effort has been made to unfold the oral history of post-independent India. As Terry Eagleton in preface to the Anniversary Edition of *Literary Theory: An Introduction* says, “The new historicism tried to erase the

distinction between literary and non-literary works” (ix). New Historicism, rather than a body of theory, is so bonded to cultural and political realities. So also Tully’s stories in his works at one time becomes *recit*, which is the actual order of events in the text, at other times *historie*, which is the sequence in which those events ‘actually’ occurred, according to Gerard Genette who talks about narration in *Narrative Discourse*.

Modern German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, in his pivotal work *Truth and Method*, says ‘history is the conversation that we are.’ History is seen as a living dialogue between past, present and future and the argumentative tradition though the evolution of time removes constraints to this endless reciprocated communication. Tully’s works are never mere ‘imaginative’ writings in the sense of fiction, his writing is literally true. The lines in his books are the briefest reflections of what people commonly contemplate, ones that usually never get any print value. The distinction between ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’ is a dubious one. The opposition between ‘historical’ and ‘artistic’ truth is confusing. Sharp discriminations between fictional writing and news reports need to be sought out. Tully’s writings are historical truths. He writes facts. Fictional facts are the outcome. The umbrella term literature is inclusive of all factual writing and fictional reporting. Literature, history, philosophy, physical and natural sciences are all creative, imaginative and artistic in their own way and Tully’s way of putting things happens perfectly in the middle path of travel writing and reportage. Tully transforms and widens the common ordinary language of news reporting, but standing tall on the ordinary man’s voices separates him from all of his contemporaries.

The mainstream modern history of the world, specifically since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was marked by some major occurrences that overwhelmingly shaped the worlds of

literature and history in the making. Tully's works can be placed tightly within a super structural fabric of political and cultural discourses. Michel Foucault saw knowledge as a form of power. He also analysed power as highly diffused and not distinctly assignable to a given set of political or ideological agencies. The new historic alignment of Tully's works thus can be treated as another super structural discourse. The dialogical nature of textual production generates new argumentative alternatives that redefine and engage people as readers of a book. Political or cultural neutrality never finds scope in the 'other Indian' arena of Tully's textual empire. His attempts are inextricably historical, cultural and political. In New Historicism, there is doggedness that all systems of thought and ideologies, institutions and phenomena, all artworks and all literary texts must be placed within a historical context. Tully's works cannot somehow be torn from history and analysed in isolation, as an exterior of the historical infrastructure. His works are indomitable in their form and content by their distinct historical instances, their unique situation in time, place and space. Within the broader context of the 'other Indian' reality and of its culture in the framework of other historical and contemporary discourses covering politics, religion and aesthetics, as well as its economic and financial situation, Tully redefines the parallel construction of history through his writing. Tully operates within the prospect of his own viewpoint, unbiased and impartial, an empathetic understanding and involvement of distant culture. Nineteenth century historians like Leopold Von Ranke, Friedrich Meinecke and 20<sup>th</sup> century thinkers such as Wilhelm Dilthey, R.G. Collingwood, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Ernst Gombrich and Karl Mannheim along with German writers like Johann Gottfried Herder are all associated with New Historical engagements within the textual platform. The historical milieu perfectly

informs the textual scenario. The concerns and features of Tully's works go hand-in-hand with the assumptions and methods of New Historicism. The New Historic circumstances, traceable from the blueprint of Tully's works that profoundly figure out their notions of truth, of art and polity and hence the 'other Indian' engagements, are finely accredited to those texts. The intentions and motives of the author never creep into the lines of the textual space as far as Tully's case is concerned. He keeps quiet and the 'other Indian' finds a voice of his own through Tully's writings.

An empathetic hybridisation of our own argumentative cultural tradition and historical horizon happens in his works. They interpret the thoughts and words of the 'other Indian' and one can say that it is a pure product of the 'other Indian' context-bound nature of reality. Tully's works deny historical approaches. A synchronic analysis of his language and narrative style puts forward a novelty that mixes well with the New Historical dimensions of the theory of literature. Language is treated as an ideological phenomenon by Mikhail Bakhtin in many of his works and thus Tully's works cannot stand autonomously alienated from all such ideological and historical infrastructures. Tully creates a unique genre of his own but his discourse is dissolved in the complex of cultural discourses including religious, regional, political, economic, aesthetic and artistic – which gave shape to his stories or in the other way, were shaped by it. History can be read as a 'text' and the truth is that there is no single-line history. The new genre of Tully's style is also incorporated within the literary historiography. The history and culture of India in which the elements of New Historicism fixes Tully's texts were regarded as a 'textual construct'. M.A.R. Habib in *Modern Literary Criticism and Theory: A History* says,

The New Historicists tended, then, to view literature as one discourse among many cultural discourses, insisting on engaging with this entire complex in a localized manner, refusing to engage in categorical generalizations or to commit to any definite political stance. (149)

It is unfair to judge Tully's works with the tentacles of aesthetic formalism. It goes beyond artistic formalism. It never accords any kind of unity or homogeneity to India's history and culture. Contextualisation finds its way through the super structural networks of contradictions, oppositions and reconciliation and Tully never falls before arbitrariness, biased opinions, political quietism or indefiniteness. He is straightforward, searching for all the possibilities of accepting the social milieu from a non-committed perspective. Tully not only places his 'texts' within the 'power structures' but also prepares himself to participate in the conflicts of power between various forms of social, cultural and political authority. Mark Tully's reportage style of narration gives a 'lived reality' as in the case of an oral history based on the experimental level of other Indian images that does not find a space in mainstream or traditional histories. The neutrality of the historical fact is covered in the subjectivity of narratives. Clifford Geertz puts down in exact terms, "We are living in an age of 'blurred genres', a jumbling of varieties of discourse; within which disciplinary distinctions are increasingly hard to call" (Moran 20). The seminal impact of Michel Foucault on the concept of New Historicism re-examines all the normal and conventional notions of our mental discourse and practice. In the essay "What is an Author?" Foucault mentions and researches the long thought concept of authorship. He examines that the study of a literary text cannot be constrained to that text alone or to the psychology/inner environs of the author and his/her



backgrounds but should spread to a larger pitch; that the cultural dimensions and conventions in which the text is produced need to be questioned and understood. The ideas from *The Order of Things* and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* are sprinkled on the theory of New Historicism which was initiated in its full-fledged version by Stephen Greenblatt. The re-examination of Tully's position within this linguistic system points out the narrative style proving that he is aware of its implementation in his works. He courageously rejects the soapy and bubbly travel writing style or the fact-based dry reportage version of journalism, recognising the ability of his text to challenge the social and political voice-over. The subversive potential of Tully's works can be read only when it is compared to Indian and foreign authors who have covered the topic called 'India'. Tully's texts produce meaning, construct the other Indian reality and engage in larger structural and national issues. In *History of Sexuality*, Foucault insists that power: "...is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere (it) is simply the overall effect that emerges from all these mobilities..." (93). Foucault pigeonholed power relations as 'both international and non-subjective'. Tully's texts are never in a position of exteriority in relation to this power structure of society. His works are a strategic codification of certain unique points of resistance and so he positioned all his arguments on other India. Tully's contexts cannot be reduced to an indiscriminate 'textuality' or isolated from the 'other Indian' context out of which it is made. Indian authors and foreign authors on India form a complex network of discourses; the heavy ideological baggage on languages define and refine the internally structured literary theory of New Historicism. Hence, Tully's dialectic encompasses divergent 'other Indian' perspectives and finds its place under the umbrella concept of historicism of literature.

The long history of the argumentative tradition in India, its contemporary significance and its comparative abandonment in enduring cultural deliberations are all comprehensive in Tully's argumentative Indian oral narration style. Tully deals with politically charged 'other Indian' concerns. This gives the readers a way of understanding current India and the co-existing 'other India'. The counter-productive role of Indian classical oral traditions has to be mentioned in association with Tully's storyline narrative. In several versions of *The Ramayana*, stories are uttered or dictated by birds or beings other than humans, the author is *Ezhuthuachan* (at least for Keralites) i.e., the father of writing (*ezhuthu*-writing and *achan*-father) who notes down the words of the bird/being. While the oral narration is popularised, later only the written form attracts scholars. Indian Vedas are full of oral hymns and religious entreaties; they also share stories and conjectures about the world in an oral narrative manner in line with the argumentative inclination of the ancient Indian culture. India's long argumentative history was part of sacred beliefs, reverential trust and devoutness, epistemology and consciences. Separate from the typically and decisively proliferated reductionist interpretation of Hindu religiosity, the epic *Ramayana* is a spectacular allegory of paranormal genuineness that is extensively recited as a part of India's argumentative oral/verbal inheritance. The convention of interactions and the concurrent incidence of dialogic coincidence stand along with this oral profanation. Buddhists, Jains, non-believers, cynics, Muslim tradition and argot dialogues all are part of this variety of narration traditions.

Amartya Sen said in the preface of *The Argumentative Indian*, "voice is a crucial component of the pursuit of social justice" (xiii). Tully made sure that the voice of the

'other Indian' was preserved in his narration. He understood the strength of dialogic tradition and inculcated it in his style of writing. His inkling of acting as a negotiator between the 'other Indian' and the Indian public is beyond any cultural theory. The instantaneous and eventual inspiration of this thesis is a socio-political and cultural understanding of the 'other Indian' images in the argumentative description of Tully. The influence and applicability of the argumentative Indian tradition can be scrutinised intensely by penetrating the 'other Indian' images and voices in Tully's works. The images of India created by foreign and Indian authors have resulted in several misapprehensions about the country. Tully is a detached onlooker. He never cossets the narration of the reality by 'other Indians' themselves nor goes out of the domain of his subject matter and that gives more legitimacy to his assumptions. Tully, though not an Indian by birth, is very anxious about 'other Indian' culture, history and politics and also with real 'other Indian' sustenance in India. He never refers to Indians as 'they' as many other authors do. Rural life is studied in detail to recreate images through his writings. One will never find the dreariness of verbosity here. There is no garnish or a dash of spice. Political and literary journalism are not two traits for Tully, the narrow division between the two ceasing to exist when he writes. The predicament of these makes the 'other Indian' narrative of Tully polyphonic. The polyphonous nature is the 'other Indian' sacrilege. It is not an imitation of imperialistic history text books on Indian antiquity. Tully's narrations are testimonies of his travel and life in rural Indian villages, the writings driven by the prevalent common sense of Other Indian realities. Transference of various vignettes of 'other Indian' reflections can be seen in Tully's works. Their thoughts and emotions are conceded to or displaced in his words. "Both *The Ramayana*

and *The Mahabharatha* proceed from story to story woven around the principal tales and are engagingly full of dialogues, dilemmas and alternative perspectives”(3), says Sen. Tully come across masses of opinions and counter urgings spread over continuous arguments and contentions in his work. Tully’s discourse/dialogue-centric narrative can be easily associated with the argumentative tradition. Debates always have two judicious sides. Contrary arguments are also included in his narrative by Tully. These arguments by ‘other Indians’ persist as the edifice of Tully’s narratology. In *The Maharabharatha*, the narration itself becomes the history of narration. The same impression is copied in Tully’s works. Deliberations and disagreements always figure in the argumentative Indian tradition. Amartya Sen raises a serious query concerning the incarceration of the argumentative tradition to a particular group in his *The Argumentative Indian*:

...whether the tradition of arguments and disputations has been confined to an exclusive part of the Indian population – perhaps just to the members of the male elite. It would, of course, be hard to expect that argumentational participation would be uniformly distributed over all statement of the population, but India has had deep inequalities along the lines of gender, class, caste and community. The social relevance of the argumentative tradition would be severally limited if disadvantaged sections were effectively barred from participation. (6)

The argumentative tradition is socially relevant only if all sections of society including the underprivileged and the marginal are empowered to engross in the discussion or basically, conversation. Gender, caste and voice variances or preferences are seen generally seen in participation. The role of Indian women in political activities and leadership cannot be neglected. They have similarly made their marks in numerous

logical explorations. But the case of women in the rural space defines the gender consciousness and complete participation of the nation. So Indian and foreign authors superciliously touch upon sensational Indian issues and leave the rural other Indian women unobserved. But they are well placed in Tully's narrative. Sen has this to say about women speakers:

The arguments presented by women speakers in epics and classical tales or in recorded history, do not always conform to the tender and peace-loving image that is often assigned to women.(9)

Draupadi from *The Mahabharatha*, Gargi from *Bhrihadaramyaka Upanishad*, Maitreyi from the Upanishads and Indian Vedas raise their voice intensely beyond men, writes Sen, citing and reporting their incidental stories and negotiations. In Tully's works, the argumentative Indian tradition is not exclusively preserved for men or mainstream/conventional notions. Tully's argumentative encounter broke all barricades of class and caste. He antagonised religious orthodoxy in his narrative. His disputes saw involvement from across classes. He just undermined all the societal superiority notions based on power, money, religion and caste. An 'equalising' feature is reflected in his narration. He never personally indulged or destabilised even the most underprivileged weaker voice of this society. So there was breathing space in Tully's narratives for counter arguments. They were not in unbending editorial/journalistic flamboyance but in flexible 'fictionalised' reportage style.

### Chapter III

#### TULLY'S 'OTHER INDIAN' SERENDIPITIES

Mark Tully's *The Heart of India, No Full Stops in India, India's Unending Journey, India in Slow Motion* and *Non-stop India* are persuasive illustrations of 'other Indian' imagery. They question and explore the overexposed orientalist perceptions and exoticising stare on India by both foreign writers and Indian authors. Tully says, in his works 'Indians do as much of the speaking as possible.' One can contemplate on them on the basis of the argumentative Indian tradition, the ongoing Indian heritage of dialogic nature. Tully picked his subjects from different walks of life and placed them at the centre of events and retold the story with other available naked facts and truths. The totality of institutions, social norms and conversations in which Tully's works are situated constitute the cultural civilisation of a particular place and time and it is with this that his works interact as both a product and producer of sociocultural vigour and codifications of society as a nation. Hence, as any other texts do, Tully's texts are dissolved in the society in which they are created and history or culture of its land and people are not alienated from the texts that represent the age. Mark Tully's works represent the common rural Indian's 'Indianness'. A kind of Indianness which can hardly be seen in the works of other foreign writers who have written about India; and sometimes, even more Indian than many of the Indian writers in this domain. Each and every incident has a historical route in his work. History of events has got a generic structure. The flip side / other side/

parallel history through the eyes of common man dominates Tully's viewpoints, rather than the institutionalized history. The argumentative history and narrative nature are often the strengths of Indian history, which later lost its strengths following the British Rule, which imposed colonial texts. It is not bound to the imperialist history of James Mill's India. It is above the exoticist peripherality of Dalrymple. Tully places the discourses at the centre and his approach is curatorial. Breaking the language and narrative setting of the reportage, he brings the oral discourses of the common man to the centre of history, positioning oral history parallel to academic history. His chronicle of visual India gives a different yet realistic version of the political, social and cultural incidents of the country since Independence. According to the New Historicism, ideological perspectives of Tully's works represent varied signifying systems and discourses. He opens a channel of oral history and linkages are given to the journalistic narrative way, by focusing on particular themes. Public reasoning of the common rural people at the epicentre of any historic event creates a new discursive ideology based on the argumentative Indianness. Though Tully's writings are beyond observational focused reportages and much serious than explanatory narration, they capture the true spirit and empathy of the events. Chapters three and four form two parts of the pivotal corpus of the study of the thesis and it enlarges and consolidates the 'other Indian' ideology thoroughly.

*India in Slow Motion* discusses the fundamental problems of India in a realistic manner. He never treats incidents on a sarcastic vein. Indian form of bad governance is pointed out compliantly. "The Reinvention of Rama" fearlessly deals with the politics of religion. Religion, a hot controversial issue, is handled with a mature outlook and those subjects that can trigger communal, social or political outrage are treated with utmost

sensibility. The reality of religion is an influential factor in Indian scenario. Even politics in India is intertwined with religion. Hinduism in India combines sacred and sensual attitudes together. He puts forward a re-examination on the Ayodhya issue. Ayodhya campaign by BJP and VHP was to pull down a mosque in the north Indian town of Ayodhya, a 'sacred place' of pilgrimage and worship, which they stated had been constructed on the site of a 'kshetra' (Hindu Temple) marking Rama's place of birth. His approach and narrative style most vividly represents his division from the typical historical narratives as he approaches the subject from an emotional interview-based view. He brings in stories of people involved whereas historians present the same in a mere chronological manner. In their book, *India since Independence*, Bipin Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee approach the subject in a chronological manner. Their narration begins from the 19<sup>th</sup> century uproar from the Hindu community for the possession of the masjid which was built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Governor of Babur. However, the demand had not got any momentum till 1949 when the UP governor gave permission to install the idols of Sita and Ram on the site.

Sardar Patel, as the home minister, and Jawaharlal Nehru, condemned the district magistrate's action, but the Uttar Pradesh government felt that it could not reverse the decision...However, it locked the mosque and barred it to both Hindus and Muslims.... (609-610).

The book explores the series of incidents that led to the demolition of the masjid with all possible details and facts. The history is vividly established through all insiders from the magistrate of Uttar Pradesh who reopened the mosque for Hindus and to the leaders of VHP, Congress and CPM who was in power circles during the decade. The book also



gives details about the political changes at both Central and State government levels. The approach is predominantly historical in nature. However, it does not touch the common man who lives on the edges of all the suffering. It is the history of insiders and outsiders' story is kept out.

Mark Tully differentiates himself here. He gives eye witnesses account of the demolition of the Babri Masjid. How all the communications with Ayodhya were broken down and how the Canary-yellow headband wearing young men broke through the blockades and joined up with the intruders in beating up the television journalists, smashing their cameras and trampling on their recording-tapes and shouting 'Jai Shri Rama', 'Victory to Lord Rama', thrilled by their first victory are all written down with impartial accuracy. The attitude of the police, unofficial guardians of the law appointed by the organizers all were observed and the actual feel of the incident is narrated with intense originality through a chain of eyewitness accounts. The clear-cut facts, which no media had yet handled, are revealed:

The BJP is a member of 'the family' of a Hindu Sect, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh or National Volunteer Corps. For the RSS, India's past is a story of humiliation by foreign rulers and the future lies with a united, militant Hinduism restoring the nation's pride and standing up to fundamentalist Islam and missionary Christianity. (*India in Slow Motion* 3)

Tully takes a neutral stand when he quotes the RSS viewpoints on the Congress party, "The ideology of the Nehru-Gandhi's Congress party, which has ruled India for most of the years since Independence, is dismissed by the RSS as pseudo-secularism.

They are particularly critical of Nehru's decision to allow Muslims to keep their family law, and to give a special status to Kashmir, India's only Muslim majority state"(3). The nationalist agenda of the RSS and its quasi-military parades, which are always showcased in the paraphernalia of politics of religion by other media and writings, are directly brought out here. The hard line Hindu agenda of the RSS and their move towards fascist ideology are debatably presented. The cause of the desecration of the mosque, as reported by the national and international media, is summarized by Tully. The votes based on religion, inflammatory speeches on religion and God by leaders, open firing, hoisting of the saffron flag on one of the domes of the mosque, all these are narrated in his true presentation through the eyes of common man. Ayodhya had never been one of the supreme pilgrimage destinations before the Babri Masjid issue. Tully notes, "Thereafter it became the fulcrum on which Indian politics hinged" (6). Ayodhya did not attract the faithful from far and wide like Shiva city of Varanasi, Haridwar, where the Ganges flows out of Himalayas into the plains, Allahabad, the site of Kumbh Mela, the world's largest religious festival, or Tirupati in the south, said to have the most ample cash flow of all Indian temples. "The cremation Ghats on the banks of Ayodhya's sacred river, the Sarayu, could not compete with the all-India death-industry on the steps leading down to the Ganges in Varanasi. But when the mosque was destroyed, the World Council of Hindus, the VHP, had called for Ayodhya to become the Vatican of Hindus"(6). Tully shares his surprise that the VHP dreamed of a Hindu Vatican. Swami Chinmayanda (he was the one who prepared the establishment of a Hindu council) said a naked fact and Tully records it like this:

I know that religious organization is against the very principle of Hinduism, but we

have to move with the times. We seem to have entered today all over the world, in every walk of life, in every field of endeavour, an age of organization... therefore, in the spiritual field, even though the individuals proceed forward and develop, if religion wants to serve the society, it also has to get organized. (6-7)

In 1992 and the following years, Tully visited Ayodhya many times. When he wrote “The Reinvention of Rama” in 2002, he gave a 360-degree outlook of the Ayodhya issue which many foreign writers failed to capture. Debates, arguments, questions and answering happen in his specific way of realistically reporting events. He joins the pilgrims and he is never ashamed to be barefoot while joining the crowd. He mingles with the local people and many times answers the inevitable question ‘Which country are you from?’ He notes down his encounter with a sadhu, whom he mistook as a potential recruit for the VHP with a shaved head. But he was surprised that the sadhu was a Brahmin training to follow in his father’s footsteps as a priest who would perform all the rituals that are relevant to the life of every Hindu and he came to Ayodhya to learn Sanskrit language. The young Brahmin was less interested in the politics of religion. Tully says the sadhu concluded that ‘a scientific Education is important, but we should not forget the traditions and we should be proud of them’, when Tully checked him that his ambition seems to be rather outdated. Tully accurately analyses that religion in India does not attract just the elderly.

Young mothers with babies in their arms and fathers carrying children on the shoulders, villagers of all ages, their clothes dusty, their supplies and cooking utensils on their heads, smartly dressed middle-class families, all strode purposefully towards their destination.(9)

He moves along with countless sadhus, devotees, clad in loose-fitting robes, those with ill-kempt hair and beards, those carrying water from Sarayu in small pots, saffron – robed men and women who are always in the whirlpool of chastity and poverty, talking to them and recording their conversation. BJP's youth wing President Rishikesh Upadhyaye, elderly women, young men and women, poor pilgrims, all were encountered. So, at the end of the day, he wrote in the vibration of their words:

.....we couldn't say there was no interest in building the temple, but it wasn't top priority in the pilgrims' minds. What mattered was still the old tradition of beating the bounds of Rama's city. At the same time, there was little evidence of the pilgrimage drawing the faithful from afar. (11)

Retold versions of *Ramayana*, different versions coming from different regions and of varied times are analysed and given as a brief note in the chapter "The Reinvention of Rama". It gives a thorough background for the real 're-invention of Rama'. Most of the reports of the Ayodhya issue are half-cooked. No full view or zoomed view of the incident can be understood. But Tully creates a new way in touching all the cornerstones and swings easily from one to another with utmost easiness, with a journalistic blend of mind. Rishikesh Upadhyaya, Ajai Kumar Chhawchharia, a member of temples management team, Dr. Sunita Shastri, the rasik, Nritya Gopal Das, an evangelist of the VHP, Acharya Kripa Sham Karyi Maharaj, a scholar, Prakash Avasthi, an RSS leader and many others, people from different walks of life open up on their religion and Rama. Tully as a mediator, records and passes it to the readers and thus the 'other Indian' view is well captured. Tully says Rishikesh assured that the temple would be built by the Panch Kosi Parikrama in 2001. Many senior citizens, beyond their party

(political party) affiliations, have stood for the construction of the temple, not because they hated people of other religions but for their devotion to Rama. Nowhere other than Tully, one can get these kinds of impartial detailing of a much controversial topic of the nation. The difference in methodology of Tully is easily identified as it tells the other side of the history whereas Bipin Chandra and co-authors focus only on the political turnouts of the event. Surprisingly, the chapter on Babri Masjid demolition ends with a political note forgetting the common man's emotional attachments to everything political.

This section may be concluded by pointing out that though on the surface the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi issue appears to be a religious one, in reality this is not so. In fact, the communalists are not interested in religion; they are interested in the manipulation of and exploitation of religion and religious identity for the communalization of the people for political ends. (*India since Independence* 612)

Though it is a fact, the historians often forget the fact that the common Indians are not so. But, Tully brings this fact to the fore. Tully goes more narrative in nature. A staunch supporter of the BJP's opponents, the Gandhi Family's Congress party, speaks in favour of building the temple, "It is important to build a temple. In their Raj the Muslims destroyed one temple, so in our Raj, why can't we have a place for our God?" (*India in Slow Motion* 11). The topic is approached directly, studied well and written. For that Tully travels from one place to another and converse with several people. He shares his experience of going to the image of Rama VHP wanted to install in their grand new temple at Ayodhya. The area was surrounded by police, men and women in Kakhi shirts and trousers, and constables of paramilitary Central Reserve Police force were deployed

everywhere:

A pujari sat by the fence offering prasad, consecrated sweets, but there were no temple bells, the air was not laden with incense and there were no kirtans or hymns. This was uniquely silent temple of Rama, a Rama under arrest. (25)

He writes common man's words on religion, Rama and Ayodhya as unedited quotes. The unedited thoughts reveal the real viewpoint of 'other Indians'. He concludes the chapter saying, "Ayodhya is a strange town where arch-enemies are the best of friends; Lord Rama is a symbol of love for some and hate for others. It's a thunder holy place which enjoyed its heyday under Muslim rulers, it's the focal point of militant religious movement but it elected an atheist, former communist as its MP, it's home to thousands of holy men and a refuge for criminals"(28). Truths are always contradictory, full of complexities. But on the other extreme, they are too simple and straight. Tully's evaluations are also like that "inevitably Indian listeners needed less spoon-feeding and wanted more detail"(ix).

In the introduction to *Non-stop India*, Tully makes it clear why he does so much research work and gives more detailing for Indian audience when he writes. In *Non-stop India*, two chapters discuss religion and caste – "The Ramayana Revisited" and "The Caste Overturned". In the preface of *Non-stop India*, he says how devotionally a puncture repairer sprinkled turmeric powder into the auditor, saying that it would stop the leaks temporarily but that he should go to Yamuna Nagar to get the radiator welded. When Tully was stuck in the traffic as the gates of the railway crossing were closed he asked a person, a local welder, whether this happened every time the level crossing gates closed

and why did not someone do something to stop the build-up of traffic on both sides of the road. The welder answered impatiently, as if to an unnecessary question and Tully quotes his words to comment on the religious attitude of common Indians:

...who does anything in this country? Why are we Indians religious people?  
 Because we know that this country only runs because God runs it. It's all jugaad.  
 (Jugaad could loosely be translated as mudding through, or making do. Putting turmeric in a leaky radiator was a classic example of the principle.(xii)

In "The Ramayana Revisited", Tully tries to find out the secret of success of the *Ramayana* television series in India. He unveils it by talking to Indians at different Indian locale. It was 'something every Indian' was able to relate to themselves easily. Myth and religion had tremendous power in India, says Moti Sagar, the director of Ramayana serial. All the Indian elections were dominated by a political-ideological issue of the battle between secularism and the dream for a Hindu Nation. In 1987, Ramayana serial ran on the country's sole broadcaster of that time, Doordarshan, which is completely controlled and financed by the government. The serial had 78 episodes and was completely relayed across the country. It was actually a televised version of the Hindu epic, *The Ramayana*, and it marked the development of Indian television Industry. The country witnessed an outrageous protest by Indian secularists during the late 80's. In *India Today*, journalist Pankaj Pachauri said that Doordarshan, a television broadcasting service paid by all Indians, "broadcasting a Hindu religious sermon is quite interesting"(84), quotes Tully. Many argued that the serial propagated Hindu messages week after week in Indian households and by this India had lost its secular outlook. In the backdrop of the *Ramayana* serial, Tully even elaborates the politics-of-religion in the country nurtured

and manipulated by various political parties through the ages. On one side stand the champions of the secular cause, the Nehru Gandhi family-oriented Congress party and on the other Bharatiya Janata Party with its clear cut campaign of Hindutva. Tully says:

Allowing people to express their religious faith in public ways and yet preventing religion becoming a political issue requires a very delicate balancing act anywhere in the world. This is particularly true of India with its large Hindu majority, its significant Muslim minority and its variety of other religions. Unfortunately, this balance has not been maintained in India.(86)

When religion becomes a political issue, the religion-oriented parties (political and social) will create tensions and frictions in society and this will finally lead to riots. Most of the political parties keep and maintain a narrow view of secularism and their lack of taking a strong stand and guidance often ends up as ammunition in the hands of religious parties. The popularity of the serial became legendary, beyond all expectations. It did not have any star actors; there were neither sexual scenes nor violent actions. Every fight were reduced to electronic gimmicks acceptable for children's viewing, the language was archaic, highly classic, the story proceeded in slow pace week by week which tested the audience's patience, there was no point in imagination, any suspense or shocking / thrilling climax because *Ramayana* was such a well-known story. All these reasons were ample for it to become a huge flop. In spite of all these, the serial succeeded. It attracted people from all walks of life. Schedules were altered to watch its broadcast, Tully approximates:

Trains made unscheduled halts at stations where televisions were installed. Newly



appointed government ministers put off their swearing-in ceremonies so as not to miss an episode even though their astrologers had told them the date and time originally chosen was highly auspicious. A bride delayed her appearance at her wedding to watch the Ramayana. No taxis were available at one local stand on Sunday mornings because all the drivers were inside our office... watching the programme.(86-87)

Twenty years later in 2007, Tully discussed the Ramayana serial's success with Moti Sagar and his father Ramanand Sagar, chief producer and script writer of the serial and they said that the 1987 production lacked a certain reality. In spite of its lack of quality of the reality and classical flavoured language, the serial influenced a lot of Indians whose lives were based on religious ethos. "The Ramayana Revisited" is a typical example of the intensity and influence of religions and myths on the 'other Indians'. It directly did not spread any kind of Hindu nationalism amongst the viewers. It really did not take secularism too far. But Tully shares, along with the common Indian's, his doubts when "the BJP launched a national wide movement in the name of Rama"(87). So many academic histories of post-independent India were written, but none of them touched such an influential social event anywhere. Ramachandra Guha mentions it in *India after Gandhi*, without going into any details. No other historians make it a subject to study, though it has influenced a generation so deeply. Tully unravels the secular nature of Indian social fabric, during an age when it was under threat.

He discusses the implications of Lal Krishna Advani's political 'yatra' (journey), from Somnath Temple on the West Coast to Ayodhya in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh. In the backdrop of a very popular national epic serialised as Ramayana, Tully

brings about the politics of religion and religion of politics of the then (1980-1995) India in a more accurate manner than any other writer did. Tully traces the 'other Indian' realities behind every incident happening India. The internal connections and interlinks with the televising of a Hindu Epic, Advani's 'Rath Yathra', demolition of Babri Masjid, the Hindu Nationalist movements and India's religious politics all are explicitly observed through the eyes of several different Indians by Tully in this "The Ramayana Revisited". He never judges Indian sentiments. He never cross-examines the Indian sentimentalities. He never questions its hard-core beliefs. He never teases its denotative emotional mindset. He just analyses the situation and records it with the aid of common 'other Indian', who elsewhere were totally muted. Tully investigates into the historical documents where BJP presented Rama as an epitome of Hindu warrior throughout the temple movement. They succeeded in spreading among their supporters that the mosque was a symbol of Hindu slavery and inflamed all the Hindus to imitate the valour of Rama and to take revenge for what they perceived and described as an insult to him. Tully notes that many Indian scholars linked the upcoming of this ardent Hinduism to the *Ramayana* serial and to the televised version of the other, great Indian classical epic *Mahabharatha*, which followed the first one.

Christophe Jaffrelot, historian, in his *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics* says, "These adaptations of the sacred epics tended to create a national Hinduism" (*Non-stop India* 89). Tully also quotes Llyod Rudolph, an American scholar, whom Jaffrelot mentions in his book, as suggesting that the serials were "playing a leading role in creating a national Hindu identity, a form of group consciousness that has not hitherto existed" (90). Tully concludes it with the words of Ashok Singhal, the then

President of VHP or World Hindu Council affiliated to the BJP saying that “*The Ramayana* serial has done a great service to our movement”(90). The unsaid and ever hidden agenda – known and unknown are revealed by Tully’s panoptic reportage writing style. The exclusive control of the government – manipulated television broadcast was one of the monopolies split early in the era of reform. Private sector television channels popped up later. Amidst all these, secularism has survived and Hinduism is also more and more prominent on television and in society nowadays. Entertainment channels broadcast the Hindu and other religious epics and stories from their respective mythologies and there are some religious channels which teach non-stop faithfulness and belief. In the light of the present scenario, Tully’s analysis on *The Ramayana* becomes valid.

Tully also shares his experience of visiting Swami Ram Dev’s yoga centre built outside the holy city of Haridwar. Swami’s childlike enthusiasm and his sense of humour just dissolved his argument that Ram Dev is a ‘television swami’, writes Tully. Swamiji maintained that no one accused him of being communal and said that “It is a result of ignorance to say that religion is communal. I am connected with everyone who is a good person. I am connected to Muslim, to Christians, to Buddhists, to Sikhs, to Jains. I was invited to Deoband” (95). Deoband is the best-known Islamic seminary in India. Several saints, preachers, holy men were prominent in the Ayodhya movement. Television and other broadcasting technologies have made Swamiji a big million-dollar businessman or he has just influentially tuned his trust of people or devotees into a big business enterprise, he has built two campuses at his yoga centre and they include an ayurvedic hospital and a university. He innocently claims that millions of people are offering their work, service, time and also wealth to his Trust. There is a health village

where naturopathy and yoga-healing are practised. A factory manufacturing ayurvedic medicines in the name of 'Food and Herbal Park' sprawls over 250 acres. Swamiji repeatedly says that he has no money, no land, no house and no wife. Tully presents the extremes of the details and let the readers into the whirlpool of critical thinking. Tully interviews the RSS pracharaks, their spokesman, followers of Baba Ramdev who are not in tune with RSS- BJP leaders, common devotees, RSS volunteers, apolitical individuals, common rural Indians to cover the issue of 'new age' Hinduism or the television Hinduism. His investigation relates his experiences of several years. The demolition of Babri Masjid, the broadcasting of Ramayana, Hindu nationalism in the age of television Hinduism, all are dealt with a panoramic vision which spreads over years and years. Tully asked Advani, BJP leader, about his own party's Hindutva agenda, whether it was too narrow and if it did not appeal to a wide enough section of the electorate. He answered whether he disagreed that his party's support of Hindutva has created an allergy towards Hinduism:

It might be better for us to talk of Bharatiyata, which is a word more like Indianness. But the point is that Hindutva is not the name of a religion. It is more a way of life in India which can be regarded as Indian culture. I regard this allergy towards Hinduism as stemming from the concern for vote bank politics. That is pandering to the minorities, particularly the Muslims to create a vote bank, telling them they are in danger from the Hindu majority. This has created what I have called pseudo-secularism which has nothing to do with traditional Indian secularism. Hinduism is so varied that you can't actually appeal to Hindus in the name of religion, no matter what they say about my politics. But vote bank

politicians do appeal to minorities like Muslims and Christians in the name of their religions because their religions are not varied. (99-100)

Advani made this clarification on his side, when he was accused that the whole Ram temple movement including his Ram Rath Yatra was an attempt to build up a Hindu vote bank, using religion to appeal to Hindus. The comment became rather strange when he said that the support he received showed the temple movement was secular. He made many strange comments on the 'secular' version of the Rath Yatra and on the 'Indianness' sentiments of Indians:

The Response to the yatra made an impact on many intellectuals who began to understand the deep feelings of Indians and realize that the Rama Temple movement was secular. I said to myself for the first time I have been able to communicate that when we talk of Hindutva, or project the party's viewpoint, we are not being communal. Those who criticize us for being communal are pseudo-secular. The proof is many intellectuals were converted to Hindutva by the yatra. (101)

The ordinary literate Indian will strongly reject the religion-bound politics. But they will critically listen to the rather stranger opinions and manipulated replies on Hindu nationalism. The BJP leaders never agree to the argument that they work on a hidden agenda. They never give up their old agenda and embrace a new one. They keep on evolving. The Indian diversity dissolves all these evolutions and changes. Double standards of the leaders make the life of common people troublesome. A journalist with a doctorate in History from London University, Swapan Das Gupta, one of those whose

understanding of secularism changed by Advani's Rath Yatra, opened up his mind to Tully:

I wouldn't exactly say converted. But when I saw the yatra in Udaipur, the phenomenal mobilization of people, the emotional raw energy, it did overcome me. You have to realize that even before Advani took up the Rama issue there was a critique of secularism in some people's minds. There was a feeling that there were double standards and that Hindus were not being given a stake in the country. On the other hand, there was the enormous degree of condescension of the left liberal historians with their claim to modernity. They dismissed those who recognized that one of the pillars of India is its Hindu inheritance as country bumpkins. Then there was the political hypocrisy of the Congress party and preposterous denial of human rights to acquire vote bank.(100)

His words were reflections of the social incidents and the debate over secularism goes through strange paths like this. Truth is in between the written lines, but Tully's arguments never mislead us. The idea of secular fundamentalism is treated as an absurd project by Swapan Das Gupta, "If you insist on denying the role of Hinduism in Indian culture, you propel Hindus in the opposite direction"(102). "The Ramayana Revisited" is concluded with reflections of Arjun Singh, one of the senior members of the Congress party, who led what he himself calls a rebellion against the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao for his failure to prevent the attack on the mosque. Though Tully remarks that the subtext of the rebellion portrayed against Narasimha Rao as sympathetic as the Hindu cause, Singh says "that when belief and politics get mixed, that is where the trouble starts: It has always been the essence of Hinduism to separate the temporal from

the religions. Take Rama himself. His dharma or duty was to protect the people no matter what they believed in”(103). The thought and action of the people will get reflected in the time they exist – they are turbulent and violent or silent. Arjun Singh believes that religion and politics should not be linked and political parties should get out of the habit of continuous harp on about communalism. Tully, who tried to find out which ideology dominated Indian politics, communal or secular, concludes that the shouting match still continues. Outbreaks of communal violence since Ayodhya and the riots that followed the destruction of the Babri Masjid should be taken as a lesson.

The unhealthy and strange combination of religion and politics will really harm the diverse Indian culture and he moves to describe the traumatized atmosphere with more details in *No full Stops in India*, in the chapter “The Revisiting of *Ramayana*”. The routes and secrets to the success of the *Ramayan* television serial in India are unveiled in this chapter. The risk in taking a story which everybody knows where there is no hope for any suspense. Sex and violence are totally reduced to electronic gimmicks even acceptable for the view of children. Actors find the use of classical archaic language difficult to render while the audience faces difficult to understand. Unknown actors were chosen in a country like India where star system is very much relevant. Thus background of the serial production is discussed in details. Here, *Ramayana* serial and its broadcasting become important because it directly affected the progress of Hindu nationalism in the later years. Moti Sagar, Ramanand Sagar’s youngest son and one of his co-directors of the *Ramayana* series says, *Ramayana*, “...is about everything that elite doesn’t like, considers awful-religion, superstition, women obeying their husbands, dynastic rule...” (129). Tully looked into the popularity of the *Ramayan* series when reports started

coming up on its impact on the audience's mind. The popularity of the series became legendary and highly influential that Tully discusses the same topic, from three different perspectives in three of his books. In *India in Slow Motion* the essay is "The Reinvention of Rama", In *Non Stop India* it is "The *Ramayana* Revisited" and in *No Full Stops in India* in the chapter "The Rewriting of the *Ramayan*".

For more than 75 weeks, Sunday morning of the middle-class Indian families was adorned with the immortal atmosphere of *Ramayana*. Tully stares at the news of an electricity substation which was burnt down by viewers enraged when the power cut had robbed them of one *Ramayana* episode. In "The Reinvention of Rama" and also in "Ramayana Revisited" he had discussed the origin and several different versions of *Ramayana* starting from 1500 and 200BC. Valmiki *Ramayan*, Tulsi Das *Ramayan* and many other styles and manipulations of the classic work came out at different times. He goes into the details of these several editions in "The Rewriting of *Ramayana*", to give a clear picture of the theme which he is handling. Tully observes that Ramanand Sagar's *Ramayana* is yet another version of the epic like R.K Narayan's *The Ramayana Retold*, particularly based on Valmiki and Tulsi Das. Ramanand Sagar's *Ramayan* faced fiercest criticism from the feminists and they accused him of portraying Sita as meek and submissive. Kamla Bhasin and Ritu Menon in the 1988 February issue of the magazine *Seminar* discussed on this issue and Tully quotes their words in "The Rewriting of the *Ramayana*" as:

Eternal mythologies like the *Ramayan* are revived and popularized via state controlled media at the mass 'entertainment' level and the negative values they convey regarding women find more than adequate reflection in textbooks and



children's literature at the 'education' level. With Sita as our ideal, can Sati (widow-burning) be far behind? It is this over-aching ideology of male superiority and female dispensability that sanctions sati and leads to its glorification, and accepts the silent violence against women that rages in practically every home across the country. (133)

The point raised by the feminists that raging violence is tolerated in practically every home became a true insult to Indian women and a harbinger of debates on the right of women in India then. Tully also quotes Sagar that "Sita never begs for empathy and just goes out of Ayodhya where people say that she is not pure. She says that they don't deserve her and the Mother Earth swallows her up. Sagar stresses that Sita is the winner, not the loser as the feminists seem to think"(133). He just peeps a little into the personal history of the Ramanand Sagar family and traces how he ended up as a successful director- producer of a mega project which influenced the religious temperaments of the whole nation. Tully goes to the extent that he quotes Ramanand Sagar's optimistic vision as the director of an epic serial saying that his *Ramayan* was relevant even today:

Certainly, there were parts of Vashist's speech and Ram's reply which were relevant to modern Indian political life. Vashisht told the King that his family had survived in power for so many generations only because they had retained the confidence and loyalty of their people. Speaking of the former heads of the dynasty, Vashisht said, 'They ruled not because it was their right to rule, but because they were the servants of their people. You must give your people confidence that you too will live up to the noble tradition handed down by your forefathers-traditions of courage and fortitude, of devotion to the path of duty set

for you by your religion, of austerity and if it should be required of you, of sacrifice'. (*No Full Stops in India* 137)

Tully says the *Ramayana* story can be true to every context of the country. Tully just knocks the bell to remind the readers that very few Indian politicians today remember the lesson Vashisht taught Ram. That was the lesson Father of our Nation, Gandhi, tried to teach his contemporaries, and was that both the people and the leaders of this land are austere. Indian politicians embrace everything which belongs to the state as if it belongs to them, forgetting Rama's reply to his guru, "To become a king means to become a sannyasi, an ascetic. Nothing remains that is the king's. Everything belongs to the people, to the nation. He who cannot sacrifice everything for his country has no right to ascend the throne as king" (138).

Film critic Aruna Vavsudev, who has written a history of the Indian Film Industry, Basir Khan, the Muslim actor who played one of the generals of the monkey army in the *Ramayan*, Bhaskar Ghose, the director-general of Doordarshan – India's public television broadcaster, Minister of Information and Broadcasting H.K.L Bhagat, V.P. Singh, former defence and finance minister, and Iqbal Massol, a former income tax commissioner and a distinguished film critic, all come up with their varied viewpoints in Tully's "The Rewriting of the Ramayan". The chapter elaborates different aspects of religion, politics and nationalism. "You can no longer call India a secular country after Ramayan has dinned home its Hindu message week after week..." (143), says Aruna Vasudev rejecting all the pieces of evidence suggesting that *Ramayana* was enjoyed by believers of all religions in India. Such one dimensional verdicts on the issue and perfect three dimensional viewpoints of the locals also find place in Tully's records. Basir Khan, an

actor in the serial, shares that he had been criticized for playing a role in the Hindu epic. In fact, Ramanand Sagar received many letters from Muslims praising his production showing its influence irrespective of the religion. Bhaskar Ghose did not encourage Ramanand Sagar's religious enthusiasm. Ghose, with his experience as a theatre actor and director himself, was truly horrified to see the first four episodes of the serial. He criticized that they had too many rituals and not nearly enough story. Later, Ramanand Sagar edited some of the ritual and dance sequences and marginally improved his extras. Doordarshan had given contract for fifty two episodes at first. But the story was not completed and an extension of twenty six more episodes was granted, but later, when the serial was running with a successful rating, Ramanand Sagar directly went to the minister, who over-ruled the director – general of Doordarshan and sanctioned yet another 26 weeks. “The minister's decision to overtake the power of the Doordarshan director was not on the artistic or the religious grounds. But he took a political decision, realizing how unpopular he and his government would be if Sagar let it known that he had refused to extend the programme”(147), says Tully. Mr. Bhagat took the extension of the broadcasting of the serial – as all politicians – to win votes. People never treated the serial stars, even those who played the roles of Rama and Sita, in a normal way, but differently. Arun Govil, the actor who donned the role of Ram of Ramayan, was taken out to speak among the public on behalf of the party – but here the *Ramayana* magic did not work – the candidate was trounced.

The divine extravaganza exclusively supported the middle-class, promoting a consumerist society, whose products most Indians cannot afford to consume. The advertisements targeted the middle class. This is the other side of the commercialization

happening in India, as explained by Santosh Ballal, the leader of the ad agency Rediffusion, “the 80 per cent of the multinational products in India were sold to middle class consumers”(148). The success of *Ramayan* also parallely supported the advertising industry, as television in India is intended to be primarily a ‘tool of development’. The serial was preceded by 15 minutes of advertising, and no government and a party which claims to be socialist cared about the impact of advertisements, especially advertisements before a ‘divine phenomenon’. When Ramanand Sagar was granted extensions, he just raised the price for the sponsorship of the advertisers, or as Santhosh Ballal shares, “it was a black mail. Though the programme became uneconomical, they had to continue because they were powerful” (148). The financial transactions behind the divine extravaganza that Tully reveals are shocking and it reveals the profit-and loss-mentality of the present generation. “The minister of information and broadcasting told the Parliament that the sponsor had paid Doordarshan Rs.10,350,000 – i.e. more than two millions”(149). Iqbal Massood, film critic, strongly believes, as Tully quotes, that *Ramayan* is part of a government plot, “...They wanted a model which would be religious and keep people glued to their sets. The tendency of the minorities to break away is watched with great alarm. Here is something which is very Indian and makes people submissive”(150). Iqbal Massood makes this point clear by saying “Indian Muslims are influenced by the passive attitudes of Hinduism, whatever their politicians might try to say... the contrasting fact is that, the minorities were the ardent fans of the *Ramayan*”(150). Tully asked Massood whether *Ramayan* was successful in bringing people of different faiths together, in the light of a country which had enough communal trouble. Massood’s answer is quite serious:

I don't agree. All religions are useless to the philosopher and useful to the magistrate. Here you have a Prime Minister talking about bringing India into the twenty first century and he puts on this television series which teaches you lie back and rely on miracles. That will induce a submissive temperament. If you are going into the twenty first century, you want technology, not Hanuman lifting up a mountain. There are no "works" in Sagar's Ramayan, only "faith". You know, it's possible that if the Ramayan had been given to a modern director, and a sensitive one, a relevance to modern life could have been established. Sagar didn't attempt to relate religion to life and problems of today. (151)

The basic thing in India, Iqbal Massood, continues, is mediocrity. Even Indianness is related to this idea. It has never been as mediocre as it is today, according to Massood. All our genuine intellectuals live in the west. We need another infusion of the west here, says a worried Massood. He thinks that this land now lacks its freshness because people had stopped reading and thinking 30 years ago. Massood calls Tully an 'idealist', when Tully says that "India perhaps had too much of the west imposed on it and needed to get back to its own roots" (152). As an impact of the television series *Ramayan* that year's Dussehra festival had Ravans everywhere. Usually, there are only a very few Ravans in the big parks. Both the Sikhs and Hindu taxi drivers loved the serial because it was so 'Indian'. The same place where Tully had seen smoke rising from the market behind the park as Hindus killed Sikhs and burnt their property in the dreadful riots followed and which later resulted in Indira Gandhi's assassination, today Sikhs and Hindus together celebrate Dussehra and Tully could see the explosion of fireworks stuffed inside Ravan as the explosion of evil according to the myth. Tully gives a new dimension to the history of

communal tensions in the country by detailing the Ramayana with version of all insiders and knowledgeable outsiders. No such attempt was made in formal history.

Moving from the revisits, reinvention and rewriting of *Ramayana* in *Non Stop India*, *India in Slow Motion* and *No Full Stops in India* Tully talks passionately about the biggest religious festival in the world, Kumbh Mela. It directly illustrates the dense religious base of Indian culture. He checks whether this hearty belief coincides with the post-independent Indian with their struggle to be part of a national identity. In “The Kumbh Mela”, a chapter in *No Full Stops in India*, Tully says that “no one knows exactly how 10 million bathed on the most sacred day of the 1977 festival in Ganga and Jamuna and even more would come in the coming years. An official of the festival certified that due to the increasing interest towards religion and population increase, the Sangam will be filled with people during the sacred days” (87).

Sangam is an ancient concept, the convergence of three rivers –Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswathi. Today, there is no record of the Saraswathi River and no trace to where and how it disappeared. In 1989, Tully arrived in Allahabad because he had read the pandit’s predictions and official report saying that the 1989 Mela would be the most important Kumbh Mela for 144 years, because of the particularly auspicious position of stars and planets. Tully’s approach to the subject begins looking into the historical background of the topic of the history of Kumbh Mela. Religion in India is a composite notion. Religious identity and to live a life under that cover up are yet more and more complex. He talks to administrators of the Mela, journalists, religious leaders, local clergy and local people about this topic and this gives a polyphonic narrative structure to Tully’s text. Tully says that “the first known reference of the festival was made by

Chinese, seventh century traveler Hiven Tsiang. Tsiang found that half a million people had gathered at Prayag (the old name of Allahabad) to bathe in the river and to attend on the emperor Harshvardhan, who was taking part in the Kumba Mela” (88). Tully describes the mythological references behind Kumbha Mela. The word ‘Kumbh’ means urn and ‘mela’, a fair. Kumbha Melas are held in all four places where the drops of nectar fell, when son of Indra, disguising as a rook, flew over the earth with the urn of nectar, which made anyone who drank it immortal.. In the backdrop of the panoramic view of the Mela, Tully discusses religion and politics in the chapter. Tully once commented, “that bathing in the Ganges is like a sacrament – an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace”(125). “The danger of aggressive secularism is like a barren creed which can cause great offence to religious people” (126), he shares the opposite idea too. For the pilgrims, they are at the Sangam for a religious cause; the river Ganga washes away all their sins. Without the need of a psycho analyst, a dip in the river fulfils an inner soulful need. There happen no clashes with modernists or scientists unless they themselves are fundamentalists and will label one a heretic. Many religious organizations, counting up to 800, apart from millions of pilgrims, attend the Mela. D.I.G Mishra shares his experiences of being a senior officer at the last Kumbh Mela. The place has its own police force with more than 7000 strong officers.

The akharas are the focal point of Kumbh Mela-the big draw with their naked sadhus. They are the gymnosophists, the warriors of the faith. They have the right to march in processions to the central point of the Sangam to bathe on the big days, and they guard that right jealously. (95)

Kumbha Mela – Allahabad Mela – witnesses the gathering of Hindhu holy men.

The militant sadhus follow the monastic orders of the 'akharas'. It is based on the Hindu ascetic orders framed by Sankaracharya. No historical documents supporting the truth of origin of 'akharas' is available. Mishra said that more than one thousand seven hundred organisations and other religious organizations applied for places at the Mela. This was a record and the organizing committee, for the first time in the history of Kumbha Mela, charged the organizations selected for all facilities that they were provided with. The Mela, of course becomes a venue to raise fund in the name of belief and religion. Mishra talks about the visaktas or wandering sadhus, the mendicants who were not attached to any akhara or other group of religious organizations. But he also estimates that there are very genuine sadhus/spiritual souls among the visakatas. Tully, without any hesitation, reveals the agenda of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or World Council of Hindus, which coordinates the activities of Hindu organisations and their very present presence of the Mela as "it was continuously leading controversial campaigns to convert Muslims and Christians and to pull down mosques which it claims were built by Muslim rulers on the place of Hindu worship centres they had destroyed" (98). Any kind of actions and words inciting religious hatred should be put down. A democratic country like India will never favour such a communal cacophony. Tully quotes the words of Shivananth Katju, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court, the president of VHP at the Kumba Mela site, which indicates the religious spirit of Hindutva propoganda. Katju says:

There is this issue of the temple in Ayodhya, where our God Lord Ram was born. The Mughals built a mosque there and it's clear they did so by destroying a Hindu Temple, because there are Hindu columns inside the mosque. Images of Ram and Sita, his wife, have sprung up there. We can only peep at them through locked



doors. Ram is under house arrest. If the government doesn't let us build a 'temple on this site, it will be a very serious political issue.'(98)

Belief always makes one's viewpoints blurred. Sadhu, a Hindu devotee, harshly said, "The Muslims stole all our temples. They stole our land. There is Inglistan for English Pakistan for the Muslims; there should be Hindustan for the Hindus. Now is the time to fight back. We should undo Partition and make our beloved Bharat Mata, Mother India, once again. We will make every sacrifice to achieve our sacred end, to defend Hinduism, and to restore Bharat Mata. Raise your hands if you are ready to sacrifice your lives for Lord Ram"(99). Another Sadhu went to the range of narrating to Tully that,

This holy place where we gathered was known to Hindus as "Prayag". It was the Muslims who called it "Allahabad". It is our misfortune that after Independence, our governments, out of their greed for Muslim votes, have refused to restore the name 'Prayag'. We must stand and fight for Hindustan. (100)

Hinduism, as a religious ideology is discussed by Tully here. DIG Mishra went on talking to Tully, "Priests in all religions are rogues, but they have their function. They are middlemen, between you and God. Such middlemen are everywhere"(105). In the words of R.C. Zachner, an Oxford Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, Hinduism has established itself firmly in world opinion as one of the greatest and most profound religions of the world. But in his book *Hindusism*, he discusses the paradox of Hinduism, saying that with the spread of western education right down to the lowest strata of society and the progressive industrialization of the country, the whole religious structure of Hinduism will be subjected to a severe strain. But there is no evidence or proof that the

Hindu orthodoxy was purging itself in the Mela, says Tully. In the name of tradition, the Akharas recruits young boys and it is strict that their recruits must be Brahmins, Kshatriyas or Vaishyas. Tully curiously asks whether harijan boys are taken and the organization provides with a simple answer that being a sadhu is not the traditional occupation of harijans. So they never take them to their akharan. They never understand it as caste discrimination but look at the mistake as tradition again and again. A retired postmaster, a station master, the local officers and Vibhav Bhushan Uphadhaya, the former attorney general of the Uttar Pradesh, share their traditionally built religious mind:

Religion in India is not what you in the West understand by religion. We believe that it is dharma, that is to say our duty: how we should conduct ourselves from birth or death. The Kumbh Mela is one of the rituals of dharma. You come here because you have faith in dharma and its ritual, not because you hope you get faith. Without faith, you cannot really expect to understand the Mela.(113)

Tully walks through the streets of Allahabad's religious bazaar to see more of the variety of Hinduism on display. He just reports the vigour of the humanity and the high voltage of religious faith is communicated through his words, "A river of humanity was flowing towards the Sangam. All traffic had been banned. Village women anxiously held each other's saris so that they didn't get separated. Men carried sacks, suitcases and even tin trunks on their heads – they contained pots and pans and everything else needed by the self – sufficient camper. The pilgrims walked in silence, looking straight ahead.... There was no panic, no pushing – not a slow, steady progress"(116).

Along with the religious activities, the commercial activities were also in its full

swing at the Sangam. But no other country in this world can host and provide a spectacle like Kumbh Mela. Both English-language presses, religious and national dailies reacted to the Mela in contrasting ways. Many described the politics of religion by VHP and other religious organisations and many praised the piety of the millions who bathed at the Sangam. San Bax Bingham, Tully's host and caretaker in Allahabad, discussed the elites' fear of a revival of Hindu fundamentalism and said a real fact to Tully regarding the frictionless relationship of at least some of the religious people, "A vast majority of those who have bathed at the sangam will go away and vote for secular parties like the congress... so where is the question of a threat to secularism"(125). San Bax argues that the debate about religion, politics and secularism is a western debate, because in India (eastern part of the world) religion blocked reason and science. There has been no history of debates between religious and non-religious stream of thinking. A major 'other Indian' problem is searched out in the backdrop of one of the huge religious, institutional festival by Tully in the chapter "The Kumbh Mela".

In *India's Unending Journey*, as a continuation to the religions quest of finding 'other India', Tully "lives with the uncertainty of certainty"(ii). As Tully himself remarks, (religious) beliefs are hostile to religion itself. The chapters "Puri: Exploring the Opposite", "Khajuraho: The Sensual and the Sacred" and "Varanasi: The Unity of Opposites" become a warm and engaging guide through 'other Indian' imageries. Tully sees what any other writer misses to see. Practically, he is a native of this place, who got used to all kinds of Indiannesses and 'other Indian'-nesses. Though Tully's upbringing in India was designed to keep him apart from India, the festival really stood for his grownup adult life and later India became an inseparable part and parcel. Tully describes "Puri as a

place of opposites, observing this celebration of Kartik Purnima, where everyone was doing their own thing; I was again reminded that Hinduism is a Pluralist religion”(5).

Puri, one of the major pilgrimage centres in India, reflects the religious aura of the country in the name of God Jagganath or Krishna. From his own experience of attending the Maha Kumbh Mela in 1989 and numerous other festivals, Tully felt that Hinduism as an ideology and religion faced no challenge from modern materialist ideologies and to make his thought more authentic, he also quoted R.C. Zachner, the former Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford, that amidst the severe strain that Hinduism may undergo due to the spread of western education to all the classes of the society, including the lowest strata, and progressive industrialization, Hinduism will neutrally confront this new and unprecedented crisis and will show the geniuses for absorption and adaption into the stream as per demand of the social time. Hinduism will continue to stand up in the face of the crises that Zacher forecast. Tully tries to make clear the influence of Hindu religion and its adoptions which get reflected in the soul of ‘other India’. He never gives mere descriptions of the religious rituals or its importance, he never charts its startling philosophical revelations but his writings are much more than a warning opening up many hidden and silent truths. When it comes to the case of religion as a subject in India, culture and tradition are subtexts. The position of India and that of other western countries are always on the parallel tracks. Then American position is entirely different. India just ignores its own cultural traditions and just rushes for the western culture, worries Tully. In India, a secular counterpart to dogmatic Hinduism always popped up in the modern times. Rational thinking and scientific outlook changed the mindset of the majority. This makes Tully to observe:

In India today, there is a corresponding battle between westernized secularists and those following an extreme and dogmatic form of Hinduism, a form that is quite contrary to Hinduism's traditional dismissive attitude towards dogmatic certainty. As a result of this battle, anyone who speaks of Hinduism is likely to be accused by secularists of being a fundamentalist.(12)

The ultimate quintessential Indian, Gandhiji, said that his religion taught him to respect all religions. He anticipated that India will be a land of multi-religions and would live for this true picture in which all religions have their full and equal place. From Puri, Tully reaches "Varanasi: The Unity of Opposites" and for him Varanasi "is a city where communities remain different but live together, where there are not one but many different certainties"(248). One third of Varanasi's population is Muslim and many Hindus consider it as the archetypal sacred place. Internationally known as Banaras, the land is an area between two small rivers that flow into the great Ganga River, 'Varna' in the north and 'Asi' in the south. When Tully writes, he touches the inner core of the subject and other different perspectives on the subject are brought into life in a natural modus here. All previously ignored genuine root facts are brought out before he moves into the serious discourse. When Tully describes Varanasi it becomes an unending drift:

For all its sanctity, Varanasi symbolizes a balanced life in which worship, work, and pleasure all play a role and earning money is an obligation but not an obsession. God and Mammon are both given their due, for as well as being a place of pilgrimage; Varanasi has a long history as a commercial centre. As the city of Shiva, it acknowledges the pleasure offered by Kama, the God of love, and also the danger of his arrows...(249)

Varanasi, the land of opposites, preserves heritage and tradition and also gives space to new developmental changes. It comes in the list of the oldest human-occupied living cities in the world – as old as Jerusalem, Athens or Beijing. American scholar Diana Eck, who has studied the city's traditions, religion and culture prudently, has mentioned the outstanding persistence of the existence of Kashi. Kashi has not even moved from its panache of terminologies. Time has not made any change in the confidence of this place, says Tully. The very dangerous cocktail of rigid religious fundamentalism and power politics which is the modified amalgamation of traditional Hindu generation amidst a large Muslim population is like a threat to the diverse culture of Varanasi. Tully remembers the Hindu-Muslim riots of the 1991 and the peculiar tradition of the place directed and aided the religions to keep the peace and watched all the uprisings. Tully talks about and to Abdul Basim Nomani, who is known as the Mufti of Varanasi and one of Mufti's neighbours, Khaliquzzan also praised the Varanasi's peace-loving culture. Veer Bhadra Mishra resides in Varanasi and Tully went and met him and said it was too upright of Tully that he came to Varanasi. The Ghats or paved areas on the banks of River Ganga at Varanasi vary in importance. There are 36 paved areas and some are more important due to their religious significance. But the ghat where Veer Bhadra lives has a connection with the 16<sup>th</sup> century poet Tulsi Das and Tully marks the historical importance of the place as:

.....it is said to be the place where Tulsi Das wrote his retelling of the Ramayana Epic. Because Tulsi Das chose to offend the Brahmin elite by writing in the everyday language of Hindi rather than the language of ritual, Sanskrit, his retelling of the Ramayana became immediately popular. (255)

The Tulsi Das Ramayana written in Hindi is still highly influential in north India, says Tully. Veer Bhadra, the Mahant, is a man with great apprehension about the Indian forthcoming and shares his cordial opinion regarding religion and politics in an honest manner, “Hindus and Muslims were living very happily but that has come under threat for political reasons. If only politicians would stop exploiting people, the tolerance of this society would find a way for us to live together. That is why I was determined that after the explosions took place we should not allow ourselves to be exploited. Politicians exploit because they want us to divide on lines of caste and religion so that they can rule over us. There should be institutions to see that good candidates are selected for elections and we are not ruled by muscle power and money”(255).

He also states a contradictory situation that Indians are a dividing society with so many different languages, more than twelve philosophies, as many gods and goddesses as the overrated population is still being held together. In 1947, India attained freedom, but still has not found the way through which the country would be more frictionless. Veer Bhadra, is a former professor of Civil Engineering, specialised in hydraulics, at Banaras Hindu University, a man of science. He is a man of both religion and science. But Veer Bhadra never gets confused. One side of his knowledge appeals to the reason and the other side to his ‘heart’. Science and faith are major concerns for him. There is always an interface between them, according to Veer Bhadra. He says it as lightly as, “science and faiths are like two banks of a river. If one crumbles there is a flood and disaster”(256). Veer Bhadra’s scientific outlook made him think of the polluted Ganga River and he is reminded, whenever he takes a ritual bath in the river, that the water is unsafe and unhealthy. With his expertise in the hydraulics field, Veer Bhadra criticized the expensive

sewage treatment plants implemented by the system and put forward the idea of more traditional and cheaper technology, which passes the waste water through small ponds and treated with purifying algae. Tully here brings forth the concern of the environmentalism regarding the polluted holy river of India. Veer Bhadra steps into the boat of faith and says next:

For me, this cleaning of the Ganga is sacred responsibility given to me by God. We Hindus have a relationship with Ganga that is unique. We come from all over India to see her, to touch her, to dip our body in her and sip her water. For us, the Ganga is a medium of life. Environmentalists are busy trying to save plants and animals, but in Varanasi, human beings like us are an endangered species because her water is so polluted. (256)

Mark Tully records Veer Bhadra, the Mahant, as part of a group of typical multi-dimensional Indians, whose mind is intertwined with both religious and scientific knowledge streams. Knowledge of any faculty never hurts them. They get enriched and renewed in several different streams of knowledge without any confusion. Tully says this is the clarity of vision of an 'other Indian' ideology. Tully quotes Jawaharlal Nehru's views on Ganga to give a more widened picture of the topic. Nehru was a non-believer but he loved the place of Ganga and called it the heart of India. Nehru talked about the racial memories, hopes, fears, songs of triumph, dreams, victories and defeats entangled with the Ganga River. Nehru says, "she has been a symbol of India's age – long culture and civilisation, ever changing, ever flowing, and yet ever the same Ganga"(257).

As Mikhail Bakhtin theorises under New Historicism, Tully gives space for



conflicting voices of events of historical importance in the post-independent India. From insider to outsider, every voice is made part of the history. With his new historicist approach, he changed the social procedure of production of discourse. Discourse is controlled at every level. Indian mainstream historians track the truth but never accept the fact that truth is relative and all its conditions are equal. They neglect the possibilities for different interpretations. For historians, Babri Masjid demolition is an end result of political power games. But for the believers of both the religions, it is an emotional and sentimental matter. History can easily be written without considering the social psychology. But, in the case of social history, their voices are essential elements. In parallel to the academic history, there is a need of oral-based history to fill the gaps in the mainstream history. The matrix of historical and socio-political conditions has a major influence on truth conditions, according to Foucault. This paves the way for social discourses at different levels. Mark Tully focuses on marginalized such as those identified as witches, the insane, heretics, vagabonds, and political prisoners, as in the definition of news historicism by Jay Stevenson.

The same flow is kept even when he discusses the business life of Varanasi. Certain business motives which do not have any ethical morality are denied by traditional Varanasi. The place and its rhythm always maintain an ethical code of practice of living. Promotion of the pursuit of goals entails and totally profit-oriented businesses are rejected. Tully goes for the traditional description of the land – as Varanasi is ‘the forest of Artha’. Varanasi is associated with pilgrimage and tourism and Tully delves into its heritage of traditional handloom weaving. Silk brocade sarees are the highlight of this industry and the place is famous for that. Tully talks with Suhail Bhai, a traditional

Muslim weaver, whose family has been in the industry for generations, unpacking the historical legendary tales and the contemporary real trouble that the weavers now face. He says they have to compete with cheap Chinese clothes in the market and all the traditional dyers are now dying synthetic clothes on a large scale. The real face of the Indian weaving industry which is the livelihood of rural (other) Indians is revealed here. Harshal Kapoor, just like Suhail Bhai, shares his tension regarding the downfall of the weaving industry. He remembers the golden period when the Varanasi silk sarees were in great demand and also the story of Punjabi Shalwar Kameez, traditional attire, which was completely replaced by jeans and other modern dresses. When Tully talks about life and death in Varanasi, death is transformed into liberation. The dead are brought from far and wide to have their last rites performed on the Ghats; he really touches the mind of rural Indians and writes. Varanasi is the whole nature to which one belongs. It is a microcosm of this real world. Tully portrays the unique position of Varanasi, through the 'other Indian' perspective in "Varanasi: The Unity of Opposites", as he did with Kumbh Mela and Puri. The Mahanth and Muslim weaver come to his writing platform to share their viewpoints. Thus Tully's writing itself becomes a union of opposites and a breathing outlook of 'other Indian' attitude. The original culture and faith of Varanasi remains intact even today that makes Varanasi one of the antique living cities of the world. As a culmination, Tully quotes the words of Swami Avimukteshwaranand Saraswati of Joyotispith and Dwaraka (two historic and highly respected Hindu Offices):

A tree that bends in the wind will not break. We have one rule: there has to be liquidity in our traditions and our teaching. To be flexible like that tree, you need to accept that there are many ways to God. There are many rivers flowing into the

sea, and they are different. Some twist and turn, some are straighter, but they all want to merge in the sea... there are many ways we can reach God. (266)

Tully's investigation of a topic and his tactics always take us onto a more practical plain so that he shifts his question patterns from high philosophical, ideological level to the commonplace acquisitive arena. Varanasi, an amalgamation of contraries, would not sweep off its feet by the flood of modern materialistic culture. Varanasi is a city full of lights. The inner light makes a traveler passing through the land see what is exclusive of this land. This is the specialty of each Indian rural space. It is more than a space. It is a world within a world and a domain, within a domain. It will teach people to respect oneself and one's own faith. Varanasi seeks a balance between the West and the East.

In *India's Unending Journey*, itself, Tully explores "Khajuraho: The Sensual and the Sacred" with full vigour. He becomes an even handed and practically an 'other Indian' when he looks at this small rural-like town, an over-grown village scenario with a lot many temples with their erotic carvings. In Indian religion, the sensual and the sacred get club together at some point in Khajuraho. The sculptures were "disgraceful representation to desecrate the ecclesiastical erections" (152), said T.S. Burt, a British Military engineer who stumbled upon the temples of Khajuraho. Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham, who documented the temples of Khajuraho, considered the erotic carvings "highly indecent, disgusting and obscene" (153). Tully shares his confusion as "how could religion and this blatant sexuality go together?" (153). The spiritual and religious intentions of this erotica are points of discussion. Indian scholars always followed a middle way and broad mindedness to see the Khajuraho's erotica as it symbolizes a combination of the carnal and the divine, a combination which is not

ashamed of the fleshly but acknowledges that it is spiritual. Westerners still have to find a middle way between the animal sexuality and spiritual holiness. Hypocritical approach to sex and sensuality always marked the Victorian Era in Britain with excessive and affected modesty. Such prudishness was the result of the lack of open-mindedness and the middle way of approach to different things. Tully once, as a school boy who was paring to be confirmed in the Anglican church, had to study catechism and was taught to renounce the Devil's evils, especially the sinful lust of the flesh and sensual feeling of sex. Tully who has given a clear picture of the Christian fear of sex – guilt and repression as its inevitable counterparts – traces the earliest days of Church which date all the way back to St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Jerome and Martin Luther. A panoramic view of chastity, continence, celibacy, marriage, immorality and sin is driven from the original ideas. In the backdrop of Indian Khajuraho, this discussion on sex and its condemnation is indeed open-ended. It creates a parallel thought link and never underestimates Indian preconditions and preconceptions on sexuality. Victorian moral code and very many other codes taught in the schools during the fifties when Tully was a student, strongly regarded sex as the number-one sin. Tully searches for the possible theology behind the erotic sculptures which decorate the temple domes of Khajuraho and defines it as this, "It's an understanding that has led me to believe our response to our sexuality should be neither those of the repressive Christian tradition nor the modern license, in which it seems that everything is acceptable, but a middle way between the two"(155).

It is interesting to note that Tully lands on the ground reality, after engaging himself with the Victorian moral values in which he has brought its obsessions, provocations, lecherous thoughts, of a new morality value-added world which claims to

have liberated women as free birds. The flow of his ideas happens when he hints on how women are exploited as sex objects and how nudity in films and television dramas is no longer a hidden, secret thing and much more an obligatory insert item. Tully quotes Katherine Rake, Director of the Fawcett Society, which was founded in 1866 in order to campaign for women's right to vote in Britain, who says that one of the problems now faced by the feminist movement is the hyper-sexualisation of our culture, a phenomenon that has developed and snowballed with hardly a murmur of dissent. She also says that, against a background of ubiquitous images of women's bodies as sex objects, rates of self-harm among women are spiraling, eating disorders are on the rise and plastic surgery is booming. In all our classics and mythological texts and ideas, men and women share equal position but power, money and other social relations have created a bias and the status is now altered to a great level and it is this contemporariness that Tully connects watching the sexual sculptures of Khajuraho, which makes his writing more relevant. Like a passionate observer who has seen it all, Tully marks his gaze upon the Khajuraho to the new wave of feminism and in between touches all the genuine elements of sexuality, feminism and women. Western and Eastern preconditions on sexuality and materialistic way of life are compared very well. As a researcher, he delves into the social fabrics of the society. Tully pronounces:

Westerners have always tended to be ruled by one form or other of moral orthodoxy, so it is perhaps not surprising that the sexual revolution has imposed an orthodoxy that is just as pervasive as the Victorian morality once was. In India with its long tradition of heterodoxy, different understandings of sexuality have long lived side by side. There has certainly been a repressive tradition, but India is

also the country in which the Kama Sutra was written. (158)

Excellent comparison of India and Western countries throws light upon the specifics of 'other India' and their validity. 'Dharmarthakamamoksha' the four main aims of humans according to the ancient Indian tradition is mentioned by Tully in detail in this chapter on Khajuraho. Vatsyayana's Kama suthra cannot be considered as a simple sex guide. Tully scrutinizes how the notions of love and sex in the history of Indian sexuality are implemented in the 'Kama sutra'. Most of the positives portrayed in the carvings of Khajuraho temple are based on this text. Tully attempts to communicate with the readers the idea of 'erotica' that confuses many local visitors of the temple who just see the erotic carvings of the temple. The sensual carvings on a temple in Kathmandu, Tully says, were theologically lightning conductors. The God of Khajuraho, Shiva, is a great ascetic. The sculptures just celebrate the organic and spiritual unity of male and female which is the ultimatum of human productivity. Tully reads Shobita Punja's book on this topic, *Divine Ecstasy: The story of Khajuraho* and that was part of Tully's search for the Hindu mythological origins of the erotic sculptures. He shares his experience of going to the Mahashivaratri festival in Khajuraho which falls around the end of February. The place was full of pilgrims. Shiva's wedding to Parvati illuminate the believers' minds then. It is a journey to the place which Shobita described and he agrees to her points that sex is neither to be suppressed nor to be treated purely as a recreation. It is to be understood as an act of profound and sound significance. An excessive premium value of idea is positioned on 'being in low' due to the Westerner's sexual permissiveness. People in the West are tempted to believe that the liability and intimate commitment to a partner is only reasonable as long as that relation remain and bloom in love. Though the idea of 'being in

love' situation is quiet confusing, there was the westerners' doubt about belonging in the strange idea of getting committed to loving each other.

Indian sculptural history is based on myths with very many layers of meaning. The union of God and Goddess – the common theme of these art forms restores a balance (even gender position) to the universe. Indian myths share the stories of overcoming egotistical romantic love. Khajuraho combines the sanctified and the corporeal in perfect ratio. Unlike any other tradition in the world, this perfect blend of divine and carnal take place in Indian Khajuraho monuments. Tully never forgets to note about the repressive sexuality that is widespread in India in spite of its rich tradition which combined the sacrosanct and the fleshly. He opens up that sometimes Indians seem to go too far in decrying romantic love. Tully mentions the practices and concepts of Bhagwan Rajneesh who became universally noted for his remarks on encouraging his disciplines to have sex in the belief that it was a means to self-comprehension. Rajneesh followed the Tantric practices which belonged to the Tantric school of Hinduism. The Indian tradition of combining the holy and sensual has often been mistaken in the West for the license to practice free sex. The West was not familiar with the Tantric thoughts, when Osho Rajaneesh in the 70s, in his American ashrams and later in Indian Ashrams encouraged the idea of free sex.

Tully shares his knowledge of making a radio programme about Tantra. He was intrigued to discover many facts regarding Tantric teaching on sex as it is one way through which the purest form of consciousness can be achieved and also it is a path that requires strict self-control and discipline. In the backdrop of Khajuraho art, Tully interweaves his consociate with Madhu Khanna, a Tantric practitioner as well as a scholar

of Tantric Sanskrit texts. For him as a Tantric sex was one way to achieve the present form of cognizance. Tantrics believe in the implausible power and dreamlike sensible levels of human attention and universe. In order to overcome fear of anything, they sit on a throne of skulls in front of the fire-pit on the floor of their huts near the cremation grounds full of smoke rising funeral pyres. Tantric strongly believe that they overcome the fear that lies in front and behind many social taboos and also human fear of sex and the inabilities to come to terms with it. Tully winds up his Tantric endeavors by quoting one of the Tantric's words, "You achieve a sense of bliss. How to put it?...In our tradition it is described as the purest form of consciousness, like a flash of lightning, tender as lotus fibre, the time is the golden thread that binds all believers, the sap of creation"(168).

Tully writes about Sudhir Kakar who, in his book *Intimate Relation*, makes a dreary construing account of intimate relationship as perceived and defined by the participants. Low-caste women who happened to migrate from their remote rural villages to poor urban spaces in Delhi reveal their sexual woes in his book. Their sexuality is pervaded by hostility and indifference rather than affection and tenderness, writes Kakar. Tully quotes Kakar's words in his 'Khajuraho' chapter like this:

Most women portrayed even sexual intercourse as a furtive act in a cramped and crowded room lasting barely a few minutes and with a marked absence of physical and emotional caressing. Most women found it painful or distasteful or both. It was an experience to be submitted to, often from a fear of beating. None of the women removed their clothes for the act since it is considered shameful to do so. (168)



Victorian duplicity in Indian's public life and the saga of kissing scene in Indian film industry are parallels of this repressive sexuality in India, where the Khajuraho art was born. A lesbian kiss in Deepa Mehta's film *Fire* aggravated the ethics of some of the Indians in 1998. Deceitful attitudes of certain Hindu party organizations were rife in Tamil Nadu when actress Khushboo commented on the virgin status of women, especially girls before marriage and many more moral authoritarian sexuality-related issues in the lane up to this date. All these are up-to-the-minute in a country where sexual symbolist aesthetic culture once flourished through the ancient Khajuraho statuettes. The particular tradition of sexual abstinence that India was following due to the influence of Gandhi at one time was really responsible for this paradoxical situation, according to Tully. The long rule of British Raj with its Victorian high morality stifled the Indian tradition which saw sacred nerves in the sensual sea. Tully shares the alertness of interviewing India's Gandhian Prime Minister Morarji Desai in 1978. Tully remembers he was open about his sex life and confessed to him that since his early thirties he had not slept with his wife. He believed, as plenty of ascetics in Indian mythology, that semen was a liberating force that should be stored, not depleted. The immortal value of asceticism was portrayed through the powerful versions of the absolute God, Rama in Ramayana which is one of the great Indian classics. The followers of Rasik tradition, devotees with high level of spirituality, some others with intensely feminine spirituality, some loaded with sexual undertones, all of them understood and imbibed 'Rama' – Purushottam – in a different manner. Tully also quotes the opinion of the Jungarian therapist Rashna Imtiasly who said the Victorian interpretation of Christianity affected the people of Britain the same way Ramayana influenced the people of India today.

The myth of Shiva with Parvati and Rama with Sita are akin but differences in breaking the stereotyped gender roles can be clearly seen in the shiva/shakthi duo. Many rural Indian women, less magnificent ‘other Indian’ women, like ‘Goddess’ Sita, are subdued in their husband’s home even today. The marital relation tightens their spirit and finally it gets broken and both their mind and body are enslaved. These are Rashna’s thoughts and Tully concludes mentioning his love for the Shiva-Shakti duo and saying the fact that there are many Indian women who would not recognize themselves in Sita’s Portrait. Khajuraho sculptures are mostly based on the Shiva – Shakthi masculine and feminine combo. Tully makes note of a realization point when he concludes the thought on Khajurho that western mind has always been predominantly masculine in outlook,

“The more recent form of feminism, which truly respects the feminine, is perhaps only just beginning to change that”(172). By aptly commenting and interrupting the Indian sexuality consequence by associating and opposing it with the Western ideologies and several schools of thoughts, Tully has grasped the topic from the ‘other Indian’ ground point with utmost perfection. But in spite of the representative incongruity of the sensibility of sexuality, Indians should turn once more to the Khajuraho aesthetics, he concludes.

How power creates a hierarchic society is an alternative way of thought. An ‘other Indian’ perspective of this thought is a solicitous one. All forms of culture, within a social context, actively help to maintain power relations at the cost of the weak or the oppressed. This reflects a battle between the dominant and the oppressed sections of the society, which will obviously lead to hierarchical divisions in the societal structure. The questions of class, economic and social conditions and power are linked directly or

indirectly to the 'other India' with actual conditions within a particular Indian culture and also sees how it is intimately linked to the existing power relations within a particular Indian culture. Tully's texts are embedded with the power relations, which create a hierarchical society which finally incorporates another big structure called the 'other India'. Hegemonic power relations are a typical feature of Indian culture. It works with the consent of the population itself. Hegemony, like any ideological representations, works less through coercion than through consent. To a certain extent, it can be said that hegemony evolves and it is achieved through the circulation of ideology. It is associated with religious beliefs, art forms, behavior, moral codes and other such non-economic or cultural-aspects of life with an individual or group's class affiliation. The events Mark Tully narrates in his works, serve to illustrate the way in which how many forms of power- cultural, economic, religious and social have built and rebuilt Indian life, these parabolic representations are the true reflections of the 'other India' itself. This polyphonic perspective of power relations re-articulates the hierarchical division of Indian scenario. The fundamental concept in any social setup is power. Power has many forms, such as wealth, ornaments, civil authority, influence on opinion, others. Russel, in his debut work *Power*, says that the laws of social dynamics are laws which can only be stated in terms of power. He proposes the two forms of power impulses in his *Power* as, "...explicit, in leaders; implicit in their followers. When men willingly follow a leader, they do so with a view to the acquisition of power by the group which he commands and they feel that his triumphs are theirs. Even in religion and caste- divisions, this impulse appears"(7).

Power is always a quantitative concept: its articulations aim the production of

intended effects. Human life is always intertwined within the streamlines of power which dominate the society and thus, the human psyche. Feudalistic hierarchy, religious divisions, caste and creed discrimination evolve out of this so called normal situations. Power always creates inequalities. Power over man may be classified by the manner of influencing individuals, or by the type of organization involved. The distinction between traditional, revolutionary and naked power which is highly psychological can be seen in various incidents in Tully's works. When one form of power comes to an end, it may be succeeded by another form. Traditional power has on its side the force of habit; it is almost invariably associated with religious and quasi-religious beliefs purporting to show that resistance is wicked. Gods and rulers, though in a rudimentary form, exist among the most primitive societies known to anthropologists. On the introduction part of *No Full Stops in India*, Tully remarks:

The caste system provides security and a community for millions of Indians. It gives them an identity that neither western thought nor western science has yet provided, because caste is not just a matter of being a Brahmin or a Harijan; it is also a kinship system. The system provides a wider support group than the family; a group which has social life in which all its members can participate. (7)

The power system – kinship system – is a traditional system of power. The parties involved in it are not equal; but amidst these inequalities, the 'other Indians' find some sort of security and power of safety. Once they are out of this circle, may be this feeling of security will be lost. Thus caste system has never been static, it is adapting itself to today's changing circumstances and it has both positive and negative aspects as Tully notes. Economic power relations and articulations in a society are not primary but

derivative. The power system of a society / community is based not only upon its technical capacity, but also upon its numbers and its economic resources and its technical capacity and upon its beliefs. All the important psychological sources of power – tradition, government, judiciary, economics, revolutions, caste and creed can be seen in Mark Tully’s analysis of power system in the ‘other Indian’ concept. Power is dependent upon organization of common men who are joined together in need of activities aimed to ordinary ends, in the main but not wholly. Tully follows Foucault’s power theories and his texts are never in a position of exteriority in relation to this power structure of the society. Tully elaborates on the power system with the kinships in his introduction of *No Full Stops in India*.

The support system provided by kinship ties still provides greater social security than the combined effects of all the schemes that successive socialist governments have introduced to help the Indian poor. Every Indian government so far has thought it necessary to adopt socialism has its political creed, but none has tried to adopt that western Coltrane to the special needs of India.(7)

A shift of power was affected by the departure of British Raj. As Pavan K Varma puts it, “a transfer of the paraphernalia of power accompanied the transfer of power”(18). History is never shunned and the trapping of power always creates constraints for it. Power in Indian scenario is an authorized and lawful perusal and the powerful were qualified to exhibit their victory. It isn’t enough that one monitors power if they could not express to others the seeable symbols of these acquired assets. Societies, especially rural communities, reveal how they behave hierarchy-conscious even in their physical behavior. This is both ideologically and psychologically reflected in the root of the social

behavior of the Indian people. Pavan.K.Varma in his *Being Indian*, discusses the issue of power in the chapter named “Power- The Unexpected Triumph of Democracy”. He says:

To an Indian, projection of power and the recognition of status are intimately related. When a person’s entire worth is dependent on the position he occupies on a hierarchical scale, the assertion of status (and its recognition by others) becomes of crucial importance. In order to preserve status, one has to be seen to be above those below and below those above. There can be no ambivalence in these equations. Under the caste system, transgression was impermissible. (21)

Stratified society – stratification based on power, money and caste – has a different mentality and is evident in everyday life also. Sudhir Kaker, in his *The Indian psyche: The Innerworld Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: Tale of Love, Sex and Danger* says, “For an Indian, superior and subordinate relationships have the character of eternity variety and moral imperative – (and the) automatic reverence for superiors is a nearly universal psycho- social fact”(138). The blind acceptance of the repositions of the hierarchy of power, though not much rigid as the earlier times, exist in a more flexible Indian manner. Democratic equality and its operations get a new meaning in this repositioning of power. Functional categorizations, especially in the case of caste system, are very dangerous. Such categorizations always show an obsession with hierarchy. It is very significant to note that caste divisions, which began over thousand and thousand years ago, was the best example of this functional categorization. But later, degenerations of this structure happened in our culture. It became totally blurred. It became vaguely flexible and it is just happening as a great institutionalized absolutism with unimaginable tyranny as its outcome. Mark Tully in *No full Stops in India* deals with caste issue, which is really a

power-based functional categorization in “Ram Chander’s story”:

Ram Chander, or ‘Chandre’ as I have come to know him, is not one of those smooth, smart, silent, servants of the ray... he always seems to lean- perhaps because anything akin to a straight line is abhorrent to him. (14)

Chandre was a Jeeves. He is from the bhangi or the sweeper caste. The caste hierarchical divisions grant ‘bhangi’ category only the bottom position of even the Harijan caste hierarchy. When Tully shares his story, he is paying a tribute to the care and association that Chandre and himself had for each other. But he knows or truly admits that superciliousness is a trap when one writes about one’s own servant may fall into. Both Chandre and his mother are the 1947 Partition riots victims. They fled to Delhi from Lahore, once the magnificent capital of Punjab, which became part of Pakistan after Partition. Pavan.K.Varma in *Being Indian* explains this as “Behavioural patterns have to be discovered not in the considered stance before an observer, but in the insignificant reflex proceeding or following it. The behaviour and body language of an Indian in the presence of someone hierarchically superior is usually most revealing”(22). All other Institutions in Indian social life beyond its home base in the extended family are affected by the principle of a hierarchical ordering of sociocultural dependencies, says Kakar in *The Indian Psyche*. The engrossment with the belief of hierarchy very much prevails and in some regard has become excessively agitated. A person’s caste always reminds where one belongs. In the past, status was the norm and it was the outcome of one’s own birth. Today, status can be gained by other ways, including a greater line of approach by moving metaphorically from a lower to a higher position. This has not favoured social equality among people. The doctrine of egalitarianism, on the contrary, gave way to new

precariousness and chances. It just intensified sentimental pulses and the society became more and more obsessed with both status and power.

Whatever be the statistically driven data of the hierarchical ambiance of equality of an educated society, the facts are not so happy. Realities are stuck behind the flaws of the cruelty of caste division, which has to be totally eradicated for the development of the society. Most of the writers –both Indian and foreign-- who dealt with this hot topic either sympathized or criticized the subject. They just failed to give a clear picture of it, which Mark Tully does with utmost perfection. In the introduction of *No Full Stops in India*, Tully makes the point of reality like this:

.....the caste system has never been totally static, that it is adapting itself to today's changing circumstances and that it has positive as well as negative aspects. The caste system provides security and a community for a millions of Indians. It gives them an identity that neither western science nor western thought has yet provided, because caste is not just a matter of being a Brahmin or a Harijan, it is also a 'Kinship system' (7)

Those who talk against and protest against the caste inequalities are fake campaigners. They all are from privileged upper classes with superior caste surnames at the far end of their names, just to project their hypersensitive egalitarian outlook they are shouting against these inequalities. Once they are brought of out their caste, they still have to face difference based on their lack of money and power. The religiously converted Dalits are still suffering outcasteness in their acquired religion. Such multiples of examples are before the society. So in this scenario of the kinship system of the caste hierarchy is a



naked truth that the popes of egalitarians forget very casually and easily. This system has got excesses, it also add a sense of inferiority about these cultures, but it is far more bearable than the partiality shown by the politically elected government and its policies towards the lower caste people. Pinpointing this fact, Tully says, “the system provides a wider support group than the family: ‘a group which has a social life in which all its members can participate.’”(7)

Tully also quotes Madhu Kishwar, one of India’s leading feminists: Even though the survival of strong kinship and community loyalties has some negative fallout, the existence of strong community ties provides for relatively greater stability and dignity to the individuals than the atomized individuals would have. This in part explains “why the Indian poor retain a strong sense of self-respect”(7). The back up support system provided by kinship ties still furnishes greater social surety to Indian Dalits much more than the joined upshot of all the policies and schemes that the consecutive socialist democratic governments have introduced to help them is a bare fact. Socialism and all other ‘isms’ said to be for the uplifting of the poor in India, have only been a political creed all these times. Ram Chander’s story is an example for that.

The chapter “Vote Banking” in *The Non Stop India* looks at the tenacious concerns of the ‘other Indian’ in politics of the nation. As many ‘other Indian’ topics, Tully deals the politics of the ‘other Indians’ in a neutral manner with incredible potentiality indicators and updating himself with the vibrant past and present legislation of the country. Tully opens up with the widespread cynicism about politicians at all levels of Indian collective scenario and says in Mirchpur, especially among Dalits, how they are not the crowd pullers but real human lovers. Political leaders value note banking and vote

banking. Both are the basic entities on which they survive. Money, religion and power have joined hands together and it is the common Indians who suffer in the dangerous triangle made of these three.

In “Vote Banking”, Tully brings the attention on Devilal Chaudhary, who prided himself on his rural background. ‘Chaudhary’, in the northern state of Haryana, is a title given to the vital and important farmers. As a BBC reporter, Tully was invited to one of the massive rallies in a remote part of Haryana. Tully found the crowd massive; hundreds of tractors with trailers and bullock carts were brought to the place by Devilal’s supporters. There was no vacant, unfilled or unoccupied space anywhere. So his supporters were climbing on the nearby trees. The platform was gorgeous and on the dais on which Devilal was sitting, former PM Charan Singh was the chief guest. Tully shares his blushing when Devilal thundered that “the meeting was so special and important that Mark Tully from the BBC had come... Indian politics is not much about ideology. The Left and the Right only seem to matter when it comes to the Communists” (56). Tully perceives that personalities also play a major appeal in Indian politics. Former Chief Minister of West Bengal Jyothilal Basu, a zealous Communist, was in that position for 23 years. According to the press, the politics of Chaudhari Devilal’s home state was dominated by individuality and ego clashes. Tully articulates:

His party was a one-man band. He himself didn’t bother to conceal his contempt for issues that were not directly linked to the welfare of farmers, such as free electricity for tube-well pumps, and subsidized fertilizer.(56)

Tully says caste glitches have an influence, but not as much as personalities, especially in

North India. Devilal belongs to the Jat caste. The farmers of his caste in his constituency support him at their best. In order to assess the tendencies – both political and social – Tully follows rallies like Devilal's and repetitively meets both voters and leaders and travels throughout rural India. When Tully was commissioned by the Delhi paper the Mail Today to travel and write what he liked and reported on the upcoming elections in 2009, it was a good fortune for his rural Indian contemplations and considerations. North Indian constituencies he visited gave him a panoramic view of the caste, community (in case of Minority Muslims) and influential personalities and political godfather parties which are all valid in the Indian political set-up and fitted to the major Indian parties. Azamgarh in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Ghazipur, on the banks of Ganges in UP itself, Buxar in Bihar, on the other side of Ganges, then Patna, particularly, followed by the town of Gaya to Muzaffarpur, the second largest city of Bihar. The Indian rural places of travel never end, so also the investigation. But in Indian elections, people (voters) are classified by their caste or their religions. Dalits, OBCs, upper castes, minorities are all then talked of as 'vote banks'. The politics and inclinations of these vote banks decide the future of India. Caste and sub-castes with their combined heterogeneous unity with all specific concerns will get replicated in the ballot box after the election.. Among the great number of Azamgarh's voters (not only Azamgarh, but most other places in India), Muslims are regarded as the treasured vote bank. The division of major religions into smaller castes makes the situation intricate. The reality is:

Indian Muslims are also divided by their social status. There are groups of Indian Muslims whose family trees go back to Afghan, Turkish or Arab ancestors, and even to the tribe, friends and family of the Prophet himself. These communities

are the noble ones. The historic split between Shi'a and Sunni divides Indian Muslims too. Among the Sunnis there are two major sects, the Barelvis and the Deobandis, and many minor ones. Then there is the Sufi tradition. So it would seem that if there is such a thing as a Muslim vote bank, then it must have many different accounts in it. Nevertheless, the government, politicians, and Muslim leaders do believe in that bank. (57)

'Vote Bank' is a term which generally never makes into mainstream history. Like the black economy, vote bank is the deciding factor in much economic and developmental decision making in the country. The circle including these power brokers run the election show but it is difficult to bring them into the normal historical process. In a New Historicist way of reading, Tully brings all these under-the-table deeds into the mainstream of discourse through his unique narrative technique. Thus marginalised elements become the centre of his discourse. Tully sees into the Sachar Commission report in 2005 researched on the 'social, economic, and educational status of the Muslim community of India', which found out that "31 per cent of the Muslims are below the poverty line, the literacy rate is lower than the national average and among university students, they are underrepresented"(57). It is important to note that the nationalised banks declared many of the areas where the Muslims are concentrated as Red Zones then, where the managers were advised not to give loans. Muslim sense of grievance in these constituencies was high. The unbreakable 'other Indian' reality is that they, as a community, suffer the worst at the hands of the police. Tully delves into the Tehelka report portraying the individual stories of Muslims who were imprisoned without even a warrant:

.....because in none of the cases were the police able to secure a conviction. The accused Muslims had been associated with a Muslim student organization, SIMI, which was banned in 2002. It was alleged to be an anti-national, terrorist organization, bent on destabilising the nation...Because the ban was open to widespread misuse by the police, according to Tehelka, framed charges of plotting terrorist acts and preaching sedition against innocent young Muslims in an attempt to justify keeping the ban in force...Tehelka maintained that hundreds of Muslims were arrested in cases alleged by the police to involve SIMI.(58)

Suspecting every bearded man as an ISI agent, some of the shocking figure statuses were removed from the report before it was presented in the Parliament. Tully marks it clear, when he covers the elections and its trends in various rural 'other Indian' sects, to bring about all the hidden facts and data for a vagueless description. "Muslims in India's prisons was higher than their percentage of the population. In Maharashtra, Muslims formed 10.6 per cent of the population but 17.5 per cent of the prisoners. In Mahatma Gandhi's home state of Gujarat, 25 per cent of the prisoners were Muslims while they only formed 9.06 per cent of the population" (58).

As the aftermath of the Batla House incident in which a police officer was killed when the policemen went to a house in Delhi to arrest two young Muslim men doubting they were terrorists, some of the leading Muslims in Azamgarh decided to set up their own party called the Ulema Council to fight that year's elections. The government refused Muslim's leaders' demand for a thorough inquiry to be conducted by a judge. That was the partiality shown towards Muslims community by the system in Azangarh constituency and many other places. Tully was sure this was going to reflect in the

upcoming elections. The reports of the random arrests, many of which were not confirmed, fuelled widespread anger among Muslims in Azamgarh. As part of his BBC reporting, Tully met Maulana Amir Rashadi, chairman of the Ulema Council. He explained to Tully why and when the Muslims of Azamgrah thought of establishing a party of their own. Maulana harshly said that the fraudulence with Muslims started at the Partition and he also claimed that Nehru had partitioned India because he was afraid that if the Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah had stayed in India, he would be an alternative possible Prime Minister of India. Maulana showed his religious grudge accusing Sardar Patel, India's formidable first home minister, by complaining Patel's thought of disregarding the Muslims' loyalty as not secure enough for any key governmental or official posts. The litany of the Muslim grievances not ever terminated and they often made harsh judgments based on their emotional responsibilities. Impartial opinions on religion and religious issues were forgotten and Tully presents the real 'other Indian' thoughts through his words and Maulana is one such example.

UP politics influences Indian politics because the state has the largest population compared to any 'other Indian' state and it has a wide-ranging assortment that makes it a mini-India. When Mayawati became the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, a Dalit woman in that post for the first time in UP history, local journalists reported that she made the Dalit vote solid. Even the victory of a Dalit woman is not treated as a normal human success, but as a caste-creed based discounted privilege only. The Ulema party in Azamgrah is not sure that they will win, but they want to gain enough votes to show that the idea of a Muslim party can play a potential force in the state elections. The novelty of Tully lies when he encounters common laymen on the Azamgarh streets. A Muslim

shopkeeper modelled an additional problem regarding his concept of a Muslim party and Tully notes it:

He said, 'I fear that the formation of a Muslim party will divide us from other communities and give ammunition to parties who anyhow say we are anti-national. He suggested a better alternative would be for all Muslim MPs of whatever party to stand together on Muslim issues.' (66)

Dalits had benefited ample from reservations. Sixteen per cent of the posts in the central government sector are in their hands. The secular principles of India's constitution will never officially identify a community by religion. So Muslims lost several opportunities, though widely treated as minority community. When both Dalit and Muslim votes, along with other minorities, were taken for granted by the major political parties including Congress and BJP, Dalits and Muslims had lawful reasons to think that they had been taken for a ride by the mainstream parties proposing them not more than 'lollipops', and so they looked for a party of their own. Mayawati was a symbol of hope for Dalits. Tully says:

It's because Dalits have tended to be the poorest of the poor that Mayawati believes they take pride in her wealth as well as her political power. That's why she feels she can be blatantly extravagant, buying for instance a large property in the most expensive residential area of the national capital Delhi, and spending lavishly on her property in the state capital, Lucknow. (67)

Babu Jagjivan Ram, the one and only Dalit member of the top leadership of the Congress party since Independence, did not want to put himself forward as a champion of

Dalits. He described him, unlike Mayawati, as a national leader, not particularly as a Harijan leader. Mayawati was regarded as their property by Dalits. She just hoped to become the Prime Minister of India; the most important thing was Dalit would achieve it, no matter for how short a time. From Azamgarh, Tully went to Ghaziapur, some thirty miles away. Tully went to report and cover a Mayawati rally. As a BBC correspondent to know the pulse of the election and assess it, Tully used to accompany huge rallies and says:

I always had difficulty in assessing the size of India's vast political rallies. The police would give one figure, the organisers another and the opposition a third. Nobody would accept the police figure, so I had to make my own assessment, which inevitably came between the oppositions and the organisers' claims and satisfied neither. (71)

Crowd consciousness is an electrifying piece of study and when it comes in terms with rural 'other India', the psychology is set up far away from reality. They just sing songs of praise for Behenji, the way they address Mayawati, their saviour. Tully annotates that an acolyte blindly said, "Our messiah has arrived" (72), when Mayawati's helicopter landed near the Rally ground. She never followed a theatrical sentimental style of Indian political rhetoric and oratory which aroused the affectionate excitements of anthropological cognizance, but read out her speech, a flat performance. She never apologized or said soapy words for making her supporters waiting in dry summer heat of North India. Mayawati walked, talked and sat unyielding. She didn't even wave her hand at the crowd. She criticized BJP and Congress as supporters of capitalists. If they come to power, Mayawati firmly believed that they will do things in favour of the rich sect of the



country and will do nothing to eradicate poverty. She appealed to Dalit and Muslim votes by offering many reservations, jobs, quotas. Tully in his style of cross-examining shared outlooks. He asked a middle aged man whether he considered Mayawati as the guarantor of their community's self-respect, he said, "Behenji may not have been able to do much about our economic problems, but at least now we can drink tea in tea shops on equal terms with everyone else"(72). He also had a vibrant argument of understanding when Tully asked him whether Mayawati had spent too much money and time on erecting her own statues rupturing the economic condition of the state. He debated: "There are so many statues of Mahtma Gandhi, Nehru and others who have no meaning for us. So why shouldn't we have our heroes' statues?" (73) When Tully interviewed several dalits seeking their opinion regarding the disapproval of Mayawati, they said that it came from the higher castes, who couldn't endure being ruled by a dalit. A young woman, an ardent supporter of Mayawati, said their reality and Tully thought that the young lady was another Mayawati in the making:

They hate us; they cannot tolerate us unless we are slaves. Now that our time has come with Behenji, what do you think they are going to say? That it's absolutely fine? No, they will talk all sorts of rubbish about Behenji to give her a bad name.

We won't be down again we won't be trodden on again. (73)

Dalits are not an compound community. Divisions and fragmentations within the community weaken it. But amidst this, 80% of the Dalits of the state voted for Mayawati in the UP Assembly elections and that was a remarkable achievement as far as disintegrated Dalit communities are concerned. Mayawati tried hard to unite and bring different Dalit castes together under her umbrella in other states too, but that was proving

very difficult. In *India since Independence*, the academic historians pronounce this vote bank politics with a narrow description of electoral result rather than connecting the affected common man to the end result. The book celebrates her third time to the UP chief ministership as a major success of the Dalit movements in the country as it was the first time a Dalit party emerged winner without the support of any other parties. Tully gives deeper insight into the facts that led to this through a series of interviews with the people who were in the circle of events leading to the coronation of Mayawati. Both books differentiate vastly in its approach as Tully follows social discourses whereas Bipan Chandra and co-authors depend on facts and figures.

Bihar was the next ‘other Indian’ destination. It’s a multifarious state where governance has been so unproductive and the state had shrunken away ideologically fulfilling the Marxian prophecy, it seems. It is the enlightened land of Buddhism and Jainism, the Heart of Gupta Empire and the centre of Mauryan dynasty. Tully’s background portrayal is not like beating around the bush. It first points to the key factor of this chapter “Vote Banking” itself:

During the British Raj, members of the prestigious Indian Civil Service belonging to the Bihar cadre were considered the elite of the elite. However, since independence, Bihar has come to epitomize all that is wrong with the administration of India. One of the reasons given for this is the role that caste plays in its politics. The politics of Bihar has come to be dominated by the other backward castes and the parties they have formed. (73)

India will become a casteless society was the constitutional promise. It is still a

promise, not a reality. Officially, Congress and BJP deplore the caste-based politics in India. But the paradox is that both are fundamentally upper caste political parties and they see the rise of the OBC and other dalit parties as a threat to them. Journalists, almost without any varieties, report the influence of caste on Indian politics, showing their high dissatisfaction and so do many but by no means, all academics. But Tully brings out the 'other Indian' reality that caste has become 'the unit of social action' as anthropologist M.N. Srinivas labeled it. The high castes of the country didn't have much space for lower castes in Indian Independence movement and after Independence; the lower castes were pushed out from all positions and fields.

Janata Dal (united) leader Nitish kumar, according to Tully, was a phlegmatic politician who didn't believe in rabble-rousing. Lalu Prasad Yadav, former chief minister, who resigned after being accused of involvement in a scam, continuously ruled for 15 years, first as Chief Minister, then as the man behind Rabri Devi, his wife. In Bihar elections also, the point of emphasis is caste. It get counted as votes in Bihar, UP, and many other states. To win back OBC and dalits from the usual stream decides the ultimate wins. So caste will always remain caste persistently, because vote bank investment is made on this voter account. Caste equations decide the appraisal formula of India politics. Company workers, IT workers, teachers, urban and rural settlers are all interviewed. One of them truthfully said the fact behind their choice of 'to vote or not to' like this:

One of the customers of a tea shop in Jehanbad said, 'first of all, we have to fill our bellies. Only then will we think about other issues. So those who say we will vote on caste basis are wrong. We will vote for whom we think will work for us. We will vote because it is our Right, and we will vote for him, but we won't do it

from our hearts. (79)

The Muslims who were fed up with the political parties in UP, Asamgarh, Dalits in UP with their dictator heroine, voters of Nitishkumar's Bihar – what was the result of all these situations? Tully quotes Arundhati Roy in his "Vote Banking" to explain the dilemma of Indian situation:

The Booker Prize-winning novelist and acerbic social critic, Arundhati Roy has suggested that the Indian electorate would never deliver a mandate that lend itself to simple headlines. Interpreting an Indian election is about as accurate a science as sorcery. Voting patterns are intricately connected with local issues and caste and community equations that vary, quite literally, from polling booth to polling booth. (83)

Tully focuses on the theme of never-ending growth of India in *India's Unending Journey*, candidly criticising the cooked up 'India is shining' campaign, the caption that BJP took as their election slogan. When the Bharatiya Janata Party leaders decided to call an early general election in 2004, Tully wrote an article for BBC suggesting that in doing so, the party had miscalculated the temperature of growth in India. They mistook the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which was somewhere near 8% growth per annum – as the thermometer of the nation's health and wealth. They misread this sun shining that the sun was only shining on the beneficiaries of that growth rate: the middle class and the rich. Tully says:

Life was still anything but bright for those living in rural India, where farmers were committing suicide because they couldn't pay their debts. Nor was the

prospect particularly sunny for the urban slum dwellers who were threatened with eviction to make way for development projects that promised little or nothing for them. (200)

*India since Independence* marked the same concept through a note saying, “Indian agriculture, which was already experiencing a slowdown in the late 1990s, was faced with a monsoon failure in 2002-2003”(487). What Tully said and foreseen came true because eventually the farmers, the slum dwellers and the many others who saw the BJP slogan as a bad joke, just refused to return the ruling coalition to the power throne. The growth of a country is always measured by the GDP and it is the overriding ambition of every government. Redistributing the present wealth of the country is never going to remove its poverty, in spite of Gandhiji’s saying that ‘there is enough for everyone’s need but not everyone’s greed.’ Tully stresses this concern throughout his writings.

Tully did a meticulous study of the studies of Surjit. S. Bhalla and says economic growth alone is not sufficient for poverty reduction. “Economic growth is good; growth makes the world go around. Growth is a many splendored thing”( *India’s Unending Journey*, 269). He borrows Bhalla’s words to bring clarification to his point. Actions beyond the economic domain should be taken effectively to combat poverty. Tully also quotes the words of Clive Hamilton, an Australian economist, as he says, “growth fosters empty consumerism, degrades the natural environment, weakens social cohesion and corrodes character” (201). India’s growing wealth had not trickled down into the pockets of the next Dalit generation. Private affluence always led to public squalor, says John Kenneth Galbraith, an American Fabian socialist economist, in his famous book, *The Affluent Society*.

In the chapter “Gurgon: Never-Ending Growth”, Tully looks into how Gurgon, a place 20 miles away from Delhi, became the hub of big Indian companies and multinationals. Earlier it was just a small town, headquarters of a rural district administration. Microsoft India had one of its first offices in Gurgon. IT Revolution was growing much faster than Industrial Revolution with very many IT companies at the place. Many used to criticize Tully that he was an old-fashioned socialist and a romantic about India. In India, economic growth is what meant by ‘growth’ despite that economic growth driven by consumerism will never help to overcome the problem of poverty. When consumerism creates demand, rationalization of the accumulating wealth never takes place, says Tully, adding that consumerism is a great threat which can lead to imbalances in nature too. He says one of the most sickening sights he saw in his career with BBC India Radio was in Bhopal gas tragedy on 3rd December 1984. The main stream historians of the country never consider this as an event of historical importance, despite being the biggest industrial and ecological tragedy in the overall history of the country. The most celebrated post independent Indian history book has mentioned just one paragraph on this topic and that too as a political turmoil happened to Rajiv Gandhi just two week after taking power. Bringing such topics into the stream of events increases the significance of Tully writings on India.

When human beings give priority to the improvement of economic growth denying nature’s own need to grow over everything else, tragedies like Bhopal will happen. The toxic pesticide made by the Union Carbide company was supposed to provide a short-cut to agricultural growth. The dangers the manufacturing process posed to both nature and human life were disastrous. The leakage of the poisonous gas overtook

both nature and humans and everyone was terrified of its potential consequences. Tully says his real life experience, “there was no room at the city’s main hospital for those who managed together, so they were laid out on the hospital’s lawns. The doctors were desperate because Union Carbide could not or would not tell them the composition of the poisonous gas, nor advise them correctly on how the patients’ symptoms should be treated. Dead bodies were piled on carts to be taken to burial grounds and crematoria” (214). Only a total re-envisioning of the relationship between humans and nature can prevent more Bhopals. GDP-centred development strategies will not yield this kind of symbiotic growth. The thought that only chemical fertilizers and pesticides can give high yield should be placed for rethinking, just as reconsidering the point that GDP is the only indicator of property. The modern economic growth is based only on consumerism and there begins all the problems of imbalance. Mark Tully suggests a Gandhian alternative:

Gandhi’s basic principles need to be brought back into the dialogue on India’s future. Gandhi told those who did have wealth to hold it in trusteeship for others and not to spend it on themselves. As Gandhi said, Economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values “one of Gandhi’s moral principles was ‘non-possession’”. (220)

Like almost all of the prophets, unfortunately Gandhi is also left without honour in his own country and in theory Indians honour him as the father of the Nation and totally ignore him in practice, laments Tully. Mark Tully quotes B.R Nanda on the question of what is Gandhi’s legacy for present-day India. “Today Gandhi is hardly mentioned by people” (271). Nanda answered that Gandhi is not mentioned, he is taken too factually. Though Gandhi’s monetary advices were very appropriate, his followers

have idolised him and turned him to a God. So his words are not practised in real life, but merely intoned and missed in counterfeit prayers. When someone is taken too literally, it is quite easy to demystify him and that happened in the case of Gandhi, unlocks Tully. In the introduction to *No Full Stops in India* Tully says what he felt the real fact about India's democracy:

I believe one of the main reasons is that India's elite have never recovered from their colonial hangover, and so they have not developed the ideology, the attitudes and the institutions which would change the poor from subjects to partners in the government of India. Democracy has failed because the people have elected have ruled, not represented them. The ballot box is only the first stage in democracy.(3)

Every man in India has one rudimentary right, that is the right to vote and that vote is not meant for the transfer of supremacy and power from the elite to the majority, who in India, are undoubtedly the poor. Tully thoroughly says that India is still a land dominated by foreign thinking, especially among the elites. India is not a land dominated by brown sahibs imitating the ways of white rulers who had once ruled them. The aftermath of the colonial rules had slowly disappeared but still, "colonialism teaches the native elite it creates to admire all too often the ways of their foreign rulers. That habit of mind has survived in independent India" (3).

In *No Full Stops in India*, Tully discusses the topic "Communism in Calcutta". In the introduction of *No Full Stops in India*, Tully scripts a wide comparison of Communism in China and India:

China a Communist country but India is a parliamentary democracy surely that's



why we should take the plight of India very seriously. China's achievements could mean that it is Communism which will triumph in the war against poverty and democracy which will be defeated. I think that is unlikely, but those who are now talking of the victory of freedom should perhaps ponder the strange fact that one of the freest countries in the world, which has made an all-out effort since independence to eradicate its legacy of poverty, has been much less successful in this than its Communist neighbour of course. India's achievements in some fields are impressive than China's but the fact remains that Communism has provided better education, better health services and more food and clothes for its poor than democracy has. (2-3)

Tully did exploration on the birth and growth of Communism in India. Tully observes Indian communism has a great obligation to Stalin. Though a dictator, when it came to India, he was a realist, finds Tully. The segment of Indian Communism after Independence is treated in this chapter:

Immediately after Independence, the Indian Communist movement identified the new ruling class as bourgeois compradors agents of a foreign power-allied with imperialists. They were reckoned to be too enfeebled to stand up to an insurgency, and so the Communists committed themselves to installing their system of government by force. But the compradors and the imperialists proved less feeble than the Communists had thought, and the people of India did not rally to the red flag. (181)

According to historical records, Stalin intervened in this issue in 1950. He summoned

three leading Indian Communists to Moscow as a selected delegation. Their strategy and the aids and helps required from Stalin were discussed. Indian scenario accepted Soviet Communism as an Indian movement. In 1950s, Stalin advised his Indian comrades to drop the insurgency and prepare for the upcoming elections. Looking back to the past becomes an interesting read when Tully writes it, “the delegates took Stalin’s advice and since then main elements in the Indian Communist movement have stuck to the democratic path. In 1957, the world’s first democratically elected Communist government came to power in the southern Indian state of Kerala. Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala, was the venue of that thirteenth party conference” (182). Communism achieved greatest success in West Bengal, and they, since 1977, continuously ruled the state. On the basis of serious ideological differences, a split took place in the party and CPI (M) and CPI were born in 1964. But Tully makes the point clear that “the split of the Communist party was not first the consequence of unsatisfied individual determinations, as materializes often in Indian politics”(182) .The ‘other Indian’ realities are also thoroughly influenced by Indian politics. Tully goes into more particulars of the partition of the party as it is the real ‘other India’ topic of assessment:

What can only be described as the right wing of the party sort of compromise with the Congress party – or at least with those whom it identified as progressive elements in that party. The Left wing regarded the Congress as irredeemably bourgeois. The Right wing also sided firmly with the Soviet Union in the great divide in world communism; the Left leant towards China, although it did not commit itself to either side. When the split was formalized in 1964, the Left adopted the title of the Communist Party of India (Marxist); the Right remained

the Communist Party of India. (82)

CPI (M) and CPI were the major contenders for the Communist vote. Ever after division, no affair had been final between them. Both parties have been partners in several coalition governments in Kerala and Bengal. Tully expresses in the 'other Indian' slang when he comes to the down-to-earth investigation, "West Bengal is the obvious place to try to start an Indian revolution. During the Independence movement, Bengal was the only state where the British faced serious threat from terrorism. It also produced Subhas Chandra Bose, the most aggressive president the Indian National Congress elected.

Mahatma Gandhi was so alarmed by the militant Bose that he prevented him from taking office for the second time. West Bengal has a volatile and well-educated middle class."

(83) To Tully, Calcutta, the capital city of West Bengal, is synonymous with poverty and squalor. But its slums and shanty towns should be a fertile ground for revolutionaries, says Tully, pointing critically to the realities; Socialist consciousness was a feature of Calcutta under the Marxists. But bureaucratism started showing its signs everywhere since power became an authority ingredient. Tully was born in Calcutta and he spent the first nine years of his life there or in a boarding-school in Darjeeling. He remembers 'The Bengali Club' which was only reserved for 'burra sahibs of reputable firms'. Tully also remembers once he was robbed of dinner because of a member of his party was improperly dressed; he was not wearing a tie. His 'English nannay' (maid) used to take him to the Tollygunge Club. Refreshing personal memories that Tully shares about Calcutta throw a background for the analysis of Communism in Bengal:

Club, races, song Eucharist in the Cathedral Queen Victoria-all these are signs that a past which most communist regimes would have eliminated is still alive in

Calcutta. They should not, however, be taken as signs that Calcutta is still a British City. (188)

Calcutta, at one time, was the commercial capital and trading centre of the second city of the empire, remembers Tully. Lots of changes have transformed the face of this trade city. Many managing agents have not fared any better. Jute and tea have lost their early glory. But still, tea remained the only Industry of Calcutta which flourished overtime in decent proportions. British presence slowly declined. A financial journalist opened up to Tully that it was because of laziness, but Tully considered it as a partial truth because his father in Calcutta was one of the hardest working men he ever knew. Tully's father and his friends were successful industrialists when they returned to Britain. In 1977 Communists came to power. The industry in West Bengal then had suffered a serious decline. Engineering factories and jute mills had no new investment and had not been modernized. Most of the industries left the state and moved out of Bengal. As a crucial member of unstable coalitions, the Communists in the sixties had been part of two brief spells in power so they partly blame themselves for this decline of industries. They created an industrial anarchy, the gherao, in the state. This 'surrounding' (gherao' means 'surrounding') the management in their working spaces, factories and torturing them until they completely submitted was really uncomfortable from the management's point of view, says Tully. Police had strict order not to engage or arbitrate. Naxalites, who believed in violent Communist revolution, purposefully terrorized the citizens of Calcutta. Later, Indira Gandhi sent her force to restore order in West Bengal. Tully now points to the fact:

Gheoraos and Naxalites did not exactly encourage investors. However, the

Marxists also have a point when they blame the central government for the start of West Bengal's decline as an industrial state. The state used to enjoy a considerable geographical advantage because it was near India's coal belt, and also its iron was the one other mineral. That advantage was lost when the central government declared that raw materials for industries would be available at the same price throughout India, irrespective of freight charges. (190)

Restoring West Bengal to its position as one of India's leading industrial states was dealt in a pragmatic way by the Communists. During the Emergency in 1975-77, many of their leaders were arrested by Indira Gandhi's police. So they were cautious, spots Tully, "the unions were told to behave themselves and to cooperate with management – then with management in the private sector. Strenuous efforts were made to persuade industrialists to invest in the state. Talks were even held with the vanguard of capitalism, the multinationals. Nationalisation became a dirty word. Even the company which generates electricity for Calcutta was left in the hands of its shareholders, since the Marxists realized that it was doing a better job than the nationalized power stations" (190-91). The interesting fact is that when private sector was also introduced to public transport, Marxist party committee members were encouraged to become entrepreneurs by granting them licences to operate bus services in Calcutta city. Later, Tully notices that Marxist did materialize a few concerns and one such was the 'Darling Billimoria's great Eastern Hotel. Without pulling down their historic building, that decision was the foundation of the lucky days of fortune of Mohan Singh Oberoi, the father of modern hoteliery in India, who got the hotel on the cheap rate shortly before Second World War because it had been closed after six of its guests were killed due to injection from the

hotel. Another developmental thought was that the Communists, in collaboration with the World Bank, invested money into the tramways. Though the technology development of the tram ways needed much more investment, the developmental step was very much applauded, writes Tully. In medical field too, private sector involvement could be outlined in Marxist Bengal. Establishment of private nursing homes was encouraged. Several kinds of stall holders have first overtaken the pavement space distribution of Calcutta before the Marxists reworked on it. Tully is neither a blind critic nor a staunch supporter of Communism in Calcutta. But his impression is not vague, which sheds light on the 'other Indian' realities of the topics:

.....bureaucratism in the Soviet Union had been one of the main causes of economic stagnation. In spite of that awareness, the Indian Marxists have not tackled the problem of Bengali Babu (clerks). Civil servants told me the government had become the prisoner of the co-ordinating committee, a trade union which in the name of Marx controls the government. (194)

Religion in Marxist Calcutta is a complex reality. Many believe that from the Kalighat, Calcutta takes its name. It is a place where people believe if they sacrifice an animal, especially goat, Kali the Goddess, will stop bad things happening to them. The goat/sacrificial animal is the symbol of evil. It must be black to represent the black evilness. These were the ideas shared by a Brahmin at Kalighat, reveals Tully. Ashok Mitra, an academic economist, who was the finance minister of West Bengal for many years, shared his regretful views to Tully. The high discipline within the Marxist Party structure finally resulted in less influence of the party in the day-to-day life of Calcutta. The self-critical Mitra said to Tully:

When we came to power, we said we could not hope for any radical changes under the existing social and constitutional arrangements. We did say we would provide relief for the poor and set an example to the other governments and states. We have provided plan of relief, but have done nothing to show the way to other governments. We could certainly have improved the working of the government, but we have not done so. For instance, not a single senior officer has been suspended. (197)

Communist government, to a major degree, failed to tackle their own clerical associations. They were able to track down the discipline of the industrial labour associations but not the government clerks. A committee on administrative reforms was formed with Ashok Mitra as the chairman. But the recommendations of the committee just remained on paper, pushing Mitra into the chasm of disappointment. He was an extremely outspoken, excitable, Western-educated fellow. So naturally, he is not liked by the rank and file of the party and it was said they never felt him as one among them. Small-time relief measures will not help the party anymore. Tully joins with Mitra saying that the party would have to become radical if they were to survive. The two stands in the leadership of the Marxists are almost like unlike poles. One group consists of the lawyers who learnt their Communism in London in the thirties and the other one is the revolutionaries who learnt their Communism in the jails of British India. The party machinery was in the hands of the native Communists but the power politics was dominated by barristocracy. The lower orders have been over-awed by the barristocracy and according to Mitra, that was why there had been no effective radicalization. Due to the fear that anything said to the journalists might be misunderstood among the public,

Jyoti Basu, the then chief minister of West Bengal, denied Tully's request to meet and interview him. Basu, who went to London to get trained as a lawyer, was a barristocrat, high optimistic personality, highly charismatic figure, and according to Tully, much loved in Bengal. Tully also adds that it was very difficult to define his charisma, for he is not a political orator as such, but his words have fire in it. Basu's talk is real life discourse and it is to be spectacted. One of the Calcutta journalists shared that "Jyoti is more of an institution than a Marxist" (199), to Tully once. When Tully went to see him he was sent to see one of the party's young ideologues, Anil Biswas. He is also the editor of the party newspaper. He had clear impression of his own Marxist government, its past plans and present standing, and said:

In 1967, our slogan was 'the government is the instrument of struggle'. We gave the slogan and we haven't abandoned it, but we can't say the government is in the vanguard. Now the government is with the struggle but not of the struggle. (199)

Tully was confused of the purpose of the struggle the party was facing and committed his failure to follow the Marxist dialectics thoroughly. But as the editor of the party newspaper, Biswas cleared Tully's doubt, "our ultimate aim is to destroy the Congress to have a people's democratic revolution. We have to overcome many hurdles and go through many experiences. This government is one part of that experience. You must not forget that the state power in India is still in the hands of the landlord bourgeois class"(199). Owing to the 'crisis of the capitalist system', Biswas said that 180000 factories had closed down in India. Marxists had been trying to nationalize more (state) industries, but the rules and regulations of the central governments are very tough, explains Biswas. Purposefully, he was defending the party's invitation to capitalists to



invest in West Bengal state saying that “they are inviting capital, not capitalists”.(200). “Communism in Calcutta” provides an insight into the growth and establishment of the Marxist party of India in West Bengal. The chapter also examines the failures and compromises in the light of the Marxian ideology and also the ‘other Indian’ point of view of the same. The government focused their developmental schemes and plans among the peasants and it’s through them that the government’s major success had been achieved, particularly not on the workers side. Biswas sometimes becomes the real spokesperson of the government as he points to the important reforms of the government:

The Marxists had introduced three important reforms in the countryside. They had registered sharecroppers – that is tenant farmers who divided the crop with their landlord. That gave farmers much greater security. They had made a determined effort to implement laws which restricted the amount of land anyone could own and to redistribute the surplus to the landless. They had entrusted the planning and implementation of development schemes to the panchayats or village councils.

(201)

Most of these measures were put on the statute book by the Congress party, but had not been implemented. But to know the truth beyond suspicion, Tully resorts to his verbal interview method. He goes to the countryside himself and talks to a block officer – the civil servant who is responsible for a group of villages. According to the block officer, since Marxists came to power, things have been going on the right track, “not only were the tenants secure, they also got a larger share of the crops. He did not agree that the Marxists had ignored the landless. Previously, the landless had great difficulty in getting enough work. Now because the government employment schemes are well administered,

they get work for ten months a year. Of course, there is some corruption in distributing the work and paying the workers, but I would say it only amounts to 20 per cent”(202). The block officer shares his idea bravely by making necessary partaking. He said he had first completed the redeployment of 350 acres taking from big owners and thus the landless have also benefited, but it did not really do any good for the landless people. When land is given away in small parcels, inefficient farming is the result. Cooperative farming, says block officer, would be the best choice for India, but it failed miserably here. Mao in China, understanding the problem of small agricultural plots, the lack of unity of working among farmers and peasants, he made the people swallow the idea of cooperative farming using the party’s dictate. In India, citizens have petty compromises and interests, so no vast change is easily possible. Several reforms in the panchayat systems, planning process, departmental activities-- all happened in its normal way. Though they had power to prevent corruption all of it remained in theory. The contractors chosen by the panchayat leaders are always open to bribery. Even the panchayat leaders from the Marxist party back the corrupted hands and many of the superior officers feel threatened and low in the line.

The situation is so severe that often the panchayat leaders with political backup really overdo the civil servant officers and also the tyranny of the dominant caste hierarchy is pathetic in the system. Tully says the fact that the panchayats are undoubtedly being used by the Marxists to retain their base in the rural areas. But former minister of finance of the state Ashok Mitra once said to Tully that it was the presence of the party in the countryside which prevented the panchayats from being captured by vested interests. But suspicious Tully set off to test the validity of this argument. He took

an offside road and then, along the embankment of a canal, he reached a small village. Sanjay Khan, a member of the panchayat, was Tully's target. He met Khan and talked to him in order to get his doubts cleared. Since 1964, Sanjay Khan had been a party member. Tully asked about the association of the panchayat with the private contractors. Khan said that they do accept such private contract works under the panchayat team's supervision. Tully asked further whether they gained any profit from these private contract relationships and Khan, pointing to his mud house, said frankly:

You can see for yourself. Does it look as if I'm making money? Would I work in my own fields if I was stealing the village funds, look for yourself. This is a small and congested village. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing. How could I get re-elected if the village knew I was a thief? (204)

Sanjay Khan showed Tully a history book of the Bolshevik Party, a history of political theory in Russia and Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and pamphlets by Marx and Lenin to prove that he still studied Marxism. Cut and rightly, he said that no attempt was made to indoctrinate children at primary school levels. Sanjay Khan came from a community where the elder people are still religious, he admitted that he too remembered God when he is in danger. Later Tully met Gopal Naik, another panchayat leader, who admitted there had been some corrupt sarpanchs (panchayat leaders) and they had been dealt with by the local party committees. But he was not ready to open up about the ongoing private contractor works in the panchayat. Tully shares that even the sceptical Calcutta journalists had told him that conditions in the countryside had improved under Marxists and the little journey that he made also convinced him of the reality. Tully continues:

Nevertheless, it was strange that their rural revolution should be based on the ancient Indian panchayat system. Mahatma Gandhi – no Communist- had hoped that the panchayats would be the basis of the revival of village life, which he saw as the key to a prosperous life, which he saw as the key to a prosperous India.

(206)

Caste and Communism do not go together. Caste is an influential factor in the backward and largely rural northern states of the Hindu belt. Though Bombay and Ahmedabad had a long tradition of trade unionism, the party failed to build more on that. So Communists' failure in other big industrial cities remained like that. In both Bengal and Kerala, Marxists have a powerful presence. They do have countable achievements in these places to their credit. Tully does not dismiss the possibility of the Marxists becoming a partner of the government of India, but the dilemma of not adopting the style of orthodox policies places them in the danger zone. They are not ready to adulterate their doctrine much, says Tully.

In the "Defeat of a Congressman", a chapter in the *No Full Stops in India*, Tully deals with yet another political issue in the socio-literary 'other Indian' position. In 1951, on June 19th, the whole of Bihar – or at least everyone who counted in the state – had gathered in Dharhara, a small, remote, commonplace, ordinary, 'other Indian' village in Northern Bihar. The village crowd then witnessed an ultra-luxurious marriage accompanied by a wedding procession of 2,000 people. 19-year-old Rudrashawar Prasad Singh and his 14-year-old bride, who was the sister of Digvijay Narain Singh, were the midpoint of magnetism of the day. Digvijay was just setting out on his political vocation those days. Tully makes it a point to show how important was Digvijay Singh's political

associations in independent India. “During the career he never sought or held office, yet at one stage, he was the most important politician after the Prime minister. He spent a fortune on politics, while most of his party colleagues were making theirs. His constituents loved him for his honesty, his generosity and his concern. Digvijay finally gave up politics on a point of principles or perhaps ‘honour’ might be a better word” (299). Tully mentioned the 1951 marriage in the beginning of the chapter because many of those who were to play a central part in Digvijay’s political career were among the 300 guests in the bridal party. S.K. Sinha, godfather of Digvijay Singh and the Chief Minister of Bihar, was present with almost his entire cabinet. L.P. Shahi, an ambitious young politician, who attended the wedding and served a spinach-based dish to the less significant guests, was very critical individual in Digvijay’s life, as he is the one who ultimately terminated Digvijay’s political profession. Tully marks it flawless that he gained much of his understanding of Indian politics from the long evening he spent with Digvijay when he was a Member of Parliament living in a government house in the centre of New Delhi. Unlike many other politicians, Digvijay was honest and lacked many ambitions and drives. So, Tully, says that no one saw Digvijay as a probable enemy:

Parliament was his life, and he brought an acute intelligence to bear on interpreting Indian politics. Policies count for little in Delhi: personalities are what matter, and so politics is a continual battle between individuals vying for the prime minister’s favour or the leadership of a small opposition group.

Commitment to an ideology is rare, except among the Communists on the Left and the Hindu BJP on the right. Digvijay was always in touch with the fluctuating fortunes of all the parties and parliamentarians....he was cheated out of the one

thing he coveted – his seat in Parliament – by colleagues who owed everything to him. (301)

By 1980, Digvijay left the Parliament. He left his big-time politics with Nehru and Gandhi family and thought that the whole system was crumbling. He was disheartened about the way unruliness was spreading and doubted whether there was any hope for this system. Digvijay was a part of the Indian independence movement and then he made valuable contacts with leading Congressmen and thus the taste for politics and social work came into his mind. Soon after Independence, he just left back his wish of becoming a lawyer and dedicated himself to political work. Earlier, he had real hope of building a new India, which was both politically and economically independent and self-reliant, and a socialist and where the eradication of poverty is the ultimate aim. Digvijay wished to start his career as a member of his downstate Assembly, that is Bihar, but the then Chief Minister made him all set up to go to the Indian Parliament directly. He competed from Sitamarhi near Nepal border in 1952 during the first election since the constitution of independent India had been finalized. He won from there with a decent majority. Very soon, Digvijay established his political outlook in the social and parliamentary circles of Delhi. He slowly got close with Nehru and Nehru selected him as a delegate for two or more political delegations. But Digvijay was never like ordinary politicians and he did not seem to want to make anything out of his relationship with Nehru and also India – Feroze Gandhi and his political opportunities. He remained as a successful king maker and never a king. Once he said to Tully that being a minister never attracted him. Being a Member of the Parliament and doing useful things for the constituency satisfied him. Tully talks to his relatives and says, “People trusted him. That

was the hallmark of Digvijay's political career, but in the end, he was to be let down by those he had trusted"(310). This was the hint that Tully gave. Digvijay was straight forward and didn't allow his friendship with Indira Gandhi to influence and mould his political and social decisions. Nehru's death in 1964, Emergency announcement in 1975 and all the political occurrences that unswervingly influenced his political incidents directly influenced his political career too. Digvijay always stood for a Victorian concept of loyalty and that was not at all practical in politics anywhere in the world, it seems. Tully fearlessly agrees with Digvijay that in numerous places in Bihar it's the goonda raj (hooligan rule) taking place. "The criminals helped the politicians to get elected. Then they saw that the politicians couldn't do without them, so the politicians were taken over by the criminals. Democracy has become a farce and politics a business. You need to spend at least five to ten lakhs to become a member of the state assembly, and so you invest that money and expect to get a return on it, says an experienced Digvijay."(318) Later, when Morarji Desai was chosen to lead India's first non-Congress government, he decided to announce Digvijay as one his senior parliamentary secretaries but Digvijay dissuaded him with several excuses. Most of the Indian politicians would have overjoyed when they were enthroned on this position, but unlikely Digvijay was dismayed totally. Later, forward-backward caste battle happened in Bihar politics. So Digvijay was not defeated by money or muscle power one can say thoroughly. Tully portrays how a dedicated politician is turned into a hopeless individual due to the degrading system. Through these stories, Tully establishes the distinction the life of political class in the country. It is part history and part biography. One cannot be separated from the other. No history is full without such personal stories. A persons' life can be a significant pace in

the history of a land. Reading that in the light of New Historicism is essential to get the complete story. Tully notes that, “the piece of back to front political jargon meant that the election had been turned into a fight between the newly prosperous farming castes, the backwards, and the land-owning castes who had dominated Bihar before independence, like the bhumihars (a caste)”(323).

Digvijay, who believes that public memory is very short, regrets on his mistake of re-joining the Congress party. Janata Parliamentary Party of Morarji fell in 1978 after two years of maintaining the government and in 1980, the Indira Gandhi government came into being. But when the Congress party denied him seat for the 1980 elections, he understood that his political career was coming down to an end slowly. In this chapter, Tully gives the readers an inclusive outlining of the ‘other Indian’ politics, which directly disturbs the national political stream, its ups and downs, adjustments, petty gains and major faults, caste-based socio-political system and also the defeat of a sincere Congressman, which came to be the background of this chapter.

From early Bihar politics to Andhra Pradesh ‘desi’ politics, the chapter “Creating Cyberbad” in *India in Slow Motion* covers the development in the field of the technological advancement of the state. Mark Tully was to fly in the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh’s helicopter to the election meetings he was attending then. Tully says Naidu is, “...the idol of World Bank and other institutions that were pressing for better governance, for less government, for modernization of the administration, and eradication of corruption.”(123) The election rallies were of elections for local bodies and the chief minister was taking them as seriously as assembly elections, so his enemies were also vigilant. He gathered all power to himself and ruled with an iron rod in his hands. The



history of Telugu Desam Party, its charismatic founder and Chandrababu's father-in-law, the film star N.T. Rama Rao and its founding family are apportioned in this chapter. Political topsy-turvy created ups and downs in the career of the leaders only. Until and unless the leaders do anything progressive for the people, they will not even be remembered personally. A usual polite preliminary in politics makes it just formal, so when Tully asked Naidu why is India so badly governed? He gave a clear-cut answer with full of sparks in it, "...because people are illiterate and the leaders don't feel it necessary to give proper direction to the nation... The main problem is poverty and ignorance and they are not interested in doing anything about it." (129) When, Tully directly asked him whether he believed the often said idea that the leaders of India have deliberately kept the people ignorant so that the people won't know how badly they are governed, Naidu disagreed with the question and suggested a much intended reply:

If Indians are so capable and intelligent, as they show around the world, why are they not doing better here? IT has shown how intelligent they are, but we politicians must create the right atmosphere in which they can flourish. We only started to liberalise our economy in 1991, a long time after China, so we have and lot of catching up to it. (129)

Naidu is crystal clear about the issue of liberalization, which was easier for China because it was a totalitarian state. But in India, the state has to bother about what the people thought because of its democratic status, "In India, to win elections, we have not been going for priorities but for populism. Politicians have been misleading rather than educating, making tall promises they are not fulfilling. In government they say one thing, in opposition another"(129-130) Nevertheless, he insisted firmly that democracy was

the only answer for India. Much more changes for improvements to make the government function efficiently are necessary. Governments' role, from a controlling agency should move to a facilitating mediator and people should be like 'watchdogs' and vigilant as stakeholders, says Naidu. Decentralization of power at the centre and the state will give more role as well as voice to the common people and then everything will not be done alone by the government. The people, like the stakeholders, will participate in all the initiatives by the government. Naidu called up McKinsey, one of the outstanding management consultants in the world and who finalized a document called Vision 2020 – a vision of the state for future. The buzzer idea of the document is the coinage term SMART government, which means simple, moral, accountable, responsive, and transparent. The mission undertaken by Naidu was to transform Hyderabad, once considered one of India's sleepiest capitals on the IT map to the IT capital of India, winning over Bangalore. He never believed the people as skeptical with pessimistic thoughts and he made his ideology open to Tully, "when people ask what is 'ism', I subscribe to say society is my temple, the common man is my God. I work for that God. Now everyone is talking about reforms with a human face but I don't want only to talk, I want to take e-mail to every village" (131)

Naidu distinguishes the 'other Indians' and wakes to make their life reliable along with his IT visions. Naidu's reforms were happening amidst brusque criticism. Many were complaining that this IT business is a lot of hype. Many complained the e-government facilities were not functioning properly. Tully notes that "in Indian politics, the enemy within is often more dangerous than enemy without" (135). Some indecently claim that when the IT vision is implemented, more than decentralization, the system is

going to be more tightened and not flexible, explains Tully on the behalf of the reforms he did for the ‘other Indians’:

Chandra Babu Naidu was, by no means, unaware of the criticism of his reforms, and of the need to ensure that they had an impact in villages, where, after all, most of the voters lived. He had started schemes to involve villages in development projects, had formed irrigation – water users’ committees as well as those parent committees. Millions of village women had joined his extraordinarily successful micro savings and credit scheme, and efforts were being made to see that IT won’t be just used to deliver government services in cities like Hyderabad. (149)

Massive database on the poorest villages was created and as part of the project, computer operators loaded information from a survey of 7, 35,000 households, spread over 1,555 villages. This collected information would be used to issue automatically basic documents like caste certificate, deed of property, land ownership certificates and ration card details, the new system directly helps the ‘other Indians’, says Tully, as the clerks get less opportunity to harass and take bribe for doing what they were paid to do. Always the bureaucracy had managed to retain a hold on the system by saying roughly that each and every document must be signed by the most senior official, otherwise it will be misused by the clerical persons. The computers made the working culture faster than before. One can’t say that IT was a panacea for all the evils of governance. Tully marks the odd voices of some forlorn men, who were sitting on the pieces of a broken statue of Nandi, the bull of Lord Shiva, who said that computers were uninteresting things, waste-talked and rubbish. Another lugubrious farmer told Tully that “they do nothing for us” (150). Another farmer of the village, who now owned a liquor shop,

sheepishly smiled and said to Tully, “they didn’t stop five farmers committing suicide in this village last year because the rains failed and there was no crop, and they have failed again this year. If we go to our land we will just start crying, so we come here and have a bottle of liquor. (150)

A group of women, who were dressed in what at first sight looked like patch work quilts, were discussing something regarding the difficulty of getting work as labourers, when Tully approached them. They were aware of the chief minister’s scheme to give villagers control over development schemes, but complained they were not given any work and for them, that mattered the most. They were really active members of the chief minister’s micro-credit schemes but as the local farmers. When it came to IT, computers and e-governance, they behaved like they were just hearing Greek and Latin, totally ignorant. It was true that, during the earlier days of the establishment of the Vision 2020; it was clearly by no means self-evident in the villages of the state that the Naidu campaign for corruption-free e-governance among the ‘other Indians’ was making any difference. But Naidu was highly optimistic and said that there was still much to do for attaining the further stage. IT cannot completely eradicate corruption, but to a certain extent, it can stop files being deliberately lost. Reformatations are easily possible and the monitoring of the system becomes easier. Politicians, bureaucrats and intellectuals always thoroughly opposed and criticized reforms. Bureaucrats and politicians are equally blamable. But ‘other Indians’, though some are ignorant of the reformative changes, were benefited out of this creating Cyberabad, IT revolution of Naidu in the state.

In the post independent India, Tully’s works bridge the distinction between the subject and the person who addresses the subject, as Althusser observed. It reveals how

individuals respond to the notable events that affect the institution as a whole. They are part of the ideology which they have to deal with every sphere of life. Tully's works establish common man's perspectives on the political dilemmas of the country. Like Bakhtin, Tully reinstates the fact there is no single truth. By bringing multiple voices to the record, Tully finds multi-dimensional truths in disagreement irrespective of the subject he handles- be it communalism, communism, Dalit politics or violence.

In the next chapter of the thesis, the various aspects of 'other Indian' societies, economy, religion and political affairs in varied arenas are explored in detail to understand Tully's narrative style against the backdrop of post-independent Indian history.

## Chapter IV

### TULLY'S 'OTHER INDIAN' KALEIDOSCOPE

Like communalism, (which is debated in detail in the previous chapter), caste system has always been a major point of discourse in the history of India. It is a very old structure which transformed through different ages under the influence of various invasions. It affects not just the social fabric, but also the lives of every single individual. The rituals like 'Sati' leave a darker impact on the existence of every community. And, in India, everything from politics to science, caste shadows an impact. The social life has always been under its influence. Every marginalised political movement takes root in it and evolves into a ground-shattering reality. Naxalism was such an incident. Tully travels across the country to examine the underlying social conditions behind many of these social incidents. None of his versions are generic history but they are the first-person accounts of different parties involved and affected by such incidents.

In *No Full Stops in India*, the chapter "Ram Chander's Story", Tully shows a concern and a better understanding of the caste system which has never been totally static. Its system is very powerful especially in the rural Indian villages of the Hindi belt. Caste system directly predicts the verdict of socially, economically and politically moving societies. Tully himself consolidates his idea of caste in the introduction part of *No Full Stops in India*.

The caste system provides security and a community for millions of Indians. It gives them an identity that neither western science nor western thought has yet provided, because caste is not just a matter of being a Brahmin or a Harijan: it is also a kinship system. The system provides a wider support group than the family: a group which has a social life in which all its members can precipitate. (9)

It is not quite easy to shake the beliefs of the common man in India. Their life and tradition are intertwined with the religious and caste hierarchical systems so spellbound by the rituals, rites and superstitions. India is a land dominated by religious thinking and the culture and identity of the country get reflected in its language and religion. The religious hierarchy and, superstitions and rites together constitute the Indian value system. And hence, these are complementary to each other. Mark Tully's works are prototypes of the Indian Dalit sufferings and realities against the wake of religious and social conditions that make the Dalits the lower social class and thus Tully becomes the global voice of the rural India. The existence of these kinds of unbreakable community ties renders wider orbit and scope of stability and self-regard to man-to-man group otherwise they would have as personalized individuals. Thus the 'other Indian', whose survival is based on the strong kinship and community loyalties, retains a strong sense of self-worth. Sustenance system supplied by the kinship connections provides a much more social and cultural security than the alternative conglomerate reforms of all the practices of the successive socialist governments which ruled them have introduced to aid the 'other Indian' poor. More than family bindings, kinship relations act as a wider support group and that gives an affirmatory facet for the caste system. In "Caste Overturned", the modus vivendi of the Dalits, the new prospects of their education, the upgradation of their

work culture and their societal interpersonal dealings with people of other castes are analysed in an 'other Indian' position. According to many social critics such as Kancha Ilaiah, the caste division is the creation of religious fascism. Driven by different and varied belief systems, Indian society is patriarchal and hierarchical based on the superstitious beliefs and religious notions that it has been carrying with it for centuries. And, the class and caste system is maintained by imposing rigorous rites and rituals. Nevertheless, any Dalit literary and social movements since the days of Dr Ambedkar and Mahatma Phule rejected the caste system and sought an own identity for Dalits. Later, the Dalit literary movements have rightly rejected all role models, traditional literature, Eastern and Western critical theories and decided to create an identity of their own. This movement has put the real instead of the ideal in terms of plot and character creation in place and focuses on little narration rather than grand narration by totally omitting the metaphysical, philosophical, symbolic and imaginative language. And thus, it has successfully created a space of its own. This 'own identity' has never denied the social/religious system. It never denies or opposes it, leaving no major change in the system.

As Octavio Paz remarked, the reality is a staircase going neither up nor down, we do not move, today is today, nor always is today. The Dalit livings have not changed much, especially in Northern India, despite all attempts to bring the Dalit Literature to the main stream and even after it gets brand ambassadors such as Arundhati Roy and Arvind Adiga. None can trace out where religion ends and superstition begins. It is strange that these religions are not non-superstitious, and they cannot exist without it. Most of the superstitious beliefs are not fragile. It never stands or falls with traditional circumstance.



There was hardly any major attempt to establish strong pro-Dalit identity in journalistic literature in the country. Typical to hard-core reportage, any Dalit journalistic literature comes with a third party point of view and has little or limited options to spread 'Dalit's own identity' as in the case of Dalit literary movements of the late 1960s. Mark Tully always keeps himself close to the rural India and Dalits, and makes an innovative approach in dealing with their problems. Mark Tully also, as described early, finds shelter in finding out the positives of the caste system, which 'provides security and a community to millions of Indians'. He records it as, "... an identity that neither western science nor Western thoughts have yet provided, because caste is not just a matter of being a Brahmin or a Harijan. It is also a kinship system"(7).

In *The Heart of India*, he was reporting from the rural parts of the middle India and has collected a large number of village stories that are un-natural. It is presented in a realistic tone but mysteriously. In the first chapter of the book, "Barren Woman of Balramgoan", he describes a strange and mysterious 'other indian' group. When Holi was celebrated in the village, Ram Lakhan -- belonging to Yadava community-- was kicked out of playing cymbals saying that 'wait until your house produces some children before trying to play those cymbals'. Ram Lakhan and his wife are not allowed to participate in any such religious celebrations. There was a general notion that 'nobody plays Holi with a barren woman.' It brings bad luck. Then the wife spends one night at Guru Gorakhnath's Ashram at Gorakhpur and she conceives. No one enquired regarding the truth. The reader is left with the question whether it is a miracle or something more worldly to the wisdom of the reader. Similar journalistic treatment in the Asaram Bapu case in 2013 is an example. In a prominent article, Meera Nanda, has somewhat in an

obscure manner, brought out the relationship of religion-politics-business nexus. However, as in the case of Tully, it has failed to touch the hard-core issue of superstitions. Despite the fact that ‘this triangular relationship between the state, the peddlers of “ancient values” of HinduSanskriti and private money has become the standard operating model adopted by nearly all brand name gurus’. It finds its shelter in the constitutional rights to perform religious rites.

Matter of false pride rules the poor villagers who belong to lower classes. Chottu Ram, who belongs to Kumhar or potter community, lives in Thakurdwara village situated in Karail. Their self-pride makes them think that their marriage expense is an essential expenditure. None would accept the girl if there was no grand wedding to be proud of. These make the villagers borrow money from private money lenders at huge rates of interest. When Chottu Ram was asked to repay more money and interest, he eventually killed the money lender. It became a class and caste fight as Chottu Ram belonged to a lower class whereas the money lender was an upper classman. Finally, Thakur Ram’s sons take revenge on Chottu Ram by killing him. He goes with religious sentiments and keeps himself away from opposing many social evils. In another part of his works, Tully shares the views of Kancha Ilaiah, the Dalit theorist, about the religious fascism that paved the way for the caste system. But, in his writing, he always sympathises with the lower class but turns a blind eye towards the religious fascism. Such denials of facts have eventually been ended in leaving a mysterious image on the country among the global audience and it will take long to come out of this shadow. The special needs of the ‘other Indian’ rural group are carefully estimated in the chapter, “Ram Chander’s Story” and in the “Caste Overturned” in *Non Stop India*. The worsening and

declension of the traditional caste system as an outcome of modernization also gets reflected in “Ram Chander’s Story” and in the “Caste Overturned”. The caste system, as any other establishment, has its positive and negative aspects. Caste and its strong and robust connective relation affinities were a blessing to Ramachander when he left his village and came to Delhi. When the foreign authors and most of the Indian authors portrayed the horror of the caste system and the bloody hierarchical divisions, Tully searches for its compassionate side. Lower class Indians firmly believed that “only biradari people (same caste/same sub caste) help you in times of trouble”(No Full Stops in India 50).

We help each other in the biradari from birth until death. When anyone dies, one or two hundred people will collect money for the funeral and will take the ashes to the Ganges. Men and women come. Only biradari people help you in times of trouble. (50)

Women always, in and out of the households face double backlash in the ‘other Indian’ rural condition. Their position in family and the society is not well off. In “Ram Chander’s Story”, Ramchander’s daughter Rani gives birth to a baby within a year of her wedding. But the new born boy’s left foot was twisted at a right angle joint to his leg. Though Ramachander bursts into fear when he first saw the twisted angle, Rani balanced her emotions more wisely and sensibly, and accepted the doctor’s reassuring words and thought that it could be put right in plaster by a time span of six months. When she got precise guidance to prolong the birth of the next child a little bit, so that she can look after herself and her baby’s health well, she accepted to use an IUD. Her husband Manoj, unemployed, put up some opposition in using contraceptive methods. But Rani,

who was already familiar all about family planning from friends and television, handled Manoj effortlessly. But once she returned to her in-law's house, the womenfolk there contends she have the IUD removed and firmly alleged that it was against God and dishonest to impede herself in such natural undertakings. Rani represents the young 'other Indian', not much educated, but a little aware of the social facts than the earlier generation. Rani at least showed the courage to go to a medical centre and insert IUD by taking ample medical advice, though later she had to remove it when her in-laws forced her to do it. In yet another piece in the book *No Full Stops in India* Tully lands on a harsh judgment on a 'sati' issue which was manhandled by the feminists as strategies to broadcast them and the villagers felt that they were badly treated and Tully recorded their opinion in the chapter "The Deorala Sati". Tully condemns traditions like 'sati' which forced a widowed woman to kill herself by burning her body in her husband's funeral pyre. Roop Kanwar's 'sati' which took place in one of the days of the first week of September 1987, ended up as a brutal murder and the whole village of Deorala connived at it. Her husband's family gave a dressed up and decent version of the incidents that Roop told all the family members and villagers that 'she is going to be a sati'. They told her about the consequences, serious trouble with police and promised to look after her and care for her. But the adamant Roop Kanwar swore that she would burn and die with her husband. According to the police, the burial and the sati performance got another colour. Police cross-examined the villagers and Tully thus quotes:

Roop Kanwar was drugged with opium by a local doctor who was her husband's cousin. She was then dragged through the village leaning on the shoulders of two women. When they reached the cremation ground, members of her husband's

family forced her to sit on the pyre and placed her dead husband's head in her lap. The flames shocked Roop Kanwar out of her drugged stupor and she struggled to get off the pyre, but she was forced back by young Rajput men wielding chivalrous swords. Her screams were drowned by the slogans of the crowd and the beating of the drums. (214)

The Rajput leaders from Panchayat to the national level, journalists, officials, thinkers, liberal elite group all entered into a tug of war regarding Roop Kanwar's 'sati'. Ethical values and personal independence were probed and debated. But the truth regarding the incident was hidden deeper. The burning of widow attracted considerable attentive responsiveness in the international press and the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who came to power promising to bring India into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, was in a quandary regarding his participation in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in Canada in the coming month. Politicians described it fearfully as 'the matter of religion'. The safer side will be preferred by the players of politics then. Later, state and central governments passed an act on 'sati'. But, substantiating that a law will never be able to prevent worship and adoration of a religions convention, several shrines dedicated to Narayani Devi, a woman who is said to have become sati and committed it centuries ago came up in the outskirts of Deorala. Later her shrines were called Rani Sati or Queen Sati temples. Small shrines were later converted into big huge marble structures, surmounted by a beautiful curved tower in the typical north Indian style. The establishment later raised smaller towers over shrines of twelve other satias. 200 rooms were added to this structure as rest houses. Every year, in the honour of Rani Sati big fairs were conducted. When the women activists held protests by challenging the

celebration of Rani Sati Fair, the shrine Trustee responded saying that “sati was just an epithet describing a woman who was pious and faithful to her husband” (233). But later they came with an excuse that the Trust never supported the convention of sati, they worshipped Shakti, the Hindu Goddess and not Sati. But the lawyers working with the women’s groups condemned the fair and went to Supreme Court and demanded for a temporary order outlawing the fair. They did not impede in the daily worship ceremony in the temple. So it continued. Almost 40,000 were gathered to worship the Goddess on a particular day of Fair, but nobody was sure what kind of worship was going on in the shrine, whether prayers were offered to Sati or Shakti, whether the Supreme Court order banning the Sati glorification was broken or not. Many of the villagers saw the Sati as religious or caste issue, the women protest leaders called it a criminal act and they linked it to the problem of women’s identity in India. But Deorala village took the Roop Kanwar issue as an occurrence which caused insult to the village, as it hit the top news of national and international press. Later, a discussion on the issue by the feminist organisations ended up as the clash between the feminist modernity and the religious; in Deorala it is Rajput fundamentalists. Even the law was impossible to enforce and Tully says that another myth about the backwardness of India spread throughout the world.

Fundamentalists were given platform as many of them were politicians too and caste had a kind of illegal relationship with the political system. They even thought to the extent that if another ‘sati’ had occurred, they could bring down the government. All protests were in vain, even the law went unimplemented. The controversy remained as controversy and the incident and the place became a happy hunting ground for press and film makers. No politicians or government officials were interested in solving the

problem. Everybody was happily trying to gain something out of the issue. It was the real failure of the government. It was sure that the Rajasthan government was not trying to prevent the worship at the shrine of the Iconic Roop Kanwar Sati. If the police and the government had acted upon the situation rightly and inclined to the rule of law, and those who were responsible for the criminal 'sati' would have been arrested with abetment to murder or at least an arrest warrant produced should have made the villagers serious and cautious. This might prevent them from installing any sort of shrine glorifying the Roop Kanwar 'sati'. No example was set; Roop Kanwar murder was simply commemorated. Everyone treated this as 'non-issue'. Later, feminists were criticized for not looking up before their leap. They did not think about the final consequence of their campaign on the very women whose lives they were focusing and trying to improve. The feminists used the issue as a publicity factor. That was the opposite judgment of the villagers, says Tully. Deorala Sati was a typical 'other Indian' phenomenon and Tully evaluated it very well bringing, several facets of it from different points of assessment. He approached the social evil from all sides of the incident and gives a complete commentary on the subject.

The Golden Temple issue has been vividly analysed in the chapter "Operation Black Thunder" in the *No Full Stops in India*. Tully begins the chapter like this:

Operation Blue Star, the Indian army's clumsy attack on the Sikh Golden Temple at Amritsar in June 1984, shook the foundation of the Indian Nation. It deeply wounded the pride of the Sikhs, the most prosperous of India's major communities. It strengthened the cause of those Sikhs campaigning for the setting up of a separate Sikh state – Khalistan- and gave them a martyr-Sant Jarnail Singh

Bhindranwale, the fundamentalist preacher who had fortified the Golden Temple complex and died defending the shrine. It caused Sikh soldiers to mutiny. It led directly to the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and to the worst communal violence since the Partition riots of 1947. (153)

The insalubrious politics of the doctrine that rejects religion and religious considerations versus the Hindutva has permeated the Indian Political scenes since Independence. Tully enters into the soul of the issue and his description when he entered the Golden Temple complex just after Operation Blue Star is realistic, “heavily armed soldiers in battle fatigues had replaced the pilgrims. There was a sullen silence. The walls were pockmarked with bullet holes. Squash head shells fired by tanks and designed to destroy by sending shock waves through their targets had pulverized the frontage of the Akal Takht, leaving hardly a pillar standing, blackening marble walls and destroying plaster, filigree and mirror work decoration more than two hundred years old. The floors of the shrine were carpeted with spent cartridges. The white marble of pavement outside was stained with blood”(154). Prime Minister, along with the team, and the politicians of Sikh religious party, the Akali Dal, failed miserably in rising above the conditional circumstances of their own contiguous petty political assistances. Tully talks to police inspector general, journalists Akali Dal leaders, Sikh saints and to other officials to keep a tight picture of the Black Thunder Operation. The undercurrents and impending of the Khalistan movement, Sikh sentiments, rumours of several murders and torture in Golden Temple are neatly and briefly described. Unbiased approaches make Tully’s “Operation Black Thunder” respectfully genuine and he concludes it saying:

India is not alone in the world in facing terrorism, nor is it the only country to



have used its army to fight terrorists, but Operation Blue Star and the military rule Indira Gandhi imposed on Punjab after it, went far beyond anti-terrorist tactics.

(180)

Tully also says that India, a religious society, should keep its politics apart from the religious magnetic field. When both come together, it's highly inflammable and the secularist ideologies of Indian culture would then fail to quench the communal fire. Akali Dal- Tully points out without any bias- was a communal party, the greatest threat to Indian secularism. Through his different accounts on the Khalistan Movement, Tully portrays the event that led to demolition of Golden Temple in an attempt to end the movement. For him, the eye witness account is more important. He even met KPS Gill, then military head of the Operation and detailed his views on it. It could not provide any one with a complete sense of historical facts. None is complete without the other. Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee and Aditya Mukherjee in *India since Independence*, details the historic incidents behind the Khalistan movement from the polarisation of the society. It tracks the history from the 1947. The Akalis were always of the opinion that the politics and religion cannot be separated. The book also looks into how other secular parties dealt with them till the violent days of Khalistan terrorism.

Parallel to Akali Militancy, terrorism made its appearance in Punjab in 1981 as a partial culmination of communal politics since 1947 and the policy of appeasement towards communalism followed by the Punjab Congress leadership, especially since the early 1970s. The initiator of terrorism was Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who emerged in the late 1970s as a strong campaigner of Sikh orthodoxy. In this campaign he received the tacit support of the Punjab Congress

led by Giani Zail Sing, who hoped to use him to undercut the Akalis. He was, however, to soon become a Frankenstein and turn against his erstwhile patrons.

(430)

The book details the advantages of the Operation Blue Star and its aftermaths. It is a chronological detailing of events whereas Tully extends personal memoirs of the same history. One is emotional while the other is academic. One is experience based while the other is event-based. But, both together can only represent the truth, as New Historicism suggests.

In the introductory chapter of *No Full Stops in India*, Tully says that the best way to destroy a people's culture and identity is to undermine its religion and its language. As Indian rulers before 1947, the Britishers were doing that. The irony is that, they still continue to do that as part of the dominant culture of the world today. Lots of changes in the attitude towards religion, politics, social and cultural hierarchy, caste took place as part of the initiation of modernism. Supplanting of artists and workers are discussed in "The New Colonialism" in the book *No Full Stops in India*. Mahabalipuram, from the ancient times, is known for its temples, spiritual art and sculpture. But second/modern colonialism crept in with modernism in the form of commercialism and a cultural supremacy pervaded over the artistic atmosphere of the seaside small town Mahabalipuram. "Cultural exchanges are one of the more subtle ways of imposing cultural imperialism"(57-58). Tully disagrees with Nirad C Chandhuri's views that all the Indian goodness within us was made, moulded and quickened by the colonial British rule by saying the emperors do not quicken the culture of their subjects but they just manslaughter them. As quoted above Cultural exchanges are one of the subtle ways of

imposing cultural imperialism and he described one of the occasions he met with such an invasion at Mahabalipuram, the historic site about thirty miles south of Madras. Stephen Cox is a British artist who took the traditional sculptures of Mahabalipuram to the attention of the world. That ancient tradition of art and architecture were there even before Cox came to Mahabalipuram and trained on it. But it had remained unnoticed till that time. Even after, Cox left Mahabalipuram, the tradition continues through the same people who taught Cox the art. However, once again, they were denied fame. And Mark Tully, in the chapter, depicts how neo colonialism works through the lives of anonymous sculptors who keep the tradition moving, though hardly make it into the media or fame. Here, as well, Tully takes a different yet true Indian stance. British always concentrated, continues Tully, on creating a small elite and left the rest of India to itself. In 1986, English artist Stephen Cox exhibited the catalogue of sculpture at the Delhi Triennial. According to Tully, that was a remarkable example of the cultural imperialism through cultural exchange. Cox came to Mahabalipuram with a scholarship to learn and to teach. He learned about the culture of its traditional sculptors and then purposefully allowed that culture to influence his art work. Art should be intuitive and genuine, it should happen instinctively. So Cox never learnt anything from the sculptors and he felt that when he was with the artists, architects and sculptors of Mahabalipuram, he could experience it but as soon as he leaves them or that artistic atmosphere, he loses it. He could not help himself. That was his culture. Ganapati Stapati, Principal of the College of Architecture and Sculpture, Mahabalipuram, told Tully that Cox still had people working for him at the Mahabalipuram artistic site. But he had not got into the vibrancy of the ancient traditional craftsmen culture of the place and actually he was not moved. Though he is

highly interested he is not aroused to the soul. He seems to be very commercial, says Ganapati, and will never understand the mindset of creative artists. Since he lacked that artistic temperament, though he stayed in the Mahabalipuram village of art, he is not to be carrying anything from here, but a few pieces of stone. Ganapati strongly believed that he had been brought up in a scientific and spiritual tradition. He firmly applauded that there is a spirit in all things, and through their sculptural art, they express that form of beauty of the real spirit of art. Tully was enquiring again and again too many others, including Ganapathi, whether Stephen Cox was able to understand the 'other Indian' exceptional Mahabalipuram tradition in a few months. Stephen Cox, cunningly, did not make any attempt to learn anything. It is not quite easy to master any art within a couple of months. Years and years of continuous struggle and work are needed to master it.

Indian villages are traditional hubs of indigenous art and artistry. The 'other Indian' images of the Indian rural spaces are very much apt to it. Foreign traders, purely business-oriented art curators purchase Indian art forms produced at the zenith of creative talent by the poor Indian artisans at very low rates and they sell them at a large profit. Sometimes, local and cheap raw materials are used to produce artworks and they are also sold out at high prices. "Stephen Cox is undoubtedly a humane neocolonialist when it comes to business" (67), says Tully. Authenticating his thought, he elaborates "Nevertheless, anyone who exalts his art above someone's craft is implying superiority, and that's what cultural imperialism is all about" (65). Arunachalam, a young Indian sculptor and a student of Stapati, was chosen by Cox because he was one of the few students in the college who knew English and spoke it courteously. Cox selects some of the Indian themes and just works on it without understanding the meaning or the idea of

the theme. Modern art is just a remix of different themes together – sometimes Indian and European. It is easy to carve and then to find out meaning for it. Profit making comes when the Indian art is sold in the foreign countries with Cox's final touches on it. It is said that three containers full of sculptures were sent to Stephen Cox the previous year and Arunachalam said to Tully that "Stephen sends me drawing and I carve them. He puts the finishing touches to them"(64) .When Tully met Cox, he directly asked him about this profit-making art business in which Cox just considered Indian art as a mere craft which he could just make perfect by giving some final touches. Tully claims that "Cox's act was just modern colonialism, using the cheap labour and raw material of Indian art village and selling it at a huge profit" (65). Modern imperialism is related to capitalistic business and tourism is one among them. How the new colonial ideologies have crept into the language which is learned and used in day-to-day life is also a subject for Tully. Indian language, Indian art and Indian culture are always the victims of cultural imperialism.

Metamorphosis of an 'other Indian' rural village due to the modernization is not apprehensible. "Typhoon in Ahmedabad" discusses how Ahmedabad resisted at least some of the influences of the encroaching modern western culture. In *Ahmedabad- A study in Indian Urban History*, American historian Kenneth Gillion said that, "There was little British investment; that were never many Englishmen in the city, there was no higher education to speak of: English language was understood by few; and there was no English press" (239). Tully also underlines a few of special traits which Ahmedabad still holds up amidst the intruding modernisation:

It is the only large city in India without a five-star hotel. It is the only large city where prohibition is in force. It is the only large city which does not have an

English-language newspaper of its own. It is a city which has seen several decliners, but it has always recovered because its traders and its entrepreneurs have had the energy and initiative to find new opportunities.(240)

Earlier, the place had integrity as a peaceful hardworking city. A major riot took place in 1969; unofficial record says 2,700 people were killed in six days. When the politics became unhinged, communal violences started occurring in Gujarat. The riots in 1985-86, 1990; small and big riots which break out just after a major political event, all pointed that beyond communalism, it's the politicians who wanted to play with religion for their petty gains and riot-sources. In "Typhoon in Ahmedabad", the political history of Gujarat is viewed through another Indian perspective in order to analyse the riotous hurricanes (In Gujarat, riots are known as toofan/hurricanes/typhoons). Media always report communal riots with much sensationalism but no one is interested in reporting or telecasting the tranquility, which is there in Ahmedabad most of the time. It's one of the safer places, when there are no riots. If the reputation for the communal riots is once crowned, no good is seen thereafter. Common people strongly believe that riots happen when there is a need of twist in politics. In order to change the rule, win the election, to create melodramatic votes or sympathy votes, riots are purposefully created by the leaders. They never suffer but the common people are the losers. Politicians and the media just place the responsibility and blame on the label of religious fundamentalism. That is more appropriate for the press and the political players but the victims, who are the sufferers of these hunting and who ought to know the reality, truth is something different. Victims are common Indians – who belong to several different religions and who had never seen these religions dividing them. They never had taken the meaning of

the word 'fundamentalists' to their religious understanding also. An in-depth thinking will make things clear that the riots had not taken place between Hindus and Muslims though they were seen by the people put outside Gujarat like that, it was clear that the riots were modulated by political parties for their political greedy needs.

India's entrepreneurial flair, aptitude and its executive skill are the highlighted qualities of having a favourable situation when it comes to business. That was the striking progress of India's corporate world over the last two decades and "Entrepreneurship Unleashed" in *Non Stop India* discusses the struggles and conflicts which opened pathway of advancement of the Tata Group, one of the prominent figures in Indian business enterprise. Rules and regulations on stock exchange investment policies have been devised by the bureaucrats who, even though perhaps potent and sound on economic theory, didn't realize the market patterns and praxis. When Indian investment came in the portfolios of the international fund managers, changes began to happen. Less transparency of government policies always created problems. Unrestricted powers of government, ministry and bureaucrats made the trade policies stretch for their own profit making. Despite all these contrary situations, now India does have some noteworthy companies serving in and out the country. Reliance, Aditya Birla Group, TATA, and many other groups of companies operate nationally and regionally. Some of them, like Aditya Group, show interests in international operations. But Tully says that:

All is not well with Indian business. In particular, there are frequent allegations that business is responsible for much of the political and bureaucratic corruption that plagues the country. I decided to look at one group to illustrate the positive and negative sides of the business ledger in India, and I chose Tata.(168)

TATA is one of the biggest conglomerations of several companies, which is also a remarkable prototype of the way Indian companies have expanded over the last two decades. In this unbiased piece, “Entrepreneurship Unleashed” Tully unveils the negative and positive sides of the business ledger in India. Tully portrays the unique tradition of the company, its growth and how it managed to influence the economy of the country. The merchant-turned-industrialist Jamsetiji Nusserwanji Tata, founded the group in in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He was widely known for his restrained behavior. Ratan Tata, alias J.R.D Tata served for more than 53 years and he is also esteemed for his reserved character. From the descent, “company directors steered it through the Second World War, the tumultuous post-Independence decades of the license permit Raj”(170). In between, Tully says that the “company, in its early stages, was so philanthropic that it forgot the need to make profits”(170). Indian dream of becoming part of the New Industrial Revolution because of the loss of the years under the imperial rule was contented by the development of the basic industries. Both small-scale and large-scale industries all over the metropolises and the ‘other Indian’ rural areas constantly reminded that “they have never shed their values nor forgotten about their integrity and closed their eyes to maintain the righteous polices”(172).The history of the Tata companies- Tata Steel, Tata Motors, Tata Chemicals, Tata Consultancy, Tata Group of Hotels, and Tata Automobiles is valuable for inspiration-seeking readers. How in 1882 Jamsetji Tata found the iron deposit in the princely state of Mayurbhanji and perceived and wrote contract for the railway steel rails through their steel plant, a first-of-its-kind in India, is an interesting story. Nearly 1500 miles of rails were exported to Mesopotamia during the First World War. The story of Tata Chemicals is too exciting. Then Indian Railways, one the largest public sector



undertakings in India, commissioned Tata for steel rails and then TELCo (Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company) was framed for its work. The problems of governance in India, R. Gopalakrishnan, an executive director of Tata Sons, said, are inevitable difficulties of a maturing democracy. Tata made a promising progress, overcoming even November 26, 2008 Mumbai Terrorist attack at the Taj Hotel, he said. Building a developmental business in India is a risky and frustrating matter because “at any point of time any of the people can say no to any project, higher government authorities, even ministries and regulators”(188). Tully reveals the fact that with all the problems that business faces in India and bearing in mind that 65 per cent of the TATA companies revenue comes from outside India, he asked R Gopalakrishnan whether “TATA ever thought of deserting this country, being no longer recognizably Indian” (188-890). Then Gopalakrishnan said that Ratan Tata is too much of a nationalist to let the thought of leaving India pass through his mind and says, “this is the soil that we were nurtured in and we will continue to cultivate this soil and grow things here, but we have money and we have ambitions so we go to other soils as well”(189).

Tully never skips the telecom controversy against TATA and mentions that “the hullabaloo would never have arisen if the government had evolved a clear and transparent policy for distributing it” (190) and stick to R. Gopalakrishnan’s words that, “I feel India is at a very important turning point”(190). The economic ups and downs directly hit the stock exchange numerals and indirectly affect the ‘other Indians’ of the country and so the analysis of the biggest business group of companies thus becomes relevant. The divide between India’s 950 millions poor and the haves is increasing alarmingly. Throughout his writings, Mark Tully criticizes the bad governance for the failure of the

system. Tully is of the opinion that the dreaded rules with high flexibility enable the officials and inferior level officers and government office workers to easily diverge from their duties and the 'other Indian' have-nots really suffer out of this. The poor villagers will not be able to offer bribes to get the local politicians and administrative civil servants to use their judgmental power. The government, both state and national, should look into this matter and need to find a solution.

India always faces conflict between development and environment, says Tully in "A Forgotten Land" in *Non Stop India*. The future of poorest Indians alias 'other Indians' is of less concern so the disagreement between environmentalists and industrialists is severely postponing the development of production industries like steel and other metals and "if these problems were resolved in time, it would have made a profound change in India's future"(191). Land procurement is the major impediment. The interests and the demands of the land owners, who have to grant their lands, are a major dispute. Northeastern states are the nature's asset. Less consideration and concern always alienate these states from the mainstream development. The people are so much bounded to nature, therefore any construction or developmental process should be done with special care and delicateness, says Tully.

In almost every case of land acquisition, there is also a conflict between the interests of the companies and the interests of those living on the land. One of the problems here is India's abysmal record of resettling families driven off the land to further the cause of development. If people losing their land were assured of a decent second chance in life, they would not be so reluctant to go. (191)

In central India, near the open-cast coal mines of Singrauli, nearly 2000 square kilometers are filled with power stations. The land itself is known as Power Town or Shakti Nagar after that. Tribal people of these regions were resettled according to official documents but the reality is that “their houses were little more than raw tin shacks, cheek by jowl, standing in straight lines, with no shade” (191). The poignant naked ‘other Indian’ reality was that, the resettlers were not given electricity, even after their shift. When the tribals enquired the officials about this issue, their answer was shocking. Those who have given their land for the power projects and shifted to some other place were told that “they can’t afford electricity, so they can’t have it” (193). Such is the partiality shown to the poor people, who have given their land and livelihood for the setting up of power project to light up the rest of India. The record of governance is particularly low in the North-eastern states. Any kind of developmental plans acquiring the land in the mountains or valleys are discouraged arguing that the vibrant culture of these area will be affected along with the ordinary livelihoods. The loss of the tribal cultures will devastate the aboriginal knowledge conserved in our civilisations. The bureaucratic culture, which is blind, will just throw away the indigenous culture without knowing its value. Without consulting the people of these regions, if there is an attempt to force the dams over them, the result will be harmful, it seems. “Saving The Tiger” in *Non Stop India* also highlights environmental and ecological issues of the ‘other India’.

Ecological tensions in ‘other Indian’ rural regions should be addressed first before providing development in its own manner and in its own method. Otherwise, money allocated for the developmental activities will be squandered. Preservation of nature means the preservation of its animal resources also. So when Tully quotes Ullas

Karant, one of the conservation zoologists and leading experts, it becomes the authoritative voice in this ecological field, “wild tigers are the warning lights that indicate how healthy landscapes continue to remain in the face of our onslaught” (219). A healthy ratio of the land covered with the diverse natural forest is necessary to re-establish the ecological balance. Water pollutions are caused due to the sewage flowing to the rivers through drainage systems. This may lead to water-borne diseases, may increase child mortality rate. Air pollution due to the excess of vehicles in the metro and land pollution in the less populated countrysides and factory sectors due to the excessive usage of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers, all result in the instability of the ecosystem. Tully gets to the bottom of the topic “Saving the Tiger” and the chapter becomes an actual campaign, as for the nation, a very positive move. He mentions tiger deities are worshipped in many rural ‘other Indian’ villages. Endangerment of tiger as an awe-inspiring rare animal and the healthy ecological chain system and a detailed study on Indian forestation and deforestation arrest get the readers to look into the catastrophic environmental crisis that they are going through at this stage. Like all his attempts, “Saving the Tiger” addresses one of the most important ecological issues faced by the country. This chapter is a typical example of India’s vigorous civil order. Tully gets into more details of such basic ecological concerns and construct these narratives as part of his oral discourse.

In *Non Stop India*, the chapter “Red India”, talks about the Maoist insurrectionaries known as Naxalites and demonstrates the risks of not undertaking a problem and just allowing it to float on, because the country now almost manages to live with it. Naxal movement has its roots deep in the agrarian unhappiness since the

formation of the first elected government in West Bengal. Subsequent governments fail to address the agrarian crisis and this leads to the formation of village protection groups under the leadership of Kanu Sanyal and Charu Mazumdar.

Around 15,000 to 20,000 peasants joined the movement became full-time activists, it is said, and peasants' committees formed in villages became the nuclei of armed guards, who occupied land, burnt land records, declared debts cancelled, delivered death sentences on hated landowners, and set up a parallel administration. Bows, arrows and spears were supplemented by whatever guns could be seized from landlords. (*India since Independence* 592)

The book traces how the rebellious movement spreads across the central India from Kolkatta to Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and many other areas of the country. Tully gives personal memoirs of the deadliest movement while *India since Independence* records the linear factual growth of the event. This marks a drastic difference in the narrative approach. Tackling a problem and finding a solution never happens at certain crucial points in a successful manner in India. The failure for most times happens on the governance side. Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, in 2006 made it clear, without giving any narrow scope of exaggeration that Naxalism is the single major interior safety encounter that India faces. In 2008, Manmohan Singh seriously felt it necessary to declare a strict caution about the Naxalite menace. The Home Affairs Ministry hopefully wished that Naxalism would be cramped. But in spite of these delicate and optimistic assertions, new ideas and blueprints of plans for action against Naxalites, they still function in large areas of India, especially central and eastern India. The statistical data of the calamities caused by the Naxalite operations shows the seriousness

of this issue:

According to the Home Ministry, in 2010, there were 1,995 Naxalite incidents in which 937 civilians, 277 police, and 161 Naxalites were killed. In that year there were particularly serious incidents in the state of Chhattisgarh, in central India. In one of these, eighty members of the paramilitary Central Reserve Police were ambushed by Naxalites; only seven survived. Just one month later, in the same state, a mine planted by Naxalites blew up a bus killing over thirty people. In 2010, in West Bengal, there was little short of open warfare between Naxalites and cadres of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). In 2011 the police spokesman for the state of Jharkhand told me that there was ‘a good presence of Naxalites in 20 per cent of the state’ Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, with dense forests are the two worst ‘LWE’ or Left Wing Extremist affected states, as the government puts it. (1)

Tribals, who live in Indian forests and villages, are treated as associated with the Naxalite movement. They are exploited by the landlords and the Naxalites are the only one group to lend a helping hand and there their reliability begins. The North Eastern strategic point where the border points of India, Bangladesh and Nepal meet is known as Naxalbari village. The situation was tense and the landlords were expelling tenants and sharecroppers who ploughed the land for the feudal lords in return for a simple share of the crop. The situation became worse when the farmers started piling up the grain. The village faced near – famine conditions. Peasants’ resistance movements were organized by the CPI (M) in these regions. The first major Naxalbari outbreaks took place on 3rd March 1967. Mainly three shares croppers supported by nearly one hundred

and fifty members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) assailed and ransacked a landlord's store house. Enhanced by the victory of the Naxalbari attack, many other peasants started their resistance against the landlords, directly attacked their places, seized the stocks of grain and harvested crops on the lands which were not theirs. Violence started spreading up when the landlords counter-attacked and confronted back. Compromise talks were tried by authorities and they tried negotiations with the peasants. A tribal Bowman killed a police officer during the negotiation talks and the police team had come to the village to arrest some of those involved in the movement. The crowd became furious and the next day, a magistrate-led party was surrounded by them. Then the police force escorting the magistrate started firing and it killed ten people including six women. The local police was helpless and uprising got stiffened day by day. Local clusters of sharecroppers, peasants along with the support of political party members, armed with tribal bows and arrows started roaming about the countryside areas. They killed landlords, brutally beheading some of them. The local police closed their eyes and the situations under zero governance became more bad day by day.

When Communist Party of India (Marxist) became a partner in governance in West Bengal, their situation became a dilemma, because the peasants' movement in the Naxalbari village was earlier supported by them. The government was consistent for sometimes, but later on July 5th they ordered the police force to back up a secret campaign to bring back social and law order. The campaign with full support of the officials and ministry arrested 700 people, including some of the Naxal leaders. The Naxalbari movement became emblematic, it was a harbinger and it just spread all over the country and political unrest happened all over. The uproar fire is still scorching all

over the country. Tully travels in and around Jharkhand and West Bengal to trace out the blueprints of the solid issue. In the early 70's, the Naxalites suffered several hindrances and slowly they were jettisoned in West Bengal where the movement started. Charu Mazumdar, one of the leaders of the Bengali Naxalite movement in Naxalbari, is a one time real hero of the movement. He tried to bring about a change, but Mazumdar died of a heart attack in Calcutta jail. Naxalite aim was liberation, specifically saying to unfetter India. But Mazumdar leadership ended soon and goal remained only as a goal. Without any difference, Naxalites were planning to occupy both rural and urban spaces and the students, "lumpen proletariat" were his critics (3). Maoist strategy of concentrating on 'liberating' rural areas and the adjoining cities was maintained. Mazumdar thought of Indian democracy as insufficient. He believed in the path of armed rebellion for the 'final liberation'. The early members of the movement, in 1977, became the members of the state government of West Bengal and they were in continuous power till they were uprooted in 2001.

In spite of the death and disenchantments of Mazumdar, Naxalism survived and got spread over in India. Marxist terminology defines Naxalism as 'left sectarianism'. Internal conceptual and premeditated conflicts made the mainstream Communism oppose the Naxalite streamline. Naxalite squads all over India, though they face mainstream setbacks, were planning attacks and accidental actions protesting against the injustice of the governmental activities. In Andhra Pradesh, they are having more than 3000 followers and once the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh had a narrow escape with his life when a Naxalite group planned an attack on him secretly. Though the Naxalite group members were less than Indian security forces, the governmental forces were utter failure in



controlling the Naxalite activities in many areas. The Naxalites had the support of 'other Indian' rural tribal people who are the forest people and are the victims of the malaise of bad governance. Anuradha and Kamal Chenoy in their book *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts* state that the Naxalite group deep-rootedly spread threefold between 2005 and 2008. Tully quotes their lines to make the scenario clear:

Marxist conflicts are fuelled by primarily economic and social justice issues related to land distribution, displacements, and evictions, illegal mining, access to forest products, and oppression due to the nexus between the police, local contractors and politicians that results in the perversion of politics and governance.(4)

Tully also quotes Sudeep Chakravarti from his book *Red Sun*. Sudeep made risky travels to the Naxalite dominated areas of India and drew out some of the realistic facts like this:

Maoism isn't our greatest internal security threat. Poverty, non-governance, bad justice and corruption are. The Maoists Presence in one third of India merely mirrors our failings as a nation. The Maoist movement comprises people treated poorly, denied livelihood, justice and all the other ideals enshrined in India's Constitution. Their leaders see in the country's present realities a certain futility of purpose and this fuels their belief in violent change.(4)

Tully felt that the tribals were alienated by the way the government treated them.

Powerful Naxalites became influential soon. He doubted whether the movement was popular at all. Tully says that it wasn't really clear to him that the tribals who live in the forests, who grieve from bad governance and assistance at any time saw Naxalites as the

answer to all their problems. Most of the Naxalities were not always superior idealists inspired by Mao and the paradox is that the police force who is extensively accused for their failure to root out the Naxal Maoists sometimes seemed to be real victims of bad governance. Most of the journalists treat the news they produce as a mere 'market product', part of an 'infotainment' industry. Newspapers always stand with the powerful and the monetary giants and also with the changing governments who have authoritative power with them. More forgotten than is the truth, reality behind the issue. Naxalism was one among such mistreated issue.

Prabhat Khabar or Morning News Newspaper, a Hindi language paper in Jharkhand, with Ranchi as its headquarters, according to Tully, was definitely on the side of the 'other Indian' trait, tribals rather than the government. Journalists of Prabhat Khabar had a social commitment and the Naxalites had faith in them because of their pro-people journalism. Harivarsh was a local journalist, associated with Prabhat Khabar, whom Tully knew and he could rely on his Jharkhand visit in order to study the realities of the Naxalite issue. With the help of Prabhat Khabar, Tully met a few of the Naxalite leaders, who called themselves Maoists. They believed they should have equal rights over economic resources and the mechanism and the ideology for that is the Maoist one according to their faith. They are not greater or lesser humans than any 'other Indians' or humans, officials stood with the landlords and the powerful companies which exploited them. This created an unlikely bias and the crux of the problem is more serious, "because Jharkand is so rich in mineral resources, the fate of tribals who lose their homes and their lands to make way for companies to mine the minerals has become a major issue, an issue which the Naxalites are only too happy to exploit"(15). One of the Maoists told Tully that

the companies mining bauxite and other big mining companies are obliged under the law to look after the people they displace, the people whose homes and livelihoods they snatch away. The companies, the Maoist said, are bound to do community development for the displaced villagers but they don't obey the law. All the rights of the local 'other Indian' villages were taken away from them. They demand to give the right back to them, real sons of the earth.

The unstable politics in Jharkhand ever since the formation of the state resulted in bad governance. The government collapsed in the course of time and the governor rule was imposed. Though the Maoists cadre are scattered all over the state, especially forest areas, the Maoists were not able to take the villagers with them in their anti-democratic campaigns to takeover India's democratic system of government and set up a Maoist system. The villagers needed the panchayat elections to be held peacefully and they want power to be centralized and they wished they themselves will decide how the money should be spent, not the legislators. If they are trained to run the panchayat and to make decisions, the need will be settled and panchayats will look after their needs in a satisfactory way. Financial power handed over to the villagers can bring a lot of changes. Things will move on without much trouble. When the villagers are not exploited at even the ground level, usually it is seen that the Naxalites take a back seat and let things go in a normal way. Naxalites claim to be fighting against the injustice in social terms. So perfect governance can settle much of the issues, but the war should go on accordingly to Tully, i.e. war against inefficiency, corruption, bureaucracy, sloth and so on, which obstruct democratic functioning of the government effectively at the low levels. Winning over the tribal people by giving the good ambience of life and governance, protection and

justice, will make them more loyal so that they will deny Naxalite help and will never provide space for them to hide. Tully travels and talks for the voiceless 'other Indians' and gives a panoramic view of the much over-enlarged topic carefully.

In the chapter "Building Communities" in *Non Stop India*, Tully sets the discussion in the desert state of Rajasthan, a typical example of the misgovernance of the government, which is incapable of implementing programs and policies. In every routine service sector – health, education, food supplies, police, law and order, tax collection, power, water supply, there is evident negligence, absenteeism, corruption and lack of obligation and incompetence and the state of Rajasthan is a victim of all these flows. The 'other Indian' rural Rajasthani villagers are the real victims of this bad governance. Eighty-five per cent of the total expansion funds rolls into the personal account of corrupt officials, local politicians and their associates, the government contractors and finally only 15 per cent reach the poor. National Rural Employment Guarantee Act or NREGA made unemployed men or women over the age of 18 from rural 'other Indian' sector entitled to 100 days of paid work in a year on development projects. Some of the committed NGOs aggressively fought against corruption in the government's scheme for the well-being of the rural people. Tully has particularly mentioned and shared his experience of interacting with such non-governmental organizations in the chapters like "Building Communities", "Farming Futures", "Vote Banking" and "Caste Overturned" in *The Non Stop India*. The chapter "Farming Futures" deals with the future development of the country especially in the economic and social welfare sectors. Development is an affair of proportion. Development alternatives provided by the NGOs have limit. They can never replace private sector or the government. For writing on this issue, Tully went

out to farmers of rural areas and talked to them about contract farming. The land which was the vanguard of Green Revolution is now a territory where agriculture is a laggard. Tully hopefully says that, 'A small-farm management revolution' of M.S. Swaminathan, the father of Green Revolution, will save India from the deep crisis it faced in agriculture between 1997 and 2010.

"The English Raj" in *Non-Stop India* discusses the wallop of the Colonial spell on Indian education system. If anyone criticizes that India and its states are floundering it is because of the government's poor record of delivering all services, including education. English language is one of the favourable vantages India has and which is said to be dynamic propelling it to economic super power eminence. The craze for English raises unmixed thoughts. The hangover of a colonial past still makes Indians use and reuse some obsolete picturesque English phrases. The native speakers in India, says Tully, laughed at it. To come to the stand point of the topic Tully quotes Bill Emmott, the former editor of *The Economist* who said that when the future of India, China and Japan is compared, India fell short of China in almost every measure except the ability to speak English. Thus the clarity of pronunciation and use of English is an advantage and India should build on this plus point. Indian languages are powerful; especially the languages used by the 'other Indian' rural communities, not probably like the refined language of the metropolitan but the rough poetics of rustic heritage can be seen in them, notes Tully. When Nehru in the 1950s tried to declare Hindi as the official language of India, he had to face severe protests from the Tamil-speaking Madrasis, Maratha speaking people of Mumbai, Punjabi speakers in the north, Telugu speakers in Andhra. They all demanded that they should have their own state with their languages as the official language. Thus

Hindi remained the National language and the states had their own languages as official one. English encroachment and fascination happens only when one boasts it as the gateway to the world. In spite of its reputation as eradicator, there were no widespread backlashes against English. These days, all the Indian languages have become part of the IT boom as English has. They put up a strong position to address a fight against English domination in various fields. Tully's discussion of the influence of English on Indian languages proves that these discussions will never end as there were no full stops for 'other Indian' languages in India. Traditions of a land always hold on to its languages, thereby language, is the strongest connection of an individual with its roots. Even a colonizer's language cannot overpower it. Most of the states in India insist on a two-language policy, says Tully. It is a must and need that every educated Indian must be proficient in their mother tongue. Along with mother tongue, they make English also compulsory. Tully focuses on the point one can dream only in one's mother tongue but executions and conversations can happen in any other language.

Coming to the book *India in Slow Motion*, other than "The Reinvention of Rama" and "Creating Cyberbad" which were discussed earlier in the previous chapter, all other chapters of *India in Slow Motion* focus on the 'other Indian' perspectives from different echelons with real life stories and knowhows. Tully suggests that 'in India, the government was the problem, not the solution'. Tully criticizes the colonial bureaucracy which still restraints the nation, the nation which has become an adage for corruption and needlessly time consuming red-tape procedures and also "the India of well-educated civil servants sometimes treated as the byword of kleptocracy" (*India in Slow Motion* xvi).

The situation has now changed and Tully reports that too:

According to a recent World Bank report, India still has social indicators that are 'poor by most measures of human development'. But there is a changing India too. In the same report, the World Bank also said that India's economy had since the 1980s, been among the fastest growing in the world. Indian democracy has brought about a social revolution. (xiv)

In India, lower castes are the largest in number, they come to be crucial and dominate the political scene of the nation. The sophisticated and the privileged group is a sizeable well educated middle class. India can be proud of its IT skills and beyond. Indian civil society is vigilant and thus India is the head of the NGOs in the World. Television is not a mere governmental wing in India but it is an influential multimedia artistic and information platform. The press freedom so far is progressive and the media provide diversity of news on every perspective of Indian life. *In India in Slow Motion*, Tully searches why amidst all these positive turnovers, "India still in slow motion?"(12) Tully suggests several examples of bad governance which still uphold the obfuscatory rites of colonial administration. The politicians who run the government in intervelled terms are interested only in seeking voters' attention by raising the issues of caste and creed, not to solve the problems of bad governance. As Tully quotes Atal Bihari Vajpayee's words when he addressed the National Development Council in 1999 that people often perceive the bureaucracy as an agent of exploitation rather than a provider of service. "In India, corruption has become a low-risk activity with high reward and value. Frequent transfer of government officials due to political indulgences harm the working precept and it will put down the optimism of straightforward officers"(12). Tully also quotes Vajpayee saying that the politicians should be self-critical and should review their own

performance and disciplined service for the people. The self-critical evaluation never happens in India and the 'other Indian' group of common people are the victims of their biased service. In several chapters in *India in Slow Motion*, Tully mentions several stories of bad governance along with the reason for it and the highlight point is that, he also focuses on the 'other Indians' who battle against it. He does have an idea that only the governance is the root cause for all Indians' problems, but unlike so many Indian and foreign authors, this is not an exotic diagnosis on India.

"Misplaced Charity" deals with Edward Oakley's dedicated efforts to abolish child labour. Oakley is the chairman of the Mirzapur-based carpet company Obeetee. A widespread cottage industry, woven in looms is scattered over thousands of villages of India. Lots of children are made to work in these cottage industries. Rugmark Foundation was attracting US importers for carpet industries where children do not work. That was a different kind of media campaign, which everybody thought will attract attention. The fact was that, as Oakley said, there is no perfect inspection which can guarantee that children have never worked on any labeled carpet. Obeetee had paid a price for rejecting the Rugmark Label, losing their German market, the largest European importer. But what Oakley did was amazing. Tully says:

Obeetee apparently has 25 depots spread over 14 districts. Each depot has loom supervisors and inspectors whose job it is to ensure that no children are weaving Obeetee carpets... if any children were discovered on the loom, Obeetee would know whether they belonged to the owner's family or not.(53)

Kailash Satyarthi was the only India NGO representative on the board of Rugmark and



the chairman of the SACSS and also known as 'India's Lodestar for the abolition of child labour'. Satyarathi said that, in fact, India was the only country which has done a great deal to find answers to the problem of child labour. Here, laws are much progressive than any other country but violations happen and he also said that there are governmental schemes that are much more progressive than other countries. Tully concludes the misplaced charity by saying that Oakley's efforts to abolish child labour just failed to get highlighted and the media never spread a word on it.

In "Corruption from Top to Tail", Tully investigates life of an undercover journalist, Mathew Samuel, who is a son of a bank clerk, a country boy. The story of this 'other Indian' will be the story of every common man of this land, Tully believes. Mathew disguised himself as an arms dealer and managed somehow to convince the senior bureaucrats and army officials and recorded in his hidden camera the discussions, corrupted deals and demand for bribery, later accepting it. Nowhere these genuine investigative reports had been published because he had to interview politicians also. Mathew worked for Tehelka, a dot com company. When it got published, it created a major sensation and the survival of the government was in trouble. Mathew went in exile because his life was under intimidations. The chapter narrates Mathew's attempts to bring forth the corruption visible at several political levels in India. The constitution conundrum of 'who will guard the guards themselves' vibrates when he says that he is a watchdog who watches the interests of the people.

In "Altered Altars", Tully discusses the enculturalisation of people of Goa and also the Roman Catholic churches in the state. Goa is a peculiar land which was often described as the Rome of the East, or much earlier described as the Kashi or Benares of

the Konkan. Only in 1961, the official liberation of Goa took place. Then the Indian Army marched in and 450 years of Portuguese colonial rule thus ended. But even after that, the church was manifestly the arm of the colonial administration. The Portuguese colonialism along with British imperialistic traits was a detectable presence in Goa. Religion and its handy clutches are a common topic which is always dealt with hyperbolic words by writers who contemplate on India. Tully takes a different stand and goes back to the pages of history and trace out the truth behind the land's legacy. Portuguese colonialism gave a very different orientation to Goa when compared to any other places in India. The Portuguese government, which was in power in Goa before 1960s or specifically before 1947, was not ready for any kind of ally among the Hindu community in Goa. They continuously denied opportunities for Hindus which were reserved for Christians. But due to the threat of the independence movement, they sought associations among the Hindu public groups. Cassocks were a regular scene on the Goan streets. It was fear not the religious faith, on which their enthusiasm related to the church resided. Church was the most powerful symbol of power pillars which upheld the colonial regime in Goa. At one point of time, when Portuguese had to quit Goa due to the very active Indian independence movement, the religious church transformed into a progressive political force in Goa, which became one of the states of the independent India. Church superiority and more than 450 years of colonial rule turned Goa into a European outpost. Goa, as the capital city of the Portuguese colonial empire in the East, enjoyed the holy seat of one of the six Roman Catholic Patriarchs and also the longest and the last of the survived western colonial pictogram in the Indian subcontinent. The colonial imprints can be seen in the interior and exterior of Goa. Clear inheritance of

Portuguese tradition like white churches, chapels and wayside crosses, which can be seen still in the coastal side, changed the indigenous culture of Goa within a long span of 450 years. Even after the Independence, Goa stood outside the Indian culture and then later, when tourism flourished, Goa became the first international beach tourist spot. Many of the people had Portuguese decent. It was a small replica of Europe's Latin culture, Mark Tully says.

The colonial rule was strictly accompanied by the conversion of the local people into Christians, thus the mission to convert the orient had its headquarters in Goa. That was under the strict governance of the Portuguese colonial rule. The culture of this piece of Indian land was just rubbed away and a new religion and faith were installed. A new church was built according to the orders of Afonso de Albuquerque in 1510 as a symbol of his victory against Muslims. Afonso's victory was a key point in the flight of Portuguese colonial march. Even today, the Goan citizens are not able to cast away their ultimate Portuguese heritage. The loyalty to Portugal impressions spread through the cultural, emotional and religious ways. They said that they would resist any Indian invasion but when the army took hold of Goa in 1961, without any resistance, they just yielded and left the place. Tully attended the service of the St. Francis Xavier Chapel in old Goa when he went there to write on the enculturation through decolonization. Mortal remains of the saint, mausoleum re-records of the saints, carved caskets of both golden and silver shades can be seen in and around old Goa. Tully keenly observes the worshippers, when they were waiting to pay their respect to the Holy St. Francis Xavier, their act of praying. Most of the believers stood with their hands folded as Hindus do when they are in a temple and thus the cultural exchange beyond religion and space is

thus mentioned with utmost humanitarian interest by Tully. Colonial imperialism alters the language flavours of a land. One of the Goan priests said to Tully, “that people in Goa, not all, only a few come to church to confess in the Portuguese language. Even the priests are unfamiliar of the language these days” (70). Because, after Portuguese, the landscape and mindscape of Goans suffered British imperialism. That again altered their language and English became the only foreign language they knew. Roman Catholic churches tried to shake off its colonial vibration – both British and Portuguese – and wanted to demonstrate themselves as Indian church. Colonialism dug up the deepest Indian roots. Goan lands’ particular rites and specific Hindu practices were prohibited, but later certain traits of one religion got mixed with religion of the colonial power.

“The Sufis and a Plain Faith” in *India in Slow Motion* talks about Sufism as a different stream of thought and meditation which is rooted in India. Sufism and its belief system are in the nerve of Indian cultural tradition. Nizamuddin Basti and its settlement around the tomb of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Indian’s one of the most revered Sufi saints, is a peculiar place. All the shop name boards and signs in this place are written in Urdu. Money exchanges even accept Pakistani money especially Pakistan Rupees although not officially sanctioned by two countries on either side of the border. Earlier, Sufi saints converted a lot of people to Islam. Rituals, prayers, music and the emphasis on love of Divine God and Sufism are not far away from the real bhakti or worshipful Hinduism. Tablighis have a broad impact among Muslims in Modern India, says Tully. But Tablighis are usually laid off as ‘fundamentalists’. The term is really suspicious as it drags through the mud and speaks unfavourably about the entire Islamic world. The reality is that there are many Muslims in India who should never be called as

fundamentalists in the dyslogistic sense. From this thought, Tully investigates this movement and its belongings with its Sufi system which it consider unfair of, so strongly. Maulana Wahidubbin Khan, whom Tully met to know about the Tablighis, saw his duty was to convey a particular message to the world and Tully quotes it, “Introducing Islam and presenting Islam in a correct manner so that millions no longer believe it is a religion of violence and hatred”(158)

Tablighis were misunderstood as a militant missionary thought. They, who were not in the way of evangelizing, were charged with the power of having control over someone for a mass conversion down the lanes of history. Tablighis showed reluctance to meet Tully. In the backstreets of old Delhi in the Markaz, modernity was not allowed to step in. There is no television, radio, newspapers and internet. They never use telephone, fax or e-mail. It is astonishing that, as an international organization with its insidious spread of influence and control, it spread even into remote villages in every continent. They never use or respond to any media. Postcards and letters are the only way of communication. Word of mouth is the powerful way of spreading their message and ideas. Tablighis’ isolation keeps them distant from the power politics of Muslim religion. Their voices are always in moderate tone and are never heard in the cacophony of Muslim causes in India. Secularism, which has no respect to any religion and nationalism, reflects caution of only respecting one’s freedom of spaces in mental dilemma. Sufi tradition has been propagated down the centuries by peers to their murids, says Tully. Tully reveals the Sufi mysticism in deeper ways. He quotes Rumi, Urdu writers and poets to meditate in the waves of death and birth of universality. As usual, Tully records the words of Sikh babas, Farids, traditional saints, divine people, Muslim

community and gives an overall view of the faith stream of the Sufi and Tablighis belief. Islam-related contemporary issues are among the sensations of the day now. So “The Sufis and a Plain Faith”, which looks into the soul of a most suspected religion, make Tully’s way of ‘other Indian’ analysis truthful. The Muslim community is always under the beholder’s stereotypes. Western materialism, atheism, moral anarchy and cultural colonialism are the hindrances which the western culture suspects that the Muslim community fights against. But the fact is beyond that. Time is the ultimate judge and it manipulates the revolt against the overbearing rationalism. Scientific fundamentalism wins over religious counterparts. Open discussions by Tully pave way for argumentative Indian style of school of thought.

“Farmer’s Reward”, “A Tale of Two Brothers” “The Water Harvesters” and “Paradise Lost” in *India in Slow Motion* deal with a variety of topics which are directly related to the ‘other Indian’ scenario. In “Farmer’s Reward”, the unrepaid debt of farmers and their suicide are dealt with utmost carefulness. When media take up such issues, they will make it more emotional and the real facts behind it will get just flooded over the tear flow. Ningappa Basappa Hiregannavar, a 35-year-old farmer of Javur village of Karnataka state, lost his faith in both state and central governments and Tully says that he did not believe the government would bother to buy from a farmer as small as he was. The farmer feels fed up and thinks that there is no point in their surviving and dangerously plans that his family would be better off if the farmer killed himself. Most of the farmers, at the worst moment of their life, think that the government would give a compensation amount to their family and they would have some money at least after their death. Political impotency is the reason for their suicides. Politicians and government

officials, who are bound to help the local people, fight on their own line and farmer suicides happen again and again. The 'other Indian' reading shows the unexpressed saga of local farmers in this chapter.

"A Tale of Two Brothers" deals with a regional political issue. National political incidents and nation's history are mentioned and get added on to the parallel and contemporary history-making of the country. Maruti project to produce a people's car was the only questionable deal to corrode the Iron Lady, Indira Gandhi's image. Indira Gandhi's victory, creation of Bangladesh and the surrender of Pakistan all glories were getting faded slowly. The variance between socialism and populism are not understood by Indian crowd, Tully notes down when Sant Bux, a Congress Member of the Parliament, talks. "Water Harvesters" highlights Tully's environmental concerns. Media coverage and show off are short lived. In 2000, when the summer season started, the media, both national and international, came up with the endangering campaign that it was the worst drought of the country. But within a month the hullabaloo was gone and then everyone lost interest in the drought. *Everybody likes a Good Drought* by P Sainath, one of the great Indian journalists, is a reportage work which harshly criticizes the journalistic attitude of craving for disaster reporting and search for the sensational life stories as the immediate aftermath of the tragedy. They are least concerned about the causes of the revulsions and the possible remedies, writes Sainath in Tullyian manner. Sainath in his book discusses the destruction of traditional irrigation systems, development schemes which were not appropriate and did more harm than good to the land and the people, future of implementation of the land reform rules in rural areas and the greedy money lenders who cheat the local farmers. Tully says that Sainath "blames government's

development policy which took less care of the land ownership dealings. Mass media is removed from *mass reality*” (239). Tully picturises the scene of a battle, raging over the construction of a dam across the Narmada River. Thousands and thousands of villagers were displaced and they lost their land to make the way for the project reservoir. No plans to revive the traditional methods of irrigation and preserving water were implemented by the governmental agencies. Medha Patkar and her struggle succeeded in getting the World Bank to pull out its support for the dam and a loan was taken out by the Japan government. When drought gains strength, the court is in a dilemma to decide whether the construction of dam to be continued or not. The ‘other Indian’ reality is focused here because the victims of all kinds of developments are poor people of the rural India. “Paradise Lost” in *India in Slow Motion*, looks into the present plight of Kashmir, the life of militants and “the proxy war”(266) going on for more than ten years:

It was, after all, a Muslim majority State bordering Pakistan. But unfortunately for Pakistan, it was ruled by a Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh. When the British supervision -the paramountcy – lapsed, a vacuum was created in Kashmir. Hari Singh dithered, unable to convince himself that remaining independent was not an option. The northern part of his state, and a western enclave, shipped out of his control but it was only when he learnt that Pakistan was sending Pathans from the bellicose tribes of the North –West frontier into the valley of Kashmir, threatening his capital Srinagar, that the Maharaja appealed to India for help and agreed to sign an instrument of accession. Indian troops drove the Pathans out of the valley but the Maharaja’s northern territories and that enclave in the west remained in Pakistan’s control. The de facto division of Kashmir, which remains to this day,



was effected within less than three months of Britain resigning its powers over the state. (267)

The relationship between India and Pakistan, the huge sums of money utilized for the defense sector for security issues, terrorist attacks, frustrations in the area, unusual unrest and agitations, government failure in maintaining law and order, and security issues are looked upon in 'other Indian' methodology in this chapter. The central government argues that, Tully notes, Kashmir would be prosperous if the financial 'packages' given to the state had not been dissipated by corruption and maladministration. Counter arguments came up easily like, "for people in Delhi to talk about corruption is laughable. The Centre has been playing games with the development in Kashmir. We had less money than we have"(288), records Tully. Tully states the bureaucratic misgovernances harshly. Secularism, politics, religion, governance and bureaucracy of 'other Indian' scenario are written down in a non-judgmental style by Tully in the book *India in Slow Motion*.

In *India's Unending Journey*, Tully openly questions India's economics, business practices, the education system of the country, individual life vs community life, citizenship in nation states. These subjects are examined up to the grass root level. He finds a balance in his thoughts and views through this book in a time of changing trends. In *India's Unending Journey* the topic of religion is structured well in the chapters like "Puri: Exploring the Opposites", "Khajuraho: The Sensual and the Sacred", "Varanasi: The Unit of Opposites" and all these are discussed earlier in this chapters three and four itself. The specialty of all these chapters is that in all of them, Indian religions and Upanishad tradition are compared to Catholic Church and understood in multiple levels of evaluation. This is an attempt which is old in its way and which give the panoramic

view of religious and Upanishad reading. In “Marlborough: An Education in Absolutes” Tully shares his experience of learning in Marlborough college, a traditional British public school. He presents a very black picture of his school days and says that it is from India and his Indian experience that he learnt to appreciate how little in life is totally black or, indeed purely white. The Marlborough influences never made him look back to the institution and he says it stayed with him until he began to understand something about Indian philosophy, religion and culture. Marlborough influences underestimated, unsettled and destroyed Tully’s self-confidence and undermined his religious beliefs and he writes that India, especially ‘other Indian’ realities, eventually made such an impression on him. Tully, as a Theology student, was influenced and confused by Christianity. He says during his younger age, he firmly believed that it was immoral to be a socialist. Later, after leaving the school, he was enlisted into the army for two years’ national service and during that period, he was commissioned. Marlborough gave a religious foundation based on love of God and fear of God, a paradox in itself and it was also a school of Enlightenment. Science always worried Tully because “as a student of Theology he dreaded the possibility that scientist would prove Christianity was untrue and there was no God”(33). At his young age, he was preparing himself for a career in the church. Sex, drugs and luxuries of life always dumped into the deep pit of inner confusions and conflicts. The conflict got deepened by his religious skepticism. He did not have any kind of exciting experience of learning there. It filled his young mind with full of confusions and a negative sense of failure. But those problematic days made him break out his complexes and made him prepared to be open to new influences. So when Tully came to India, he developed a lifelong passion for this fresh land and imbibed its

experiences. Tully says that the immediate result of his education was a sense of failure and a closed mind. In this system, success had always seemed to be very narrowly defined just as scoring 100% marks or getting a top position in the examinations. Tully faithfully says that it was India that truly opened his mind and led him to value experience as well as reason and taught him to experience God, who is so widespread and slowly he moved away from the fear of the death of religion. He values what 'other Indian' experience had taught him, "India taught me to see my failures and achievements in context, to value humility, to suspect certainties and to seek for the middle path"(38).

The education system of India will get reflected on the readers' minds when they go through "Marlborough: An Education in Absolutes". In "Delhi: An Indian Understanding", India is an amalgam of metropolitan hypocrisies and 'other Indian' realities. No one is sure where the real India is, whether it is in Delhi or Mumbai, which flushes in and out in terms of money or Kolkata, an emerging city with final vestiges of British Raj flavoured with Marxian influences, or Chennai, content with old-fashioned traditional ways of virtues of manufacturing or Bangalore, the IT hub. Tully shows a peculiar kind of attachment to this place because it had been his home for nearly 40 years and the home in which he discovered the India that has changed him. Following the Gandhian words and believing his ideas, Tully also believed that village India was the real India and that was the one reason why he travelled far and wide of India's rural villages and made it a routine to return to Delhi and Tully says Delhi is his India. "Delhi: An Indian Understanding" is a personal note cherished with several personal experiences. From 1965, the first time he came to Delhi, population, specialties, landmarks, historical specialties, transportation, tourist destination, real life hubs, slums, resources and the

people, each and everything is mentioned and Tully says that Delhi has changed and he too has inevitably changed with it. Tully says that India taught him the “uncertainty of certainty” (40). The whole chapter is a saga of Tully’s love for India. He says he no longer feels threatened when his beliefs are challenged because he does not believe science, theology, philosophy or any other discipline has the final answers to questions about the meaning of life and earth and even the presence and absence of God. Tully imbibed the open mindedness of the Delhi city and he learned to listen to others’ words. From *Brahad-Aranyaka Upanishad* to Dr.S.Radhakrishnan’s *The Hindu View of Life* to Charkravarthi Ram Prasad, a Sanskrit scholar’s disagreement to Tully’s suspicion of certainty to Amartya Sen’s *Argumentative Indian*, Tully’s research in the search of Delhi, India and Hinduism never end. The plurality of Indian religions and Gandhian thoughts comes to the centre stage of discussion. Christian theologies, Harry Williams’ *The True Wilderness* and Jesuit poet Gerard Manley Hopkins’ poem ‘The God’s Grandeur’ is just touched tenderly in the chapter. Golden Temple in Amritsar is the most evocative sacred place in India, according to Tully. Indian tradition and its historical circumstances are well explained and that makes him prepared to explore the ‘other Indian’ nature of the country.

“In Raipur: A God Too Small” Tully shares his experience of travel to Chhattisgarh and the meeting with Dr. Praveen Togadia, a very famous cancer surgeon and evangelist of a version of Hinduism. Togadia is so intolerant of other religions, according to Tully. Togadia harshly said to Tully that his intolerance had nothing to do with religion because all Indians are from the same ethnic stock and the ancestors of Indians are the same. The paradox begins there itself as Togadia says all the original

ethnic stock was Hindu and those ancestors were Hindus. When he repeatedly said that religion doesn't matter, Togadia was clear of every reason why the missionaries of his World Hindu Council or the Vishwa Hindu Parishad or the VHP, always proselytize forcefully to convince Indian Muslims and Christians to 'come home' to Hinduism. Togadia was just insulting the Indians and Muslims while blindly talking about Christians' conversion and invasion of India by Muslims or other religions, except Hinduism. Under the Indian Law, there are provisions to imprison and punish anyone who insults the religious feeling of another person. But Praveen Togadia's speech was against the traditional pluralism and Tully, with an embarrassment, says, "Togadia and his ilk are certainly a threat to that (Indian) tradition and such should not be ignored, I believe it is still intact"(74). Indian religious streams are compared with the medieval Catholic Church tradition, as he was exposed to it at his young age. The tradition of pluralism is essential for the unity of the nation. In a country where the majority of people are deeply religious, religion cannot be ignored or disregarded, while the wide range of religions within the nation means that each one must respect the other's beliefs. There is a need of pluralism for more understanding between different religions. Tully says that pluralism involves acknowledging the uncertainty of certainties. Unlike in India, he continues, where there is no sign of weakening in any religion, surveys indicate that Christianity has been on the decline in Britain for many years now. Tully mentions the influence of Dalai Lama and includes such a wide range of spirituality in this chapter. "Cambridge: Lessons in Humility", "Maynooth: Losing Faith", "The Global Village: In Search of Balance" and "Darjeeling: Counting Costs" look into secularism, conflicting perceptions of truth, humility of 'other Indians', India's spiritual civilisation, current

religious backlashes, globalization and spiritual imbalance, purpose and fall of religions and are analysed according to an 'other Indian' methodology. The chapters of *India's Unending Journey* are based on religious sentiments and it really catches the impulse of what 'other India' thinks about that dramatic topic.

*The Heart of India* confirms Tully's love for 'other India'. The book presents everyday stories set in the villages of Uttar Pradesh which culminate to be extraordinary narrations of 'other India'. They are highly delicate and the nuances of 'other Indian' medley of people give a glimpse into the real India. No travel writer will move into such intricacies of rural life as Tully did. Tully always showed a sympathetic insight into a foreign culture. The introduction of *The Heart of India* is the manifesto of Tully's ideology. The journalistic practice, which was his longtime profession, was the root of all his works of fiction. But the genuine approach to the Indian subjects and incidents made the journalistic obligations to self-expand beyond a newspaper story or a media feature. India underwent several changes over the past as part of the positive and negative impacts of modernity and the 'other Indian' rural villages suffered or got transformed much. All the stories in *The Heart of India* are set in the eastern half of Uttar Pradesh. Earlier, Tully had said that too many changes have already taken place in the western half and further to the east in Bihar not many alterations or changes have taken place. Tully's works are not mere glorification of a lost golden past. Nostalgia is a common feeling but when one accepts a change, it is for the better revolutionary modifications, and then everything comes back to the normal way of life. Tully is not moralist, but a typical journalist when he reacts creatively to the material of his stories. The understanding of change that happened in the different levels of 'other Indian' rural community is discussed in *The*

*Heart of India*. It is a naked fact that the globally famous Indian writing in English of recent decades has concentrated on the urban middle class and they completely ignored the rural 'other Indian' realities. Since the success of Rushdie, many came into the mass of Indian writing in India but were highly superficial as far as the real Indian experiences were concerned. In *The Heart of India*, the facts which he researched on Indian realities put the cassock of fiction and at some point; it becomes purely literary flavoured one. Tully's intended audience is always foreigners and then only Indians. So, for their familiarity and detailing of this culture, he exchanges some of the minutest details of Indian festivals or culture which is not usual when an Indian writes for Indians. Not only in *The Heart of India*, but such kinds of clunky descriptions can be seen in his other books also. When he talks about *Ramayana*, Babri Masjid, Marxism to Naxalism, Religion to Politics, the line of verisimilitude the stories may accomplish so effectively in many other ways are broken with his explanations for the foreign readers. From "The Barren Woman of Balramagoan" to "Beyond Purdah" are 'other Indian' tales which the urban phase of India always forgets to push up. The chapters give a feel that the places and the faces are so real. Unbiased approach to the rural Indian realities exposes the feudal hinterlands of India, says many online book reviews on *The Heart of India*. Tully even provides a glossary of Hindi words, typically Indian, which he had extensively used in his chapters. That glossary is even useful for other books of Tully too. Tully travelled to the Indian villages and villagers were ready to answer his inquisitive and curious questions. Their answers became gateways of the idea of a clear picture of the less explored 'other Indianness'. *The Heart of India* shows Tully's deeper involvement with the 'other India' and the work's introduction is the testimony of his life itself. He believes

there is no place like India, and no people like Indians. He says he is “perhaps more unusual for a foreigner in that he has been accepted as a part of India.” (ix)

*The Heart of India* becomes the best tribute to wind up this chapter on Tully’s ‘other Indian’ images, because Tully himself considers this book as a tribute to the rural ‘other Indian’ villagers. Western UP villages were highly influenced by the prosperity and modernity of Delhi and thus the impact of modernity on the traditional village lifestyle taking place in India can be seen in the chapters of *The Heart of India*. The stories interwoven in this book never make systematically prepared or predetermined summits. Indian caste system, Indian rural women, and modernity in ancient India get inscribed through Tully’s sympathetic observance. Spiritual people exploit the belief and faith of poor villagers in many ways. Ram Lakhan and his wife had no children and during Holi festival days, everyone avoided them because barren couple is a bad omen amidst celebration. They believed only a divine intervention would bring any change in their lives. Once Ram Lakhan’s wife met a sadhu, a Hindu ascetic, and later she conceived and by the next Holi, the doctor at the village health centre confirmed that Ram Lakhan’s wife was pregnant. The Mystery remains as mystery itself. In “Blood for Blood”, Tully depicts the incident in which Chotu Ram, who belonged to the Kumha (potter) caste, hacked Thakur Sahib, a feudal lord of the village of Thakurdwara and the bloodshed which followed thereafter. In “Ikka Wallah’s Lament”, the small Muslim community of Ikka drivers’ life is described. The government’s attitude to them is so bad that during one of the annual floods, when the water level got high, they were given small plots on a hill above one of the shrines, above from floods, but the government had entirely forgotten to help them with building their huts. Another unnoticed reality of hard working ‘other



Indians' is shown without any biased judgments here. The "Girlfriends" and "Goondas of Gopinagar" share village stories of love, revenge and empathy-less politics of the age. "Two Brothers" and "Village Strike" are more short stories like Indian realities. "Twice Born" and "Beyond Purdah" touch upon the traditions and conventions and hints at the change of state of affairs when some comes out of that 'Lakshman Rekha' (boundary line).

Tully leaves no subject untouched. From agrarian crisis that led to Naxal movements to entrepreneurial flair of the country led by TATA to educational dilemmas of the nation are discussed in detail. He examines the other side of every incident. He meets the Naxal leaders and brings their views to the fore, besides finding the social injustice and misgovernance that resulted in poverty of the backward communities who were vulnerable to the rebellious groups. The contribution of NGOs to the developmental process of the country was also a topic for him. He details every incident with utmost care, elaborating every angle of the story. For him, truth is multi-faced. Within disagreement, he finds an agreement of truth following the New Historicist ideology.

## Chapter V

### FOREIGN PRETENSES: A COMPARISON WITH TULLY

Most of the books written on India by foreign authors share one commonality that is peculiar: the authors come for a short visit, travel limitedly or extensively and then leave to writing about the country authoritatively. But it is Mark Tully from among them who chose to relocate to become an inhabitant of the country, his writings smacking from the profundity of the 'other India', something no other foreign writer has done.

Oliver Balch's *India Rising: Tales from a Changing Nation*, *Mofussil Junction* by Ian Jack, *A Strange Kind of Paradise* by Sam Miller, *Lost and Found* by Braja Sorensen, Sarah MacDonald's *Holy Cow*, *The Indian Mutiny* by Saul David, *An Indian Odyssey* by Martin Buckley, William Dalrymple in his *From the Holy Mountain*, *The Age of Kali*, *Nine Lives* and Paul Theroux in the *Great Indian Railway Bazaar* and many other famous titles, unlike Tully's works, offer a read of India in an exclusively hostile manner.

An India that is mushrooming with entrepreneurs, shooting cityscapes and politicians strutting the world stage dominates Oliver Balch's *India Rising: Tales from a Changing Nation*. He presents a highly personalised account of the various changes taking place in India, asking what is driving the country's changing fortunes and what kind of 'New India' is emerging as a result of this transformation. *Mofussil Junction* by Ian Jack is a collection of the author's articles about India written for various publications over a time frame of more than 30 years. He talks about caste, feudalism, poverty, corruption, illiteracy and disease in India with sly humour even though most of the India

depicted in his book has long since vanished. *A Strange Kind of Paradise* by Sam Miller is an exploration of India's past and present from the perspective of an outsider/foreigner who has lived in India for many years combined with his personal love story. Sam Miller investigates how the ancient Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Arabs, Africans, Europeans and Americans came to imagine India. The search to reveal the Indianness and reality prevalent in the country resulted in these highlights:

The futuristic township lies on a sprawling patch of wasteland outside Chennai (formerly known as Madras), one of a cluster of mega-cities that Indians affectionately refer to as their 'metros'. It took an hour to get there from the airport. A clogged line of commuter traffic crawled slowly into town in the opposite direction.(Balch 2)

India is depicted as just a land of beggars in *India Rising: Tales from a Changing Nation* as, "this was the land of choked thoroughfares and magnificent old palaces, of bearded sadhus... bedi-smoking beggars, of rattling trains and clapped-out buses, was it not?"(5) Indian poverty is a common theme that all foreign writers write as the icing on the cake, "India's economic growth rate may be riding high, but many millions of its citizens continue to live unresplendent lives dulled by poverty. Likewise 'New India' has a presumptuous ring to it, as if the Old had upped and gone"(6). Foreign authors hardly approach the topic of India with an unbiased eye, the scorn apparent in most sentences for example, "India is a country of a billion or more hungry people"(7), "it can be seen as a billion or more hungry customers. That's what the TV dishes taught him. In the future, India will have just one class: the consumer"(15). The population is a major difficulty that upsets the development of the nation, the problem of too many mouths to feed,

“rarely do you see idle hands in India. There are too many mouths to feed, for one thing. And too little help to call upon, for another”(19). and he continues, “Industriousness, in contrast, is more generous in its bounty. It welcomes all bar the idle. Very few in India can afford to sit on their hands. They have mouths to feed and bills to pay. And, now, at long last, they have money to make too”(35). Balch, like other foreign authors specifically disparages India’s traffic:

It is rush-hour in Bengaluru, a phrase of which India’s rapidly expanding cities make an absolute mockery. The traffic does not rush. Ever. It crawls. And it does so interminably, hour after hour, day after day...Out of the window, angry horns scream. Sweat gathers on the line of my collar. The taxi’s fan, a minute, stick-on contraption robbed from an office desk, whirrs noisily. It provides a steady flow of tepid, unwanted air. I look at the cars and buses and trucks and bikes, all wedged in beside me on the road, jolting together in a slowed-down staccato. ‘The Great Indian River Dance of Traffic’ edges forward. (20)

In *India Rising* Oliver Balch takes the expressions and tales of average Indians and presents a renewed, brilliant, greatly modified explanation of the vicissitudes as they are resituated. Drifting all over the country, Balch hints readers off the sightseer trajectory and against the streets of modern day India. What materialises is an appealing portrait of a nation at a crossroads; ancient versus innovative/universal versus indigenous. India's walk into the 21<sup>st</sup> century is full of strains and suspicions. Balch highlights exactly that. Though overflowing with the confidence of hope, the negative strains are hidden between the lines of *India Rising*. With over half of its billion plus populace below the age of 25, India's future will be written by its youth. In unfolding their expectations and discovering

their worries, *India Rising* untangles what makes this gigantic country pulse and doubtfully asks where it's heading, presenting India amidst those uncertainties before the global audience. He worries, "in Old India, it is the man of the house who earns the keep. Not vice-versa. The idea of the wife leaving every morning for a desk job and making sure the monthly bills get paid is anathema to traditional thinking"(26). The Balchian version of the flaw of Indian politics, "in Maharashtra, the party says only Marathi people should work...Every government office wants to employ their own man"(37). India's slums are a hot topic for any foreign writer and Oliver Balch also plays with the topic much:

Demolition is a constant threat for Mumbai's slum dwellers. (That and diarrhea, which kills nearly one thousand children every day in India.) Many have lived for years on the same plot, although often without legal title. This severely weakens their immunity against the onslaught of parasitic real-estate developers. (42)

Balch mentions India many times as a land of cacophony; the more one becomes prejudiced the more the writing gets absurd, "curiously, the world at close quarters lodges more as sound than sight: housewives gab, televisions sing, couples yell, children shout, vendors vend, dogs howl.... the cacophonous symphony calms my step. It's as if the discordant score were choreographed to match the jumpiness I feel during my stroll through the slum.(45). Slums are certainly emphasised as the nastiest place to live in, "his bike might be rusty and his boss's car a two-door, but at least he has wheels and a job. That counts for something. Plus, he's fit and healthy. In the slum, that's worth even more"(45). Balch even ridicules the way Indians do their jobs. He forgets to demonstrate mutual respect to fellow human beings around him and instead, criticises them without

understanding their conditions which results in a partial and imbalanced commentary on the nation like this:

'Most people here are drivers or maids. Or they work as security guards.' 'Some do official work.' By which he means that they are on the government's payroll: a tea boy at the municipal water-works department, a ticket-office assistant for the railways, a runner for the court, an underling in the tax office, that sort of thing.

(46)

Balch blames the effervescent commotion that has existed in markets from ancient times thus pointing to the, “commercial activity – buying, selling, bartering, haggling, hassling, hawking – is so pervasive and public in India that it is understandable. Hucksters crowd the buses and trains; stallholders stifle the streets; peddlers pack the pavements. India has a *wallah* for every ware under the nation's white-hot sun. Children, adults and the elderly – no one is exempt from the art of exchange, the primordial urge to trade. India's mercantile horde made the country's cities into a virtual marketplace long before the internet propagated the idea. Who needs eBay when every street corner provides a living, crowded auction site?”(47) Slum existence is scrupulously scorned again and again. In some places, India becomes tantamount with slums in his writing, “Trespassing children are just one of the daily annoyances that slum life brings. Other people's rubbish dumped on his doorstep .... (Garbage collection is 'privatised' in as much as residents who don't want to dispose of it themselves must pay someone else to take it away.)”(52). Another big grumble is the thieving. He declares that local Indians try to start their motorbike, only to find that the petrol has been siphoned out of the tank. Then he refers to Indian shantytowns as the land of violence and troubles, “Mumbai's shanties, like shanties in all

of India's large cities, have the reputation of being dens of vice and violence. For the tabloid press, the slums always provide the backdrop for grisly murders and massive drug busts”(52). The presence of ferocity incessantly loiters in the obscurities of each and every dusky zone of the slum and he explains it as, “the slum is definitely no play park. The spectre of violence is forever lurking in the shadows. Shanties, by definition, host the poor. That impoverishment might give rise to petty theft. It could exacerbate domestic violence too. In some cases, it might even foster organised crime. Yet poverty rarely results in murder. India has religion and politics for that”(53). Communal vehemence and bloodshed are stressed upon without looking into the real cause, “every now and then, India's hard-won reputation for inter-faith harmony and secular plurality takes a blood-soaked battering. The weeks after independence, when trainloads of slaughtered corpses trundled into Delhi and Islamabad, set a lamentable precedent for what – admittedly, very occasionally – was to come. One of the latest such outbursts occurred in 2002, when inter-sectarian violence in Gujarat left more than one thousand dead. Unofficial figures put it at double that. The majority were Muslims. Most were poor” (53-54). Dirty Indian cities and inherent habits are deliberately emphasised. While it is true that certain prevalent habits could adversely affect the health of the public, Balch’s choice of words end up reducing the image of India to only that:

An Indian will always spit his paan on the floor, he explains, as if it were the most obvious thing in the world. He'll never use a dustbin. 'He doesn't think people will see. Or he doesn't care if they do. Everything in India is like this.' Everything from minor traffic accidents to massive political corruption: It all comes down to a bending of the rules.(61)

India's population growth represents another clear case of a lack of planning, says Balch. He suggests several examples from the slums, of families that “wait for a son even after the birth of five daughters” (61). He goes to the extent of condemning Indians as idle people who choose not to pursue a livelihood saying, “in India, people want to get money. But all they do is work, go home, eat, do shit, and then get up and work again. They don't think why. They don't think about month's salary and savings. People put money in stupid things. So they go and ask for loan, from friends and things” (62) The penurious Indian economy is censured again and again, “the Indian consumer market can be broken down into three...drawing a triangular diagram to help illustrate. At the top sit the rich, a tiny dot of icing on a gigantic cake. Next down runs a slightly wider band depicting the growing minority on middle incomes. What had made Guruvaiah's eyes gleam was the thick layer of sponge at the base: India's impoverished. 'I have many mouths to feed,' the boy from the slum says as we draw up to the hut where he took his first breath. 'That's why I never miss my duties.' It brings the notion of 'enterprise' into sharp relief. India's young entrepreneurs strive and struggle to create that highly prized thing called 'value'. Babu works every hour to keep his dependents from starving. Hundreds of millions of industrious Indians are just the same”(92). The below-poverty-line Indian coloration is sarcasm for Balch:

Statistics differ on just how many poor there are in India. The World Bank puts the cut-off point at an income of less than two dollars per day. Below that and you are officially 'indigent'. By that marker, around three hundred and fifty million Indians qualify.(92)

The Indian's film star devotion and exploitation by the money-based film industry of the



poor class of India are said like this, “in India, Bollywood is bigger than God. Rich, beautiful and sprinkled in stardust, its modern-day heroes are omnipotent and omnipresent. Their lifestyles feed dreams. Their allegiances win elections. And their latest hairstyles shift shampoos. In short, they are marketing manna, the perfect commodity for aspirational New India. Every youngster – even the most strait-laced – secretly wishes they could be them” (107). Balch even criticises the parenting style generally followed in the country. A certain amount of truth in these arguments is overdone because he is never at understanding the circumstances that force them to take such resolutions. Indian parents are very authoritarian. They load on burden like a gas cylinder. Almost all of the families have a very restricted conception about employment. One must be an engineer, scientist, teacher or civil servant. Balch says it is a story he had heard across India and would continue to hear again. It is the recurrent predicament: the parents' fathomable desire to see their children 'well set' against their progeny's youthful instincts to follow the heart. The nation's fondness for IPL is reduced to another line of bantering, “sexing up cricket is what the IPL is all about. The organisers – a for-profit consortium headed by the Board of Control for Cricket in India – have employed every trick in the book to turn their six-week tournament into one of the most watched sporting events on the planet.... viewers love it. So too do advertisers. The IPL can count nearly one hundred corporate sponsorships, most of which run into millions of dollars”(139). Indian youngsters look at their cricketing heroes in a totally different manner. It is not mere love for their stardom. Money matter is also important, because the IPL has turned India's top-flight cricketers from quasi-amateurs into business professionals says Balch “The IPL stands for all that are ill in India. Everything, not just cricket, is becoming

tainted by cash and greed. ‘ Life used to be all about 'being'. Now it revolves around buying. People want their pleasures now, not later. Patience, respect, history – such values are disappearing job – lot in an India bamboozled by the novel and new. The IPL, like reality TV and fast food, speaks of a country that is losing its way. India is prioritising the present over the past, and endangering its future in the process”(145). The incidents mentioned above and the sentences quoted show that Balch’s narrative is so adamant that he never shows any regards to the Indian sentiments and he just enjoys criticising India. He finds a special interest in showing the downgrades of the country, despite having a lot of good things to speak about.

“India is a country of the crowds”, when Balch writes this, it is difficult to tell whether it is a positive or a negative comment. But the hidden element of denouncement is understood at the first reading, “India is a nation of the masses, a nation that instinctively inverts the private into the public. Indoors becomes outdoors. My space becomes our space. Unused to living in a crowd, the presence of so many people leaves me craving quiet”(144). It seems that belittling India’s achievements is just a hobby for Balch, “by any measure, India's performances on the international stage are dire. The country has never had a world champion sprinter, gymnast or racing driver. Its national football team has never graced a world cup. It took a century of the modern Olympic movement for India to lay claim to its first individual gold medal”(151). The partiality between the rich and the poor is a reality but Balch identifies the surface level impact of it, never prodding, choosing instead to conclude like this, “underlying everything is the knowledge that the wealthy in India are getting wealthier. Dollar billionaires now beat the fifty marks, up from a dozen five years ago. Nor are the New Rich slow to spend. ...Rich

Indians love to boast about their foreign holidays: a sojourn in Switzerland, a fortnight in Florida, a fleeting shopping trip to London. They are the signs of having 'arrived'.

Arriving is very important for India's affluent. It's as if they're endlessly popping out and feel the need to announce their successful return”(177-180).

“Change as India may, it could never become a Transit Lounge nation, devoid of distinctive markers”(182), “India's rising divorce rate is at least keeping a small quarter of the legal fraternity busy”(196), “Put simply, Indian women are becoming less patient. Levels of 'mutual understanding' between men and women are decreasing”(198), these are a few examples where hatred against India is just effortlessly assumed. Family bonding in India is sturdy compared to the Western nations. But still Balch finds time to disapprove the Indian family system like this:

Wife beating is not uncommon in modern India. One third of adult women under fifty have experienced spousal abuse, according to official figures. In Bihar, the figure climbs to three-fifths. Not that such violence automatically translates into divorce proceedings. Most incidents are never reported. More than half of women believe men are justified in beating the missus from time to time, the same government survey finds...To obtain a divorce in India, the woman (or man) needs to prove 'torture'. The term is used in its broadest sense, encompassing not just physical abuse but social, religious, mental and emotional harm as well. (199-200)

Violent husbands or querulous mothers-in-law are not new to India according to Balch and he confirms that “as long as India remains male-dominated, however, women will suffer. And marriage will bear the brunt.”(205) A very particular typecast of Indian

religious scenario and fascist outcomes are underlined overlooking the secular past and history of this nation:

The Karnataka based group is by no means isolated, though. Their anti-Valentine's stance was borrowed directly from the Shiv Sena, a powerful Hindutwa group concentrated in Mumbai. This is the same outfit that said Pakistani cricketers should not be selected for the Indian Premiere League. They also called for Rohinton Mistry's book *Such a Long Journey* to be removed from Mumbai University's syllabus because of allegedly derogatory comments about Maharashtrians. (217)

Indianness gains a pessimistic momentum in the critical thinking of Balch, “the notion of Hindu girls fraternising with Muslim or Christian boys strikes Sri Ram Sena as particularly worrisome. They even have a name for it: 'love jihad'... Young people should have the right to choose. They should have the right to fall in love and marry their childhood sweethearts. Despite a diet of Bollywood romances and television soaps reinforcing such an opinion, millions of adolescent Indians continue to think otherwise... Cyberspace is full of single Indians on the prowl”(220-223). Nowhere in Balch’s writings, one can come across the newfangled India, with its optimistic illuminations and global ambitions. Dowry and honour killing, and crucial social wounds are overlooked and mentioned for the purpose of criticising India with a pessimistic undertone, “In India, finding love is a family affair. In almost one in three cases, it's close relatives – not the suitor – who provide the original profile and sift through the potential candidates”(224). Employment skills are high as far as Indians are concerned, considering that they are a

valuable human resource all over the world. Balch ignores such data and points out the flaws of the public sector in India, “lack of education is partly the reason for such dismal success in the job market. So too is lack of cash. The constitution requires the government to earmark a quota of public-sector posts especially for Scheduled Tribes. These, however, don't come free. Appointments are made via officials, and officials want bribes...” (233).

Reading Balch, and perceiving his approach to numerous precarious Indian topics, for example Naxalism, will pull the reader down to the miserable trench of terror. Tully, on the other hand, goes deep to the grassroots, making the reader feel safe with his all-inclusive directing and detailing:

Naxals are not welcome in New India. That much is understandable. Yet the Naxal's cause and the tribal's plight are not one and the same, however the guerillas or the government try to spin it. It's possible to object to the first and still support the tribals' struggle. Yet the space to do is shrinking. As the two issues continue to be confused, so the Red Corridor will carry on being a place for outsiders – be they armed or otherwise. (249)

For Balch, the distraction still ostensible in India's forgotten hinterlands is a disheartening act. Drifting through India offers boundless possibility for stupefaction in the face of poverty and inequality, which remains so transparently evident for anyone to experience, says Balch. Only some quarters of the overseas press still accepted the 'Shining India' story and everybody acknowledged it was typically allegory, advertising and marketing with only a minor fragment as fact. Literacy levels among the Adivasi are one of the

worst in India, he adds, overlooking the indigenous knowledge system and ethnic culture of the tribals. The problem does not end there though for him. When Balch says that a third of the world's illiterates live in India, he undermines Indians at each and every level of knowledge-acquiring skills:

Around one in four (twenty-seven per cent) of young people between thirteen and thirty-five cannot read or write. Hidden within those numbers is a learning divide. Literacy rates are only rising half as fast in the overcrowded cities as they are in rural areas. Girls, meanwhile, are ten per cent less likely to enrol in secondary school as boys.....In India, many a child's schooling is disrupted for want of a proper pair of shoes or money for the school bus.....Three in four literate Indians never go beyond school matriculation. For reasons of financial pragmatism and – to an extent – academic reality, most of the charity's school leavers end up on courses that are relatively short, comparatively inexpensive and highly vocational. That's to say, easy tickets into the job market.(265-267)

Education is obviously no solution for the poverty ploy. The shortages of the school system are, even if partially, liable. India is churning out a good number of graduates, the statistics indicate, but altitudes of 'employability' remain low. In spite of India's financial growth, the employment market itself remains hard-hitting. Even for those with strong employment preparation like Korlaiah, openings are few and far between, especially in India's smaller towns and cities. Nor do poorer graduates typically have the necessary connections to crush a foot in the door. The preconceptions of Old India have not totally vanished either, says Balch. Caste, gender and the very poverty they are trying to overcome: all result in job requests going unreciprocated. He offers a

very shallow view of the same, "...the main reason for the fall in teaching standards lies elsewhere. India's guiding ethos is no longer what it was. India is a much commercialised nation right now."(278) Balch just finds the depraved side of Indian governance and says that more than a third of Mumbai's elected representatives are convicted criminals or have an unlawful case waiting against them. One native legislator, a renowned criminal, even ran for national office from his prison cell. Mutinying and triggering wounds comprise the most common accusations. But at least half a dozen current legislatures are under investigation for killings. In today's India, as the billboards, cinema screens and TV channels admit, it is marketable interests that dominate, says Balch. Flicking through mainstream television channels leaves him hopeless. Filling the breaks between the advertisements is an uninspiring diet of soaps, sport, film reruns and overall daytime ordinariness. The newspaper industry is mostly the same according to Balch. Editors are as restless to amuse as to update. Easy targets are confronted as virulently as India's holy cows are sheltered. The lines between private and public attention are also obscuring. He continues his criticism saying advertising in India's printed press brings in just shy of three billion dollars a year. Through Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai, from Bollywood to cricket stadiums, from shopping malls to rural schools and shanty towns, the book fuses the finest of reportage and travel writing to get under the membrane of this nation in transition, but lightly. Tully always approaches Indian media and brands positively as it has its unique brand image across the country. Writers like Balch find things that are negative and highlight them in large across their works.

*Mofussil Junction* by Ian Jack begins with criticism saying that common men (and women) in India pack the buses and trains and tremble from factories and offices on

cycles. Ian Jack's travel writing that spreads over three decades and more than one hundred railway journeys, often glides into sugary sympathy which Tully never committed. Many foreign writers take a sympathetic approach towards India that tampers the image of the country in large. There is abundance of insight in Jack's *Mofussil* musings. He was predominantly observant when he wrote about Calcutta. At the phase when Western pundits stood estimating that the city would break down because of the incursion of expatriates, urban deterioration and political pandemonium, he implicitly stated its rudimentary steadiness and reveled in its exclusive charisma, "here is a city of crumbling imperial ruins, soaked in poverty and squalor; an international byword for overpopulation and urban collapse; and here the citizens calmly debate foreign abstractions and sometimes unfashionable foreign abstractions such as Marxism, amid the broken masonry"(15). It is to be noted that how Tully analysed the influence of Ramayana serial on Indians and how Jack does it. Jack generalises the topic and says, "when the power goes off in Calcutta, as it does with predictable frequency, nothing much happens at all. Fans cease to spin; tramcars stop their grinding; rickshaw pullers hiss and click their bells to warn pedestrians lost in the dark; plump women in saris with heavy baggage are pulled from lifts; and in a million homes families take out their candles and their paper fans and regret that they have missed that day's television episode of *Yes Minister* or *Ramayana*"(16).

Jack's writing not only demonstrates a keen eye for feature details, he manages to embrace just the right specifics. His script is not encumbered with descriptive explanation. An example of that is a portrayal of his attempt to reach the Kumbh Mela in one of the swarming special trains from Varanasi. What could have been an opportunity



for ornate text goes something like this, “after twelve hours I panicked, and forced my way out” (20). Writing about the preachers of Serampur, he demonstrated his flair for history. He is at once a scrupulous reporter as he is a historian. “Writing comic pieces for Indian newspapers is a difficult and poorly rewarded business, and how tempting it must be, when times are hard and a deadline press, to reach for inspiration from your shelf of old and neglected books.(19), he continues. Jack’s writing delivers unique monographs of a decisive period in India's history, the Licence Permit Raj and the politics that went with it – the aftermath and hangover from that age is accountable for many of the problems of authority and governance India faces even today. His writing never poses the real problems of this nation as Tully does or highlights the qualities of the country. Jack, in this book, parades foreseeable captivation with two other aspects that have often attracted contemporary British authors, “Bengali society and the Indian Railways. Carelessness of this public transport system is mentioned seriously, commuting times grow but the trains do not; the lines are already filled to capacity. Every week, therefore, two or three travellers fall to their deaths from handholds on carriage doors and roofs as the trains clatter in from Borivali, Thane and other places whose remoteness has made them the subject of jokes”(27). Jack sees the overcrowded trains as a pretty trivial symptom of a far greater crisis, which is the way Bombay continues to suck in the poor of rural India. About 70 per cent of Bombay’s kinfolk have only single rooms to live in, comprising a large section of the educated middle class who take a briefcase to the office every morning and pay for their children to attend English-medium schools, notes Jack, criticising the overcast and dull social life of India, “hundreds of thousands of the poor make do with shacks improvised from polythene and cardboard, or nest in dry drainpipes

of sufficient diameter, or perch in neglected places such as the roofs of station lavatories”(28). Uneven ways of Mumbai is mentioned, “through the palms at Chowpatty ....yesterday’s gods resting on the sandbanks in undignified poses, on their backs and bellies, trunks down into the mud; a small but sanctified addition to the waste matter on which Bombay continues to expand and, in its own uneven way, to prosper.”(34) Jack says in an undertone that it is unsafe, how reaching a murky and unacquainted Indian town can be intimidating, particularly if the town lies on the northern plain and if the train arrives at night.

The streets look to have no history; they contain nothing of beauty – no aesthetic sense seems ever to have touched them; apart from the station and the cinema, the buildings might have loitered here for 300 years, or sprung up yesterday; there is a lot of smell and noise, open drains and Bombay film music.(41)

In India, he writes, before he had got hold of the dwelling, there lived ‘millions of perishing heathens, tormented in this life by idolatry, superstition and ignorance, and exposed to eternal miseries in the world to come’. Discriminatory judgments can be seen throughout *Moffussil Junction*:

In other parts of the world voluntary conversion might offer practical advantages – it tended to identify the converts with the colonial power – but the British government in India did not think better of Indians who abandoned their own faith; it was no guarantee of preferment. In material terms, Indian converts lost rather than gained. They became social outcasts; they were sacked from their jobs; people derided them in the street...A typical Indian chronicle was flavoured with

honeyed words to attract readers and most often misunderstood as the true whiff of Indianness, the lanes had a powerful combination of smells. Some were typically Indian: hot tea boiled with milk and sugar, mustard oil, sun-dried urine....It was hot, of course, and the platform was full of beggars and there were flies everywhere and everybody just stood and stared at you.(115)

He found India excruciating. 'It's just a challenging domicile in which to live. There's an incessant combat to keep oneself almost humanoid. The people are so dissimilar from one another and have to look into this awful gorge of dearth and disorder all the time,' writes Jack in his book. The regular Indian revenue per head per year is \$60. About 300 million folks live under that numeral. Their amount grows by several millions a year and their livelihood shows no sign of improving, he notes. A pointless comparison takes place between India and England. India, unlike England, is not a country of hobbyists, and the rich (reasonably enough) never do for themselves what they can pay inferior persons to do for them. A man who possesses a lawn will not trim it; a man who drives a car will not wash it, as if India is a land of uncleanliness. Monetary and sacred dissatisfaction may not be easy elements to separate, but the fact in India now is that political movements with a religious foundation are far more potent than parties based on Marxist or socialist ideas of economic and social justice, he points out. The usual Indian litany according to Jack include: caste, feudalism, poverty, corruption, illiteracy and disease and confirms, "the richest 5 per cent in India eat more than the poorest 30 per cent; the number of Indians living below the poverty line has increased by 75 per cent since Independence; the cost of a night in one of Delhi's luxury hotels equals three months' pay for a rural labourer; Mrs. Indira Gandhi has spent millions of pounds beautifying Delhi for the Asian Games and

the summit of non-aligned countries, while thousands of villages lack basic water supply”(276). Indians excrete everywhere,’ he wrote. They defecate, mostly, beside the railway tracks. But they also defecate on the beaches; they defecate on the hills; they defecate on the river banks; they defecate on the streets; they never look for cover, he says, forgetting the social conditions of India.

Sam Miller’s *A Strange Kind of Paradise* extends thousands of years, from the first ever references of India in traditional European sources to contemporary times, meandering up with brief deliberations about Steve Jobs’ hippie trip in the 1970s and the representation of poverty in the Academy award-winning film, *Slumdog Millionaire*. Accidental cross-references knock with unusual estimations and the intermittently inexplicable autobiographical revelation in his writings. The book works as a kind of compendium of journeys to and from India. *A Strange Kind of Paradise* epitomizes the way one can enjoy history, the scholarly explorer taking the readers to places, excavating spicy chunks of obscure informative material to entertain and amuse with. The book is a 2,500-year-long voyage through India’s past, philosophy and civilisation, in the company of an author who informs and diverts in equivalent degrees, as he travels in the tracks of foreign storytellers, discloses some of their tremendous fantasies and overturns long-held typecasts about race, individuality and relocation. Sam Miller examines in what way the prehistoric Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Arabs, Africans, Europeans and Americans – everyone really, excluding Indians themselves – came to envisage India. He stood along with everyone except Indians – ‘other Indians’ – to contemplate on India. That is the real paradox of this classical work, as it is acclaimed. Miller benefits from the fact that being an outsider, he is in a shortage of traditional and topographical baggage. ‘I am an outsider

trying to look in' he makes his ideology clear and says that he is not interested in the politics of the state and what he is interested in is how fairly India as a country has been stereotyped. Miller provides a far-reaching travel piece that overlaps 2,500 years of the Indian subcontinent. His encyclopedic chronicle traces upon every minute of the unique continent's protuberant history. There are ancient Greeks, gold-digging ants and Africans in his travelogues. He suppresses Greek scholar Scylax's anthropological concepts. Even a book this meticulous cannot manage Indian history. It is in various parts hysterical, interspersed with many subjective references. With him, the reader insanely folds away to Patna to look for Megasthenes and reaches back with an unverified hesitation that Ashoka's mother might have been Greek. Or the reader gets to know of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, India's first Protestant missionary who loved Tamil literature and prided over being known as the village physician. A panoramic view is fine, but Miller never saw the heart of India as Tully did. Miller says in the beginning of the book, "it is a place onto which foreigners have projected their own exotic fantasies and fears, their explanatory and simplifying schemata. And they seem never quite to make up their minds – as they swing from one extreme to the other – whether this country is actually a land of great wealth or of appalling poverty, of spiritual renunciation or of unabashed materialism, of fasting or of gluttony, of erotic sophistication or of sexual Puritanism, of corruption or of moral superiority"(4), "the earliest surviving descriptions of India by foreigners, all Greeks, from more than two thousand years ago, were of a fantasy land at the edge of the known world; a land of mystery and miracles, and some distinctly unusual behavior. There were tales of killer ants that dig for gold, of humans with giant ear lobes that could be used as sleeping bags, a land where it would be unthinkable not to eat one's recently

deceased parents, and where fountains spouted molten gold”(5) and “the subject of India’s prehistory is a battleground where nationalists, racists, religious fundamentalists, archaeologists and geneticists club each other over the head with their respective wisdoms”(7).

Here is a look at how overseas visitors and foreigners have looked at India – eccentric, unusual, bizzare and outlandish – all woven in with a delightful dosage of pleasurable fun and humour:

From this period came the story of vicious giant ants that dig for gold (Herodotus), of how south Indian males ejaculate black semen (Herodotus again), and, most imaginatively, from the writings of the Greek physician Ctesias, who claims that in India there is a tiny bird which buries its excrement, and if you just so happen to find it and eat a piece the size of a sesame grain, you will be dead by sunset. (13)

Like other early Greeks writing about India, “Megasthenes wrote at length about strange monsters and half-humans that lived in India – and by Strabo’s more rationalist times, India had become more than a place of fantasy, and was no longer seen as being beyond the edge of the known world” (19) and “later European Orientalists, collect, categorize and catalogue facts and information about India in an orderly manner – and many of them become frustrated by the fundamental illogicality of Indians. Their scribes are ‘careless’ and ‘negligent’; their books are ‘verbose’; their mathematics and astronomy are a mixture of ‘pearls and dung’; their classification of spiritual beings is disorganized and arbitrary; their system for measuring small units of time is ‘foolishly painstaking’ ... the popular

version of the Hindu religion is full of ‘hideous fictions’ and ‘silly notions’; the complaint, widely echoed by modern tourists who ask for directions, that Indians hate to say the words ‘I do not know’ ”(84), says Miller. He quotes and re-quotes his mere exoticist and magisterial impressions on India. “For example, the book talks about Hanno, the Indian elephant, presented to Pope Leo X in 1514. Hanno was the Pope’s beloved. After it died in 1516, the heartbroken Pope was presented with a stuffed Indian rhino, which was poor solace. In a patio next to the Vatican Library, Hanno’s leftovers were found in 1962” (97) But it wasn’t until the 1990s that a historian connected the dots. There are many such factoids, information that is general knowledge and no true soul of India can be seen anywhere between the lines. Call it an information-filled showbiz packaged full of surprising facts and unheard truths...Alberuni introduces the idea of a kind of Indian exceptionalism, whereby Indians think “there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs’ – and he considers this trait to be ‘haughty, foolishly vain, [and] self-conceited”(85) and says, “we learn that the crepitus ventris, better known as the common fart, was considered by Indians to be a good omen, while sneezing was a bad omen”(85). Usual episodes are mentioned by Miller to thrill his readers, as, “Captain Buzurg, a 10<sup>th</sup> century Persian sailor and fabulist, tells his readers that the good ladies of Kannauj, then a major city on the Ganges, possess labia that are muscular enough to crack an areca nut, while the 11<sup>th</sup> century Moroccan geographer Al-Idrisi asserts that in India ‘concubinage is permitted with all persons except married women; thus a man may have intercourse with his daughter, his sister, or his aunts provided they be unmarried”(88) and the element of exaggeration steals the Miller show, “and as he travelled through India he encountered

many marvels and heard about many others – levitating yogis with sandals that also levitate, men with the mouths of dogs, humans that turn into tigers and can extract the heart of a man without leaving a wound, and – in what is now Sri Lanka – monkeys that have sex with women”(91). Flying saucers, flesh-eating giants and headless men with several faces on their backs find a place in Miller’s narration, “Mandeville’s east contains one-eyed, and, my favourite, an island tribe which subsists on the smell of a certain kind of apple. And, making a comeback, are the men with sleeping-bag ears from Scylax, the gold digging ants of Herodotus, the waterless but fish-filled sea of Prester John, and, from Odoric, the tale of the discomforts of, presumably, scrotal or testicular elephantiasis”(113).

Deceptive and exoticised ideas thrill the readers, obstructing their critical thinking:

A shadowy, often misleading and exoticised idea of what we now call Hinduism emerges from the text. He describes, appreciatively but inaccurately, how Indians represent their God as half-man and half-ox, ‘for man is the loveliest and best creature God made and ox the holiest’. Cremation is preferred to burial so that one ‘should suffer no pain by being eaten by worms when in the grave’. Ritual suicide plays a major role, as it would for so many later Western accounts of Hinduism. He relates how a devotee carrying a knife ‘cuts off a piece of his flesh and throws it up to the face of the idol, saying devout prayers and commending himself to his God. And then he strikes himself with the knife in different places until he falls down dead. (114)

Modern Puri in India is an uncanny place for Miller. It’s a beach resort that is occupied by



pilgrims. The India described by Camoes as a place of ‘strange names and startling customs’, where people worship idols and animals, says the author. Their religion is described as ‘a tissue of fables’, their gods painted in ‘colours as discordant as if the Devil had devised them’, he describes. The description seems funny to outsiders only:

He admires the civility of most Indians, but declares them, on the whole, to be a cowardly people – another description which would resonate in more recent times. According to Terry, the people of North India, apart from the Rajputs, would ‘rather eat than quarrel, and rather quarrel than fight.’(172)

Tully defined Puri as a place of extremes with a much indulging narrative which propound Indianness .Miller stands apart and passes comments, “everything in India is not pleasing. He describes at some length the ‘annoyance’: beasts of prey, jackals that will dig a man up from his grave, crocodiles, scorpions, flies, mosquitoes, and rats which will bite your nose and fingers as you sleep. The pre-monsoon heat is so terrible that it can ‘blister a man’s face’, and every day, Terry recalls, ‘us English ...would stew in our own moisture’. And then there was the shadow of death. Twenty out of Sir Thomas Roe’s 24 English officers and servants died in India or on the journey back. India would remain, for English people, a diseased and dangerous place, from where many would never return”(172). India terrifies him and he openly shows his ‘tensions’, “for Hindu women, the imagined object of penetration was the temple idol- and there’s a long description in Sir Thomas Herbert’s Travels in Africa, Persia and Asia, in which a just-married virgin is forced to have sex with a ‘bodkin, made of gold or silver’ attached to ‘the privy parts’ of a statue. She is then returned to her husband and, Herbert says, if she becomes pregnant within a year, her progeny is seen as the child of God. Elsewhere Herbert describes how

young girls are handed over to temple priests and become prostitutes”(189).

Indian women have not occupied space in the works of Western writers save for a major exception – that of the supposedly voluntary immolation of widows or Suttee, says Miller. India had become a land of dreams, a place where less prosperous British males could live out their fantasies – the old English lament ‘Alas and Alack-a-day’ was transformed into the swaggering toast ‘A lass and a lac a day’. But it was also a land of perils and horrors, beyond fun-filled words Miller’s true lineage sometimes pops up. Silly criticism goes along the lines of, “in many Indian parks, body parts – rarely buttocks, but often penises half-disguised by a *pallu* or *duppatta* – are on demi-display largely because lovers have nowhere else to go” (190). Like Balch and Jack, Miller also writes on excretion on many places, turning a blind eye to the true social realities of the country. Indian stereotypes are typically Indian only, Miller forgets that when he so readily criticises it:

Most of the actors are backed up to look Indian, but the precise shade of black or brown varies noticeably as the films progress. Every cliché is there. The Indian rope trick is performed by a fakir, whose head is then chopped off, put in a bag and presented to the Maharajah. There are very hungry crocodiles lounging about in every lake or puddle. There’s even an army of angry lepers who have been forced to live in an underground cave. There are scores of camels and elephants, and a toothpaste-stealing monkey. And there are tigers almost everywhere – and diamonds and emeralds galore. It’s an entertaining romp, really, through almost every imaginable India stereotype. (358)

Unhealthy Indian traditions that are best excluded are unnecessarily highlighted:

...for instance, as if it were an everyday event in early nineteenth-century India, that any high-caste man who has committed the sin of drinking alcohol made from rice must ‘drink boiling hot, until he die, the urine of a cow, or pure water, or milk, or clarified butter, or juice expressed from cow-dung.’ (246)

They were each portrayers of India as a land of unusual sexuality and masters of the unverifiable generalisation, “according to sexologist Iwan Bloch, ‘the Indian regards a certain variation and artificiality in sex as highly beneficial to health and good in the eyes of the gods’, and says that there are no less than forty-eight coital positions considered ‘eminently proper’ in India, while even the Italians only have thirty-three. Ellis declares that ‘among the higher races in India the sexual instinct is very highly developed’ and refers to the ‘eastern style of coitus’ as one in which the primary purpose is the pleasure of one’s partner, not oneself” (294), and continues, “there are long digressions on ‘thuggee’, swindlers, ‘suttee’, female infanticide, famine, and – particularly in the section on Benares – naked holy men and filth.”(304). Miller quotes false voices on some topics like this, “...that Indian mothers, ‘high caste or low’, regularly masturbate their children, and goes on to explain the reasons: ‘the girl “to make her sleep well”, the boy “to make him manly” and an abuse which the boy, at least, is apt to continue daily for the rest of his life’. It is normal in many parts of the country, she adds, for little boys ‘if physically attractive, to be drafted for the satisfaction of grown men or be regularly attached to a temple, in the capacity of prostitute’. Because Hindus... have sex too early and so freely that their sexual powers dissipate; between seven and eight out of every ten Hindu males aged twenty-five to thirty are impotent”(326). There are the foreseeable typecasts

according to Miller and exploring truth behind his writings is impossible:

There are the predictable stereotypes: Maharajahs and rope tricks; tigers and diamonds; snake charmers and the Taj Mahal. Isaacs builds long lists of responses, word associations really, to his promptings about India. Here he gathers those that relate to the supposed servility of Indians: 'like slaves, inert, whipped cur, hopeless...starving to death without lifting a finger, beaten down, no spark of gumption.' And then, on poverty and its victims: 'emaciated people, diseases, ribs showing, shriveled bellies, corpses, children with fly-encircled eyes, with swollen stomachs, children dying in the streets, rivers choked with bodies...a mass of semi-aboriginal humanity.(349)

Miller has mentioned the term untouchable on almost all occasions where he mentions Dalits. The emphasis in his attitude towards the sect cannot be viewed as innocent. Foreign authors were behind a passionate unquenchable curiosity about this country. Their prose is often tinged with tenderness and flashes of brilliance that can be seen in mocking almost all subjects Indian. Dalrymple's writings are travelogues or travel writings but his adoxography-style statements beat even fiction and firing of creativity with tell-tales make them outstanding but never absorb the entire 'other Indian'-ness when he is compared to Mark Tully. Dalrymple's work focuses mainly on the spiritual experience and the religious quest of India. He endures cleverly for an older version of India and finally ends up as a readable body of work containing powerful first person accounts of spiritually-oriented Indians that Dalrymple came across during his travel across the Indian subcontinent. The country is undergoing clear cut changes and progress. However, Tully's works analyse the 'other Indian' life in the backdrop of these

developmental activities. He follows even those who are marginalised due to the so-called developmental activities. But Dalrymple's encounter with the popular religiosity, stubborn persistence of beliefs and ritual practices are highlighted over the revolutionary progress that is changing India. Authorial condescension never happens. Individuality, political mobilisation and myriad other experiences are all based on religion in Dalrymple's works.

India is not a homogeneous nation state. Political, religious and spiritual pluralism as a tradition and culture reflect in Dalrymple's works. The immensity with which religion is dealt by Dalrymple creates a superficial verve and a sense of immediacy to his works. India's one billion plus population faces a lot many problems. It goes without saying that someone who writes on Indian topics can touch all the vital problems the country faces. But when the work becomes one-sided, typically focusing on one aspect and that too as a readable mix of the religion and history of the region, the work becomes a good novel, but not a document that gives global readers a holistic view of India – a land torn between the relentless onslaught of modernity and blind development on one side and the continuity of ancient and bygone traditions on the other hand. Dalrymple's works are serious and insightful but the attempt to provide a more colourful reading creates a sense of virtual space rather than an Indian landscape. All the individuals he comes across during his travel are metamorphosed into rainbow coloured characters, full of life and vicious on his pages. He purposefully tries hard to draw a universal portrait from a specific event, but ends in failure from a socio-literary point of view and when his works are compared to 'other Indian' caricatures of Tully they stand far from the mark. His works finally sum up as the landscape of the land he loves, not like

mindscape of India as Tully embraces India. He has more knowledge on the country and an elegant style of prose that outshines the skill of any Indian writer, one can undoubtedly say, but the information and data-filled lyrical prose of Dalrymple can never be recommended for the complete picture of modern India or 'other India'. His work is an eccentric account and engaging tale of the array of arcane religious devotion across India and South Asia. Mark Tully touches the Indian texture in a sympathetic, absorbing and enquiring passion. Though Dalrymple's works are highly crafted pieces, they lack that non-judgmental style of Tully's writing pattern. He takes readers to more and more imaginary paths and mystic worlds, rather than down to the ground reality of 'other India'. The open style of Dalrymple's writing immerses him in Indian realities but he goes beyond and looks into the surreal where the Tullyian 'other Indian'-ness becomes blurred. Dalrymple juxtaposes the religious and secular Indianness but does not do justice to the innate rational thinking of the country. Dalrymple's books are rich, the characters engrossing and the narration surprising, pointing out the places worth a visit during a trip through the country. But never have any of his books delved into the intriguing aspects of the Other India's past, present and future. More topical, thematic and convoluted matters are dealt with lightness as they all lack the enlightenment of Tully's writing.

In *Nine Lives* Dalrymple is basically a storyteller. Spiritual India is his field of harvest. He opens a door to entertainment through his works. On the other hand, Tully opens and takes the readers to a world of deep comprehension and understanding of Other India. His fast-paced narrative style is pregnant with an eye for the bizarre and magical Indian fairyland. The stories he compiles in *Nine Lives* are contemporary, showing the lives of several characters whose lives are caught in the grip of religious

exaltation. While Tully binds his 'stories', he never talks. Instead, the characters (mostly real life) tell their own spellbinding stories. Dalrymple never provides an open space to infuse the miscellaneous, often dense and heavy culture of 'other India'. Maybe the stories are original and a result of exhaustive research. But at least some of them are very delicate. Dalrymple's fantastical accounts of history are overloaded with unrealistic elements – one of the major reasons for generating millions of readers. But, this method has adversely impacted the way the world looks at India. *Nine Lives*, *City of Djinns*, *From the Holy Mountain* and *The Age of Kali* all provide essential reading, but he places the prototypical ideas of these books in its extremes, far away from its archetypal 'other Indian'-ness. At some point he is as vivid as Naipaul. As journalistic pieces of writings they are fine: pleasure-packed and informative but lacking a perspicacious eye that depicts the religious and secularist temperaments of this land. The panache of Tully's writing is based on authenticity. Tully turns himself back from any kind of exaggerations. Dalrymple minces his ideas regarding the 'other India', adding fascinating details of incidents that paint a picture of much merrymaking. The spark of travel writing makes him content. Though his writings are icebreakers of the finest sentimental choice to express ideas related to the country, it conveys nothing more than what a mere tourist guide would say. Tully's works are like a prism, absorbing and reflecting the Other India. Dalrymple is like a mirror, sometimes reflecting even the darkness and negatives shown at it. It is a magnifying lens so it glorifies the religious outline of the land. Many reviews and critical appreciations came up saying that Dalrymple had superseded Tully in experiencing and expressing India. Indians enjoy his works but cannot learn anything from it. He sets his scenes easily, coaxing the chaos, westernisation and immemorial

traditions. Yet it becomes the entertainment package a travel guide will offer. Dalrymple explores landscapes but Tully searches for lifescapes. Bleak cynicism is in no way impressive when a foreigner writes about another country. Dalrymple is a great companion and one may not want the great Indian journey to end. When India becomes the hunting ground the writer should go beyond his empirical knowledge. The ‘exotica’ of the East will be dealt by the authors first with an intention of pleasing the credulous Western audience. Where almost all of the travelogues on India are a direct approach and the author’s eye for particular humour and irony culminates in a skeptical mosaic of observations, Tully notes everything on India by blending his stew of history with the past and present of the ‘other India’. Though Dalrymple is a compelling author he is not necessarily a compulsory author on ‘other India’.

His *City of Djinnns* has a subtitle called “A Year in Delhi”. He pursues ‘the narrow alleys, mosques, abandoned ruins and manors’ of Delhi with a sense of historical adventure, looking among the archives of ancient India to create a sympathetic portrait of their age-old city. But Tully never fell before archival pieces and documents; he had the ‘other Indian’ reality calling him. His ‘other Indian’ saga was not filled with the obscure nooks and crannies of old Delhi or New Delhi. It is not an anecdote-filled manuscript either. Dalrymple is interested in portraying cities – he travels back and forth through the ages that lay suspended side-by-side as in *A City of Djinnns*. Tully’s works are not a combination of diary writing and history. Dalrymple moves through the fashionable allure of the travel writing genre and walks on the safe but narrow rope of memoir writing. He is not a mere voyeur, but most of the foreign writers who come to India are. Dalrymple conducts lots of excursions into the Indian landscapes, but Tully is never a



pleasure-seeking travelling-author at any point of reading. Tully writes on the struggles of the ‘other India’ existence with the intention to amuse. On the contrary, Dalrymple’s works feel like the historical onion with endless skin to peel, never resonating with the realities of the ‘other Indian’, as critics rightly observe.

*India: A Portrait* by Patrick French tries to catch up with the speedy renovation of economics and resulting lively change of the country. He never treats India as an area of darkness or a wounded civilisation but he, in his ‘portrait’, highlights even the smallest uprising of this land making the general understanding of ‘other India’ much more complex. To trace the public discourse about India is not quite easy. French says:

Nearly everyone has a reaction to India, even if they have never been there. They hate it or love it, think it mystical or profane; find it extravagant or ascetic, consider the food the best or the worst in the world. For East Asians, it is a competitor and a source of some of their own spiritual traditions. For Americans, it is a challenge, a potential hub of co-operation or economic rivalry – both countries are diverse and hulking, their national identities strong and to an extent constructed, their populations loquacious and outgoing and admiring of entrepreneurial success. For many Europeans, India is a religious place with a special, undefined message. For the British, it is a link to old prestige, a land interesting mainly in the past tense. For the Pakistanis – the estranged siblings of the Indians – it is a site of threat and fascination.(ix)

When something new or progressive happens in countries like India “western assumptions about the restricted destiny of former colonies”(x) will always act as an

intellectual hindrance which confines new opinions at that time. Patrick French writes about the country from inside, outside and from a distance. He just passes 'information' from and through different corners of a prism. Though he claims to touch upon the political, pecuniary and social by focusing on individual stories, problematic catastrophes, targets and accomplishments of many people at the centre of his narrative, his investigations sometimes fail to answer the question "Why is India like it is today?"(x) Rashtra (Nation), Lakshmi (Wealth) and Samaj (Society) are the three sections discussed in *India: A Portrait*, from the birth of a nation to the current financial liberalisation and the collective outlines and characteristics that make India. Most often, Indians are empathetically viewed and perceived by foreign authors as the victims of famine and superstitions and then later as an act of balancing the rags to riches stories, personal accounts will be added to main narrative. Patrick French is no different.

In *Holy Cow: An Indian Adventure*, an international bestseller, Sarah MacDonald boldly calls Delhi the most polluted city in the world. Her Delhi nights are smoggy. She is on a rollercoaster ride through India in *Holy Cow*, not a slow-paced walk through the heart of India, its villages. Sarah is irresistible and her journey neither discovers India nor herself. She just plays boisterously and her book is an entertainment gambol: highly *readable* but an easy walk through the shallow dilettantish India. It is just her tale on India and sufficiently not the other Indian tale. She wraps herself in unnecessary confusions. Though in the dedication, she says India 'made her', one may feel that it is a hollow echo of words. Sarah MacDonald's adoration and admiration for India resulted in *Holy Cow* but it never searches for the real India and reading between the lines ends up in vain. MacDonald oscillates between Death and Rebirth, 'Face to face with God' and the

exclamation of 'Land of the Gods' to make her statements. Saul David's *The Indian Mutiny* is a dramatic interpretation of the 1857 mutiny. *The Indian Mutiny* is a thrilling and delightful narration that truthfully questions many of the long-standing *assumptions* about its causes and results. The inevitable victory of the British and the Imperial complacency that fuelled the rebellion and easiness with which it widened the horrific massacres of the innocent people, the merciless retribution that followed the mutiny and every other minute detail is retold with vigour and panache. David's fine judgment is an excellent narrative history. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 through the foreign pen of David is a sound history book without any manipulations. East India Company's gradual metamorphosis from mercantile to political power is traced out by David in the book. Chapters such as "The Professional Grievances", "The Conspiracy", "The Greased Cartridges", "Mangal Pandey", "The Backlash" and some others, try to uncover the truth behind the mutiny while going beyond the history texts. Since *The Indian Mutiny* deals with a specific historic topic there is no point in comparing it with other Indian explorations of Tully. But just out of curiosity that a foreign author researched this important part of history, it is mentioned as part of the concept of 'other India'. Buckley's *An Indian Odyssey* is a myriad description of mysteries of India. Buckley comes into confrontation with the legendary characters, religious deities, epical role models and adventurous warriors, his style resembling that of Vikram Seth's rendering of Indian topics. Buckley's *Odyssey* is a dangerous pathway through India on a motorbike, micro light, metros, bus and train. He closely examines the Babri Masjid issue and the influence of the religious epic *The Ramayana* that threatens to overshadow the national politics and elections in India. The Ayodhya conflict that took the lives of 13,000 people and the

Gujarat riots in 2002 where 200 Muslims were murdered are subjected to analysis in the foreground of Indian religious tradition and its misinterpretations. Buckley makes it clear in the introduction that his book is not about politics. Although he says that the book takes the readers into the heart and soul of India, *An Indian Odyssey* is undoubtedly a piece of work directed at the Western audience. Even as he tries to study the profound nature of Hinduism, he has compromised on many occasions to fit his finding to the taste of his foreign audience, as he himself confessed. Buckley touches upon the tradition of the land, picking *Ramayana* out of the epic secular structure and placing it instead in the religious factory that manufactures beliefs in the name of nationalism. “The reading of *The Ramayana* absolves the reader of every sin and grants eternity” (13), quotes Buckley. He calls Ayodhya, holy Ayodhya or Indian Bethlehem, a land that somersaults with the disturbance of brothels, panhandlers, grenades, road accidents, riots, temples and religious wars. He enhances the flavour of epic adventures like *The Ramayana*, the halfhearted approach towards the understanding of India and its religious manner highly disgusting. He writes without any plans, almost like a spiritual tourist. To him, India is a land of “smoke doped pot – bellied swami”(76). Though he says that he avoided tourist hotspots like Goa, Rajasthan and the Taj Mahal, he chases an India that is more spiritual rather than realistic, dreaming that his Indian Odyssey will “conclude with meeting God in the Himalayas” (76). He is obsessed with Indian cultural history and civilisation but spirituality makes him walk away from all the social realities called the ‘other India’. As a vague seeker, he travels through the ways most travelled where seekers of enlightenment have been pitching their tents since the 60s. ‘He was a believer’ just like Tully, but the latter trusted the lives of people within the ‘other India’ and not the

spirituality of those poor souls. *An Indian Odyssey* is an intermingling of Buckley's reading experiences along with the spiritual journeys that he made through India. It cannot be compared with the socio-literary outlook of Tully's works.

B. Raja Sorensen's *Lost and Found in India* is about an adopted India with no logical or sacred dissembling. She is a committed author in that sense when compared to Martin Buckley, Patrick French, Saul David and the like. She too is a seeker. But her work is neither a *moksha*-oriented odyssey nor a fairytale. She never made herself a victim of "dubious mystical processes that claimed spiritual sanctuary"(13). Sorensen was completely delighted like many other foreigners by "India's intoxicating array of colour, tradition, celebrations, festivity....life!"(13). She glorifies this land as a land where transcendence and worship of cows take place. For her, India was not a land to visit but a shelter. "The thing is, I belong to India" (14). Holy towns and holy India burned Sorensen, in and out. She says:

...have little patience for anything that merely scratches of this land and fails to taste, smell, see, and hear the soul of this country, its culture. Not culture in terms of dress or food or music, but rather the culture of the soul, the personalism that comes from the heart of those who live in a country coloured by the dyes of love, of soul origins, of family, of care, of compassion, humility, tolerance, charity, and other things that people often claim are missing when they see India only on an external level. Because its exterior is far removed from its internal heartbeat.(20-21)

*Lost and Found in India* is an emotional saga of a foreign author's attachment to

India. For her, India is not just “a third world country: a chaotic, loud, thumping, fast moving hologram of modern hell that 99% of the world can’t figure out” (21). The work is her understanding of India. It was not her country of random choice or a village to live in. She loved this land with all its intricacies but its socio-realities never haunt her. Sorensen just gets sucked easily into it, that’s all. As with the others, Indian spiritual culture and religious faith are explained in reams. Eastern and Western philosophies, and psychological theories are referred to but *Lost and Found in India* ends up as a mere personal record of Sorensen’s life in India. Elizabeth Chatterjee’s *Delhi Mostly Harmless* is a perplexing and snooping falsification of the capital city of India. Uncertainties of the city along with its charisma and its metropolitan dissension are pronounced in an undeviating narrative. The book is her PhD dissertation, more research-orientated, a combination of all its ‘goods’ and ‘bads’. She describes Delhi in the opening part like this:

It combines the hallmarks of the global twenty first century: increasingly wealthy elite, a precariously employed majority, an obsession with security, and looking environmental crisis. Inequality, corruption, violence, greed, fear, boredom, lust, smog: these are the snakes and ladders of modernity. It is impossible to be purely optimistic about the city’s future. (280)

Chatterjee talks about her fears, travels, and stories surrounding Delhi, views of Old and New Delhi, its streets and the food but none of this compares to Tully’s approach to the Other Indian realities. T.S.Eliot in *Rudyard Kipling* says ‘...the first condition of right thought is right sensation – the first condition of understanding a foreign country is to smell it...’. Chatterjee smells a lot and writes as much.

In *The Great Railway Bazaar* by Paul Theroux, some places in India are a passing remark. Theroux travels by train through Asia. It's a classic journey and an entertaining book but one cannot make any direct comparison with Tully's works. As part of his 'Asian train journey' he reaches India, specifically Madras, from where he boards a train to Ceylon. Nothing about Madras or India is said. Curatorial methodologies in the direction of understanding India can be found in Iranian-born Al Biruni's *Ta'rikh Al-Hind* (The History of India), says Amartya Sen. Al Biruni's work was written in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. He was a leading master in Sanskrit and had great knowledge on Indian Vedas and scriptures. He inspected social settlements of the then India and the traditional ceremonies. The volume studied India thoroughly and it is a noteworthy account of the academic evolutions and social civilisations of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century India. Along with Al Biruni's striking inquiries on Indian cultural tradition, many serious Arabic studies of India were taking place around the same time. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Brahmagupta's Sanskrit discourse on astronomy had first been translated into Arabic in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, notes Amartya Sen. Al Biruni understood the actual difficulty of understanding a foreign land and its people. He was determined to be impartial in his observation of India.

Curatorial methodologies were commenced out of intellectual and logical curiosity. Arab scholars and travellers provided many such external depictions of Indian landscape. As described in the introduction of this thesis, Faxian (Fa-Hsien) and Xaunzang (Hiuan-tsang) spent several years in India and had accumulated what they saw here. This took place in the fifth and seventh centuries correspondingly with extensive curatorial interpretations of the Indian subcontinent. They treated India with much caution and concentration. Their reports about the travels through India are still valuable documental

records. European studies of India belonged to curatorial approaches according to Amartya Sen. Roberto Nobili, an Italian Jesuit produced objectively confident works on Indian academic debates of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in both Latin and Tamil. Nobili had (very well) remarkable scholarship in Sanskrit and Tamil. He widely journeyed to South Indian areas for the groundwork of his book. Father Pons, another Jesuit from France in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century produced syntax of Sanskrit in Latin. The actual increase of European interest in India took place only later. More than Italian or French scholarship, major works on India came in direct response to the British. William Jones was a gigantic personality in this scholarly dissemination. He was a major officer of *The English East India Company* and a legal researcher. He came to India in 1783 and launched the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the next year with the energetic backing and sustenance of Warren Hastings. Asiatic Society was dynamic in amassing Indian masterpieces and distinguishing them, along with religious documents like *The Bhagavad Gita*, legal discourses like *Manu Smriti* and great literary works such as Kalidasa's *Meghasandesham* and *Sakunthalam*. They deciphered these Indian classical works. Charles Wilkins and Thomas Colebrooke were intellectuals who cooperated with William Jones to execute this Herculean task. Each of the Europeans who placed his foot on this land desired to know India at the finest other than any other European knew or even saw it. Numerous British officers, out of their eventual inquisitiveness, worked on India and it can be said that the Western / foreign insights of India were intensely prejudiced by their travel and exploration. They were apprehensive and searched for idiosyncratic aspects in India. They wanted their works to be a stimulating or motivational guide for fellow travellers or upcoming ones so they enthusiastically looked for unusual features of Indian



ethnicity and its rational tradition. So curatorial methodologies were imbalanced in their focus and not projected cent percent in their Indianness.

Throughout the initial stages of colonisation, when the colony and the ruling empire were still at the beginning of such an arrangement, it was a great risky task for the Britishers to rule a country like India with scholarly, varied heritage and unfathomable engrained traditions. Early East India company officials and administrators including Warren Hastings showed outstanding reverence towards Indian knowledge and culture. James Mill's works transpire to be in the category of both curatorial and magisterial methodology says Amartya Sen. *The History of British India* published in 1817 skillfully conforms the pre-eminence and implementation of imperial power in India. Mill purposefully highlighted the doubts and discharged every privilege ever made on behalf of Indian culture and its confrontational academic backgrounds, thereby ending his chronicling of the land by defining everything as aboriginal and uncouth. He reported unceasingly the advantage of British rule in India and renovation of a vicious nation under the reorganising supervision of imperial British power. Magisterial approaches are narrow and it always blindly praises the ruling country. James Mill was arrogant and discourteous in his overall assertiveness towards India and steady with his beliefs. Even his strategy of reigning and administration was based on engaging in conflict and subduing the states. Thus Mill's classification on Indian self-identification had a great impact on the Indian self. He related Indian civilisation with other inferior ones known to him. His inclusive attack happened from all fronts – subordinate nations, culture and intellectual traditions were underrated by him throughout *The History of British India*.

The thought-provoking element is that he wrote Indian History under British Rule

without ever having visited India. Mill knows no Sanskrit nor any Arabic, Persian or Urdu; he was unaware of any of the modern Indian languages. He was not like Chinese or Arabic explorers and thinkers who were well-versed in many languages and the arts. In a haste to disbelieve or doubt whatever was suggested by native scholars and learners, he was not particularly exultant about acknowledging the prominence of Indian science or mathematics. He destabilised all Indian intellectual engrossments and remained absolutely reluctant to believe that cultural inventions or geographic/scientific discoveries could have been accomplished by such a primeval society. Thomas Babington Macaulay's works on India were also guiltlessly magisterial. His *Minute on Indian Education* focused on restructuring the educational system of British India and including the objectives of the imperial ruler. 'English educated Indians' were the ultimate aim of Macaulay's educational overhaul, to be moulded as arbitrators between the British and the millions of poor Indians governed by them. The magisterial methodology of India cannot be restricted to Britain and India and the authors from these countries. In 1958, American Hasol Issac's literary sources on India were Rudyard Kipling and Katherine Mayo, the latter wrote the exceptionally deprecating *Mother India*. The works of all three writers are appropriate specimens of magisterial methodology to Indianness. Gandhi was against Mayo's notion of India where caste inequalities were overstated. It was a criticism done wrongly leading to misapprehensions on India. American and European authors have had confused images of India, on how to portray the country and the impact of their magisterial approach that has led only to inaccurate realities.

Exoticist readings of India are full of unusual undertakings and thoughts endorsed for India. *Indika* by Megasthenes, engraved in the early third century, has the entitlement of

being the first foreigner's book on India, says Sen. He adds that *Indika* was created with much interest by the Greek author, "his superlatively admiring book is so full of accounts of fantastic objects and achievements in India that it is hard to be sure what is imagined and what is really being observed"(151).The accounts of foreign writers based overseas are augmented by the archives of bizarre Indian travels by vintage Greeks. The orations of yogis and gurus including Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Shri Rajneesh and the like are lined up in the exotic discerning of India. However, Sen says, "important example of intellectual exoticism related to India can be seen in the European philosophical discussions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, among the Romantics in particular" (152).

Writers all over the world, European and American, were predisposed by moderately overblown appraisals and elucidations on Indian philosophy and culture. Johann Gottfried Herder, the German theorist and philosopher, Friedrich Schlegel, a polyglot and linguist, Max Muller, a German-born philologist and Orientalist, all brought India fully into their critique of the contemporary West. Sen mentions in *The Argumentative Indian* that "Schlegel strongly recommended learning from the Orient, especially India and also guaranteed that Persian and German languages and cultures as well as the Greek and the old Roman, may all be traced back to the Indian"(152). But later the world witnessed Schlegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and many other proponents delineating impartially damaging views on Indian tradition out of their disenchantment in not finding in Indian thought what they had themselves argued in their outlandish exotic assessment of the country. They later even denied the reputation of Indian tradition and culture.

To India, the exoticist methodology was malleable and ephemeral. It is a vortex of

make-believe awareness. Writers, from their travels, assort the myth, parables, allegories and fantasies of the land and place them in an extraordinary trajectory from where it then rolls down. A massive band of adulation was played by W.B. Yeats and Ezra Pound at the expressive lyrical sanctity of Rabindranath Tagore's verse but it was soon curbed to safe condemnation and exhaustive indifference. The enormous acceptance by the Western audience and the success of Tagore at first is followed by criticism. Tagore was the most artistic, versatile and resourceful human being that ever lived in the history of Bengal, as well as India. But in Europe, he is a pontificating spiritual guru; their consideration and reading of Tagore ended up highlighting the spiritual tone of his works. Prevalent misreadings such as these often create victimised landscapes of India.

In our era, Dalrymple fictions are brimming with such paranormal exoticisms of India as a magical land – another predominant delusion. The identification of Indian intellectual ethnicities in the West was influenced by the curatorial, exoticist and magisterial methodologies of India by artists, scholars, rulers, writers, historians and administrators. The exoticist and magisterial approaches were guiltier as they bewildered and baffled the appreciations of India because they drew responsiveness to India in the West. The searched out curatorial features have done less harm because as a comparable line to historical construing it tried to present the non-mystical and unexotic features of this land. Exoticist and magisterial procedures operate upon dissimilarities and rarity with Western traditions underlining the anomalous nature of India rather than curatorial methodologies. Magisterial methodology was a tool of the British domain to rule a colonial country like India. It was so strong that even when the British Empire left, the impact of its association has continued to survive. The curatorial methodologies of

William Jones were more dutiful than the obdurate magisterial records of Macaulay and Mill. While magisterial authors never appreciated India they also found sufficient chapters in their books condemning curatorial authors for their venerable observations on India. Magisterial accusations made austere impressions on the Western imagination about the Indian landscape. An overdose of elements that amaze in the exoticist methodologies brings India into the Western cognizance in overwhelming waves that scatter their attention. But the tide quickly repossesses yet again, leaving only a group of hard-bitten exoticists to soldier on. The intense condemnation of Tagore and the *Vedas* is an example. The Western indebtedness to exotic aspects of the Eastern cultures is no more than an infatuation. Exoticist books may persuade and induce an audience/ readers temporarily, so India may remain a land of magic or wonder for at least a flash of time, but that stature is not everlasting. Magisterial methodologies are so deteriorating that they may cancel this attention granted by the exoticist methodology. Magisterial methodologies are inhuman and anti-humanitarian, especially through the admonitions of James Mill and Katherine Mayo. Magisterial approaches are anti-rational whereas curatorial approaches are overly rational. The two might counterbalance each other impeccably. The way Indian culture is handled by both these methodologies paints the general depiction of India by the West. The 'other Indian' tradition of argumentative Indianness may be well known to a Western scholar who delves more into the culture and ideologies of this land, but play little part in co-coordinating the general outlook of India created by foreign authors.

It is a fact that the curatorial, magisterial and exoticist methodologies of Indian culture by foreign and Indian authors were not able to overcome Western superiority and

was afraid to unearth the innermost purview of India which endured vital marks of the land's culture. The Indian image was distorted before Western or European superiority and the immature conclusions of Indian and foreign authors only helped to add more fuel to such capitulations. The supposition of 'other Indian' uniqueness and counter external Indian images proves that the Indian intellectual tradition and argumentative culture are beyond the scope of interpretation of magisterial, curatorial and exoticist authors. The domain of Indian knowledge that extends to science, technology, mathematics and medicine from the pure Indian intellectual Vedas and Upanishads were devoured by the exoticist approbation shown by many foreign authors for Indian spirituality and holiness. The discernment of India by foreign writers and the construction of Indianness by Indian writers have had a considerable influence on the self-perception of other Indians. India's colonial past, the independence era, the post-independence age, economic growth, corporate and capitalist statistics are all connected to the valuation of the Indian image before global readers. The dialectical method of reasoning and contradicting ideas with Western observations marks the internal identity of India that arose during colonial rule.

Complimentary and deferential statements by exoticist writers, though quoted repeatedly, never resulted in the acceptance of 'magical India' in a complete sense of that idea. Rather than an intellectual methodology, it is the exoticist, magisterial and curatorial attitudes that ruled the scene. Policies of elitist patriotism and colonial antiquity substantiated the longing for a strong intellectual ground from where to challenge the imperial rulers. Non-elite intellectuals later voiced their Indian histories which led to the current developments in historiography in India. History was handled by even laymen focusing more on the rural multitudes, 'other Indian' commonalities and the 'exploited

plebeians', as Amartya Sen observed. Tully is also a part of this line of several voices of Indian historiography. Apart from the Oriental and Occidental sensitivities of India, there is a great shift in the focus of the elitist interpretation and the non-elitist elucidation of urban masses. There has also been an acceptance of rural India by non-elitists in the discourses on India recently. A combination of traditional beliefs held by the Indian rural masses, non-elitist apprehensions and local writers all accredited to the exoticist praise of India which served this transcendent ambiance even further. Illiteracy among the non-privileged classes removed them from the mainstream indulgence of Indian Science and Mathematics. So they were contented to go along with the blind commendation by exoticist methodology. This image of India, from the sidelines, emerged as a consequence of colonial rule and to some extent still remains unchanged. The observational predilections of far-off writers stimulate the 'other Indian' image damagingly so. The mechanism of foreign encounter has numerous dialectical features associated to the exotic approbations and discharges from the cosmopolitan and multicultural West.

Most works on India by foreigners end up as a tourist's handbook full of wondrous explanations and route maps showcasing the answer to the question 'What is India really like?'. Even Indian phantasmagorias are grounded on fluctuating observational points of curatorial, magisterial and exoticist authors that are not at all constant. 'Other India' never becomes their concern for appreciation. Both magisterial and exoticist representations repudiate Indian intellectual detections and recreations, narrowing itself in commendation and condemnation. These approaches are so narrow that they do not even think of 'other Indian' complexities. The pluralist understanding of India happens only at the grassroots level. The search for true Indianness should begin from the rural masses and landscapes

and obviously not from the cosmopolitan pubs. The fake arguments on Indian religions and mysticism indicate this land as one of enchantment. The intellectual argumentative nature is overlooked. Religious and spiritual obsessions and prophecies keep the image of India in the eyes of the Western world as one that is phenomenal and prodigious. It can be concluded that the disproportionate relationship between the East and the West torched a negative image of India in the latter's narratives. The 'other Indian' images retrieved by Tully would not fit the typical Western image of Indian traditions which thoughtlessly concentrate on religion or spirituality.



## Chapter VI

### INDIAN PRETEXTS: A COMPARISON WITH TULLY

India, a diverse country with thousands of varied cultures, has always been a subject of exploration for both its native and foreign writers. Its people, their belief, cities, political and social changes have been experienced by many of them through different centuries and much was written. Having been ruled by foreign invaders for centuries, Indian psyche is pre-positioned to accommodate multiple cultures. As in every social sphere, it is reflected in our writings of all types. The English writing in India is highly colonialised and prejudiced. However, the country has witnessed a surge in its documentation of the people's life since its independence. In spite of following different value systems and style, majority of the Indian writers in English – be it fiction or non-fiction – do keep a colonial hangover in their narratives on India, especially those who have been connected to those cultures. Many of these metro-living Indian writers overlook the Indian scenarios. Their cosmopolitan approaches do not always get the deep Indian argumentative tradition and hence, fail to capture the essence of rural India, where India lives, according to Gandhiji. A country incinerates its uniqueness in its socio-realistic conceptions, in its cultural exhibitions like literature and art. The urge of distinctiveness embodies the features that the country bestows and it will be the reflection of the amassed experience of the country. The insights of its historians and the kindheartedness of the humans dwelling on that piece of earth, their intellectual and cultural enthusiasms create its identity. At a point, due to several other reasons, like war, imperialism and internal struggles, the country may disclaim its own culture and tradition, and renounce its own art and historical experiences and may slurp up the image of the conqueror. That happened in India too, when the Christian missionaries, East India

Company and Macaulay were congregating impetus as reigning power. But the revival of one's own culture re-experiences the identity of one's nationhood. It can restore the true nature of a country in its vividness. But it is so sad to note that as Arun Shourie in *Worshipping False Gods* articulates, "discourse today consists of 'slogan-cum-stampede'. Some slogan is floated-Garibi Hatao one day, 'social justice' the next. No one goes into the details of it. Instead, there is a stampede in its wake" (xi).

It is the case with the much-hyped twenty first century Indian English writing. Indian writing in English links the vocabularies and enunciations of people in the countless regions of India, interlacing an all-India responsiveness reaching out to the nooks and corners. But it is a common syndrome that almost all of the Indian English writings are indebted to the expatriate bequest of this country. To break with that is revolutionary. Subodh Sarkar, the guest editor of *Indian Literature* says, "India is a site of exotic culture for many foreign academics to thrive on, and they quote whatever they find Indian and regretfully they choose from the bouquet of Indian writings easily available in the market"(3). Even a novel like *The God of Small Things*, is not free of the guiltiness of glamorizing and sentimentalizing the Indian reality and passing it off as pan-Indian reality. Most of them plunge into the image-trap. In India, there is "literature for export," says Dr. U.R.Ananthamurthy. Sometimes the writers of the regional languages represent the Indian realities better than the colonially influenced Indian English writers. K.M.Chandar, critic, in his essay on Amitav Ghosh's *Sea of Poppies* says more about the Pan-Indian reality. He says that the writers never assert that the reality they represent is a Pan-Indian reality, but "the reality they represent is local, caste, specific and so on" (189).

A.K. Ramanujan contemplates two wide-ranging sets to differentiate the two methods of sophisticated thinking. It is principally Indian and the Western. The Indian way of rationale inclines to be 'Context -Sensitive'; the Western-way inclines to be 'Context -free'. "The more a writer in India is context – sensitive, the more he knows the real India and he can aspire to suggest the context-free" (189). One of the impediments with the Indian writers in English is that they attempt to be global without anyway being the local; consequently they pervert both. Some of the regional writers, on the other hand, are so context-sensitive, so they are intensely demonstrative of the local that their works surpass and undertake the global. But its uniqueness never influences or reaches the global audience or even the Indian readers all time. However, in comparison, it is clearly evident that there is a clear demarcation between the writings of foreigners on India and the Indians writing on India, especially those who are Indian, not just by birth, but work as well. Their understanding of the conditions is deeper and selection of language is more cordial. Their approach is far critical than wrongly appreciating the superficial goodness of a nation that is diverse at every square centimetre. At the same time, it is equally important to closely analyse the differences in approach between the Indian regional writers and the Indian English writers. M. J Akbar, the veteran Indian journalist-turned Union Minister, has travelled across the country and covered many topics Tully has widely written about. Caste, religion and political tensions are a few subjects in which he always had a deep interest. One of the very few Indian writers who critically analysed the elements what often triggers the caste and communal violence in the country, M. J. Akbar is a good comparison to comprehend the oral tradition that Tully religiously follows in his writing. Though the topics vary between the writers, both have captured the sentiments of

the rural Indians that frequently turn into intermittent social tensions. Travelling across the cities, towns and villages such as Jamshedpur, Moradabad, Sarhapur and Meerut – notorious for communal riots, Akbar has evidently pointed out that the root cause for the communal tensions are beyond the religious factors. Many of these riots are triggered by the economic disparity between different communities, ignited by the communal divisions implied by the religious zealots from time to time. Akbar, like Tully, keeps a religious eye toward the instances whereas he sees things as historian to analyse things below the skin of time. As Khushwant Singh pointed out in the introduction of *Riot after Riot*:

M. J. Akbar's essays deal with incidents of mass violence that took place over the last nine years and received wide publicity at the time they occurred. But very few reporters took the trouble of going to the remote villages where gunman wiped out whole families in inter-caste warfare, or the place where a gangster's moll who was subjected to gang-rape and humiliation by a rival gang wreaked terrible vengeance by gunning down twenty men of the village where she had been dishonoured. This Akbar did. And much more. He visited towns like Hyderabad, Jamshedpur, Moradabad and Meerut, Patiala, Batala and many others where Hindu-Muslim or Hindu-Sikh riots had taken and found out what had triggered them off. (13)

These travels give much required first-hand information for the book. The calamity-hit families and the leaders who ordered for the violent struck were interviewed when they were calm. They spoke to the writer, giving a new light to the subject altogether. When it comes to anything that is social in nature, the rule is that there is no rule. Many a time, any incident, be it a communal violence or a normal criminal activity, it often originates

from the emotional behaviour of a person or a group. However, the deep cause must have been generated in the social consciousness much before the actual delivery of the incident. The Indian way of social discourses can always lead to a solution. Akbar traces the reasons for the lack of that argumentative Indian tradition, which would have otherwise been a medicine to all the problems that Indians face. Akbar, like Tully, describes the human conditions in details. The reader could see, not just understand the streets that he describes:

Have you ever heard the silence of a city? Curfew time is five o'clock but long before that the silence has been building up. The city stopped roaring on 11 April 1979, but now as the sun enters the last quarter of its daily journey even the half-raised voices of the morning have hushed.(16)

The visual description not just covers the landscape but also the sufferings of the human beings as an aftermath of the communal violence. "The walls of this hospital are splashed with the black soot of age and carelessness; the atmosphere is septic, and the stench wafts out and onto the road, nurses work hard for little reward, and on a bed sits a man injured in the head and leg, staring into space"(16). This detailing helps the reader understand the human conditions deeply. Following such an elaborate description, he moves more deep into the underlying factors that in turn results in vigorous social dilemmas. With unprecedented easiness, Akbar uncovers the reasons of these frequent tensions:

After all, if Hindu and Muslim live in peace, how will the RSS find another convert? How will the trader sell arms? How will a shopkeeper have pleasure of

seeing a rival's shop burn down? How will the goonda loot? How will the communist kill a fellow human being? Keep the lies floating friends? (18)

This sarcasm is not dialogic in nature, but it is a conclusion of journey that unravels the hidden reasons behind many of the issues that India has been dealing with at political and social levels. Like Tully did at Ayodhya, Akbar spends time with men of different taste and status. An Adivasi boy who wants to know about violence against Adivasis in Delhi, a non-advasi friend of Adivasi, who self-assumed the leadership of them and spread false news of flag ban leading to the social tension and a group of young Hindu men who loudly argued the Muslims are carrying American weapons supplied by Pakistan. All the three groups, though belong to varying social classes, somehow, are carriers of same or other false belief. These misunderstandings of the facts make them vulnerable to the vested interests. He mentions the lack of dialogic tradition among these communities as the core cause for the tensions prevailing in the country.

The misfortune is that lies are believed, and they generate most dangerous of passions, the desire for revenge. It was to douse such passions that the authorities, perhaps for the first time in the long history of communal riots in our country, released details of how many Hindus and Muslims were killed and injured. (20)

Akbar has also accounted the stages of every communal riot, and unfortunately it mirrors the first biggest riot in the history of Independent India - the partition. "The riot took place in three stages. First, came arson; then, stabbings plus arson; last came the evacuation to refugee camps. And perhaps the saddest incident in this tragedy took place during the evacuation of an ambulance load of refugees: this was reminiscent of the trains

to Pakistan and India during the horrible partition riots”(29). And, he has even seen an ambulance with sixty people in it. Any communal riots in an Indian village, town or city result in massive evacuation of people due its high population density. And, the same public makes opinions that are far different. None calculates the repercussions in the near or far future. This narration has many ways to depict a deep Indian consciousness paving the way for arguments and disagreements in terms of political views and narrative styles. However, it is quite essential to deeply understand how his political stands have made his approach unbiased. His style of reportages is more political in nature and judgmental in narration. He provides details of every event from a common man’s point of view. His subjects are highly chosen but he brings in multiple faces of truth. It is not formal history in approach but creates a linear, parallel ‘other Indian’ structure to the historic incidents, if read on a context-base. In another work of non-fiction by journalist-turned-writer named Anand Giridharadas’ *India Calling – An Intimate Portrait of India*, the author marks India’s pronouncement into a new world and it also catches up the vibe of a nation to remain affixed to its identity before getting transformed into a modern nation. For him, writing is a social art and a cultural act. It is the basis of all humanitarian establishments. He tries to cope up with several Indian enigmas and then foresees the emergence of a powerful and dynamic India.

Pavan K.Varma is an author mentioned many times in this thesis. His *Becoming Indian: The Unfinished Revolution of Culture and Identity* converses two of the foremost agenda of twenty first century - culture and identity. He examines many of the laid-back expectations of the present-day global order. He thoroughly believes that “great cultural civilisations like India cannot become derivative, or reducing them solves to caricature or

mimicry, measuring their progress solely by economic statistics”(x). Pavan K. Varma believes that personal histories get added on to the maneuver of historical forces. He also addresses issues regarding language, art, colonial blankness, the *métier* and evolution of India’s cultural traditions and the current state of Indian values. Ramachandra Guha’s ‘magisterial work’ as *Financial Times* applauded, *India after Gandhi: The History of the World’s Largest Democracy* is a spellbinding narrative on democratic India. The reports also note that an objective analysis reflects author’s patriotism, cosmopolitan attitude, Nehruvian ethos and political empathy. Indian historical facts are presented without overleaping the nation’s numberless failings and insufficiencies. The work is based on the governmental moralities and democratic rights. Statistical social science based analytic method is improper for the estimation of Indian scenario. Primitive procedure, of the narrative historian may very well do it in a subtle manner. The Media and press are always pregnant with stories of this nation’s economic success, business growth, commercial development, export revenue and other economic parametres. No one looks back to recall the past history of India’s dearth and scarcity. The real victory of modern India lies not in the domain of economic growth but in that of sociocultural and political engagements of the common people of this nation. He recapitulates the history of Independent India in its normal chronological manner but the approach is not narrow but kaleidoscopic. The book is so commanding that it never looks down to see the little pathway of the ‘other Indian’ realities, but otherwise one can undoubtedly say it is a domineering proforma of Indian history.

V.S. Naipaul always had fortunate comprehensions, which he fine-tuned according to the need and situation of his creativity. His often-revelatory historical



directions bypass unswervingly into the polyphonic historiography of India. His writing is more personal when compared to Tully. Tully recedes allowing 'other Indians' to tell the stories and dynamic oral history of the country emerge as a result of this Tullyian approach. Naipaul, not only in his Indian trilogy which comprises of *An Area of Darkness*, *India: A Wounded Civilisation* and *India: A Million Mutinies Now*, but also in his other works argues that India, even after these long years of struggle, independence, intellectualism, resistance and confrontation, has not yet found an ideology of rejuvenation. Pessimistic, excruciating and sidesplitting accounts are the nature of his works and these are the disclosures that he gains out as a traveler through India. In *A Writer's People: Ways of Looking and Feeling* he says:

India has no autonomous intellectual life. Of the many millions whom independence has liberated a fair proportion now look away from India for ultimate fulfillment. They look in the main to Britain and the United States. They look especially to the United States. (191)

He wishes to quiver India off just to shake off "the retard native element in dhotis and caste-marks, temple-goers, to use a kind of shorthand, bad at English and as an element getting bigger and politically more dangerous by the year" (192). Naipaul is very much concerned about the breach between native and the evolved. He doubts whether the novel genre is finding a wider space of establishment dexterous to help India to understand its complicated self. On another occasion he says, "India is hard and materialist" (193). He ardently criticizes the conundrum of the two civilisations -Indian poverty and colonial past.

Joseph Conrad's African background – "the demoralized land of plunder and licensed cruelty' were taken for granted by Naipaul" (xv), says Pankaj Mishra in the Introduction he had written for Naipaul's *Literary Occasions*. "Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* is an imperialist book", Naipaul declares. He pondered unfailingly on Indian ironies of history. Naipaul criticizes that in many Indian novels the characters are "oddly insulated from history"(xiv), and he feels novels on India and in India "miss their terrible essence" (xiv). This terrible essence of India maybe its 'other Indian' dimension which he too regularly rejected and criticized in his writings also. Nirad C.Chaudhari's *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* is the best example of unsatisfactory Indian image presentation as far as a common Indian is concerned. "It is felt one sided, though it contains within itself both India and the West"(143), says Naipaul in one of the reviews written in 1965. It is the record of Anglo-Indian happenstance; a pure permeation of one culture by another. In *India: A Wounded Civilisation* Naipaul says,

India for me is a difficult country. It isn't my home and cannot be my home; and yet I cannot reject it or be indifferent to it; I cannot travel only for, the sights. I am at once too close and too far.(x)

A simple review about India, for him, may go beyond the political characteristic. Such a survey "has to be an inquiry about Indian attitudes; it has to be inquiry about the civilisation itself, as it is"(xi). He repeatedly says in many of his essays, books and articles that he is a stranger in India. For Naipaul "Indian history telescopes easily"(x) and he finds out that the "the crisis of India is not only political or economic. The larger crisis is of a wounded old civilisation that has at last become aware of its inadequacies and is, without the intellectual means to move ahead"(8). He firmly confirms India as a

land of turbulences, and a land with borrowed foundations like press, parliament and courts. The inconsistencies between the archaism of national egotism and the assurance for the new, has cracked the Indian civilisation open, meditates Naipaul. He never misses a chance to criticize the Indian novel and novelists and says about R.K. Narayan like this:

...He had never been a political writer, not even in the explosive 1930s; and he was unlike many of the writers after Independence who seemed to regard the novel and all writing, as an opportunity for autobiography and boasting.(9)

Novels that are based on India as their topic, almost all of them are exotic, not at all socially, culturally or politically unequivocal or fact-finding. Since novel is not chosen for comparing with Tully's works, only relevant and passing comments are made on it. Naipaul mentions India as a dismantled country, especially after and during the Emergency. "The blankness of its (India's) decayed civilisation" (153) is looked at in a deplorable manner. He finds faults with India's politics, institution, press, developmental plans, governance and its inherited cultural dimension. Even goes to the fulcrum and says that "India didn't know what its Independence had committed to" (154) in his *India: A Wounded Civilisation*.

The population grew; the landless fled from the tyranny of the villages; the towns choked; the restlessness created by the beginnings of economic development - in a land immemorially abject – expressed itself in the streets, in varying ways. In this very triumph of democracy lays its destruction (154).

Indian democracy is the sanguine portion of Indian nation. Many writers, philosophers and even common Indians believe in its opportunities and support. But Naipaul blindly

opposes and condemns the prime institution of Indian democracy and never puts an alternative solution, if the existing one is a catastrophe. He never shows any commitment to his writing, one can say.

Formal politics answered less and less, became more and more formal; towards the end it had the demeanour of a parlour game, and became an affair of head-counting and floor-crossing... Indian press, another borrowed institution, also failed. With its restricted view of its function, it matched the triviality of the politics; it became part of the Indian anarchy. (155)

He fixes his pen only on Indian anarchies and other destructive ideologies. It is very particularly opposite to Mark Tully's 'other Indian' ideology. Naipaul continues,

India is without an ideology-and that was the failure of Gandhi and India together. Its people have no idea of the state, and none of the attitudes that go with such an idea: no historical notion of the past, no identity beyond the tenuous ecumenism of Hindu beliefs, and, in spite of the racial excesses of the British period, not even the beginning of a racial sense. (*India: A Wounded Civilisation*, 155)

"India's intellectual vacuum" (160) and "the emptiness of the civilisation" (160) together pleased his attitude on India. He doubted the stability of Gandhian India and wished "Gandhian India was an illusion" (161) and predicts that "India will not be stable again for a long time" (161). For him in the indecisions and hollowness of Indian culture, there lies a hope of a fresh new beginning of a 'New India'. That is the only optimism that he holds regarding India. In *The Writer and the World* also Naipaul locates Indian uprisings and desolation in an authoritative way of writing. He is not a permanent resident of India,

but all his travels to India are followed by essays or articles or books packed with his everlasting pessimistic Indian disposition. Even the geographical size of India, along with thousand other culpabilities and wounds irritates him and the following piece of writing is the evidence for that:

(India) is a vastness beyond imagination, a sky so wide and deep that sunsets cannot in at a glance but have to be studied section by section, a landscape made monotonous by its size and frightening by its very simplicity and its special quality of exhaustion: poor choked crops in small crooked fields, under-sized people, under-nourished animals, crumbling villages and towns which, even while they develop, have an air of decay...railway stations, indistinguishable one from other, their name boards cunningly concealed... abrupt and puzzling interludes of populousness and noise ... endless repetition of exhaustion and decay one wishes to escape.(3)

He blames the nation for this “frightening geography” (3), a baseless felonious kind of an argument by a Nobel Prize winning writer. Naipaul is a conditioned writer. He is basically a proud Trinidadian and a writer who never beheld his Indian roots. So, he is gratified as a member of a minority Trinidadian circle, no worries and qualms because of his personal choice of living. But when he says that “to be one of four hundred and thirty nine million (this book was published in the year 2002) Indians is terrifying”(5), with extreme disrespect to another nation, he just forgets the poetic justice of scholarship and writing. He purposefully mentions the expansiveness of the land because in the following paragraphs he says that this largeness of the geography never reflected in the attitudes of the Indian folks. He expected Indians to be bubbling with metropolitan attitudes. He did

not see (or was not able to see!) any “largeness, rootedness and confidence” (6), but “found all the colonial attitudes of self-distrust” (6). He is proud that his circle, Trinidadian community, “whatever his race, is a genuine colonial” (7), but irresponsibly complains that India, beyond all its claims, is rooted in India only. It makes the reader wonder then where does a nation should otherwise find its roots? If Trinidad endeavors towards metropolitan, India is still lingering upon its achievements and traditions of the past and is struggling in the direction of the colonial, comments Naipaul. The concept of India and its formation distresses him. ‘Real India’ rests neither upon urban middle class, the politicians, the industrialists nor the separate villages for him. “India is an ache, for which one has a great tenderness, but from which at length one always wishes to separate oneself”(7) .He is crazy and wishes to escape from the Indian insane crowds:

Perhaps India is only a word, a mystical idea that embraces all those vast plains and rivers through which the train moves, all those anonymous figure asleep on railway platforms and footpaths of Bombay, all those poor fields and stunted animals, all this exhausted plundered land.(7)

It can also be noticed that V.S Naipaul’s Biography, the authorized one, *The World is What It Is* written by Patrick French, a British. Patrick French’s *India: A Portrait*, yet again speaks of India in a fluffy manner and his work is analyzed in the chapter five, where foreign authors are compared with Tullyian strategies. It is easy to find a colonial hangover in Naipaul’s writing when compared with Tully’s writings. The later is a critic of Indian conditions but not much prejudiced. Tully is equally weighing the advantages of century-old Indian culture even when he finds the flaws in its current state of running.

Award-winning journalist P. Sainath, for many reasons is the writer who shares the maximum similarity with Tully for his vast number of reportages on the rural India, which in many ways depict the social and economic fabrics of the society. Unlike Tully, Sainath's work peeps into the economically backward community across India, with a special focus on the agricultural sector in the rural India, where (as Tully himself quoted Mahatma Gandhi) India lives. The subtitle of his most famous book *Everybody Loves A Good Drought -- Stories from India's Poorest Districts* denotes this Economic-focus of his reportages.

Too often, poverty and deprivation get covered as events. That is, when disaster strikes, when people die. Yet poverty is about much more than starvation deaths or near famine conditions. (iv)

Sainath, in his years-long journalistic career has made multiple attempts to unveil the life beyond the statics of starvation among the farmers in the country. Many a time, the statics is something which has no emotion and many a time, the actual conditions are deliberately hidden from the public, fearing a public angst, though such incidents are many in numbers in the country. The saddest condition of Indian farmers is that they have to migrate from their locality to other after every harvest, he observed in his travel to understand what they do around 200 days -- the agricultural off-season. As part of this journey, he wrote,

I have covered close to 80,000 km in seven states across the country. The sixty-eight reports in this book, though, are mostly from eight districts that I concentrated on. These were Ramnad and Pudukottai in Tamil Nadu, Godda and

Palamau in Bihar, Malkangiri and Nuapada in Orissa and Surguja and Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh. (v)

The writer takes an investigative approach to many of the problems that the rural people face. In the first chapter, he tells the story of a farming village in Orissa, NUAPADA. The aftermath of a government scheme through which the villagers were given cow was described in the chapter. The farmers were offered by the government a miracle cow 'that could greatly reduce their poverty'. For better productivity, cows impregnated with jersey semen-- brought all the way from Pune and elsewhere – were distributed. This project has given them the dream of owning several bulls and high-yield milk cows. The offer did not end there. They were offered free land to grow cattle feeds! And, there were thirty eight such beneficiaries apart from other thousands in the neighboring villages. They were government's promised people as part of its mission to reduce poverty. After distributing the cows and giving them lands, to avoid the cows to mate with the local cows, the government has led a castration drive.

Two years and Rs.2 crores later, says Pradhan, 'just eight crossbred calves were born in the entire region. Not one extra litre of milk was produced. And subabul trees had vanished from the area, though they were planted in thousands. A decade later, the results are even starker: many villages across Komna are without a single stud bull. The castration drive has rendered the local 'Khariar bull' extinct — in this region at least. (6)

Sainath examined and reported deeply the social and economic exploitations that are led by the officials and higher caste in the society wherein Tully examines more of



social life through open discourses and debates with the rural community. Here, the farmers had to suffer huge financial loss as they lost their traditional livelihood of cattle feeding. The land was taken back to the government from the beneficiaries without proper notice or anything. 'A revenue official came and told us to vacate it. So, the thirty-eight acres now lie fallow'(45), says Mangal Sunani, a villager the writer could manage to talk to. The situations were no different in other countries too. Sainath approaches a topic in context and establishes his findings through the views of those who are parties in the story. Tully often takes an approach that is open ended and his interviews leave scope for a lot of poignant contradictions of arguments. Throughout his travelogues, it is difficult to find an investigative style though his purpose is not different. In another chapter, he travels through Wadrolnagar, widely considered Surguja district's most backward block in Madhya Pradesh. He investigates the reason for naming a village road after an Adivasi, which is not very usual in not just in India, but any part of the world. In the first phase of the article he found the reason for naming the road after Ramdas Korwa.

Tribals constitute a 55 per cent majority in Surguja, one of India's poorest districts. And the Korwas, particularly the Pahadi or Hill Korwas, fall in the bottom 5 per cent. The Korwas (also found in much smaller numbers across the border in Bihar), have been listed as a primitive tribe by the government. Special efforts are underway for their development. These often involve large sums of money. Just one centrally funded scheme, the Pahadi Korwa project, is worth Rs.42 crores over a five-year period. There are around 15,000 Pahadi Korwas, the largest number of these in Surguja. However, for political reasons, the main base of the project is in Raigad district. It was under the Pahadi Korwa project that Ramdas's road came

up. There was just one small problem about building the Pahadi Korwa Marg in Rachketha. The village is almost completely devoid of Pahadi Korwas. Ramdas's family is the only real exception. (12)

So, to tap the funding, the project has wisely been named after the lone Korwa member of the village. The fund allocated for the Korwa community was used in village where there is only one family. Such financial exploitations are so rampant across the country with the silent nod of government officials. Ramdas, the house leader of the only Korwa family in the region, is illiterate and could not even read the board himself. Sainath pointed out the biggest irony in this story as the road ended two kilometers short of his house. Against the backdrop of public angst, the board was removed some month's after the inauguration. The writer focuses on such bureaucratic and political corruptions in the rural side. For him, being writer is often a political and social activity. After poignantly identifying the corruption or such incidents, Sainath meets all concerned parties to examine the conditions that led to such situation. He excavates official documents of the projects for establishing the act of misdeeds. Then he counters it with the experience of common man whose life often gets affected by such act. Many of the the developmental activities lost their purpose.

Ramdas's own demands are touchingly simple. 'All I want is a little water,' he says. 'How can we have agriculture without water?' When repeatedly pressed, he adds: 'Instead of spending Rs. 1 7.44 lakhs on that road, if they had spent a few thousand on improving that damaged well on my land, wouldn't that have been better? Some improvement in the land is also necessary, but let them start by giving us a little water.'(67)

The story of Ramdas depicts a typical Sainath approach to the rural storytelling. He focuses on the story of a mass than an individual and they are mostly social than personal. Every time, being the country's best rural reporter, Sainath revolves around the narration of issues that affect the daily life of people across the regions he covers. In this chapter, he also narrates how often the upper class community leaders exploit the villagers. Tully's topic selection is widely different from Sainath's but there is a similarity in deep-rooted approach.

Almost as an afterthought, Ramdas mentions that his neighbour, Panditji Madhav Mishra, seized the best nine acres of land his family had. 'These were the acres on which we grew rice.' With some 400 acres in his control prior to this, Mishra was already in violation of land ceiling laws. (13)

The chapter also enquires his fight to get the land recovered. The result shows the problem of Indian bureaucratic system suggesting examples, "now, the nine-member family ekes out a living on 5.80 acres. That, too, on a much lower grade of land. Ramdas's experience, says one official in Bhopal, 'shows the distance between planners and beneficiaries'. Ramdas's problems were land-grab and his broken well. The government's problem was 'fulfilling a target.' For the officials and the contractors who come into such deals, it was a straight loot and grab sortie" (13). Tully gives such an account of Indian misgovernance when he discusses the Naxal issues in the country. The authorities are not giving what they really need. Sainath openly challenges the intention of our rural development schemes throughout the book through the explicit narration of deviation for small-time achievements for the contractors. And somewhere he quotes an NGO activist saying if the money were simply put into bank fixed deposits, none of these

families would ever have to work again and the interest alone would make them very well off by rural Indian standards. And that's true not just in the areas where he visited for this report but for almost all places in the country! The chapter "The Trickle Up and Down Theory," for more than one reason, is the best article to identify the difference in narrative style of Sainath and Tully. The article begins with the caste-less nature of Plague that can affect anyone and everyone. And, unlike Tully, the report proceeds with pages and pages of information on the proposed and actual funds supplied by different parties involved in the health revamp of the country. The article analyses various reports statistical information in a usual reporting format hardly seen in Tully's writings. His observations on the threats of Diarrhea in the country are a classical example:

Diarrhea claims close to 1.5 million infants each year in this country — one in every three minutes. That is thirty thousand times the number of lives lost in the plague. The best it can get by way of space is when UNICEF's annual 'State of the World's Children Report' is released. Then it makes an occasional bow on the centre page. Or, in one of those anguished editorials (hastily written because the one on the stock exchange didn't turn up) asking: 'Where Have We Gone Wrong?' After which, it can be packed away to be used in identical format the following year. If no Indian has won a beauty contest that season, it could even make the front page. This establishes that the newspaper has a caring editor, -who will soon address the Rotary Club on What Can Be Done for Our Children. Every fourteen days, over 7.5 million children below the age of five in this country suffer from diarrhoea. Close to nineteen million contract acute respiratory infections,

including pneumonia, in the same 336 hours. Quite a lot can be done for them, but isn't. Plague makes for better copy, anyway. (23- 24)

The narrative method continues in the article where he speaks more statistically about a UN funding to India government. He is speaking about a USAID-funding of US \$ 325 million (Rs. 800 crores) to be spent solely on population control in Uttar Pradesh. He is blaming the authorities for pushing hazardous contraceptives like Norplant, which was banned in Western countries, to Indian poor rural women who have little or no access to proper healthcare. The same contraceptives are not in general use in any Western country. He also criticized with facts on some bad funding methodologies that the subsequent governments have adopted under the rural development programmes. He is mentioning water-borne diseases such as diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid, cholera and infectious hepatitis, which account for nearly 80 per cent of India's public health problems and claim millions of lives each year. Water-related diseases, including malaria, take their toll in tens of thousands of human lives annually.

Every fourth child on the globe who dies of diarrhea is an Indian. Every third person in the world with leprosy is an Indian. Every fourth being on the planet dying of water-borne or water-related diseases is an Indian. Of the over sixteen million tuberculosis cases that exist at any time world-wide, 1 2.7 million are in India. Tens of millions of Indians suffer from malnutrition. It lays their systems open to an array of fatal ailments. Yet, official expenditure on nutrition is less than one per cent of GNP. ( 24-25)

This comparison of 'other indian' pretexts brings the big difference in approach between Tully and Sainath. Tully frames his narrative and views through a series of narrators whereas Sainath establishes his arguments through facts which will later be supported or supplemented by the people around. This approach creates a deeper historical understanding of the situation and Tully puts forth something more of an oral history. Sainath reports on Birhors, an 'Austro-Asiatic language group as the Ho, Santhal or Munda tribes'. Sainath gives a poignant description on this tribe who is getting eliminated from the planet due to many unknown factors.

They are the people (Ho) of the forest (Bir). A nomadic tribe of the Chhotanagpur belt, they move mainly around Palamau, Ranchi, Lohardaga, Hazaribagh and Singhbhum. The Birhors are in many ways a unique people. They are also a vanishing people. The 1971 census said there were over 4,000 of them in that year. There are just around 2,000 of them now, maybe less. That includes about 144 in Orissa and 670 in Madhya Pradesh. The main group is, of course, in Bihar. In this state there were 3,464 at the time of the 1971 census. An official study in Bihar in 1987 said their number had declined to 1,590. In Madhya Pradesh, their number fell from 738 in 1971 to 670 in 1991. (154)

The article examines in detail the factors behind the vanishing of the community. They are the victims of the cruel developmental schemes instrumented by various governments at various times.

Their decimation follows the relentless destruction of the forests on which they depend. A development process that takes no notice of their needs or unique

character has not helped. The Birhors were mainly hunter-gatherers. They were also engaged in rope -making and woodwork. When the forests were 'reserved', they could not cut wood or get rope fibres. Their finished goods fetched very low prices, not even meeting the cost of production. When deforestation ravaged the few areas they still had access to, hunting failed. In times of natural calamity or crisis, they are the worst hit. (154-155)

The developmental activities have failed to understand their need often. Sainath explains in detail such situations throughout this series. The story is told through the eyes of the affected community as well, but not as freely as Tully does. Here the discourses happen around the facts rather than the life that it affects the most.

Look at her, says Sukhra Birhor, pointing to the silent woman. 'When the drought began last year, we were ruined. Her husband Akhu had died of hunger. Food and Red Cards mostly did not reach us. (155)

This experience followed by a typical Sainath detailing of reasons for not delivering the red cards to the family.

The one or two cards we got were due to the good people of Jhabhar,' says Sukhra Birhor. 'No one else came.' Being so few in number, illiterate and extremely backward, the Birhors can't make themselves heard in a society with little interest in them. (155)

As one can see continuously in the book, the interviews and opinion of people rarely goes out of topic. Every word is placed to strengthen some point or other in the

arguments. However, the conditions of the tribe have always been well described through historical figures throughout the book.

Ignorance about the tribe leads to much confusion. Census data on the Birhors is also flawed for this reason. Here, they are Birhors. In Sundargarh district of Orissa, locals call them Mankidi. In Sambalpur district, Mankirdia. Both labels spring from their expertise in trapping monkeys. Since monkeys often destroy crops and fruit, locals employ Birhors to trap them. As the forests die, so does that line of work. In 1971, the nomadic group ended up being counted in Orissa as three separate tribes — Birhor, Mankidi and Mankirdia. This error was set right in 1981 and they were counted as one tribe. So the number of Birhors in that state 'shot up' by 44 per cent though their group was in fact declining. The government of Orissa congratulated itself on the increase. Thus, data on the Birhors is most unreliable.

(155)

His description of Birhors, literally describes the poor conditions of the tribe.

Trapping rabbits, weaving ropes, selling a few baskets when they can, the Birhors seem to live in a different age. They are a non-acquisitive and, for all their living conditions, a dignified people. 'We didn't beg anything from anybody,' says Akhu's widow, speaking at last. 'But they said when the drought came that everybody would be helped. Instead, we had no money, no food, we starved and he died. We cannot even manage from the great forests where we find less and less of our needs. When the forests vanish, so will the Birhors. (158)



Such precise tone is not very common in Tully's work. The story of Gopal Singh which he described in another chapter is particularly interesting. Gopal Singh represents a mysterious case of fighting to regain his own land for two decades. He has lost his land during the Vinoba Bhave's bhoodan movement as described in the book:

At the height of the movement, Gopal's neighbour gifted land to the cause. A very generous gesture. Except that the land belonged not to the neighbour but to Gopal Singh with whom he had a running feud. Gopal then spent close to twenty years fighting to regain possession of the land his neighbour had 'donated' under the movement. (235)

The chapter brings in many such kind-hearted frauds who donated in plenty. Many of them were not their property or had donated with a real-estate motif. It was the history of a moment for the greater good turning to a business deal. The writer gives two more such incidents from Palamau of Bihar: Shakoor Mia was another who gave generously in bhoodan. He gifted eighty-eight acres of land in Vinobanagar. That is an area located at the top of a hill. Over the years, great sums of public money went in developing this remote place and its facilities. That meant a sub-centre, a road, a school ... In reality, nothing more than one kutcha road exists. Shakoor Mia's kin has not suffered as a result of his altruism. Their benami lands today exceed their pre-bhoodan holdings by many acres.

Muneshwar Singh of Rehaldag village was shouting loudly when I met him outside the Latehar court. He had, apparently, reason to be angry. More than twenty-five years ago, Mangra and Ganga Oraon had donated land under bhoodan. And

Muneshwar's father, Bittu Singh, was the beneficiary. Over a quarter of a century later, the land remains with the two Oraons. But the legal battle for control of it has worn out Muneshwar.(235)

And, there are startling exceptions too. He does not close the eyes to such noble acts, though. His reports often centre on a finding and this one is an exception in this case. Unlike Tully, the stories are not getting evolved through the voice of the people. Here, the actual situations are just supplemented by the participants of the event. Even the voices are used to show the depth of the happenings by establishing staggering numbers as in this story:

‘Even Vinobaji’s ashram in this district has not been spared,’ laments Dubey, ‘It has been grabbed. That too, by the very people who were to protect it. Now, only a well survives from the original ashram.’ Dubey has every fact on bhoodan and land distribution at his fingertips. The figures he rattles off show that ‘about 2,734 acres were distributed in 268 villages to 1,032 beneficiaries’ in three blocks of Palamau. Those were Mahuadanr, Barvadi and Garu, hardly impressive figures in this huge district. But even these, says Dubey, can be misleading. ‘They include 50 per cent land that is uncultivable and some other very low grade plots. Besides, since 1988, 1,500 acres have been distributed in the Balumath block but no formal deed has been given to the new owners. The same happened with 400 acres in Chandwa block. And about 75 per cent of all "beneficiaries" are bogged down in litigation they can ill afford. (237)

For many aspects of writing, Sainath has been keeping a more journalistic approach to his subjects than Tully. The facts and the data decide his style not the emotions of the people he talks about. That is the one reason what makes Tully's style in-between the travelogue and reportage. Sainath's approaches are classic examples of rural reportages whereas Tully creates a totally new genre between these two.

Yet another stalwart of Indian journalism, Kushwant Singh's *India: An Introduction* is a lesson plan kind of narration written from the point of view of a teacher teaching Indian history, philosophies and religion. He himself says that his book is an instant – India version. This is just a starter kind of attempt, which may tempt the reader's instinct so that they would try to follow more and more research on India. He talks about the people of this land and the land of the people. Themes like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Sikh, Parsis, Mughals, British India, Independence movement, Nehruvian rule and Nehru and Indira Gandhi as Prime Ministers are dealt in a mainstream historiographic manner. Kushwant Singh makes a sensitivity to be authentic, but far away from the essence of 'other Indian' realities.

Cultures of nations metamorphose. If 'other India' can be treated as a cultural phenomenon it is also destined to undergo symmetrical interruptions. Nothing will remain as it initially was, and cannot be upturned back to the imaginative. 'Other India' has an explicit context, which is always open to outside inspirations, but cannot be substituted with another. 'Other India' is the public and cultural organ of this landscape. Not a biological one, not a singular identity but the rural soul of India which holds the Indian feet that refuse to be blown off in the cultural and anti-cultural hurricanes and gusts.

Select Indian authors' depiction of the image of India, Indianness, 'Other India' are done in this chapter. Lots and lots of Indians have written about it and redrew India. But Tully's is a much dissenting voice. Most of the works chosen from both Indian and foreign are not readily equal to compare with style and approach of writing and condensation of the idea of 'other India' promoted by Tully. 'Other India' is an attribute by which Tully argues that Indian define itself.

*An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions* by Jean Dreze and Amartya Sen deals with multitude of India's problems. These authors offer resolutions to create a 'new India' and present material for informed and rational public rendezvous. Imperfections in India's practice of constitutional democracy, tenacious problems of encroachments of civil and political rights, counter-insurgency stratagem, desecration of basic human rights, Nationalism, anti-nationalism and many other characteristics of democratic process were academically approached. Reach and impact of India's economic and social development and the persistence of inequality are analysed. The constitution of the Republic of India, Indian legal system and judiciary are closely examined. "What exactly is democracy?" (257) is a crucially relevant question asked in the book. Election, voter, ballots political integrities, the role of public reasoning and social understanding are reasons for this book.

Ramachandra Guha's *Democrats and Dissenters* is an intellectual and influential commentary on Indian political updates and cultural tradition. The book discusses threats to the freedom of Expression in India, debates between Jayaprakash Narayan and Nehru, national projects of China, Pakistan and Srilanka, and certain sensational tribal issues in India. In *The Country of First Boys*, Amartya Sen deals with life-threatening nature of

discriminations and dispossessions related to caste, class, gender, politics, education and mass media. It is a reflection of Indian history as both Guha and Sen are said to be pre-eminent raconteurs of Indian democracy. They question the recurrent philosophies and beliefs regarding this country. He contended the being-ness of 'argumentative Indian' in India, its emergence and as the country of first.

*The Penguin Book of Indian Journeys* was edited by Dom Moraes. He is totally dispersed by the enormous and incomprehensible diversities of this country. Both foreign and Indian writers, travel writers have come together in this volume. Paul Theroux's 'The Delhi Mail from Jaipur' from *The Great Railway Bazaar*, Mark Tully's 'Kumbh Mela' from *No Full Stops in India*, William Dalrymple's 'The City of Widows' from *The Age of Kali* got reprinted in this collection. In the introduction of *Indian Journeys* Dom Moraes says:

The idea that India is somehow different from other countries has fascinated travelers, from prehistory to the present. It has always been several countries in one, with distinct regional cultures and a definite divide between the Dravidian South and the Aryan North... and when I wrote about India, did so as an observer from outside, almost from another planet. I exulted in atmospheric descriptions of unfamiliar places and extraordinary events. Later on I found much richer material in the lives of ordinary Indians who lived, suffered and endured. Neither they nor their ancestors had ever, over thousands of years, been asked for their opinions.

(ix-x)

India's famous Hill Station, Darjeeling becomes the topic of essay of Jan Morris who had written lots of travel essays. Darjeeling is the illustrious Indian mountain station on the northern frontiers and Morris describes it more and more physically, through its 'landscape that has no end'. Little people and little ponies and inquisitively secluded and self-contained happiness of the place are revealed. Ever shifting clouds, snow, rivers, tea gardens, forests, cherry sunlight, and valleys, divine symphony of Himalayan Mountains, mystic pilgrimages, astounding natural fantasies and many others trigger the travelers in the reader. She even goes to the excited level of describing Darjeeling as "a microcosm of the world, assembled up there from the plains and mountains, ushered into that little square reduced to a neater and more manageable size, and given double shots of adrenalin"(6). "Hill station: Darjeeling", 1970' is just a personal account of travel of a women travel writer Jan Morris who inoffensively grants an "innocent merit to the place". A judgmental kind of description never goes deep into the mystery of the region as the destiny of any travel writing on India rotate around it. When V.S. Naipaul in "Romancers" talks about New Delhi as a city ever growing within the fuss of vehement governmental activities and a city of civil servants and indenture, he purposefully mentions himself as a 'paying guest'. Only beggars and porters catch his attention first and vivid description of their untidy look and walk follows then. For him Delhi is an "unquicken and humanized" (12) city. Extreme criticism of India is part of Naipaul's narrative. Overtiredness and doggedness reminded him of India. Naipaul transliterates a conversation with one of the local Indians at the place of his stay and reports that India is a trap. 'We are trapped here', 'corruption and nepotism' kills India, he continues the conversation on his way and this is very much usual with V.S Naipaul, no wonder.

Ruskin Bond's "Foot Loose in Agra" is an accomplishment of the beauty and history of Agra. 'Casual unconcern' of the 'other Indians' happens here also. Banyan trees, kites, rickshaw wallah, graveyards, of course, the Taj, sparrows, bulbuls all enmesh perfectly in his 1965 writing on Agra. Salman Rushdie's "The Riddle of Midnight India, August 1987" remembers the germination of his idea of the novel, *Midnight's Children*. Politics, xenophobia, balkanization, and religion find their explanation in his essay. He answers some of the criticism of his novel *Midnight's Children* in the conclusion of the essay and here also 'other Indian' majority is left untouched. Jerry Pinto talks of Varanasi in his 'Death Lives in Varanasi'. Ganga, Indian mythology, Hinduism, tradition, Haridwar, Lord Vishnu, Rishikesh and Yoga come in the backdrop. He says "the Ganga is now an international phenomenon"(76), but his eyes are blind towards the intense 'other Indian' experience. Anita Nair's, "The Elephants are coming", is a surreptitious glance (in her own words) of grining into oneself. Through her ordinary descriptions of country side, she passes through Karnataka – Kerala border. Mountains of Wayanad are magnificent according to her. She never delves deep and is pleased that she is part of all the dramatic happenings of that journey. "Forest", by the editor of *Indian Journeys* is also included in this collection. It is one of the tales of Madhya Pradesh that Moraes had written in 1981. His topic of choice is aboriginal and did a decent justice to the "invisible majorities" (xi) of this land by zooming his lens to their life and deeds. The next one in *Indian Journeys*, Tully's "Kumbh Mela' is described in the main chapter of thesis and the 'other Indian' imagines are pointed out there. Joe Roberts "Encounters in South India" transient through R.K. Narayan's "The Emerald Route" to Alexander Frater's "Cheera" sets the literary imagination on fire. Intrepid travelers will be thrilled to mug up these valuable Indian

journeys. The book has got multiple layers but the outdriven layer of original 'other Indian'-ness is missing other than from the essays of Mark Tully and Moraes.

A.Raghiramaraju in his *Modernity in Indian Social Theory* though identifies the power of resistance in the pre-modern social space never looks deep into the 'Other India' ideology. He compares how modernity came to pre-modern west and how it invariably speeded to the East. Social variance between East (India) and West is analysed. Pre-modern social realities are studied on the backdrop of a country like India which is not pre-modern or definitely modern. In India, modernity figures with the pre-modern. The profound incoherence between modernity and tradition in the West is discussed here.

*Reading New India: Post Millennial Indian fiction in English* by E. Dawson Varughese is a crossroad on which the image of 'new India' shines. Global audience imbibes this particular picture of the country. In the introduction, the author describes the 'Indianness' since independence and reaches towards New (Fantastical) India and safely concludes the analyses on yet another interpretation of Post-liberalised India. Fictions since independence are analysed along with the socio-political reform occurred after 1947.

'Indianness' is not recognized as a Hindu byproduct. Though the Hindu nationalists had a craving for the Indianness as a post-independence construction, the fact was that it was a European influenced idea of what a country should be. Nehru tried left and right for the creation of a secular nation. This uniform 'indianness' just covered all the cultural and religious differences rather than a hassle of a single identity as a burden. English was a kind of official language and Hindi though 'official' but along with other national languages enjoyed a status of national language. In politics, Nehru's death in 1964, resulted in the precedence over the more hegemonic sense of Nehru's original view



of Indianness. Identity politics, the rise of BJP, communal issues, Hindu-Muslim Tensions, Ayodhya, Partitions, all gets reflected here. ‘Bombay Riots’ of December 1992, following the Babri Masjid demolition got reflected in the fictions of India. Literary ‘Indianness’ and socio-political ‘Indianness’ together contributed to the creation of a ‘New India’ before the worldwide audience. This book analyses the Indianness in the fictional works of both Indians and foreign authors. From *Rajmohan’s Wife* (1864) by Bankin Chandra Chatterjee to recent year novel are dissected to trace the changing ‘Indianness’. Poets like Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu, and Tagore are also referred to check Indianness. The patriotic literary approach is mentioned. Many ‘Mother India’ phrases are quoted. In several chapters of the book the author also studies the ‘Indianness’ in post-colonial Indian literature. ‘Young India’ is sometimes used as synonymous to ‘New India’ and Adiga’s, Chetan Bhagat’s, Trivedi’s, Tasser’s and other writers’ works are passing references in the following chapters. Fiction is totally “imaginative literature” (80), where the non-conscious alternative of history, parallel realities, ethics, values all contribute to the sociology of literature. The corps of study is post-millennial fiction and Tully, is neither mentioned nor remarked for ‘other India’. ‘New India’ excluding ‘other India’ finds its fulfillment in this book.

Suketu Mehta’s *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*, M.J. Akbar’s *Kashmir: Behind the Vale* inextricably mixes personal and public elements of the authors. Immediate geography, perspectives of histories, present sensations are all presented in a non-fiction book’s style statement. *Patriotic and Partisans* by Guha and *Churning the Earth: The Making of Global India* by Shrivastava and Ashish Kothari are critiques, which throw light upon some of the social and democratic realities of India. *Indira*

*Gandhi: Tryst with Power* by Nayantara Sahgal is a penetrating and intellectual remembrance of the life and politics of India's third Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. Main stream history of the Congress party and its growth and fall in the political landscape of the India is preached very well. *Emerging India, India's Politics: A View from the Back Bench* and *The Future of India: Politics, Economics and Governanace* by Bimal Jalan are accounts of evolving political inclinations and predispositions. Business, corporate commerce and economics are the thesis statements of Jalan's books. Conversation with Arundhati Roy *The Shape of the Beast* is a collection of interviews. State and corporate power, environmental issues, global terror, Maoism, democratic violations are all dealt with high intensity and they are evidences of her public political engagements. She condemns the slogan of 'Shining India' as a pornographic one which is a way from real India hit her style of articulation is entirely different and inimitable from Tully.

*Revolution From Above: India's Future and the Citizen Elite* by Dipankar Gupta and Shankar Acharya's *India: After the Global Crisis* deal with contemporary issues of Indian economy and ongoing global economic crisis.

Gurucharan Das's *India Unbound and India Grows at Night* looks into how Indian democracy works. It is an economic investigation and social inspection and flies far away from the 'other Indian' realities of this country. Coomi Kapoor's *The Emergency: A Personal History* and *Winning the Mandate: The Indian Experience* by Bidjut Chakrabarty and Sugato Hazra mark political struggles of this nation at two separate times. *Accidental India: A History of the Nation's passage through crisis and change* by Shankar Aiyar, S.Mitra Kalita's *My Two Indians: A Journey to the Ends of Opportunity*, Lakshmi Subramanian's *Three Merchants of Bombay doing Business in Times of Change*,

*Understanding Contemporary India: Critical Perspectives* edited by Achin Vanaik and Rajeev Bhargava, and others are stories of Indian economy and Business. They all discuss on the backdrop of the idea of India as an emerging power from several angles but focusing on contemporariness. Shashi Tharoor's works including *Pax Indica: India and the World of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* is a comprehensive dissertation survey of India's international relations and foreign policies. Though he mentions Indian transformation at several levels since independence he just jumps over the 'other Indian' hurdles softly and sophisticatedly.

Amit Chaudhari offers a poetics of the Indian modern in his book *Clearing a Space: Reflections on India, Literature and Culture*. The book provides an unconventional reading of many of the works of veteran Indian Writers' like Naipaul, Kolatkar, R.K. Narayan, Kipling, and others, it is his personal exploration and expression of an very many Indian temperaments, several creative lineages and traces for the narrative of modernity in India which is a "narrative of tension and conflict, of imprisonment and liberation" (17). *Hot Tea across India* by Rishad Saam Mehta is an account of road trip by the author. He chooses the dirty and dusty tracks in India rather than national highways. He crosses length and breadth of India all the way from Manali to Munnar in Kerala from Rann of Kuch, Gujarat to Khajuraho temples. The work is a landmark in travelogue literature series which unveils the real smell of out of the way roads and places of India.

Despite having different narrative styles, the Indian writers keep a more political style of narration when they write about India. Often, it is more journalistic than travel writing, in nature. It is more historic than journalistic. It is a social realistic narrative.

Tully keeps a nice unprecedented balance in bringing all these three components together, leading to a wonderful oral history of the other India. Though there are hundreds of books written on India year on year, innumerable number of generic histories, but only limited ones speak the language of 'other India'. M. J. Akbar and Sainath are the two writers who keep a similar style of narration as that of Mark Tully. In one way, Tully keeps more similarity to these celebrated Indian writers than his compatriot writers on India, though there is a drastic difference in terms of approach and narration.

## Chapter VII

### CONCLUSION: TULLYIAN ARTEFACT OF 'OTHER INDIA'

The thesis titled *The Other India: A Socio-Literary Analysis of the Select Works of Mark Tully* aims to establish the veteran journalist's works as a philosophy of imageries showcasing the unadulterated rural 'other India'. These imageries, powered by the argumentative Indian traditions, are elaborated in the previous chapters in order to establish the comprehensive contrast between Indian and foreign men of letters who had apportioned their writings with a certain Indianness. Tully's writings can be concluded as an act of history-making/historiography; a narrative history in itself of his works. The style grows in keeping with the country's culture of 'other Indian' dialogism. The new genre to which Tully's works belongs is more unpretentious and authentic than reportage and travel writing.

The image of India, inside and outside the country, has undergone a pulsating transformation over the last few decades. Most literary works and media reports have been misrepresentations and distortions of the elusive Indianness, so not much surfaced during research for the 'other Indian'. Superficial and cursory images were exported as Indian realities. Tully took the road less travelled, developing a new genre of writing with which he drove into the deeper stratum of the social echelons in a quest for 'other Indian' authenticities.

Working primarily within a socio-literary hypothesis, this study has attempted to highlight the way Tully co-ordinated hitherto inimitable 'other Indian' veracities. For

this, a feasible, moreover workable theory of narrative style and principle of New Historicism was recognised and expounded in the introduction and the second chapter. Chapter three and four scrutinise the Tullyian portrayals of the 'other Indian' realities or real stories. They are compared and contrasted with works by foreign authors who had written on India in the fifth chapter. Tully is also analysed in comparison with writings by select Indian authors in the sixth chapter. The detailed comparison gives an insight on how Tully is different from his compatriot writers like Oliver Balch or Patrick French, who find reasons to tarnish the image of the country by elaborating negative incidents. Tully neither sympathises with the country nor glorifies it. He details the fact and finds the other side of the truth, adopting a polyphonic narrative to establish multiple voices of every event he encountered. And, in this case, he keeps more similarities with Indian writers like M J Akbar and Sainath. All three deal with issues that affect the common man's everyday living and the social fabric in general. All three travel through different spaces and times. However, Tully positions himself in a different space altogether by not getting driven by the established truth of the event. While the other two, chase an issue with an academic-problem-solving mind, Tully travels with an open mind searching answers for the questions from the common man. And, that defines his narrative approach, making it somewhere middle between the reportage and travel writings. This is the factor that necessitated a New Historicist reading on his works. It gives an oral historic insight to the post-independence Indian realities than a well-documented Indian reportage, like the ones successfully achieved by M J Akbar or Sainath. The thesis analyses how Tully bestrode the well-written reality of 'other India' that he had read and the unwritten 'real' India that he had seen. He has almost audaciously managed to

disengage with the mainstream history of India where rural 'other Indian' parables and images are completely rejected. Sequential limitations of individual lives and plots have been interpreted and misinterpreted over several historical periods of the country. Many authors, foreign and Indian, have used customary language/narratives on India but it was always embedded in a glorified rhetoric that deceitfully hid the 'other Indian' realities and anticipated the super realities of a metropolitan existence.

Tully expunged the conformist visual of shallow, superficial realities. His search has always been for what lay beyond blasphemous or uncovered realism. Tully is a rational author, autonomous in his style. Traditional notions of historiography are powered by patriarchal and imitative hierarchical subjectivities. Tully transmogrified the combined effect of these two for an argumentative 'other Indian' dialogic experience. Sociocultural developments in post-independent India were looked at from within and outside the country by inspired writers and journalists from time to time. Most of our English journalists are satisfied with a bird's eye view of issues faced by the country rather than understanding the micro-level contributory causes that lead to them in the first place. Intra-cultural negotiations, intercultural discourses and transactions were dynamically evolving in several parts of the country. The 'Indianisation' of localised regional literature through English and the globalisation of Indian writings, again through English, are apparently a necessary part of the process. Characters, both pan-Indian and national, and regional flavours have contributed to enriching the body of works in Indian English literature.

As 'transcreators', writers in India have experienced the same burden of colonialism while estranged and deficient in 'nationalism' as an emotional feeling when

attempting to write about the country. The journalistic style of writing, particularly one with a flair for reportage while approaching an incident or an event, also tries to not be caught up in this colonial predicament as they are truly intended to bring out facts. In the contemporary circumstance of 'decolonisation' of Indian ethos, the prognosis of accurate Indianness is the need of the hour. The Indian ambience in its true spirit is outlandish to many of the country's writers as is seen in their tendency to diverge from 'other Indian' reality. Some efficaciously maintain steadiness between a precise ethos and their creative aspect of writing. Many writers have not conceived a self-conscious estrangement from the Indian condition or a lack of obligation to Indianness. But there were still others who did so tenaciously. Creative writing is a different scenario. Tully is also a part of this set-up. In the present state of affairs, colonial hang-ups are condensed to almost zero and a compulsive uproar for Indianness is relaxed. Creative writers are tremendously groundbreaking when they try new narrative approaches; for instance, at the moment they appear to have less concern for Indian realities (social realism) with an emphasis on non-imitative manners like fabulation. Though mythological and 'other Indian' facets, in a way, permit them to approach the demonstration of present-day veracities from a wider perspective, the truth still remains partially hidden. Creative writers first present a general outline of Indian life and its makeover into new complexities under the pressure of history. But journalists, reportage writers and prose writers are tormented by crucial problems such as a falsification of Indianness and also 'other Indian' realisms to a certain extent. The 'other Indian' actuality that Tully tried to showcase necessitated an entirely new genre – one that Indian English creative writing or Indian journalistic writing is not accustomed to yet. As a 'victimised' reader, Tully swallowed the images of India cooked



up by most Indian and foreign authors who were distanced from historic reality. Tully chose to use humanistic paradigms in his writings rather than a crafty, 'nose for news' attitude, to look into rural subjectivities, verifying how 'other Indian' realities work and affect the Indian exclusivity of naked realities. In a world of scrambled understandings, most writers, when addressing a worldwide audience, feel overtly or instinctively mixed up with anomalies, resolutions and conventionally stereotyped identities. The problem of an identity crisis and the search for realities lie dormant with a not-too-disturbing sense of culpability. While a writer does or should have a world view, he often feels overwhelmed by countless viewpoints that come into play in a different status quo or even a single condition. Most authors write with a secure or fixed, uncompromising identity, specifically when they deal with a unique landscape inside and outside. Much to Tully's advantage, he has a flexible identity to cope up with the realities of this landscape. The modification of intellectual ideas from that of Shankaracharya to John Stuart Mill in the scholarly field is a disquieting one. People acquire the image of an incredible and implausible India out of compulsion and moderately out of choice. On the rungs of the ladder of personalised adjustments things have changed and only a few men of words latch on to them. Often criticism, fierce arguments and urgings happen on some issues here. Tully never found them as conclusive as others who never made the effort to resolve these issues. His approach to the 'other Indian' problems was on a practical or operational plane, never hypercritical, pejorative, judgmental or pessimistic.

Tully has never been one for schizophrenic words, the use of embellished wisdom in illustrating 'other Indian' anecdotes. When Indian authors wrote on India they looked at their homeland rather distractedly, conserving a synthetic, antiseptic distance from real

Indian life. They pretended to be overwhelmed or nauseated by the general uncleanness, shabbiness, and atrocious poverty, miscellany of religious beliefs and ceremonies and hectic life of the Indian suburbs. Foreign writers often make pitiable endeavours to elucidate that they belong culturally, not to India, but to the West. The works of several Indian and foreign writers have been compared with that of Mark Tully's in the previous chapters to prove these attitudes and mindsets. Some authors go to the extreme by being aggressively Indian. They simply adore and lionise Indian philosophy, mysticism, traditional values and other facets while trying to run down the materialistic and imperialist West. Still others become a stereotype of writers with a simulated, journalistic and populist identity. Tully certainly did not adopt an identity that is not his. He is undoubtedly a writer of this particular kind. When authors write on India, they cannot write unselfconsciously because they are apprehensive about exploring life in its multifarious appearances. When an Indian writer pens to titillate, please or jolt a Western reader, it often lacks sincerity. When they insincerely ape Western writers or engage in adroit, persuasive or contemptuous writing, they move away from other Indian realities. Still others work upon the Indian narrative, trying to excite the Western audience (target audience) or the Westernised Indian audience to whom they wish their text is addressed. When any Western writer visits India to write about this land, he is immediately flabbergasted by the pollution, cacophony of noises, crudeness, maladies, anarchy and the illogicality of many Indian rituals. This shocked response is natural but many of them never recognise the many things that also form a part of Indian life. On the other hand, as discussed and expressed in the main chapters three and four Tully determinedly comprehends India's state of imbalance while reaching and spreading relative 'other

Indian' equilibriums. Humanity is trapped in history as Keki N. Daruwalla summarises in his personal statement in the book *Creative Aspects of Indian English*:

We are trapped in History. The Europeans came to trade, hung on to fight intrigue and conquer, and stayed on to instinct. Their colonies became vast markets for their textiles and their language. Conversions followed, to another way of life and on occasions to Christianity. When they went back they left their language behind, and half-castes. In an alien land, language itself turns brown and half-caste. (30)

A convoy of new texts and treatises navigated its way in after the gain of independence. Old doctrines and prejudices cleared the way for new ones. Novels, poetry, prose writing, reportages, travel writing and non-fiction more actively became a part of the history that encompassed people. Early novelists and writers used 'Indianisms' to reach their regional audience but later, as they won acceptance, diluted the Indianness and moved away from that which was real. While this was reasonable for creative works, fact-based prose required accuracy and Tully did it impeccably. His writing of 'other Indian' facts become a creative act, spreading its roots deeper instead of tom-toming fake Indianness for a global audience. By writing Indianness, a non-Indian person from a different topography and spirit does not and cannot become an inherent Indian. They will not accomplish total identification with the land; there will always be something that will force a parting. When Indians try to write on India, at some point it becomes self-defeating and full of dishonesty.

An amalgamation of 'other Indian' realities and the true spirit of rural Indianness, works of Tully are a passionate assessment of national history-making and an honour to

the desire and voice of the invisible, voiceless people of India. Never applauding any character in his books, nor elevating them to superhuman status, his way of storytelling makes for readable history of pitches previously unmarked by his contemporaries. His works, of lyrical bent and good storytelling, are a fabrication of scrupulous specifics as well as political and cultural convictions. He has walked the roads of northern and north-eastern rural Indian villages, listening to the voices of the poor, the Dalit's, the abandoned and the oppressed as well as those of leaders, intellectuals and institutionalists. He has lived with rural Indians, strode with farmers, Naxalites, revolutionaries, combatants, performers, believers, conformists and fugitives, conversed and dined with influential leaders, political figures, presidents, tyrants, martyrs, victims, priests, heroes, gangsters, worried mothers and tolerant prostitutes. He has an immediate knowledge of those zones of which he has written and uses it to narrate the thoughts, disillusion, hopes and failures of its people. Tully is many things all at once: a traveller with a talent for writing, a journalist with an accuracy for any piece of news, a human with an empathetic heart, a sense of humour topped with a love for India, with full of oodles of optimism. It is similar to what Isabel Allende quotes in the foreword she had written for Eduardo Galeano's *Open Veins of Latin America*:

We live in a world that treats the dead better than the living. We, the living are askers of questions and givers of answers, and we have other grave defects unpardonable by a system that believes death like money, improves people. (xi)

The works of Mark Tully are a solicitation to ascertain the appearance of 'other Indian'-ness elsewhere. It is the breath of anticipation and hope that moves readers the most about his works. Lots of problems are posed by Tully, but none senseless. Resolutions are

recommended, but with the full logic of soberness. He revitalises the unseen ‘other Indian’ identity and places it before the audience with his ferocious craving. To report is to narrate oneself, especially in Tully’s case. Thus these works and its narratives are tied within the evolution of the history of humankind.

A ‘concoction of genres’ is what takes place in Tully’s narrative. His renowned journalistic background and classical responsiveness to recognize stories of life out of an everyday occurrence culminated in his original ‘other Indian’ tales. In *The Heart of India*, *India’s Unending Journey*, *Non Stop India*, *India in Slow Motion* and *No Full Stops in India*, the mundane ‘other Indian’ serendipities are expressed without dressing it in any jargon. Where Indian and foreign authors who wrote on India, zoomed out to form a single topic of focus, Tully, in his works, narrow in and may say, resounding Whitman, that ‘other India’ is large and contains multitudes, discovering its significance which is the primary soul of India’s existence. Through this ‘mélange of genres’ style of writing, he hoists the belongings of literature and stacks them away only to return many times over to the daily grind of ‘other Indian’ realities. Static realities may alter, but historic realities based on humanist standards will always have a truth-based locus. Rural subjectivities do not always make for a hot topic of media obsession. It usually takes a farmer suicide or highly current demonstration in those areas for the media to turn their OB vans towards the hinterlands. ‘Other Indian’ realities are at once old and new. They are abstract and concrete. When Tully marks them in his book they become the essential factors that strengthen and reinforce the so-called Indianness of this nation. The reading experiences of such realities are not so easy. V. S. Naipaul in *India: A Million Mutinies* proclaims:

They become books only when they are clothed with people and narrative. The reader, once he has entered this book and goes beyond the opening pages, finds himself in a double narrative. There is the immediate narrative of the person to whom we are being introduced; there is the larger outer narrative in which all the varied pieces of the book are going to fit together. Nothing is done at random. (7)

The 'other India' is a social vision; a quintessentially Indian reality. It is a prototypically Indian truth. Tully distinguishes this complex reality and absorbs its immense heterogeneity into its reflective discourse. The 'other Indian culture, as it evolved out of true Indianness, has always been prepared to enthrall philosophies from elsewhere. Thus Tully's text offers penetrating intuitions into the 'other Indian'-ness that patterns the country's 'imaginary Indianness'. It goes out of the parched narrative history about deceased kings or an overexcited diatribe pushing a certain itinerary, but as an account of ideas, opinions and counter influences, difficulties and resolutions, compassions and considerations that have been passed on from hand to hand for years, not particularly through books or texts, remain relevant even today. Indological 'other Indianness' showcases inner-core identities of India that have been much affected by colonialism over the past centuries followed by globalisation and capitalism in the recent decades.

History is a continual process of construction, no more an alien subject but a captivating synthesis of art and reality along with science and technology these days. History rises beyond mere chronicles to associate with experimental works like Tully's exploration of 'other India'. Individuals, ever since becoming conscious of the past and its being, wish to be less disconnected from their own past, history becoming more the subject of prolonged debate, colliding with unwritten history, ceaseless and in motion.

Indian history is not terminated to be free from the 'other Indian' conflicts of the present, whether cultural, economic, political or social. Historical debates cannot be neglected where a New Historical reading of Tully's works is done. They provide alternate varieties of a canonical or formally endorsed past to extensive global readers often made artistically beyond the desiccated narratives of history. Everywhere between history and fiction, there exists alternating views of the 'past' and in this case, 'other Indian' realities. True, fictional versions of India's past have enriched the heritage of Indian English literature. But fictional versions do not depend on archival sources so critical to historical scholarship but rely more on the author's imaginative intuition so the former cannot be regarded as a trustworthy historical chronicle. They are clarifications, vehicles for replication and modification. Historians can learn a lot from novelists as they, along with fiction and non-fiction/prose makers have already learned a lot from historians. Tully's works meet Indian history halfway, asking and answering questions. His approach is cataclysmic, bringing out the most vibrant argumentative 'other Indian' episodes that allowed him to uncover them for what they most unquestionably were not: still necessary to the eventual orient identity of this nation. His works provided perfect links between various times, people and events, showing how Tully's line of thought was in an 'other Indian' methodology rather than along the Western imagination of India. Tully never denies or controls the 'other Indianness' as many of his predecessors and contemporaries did. In between the lines of his commentaries, along with the voice of the 'other Indians', emerged the thought and self-perception that is characteristic of a generation of intellectual and entertaining writers penetrating the connotation of both India's past and present. Specific characteristics of a fictional-journalistic-flexible-reportage style of

Tully's narrative matched with new historical writing. Fictional histories often retain real characters, relying on inter-textuality, probing the nature of conventional history. While cyclical, they are not completely linear and present disagreeing world perspectives – all features readily applicable to Tully's works. His works, rather than straightened history, are open-ended narrations that invite readers to actively engage in the dialogic tradition. While staying close to history, he does not follow a chronological order of events and prefers instead to follow the people involved rather than merely the places and incidents. A New Historicist study of Tully's works may take us to varied levels of a cataclysmic kind of approach. His writings remain subject to human enquiry because of its everlastingly subjective 'other Indian' content. Like any other author, Tully too has enjoyed confronting history. Proportionately, he ventured beyond other historians or novelists, going deeper into the argumentative Indianness of rural India, beyond a historian's academic discipline or the approach of a social scientist, discovering the hidden essence of the Indian narrative that is 'other Indian' paraphernalia.

Edward Said puts the idea of Orientalism as, "The Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West" (2). The construction of the 'Orient' in Western imagination culminated in Western conceptions about India becoming inconsistent. Such a Western understanding of the country even predisposed the self-perceptions of Indians.

"Exoticists, and magisterial and curatorial approaches by authors are attempts from outside India to understand and interpret the country's tradition"(141) says Amartya Sen. A group of foreign authors focused on those aspects of India that were farfetched, the emphasis only being on what is different and strange as they led their expectations



according to their exotic, fancy contemplations. Another section of foreign authors had an outlook that espoused a sense of dominance and guardianship. They related their discourse and analysis as an implementation of colonial imperialistic power and saw India as a subject terrain, 'a great sense of British action' as James Mill demarcated. Curatorial classification is the most religious, i.e. catholic of the three, and always attempted to organise and parade the miscellaneous aspects of Indian values. If exoticist authors looked for strange appearances in this land, magisterial authors showed the power of ruler's urgencies. Curatorial authors on the other hand, to an assured magnitude, were free from presumptions. Tully didn't have the exoticist, imaginative mind of a trivial foreign traveller. He is not magisterial as well. His curatorial approach relates to the universal curiosity of a common human being. He was interested in the 'other Indian' culture and dynamically followed its tradition throughout human history. He never felt any magisterial burden on his shoulders. This thesis is an open ended one as there is a wide scope for reading of 'other Indian' perspective in writings on India from every age and time. Oral historic approach with common men's voice at the centre of incidents is possible with every serious reportages and that would help to bridge the gap in the formal history.

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