'The personal is political'¹: Reading Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland* as a Conscious Endeavour to Voice History through Fictional Representation PRASUN MAJI M.A., GOLD MEDALIST THE UNIVERSITY OF BURDWAN

Sometimes history acts like a housewife. It whispers in the ears of the present what bearing events of the past could have on the future. It is up to the present to pay heed to it. (Pandita 18)

Abstract: Lahiri's path-breaking novel, *The Lowland* is somewhat different from a major number of contemporary works in the sense that in this fiction, history and fictional representation merge into one another. Lahiri has delved deep into history, nurtured and fostered the historical details and finally set them free through her novel. This paper proposes to explain how Lahiri has unmasked a historical document underneath the garb of fictional representation.

Keywords: Fiction, history, personal, political and Marxism.

'The personal is political': Reading Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland* as a Conscious Endeavour to Voice History through Fictional Representation

Ever since the publication of Jhumpa Lahiri's second novel *The Lowland*, it has been arousing the interests of a large segment of readers because unlike her other fictional and non-fictional works, here Lahiri has deviated from the path she is habituated to follow throughout her writing career. Generally Jhumpa Lahiri's works are rooted in Indian family, a sort of diasporic melancholia and complexities of characters that belong to absolutely middleclass but apolitical background. In *The Lowland*, a perceptive reader can observe some of the characteristics mentioned above but what draws the attention and attraction of the most of the eyes is that here, for the first time, she has quite successfully tackled history, politics and moreover, the movement in the making. It is not the fact that Lahiri has not yet applied historical details in her works; she has depicted the 1971 war in Bangladesh and the Partition in her short stories like "When Mr Pirzada Comes to Dine" and "Burima" respectively but unlike those two shortstories, here Lahiri does not keep herself aloof from non-resistivity. One cannot surely deny Nandini Dhar's comment:

So, honestly, I was a little taken aback when I came across an early review of Jhumpa Lahiri's novel *The Lowland*, which supposedly deals with Naxalbari. Is there a way one can write the story of Naxalbari without writing about characters who engage in deliberate, political resistance? Even before I completed reading *The Lowland*, therefore, I was aware of the fact that in this novel, Jhumpa had to push against her writerly boundaries. In fact, she pushed them quite a bit. She is not writing this novel from within her writerly comfort zone.

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("How to Solve the Problem of Udayan: Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland*", n.pag)

The argument that this paper proposes to raise is how far Lahiri is capable of undertaking historical approach through her novel, *The Lowland*; or to put it otherwise, how far several historical elements, such as articles, pamphlets, books, reviews, interviews etc. have been reflected through her fictional representation.

The Marxist critics endeavour to 'locate the so called 'aesthetic' realms such as art within the contexts of politics, economics and history' and the Marxist approach links the aesthetic representations such as literature, painting, sculptures, film etc. with 'questions of class, economic conditions and power' (Nayar 122). Marxist view of culture, therefore, attempts to search for a 'social referent' which 'describes the themes and representations within a work of art that somehow refers to the actual existing social conditions, contexts, conflicts' (Nayar 125). A Marxist study of Lahiri's novel, *The Lowland*, affirms that the narrative is pitted against a political, historical and economic background. It is more of a historical document than a fiction hovering around the characters, ambience and culture of two different parts of the world. A thorough reading of the novel can conclude that it restores and resurrects the past and ultimately links it with the present. In the ultimate analysis, Lahiri's novel *The Lowland* reverberates the Naxalite movement in Bengal- right from its birth to the predicament of the movement in the contemporary Bengal. But Lahiri has also dealt with a number of other issues or rather histories (though not as prominently as its depiction of the agrarian revolution of the 1967s) – the Partition, history of Tollygunge, Indian Independence, the 1943 riot between the Hindu and the Muslim, and so on.

There is a propensity among the Indian writers, both in English and Bangla literature to draw upon the agrarian and cultural revolution of the 1967s, broadly known as the Naxalite movement. The novels which have sketched the movement and its ideological aspects are Mahasweta Devi's Mother of 1084(English translation of her Bangla fiction, Hajar Churashir Maa, translated by Samik Bandyopadhay), Samaresh Mazumdar's Kalbela, Bani Basu's The Enemy Within (English translation of her Bangla fiction, Antarghaat, translated by Jayanti Datta), Upamanyu Chatterjee's English August, Arundhati Roy's The God of Small Things, Swarup Datta's Machmaster, Arvind Adiga's The White Tiger, Jhumpa Lahiri's The Lowland, Neel Mukherjee's The Lives of Others, Dilip Simeon's autobiographical novel, Revolution Highway and so on. Though Lahiri was born in London and brought up in Rhode Island in America, she used to listen to her parents and her near and dear ones talking about the Naxalite movement and its participants. She herself acknowledges that her study of the Naxalite movement for more than a decade, her interviews with the participants of the movement as well as her relatives have ultimately helped her to complete this ambitious work. In the "Acknowledgements" part of *The Lowland*, Lahiri declares her indebtedness to certain books, such as The Crimson Agenda: Maoist Protest and Terror by Ranajit Gupta, The Naxalite Movement by Biplab Dasgupta, The Naxalites and Their Ideology by Rabindra Ray, India's Simmering Revolution: The Naxalite Uprising by Sumanta Banerjee, The Naxalite Movement in *India* by Prakash Singh and so on, and also announces her interviews and interaction with a large

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number of individuals. In an interview with Cressida Leyshon, Lahiri has talked about her influences:

Cressida: Udayan is deeply involved with the Naxalite movement in Calcutta in the nineteen-sixties. How much time did it take you to draw your own picture of that period, either by reading about it or by talking to people who'd lived through it? Did you start writing those sections of the novel early on, and then fill in details, or did you feel that you had to understand that history completely before you started to write?

Lahiri: No, I wanted to understand that history completely and digest it before I started to write. And I felt that I couldn't, and it was frustrating for a long time...And I think for me the key part of the process was, at a certain point, pretty much three-quarters of the way into the writing, I went to Calcutta...I was asking friends of my parents here, who hadn't yet moved to the United States at

I talked to the people more specifically, wanting to know more about the movement—why it happened, how it had happened—that seemed to unlock something. Suddenly I felt that all of the notes I had taken make sense.

(Cressida Leyshon, "Unknown Territory: An Interview with Jhumpa Lahiri", n.pag)

The plot of Jhumpa Lahiri's novel, *The Lowland* more or less hovers around the Naxalite movement in Bengal. Unlike the other agrarian movements such as the Tebhaga movement in the undivided Bengal (1946) or the Telengana Insurrection, the Naxalite uprising lasted for a shorter period in comparison but the influences that it has left upon the Indian society, administration and academic field is undoubtedly greater than the impact generated by those two revolutions. Prakash Singh has summed up:

The Naxalite violence was at a peak from about the middle of 1970 to the middle of 1971. Naxalism became a major component in the country's political life...The political parties realized the emergence of a new force, the government became conscious of a new threat not only to law and order but to the very existence of the democratic set up in the country, and the people in general either looked forward expectantly or were gripped with a sense of fear depending upon the class they came from or the interests they upheld. (Singh 85)

In the very beginning of the fourth chapter of the novel, the readers get acquainted with Naxalbari (after which later almost all the agrarian revolutions are named) for the first time. Lahiri has mentioned the geographical location of Naxalbari in detail for those who are absolutely in dark about the Naxalbari uprising:

It was one of a string of villages in the Darjeeling District, a narrow corridor at the northern tip of West Bengal. Tucked into the foothills of the Himalayas, nearly four hundred miles from Calcutta, closer to Tibet than to Tollygunge. (23)

The inhabitants of Naxalbari were tribal peasants working on large estates and tree plantations. They were 'manipulated by wealthy landowners', 'pushed off fields they had cultivated', 'denied

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revenue from crops they had grown', 'deprived of subsistence wages' and 'preyed upon by moneylenders' (23). This manipulation and deprivation gradually took the shape of retaliation and revolution. As the revolution expanded, the police began 'patrolling the area, imposing curfews, making arbitrary arrests' (24). Charu Majumdar, the asthamatic son of a landowner and Kanu Sanyal exhorted the youths declaring that India had been a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state, and the independence that the Indian people have achieved in 1947 is actually a hollow sham and a mere caricature of history, and not like a writer, but like an artist, she has portrayed the sparking of the revolution skilfully and above all, minutely. She has mentioned the following details – Hare Krishna Konar, the land revenue minister's conference with Kanu Sanyal at Sukhna Forest Bungalow, Kanu Sanyal's attendance and denial, the tribal's riddling Inspector Sonam Wangdi's body with three arrows, the police action on the very next day, resulting in the indiscriminate killing of eleven tribals including eight women. No other writer, neither in Bangla not in English literature, has provided with such minute historical details before. *The Lowland* is really a historical documentation.

Though Lahiri has given importance to history, her characters have always gained primacy. Her second novel, *The Lowland* is modelled on the two siblings of Tollygunge, Subhas and Udayan but interestingly, right from the very beginning, Lahiri attempts to retain Udayan on the spotlight. Subhas, the elder one, is humble, amiable and like most of Lahiri's characters, believes in non-resistivity whereas Udayan is probably Lahiri's new creation— an epitome of revolutionary spirit. He is a product of revolution or revolution is a product of his inner self. After listening to the Naxalbari uprising on the radio, Subhas remained indifferent but it was Udayan who could realize that it was the appropriate hour for the common folk to cast a blow against the root of the administration and this semi-colonial and semi-feudal social set up. He firmly evoked:

Of course it was worth it. They rose up. They risked everything. People with nothing. People those in power do nothing in protect. (25)

On hearing the infliction of inhuman torture upon the tribals of Naxalbari by the police, the repressive and coercive apparatus of the administration, Udayan behaved madly as if it was a personal affair:

Udayan stood still. Shaking his head, resting a hand on his hip. For a moment he was speechless. The report had shocked them both, but Udayan was reacting as if it were *a personal affront*, *a physical blow*.

(26, italics mine)

Udayan can assume that the Naxalbari incident is not solely a revolution lasting for just fifty-two days; rather, it is the beginning of 'something bigger' (26). He not only quoted but also believed in the prediction of the Chinese press- 'The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze' (27). When his father 'dismissed' Naxalbari and its influence on the Indian social and political set up, Udayan declares that 'Naxalbari is an inspiration' and it is obviously 'an impetus for change' (27).

In her article on Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland*, Anita Felicelli assures that here both the personal and political merge into one another. She sums up:

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The pleasure of *The Lowland* is the tension between the political and the personal, the novel's consistent demonstration that the moment may be all that is, but that our individual choices matter intensely, that the knitting together of our relationships through both personal and political actions are crucial to the stories of our lives. ("The

Moment" in Jhumpa Lahiri's "The Lowland"", n.pag)

Lahiri takes references from history and presents them in her own style—precisely and briefly. She mentions the aftermath of the police action on the Naxalite students of Kolkata which is supposed to be the nerve-centre of Naxalism. The youths of Presidency and Jadavpur expressed their angst by uprising banner and breaking out demonstrations in support of the peasant revolution in Naxalbari. Like many others, Udayan accused the United Front for its failure to keep its pledges:

But the United Front hadn't backed the rebellion. Instead, in the face of dissent, Jyoti Basu, the home minister, had called in the police. And now Ajoy Mukherjee had blood on his hands. (25)

Charu Majumdar exhorted the students to give away their studies which is nothing but an inheritance of the colonial educational system lacking any practical value. The youths like Udayan took their inspiration from the books like The Wretched of the Earth, What Is to Be Done?, the pamphlets written by Charu Majumdar who was regarded to be 'Indian Mao', and 'a book sheathed in red plastic cover, hardly larger than a deck of cards, containing aphorisms of Mao'(28). The students distributed copies of *Liberation* and *Deshabrati* among themselves. In the group meeting of Udayan, Sinha, a medical student, talks about the four mountains that lay before them— the CPI(M). Soviet Social imperial, the reactionary Indian administration who are 'lackeys' of the United States. He declares that the CPI(M) is now relegated to a puppet in the hands of feudal lords and so, it is necessary to form a new party. Sinha announces that the aim of CPI(M) is 'maintaining power' but their objective is 'the formation of a just society' (33)- 'If history is to take a step forward, the parlor game of paramilitary politics must end'(33). Even Udayan in his letter to his brother who is rather critical of the movement and a career-minded fellow describes America as 'the world's greatest capitalist power' and assures: "You'll come back to an altered country, a more just society, I'm confident of this. A changed home, too" (51). Lahiri has not focussed on giving a detailed account of the formation of the revolutionary party for the extremists. The extremists took a cudgel against the CPI(M) leaders resulting in the formation of All India Coordination Committee at a party meeting in Calcutta in November 1967 and six months later, its name was changed into All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR)². Lahiri never provides us with all these details. But she mentions the birth of the new party CPI(ML) on Lenin's birthday, April 22, 1969 and the party's declaration of Charu Majumdar as its general secretary and Kanu Sanyal as the Chairman of the party. Not only does Lahiri talk about the massive and historical procession on May Day and the congregation of thousands of people on the Maidan 'beneath the doomed white column of Sahid Minar'(39), but even she quotes the excerpts of Kanu Sanyal's speech and the party's tactics of taking 'guerilla action' as the principle motto against the Indian state and Charu Majumdar's doctrine as the forerunner of the revolution.

Lahiri has given a detailed account of the Naxalite action in *The Lowland*. The Naxalite attempt was "sparking off dreams of a nationwide insurgency that would replicate Mao's earlier revolution in China" (Siddhartha Deb, "Sins of the Brothers: Jhumpa Lahiri's 'The Lowland'",

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n.pag). Charu Majumdar showed obeisance to China declaring that the agrarian, social and cultural revolution in China should be undertaken as a model, and that they should blindly follow the dictums of the Chairman Mao. He also addressed the youths reminding them that a revolution never reaches acme and gets success unless its revolutionaries dip their hands in the blood of the class-enemy. Udayan and his fellow companions began to brutally annihilate their targets such as the landowners, moneylenders and jotedars who inflicted coercion and humiliation upon the peasants and the common folk and 'stripped their dignity away' (410). The police force which was denigrated as not belonging to Indian subcontinent could not even find a narrow escape from the festivity of smashing and annihilating the medium of oppressors. Udayan realizes that the blood of class-enemy would make the revolution ablaze:

He had not been the one to wield the dagger, only to stand watch. But his part in it had been crucial. He had gone as close as he could, he had dipped his hand in the fresh blood of that enemy, writing the party's initials on the wall as the blood leaked down his wrists, into the crook of his arm, before he ran from the scene. (412)

Lahiri intended to sketch the response of the youths to the clarion call of Charu Majumdar through the portrayal of Udayan's character. Nina Martyris in her seminal article "The Naxal Novel" comments:

Trapped as he is between India's new elites and the squalor of the lowland, Udayan is a fitting recruit for the movement— Marxist in philosophy, guerilla in practice— that is the main subject of Lahiri's novel. (n.pag)

Udayan started bunking classes, visiting slum areas and factories and began to spend hours in the rural villages which were far from homely pleasures and comfort, thereby giving burial to his career and accepting an uncertain future instead. This wasnot an individual encounter; rather, it was the situation that the Udayans suffered. On his way to India from America, Subhas came to get acquainted with a great detail of history of which he was quite a stranger. He came to know that it was the Naxalites who ransacked the academic institutions, 'banned records', 'plastered Calcutta with images of Mao', 'intimated voters, hoping to disrupt the elections', 'hid bombs in public places', 'fired pipe guns on the streets'(103) and so on, thereby enunciating terror throughout the city. They hacked Gopal Sen, the vice-chancellor of Jadavpur University and 'bludgeoned him with steel bars, and stabbed him four times'(104) and even barricaded other vice-chancellors ruthlessly until their demands were fulfilled. How can one imagine that even the educationists and intellectuals would be relegated to the class-enemy?

In the very beginning of his essay "A Rugged Terrain: Naxalite Politics and Bengali Culture in the 1970s", Sumanta Banerjee opines:

Every political rebellion is iconoclastic— often spilling over into the cultural scene. In its belief in the need for destroying the old order, it usually rejects the culture of that regime— lock, stock and barrel, and breaks out into assaults on even the best artistic products of the past. (Banerjee 1)

Like the Red Guards of China, the Naxalite youths of Bengal participated in the festivity of shattering and battering the cultural icons. They brutally and mercilessly smashed the portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Vidyasagar, Tagore and others. Interestingly, the eminent figure of Marxism, Lenin whom those Naxalites regarded as one of the idols, keeps himself aloof from vandalism

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since fortunately he got the advices of Anatoli Vasilierich, the Commissioner of Education and the authors like Maxim Gorky who could make him understand that the artistic products not only belong to the bourgeois class but they are also the craftsmanship of the poor artisans. The radical youths thought that those cultural icons paid no interest for the benefits of the peasants, tribals and labourers; rather, they supported the British rulers and the feudal lords, thereby creating a hindrance in establishing an egalitarian society. Udayan often embittered his feelings for Gandhi announcing that 'he had sided with enemies of the people' (43) and that 'he had disarmed India in the name of liberation' (43). The extremist students considered that the present education system was simply marks-oriented bereft of any practical purposes and they totally discarded the worm-ridden culture and educational system and retaliated:

The education system was also in crisis. It was an outdated pedagogy, at odds with India's reality. It taught the young to ignore the needs of the common people... Echoing Paris, echoing Barkley, exams were boycotted throughout Calcutta, diplomas torn up. Students called out during convocation addresses, disrupting the speakers... (31)

Sumanta Banerjee compares this student uprising in Bengal to another student rebellion against the colonial authority— the rebellious community being 'Young Bengal'. To quote Sumanta Banerjee:

The Naxalites in 20th century Calcutta, in fact, re-enacted a role which was in the tradition of another radical generation of Bengali youth which flourished in 19th century Calcutta, an entire generation of students of Derozio, the stormy petrel of Calcutta's Hindu College teaching community, dedicated themselves to a path of rebellion against both the obscurantist norms and practices of their own conservative society, the economic exploitation and political domination of their people by an oppressive colonial power. They came to be known as 'Young Bengal'. (Banerjee 13)

What differs the ideology of the Naxalites from that of Young Bengal is that unlike those followers of Derozio, the Naxalites restrained themselves from turning the religious customs, age-old superstitions and social prejudices upside down.

Lahiri has not only depicted the Naxalite action and their ideology, but has also narrated the step undertaken by the administration and the police response to check and choke the flow of revolution. It is because of the paramilitary action, the movement got stirred, the extremists became confounded and later the rebellious agents like Udayan came to a prey to the police of the state. The Congress government led by Indira Gandhi ran 'Operation Steeplechase' to uproot the revolutionary struggle in the Red zones of West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, and finally declared Emergency, 'censoring the press, so that what was happening was not being told'(184). The police and the paramilitary began to arrest the youths without charges, incarcerate them indiscriminately and sometimes even kill them at random. Journey down the memory lane, Gauri, the wife of Udayan at first and later of his elder brother, called up:

Then she remembered another thing. How, at the height of the crackdown, the bodies of party members were left in streams, in fields close to Tollygunge. They were left by the police, to shock people, to revolt them. To make clear that the party would not survive. (204)

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They filled the morgues and the crematories, 'dumping corpses on the streets, as a warning' (127) in the morning. Udayan who sacrificed his life, career and even his family turned into a traitor as the investigating officer firmly declared- 'Your son has betrayed his country' (124). The police discovered his diary containing 'all the proof they needed'(126) and drew a conclusion upon his life before his family as Gauri watched 'his arms flapping, his body leaping forward, seizing up before falling to the ground'(125). The youths like Udayan could neither alter the administration nor the social and feudal order, what they had altered was their own family:

Udayan had given his life to a movement that had been misguided, that had caused only damage, that had already been dismantled. The only thing he'd altered was what their family had been. (137)

Dipankar Biswas, a researcher on the Naxalite movement of the 1967s, in an interview with Gauri, rightly assures that the movement culminated utter failure due to the movement's 'self-defeating tactics', 'its lack of coordination' and 'its unrealistic ideology' (341). A revolution can never be regarded as successful if four generations of the family suffer from insecurity and crisis due to a single political involvement. Rightly does Michiko Kakutani comment—"Udayan is the rebellious, impulsive brother, who makes a series of reckless decision that will affect everyone who love him for decades to come" ("A Brother, Long Gone, Is Painfully Present: Jhumpa Lahiri's New Novel, 'The Lowland'", n.pag).

Prakash Singh in his path-breaking book *The Naxalite Movement in India* has given a praiseworthy remark on The Naxalite movement and its ideology:

The Naxalbari uprising did not achieve much by itself but is nevertheless a watershed in the history of the Indian Communist movement. Its importance is symbolic. Here was a movement aimed at transforming the society. Here was an uprising blessed by Peking. From Naxalbari the sparks flew all over the country, and there was political upheaval. (Singh 15)

But the paramilitary undertaking failed to extinguish the sparks of the movement; rather, the fire rekindled again in the beginning of the twenty-first century and Mallojula Koteshwara Rao alias Kishenji turned into a mythical figure in place of Charu Majumdar in Lalgarh in West Midnapore. In *The Lowland*, history is restored but partially. However, in an American newspaper, Gauri goes through Maoist insurgency 'blowing up tracks and trains', 'setting fire to police camps', 'fighting corporations in India', thereby 'plotting to overthrow government all over again'(335). Gauri can still recollect the gruesome aftermath of the insurgency – 'the embers managing to ignite another generation' (335). A number of questions arouse:

Who were they? Was this new movement sweeping up young men like Udayan and his friends? Would it be as rudderless, as harrowing? Would Calcutta ever experience that terror again? Something tells her no. (335)

Though the Maoists still retain some hope, the rekindling of fire is not like a conflagration, it is rather the flicker of the movement. Rahul Pandita has personally met some of the Maoist leaders and concludes:

The Maoists are currently facing problems on account of very little recruitment from the urban areas. The Maoist movement is not attracting youth from universities and other academic institutions the way it did in the '70s and '80s. (Pandita 169)

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Undoubtedly, Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland* is crafted against the background of the Naxalite movement in Bengal. But as the purpose of this paper is to reflect the historical approach of Lahiri in this fiction, it cannot deny other historical references in *The Lowland*. Lahiri describes the Partition and its aftermath, especially its effect on Calcutta. Since the Partition, an innumerable 'displaced population, a grim procession' and 'a human herd' 'had overwhelmed parts of Tollygunge' (5). Lahiri has provided with a brief description of the famine of the 1943s which was actually 'a man-made calamity' (225). Bijoli remembers 'dead bodies turning fetid under the sun, covered with flies, rotting on the road until they were carted away' (225). Besides, she excavates some other pieces of history, such as, the formation and location of Tolly Club, the 1946 Riot, East Pakistan turning into Bangladesh and so on.

Lisa Moore in her seminal article "Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Lowland* is an unsentimental tale of loss" writes:

With *The Lowland*, Lahiri gives us a provoking and affecting meditation on family and loss, the idealism of youth and how it can be volatile, manipulated and ultimately crushed. (n.pag)

Yes, though *The Lowland* is thick with historical details, Lahiri has not denied family and the aftermath of history on her characters. Nandini Dhar in her article "How to Solve the Problem of Udayan: Jhumpa Lahiri's 'The Lowland'" argues:

No historical event—whether it is slavery, indenture, rebellion, revolution, civil war, or even a natural disaster— is safe from writers' scrutiny right now. The most catastrophic the history of a particular place, the better it is for writer. (n.pag)

What *The Lowland* lacks is that here Lahiri has not spent even a single line for the Naxalite poetry and songs which played a major part in the revolution. Moreover, Lahiri has just copied history from several sources but remained indifferent to the movement. Yes, we can place *The Lowland* in the genre of historical novel like Amitav Ghose's *Ibis Trilogy*, Marlon James' *The Book of Night Women*, Ajijul Haque's *Agunpakhi*, Samaresh Majumdar's *Kalbela* and many others, but it can't be wholly regarded as a part of resistant literature.

Notes:

- 1. I've borrowed the expression 'the personal is political' from Siddhatha Deb's article 'Sins of the Brothers: Jhumpa Lahiri's Lowland', published in the New York Times.
- 2. A reading of the chapter "A New Party is Born' of Prakash singh's seminal book, *The Naxalite Movement in India* clarifies the journey of the extremists—from the formation of an All India Coordination Committee(November 1967) which is supposed to be their first step to go away from the conventional party tactics to the fulfillment of their dream with the birth of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) on April 22, 1969. Works Cited:
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