

# **CULTURE IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION AND THE NEED AND STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE**

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## **1.0 Culture, Media and Hegemony**

- 1.1 Among the new areas and horizons of knowledge and research in the closing decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, nothing else is more abiding and widespread than the new discipline on “Cultural Studies”. It is interesting and instructive that Marxists tools of investigation, terminology and insights play a crucial role in this expanding area of new knowledge.
- 1.2 It does not follow from this assertion that all what is discussed and debated in this field is just a paraphrase or linear expansion of what Marx, Engles or Lenin said or wrote. Though the basic springs of these new ideas may be traced to their classic works, the new findings have gone much further ahead from them, with Antonio Gramsci and number of neo-Marxists and the so-called Western Marxists contributing substantially to its corpus.
- 1.3 These new findings were made possible and necessary because of the great technological and scientific transformations in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century like information revolution, genetic engineering, particle physics and quantum mechanics. These new scientific

ideas and technological practices have accelerated the process of global integration via multi-national corporate spread and phenomenal communication revolution.

- 1.4 That the humans are communicating animals is a rider of assessment that humans are social animals. And society is a communication network. What they communicate is culture. Communication is the vehicle of culture. Culture is the cement, which keeps the bricks of society in their places intact. To change the position and order of the pattern the bricks are placed, the cement has to be broken, and re-mixed, i.e., the culture has to be recast.
- 1.5 What does the communication of culture do in society – it keeps the power structure, where some dominate and others are dominated. Here comes another concept germane to our theme, Hegemony. Though person-to-person communication is common practice in social science in general and cultural studies in particular, communication through various forms of media is the most significant and decisive factor.
- 1.6 After Culture, Media and Hegemony the fourth term, which envelop all these and tie them in a knot, as it were, is ideology. Like Culture Ideology too is an elusive term with several meanings both descriptive and pejorative, sometimes mutually contradictory.

Terry Eagleton lists sixteen meanings for ideology in his book of the same name (Verso, 1991).

## **2.0 What is culture?**

2.1 “Culture,” Raymond Williams said three decades ago, “ is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical-development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and several distinct and incompatible systems of thought.” (Key Words 1976)

Though the evolution and the chequered career of this evocative word could be traced back to the Latin roots and old English usages, most of its present connotation began to gain momentum only in the last quarter of the 19th century. The equivalents of culture in Indian languages have even a shorter history.

2.2 Then comes the differentiation between civilization and culture, which too is nebulous and evasive. At present it is almost taken for granted that ‘Culture’ represents mental, artistic and intellectual aspects and achievements, civilization represents the political, economic and such other aspects of social life. So what we do with the concept of “material culture,” handed down to us from Anthropology, from Edward Tylor’s Primitive Culture of 1870

onwards. It is interesting in this instance to remember that Baron Von Humboldt used the word civilization for intellectual and artistic attainments and culture for material and physical attainments — almost a reversal of our current practice.

2.3 Then the question arises: may we legitimately divorce the material from the mental achievements? The classical Marxist concept of basis and superstructure consider the economic and production structure as primary and the mental accomplishments as derivative, as superstructure. Basing on Engels' clarification of Marx's architectural metaphor, and Gramsci's ideas on civil society, ideology and hegemony, the modern Marxists have rejected the mechanical one-to-one relation between basis and superstructure as an over-simplification and even distortion. Without rejecting the idea of the primacy of the economic basis, the modern trend among Marxists is to accept a certain measure of autonomy for the cultural superstructure, with its own laws of functioning, and its impact on the movements on the basis — instead of the superstructure being a lifeless derivative of the basis and simply as a mirror reflection.

2.4 Though the anthropological sense of culture, which includes material culture like how we clear our forest and till our lands, how we design our houses and build them, and how the power structure

is ordered etc. is certainly interesting and important. But for the purpose of the present discourse, we may confine to the sociological and current forms and practices of culture. That culture as Raymond Williams defined is the total mode of life of a people, or group shared by values, traditions, beliefs, material objects and territory. There may be a valid sense in which we talk of an entire people or country – but caste, class and ethnicity do make inroads into the monolith of nations and people. Also forms and means of domination and resistance mark out and differentiate the cultural patterns.

2.5 These important functions and expressions of culture need not always be obtrusive and shrill. The grand total is made up by seemingly trivial details of human actions and reactions, interactions and inter-relations. As James Lull says:

*“Culture is a complex and dynamic ecology of people, things and world views, activities and settings that fundamentally endures, but is also changed in routine communication and inter-actions. Culture is context. It is how we talk and dress, the food we eat and how we prepare and consume it, the gods we invent and how we worship them, how we divide up time and space, how we dance, the values to which we socialize our children, and all the other details that make up everyday life. This*

*perspective on culture implies that no culture is inherently superior to any other and that cultural richness by no means derives from economic standing Culture as every day life is a steadfastly democratic idea”*

(Media Communication and Culture: A Global Approach,  
Polity Press, 1995)

2.6 Certainly this democratic idea comes into conflict with those who privilege certain types of culture as “high brow” and denigrate others as either “low brow” or even “vulgar”. These questions are related to the real division in society on the basis of caste and class, elite and common, metropolitan and colonial.

### **3.0 Ideology and Hegemony**

3.1 Like culture, Ideology too is now common coin in every day parlance. But like culture this common but pregnant term too eludes attempts to tie it down to a definition. As stated earlier Terry Eagleton has listed 16 meanings of ideology in current use as follows:

- (a) The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;*
- (b) A body of ideas characteristic of particular social group or class;*

- (c) *Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;*
- (d) *False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;*
- (e) *Systematically distorted communication;*
- (f) *That which offers a position for a subject;*
- (g) *Forms of thought motivated by social interests;*
- (h) *Identity thinking;*
- (i) *Socially necessary illusion;*
- (j) *The conjuncture of discourse and power;*
- (k) *The medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;*
- (l) *The confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality;*
- (m) *Semiotic closure;*
- (n) *The indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure;*
- (o) *The process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality;*

As is clear from this list, some of these meanings run parallel to each other, some even intersect and contradict. We need not get lost in this jungle of interpretations and misinterpretations, academic - hair splitting and journalistic loose talk. But we must certainly be aware of the pitfalls and blind spots in grasping this extremely useful through thoroughly confusing term.

3.2 In order to keep our tracts simple and straight, let us turn to Marx himself who set the ball rolling, though the term was first coined during the French Revolution by one of its philosophers, Destutt de Tracy and propagated by no less a person than Napoleon himself – though he used it in a pejorative sense.

Marx's seminal ideas on this appear in many places and it occurs as a running theme in many of his works and analyses. In German Ideology, one of his early works in collaboration with Engles he says:

*“...men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their actual world, also their thinking and the products of their thinking, it is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness.”*

Here he traces the origin of the ideas and the modes of production relations which give rise to them. But as was noted earlier both Marx and Engles have warned against falling into a mechanistic trap and allotting ideas and consciousness only as a secondary or derivative role. For example Marx explains:

*“Men make their history themselves, only they do so in a given environment, which conditions it, and on the basis of*

*actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other – the political and ideological relations – are still ultimately the decisive one, forming the keynote which runs through them and alone leads to understanding.” (K.Marx & F.Engles Selected Correspondence, Moscow, 1962)*

Marx has also tried to emphasize the role of ideas by stating that, though the ideas are immaterial at first sight they become a material force when they are appropriated by the masses.

- 3.3 How do we account for the variety and clashes of ideas in society? We have already seen that if ideas are born and developed from the forms of social existence of humans. Or as Mao put it more precisely and simply: Ideas do not fall from skies, they spring from practice. They vary according to differing living experience of humans and human groups. They also articulate and produce ideas which specifically suit their station in life and interests they wish to promote. Therefore, ideas exist not in variety alone but also in opposition to one another. Marx and Engles explained the hierarchy of ideas and ideologies. They said in German Ideology:

*“The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The*

*class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it...The individuals composing the ruling class...rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas and regular the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.”*

3.4 **F**rom these discussions, we should not limit the concept of ideology purely into a set of abstract ideas and theories. Ideology from the very beginning with de Tracy onwards to modern theorists include ideas, feelings, orientations traditions and conscious and unconscious interests. Ideas and theories operate mainly in conscious mind, on a plane of reason and debate. But when we speak of ideology it seeps down into the realm of the unconscious and influence human ideas that operate on a plane of reason and even distort the reasoning process, buttress prejudices, and priorities by ideological pre-dilections. Because of this tendency of ideological action and interaction, many writers have considered ideology as “false consciousness”. Marx and Engles have also occasionally resorted to this critical characterization of ideologies. The variety of meanings attached to the term ideology springs form this dual aspect of the term.

3.5 It is here that the idea of hegemony becomes relevant in our discussion. There is no doubt that the state is an organ of violence exercised by one class over another or others. The sanction of the state structure is the violence and instruments of violence wielded by the ruling class. All other arms of the state are only contributory factors to this decisive character of the state. Granting this premise we have to admit that violence of the ruling class alone in a limited sense cannot hold the society together or the ruling class in power.

Antonio Gramsci has dealt with this problem in detail by the concepts for civil and political society. Political society is a power structure held together by the sanction of violence by the ruling class. But civil society is a corpus of ideas, ideologies and culture. Unless a class is able to hold a dominant position in civil society, its grip on political society will slip from its hands. Though this concept of ideological hegemony was developed in detail by Antonio Gramsci in his famous "Prison Note Books" the seeds of the idea we present in the classical writings on scientific socialism.

3.6 For example Marx says in "Capital - I":

*"Ideology is what blinds the workers to the injustice of exploitation".*

Its perpetrators include what Marx calls ‘vulgar economists’ who go around ‘proclaiming for everlasting truths, the banal and complacent notions held by the bourgeois agents of production about their own world, which is to them the best possible one.’

This ideological slavery of the classes and masses derives not only from the articulated propaganda of the ruling class apologists, but also from the inherited traditions, religious prejudices and superstitions.

- 3.7 The struggle for power or the hegemony in political society has to be fought decisively in civil society, for hegemony of the ideology of the rising classes. Therefore the cultural struggle is an unavoidable pre requisite for not only the capture of political power but also its sustainance and strengthening.

There are many commentators who adopt the Gramscian concepts and ascribe the collapse of the European Socialist system to the decline of working class ideological hegemony in civil society. All the other factors which went into the collapse of European Socialist system are related to this decline in the arena of civil society though we may not ignore the decay which was corroding its economic system.

## **4.0 Communication and Media**

- 4.1 As we have seen, when we say humans are social animals, it is inevitable that they are communicating animals. Without communication the idea of collectivity and society is meaningless. Nonhuman animals also have communication systems and practices but their communication are by instinct, derived through tens of thousands or millions of years in organic evolutionary process. Therefore their systems of communication never change or if at all they change it may take unimaginably long ages or stages of evolution. But systems of human communication along with human production and reproduction of the means of livelihood change in comparatively short durations, sometimes changes take place within a few hundred years, like printing, telegraph, wireless and the latest gadgets like internet of the information etc. Humans communicate mainly through various forms of media, though person-to-person communication is still prevalent and may continue forever. Media are made of material equipment and as technical advances take media to higher and more efficient levels, they need capital and machinery. In class society, capital and machinery are owned and operated by, and therefore, to promote the interests of the propertied classes.
- 4.2 **P**arallel to and as a part of the development of monopoly capitalism the media industry also has come under monopolist

control and manipulation. The sponsorships and advertisements by large producers and sellers of consumer products directly exert their power in media to promote their interests. The drive towards globalization, privatization and liberalization has condemned all moral and altruistic aims of human endeavour, and placed on the supreme pedestal the selfish pursuit for pelf and profit as the measure of all things. The media not only part take this objective but has become itself the most potent instrument for promoting their amoral endeavour. As Edward S Herman and Robert W McChesney inform us:

*"Since the early 1980s there has been a dramatic restructuring of national media industries, along with the emergence of a genuinely global commercial media market. The new developing global media system is dominated by three or four dozen large transnational corporation (TNCs), with fewer than ten mostly U.S.-based media conglomerates towering over the global market. In addition to the centralization of media power, the major feature of the global media order is its thorough going commercialism, and an associated market decline in the relative importance of public broadcasting and the applicability of public service standards. Such a concentration of media power in organizations dependent on advertiser support and*

*responsible primarily to shareholders is a clear and potent danger to citizens' participation in public affairs, understanding of public issues, and thus to the effective working of democracy."*

(Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism,  
Delhi, 1998, p.1)

We have said that the questions of culture is inextricably bound up with media and mode of communication. It is because communication is the vehicle through which culture is passed on from generation to generation, people to people and person to person. If that communication and its media is controlled and guided by vested interests in a highly inequitable and class-ridden society, communication loses its community and common aspect and becomes an instrument of hidden persuasion, hegemony and oppression. As Antonio Gramsci taught us, hegemony in civil society buttresses dominance and oppression in political society.

## **5.0 Media and Culture**

5.1 Having explained the monopolistic character of media and its total dependence in Capital let us examine how media influence and interact on culture. For this I may be permitted to quote in extenso Douglas Keller, who seems to me a very perceptive theorist:

*“A media culture has emerged in which images, sounds, and spectacles help produce the fabric of everyday life, dominating, leisure time, shaping political views and social behavior, and providing the materials out of which people forge their very identities. Radio, television, film and the other products of culture industries provide the models of what it means to be male or female, successful or a failure, powerful or powerless. Media culture also produces the materials out of which many people construct their sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality, of “us” and “them”. Media culture helps shape the prevalent view of the world and deepest values; it defines what is considered good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil. Media stories and images provide the symbols, myths and resources which help constitute a common culture for the majority of individuals insert themselves into contemporary techno-capitalist societies and which is producing a new form of global culture”.*

*“Media culture consists of systems of radio and the reproduction of sound (albums, cassettes, CDs and their instruments of dissemination such as radios, cassette recorders and so on); of film and its modes of distributions (theatrical playing, video-cassette rental, TV showing); of*

*print media ranging from newspapers to magazines; and to the system of television which stands at the center of media culture. Media culture is a culture of image and often deploy sight and sound. The various media-radio, film, television, music and print media such as magazines, newspapers, and comic books – privilege either sight or sound or mix the two senses. Playing as well on broad range of emotions, feelings and ideas. Media culture is industrial culture, organized on the model of mass production and is produced for a mass audience according to types (genres), following conventional formulas, codes, and rules. It is thus a form of commercial culture and its products are commodities that attempt to attract private profit produced by giant corporations interested in the accumulation of capital. Media culture aims at a large audience, thus it must resonate to current themes and concerns, and is highly topical, providing hieroglyphics of contemporary social life.”*

*“But media culture is also high-tech culture, deploying the most advanced technologies. It is vibrant sector of the economy, one of the most profitable sectors and one that is attaining global prominence. Media culture is thus a form of techno-culture that merges culture and technology in new*

*forms and configurations, producing new types of societies in which media and technology become organizing principles.”*

*“Media culture spectacles demonstrate who has power and who is powerless, who is allowed to exercise force and violence, and who is not. They dramatize and legitimate the power of the forces that be and demonstrate to the powerless that if they fail to conform, they risk incarceration or death. For those immersed in from cradle to grave in media and consumer society it is therefore important to learn how to understand, interpret, and criticize its meanings and messages. In a contemporary media culture, the dominant media of information and entertainment are a profound and often misperceived source of cultural pedagogy they contribute to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear and desire – and what not to. Consequently, the gaining of critical media literacy is an important resource for individuals and citizens in learning how to cope with this seductive cultural environment. Learning how to read, criticize, and resist media manipulation can help individuals empower themselves in relation to dominant media and culture It can enhance individual sovereignty vis-à-vis media culture and give*

*individuals more power over their cultural environment and the necessary literacy to produce new forms of culture.”*

(Media Culture, Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and Postmodern, Douglas Kellner, Routledge, London, 1995)

## **6.0 Strategies of Resistance and Promotion of alternate Culture**

6.1 The picture presented above is rather gloomy. The prospects in India too is none too rosy. The decline of renaissance and democratic values, especially secularism, in the last decade spanning from Ayodhya 1992 to Gujarat 2002 poses a challenge to the very existence of India as a united nation. It is significant that the new rulers who guide our nation down the slippery path of communal violence, neo-fascism and subservience to neo-colonialist globalization have taken up culture as their weapon for nefarious objectives and the cultural and research organizations like ICHR, ICSSR, UGC, NCERT is assuming alarming proportions. Not only the official media but also the nations private TV channels with very few exceptions are feeling the line with the saffronisation drive. The film industry and various state and central academies are reorganized and manned to suit the aims of the new ruling elite.

- 6.2 All these reversals of Indian traditional policies are carried out with the tacit and as was proved in Gujarat, vociferous support of a substantial sections of people. They could do so with impunity because they have established the hegemony of Hindutva Ideology over significant sections of civil society. The Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi succeeded albeit temporarily, in galvanizing his vote bank by unleashing waves of communal hysteria. That was why he was making ugly haste in conducting the elections before the receding of the communal wave. Therefore, it is highly urgent that forces of secularism and culture open up a second front of onslaught against this malignant growth, before it spreads to the rest of India. The first front of course is the political and class struggle. Both these fronts are complementary to each other.
- 6.3 This struggle has two aspects, resistance to ruling ideology and Hindutva culture is one, the other is the creation and propagation of alternate forms of culture, imbued the humanist values of renaissance, the spirit of secularism and the thrust towards democracy and socialism. Along with air time-tested agenda, new emphasis is to be given to dalit liberation, environmental protection and women empowerment. The attempt to hijack these crucial issues by pseudo-radicals and

fascists must be resisted in a principled manner both in the field of action and ideas.

6.4 In our struggle for the reassertion of secular and renaissance culture, we must consciously avoid two deviations – which in the absence of better terms we may call “techno-phobia” and “techno-mania”. As we explained in detail, the current technological advance, communication revolution and media transformations are posing formidable challenges to peoples culture and democratic advance in a class society it is inevitable. We need not be apologetic about the opposition to computerization when it began to be applied in Banks, offices and factories as measure of rationalization to increase the profit of the managements and others at the expense of employees and workers. We were correct in opposing computerization and other mechanical devised to retrench workers and increase the capitalist profit. We still do so. But a totally negative attitude to technology is both futile and counter productive. It is futile because the history has shown that once a technology is invented and applied there is no way of retreat, no escape routes. That is why very well-meaning and powerful thinkers and political leaders like Rousseau, Tolstoy and Gandhi failed in their anti-machinery struggle as did the machine breaking generations primitive trade union movement. Therefore the only

reasonable and feasible course is to criticize and oppose the anti people consequences of technology and try to make use of technology to advance peoples interests

6.5 Making use of modern technology in the interests of people should not lead us to the opposite deviation for “technological mania” and the tendency to indulge in high-tech hyperboles must be avoided at all cost. This critical attitude d is now al the more important because of the exaggerated claims put forward by bourgeois and peti-bourgeois politicians about the millennium to be ushered in by the panacea of IT, without restructuring the society. Their hyperboles are designed to hide the class oppression and the class meaning of the high-tech mania. They are either ignorant or seek to hide from people the al-pervading crisis that is taking place inn countries of great IT advances like USA, Germany and Japan. They also seek to legitimize the emergence of a narrow high-tech IT elite and a mass of IT wage labourers (some call them coolies) with the gulf between them expanding both between countries and with in countries. This adds a new dimension to the traditional class divisions of the classical capitalist society.

6.6 Never slackening our campaign against the in-built anti-people proclivities of the monopolist electronic media, and never nursing any idea competing with them in their court, we have to

make use of the immense potential of the new media to the extent possible. In many countries and on a very limited scale in India too, revolutionary and progressive movements are tapping its potential. In Latin America both legal and illegal liberation movements and peoples organisations establish TV channels, sponsor websites, and enter the Internet world to reach the masses at home and abroad. We must make a detailed study of such networks and activities so that we too may learn and apply them in our specific milieu.

6.7 I do not claim that Kerala's experience of participating in a left-oriented TV channel was a resounding success. Problems of capital, sponsorships and advertisements do lead occasionally to compromise on quality of the programs. But with all these infault disorders and draw-backs Kairali Channel has to stay and serve the secular and democratic movements in two ways: one by its own programmes and coverage and two: setting certain standards for others to copy and forcing them to take note of the peoples movements and struggles – which they may not have done in the absence of a left-oriented channel.

6.8 Still wider use of cassettes, CD ROMs, slide projections and documentary films and organisation for clubs and community listening and viewing centers are certainly within our means. Our cadre must be given Training to produce such programmes

to suit every locality and organisations, centered around panchayats, schools and rural libraries. The beginning of such activities in Kerala and elsewhere are crowned with immense success such centers with discussion, shows, performances, speeches will prove to be effective forums of resistance to monopolist communication aggrandizement.

6.9 The Film Society movement is now in decline. Our movement and organisation should take initiative to revive it - and attach it to schools, panchayats, colleges, libraries, trade unions, kisan sabhas etc. Selected films from India and abroad and documentaries should be centrally collected and distributed to these societies.

6.10 Computerization in governance and education was begun in Kerala during the LDF rule. In some other states like Madhya Pradesh too such experiments are being tried, I understand. If possible with the Governments assistance and even with out it on the initiative of progressive panchayats and local-self government leaderships this reform is possible. Along with governance and various services to people, it is not difficult to add a cultural and entertainment component to computer set up. It must be tried.

## **7.0 Hashmi's Ideal, Hashmi's style**

- 7.1 The new era of communal and neo-fascist resurgence in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century also marked a new era of cultural resistance inaugurated by the glorious martyrdom of Safdar Hashmi. His example liberating performing arts from the locked chambers of the elite minority to the open fields and streets where the milling crowd to toil and struggle contains the key new stage of cultural renaissance. Not that the traditional folk style of street and open fields shows and performances in any thing unheard of in the past. But Hashmi following the IPTA example of the forties of fifties of 20<sup>th</sup> Century took this form to higher levels, upgrading it to the needs of late 20<sup>th</sup> Century and even 21<sup>st</sup> Century after him.
- 7.2 Though the TV, films and documentaries have the capacity for immensely larger reach, still they are tricks played by light and shadows, echoes of real sounds and voices. The performance by actual human beings in front of human being in flesh and blood conveys a sense of reality which is unthinkable in electronic and image shows. In drama and other performances the performer and audience form a common community. The barrier between the performer and viewer is thin and disappear altogether in moments of higher acting and climax. That is why authorities like the former producer with BBC and theorist Martin Essdin

said in Drama the audience and performers merge into a community and in the process recreate the social experience as if in church or temple congregation. Such lived experience of art is alien to an electronic show, where the performers are far away in time and space. Therefore in our strategies of resistance performing arts must be accorded the pride of place.

7.3 According the pride of place to performing arts in our scheme of resistance and creation of alternate cultural forms is easier said than done. In films and TV shows a group of people can perform and the cultural product may be preserved to cater to virtually tens for thousands of people and repeated again and again. But the live performances in front for an audience of hundreds (even a few dozens in street corners) on streets or factory gates, or village common needs to be repeated physically to reach tens of thousands. For this dozens or hundred of artist troupes have to be organized and trained. This pattern is qualitatively different from a highly paid and sophisticated group in some air conditioned studio somewhere faraway, with no contact what ever with the people for whom they perform. So the Hashmi's style breaks down the barrier between the elite performer and common audience, both artistically and physically Hashmi's mode and style, like those of our traditional folk performers, are essentially a popular and

democratic exercise, while the other is a mind manipulating exercise of hidden persuaders.

- 7.4 This argument in favour of folk style and a wide-spread network of hundreds of troupes and thousands of performers does not lead us to the conclusion that professionalism and training are not necessary. There must be centers and troupes of excellence in art also, but all that should be to set the pattern and provide examples for the larger and ever growing network for popular artists and performers. These higher units of talented and trained performer and directors and writers should be entrusted with the task of imparting their skills to the popular groups. They also should prepare sufficiently large and versatile repertoire of scripts and themes. This should not be a one-way traffic- there must be a process of give-and take from the top to bottom and vice versa.
- 7.5 Along with lonely touring groups performing in different places and occasions, we must also have grand secular festivals. The People Science Movement in Kerala (KSSP) and DYFI have successfully conducted such festivals and attracted talented village artists and big crowds of audiences. Besides performances of plays, music, dance etc we may also have exhibitions, seminars, lectures etc.



National and inter-state exchange, cooperation's, and consultations will go a long way to raise the level and variety of cultural perform once and activities. Many comrades in our state long for some are to take initiate to bring about National Forum, to coordinate activities one a national level and facilitate the process of exchange of ideas and examples.

