



STRATEGIC DEVICES IN BENGALI THEATRE: UTPAL DUTT AND HIS PREDECESSORS

DR. SHAILAJA B. WADIKAR

Professor & Head of English
School of Language,
Literature & Culture Studies,
S R T M University, Nanded
(MS) INDIA

ABSTRACT

Theatre marks a definite break towards the end of the 19th century. Instead of presenting sentimental love scenes, the places of human fancies, the dramatist of this period, started presenting the events and incidents of the day-to-day life of common people and holds a mirror to life. Realism came into existence as a major tenet in Indian literature during the thirties of twentieth century, when a group of Indian students in London, joined together to form the Indian Progressive Writer's Association. This movement ultimately led to the formation of the All-India Progressive Writers' Conference at first at Lucknow in April 1936, and later at Calcutta, in 1938. The ultimate upshot of this movement was the formation of the Indian People's Theatre Association, and Bengal was to take a leading part in both these movements. This movement affected all genres of literature and Indian drama was not the exception.

INTRODUCTION

In the initial phase, Bengali theatre was under the influence of the Marxist thought which led to instigate greater social awareness. However, due to the neglect of the coordinate relationship between the political tendency of the work and its literary technique, the artistic value, as well as the political impact of the work degraded. The insertion of an explicitly formulated message decreased the aesthetic quality of the work and it ultimately resulted in a vulgarisation of content. There also developed a feeling that theatre based on western models somehow failed to produce the desired effect. As a reaction to it, the IPTA determined to change its strategy and concentrate more and more on forms of folk art in Bengal. This

DR. SHAILAJA B. WADIKAR

1 Page



resulted in the revival of interest in forms like the Jatra in Bengal. It was carried to a climax by artists like Utpal Dutt.

Utpal Dutt, with his Marxist beliefs, formed the Little Theatre Group (LTG). The revolutionary plays were staged one after another at the old playhouse Minerva that was taken on lease for nearly ten years. These performances revealed Dutt's exceptional talent as actor, director, and dramatist. Under his inspiring leadership, the others also performed a remarkable role in this theatrical movement.

Bengali Theatre: A Diachronic Survey

Realism came into existence as a major tenet in Indian literature during the thirties of twentieth century, when a group of Indian students in London, joined together to form the *Indian Progressive Writer's Association*. This movement ultimately led to the formation of the All-India Progressive Writers' Conference at first at Lucknow in April 1936, and later at Calcutta, in 1938.

The main purpose of this conference was to initiate realism in literature and differentiate it from the traditional literature that had tried so far "to find a refuge from reality in baseless spiritualism and identity." (Pradhan 20) The movement soon becomes nation-wide and a host of progressive writers successfully tried to give expression to the basic problems of Indian society like hunger, poverty, social backwardness, political subjugation, etc. The endeavour was to arouse a critical spirit that would scrutinize existing institutions and customs in the light of reason, the motto being "to act, to organize ourselves, to transform." (Pradhan 21)

It is due to this movement that Indian writers came under the common umbrella of radical inspiration to introduce scientific rationalism in literature for the first time. The stress on realism consequently leads to arouse the questions regarding form and content in the composition of this new literature. However, the persistence at this stage was on "the truth of content" (Ali ; qtd. in Sudhi 82) considering form and technique to be the unnecessary embellishments. And the idea that realistic literature was principally a literature of a new radical content was accepted both in theory and practice by most writers during this early phase. The ultimate upshot of this movement was the formation of the Indian People's Theatre Association, and Bengal was to take a leading part in both these movements.

This movement affected all genres of literature and Indian drama was not the exception. It tried to make theatre, "the experience and the organizer of our people's struggle for freedom. The main aim of theatre according to All-India Conference was recognized as to "enlighten" the masses about the nature and "solution" of the problems facing them through plays, ballads, and songs that "suited... the purpose in view." (*Indian People's Theatre Association* 129 and 131) It was also suggested and demanded that productions should be both simple as

DR. SHAILAJA B. WADIKAR

2 Page



well as direct to make them easily 'intelligible' for people. This movement, in a short period of time had a grip on the psyche of people and came to be recognized as an effective, well-organized medium of mass-awakening. Slowly, the focus shifted to the themes of social exploitation, the struggle of workers, peasants and the middle class.

It is because of Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) that theatre gets released from its preoccupation with mythological, religious, and romantic gratification. The staging of Bijon Bhattacharya's *Nabana* in October-November 1944, by the Bengal unit of the IPTA, by both the author and the renowned Sambhu Mitra, was to assist for remodeling the theatrical idiom in Bengal. Dispensing with artificial sets and illusory effects, its theme was oriented towards depicting the filth and the anguish of the poor and depressed. An era of determined theatre had been heralded by the IPTA. However, this tempo of achievement was soon constrained by the emergence of a new political militancy that neglected the importance of the artistic composition of the work. This became a major cause of discord between Sambu Mitra and the members of the ballet wing.

After 1949, the Communist Party of India inflicted a rigid control over the functioning of the Association. This diminished the national status of the IPTA making it merely a mouth piece for party propaganda. Also due to the misunderstanding in the internal body (between the drama and the ballet wings) some playwrights who refused to compromise were unceremoniously dropped from circulation. Subsequently, the IPTA went through a severe setback and by, 1950 had lost its hold on the Indian cultural scene. (Ghose 304; qtd in Pronoti 35)

In the initial phase, Bengali theatre was under the influence of the Marxist thought which led to instigate greater social awareness. However, due to the neglect of the coordinate relationship between the political tendency of the work and its literary technique, the artistic value, as well as the political impact of the work degraded. The insertion of an explicitly formulated message decreased the aesthetic quality of the work and it ultimately resulted in a vulgarisation of content. There also developed a feeling that theatre based on western models somehow failed to produce the desired effect. As a reaction to it, the IPTA determined to change its strategy and concentrate more and more on forms of folk art in Bengal. This resulted in the revival of interest in forms like the Jatra in Bengal and was carried to a climax by artists like Utpal Dutt who emerged on the scene after the middle of the (twentieth) century. (Chuckerbutty 37)

At the very outset, Bengali theatre began as a form of private entertainment but later on played a pivotal role in manifesting dislike of the British rule in India in the pre-independence period. After independence, the leftist movement in West-Bengal used theatre



as a tool for social reform. This theatre in Bengali language at present exists in Bangladesh and the present eastern Indian states of West Bengal and Tripura.

The popular folk forms of Bengali theatre were Jatra, Alkap, Bahurupi, Chhau, Gambhira, Kabigan, Kathkata, Palagan, Panchali, Putul Nach, etc. Along with these folk forms, proscenium theatre was also originated and developed in Calcutta, the most significant city of the expanding British Empire in the East towards the end of the eighteenth century. The British administrators set up English theatre with the purpose of entertainment. At first, the performances were organized exclusively for the English and the Europeans; later, they were kept open for the Indians too. The plays, performed here, included those by Shakespeare, Oliver Goldsmith, and many other significant English writers.

The first play staged in Bengali theatre in 1795 and again in 1796 was *Kalpanik Sambadal*, ('Imaginary Transformation'), a translation of the English play *The Disguise*. The play was directed and organized by a Russian musician with Bengali actors and actresses. However, it did not appear to have influenced the consequent events.

By 1830, a large and fast-growing class of affluent Bengali merchants, landlords, moneylenders, and professionals settled in Calcutta. English, for these educated people, became a window through which they could receive fresh ideas and knowledge. Getting influenced by these ideas, they became the ardent admirers of English literature and drama. The early patrons of theatre were the enlightened people of Bengali aristocratic class. They built stages in their palatial homes and gardens but put up shows exclusively for invited audiences. The first such endeavour came in 1831 and the second one in 1835. Since then, no original Bengali drama was in existence; mostly Sanskrit classics in translation were staged. The first original Bengali play, *Kulinakulasarbaswa* (All about Kulin Clan) by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna criticizing the Brahman practice of polygamy, was performed in 1857. The contemporary playwrights Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Dinabandhu Mitra imparted Bengali theatre the much-needed sustenance in 1860s.

The theatrical circle was enlarged by the joining of the new, emerging middle-class people, comprising lawyers, doctors, writers, educationists, traders, etc. However, in the writing and staging of plays, they tried to imitate the English ones. Similarly, Bengali theatre, in its earlier phase, could not get rid itself from the impact of Jatra. Though the English-educated Indian elite class mocked at this popular folk form outwardly, they could neither reject it nor remove its influence. Similarly, the private theatres of the wealthy provided a type of motivation to the amateur theatres started by the middle class in the north part of Calcutta. No doubt, the amateur theatres depended on the patronage of the well-to-do, but they too remained contributory to fulfil the rising demand for public theatres where the common citizen could get an entry.



Due to the widespread desire and demand of people, some active amateurs and other enthusiasts formed an association and established a play-house called National Theatre. Actually, the venue used was a hired part of a zamindar's mansion at forty rupees per month. The first play performed at this provisional auditorium on 7th December 1872, was Mitra's anti-British *Nildarpan* (Indigo Mirror) which received an overwhelming response. One show a week was scheduled and a few of which were organized before the National Theatre split up. The success and popularity in the initial stages proved to be an incentive for others to start public theatres at hired sites and temporary structures. The ultimate upshot of it was that they soon felt the need for permanent playhouses. With the collaborative efforts of all these amateurs and enthusiasts, the Bengali theatre was established and the first play performed in it on 16th August 1873 was Dutt's *Sharmishtha*. That women performed the female roles for the first time became the striking feature of this play. However, it could not be relished or even taken easily by the people since the actresses were from the red-light district. Nevertheless, the protest was short-lived and other contemporary companies followed the beaten track.

Meanwhile, some permanent venues got established in the same locality. The prominent among them were the Great National Theatre and Star Theatre. The formation of permanent playhouses designated two developments. One was the growth of theatre's popularity among the educated middle class and the other was the fact that theatre no longer needed the patronage of the rich. That the people started discussing the merits and demerits of acting and other aspects of production showing their alertness, discernment and knowledge was a praiseworthy quality.

The contemporary developments were in harmony with the expansion of theatre. Many dramatists emerged; there was an increase in the number of plays. In addition to it, the dramatization of novels, particularly, that of Bankimchandra Chatterjee's, and a few long narrative poems remained a fruitful source. But most of the new playwrights showed a little understanding of the nature and craft of drama with the exception of Jotirindranath Tagore. Majority of his plays were the translations of the Sanskrit classics and some of them were the adaption of a few comedies of his favourite, Moliere. However, to give them the feel of Bengali plays, he changed the names of the characters and locales. Others who contributed to this dramatic movement were Amritlal Basu, Manomohan Basu, Rajkrishna Ray, Girish Ghosh. Rabindranath Tagore, the versatile genius, also started writing his unique plays in the 1880s.

Still the corpus was not large sufficient to meet the rising demand for entertainment. That the educated class did not acknowledge or accept the influence of the vernacular was another problem. It still wanted theatre to follow copying Elizabethan dramatic structure. The profound influence of English theatre and that of the folk form Jatra became a big hurdle. The



only remedy was to yoke them into a form that would be liked by the audience. Bengali theatre succeeded in outwitting the so-called difficulties because of Girish Ghosh. “He fused the ill-fitting combination into a distinct entity that answered to the Bengali genius and became the standard for many decades.” (Lal 11)

The other artists who played a significant role in the early days of the Bengali theatre were Ardhendu Mustafi, Binodini Dasi, Amritalal Basu, Manmohan Basu, Sukumari Dutta, Amritalal Mitra, etc. All these first-rate actors and actresses, with their artistic caliber, kept the audience spellbound by providing them ecstatic joy, hearty laughter, and cathartic sorrow. In the first three decades, weekly shows increased; their appeal was reflected by the lively coverage in Bengali and English newspapers. However, by the end of the nineteenth century and with the beginning of the twentieth century, the average member of the audience could not bear the burden of fare. They seemed to be weary of the playacting and soon got unenthusiastic. Girish Ghosh’s death marked the decline of a long marvelous chapter in the history of Bengali theatre.

However, the plays of Sisir Bhaduri, a college lecturer of English, contributed a lot to the growth and development of theatre in the period of crisis. He devoted himself to the cause of restoring Bengali theatre its former glory by giving up his job and becoming a fulltime professional artist. Very soon by 1925, he had acquired an acclaim as a naturalistic actor and director from the learned and elite, and an amazing praise from public and press. Due to his inspiration, a host of realistic performers, like Ahindra Choudhari, Nirmalendu Lahiri, Naresh Mitra, Durgadas Banerjee, and Sarajubala Devi made their mark on the changed perceptions of the playgoers. “But by the mid-1930s, ...theatre had once again entered the doldrums. Despite the debut of many excellent actors and actresses, drama seemed oblivious to the reality of changing socio-economic and historical conditions. The rise of cinema resulted in the defection of talent from theatre.” (Lal 13)

Situation again was managed when the Bengali unit of the Indian People’s Theatre Association (IPTA) impressively organized the performance of *Nabanna* (New Harvest) by Bijon Bhattacharya in 1944. It proved to be a land-marking play which created a sensation in the Bengali theatrical world. It was enthusiastically received in Calcutta and elsewhere. But the prestige remained short-lived. The main reason was the lack of unity. Many members left and formed troupes of their own, which generated the ‘new drama movement’. This remained a minority phenomenon for many years but steadily acquired leadership of Bengali theatre.

The focus of the new movement was the depiction of the lives of the exploited and downtrodden people. Bengali theatre, now onwards, committed itself to the cause of presenting the socio-politico-cultural issues. Various groups came into existence from 1940s to 1960s. With the encouragement of Manoranjan Bhattacharya and Sombhu Mitra a group



called Bohurupee built its foundation in 1948 firmly enough for it to be active even now. Very soon, it acquired a prominent status for having touched sensitive contemporary issues in bold and effective manner. “Mitra was without question the supreme actor-director of contemporary Bengali theatre. Of Bohurupee’s many achievements under his lead, the most exciting were the magnificent productions of several of Rabindranath Tagore’s major plays, considered till then unstageable.” (Lal 14) The group also had actors of high caliber, including Gangapada Basu, Amar Ganguli, Tripti Mitra, Kumar Roy, Sabitabrata Dutta, Khaled Choudhary and the lighting designer Tapas Sen.

Utpal Dutt, with his Marxist beliefs, formed the Little Theatre Group (LTG). The revolutionary plays were staged one after another at the old playhouse Minerva that was taken on lease for nearly ten years. These performances revealed Dutt’s exceptional talent as actor, director, and dramatist. Under his inspiring leadership, the others also performed a remarkable role in this theatrical movement. Notable among them were Sekhar Chatterjee, Satya Bandopadhyay and his own wife Sova Sen, a gifted and versatile actress with an uncommon managerial ability, whose boundless capacity for work contributed tremendously to the success that the group achieved.

Nandikar, a theatre group established in 1960, stood out into an advantageous position with its adaption of Pirandello’s *Six Characters in Search of an Author*. It won high acclaim for the excellence of its productions and the performances of its members, especially those of the remarkable actress Keya Chakrabarti and actor Rudraprasad Sengupta. The group’s early productions were mainly adaptations of non-Indian plays. Notable and the unforgettable works in this period included the adaptations of Chekhov’s *Cherry Orchard* and Pirandello’s *Henry IV* as well as the translation of Anouilh’s *Antigone*. In 1969, Nandikar took on lease a new playhouse, named Rangana, where the adaptations of Brecht’s *Three Penny Opera* and *Good Person of Setzun* drew large crowds. Chakrabarti’s untimely death and Bandopadhyay’s departure did not hamper its popularity. It continued to stage a variety of plays under Sengupta’s stewardship. At the same, it hosted a prestigious annual national theatre festival. In the later period, no group relied more on foreign drama for material.

In 1966, Bibhash Chakraborty, as the director and leading personality, had organized Theatre workshop. It proved to be a distinguishing event due to its policy of giving introduction to the works of the new dramatists. The group theatres presented plays mostly at the newly built Academy of Fine Arts. In 1960, Souvanik built Mukta Angan. It contributed significantly to the development of the Bengali theatre with the staging of the experimental plays as well as by renting out Mukta Angan at affordable rates. Notable instance was the premiering show of the epoch-making play *Evam Indrajit* by Badal Sircar. Another unique group named Theatre Centre was formed in 1954 by Tarun Roy.



Sircar continued writing equally powerful plays after *Evam Indrajit* and came to be recognized as one of the foremost playwrights of Indian theatre. Very soon, he won an international recognition with the establishment of a new form of theatre to which he called Third Theatre. Many of his disciples took this movement outside Kolkata, while a few used it to extend the development of theatre within Kolkata.

A decentralization of proscenium group theatre into district towns resulted in creating a flourishing theatre culture in places like Kalyani and Baharampur and it remained inspiring and helpful to the development of theatrical activities. Other eminent authors in this period were Manoj Mitra, Mohit Chattopadhyaya, Dwijen Bandyopadhyay and Debasis Majumdar. Although substantial original playwriting continued to appear, the lack of superior literary and theatrical craftsmanship often remained an anxiety. Periodically, critics also complained about the dependence of Bengali drama on the foreign drama.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the new drama movement's passion disappeared and Bengali theatre again received a set-back. The main reasons of it were the violent political turbulence in West Bengal, and the introduction of video and television. Theatre could not attract spectators in the crowd it had been accustomed to. Nevertheless, it remained vibrant, with possibly the largest number of active troupes and new productions.

At the turn of the century, women troupes, with their gender issues, accorded a lot to theatre. To mention a few of them were Sima Mukhopadhyay, a dramatist, director and actress, Saoli Mitra, daughter of Sombhu and Tripti Mitra and Sohag Sen, a leading personality in giving new directions in a spectrum of forms and styles. Younger men followed in her footsteps to ensure for themselves greater freedom of performance. The most consistent and prolific theatre personality of this generation was Bratya Basu, an actor, director, and writer with highly unorthodox and radical thoughts.

Utpal Dutt: The First Phase of Bengali Theatre

Like most theatre workers of the period, Utpal Dutt too was moved to join the IPTA at its beginning. However, he left it within ten months and started the People's Little Theatre in 1947. Though the association existed for a very short period, the format of the IPTA ballets worked on his artistic approach. It is for this reason that his theatre, in its initial phase, can be considered as an extension of the experiments made by the IPTA. But very soon, in the seventies, he reverts once again to his old picture frame productions. With the very effective use of the folk form Jatra, he has tried to discuss the current socio-political issues. Kironmoy Raha opined: "Dutt is commonly taken to represent the "radicalisation of political thinking in Bengal in the post-independence period" and one who actually gave the political theatre a "left-ideological colouration." (Raha 134)



Though Dutt has formally started his theatrical career in 1947, it was only after securing the lease of the Minerva theatre in 1959 that he could create his identity and acquire a position as one of the leading playwrights of Bangali theatre. Among the early Minerva plays, *Angar*, *Kallol*, and *Ferari Faul* are notable. “At this stage, Dutt saw his commitment in terms of “the message” that the art work was expected to propagate and set out to pursue his goal in work after work.” (Chuckerbutty 39) All the early plays became quite popular among the public. However, as pointed out by Barthes, theatre is rendered into “an extremely dense semantic act” a form of “informational polyphony” (Barthes 262) made up of six or seven items of information comprising the set, the costumes, the lighting, the placing of the actors, their gestures, and their speech.

The effective use of light is a central part in Dutt’s theatre. Following in the footsteps of Tapas Sen, the veteran playwright, he too uses the principle of reflected light and tries to present a three-dimensional effect on the stage, that is, the use of transparent lighting in which the illumination comes wholly or partly through a semi-transparent backdrop and the backdrop gives a sense of ‘livingness’ to the background. His first play *Angar* which deals with the incident of the drowning miners has created a sensation in the theatrical world. Dutt, here, in collaboration with Tapas Sen has continued to use light to deepen the sense of magical charm. The same strain is resumed in the production of *Stalin 1934* that opened at the theatre in February 1980. The light effects are used to intensify the emotional impact of the death of Stalina. Her suicide was heightened with the lights dimming onstage and the transparent backdrop in which Stalina’s action of stabbing herself to death was mimed through a figure of shadow. The music accompanied remained helpful in increasing the intensity of the pathetic impact. The sensationalism created by the death of Stalina symbolizes the horrible nature of Stalin’s dictatorship in Russia under the name of Marxism.

Dutt, in his theatre followed the track of naturalism and the folk form Jatra, however, with some changes as per the demand of his work. In the use of naturalistic set, he summons up a world of objects. This is related to the belief that “reality is an ensemble of visible and calculable commodities” (Suvin 74) as against a mere dynamic approach to reality that develops during the second phase of this theatre. In *Stalin 1934*, the stage was a place of hotchpotch, full of a phone-board, chairs, tables, sofas, the piano, etc.: the whole place had been utilized to accommodate the furniture; every detail had been worked out; the aim was to present authentically the immediate scene: Russia in the 1930s. The meticulous authenticity of detail which is the characteristic quality of Utpal Dutt’s plays is something that is expected, demanded and enjoyed by the contemporary Calcutta audience. For example, in *Stalin 1934*, the cluttering of the objects on the stage creates an oppressive space which is the main focus of the play. Dutt has used objects to provide a backing to the visual.



Coupled with Dutt's illusionism is his use of the costume that aims at evoking a sense of historical truth. The good costume is meant to be merely a sign which signifies the character's social and emotional condition. Pronoti Chuckerbutty is of the opinion that Dutt, in the use of costume, highlights the vestimentary details more like a painter obsessed with pictorial authenticity. This deteriorated principle of imitation makes Dutt's theatre fall in line with the bourgeois theatre, that is, theatre which aims to appeal and entertain the general audience, in spite of its explicitly formulated socialist message. (Chuckerbutty 45)

Utpal Dutt's plays inherited the Scribean characteristics. Eugene Scribe was interested in holding the concentration of the audience by using the attention-calling devices. For this, he devised a theatrical formula known as *la piece bien faite* or "the well-made play." It is a play with a complicated and highly artificial plotting, a rise of suspense, a scene of climax in which all problems and mysteries are resolved, and a happy ending. Dutt too uses such strategies in his plays, which are full of intrigue and suspense.

Scribe's plays often dealt with the depiction of the good and bad fortunes experienced by the hero which ultimately resulted in highlighting the emotional rhythm. He made his plays 'topical' and up-to-date because that used to act in harmony of the taste of a middle-class audience. It is noticed that most of the important plays of Dutt have 'topical' themes related to the contemporary sensitive issues. The notable examples are Vietnam War, (*Ajeya Vietnam*), the Black Question (*Manusher Adhikarey*) the Naxalite Problem (*Teer*), etc.

It is noticed that Utpal Dutt's theatre is also embedded in the Aristotelian tradition. With its sensational appeal, bewitching well-made structure, and the pathetic end, the play appeals to passion rather than to reason. *Angar* dealing with the sufferings of the miners is ended with a spectacle of the enmeshed miners slowly engulfed and drowned by the rising waters of the mine. *Kallol*, based on the naval mutiny in Bombay, in 1946, is concluded with a magnificent scene of the hero in the midst of the roaring of the guns, and seemed to be outwitting the situation but suddenly getting killed. *Ferari Fauj*, based on the terrorist activities in Bengal in the pre-independence era also came to an end with the death of the hero Ashok. Thus, it is noticed that Dutt employs the tragic mode to project the revolutionary consciousness. So, the ending of the play appears to be totally contradictory to the expectation of the playwright. Instead of arousing the sense of revolution, the play creates the feeling of pity.

In most of his plays such as *Anger*, *Ferari Fauj*, *Barricade*, and *Kallol*, Dutt employs the form of Aristotelian tragedy, which depicts the shift from pleasure to calamity and naturally is puzzled and confused at what results. Identifying the anti-revolutionist effect of these plays he himself proclaims later: "I think, I was politically confused myself at the time. At that time I had thought the play *Angar* ending with a revolutionary stuff. It seemed quite enough in terms of the political parties. But when I looked back in 1964, I found *Angar*, utterly



worthless. I had been telling people, “Look at those helpless ones drowning, and pity them.”(Dutt Interview with Bandyopadhyay n.p.)

It should also be noted that in his search for a true revolutionary idiom Dutt was one of the pioneers in introducing street theatre and poster plays into realm of radical theatre in Bengal. (Chuckerbutty 55) In his *Manusher Adhikarey* he succeeds in matching a revolutionary content to revolutionary form. The development and perfection of handling displayed by Dutt in this play makes it remarkable. And in the course of time, it came to be recognized as his masterpiece.

In her contemplation on Utpal Dutt’s contribution, Pronoti Chuckerbutty remarks: “In its journey towards a more, careful realism the Begali theatre had touched its first port of call in the theatre of Utpal Dutt but the vast ocean was still beckoning unchallenged and Badal Sircar was to appear on the horizon with the promise of a new fulfilment.” (Chuckerbutty 60)

WORKS CITED:

1. Ali, Ahmed. “Progressive View of Art.” *Marxist Cultural Movement in India: Chronicals and Documents* (1936-47), edited by Sudhi Pradhan, National Book Agency, 1979.
2. Barthes, Roland. *Critical Essays*. Northwestern University Press, 1972.
3. Chuckerbutty, Pronoti. *Phases in the Development of Realism in the Twentieth Century Drama: A Comparative Study of the Theatre in Bengal and Britain*. A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Letters in English (English Literature). Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, (now, EFLU), 1982.
4. Dutt, Utpal. Interview with Bandyopadhyay. No pagination.
5. Ghose, C.P. “Crisis in Bengal IPTA”, quoted in Pronoti Chuckerbutty.
6. *Indian People’s Theatre Association*, No. 1, July 1943, rpt., edited by Sudhi Pradhan, MCMI.
7. Lal, Anand, editor. *Theatres of India: A Concise Companion*. OUP, 2009.
8. Pradhan, Sudhi, editor. “Manifesto: All India Progressive Writers Conference.” MCMI. National Book Agency, 1979.
9. Raha, Kironmoy. *Bengali Theatre*. National Book Trust, 1978.