

# FOCUS

## Poverty Count, Poverty Alleviation and Growth with Social Justice

by Md Anisur Rahman

FOR the last decade-and-a-half or so, expression of concern for poverty count and poverty alleviation have been rising in development thinking all around. Development thinking in Bangladesh is no exception. Recently the Bangladesh Institute for Development Studies has presented a major poverty study with a lot of intellect and labour. Such poverty thinking and research have appeared to me to be ideologically most reactionary, even inhuman. In the present discussion I shall elaborate my concerns and anxieties on this matter, shall try to indicate a direction for making the "poverty line" concept more humane, and shall invite economists and development thinkers to search for ways of achieving growth with social justice rather than "poverty alleviation", ways in which poverty will be alleviating itself without needing to be addressed as a separate concern.

### Poverty Count

Poverty researchers are counting poverty mainly in two ways. One: by drawing two "poverty lines", one to delineate the "moderate poor", the other to delineate the "extreme poor", and counting heads under each line. Two: a composite index called the "FGT index" is being drawn to look compositely at how many persons are how much below the given "poverty line", with a view to measuring the "aggregate intensity of poverty".

The basic poverty line (moderate poor) — is being drawn by first costing the average nourishment (calorie and protein) needed to maintain the productive power of human beings, and adding a mark-up of 30 per cent to allow for the other "basic needs". The logic of this 30 per cent is being stated to be the empirical finding that people living in the neighbourhood of the "poverty line" spend about 70 per of their total expenditure on food items.

Two things are immediately fuzzy in this way of drawing the poverty line. One is circular reasoning: the poverty line is being defined on the basis of the proportion of total expenses that people in the neighbourhood of this line spend on food items, i.e. already presupposing the neighbourhood of the line itself to be defined. The second is the questionable implicit assumption that people in the neighbourhood of this line are actually spending their incomes to consume the pre-

scribed amount of nourishment and that they are spending on it or even able to command their other basic needs in some "prescribed" amounts with the remainder of their incomes. I shall discuss later that even if people are in the neighbourhood of the poverty line drawn by poverty researchers they may not be spending the income thus given for the researcher-defined "basic needs" in the "prescribed" amounts. However, either of these two fuzzinesses keeps the meaning of the resulting "poverty line" quite unclear, and the two together makes for quite a lack of clarity on the question.

### Conception of the "Poverty Line"

So far about measuring the poverty line. What is really the conceptual meaning of the line that is being searched?

The calorie and protein counts are being done to maintain the productive power of people "to maintain a healthy productive life". The 30 per cent that is being added to this may possibly cover more or less some reasonable space for dwelling, minimum clothing, and some cost of education and health care. These are also needed by every person in some amounts to maintain their productive power. Although poverty researchers are not defining their "poverty line" by including all these elements in precise quantities as they do for nutrition and have taken recourse to the fuzzy method of adding the 30 per cent to the nutrition costs, taking all these costs together the "poverty line" seems conceptually to be wanting to catch nothing very much more than the full cost of maintaining the productive power of the people (i.e. what old man Marx called the cost of maintaining the "labour power" of people). By defining the concept thus precisely it should have been possible to avoid the undesirable fuzziness if one had wanted it — the calorie and protein counts are already taken from the health science; the minimum quantities of the other "basic needs" could also have been determined by technical and/or cultural reasoning or by social consensus instead of submitting to circular reasoning. Be it as it may, it is still important to understand that conceptually the "poverty line" more or less represents a measure of the cost of maintaining the labour power of people (or, if it were intended to measure something else, this should have been made explicit for conceptual clarity). This is because such poverty count, and a concern for poverty alleviation essentially in this sense, suggests a particular standpoint in human and social ideology which merits explicit presentation so that its ethics can be debated openly.

### The Ideology of Poverty Counts

Poverty counts as the above treat those who are thus identified as poor or those whose

power of people on this line to whom this income is being assigned with such specific objective. In such a situation one has to give these people an income higher than the "poverty line income" in order to ensure the maintenance of the people's productive power in view of the "human leakages" from people's incomes. In other words, the "poverty line" itself has to be drawn at a higher level in order to allow for such human leakages in order to be effective in maintaining the productive power of the people ("effective poverty line") — B.

In other words, even within the framework of such reactionary ideology, the "effective poverty line" is not "A", but "B". The difference between these two lines, in one sense, measures the difference between free human beings and people as domestic animals (or slaves).

Not only this. If line B includes expenses which rise with the expenses of others in the society (e.g. more glamorous dress, children's education, marriage expenses, etc.) as it naturally would, then the effective poverty line would be related with the demonstration of consumption standards and for that matter with income inequalities in the society. Hence it would not be a fixed line, and would be moving upward along with the general standard of consumption in society. It should not be very difficult to determine this line with the help of household surveys; nor should this present any particular problem in assessing general poverty situation over time even if this line keeps moving upward with time — in fact, the relativity of the poverty concept becomes built into this measurement. Such relativity, moreover, does not present any special problem in inter-country poverty research either.

### Poverty Awareness of People: "Human Poverty Line"

However, even this effective poverty line also belongs essentially to the reactionary ideology discussed above. That is to say, its objective remains basically only to preserve the productive power of people, tempered only to allow for some

(for drinking, bathing and washing dishes); good sanitation; security of personal movement; and security of women's movement without fear of molestation, all of which are income dependent. Besides, they have put down actual costs of children's education and of good health care, costs they may not be in a position to incur but without which they cannot give reasonable education to their children nor maintain their health properly. These also add to the meaningfulness of the villagers' implicit "poverty line" compared to that of conventional poverty research. The people are talking of their life rather than doing abstractions for academic research, so that there is no fuzziness in what they are talking about.

One could add more items in the "poverty line" which may not have been explicitly mentioned in the Shamunay research either, may be because these did not immediately occur in their dialogues time-bound as these were but which would be present behind their awareness of poverty, or which would give them or intensify their poverty awareness if they were to consider these e.g. safe maternity care; minimum marriage expenses for children; cost of reasonable service from the law-and-order and judicial systems — vis-a-vis getting cheated, looted, becoming a victim of terrorism, rape, women publicly stoned by religious fundamentalists, etc.; and provision for meeting calamities; provision for living like human beings in old age even when one's productive power has dwindle; higher cost of old age medicine; etc.

In particular, conventional poverty counts are looking only at one's current income irrespective of one's reserves, and even if such reserves disappear or one even goes into debt to meet unforeseen calamities, a simple rise in one's income is being regarded as an improvement in one's poverty situation. The neglect of provision for old age is particularly revealing of the "inhuman" ideology working behind such poverty counts — there is, of course, no need for such provision when one is no longer "productive"! But it may not be denied, per-

haps, that in the people's own awareness of poverty there would be included a provision, if they are encouraged to so provide, for not becoming an object of social charity in old age. One could think of other such needs, e.g. privacy of dwelling, life insurance, provision for funeral expenses after one's death, etc. which one would desire to be fulfilled if one were not to consider oneself as poor. Thinking in this way suggests another "poverty line", "C", defining an income to meet one's "human needs" — one's urges as a human being to live with security and dignity, to provide for calamities and for old age, and to move forward with the aggregate march of society, a part of which income may be conceived in terms of reserve capital or other kinds of provisions for the unforeseen or for the future. This "human poverty line" would also be influenced by the average consumption standards in the society. If a television set is installed in the house of a poor neighbour this may quite legitimately increase the "poverty" of the poor.

Needless to say, such "human poverty line" — "C" — can be objectively drawn only by some process of social consensus. It should not be difficult to obtain such social consensus — the tradition of taking "public opinion polls" is quite commonplace today. The poor, the middle class, and the rich — the definitions of these three social categories are in the final analysis relative, and can be determined only by social consensus. Those in the society who are lagging far behind the average consumption standards in the society are poor; those who are much ahead are rich. To lag far behind in this sense is the basic source of one's self-identification as poor, and the basic cause of one's misery from a poverty awareness, and it is this misery which needs to be alleviated out of a human concern, a concern for social welfare, and for social stability.

### The Pain of Becoming Poorer

It is important to remember another truth in poverty counting. The one's poverty depends not only on one's current state of poverty but also on the "initial condition" from which one may have come to the current state. Even with aggregate advancement of a society some may be getting poorer while others move forward. The person who has fallen to a given poverty level from a better-off situation and one who has risen to the same poverty level from a worse-off situation cannot both be said to be at the same level of poverty. In fact, an improvement or deterioration from an existing state is itself an welfare-influencing factor, whose weight moreover should also be influenced by the demonstration of what is happening to fellow members in the

society. The FGT index designed to measure the aggregate intensity of poverty and being suggested to be an index of aggregate welfare of the poor, lacks a sensitivity to this character of the dynamics of poverty. Until this can be handled in the index, an awareness of this important deficiency of the index should be explicit in order not to be completely about any improvement in the FGT index associated with painful falls into deeper poverty of some members of the society while others move forward. Needless to say, this consideration is relevant for measuring the aggregate intensity of poverty in the context of any of three "poverty lines" that we have identified.

### Poverty Alleviation Versus Growth with Social Justice

Even after adding all such considerations as the above to poverty counting we are still roaming in the arena of a reactionary social outlook devoid of any concern for social justice. Social justice is not ensured merely by poverty alleviation even if poverty is measured more humanely than it is conventionally being measured. Mere poverty alleviation is at best more than a humanitarian concern of those who have a sympathy for the poor. But social justice is not a question of sympathy — it is a question of human right. An ideology of lifting the poor in the society only above the "poverty line" by a few percentage points a year while the rich would get richer by any extent possible, has no awareness of social justice whatsoever. I would not have said down to try to make the "poverty line" only a little bit more humane within the framework of such a reactionary ideology as I have sought to do in the foregoing pages, if the mainstream of development thinking were not so aggressively vocal in favour of such "poverty alleviation", a trend against which one feels so powerless today. We all, of course want poverty alleviation; but is this all we should be wanting?

The tradition of development thinking in this country was much more progressive, and the constitution of this country has not discarded the principle of social justice. It is indeed unfortunate that the mainstream of today's economics profession in this country has nevertheless moved away from this principle and embraced a "reactionary social" and development philosophy. Our economists are talking today of transfer of incomes from the moderate poor to the extreme poor rather than from the rich to the poor. We are not hearing any more of the principle of income growth for the poor to be faster than income growth for the rich, which should have been recognized as an elementary principle of welfare economics. We are not hearing of concerns from our poverty researchers that the rich are getting richer by appropriating the surplus of the poor. Why should the poor be

lifted only above the "poverty line": why shouldn't the poor producers get the major share of the value of their products? Is it not possible to adopt necessary principles and effective strategies toward such an objective?

This is certainly possible, if only desired. On a previous occasion I have indicated a direction for promoting such an objective, suggesting the idea of organizing the small producers into producers' cooperatives for initiating different kinds of joint enterprises including collective marketing taking over imports (of their inputs) as well as exports (of their products), so that the bulk of their surplus remain in their hands. I had also suggested that such small producers' cooperatives might be asked to save and reinvest at a high rate (30 per cent) from out of their increased incomes thus gained, and even required to do so as a condition of loans that might be extended to them to start their cooperative enterprises, (forced savings), so that they might become the principal growth agents in the country. We are not really seeing much by way of growth agents in other quarters of the society who are appropriating the surpluses of the producers to spend them in austere consumption and capital transfers abroad. A policy of assisting the producer classes of the society to become growth agents could yield in one stroke economic growth, social justice and poverty alleviation. In particular, the need to be concerned separately with poverty alleviation would disappear — this would become a redundant objective.

Above all, we might do well to remember one truth. People are not born to alleviate their poverty — they are born to express themselves in this life, to show their creativity, to fulfil their talents. Parents long to see the fulfilment of the talents of their children as well, for which they make great sacrifices, including if they are poor, starting themselves to help their children move forward. It is important for poverty researchers to understand this humanness of people. To satisfy such human urges is the most basic of all human needs — i.e. to fulfil one's own, and that of one's children's, creativity, with an intense tension between the two if one is poor and cannot fulfil both. This suggests a meaning of poverty which conventional development thinking has not yet envisaged but which is at the heart of human fulfilment as well as of human pain. But such conception of poverty is not against the conception of poverty alleviation in material terms with which development thinking is more comfortable — the liberation of human creativity cannot but be the surest way to alleviate a people's material poverty.

I invite all social welfare conscious economists and development thinkers of the country to make their contributions toward devising policies and strategies for turning the poor producers of the country into growth agents to pull the country out of its present state of stagnation and toward creating wider social awareness in this direction.

The writer is a world renowned economist and a social activist.

## Dhaka Day by Day

### Friends in Need

by Abul Kashem

Only months ago Kamrunnihar Mukul's physicians pronounced that living with Thalassemia is virtually impossible. She had lost all her hope then, but soon she got it back when her friends came forward to help her.

Mukul, 23, is a student of 3rd year Geography honours at the University of Dhaka. She has been suffering from Thalassemia, a deadly disease characterised by haemoglobin deficiency and is popularly known as blood cancer, for the last 15 years. Now her condition is worse. Every month she must have an infusion of A-positive blood. Taking blood regularly for a long time is a very risky business. It may result in kidney damage or other blood-related hazards. In case of a mismatch of blood groups, death is inevitable.

Bone Marrow Transplantation is the only way to permanently cure this disease. But the treatment is not available in Bangladesh. This treatment is available abroad and is highly expensive. If she could manage at least US \$ 50,000, she might get a chance to survive. But this amount of money is far beyond her family's capacity to manage. Coming to know all this, her friends of the geography department decided to do their best to save the girl. They arranged a stall in the Bangla Academy book fair named "Mukul's Janyo". They informed the vice chancellor of the university of the matter and asked for help. They have been rallying on the campus for days praying for help. They contacted most of the newspapers of the city and many of the pa-

pers had donated advertising space for a pop music concert arranged in aid of Mukul. They have applied to Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina for her help. If the prime minister or the president of the country requests the King Faisal Hospital of Saudi Arabia, then her treatment can be possible free of cost.



Mukul in need of help

Why Mukul's friends are doing all these? It is something like a war against a death foretold. We are doing all these out of a kind of sympathy, that could be understood well only by the victim", says Nadi, a first year geography student who has devoted most of her study hour to Mukul. "It breaks my heart when I think that such a lovely girl will perish in front of our eyes. We are trying to save her life," says Dr. K. Nazimuddin, Chairman of the department. Khushi, a friend and roommate of Mukul in the Shamsunahar Hall said, "words cannot explain why we are working for her. We just feel that we must do something for her". Mukul said, "sometimes I think I am a very unfortunate girl. Because I have got a deadly disease in the prime of my life. But again, when I think about the sympathy of friends and many people, even unknown to me, I feel I am an exceptionally lucky person".

Everyone knows Dhaka University had lost scores of its students in gun fighting. It is a grim fact that tarnishes the image of an enlightened institution. But now Mukul's story reveals another side in mark contrast to the gun toting students of the university. This is to understand the value of life. They are learning how to convey love to someone who is in need of it.

## Loud is Cheaper

TRUCK manufacturers in UK never had it so good. And all it took for their trucks to sell like never before were new EU guidelines on noise and emission requirements in commercial vehicles weighing more than 3.5 tonnes. The new guidelines — Euro-2 — were to come into effect on all such vehicles after October 1 last year.

The month of September thus saw a dramatic increase of 121 per cent in truck sales which slumped by nearly 40 per cent in October. Meeting Euro-2

standards raises the cost of the truck by five per cent and this explains the sudden sales. Manufacturers, in order to clear the old stocks, were also offering discounts. According to David Thomas, director of commercial vehicles at Mercedes-Benz, UK, the British and to a certain extent, the French transport industry, take some time to warm up to idea of new rules. Native drivers seem to have a fondness for Euro-1 models which complied with less stringent noise and emission standards.

## Motor Marvel

SUPER-efficient electric cars will be on the roads sooner than predicted, thanks to a new method developed by Chrysler Corp of U.S. It is a fuel cell system that can extract hydrogen from normal gasoline to power a car which would be 50 per cent more fuel-efficient than current

cars using conventional internal combustion engines. However, the elaborate system which uses metal catalysts to remove harmful sulphur and carbon monoxide emissions, would cost 10 times more than the conventional engines. Chrysler hopes to launch a test vehicle within three years.

CSE/Down To Earth Features

## The Daily Star Entertainment Guide

**Tuesday 11th March**  
(All programmes are in local time. There may be changes in the programmes.)

### BTv

3:00 Opening Announcement  
Al-Quran Programme Summary  
3:10 News in Bangla 3:15 Patritic songs 3:20 Recitation from the Geela 3:25 The Album Show 3:30 Cartoon film 4:15 Unmesh 4:50 Coast 5:00 News in Bangla 5:22 Sanjappa  
6:00pm National Television Debate Competition 6:50 Open University 7:00 The News 7:25 Silver Jubilee of Freedom Fighter-A Documentary 8:00 News in Bangla 8:25 Silver Jubilee of Freedom Fighting-Mujibnagar Govt 9:00 Drama Serial: 10:00 The News 10:25 Those days of Freedom Fighting 10:30 sur Laharie 11:35 Wednesday's programme summary 11:40 Close down

### BBC

6:00am BBC World News 6:10 Newsnight 7:00 BBC News-morning World Business Report/Asia Today/24 Hours 10:00 BBC World Headlines 10:05 World Focus: Panorama 10:45 The Panel 11:00 BBC Newsday 2:00 BBC World News 2:15 World Focus: Panorama 3:00 BBC World News 3:30 Time Out: Tomorrow's World 4:00 BBC Newsdesk 6:00pm BBC World News 6:15 World Focus: The Money Programme 7:00 BBC World News 7:15 World Business Report 7:30 BBC Newsday Asia & Pacific 9:30 Time Out: Holiday 9:00 BBC World News 9:15 World Focus: Panorama 10:00 BBC World News 10:30 Time Out: Tomorrow's World 11:00 BBC World News 11:30 Time Out: Film 97 12:00am The World Today 2:00 BBC World Headlines 2:05 World Focus: Panorama 4:05 The Panel 3:00 BBC World News 3:30 Time Out: The Clothes Show 4:00 BBC World Report: The World Business Report/24 Hours

### CHANNEL V

6:30am The Ticket 7:00 Rewind VJ Sophia 8:00 Frame by Frame 9:00 Jump Start VJ Alessandra 10:00 Frame by

Frame 11:00 The Vibe VJ Luke 12:00 Rewind VJ Sophia 1:00 By Demand VJ Tre 2:00 Frame by Frame 2:30 Liberty First Day 3:00 The Indian Top 4:00 Frame by Frame 4:30 Big Bang VJ Alessandra 6:00 Rewind VJ Sophia 7:00 By Demand VJ Tre 8:00 Planet Ruby 9:00 The Vibe 10:00 Liberty First Day 11:00 Speak Easy 11:30 The Ride 12:00am The Edge VJ Sophia 12:30 Rewind VJ Sophia 1:00 Haysah 2:00 By Demand VJ Tre 3:00 Big Bang VJ Alessandra 4:30 Billboard US Countdown

### STAR PLUS

6:30 Ninda 7:30 Star News 8:00 Star News 8:30 Star News 9:00 Sky News 9:30 Star News 10:00 Star News 10:30 Star News 11:00 Kate & Allie 11:30 The Oprah Winfrey Show 12:00am The X Files 1:30 Santa Barbara 2:30 The Bold & the Beautiful 3:00 Hindi Serial: Imtihan 3:30 Khandana 4:00 Tu Tu Main Main 4:30 Land of the Giants 5:30 Black Beauty 6:00pm Kate & Allie 6:30 Yan Can Cook 7:00 Janata Ki Adalat 7:30 Star News (Hindi) 8:00 Small Wonder 8:30 Kya Baat Hai 9:00 Meri Awaz Suno 9:30 Star News 10:00 Some Mothers Do Ave 10:30 Space: Above and Beyond Pilot 12:30am Independence Day: The Making of ID4 Invasion 1:00 Star News 1:30 Baywatch 2:30 Dynasty 3:30 Fantasy Island 4:30 The Oprah Winfrey Show 5:30 Bamby Jones

### STAR SPORTS

6:00am 1996 Asian Club Championships Final Round Film Location/Time TBC 8:00 Sports India 8:30 India Top Of West Indies 1st Test Match Day 5 H/L 9:30 World Wrestling Federation Blast Off 10:30 US FC 10:00 Nisan Open 1:30 Volvo World Cup Showjumping 9:00 1:30 India Top Of West Indies 1st Test Match Day 5 H/L 2:30 Formula One World Champs 97 Australian Grand Prix 4:30 NBA Game of the

Week San Antonio @ Indiana 6:30 World Wide Rugby-1 8:30 Trans World Sport 9:30 India Top Of West Indies 1st Test Match Day 5 Highlights 11:00 Indian Football Phils League Mahindra & Mahindra vs JCTM From Bombay, India 12:00 ITTF Pro Tour Qatar Open Early Rounds & Quarter Finals 2:30 World Wrestling Federation Raw 3:30 EPGA Dubai Desert Classic H/L 4:30 Volvo World Cup Showjumping 9:00 5:30 Indian Football Phils League Mahindra & Mahindra vs JCTM From Bombay, India

### STAR MOVIES

7:30am Action: Cody 5: Fall From Grace 15 (Hindi Subtitles) 9:30 Classic: The Kennel Murder Case 12 (Arabic Subtitles) 12:00 Family: Father And Scout 12 (Hindi Subtitles) 1:30 Oscar Winner — Best Picture: The French Connection 15 (Hindi Subtitles) 3:30 Comedy: She-Devil 15 (Hindi Subtitles) 5:30 Action: Miami Blues 15 (Hindi Subtitles) 7:30 Family: Last Bet For The Universe PG 9:30 Hollywood One On One 10:00 Action: F/X — Murder By Illusion 18 (Arabic Subtitles) 12:00 Film Club: The Decline Of Western Civilisation Part II: The Metal Years 18 2:00 Film Club: Article 99 (Arabic Subtitles) 4:00 Thriller: Crosstalk 18 5:30 Romance: Two for the Road PG (Arabic Subtitles)

### ZEE TV

6:00 The News 6:30 Aap Ki Adalat 7:00 ZED 8:30 Adarsh Pradhan Mantri 9:00 Adarsh Hour 10:00 Gaane Anjaane 10:30 Lakme Khoobsurat 11:00 Umeed 11:30 Close Up Antakshi 12:00 Hum Honge Kamyab 12:30 Look Cal Show 1:00 Mere Ghar Mere Zindagi 1:30 Aashu Sky Shop 2:00 Paanch 2:30 Tara 3:00 Raahat 3:30 Dhara Zaike Ka Safar 4:00 Haathi Cement Aashana 4:30 Jhatpat Khana 5:00 Celeste 5:30 Casper Kya Scene Hai 6:00 Aur Ek Minute 6:30 Disney Hour 7:30 Raahat 8:00 Gaane Anjaane 8:30 Nirma Hum Paanch 9:00 Salaab 9:30 Shapath 10:00 Hrasratin

10:30 News 11:00 Tara 11:30 Dastan 12:00 TV's Sa Re Ga Ma Pa 12:30 Andaz 1:00 Chahat 1:30 Nafrat 1:30 Raahat 2:00 9 Malabar Hill 2:30 TMM 4:00 Suhana Safar 4:30 Bournvita Quiz Contest 5:00 Suno Bhai Sadho 5:30 Jagran

### PTV

8:00am Tilawat Auri Tarjuma/Hamd/Naat 8:20 Cartoon 8:30 Khabrain 8:45 Beauty Care 8:50 Fun Kadha 9:10 Dhanak & Health Tips 10:05 Har Taan Heli Deepak 10:30 English Film: Home Improvement 10:55 Milli Naghma 11:00 Khabrain 11:10 Anita (Serial) 12:00 Sports Hour 1:02 Bismillah 1:15 The Science Show 2:00 Yeh Jahan (Music video) 2:25 Animated Classics 3:15 Geography & Sammar School 4:20 Mitti Sona 5:00 Alah Huma Labbaik 5:25 Dabhi Mein Sochta Hoen (Drama Serial) 6:25 Adu Coursen 7:00 Dhanak 8:45 English News 8:15 UN Quiz 8:45 Jab (Drama Serial) 9:00 Break for Headline News 10:00 Khabrainama 11:20 VCD Top Ten (Pakistan Video Countdown) 12:30 Dr. Qum: Medical Women (Jean Saylor) 1:35 Khas Khas Khabrain/Close down

### SONY ET

8:30am Khoya Khoya Chaand 9:00 The Three Stooges 9:30 Dennis The Menace 10:00 I Dream Of Jeannie 10:30 Bewitched 11:00 Taak Jhank 11:30 Gaane Jaane Maane 12:00 Ghaav 12:30 Premier 1:00 Jane Kahan Mera Jigar Gayi 1:30 The Young And The Restless 2:30 Cine Matinee-Hindi Feature Film 5:30 The Three Stooges 6:00 Dennis The Menace 6:30 Khoya Khoya Chaand 7:00 I Dream Of Jeannie 7:30 Bewitched 8:00 Surf-Wheel Of Fortune 8:30 Cine Prime Hindi Film 12:00 Taj Mahal Takia Dhin 1:00 Gaur Story-Hospital 1:30 Premier 2:30 Closed

### EL TV

12:30 Hindi Feature Film 1:30 Kinetic Pride Hassan Pal 1:40 Akhri Doo 2:00 Chori Chori Chupke Chupke 2:30 Lumbe Tea Chalo Cinema 3:00 Ru-Ba-Ru 3:30 Usha Uthup Show 4:00 People's Club 4:30 TBCMC 5:00 Street 5:30 TDP 6:30 Hit Pairs 7:00 Scandal 7:30 Dard 8:00 Hindi Feature Film 11:00 Gujrat Band Repeat 12:30 Bengali Band Repeat 1:00 Sorry Meri Lom 1:30 V2 2:00 Gujrat Band Original 3:00 Dard 3:30 Karz 4:00 It's My Choice 4:30 Stand By 4:40 Vishwamitra 5:30 Anabi 6:20 ZED 6:50 Bengali Band Original 7:50 Hake Bakke 8:20 Kinetic Pride Hassan Pal 8:30 Best Of Purnushkshetra 9:00 Tehkikat 9:30 Superhit Hungama 10:30 Stand-By 10:40 Hindi Feature Film

### DD 7

10:30 Jamnadi 10:35 Classical Music 11:00 Ghare Baire 11:30 Parliament Hour 12:30 Monorama Cabin (Serial) 1:00 Janmabhumi (Serial) 1:30 Trishna 2:00 Ae Shudhu Gaan Noo 2:30 Bakul Katha (Serial) 3:00 Aaleya (Serial) 3:30 Amaragreeti (Serial) 5:05 Science Prog-Bigman Prasange 5:20 News 5:30 Employment News/Lalitkala 6:00 Pali Katha 6:30 Gaan Nive 7:00 Serial 7:30 Bangle Sambad 7:55 Dandana 8:00 Bakul Katha 8:30 Aaleya (Serial) 9:00 Janmabhumi (Serial) 9:30 Monorama Cabin (Serial) 10:00 Bengali Movie Club Film Show 1:00 Closed

### SONY ET

8:30am Khoya Khoya Chaand 9:00 The Three Stooges 9:30 Dennis The Menace 10:00 I Dream Of Jeannie 10:30 Bewitched 11:00 Taak Jhank 11:30 Gaane Jaane Maane 12:00 Ghaav 12:30 Premier 1:00 Jane Kahan Mera Jigar Gayi 1:30 The Young And The Restless 2:30 Cine Matinee-Hindi Feature Film 5:30 The Three Stooges 6:00 Dennis The Menace 6:30 Khoya Khoya Chaand 7:00 I Dream Of Jeannie 7:30 Bewitched 8:00 Surf-Wheel Of Fortune 8:30 Cine Prime Hindi Film 12:00 Taj Mahal Takia Dhin 1:00 Gaur Story-Hospital 1:30 Premier 2:30 Closed

### ZEE CINEMA

6:45 Songs 7:00 Jaan Lada Denge (Hemant Birje, Sahila Chadda) 9:00 Tara 9:30 Soorma Bhopali (Jagdeep, Kader Khan) 12:15 Rangus 1:2:30 Ghar 3:00 Jeelendra, Sridevi) 3:15 First Kale 3:45 Bhabi Na (Gujarathi) 6:30 Farz (Jeelendra, Mumtaz) 9:15 Cine Cinema 9:30 Movies Magic 10:30 Matinee Sona (Chunkey Pandey, Neelam) 12:45 Taqatwala (Dubbed) 1:30 Ikkie Pe Ikkie 0:00 Dhari (Rajendra Kumar, Waheeda Rehman, Rekha)