

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. (Interruptions). Mr Salve you cannot give the answer. Please sit down. (Interruptions.)

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, I have one point to make.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): Sir, why are you allowing him to make any mention.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not allowing anybody. (Interruptions)

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The discussion on this matter is closed. Now Calling Attention.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I want to say something about Kashmir. It is not about Bombay.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot raise anything without my permission. Please sit down. (Interruptions).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sir, just one minute. To tie up the loose ends, I assure the House that this information will be expedited. I know the feelings of the Members. As soon as I get the information I will give it. I have no intention of hiding or putting it back.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You cannot spoil the answer. You got it in your favour. Now, Mr. Gopalsamy.

#### CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE—

Reported shipment of priceless treasures of Indian Art and culture including rare sculptures from various museums, art galleries and temples for display during the festival of India to be held in the United States of America and France, at Grave risk to their safety.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Culture to the reported shipment of priceless treasures of Indian art and culture including rare sculptures from various museums; are galleries and temples for display during the Festival of India to be held in the United States of America and France, at grave risk to their safety and steps taken by Government in this regard.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND CULTURE (SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO): Sir, I welcome this opportunity to clarify the position in regard to the art exhibitions during the Festival of India.

The Festival of India in France and USA is scheduled to open in June 1985. It will be on a scale much bigger than the one held in London in 1982 and will cover a wider canvas. It will comprise a large number of exhibitions sponsored by some of the most prestigious museums in United States and France which have displayed the greatest art treasures of the world, performing arts, Indian film Festival, theatre groups poetry reading, symposia and seminars etc.

Six major exhibitions of classical art are being organised during the Festival of India in USA. These are being held in some of the most prestigious museums in the world including the National Gallery of Art Washington DC, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. They are:

(1) Sculpture of India 3000 BC to 1300 AD.

(2) "India".

(3) Life at Court: Art for India's Rulers-16th-19th Cent. AD.

(4) From India Earth: 4000 years of Terracotta Art.

## (5) Kushan Sculpture

## (6) Fatehpur Sikri and the Age of Akbar.

The art objects have been collected from 55 private/autonomous and Government museums, besides 9 private collectors with their consent. The process of selection included the examination of the exhibits by experts. As many as 76 out of 441 art objects which were initially listed for display in the exhibitions in USA have been dropped, taking into account the adverse coservation report or due to the fragile condition of the objects. Some of the art objects, which were one of their kind such as Pasupati seal and Dancing girl of Mohanjodra were also excluded. Thus extraordinary objects of historical or aesthetic importance in the context of history of Indian art were excluded. Barhut Yakshi from Indian Museum and Amarvati Roundal from Madras Museum, which were embedded, have not been selected.

It is customary for Museums of international repute to exchange exhibitions, each side trying to project the best of the country's cultural heritage and also to receive the finest in return. For example, the National Museum New Delhi itself received exhibitions of the finest and priceless works of art such as Thracian Gold from Bulgaria, Art Treasures from Dresden and the National Gallery of Modern Art those of German Expressionist, Paul Klee and sculptures by Rodin. It may also be noted that many nations of the world have sent some the greatest exhibitions to the United States, France, Britain and Japan. e.g. the exhibitions of Chinese Art Treasures from Tut-Ankh-Amen of Egypt and paintings of Rembrandt. Out country's cultural heritage and image is unique in the world and from times immemorial Indian art has also influenced the styles of the Art of China South East Asia and Far-eastern countries. Therefore, what has been selected for the Festi-

val of India constitutes an insignificant proportion of the art works and masterpieces available in the country. The selection of these art objects for different exhibitions is due to the fact that they are well known in the world of art. In fact exhibitions of such art treasures generate more interest and enthusiasm among scholars and general public in the art and cultural heritage of India.

Apart from obtaining insurance cover on "wall to wall" basis, every care, according to international practice is being exercised in respect of packing, transportation etc. Utmost security have been taken such as valuable exhibits are escorted by armed guards, consignments are accompanied by experts, detailed photographic documentation is made at different stages of the movement of the art objects. The museums where the exhibitions are being held are also equipped with the most advanced security systems, and have taken every precaution to ensure the safety of the art objects being exhibited.

It would, therefore, be observed that all possible precautions have been taken by the Government to ensure the safety and security of the art treasures proposed to be sent to the Festival of India. I might add that considerable enthusiasm has been generated abroad about the art and cultural heritage of India.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, "The Discovery of India", a unique contribution by the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, projecting the image of this country, a land of ancient civilization, art and architecture and precious sculptures, stimulated the people abroad to visit this country, to visit the places of art and sculpture. Now, Sir, the very idea of transporting these priceless treasures, unique treasures, to the United States, is most outrageous, as if it is a street vendor carrying on his sales, as if inviting publicity.

[The Deputy Chairman in the chair]

Madam, Sculptures dating from the Harappan Age to Maurya, Gupta, Kushan and Chola periods, are being sent abroad. Nine Chola bronzes removed from temples where they were still worshipped, I understand, will form part of the exhibits. The stunning Yakshi of Didarganj, already sent to Japan, is to be sent from there to the U.S.A. Some of the newly excavated sculptures from Sanghol near Chandigarh are in the list. They are the only pieces of its kind in the country and hence infinitely valuable. Sir, even a slight damage to some of the pieces will mean incalculable loss. Raids of various museums and galleries were conducted by the Curators and experts were brought from the United States and France. Our own experts were not consulted. Particularly, the views of most of the directors of the museums were not taken into consideration. I quote Karl Khandalawala has said. Karl Khandalawala is the eminent art scholar and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Bombay's Prince of Wales Museum. This has appeared in the *Indian Express* of May 5 last.

"It is nothing short of a crime to send a masterpiece like the Didarganj Yakshi—the only one of its kind—out of the country. One small crack and she will be ruined for ever."... "This splendid, almost completely intact, Mauryan sculpture of the 3rd century BC, is, along with the Saranath lion, the most remarkable survivor of that period."

"Experts point out that one of the most outstanding features of this statue is its centuries old polish which, miraculously, is still intact." "No one knows how it was done. No one can do it again if it is spoilt for any reason."

The article further states:

"According to Khandalawala a committee, set up to work out the insurance rates for the art objects going abroad recommended that the Didarganj Yakshi be kept back. It was overruled."

"Another outstanding case in which the Festival authorities appear to have abandoned restraint is that of the Vadakallature Kalayanasundaramurthi, which is reportedly on their passenger list as well. A depiction of the marriage of Shiva and Parvathi, this masterpiece of Pallava art of 9th century AD executed in bronze, came to light in Tamil Nadu amid much elation, about a decade ago."

"How do I describe it to you?" asked one scholar. "You have to see it for yourself. The expression on Parvathi's face, the grace and fluidity of the figures... There are several Kalyanasundarams but like this one."

Who are the persons who have come here to select these items? Mrs. Pupul Jayakar, the chairperson of the Advisory Committee, is running the whole show and it is she who selected the items, she who corresponded with the various museums. Particularly, the directors of the museums in the United States and other galleries were corresponding with Mrs. Pupul Jayakar. But now when she gives interviews to the press, she says, "I have no idea; I don't even see the list; I have not seen the list." What idea of herself is she selling at the United States? Here is a photostat copy of the news released by the Smithsonian Institution about this Festival of India. This is a press release. "The Smithsonian sets plans for the 1985-86 Festival of India." The press release reports like this: "Mrs. Pupul Jayakar, a Minister of State..."—I repeat it, "a Minister of State"—"...Chairman of the Indian Advisory Committee..." When did she become a Minister of State? And I would like to know which House,

from the Upper House or from the Lower House... (*Interruption by Shri Shrikant Verma*) Vermaji, this is the idea, this is the image, they are projecting of themselves in the United States. This is for their own end for public relations exercise. When they wanted to take two pieces from Allahabad Museum, the Director of the Museum, Dr. Kala, objected to it. Then she corresponded with Chief Minister N. D. Tiwari. He was persuaded, pressurised, and finally they agreed to send those two pieces from the Allahabad Museum. About Tamil Nadu also she corresponded with the Governor, Mr. Khurana. Will they lay on the Table of the House the correspondence which took place between Mrs. Papul Jayakar and the Chief Minister of U.P. and that of the Governor of Tamil Nadu? How is this whole thing published in the United States? This is a photostat copy of that. It has a caption like this: "How (not) to sell a country?". And, Madam, here you see how they have depicted Lord Shiva's **Rudra Thandavam**." This is sheer mockery and they have said:

"China made a hit with ping-pong diplomacy. But India's attempt at image polishing is more like Shiva sleeping on a banana peel."

This is the caption they have given! This is mockery! This is how they project this thing in the U.S. Madam, most of the pieces were selected and 76 pieces have already been sent before even any agreement was entered into with the Government of India. Without any agreement you have sent them already and you have transported them. 76 pieces have been sent already and who is responsible for this? You say that there is an Expert Committee. Will the Government place the Report of this Committee of Experts on the Table of the House? When the honourable Minister replied to this particular question in the other House, he said that it would be a bad precedent. But, Madam, we are very eager

and this is a very sensitive issue. We would like to know the views of the Expert Committee because you are saying that the Expert Committee is also there. It has been submitted that many of these works of art should not have been allowed to go out of the country since they are priceless. Madam, what do they mean by insurance money? Is insurance any substitute for these priceless items and art pieces? If any damage occurs to these pieces, will the insurance money be a real compensation for the loss of these items? The entire consignment to Japan, Madam, was sent by one flight, the entire consignment. Had something happened to the plane or had the plane run into any trouble, I cannot think of the loss at all. So, in a callous manner, you have been doing all these things throughout. Now, there are scholars and experts who wish to visit this country. Whenever they come to the art galleries and museums, they are very much disappointed because for one year or two years or three years, these will not be returned. The Director of the Thanjavur Art Gallery very painfully regretted and complained that most of the tourists and experts who come to see these pieces are very much disappointed because they are not there and they have not been returned at all. So, this will take another two years.

Then, Madam, with regard to the nine Chola bronze idols, some of these idols have been taken and have been removed from the temples. Are you conducting the Festival of India or is it a Festival of Sacrilege? So, this has hurt the sentiments of the religious-minded people in Tamil Nadu. You have removed the idols and you have stated in the other House that you are not responsible because you did not remove those idols. But these idols have been removed. There was a procession. You have violated the provisions of the Antiquities Act because these pieces are required for the observance of religious rites by the people. When the people had to

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

celebrate Ram Navami, you have removed the idol of Lord Rama! So, there was Ram Navami without Rama! And you also say that these are not the idols for worship. But there are no Moolavars also and even the Utsav Murthis have been sent away. But the people have got so much respect for these sacred things, but you have removed these idols and you have sent them away. How did you do this? Madam, something has appeared in the magazine, "Week" and I would like to quote it:

"In the process, the religious and nationalistic sentiments of many have been hurt. Take the case of the deities being worshipped in different temples being removed. All are from Tamil Nadu. Kalyana-mondara idol from Chidambareswar Temple, Vadakkalattur, Rama Lakshmana and Sita from Kalyanavaradaraja Temple, Paruttiyur and Nataraja from Azhiyur Temple, Thanjavur, have been removed. Except for the three idols of the Halyanavafadaraja Temple; the other two idols have been removed even during the Festival of India at London."

How did it happen? They say that the Tamil Nadu Government agreed to this. In the first instance, they never agreed. Then they were persuaded. They exploited the ailing Chief Minister, I should say. Mrs. Papul Jayakar, through Mr. Vajpayee, Ambassador of India in America, persuaded through the doctors the ailing Chief Minister. His illness was exploited. He was pressurized. Then they agreed. (Time bell rings) you have taken the idols from temples. So you hurt the sentiments of the people. What is the idea of taking the priceless art and treasures to France, Japan London, Washington, Maltimore and everywhere? If anything happens to these pieces, what are you going to do? Insurance is there. But will this substitute it? Could you compensate the irreparable loss if anything happens? (Time bell

rings) The whole idea is ridiculous and outrageous. Mrs. Popul Jayakar comes and gives interviews to the Press, saying "I have done it, I do not know anything, I have not seen even the list". But she came here. She visited along with Curators to select idols and select pieces. So I think the Government should take a decision. The priceless pieces which are still here in India should not be transported. You have already done more to hurt the sentiments. (Time bell rings) At this stage you need not transport these objects. This idea of transporting and taking them everywhere, to every capital, is not bringing pride to our country. You are selling this country's heritage and legacy to the West. I understand when the Prime Minister of Poland promised to send a piece from a museum, the Director of that Museum refused to accept this view. Here the Director-General... (Time belling rings)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, you have made your points.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I would like to get replies from the Minister. You have to change the decision. You have to stop with this. You have particularly hurt the feelings and sentiments in Tamil Nadu, the sentiments of the religious minded. Not only religious minded people. I am a rationalist. I do not believe in religion. But we are very much sentimentally attached to these pieces of art, architecture and sculpture. So I would like to know from the Government, seeing the sentiments of the people throughout the country, will the Government reconsider their earlier decision taken?

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Balaram. Only put questions.

**SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala):** I have only two questions. (Interruptions)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Take two or three minutes (Interruptions) You perhaps do not know. One who moves the Calling Attention speaks, and then the others put questions.

**SHRI B. SATYARANAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh):** Questions will arise out of the speech only.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Reddy, I do not need your advice to run the House. You interrupt every time. I know how to run this House.

**SHRI N. E. BALARAM:** I have to put only two questions.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You can put three.

**SHRI N. E. BALARAM:** The Minister has himself stated that six major exhibitions are being organized. According to my information, a large number of items, idols, sculptures and many other varieties of rare items are being collected and are being sent for these Exhibitions. I would like to know how the selection was made. According to my information, although we have got historians of international repute, we have got archaeologists of international repute and we have eminent statisticians none of them was consulted and none of them was there in the selection committee. If that is so how are we going to exploit the cultural and historical heritage of our own country? I am for popularising the traditional historical heritage of our country in other parts of the world. But how are you going to do it with this kind of selection?

Secondly Madam, we know what is happening especially in South

India? Some of the rare materials are being collected and sold in the international market. I do not mind saying that here is an international gang to purchase some of these rare varieties of art from the temples. They have found it convenient. That is the real position today. Some of the old Nataraja figures are missing because of this international trade. There are people to buy these art pieces. Therefore, what is the guarantee that all these items will be returned? Instead of sending the originals, why don't you send their replicas or models? I am afraid that the materials taken out for the exhibition may not be returned. What is the guarantee that these items will be returned? These are my questions.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Shri Mohapatra. He is not here. Shri Sankar Prasad Mitra.

**SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA (West Bengal):** Madam Deputy Chairman, I personally do not share the views of the other speakers that this proposal should be abandoned. On the contrary, I welcome this proposal for presentation of India to two of the most advanced countries in the world. I would put to the hon. Minister only two questions and after I have put these questions, I would explain as to why I am putting these questions. My first question is: Have replicas of these art objects selected for despatch been attempted to be made? The second question is: what steps are being taken to make the common people of the countries to which these art objects are going to appreciate the rich cultural heritage of India?

You are aware, Madam, that the Minister has said in his statement that 441 items had been selected out of which 76 items have been rejected by him or withdrawn by him. The hon. Minister has also said that the objects which have been select-

[Shri Shankar Prasad Mitra]

ed are those which are well known in the world of art and constitute an insignificant proportion of the art work and master-pieces available in our country. I want to know whether you made any attempts to make replicas of the 365 items which you are despatching to the United States or to France. That is my first question. Am I clear now? Now, the reason why I am putting this question is that, as far as I know, the British Museum will never allow the Elgin Marbles acquired from Greece to go out of Britain. They would not allow the Kohinoor to go out of Britain. They would not allow Ranjit Singh's Throne to go out of the Victoria Albert Museum. In France also, as far as I am aware—I speak subject to correction—the French Government never allowed Mona Lisa to be taken out of France. They have never allowed famous paintings to go out of France. (Interruption) If I am not correct, kindly correct me because you are an intellectual giant and I am not. Now, the point is that some time ago, I had visited the National Art Gallery at Washington, and the Supervisor of that Gallery told me, "all these paintings that you are seeing in these various galleries, I must warn you, are not original paintings. But it requires a genius

to understand that these are replicas and not the originals." The National Art Gallery of Washington is full of replicas. So, instead of choosing the objects themselves, we could have found replicas to be sent to these countries. Take, for instance, the Rhodda exhibition that was shown in Delhi as well as in Calcutta. I was authoritatively informed that in this

Rhodda exhibition all the items of art that were exhibited of that great sculptor were replicas and they were not original items. Therefore, insurance is no consolation. It is a very

poor consolation and sometimes it is difficult to estimate the value of art objects for the purpose of insurance. Many countries exchange exhibitions but they rely on replicas. Why are we not adopting the same procedure? The reasons why I am putting the second question is that I am a very small person. I never had any opportunity of meeting the gracious lady, who is the Chairpersons of the Exhibition. But I had heard her on the television in an interview given by her, I believe, last month, She is a highly cultured, educated and sophisticated lady. Her language, expressions and diction were perfect. Her high philosophical approach to thousands of years of India's cultural history cannot but be praised and admired. But, Madam, in the United States in the United Kingdom and in France—of course, I do know the French language—I have had occasions to come in contact with ordinary folk; common people. It is true that that percentage of literacy is much higher in these countries than in our country. But the cultural level of the common man was the same as the cultural level in our country. If you go to the village folk in our country this will teach you more about the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagwadgita than we possibly know ourselves. Therefore in order to make India acquainted with the common people, simplicity of expression, simplicity of language, simplicity of presentation is necessary. I would like to know what steps the Government of India is taking to make these exhibitions appreciable to the common man of average intellectual level of these countries.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think the Mona Lisa went out and so did the Tutankhamen. Yes, Prof. Lakshmananna.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: If I have made a wrong statement, the hon. Minister is an authority on culture, he will correct me (Interruptions).

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: But so far as the British Museum is concerned, I was a student there. I lived there for many years. I know that Elgin Marbles, the Kohinoor and Ranjit Singhs Throne were never allowed to go out.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They do not belong to them. Interruptions. I am not defending anybody. Tutan-khamen and Mona Lisa did went out, I am not defending them.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Madam Deputy Chairman. in a special mention two days back I raised this particular problem, and raised some of the questions there. And, without being repetitive, I would only like to raise questions other than what I had raised in that special mention. Firstly, I do agree with the Minister that the culture of India, the cultural art effect of India or art objects of India should have an opportunity to be displayed elsewhere so that more and more number of people in the world at large come to know of Indian culture. There is no doubt about it. But does it mean that the world should know even before India knows? That is my first question. I am referring to 117 pieces which were discovered at Sanghol, out of which Mrs. or Miss Pupul Jayakar selected five of them even before they have been shown in this country. As a result there was a furore. Only now the National Gallery of Modern Art has agreed to have a display of those 117 items in Delhi in the month of May. Therefore, my question is: Before those art objects are classified, are analysed, are properly looked after, is it necessary that we should be in a hurry, because somebody takes a fancy for those things to transport the objects to the exhibition that is likely to be held in

Washington? That is my second question I am glad that the Minister has stated that Pasupati sev, an Dancing girl of Mohanjedaro are not the objects which have to be transported, which were a part of the 441 art objects. At least these have been excluded for which I am happy. However, one point which has to be kept in mind is regarding the painting of 61 contemporary artistes from the National Gallery of Modern Art. These are being exported and they have not been insured. I would like to ask the Minister whether they have been subsequently insured or whether they are being exported without insurance? As it is, if these 61 pieces of contemporary artistes get lost, get affected what will be the way in which to restore the art pieces of these matters? It is true, the works of these modern artists will be known the world over; perhaps there would be greater publicity, greater appreciation of these artists; there is no doubt about it. But how is it that the Government did not think it fit to insure these 61 objects? If they had been insured, I would be very happy to have that information from the Minister.

While we appreciate the need for displaying the cultural art objects of this country, does it mean that the objects which are also having a second connotation for them, should also be taken out? I am referring to those idols which are not merely art objects, because they are exquisite art pieces, but also are idols which are being worshipped. Therefore, have we not to make a distinction between these two categories and indiscriminately—whether hurting this group's or that group's sentiments—send all the objects displaying our art, even at the cost of religious sentiments of the people? If that is the case, is it the policy of the Government, in the name of promotion of art outside the country, also to make inroads into the expression of religious freedom of a particular religious group?



[Prof. C. Lakshmanan]

In the Golden Eye Exhibition, which is another exhibition, they are going to display various art forms, especially the designs. How is it that designers from all over the world have been invited to copy those art forms to be exported, to bridge between the cultural heritage of India and outside? Was it not possible for Indian designers, who are also available, to take up this task? What is the sanctity of having art designers from all over the world being invited, spending so much of money?

Finally, on this exhibition, we are spending Rs. 5 crores out of which Rs. 1.5 crores are being spent only on publicity as per the statement of Mrs. Pupul Jayakar. If that is the magnitude of expenditure on these exhibitions, what is the return? The Minister may say that returns cannot be always calculated in terms of money. If that is so, what type of return can we expect from these Festivals of India in Washington and Paris?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am faced with a fundamental difficulty. This new nomenclature, Minister of Culture, is a recent innovation. The present Minister has very little to do with whatever has already been done and my difficulty is to ask him for clarification, or to address him about matters with which he has, in his tenure, had very little to do. He is really having to carry the blame for other people's doings. Having said that, I would rather think that this whole question of festivals has gone somewhat over the top. Fundamentals about 'why festivals', 'for whom the festival', 'by whom' are questions which are perhaps larger questions that we need to address ourselves about but at a subsequent or a different stage. I would however like to take up my esteemed colleague, Justice Mitra, when he, in his very fine presentation, talked about France and the

United States etc. being advanced countries. To my mind, United States is a developing country. It is inhabited largely by adolescents and this whole exercise that we are undertaking to educate a nation of adolescents to me appears to be an incredible exercise. It is a developing country. Let them develop at their own pace. I was struck by the enthusiasm with which this country is looking forward to this exhibition and it is only now that it comes to light and it substantiates what I feel about the U.S.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: France is not a developing country in that sense.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am talking about a nation of adolescents. Here, this is what a gentleman from there says: He says: "If a Missouri farmer wants to attract the mule's attention, he hits the mule between the eyes with a two-by-four." This is what India wants to do to the U.S., by organising the festival of India," says this fellow called Ted Tanen, what a very strange name. But they have a tendency to name themselves strangely. This is what Ted Tanen says, a former foreign service officer and now the American Executive Director of the Indo-US Sub-Commission on Education and Culture. This Tanen has got something to do with the exhibition which is taking place. If even he, Ted Tanen expresses this view, who then is looking forward with enthusiasm, in regard to India's attempts, at Indian taxpayer's cost, to take the country to a nation of adolescents. Naturally, then, one begins to wonder. Madam, I cannot labour on these things very much longer.

A question was asked of a very eminent lady, of a very prominent Indian, who has long years of service to India; Mr. Mitra, rightly, was full some in praise of that lady. She headed the organisation, earlier headed the organisation which took us to U.K., with which country we

have had an unequal relationship of sorts for the past 250 years. We need not have taken this even to U.K. There is no need to take India to U.K. when Victoria and Albert is already so full of Indian art objects that their problem is actually one of displaying space; they do not have space to display them.

Be that as it may. That event took place. That got over. This very eminent lady was recently asked a question 'what is going to be achieved by these two festivals?' Very graphically, she describes—I am quoting her words 'India will explode'. I cannot help relating what she said to what Tanen says. Here, the whole attempt of this business of exhibitions, this business of festivals, is to make India "explode". If this is so, then, I have serious doubts about the whole concept of festivals.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Explore or explode?

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH:** Explode. Madam, e x p l o d e. 'd' for Delhi. I think, this is very strange. She has said, the purpose of the festival is to make India 'explode'. There are a number of suggestions made that because of this, a great deal of benefits....

**SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA** (Madhya Pradesh): It is a beautiful phrase.

**SHRI JASWANT SINGH:** It is a matter of subjectivity again, which is precisely the point. The whole question of these festivals has been made a subjective choice. My eminent colleague, a functionary, a high functionary of the ruling party, unnecessarily wanting to define matters cultural—I am not being critical of the Government—says 'it is a beautiful phrase'. It is a subjective assessment which he, of course, is perfectly entitled to hold.

To come back to the fall-out effects of these exhibitions, we are informed by the Government, there is no way of assessing what happens after these

exhibitions. Mr. Swaraj Paul, a certain gentleman, famous, infamous, in various categories, in this country, has said this, commenting on what Ted Tanen has said. He had a great deal to do with the festival in Great Britain. He was, as somebody described, the god-father of the Indian cultural festival in London. He has said, India could have benefited from the London festival by no less than, he quotes the figure, 400 million dollars, in trade and tourism. But he says, they lost it because India's private sector did not follow it up and behaved as if they have nothing to do with the happenings in London. This is what brings me to the question. You are attempting to project India. Which India? Is it a subjective India of one's personal assessment? India is not just a country. As I said on other occasions, we are not the first world, we are not the second world and it would be a mistake to call India as a third world country. India is a world of its own. There is only one other country in the world which can be a world of its own and that is China. If a world of its own, a country like India, as diverse, as multi-faceted, as chaotically, cheerfully confused, as beautiful, as incomparable as India if you attempt to put into the confined packages of tourism and trade and attempt to explain away festivals by suggesting that we will benefit by way of tourism and trade, then I have serious objections. Which India is being attempted to be transported to this land of adolescence? I have serious objections because I find not only it is objectionable, in fact, it is degrading.

I do not know who was consulted. what decision-making process came to the conclusion that such arrangements be made. *Madaris* are being taken; dancing bhallos are being taken, I am informed that sword swallows are being taken to this land of adolescence. Faced by all this I really do not know which India are we trying to have a festival of,

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

and transporting of all these shows will mean immense expenses to the Indian Exchquer and to the Indian tax-payer. Therefore, I have to make a point here; that this whole problem arises when you entrust authority without responsibility. A very eminent Indian who is heading the organising committee has been empowered as the authority, but she is not answerable to anybody. A similar situation prevails in the Ministry of External Affairs, but that is altogether a different question. In this particular matter, you have already rung the Bell, I would like, therefore, to take up the Minister's statement and come to my specific questions. A lot of people have talked about archaeological items. I do not want to repeat all that. That point, I hope, has already been made by the Minister and perhaps he has attempted to answer. My first question relates to what the Minister says here. The process of selection included the examination of exhibits by experts. In an interview, this very eminent lady was asked a question as to when the Committee selected them and her reply was that the festival committee did not select them either. Dr. Pramod Chander, who is the quest curator for the National Gallery, a quest curator, a citizen of the United States and a Professor of Indian Art at Harvard, went round the country, making lists, he came to the Director, National Museum, through the Cultural Affairs Ministry and discussions took place etc. between them. Now I would like to ask the Minister, was the entire responsibility for selecting items placed on just one individual, as has been specified here by no less a person than the chairman of the organiject to who selects them and I though tee? I have no objection I do not objeict to who selects them and I though have not had the benefit of meeting this gentleman, I am sure he is very qualified, I am sure he is very well meaning and I am sure he is, well very eminent in his field. I, as

a layman, would not comment on the ability or otherwise of this gentleman. I comment on the method of entrusting just one man to go round museums and make lists. I would like it to be clarified whether he is a U.S. citizen or he is an Indian citizen. If he is an Indian teaching at Harvard, could not have Indians living in India be involved with the process of selection?

My next question, therefore, leads me to an item which has not been covered by any other speaker and that is about the performing artists. Perforce when I come to performing artists, I cannot help quoting because it will be doing grave injustice to a great many artists, most of them very beautiful women and I would not want to earn their ire.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Let the debate continue after lunch.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): Questions can be completed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But there are many other speakers. Mr. Verma, Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya. Shri Gurupadaswamy.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: But let him complete.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, he can complete.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): There are other names apart from those you uttered.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your name is not there.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I submitted the name of Dr. Poddar.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him continue. Meanwhile I will sort out your problem.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: In framing my questions I have to quote these performing artistes. All of them are such beautiful women that I cannot make an exception and leave any out.

भरत-नाट्यम की प्रसिद्ध कलाकार  
यामिनी कृष्णामूर्ति महोत्सव के लिए

कलाकारों के चुनाव को बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण मानती हैं। उन्होंने चुनाव समिति पर पक्षपात का खुला आरोप लगाया है। यामिनी कृष्णमूर्ति ने कहा कि इस महोत्सव को सभी अधिकार सरकार के पास हैं इस लिए उससे जुड़े सरकारी नोकरशाही आत्म-केंद्रित होकर बैठ गए हैं। उन्हें कला और संस्कृति से तो कुछ लेना-देना है नहीं।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal) in the Chair.]

कथक की जानी मानी कलाकार उमा शर्मा की प्रतिक्रिया भी यामिनी जैसी ही तीखी है। उनका कहना है कि पूरा आयोजन इक्का-दुक्का लोगों का षड्यंत्र हो कर रह गया है। ये लोग कला के नाम पर अपनी ख्याति में लगे हैं।...

भरतनाट्यम और कुचिपुडी की विख्यात कलाकार स्वामुन्दरी ने काफी आवेश के साथ महोत्सव की आलोचना की। उन्होंने कहा कि कला और संस्कृति आनंद की चीज़ है, लेकिन आज वह राजनीति के चिनीने खेल में फंसाई जा रही है।...

ओडिसी के वरिष्ठ गुरु मायाधर राउत अमेरिकी महोत्सव की बात सुनते ही उत्तेजित हो उठे। उन्होंने कहा कि वे 35 साल से कला से जुड़े रहे हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने नोकरशाही का ऐसा नंगा नाच कभी नहीं देखा जैसा इस महोत्सव में दिखाई पड़ रहा है।

माणिपुरी नृत्य के गुरु सिंहजीतसिंह ने कहा कि उन्हें तो आयोजक नोटिस में ही नहीं लेते। झबेरी बहनों को मौका मिलता रहता है क्योंकि उनके संपर्क सरकार में ऊपर तक है। ओसिडी नृत्यांगना किरण सहगल ने सरकारी तंत्र पर सीधा हमला किया। उन्होंने कहा कि इसमें बैठे हुए लोग कलाकारों को अंधेरे में रखते हैं। ये दृष्टान्त देते इसलिए आवश्यक है कि इनके साथ मेरा प्रश्न जुड़ा है।

In the selection of performing artistes who are to go for these Festivals, what criteria were applied? You say that a selection process was gone through. What have you to say in reply to these specific charges made not by one eminent Indian

but a number of eminent performing artistes.

I have a few other specific questions. What is the experience, Sir, of damage to earlier items which might have been sent by us to other festivals? Is it correct that from your own home State, for an earlier exhibition when the Bhubaneswar Museum sent an item for exhibition abroad, a piece of sculpture was returned damaged? Is it correct that the Trivandrum Museum sent Pannicker's paintings and they were returned in a totally destroyed unusable condition? Is it correct that from Delhi Museum an item—one large Bidri Surahi—which was sent out for a festival came back broken? There is a point in why I am asking all this for information. In the light of the experience that we have had about artefacts sent out for festivals/exhibitions abroad, what is our knowledge about the damage caused to them? And these are some of the examples that I gave.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please be brief.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am putting my questions very briefly. I come now to the question of costs. The Minister has talked about the Tut-Ankh-Amen exhibition, of Chinese art treasures etc. Is it not correct that when we sent our exhibition to Japan—about which of course I have objections in principle—the total costs of the exhibition were paid plus a sum amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs was also paid to India? In comparison to that how much is France paying, whether it is to the Ministry of Culture, or to the National Museum or to the respective State Museums from which these items are being sent out? What is the United States paying? It does not suffice to say that the United States is going to spend so much money and we are going to spend so much money. Is it also not correct, Sir, that to have our exhibits displayed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York—of which I am a member—we have already committed US dollar 100,000 out of which we have paid 40,000 dollars already?

There is one other question that I have. When these items are sent to the United

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am

States, per force—because of very strict food regulations in that country—fumigation is done because they go in packing cases, etc. Has this aspect of fumigation of rare art objects—fumigation essentially by pesticides and chemicals—been examined and, if yes, what is the result of it?

What is the time estimate in the Ministry of Culture's possession for which these exhibits will be absent from India and for which period Indians will not be having the pleasure of viewing them? Does the Government of India make a distinction between objects of worship and objects of religious observance? There is a specific reason why I am asking this question, because the Minister in his reply might say that some of the bronzes that have been sent out are not actually directly objects of worship. Even the Act recognizes this, that there are objects of worship and there are objects of religious observance.

Finally, Sir, I would like to conclude by saying that in the other House, a dear friend of mine—and a colleague—mentioned the description of Shiva as "The Erotic Ascetic." The concept of Shiva is unique to Indian philosophical thought. It is Shiva who embodies androgyny; bi-unity; it is Shiva who is Trimurti; it is Shiva who, in the process of conquering Kama, opened his Third Eye. When we attempt to project Shiva and when we accept Shiva's description as an "Erotic Ascetic," I, as a Hindu, by rationalizing, may not find serious objections to how a land of adolescents may describe my pantheon of gods. I cannot, however, refrain from exercising my function as a representative of the people and saying that a great amount of hurt and harm is done to their sentiments when we contribute, when we subscribe, when we participate in a festival which not only describes India's festival as "Kicking the Mule", "Four Square", "Between the Eyes" but goes to the extent of a description of the Hindu pantheon of Gods in comic book style. Then there are serious

objections to this whole exercise of the Festival of India—for whom, by whom and for what purpose?

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): There are four more speakers. I would just like to know from hon. Members whether we adjourn for lunch or continue.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Lunch....  
(Interruptions).

श्री श्रीकांत वर्मा : आपने इनको सुना मेरे को भी सुन लीजिए । पांच ही मिनट लूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष ( श्री पवन कुमार बंसल ) : अभी चार मੈम्बर और बोलने वाले हैं और उसके बाद मिनिस्टर साहब बोलेंगे। इसमें टाइम लगेगा इसलिए आप लंच के बाद बोल लीजियेगा । ( व्यवधान )

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: I will take only five minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Please come after lunch. The House stands adjourned for lunch till 2.00 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at ten minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock. The Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shrikant Verma.

श्री श्रीकांत वर्मा : उपसभापति महोदया, महान् कलाकृतियां सिर्फ संग्रह के लिए नहीं होतीं । वे प्रदर्शन के लिए होती हैं । कला की रचना हो जाने के बाद वह समाज और संसार की हो जाती हैं । अगर वह समाज और संसार की नहीं हुई तो महान् कलाकृति नहीं है । संस्कृतियों और कला का आदान, प्रदान कोई सी-दो-सी सालोंसे नहीं हो रहा है

बल्कि पिछले पच्चीस सौ सालों से हो रहा है। ग्रीक और भारत के बीच न जाने कितना आदान-प्रदान हुआ हमारी गान्धार शैली का ? फिर उसके बाद ग्रीकों यमनों और शकों का प्रभाव पड़ा। यह सब इस बात का प्रमाण है कि हिन्दुस्तान ने कला के आदान-प्रदान के बारे में एक खुला दृष्टिकोण पिछले पच्चीस सौ सालों से रखा है। यह उसकी परम्परा रही है। उसका साहित्य बाहर जाता रहा। उसके साहित्य पर प्रभाव पड़ता रहा। उसके नृत्य की छाप दूसरे देशों की नृत्य-शैलियों पर पड़ी और उसकी नृत्य शैली पर दूसरे देशों की नृत्य शैलियों की छाप पड़ी। चित्र-कला तो आप जानते ही हैं कि आज की तारीख में चित्रकला काफी हद तक पश्चिम से प्रभावित है, जिसको हमारे मिनिस्केर्स की कला ने भी प्रभावित किया था। तीसरा सरकार ने, या जिस भी समिति ने यह फैसला लिया कि कलाकृतियाँ भारत की महान कलाकृतियाँ विदेश भेजी जायें, विशेष रूप से फ्रांस और अमेरिका, जिसको मुझे आश्चर्य है कि हमारे मित्र जसवंत सिंह जी ने विकासशील देश कहा, सुखद आश्चर्य हुआ। तो यह फैसला सही था। 1982 में इंग्लैंड में भारत महोत्सव हुआ था। दो बार मैं उसे देखने गया और दोनों बार मैंने वहाँ के विद्वानों से, कला समीक्षकों से और चित्रकारों से बातचीत की। उन्होंने यह कहा कि

This is the re-discovery of India.

किसी ने आज डिसकवरी आफ इंडिया की बात की है। शायद हमारे मित्र गोपाल सामी ने। लेकिन डिसकवरी काफी नहीं होती। एक बार खोज कर लेने के बाद खोज समाप्त नहीं हो जाती। हर साल साल बाद, पचास साल बाद, दस साल बाद हमको अपने आपकी खोज करनी पड़ती है और दूसरों की खोज करनी पड़ती है और दूसरे हमारी खोज करते हैं। इस सिलेसिले में कोई भी इस तरह का आयोजन इस खोज का भी एक प्रयत्न है। आज फोकस या जो रोशनी हिन्दुस्तान पर है, हिन्दुस्तान की संस्कृति के बारे में हिन्दुस्तान की कला के बारे में तमाम दुनिया के लोग जानना चाहते हैं। हमारे मित्र जसवंत सिंह जी ने और भी दूसरे मित्रों का कहना है कि

सिर्फ वह ऐलिट्स तक सीमित है। कितने लोग उसको देखना चाहते हैं ? लेकिन यह गलत है। ऐलिट तो आप हैं। लेकिन ऐलिट होते हुए भी आप में से कितनों की दिलचस्पी कला में है, मैं इसके बारे में निश्चित नहीं हूँ। जब मूर्तियाँ चुराई जाती हैं तो कितने हमारे मित्र हैं जिन्होंने आज यहाँ वक्तव्य दिया, क्या उस वक्त उनके कानों में जूँ रेंगती है या उनके कान खड़े होते हैं या कोई पत्ता गिरता है ; जब मंदिर के मंदिर तोड़ दिये जाते हैं तभी भी कोई प्रोटेस्ट नहीं होता कोई विरोध का स्वर नहीं होता। लेकिन जब यहाँ की मूर्तियाँ और कलाकृतियाँ और वे कलाकृतियाँ जो कि इस शताब्दी तक ठहरी हैं और कलाकृतियों की कसौटी पर खरी उतरी हैं जब उनको बाहर ले जा रहे हैं तो यह कहा जा रहा कि यह परंपरा नहीं रही। यह बिल्कुल गलत है। मोनोलिसा ले जाई गई थी। हमारे बुजुर्ग मित्र श्री शंकर प्रसाद मित्र ने कहा कि मोनोलिसा नहीं ले जाई गई थी। यह बिल्कुल गलत है। मोनोलिसा जापान ले जाई गई थी और इसी तरह मार्टिन आर्ट के प्रदर्शन के लिये कृतियों पेरिस में हर दूसरे तीसरे साल बाहर भेजी जाती हैं। न्यूयार्क म्यूजियम और मार्टिन आर्ट अपनी कलाकृतियों को दूसरे देशों में लगातार भेजता है। अभी हमारे यहाँ पन्द्रह साल पहले पिकासो की न जाने कितनी कलाकृतियाँ एक साथ प्रदर्शित की गई थी। शायद आपको भी जानकारी हो कि एक एक पेंटिंग की कीमत एक करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा थी। आखिरकार जब कलाकृतियाँ बर्नगी तो उनका प्रदर्शन होगा ही। उनका प्रदर्शन अगर होता है तो हम अपनी संस्कृति का प्रचार करते हैं। हम अपनी कलाकृतियाँ को बाहर दिखायेंगे तो दुनिया के लोग जानेंगे कि हमारे यहाँ महान कलाकार हुए हैं और हमारे यहाँ महान कलाकृतियाँ हैं। क्या हम अपनी कला पर पर्दा डाल दें ? हमारे मित्र गोपालसामी जी इससे भी एक कदम आगे निकल गये। पहले तो वे और उनका दल भाषा की राजनीति में उलझता रहा। अब उन्होंने कला की राजनीति में उलझा दिया यह कहकर कि तमिलनाडु की जनता इससे बहुत दुखी

[ श्री श्रीकांत वर्मा ]

होगी। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि तमिलनाडु की जनता के लिये इससे अधिक प्रसन्नता का विषय और क्या हो सकता है कि चोला ब्रांजेंज और वहाँ की जो कलाकृतियाँ हैं, मूर्तियाँ हैं, वहाँ का शिल्प है वह बाहर दिखाया जाता है तो यह बताता है कि तमिलनाडु की कला की परम्परा कितनी विराट और विशाल रही है। मीनाक्षी के मंदिर की एक झलक अगर बाहर मिलती है तो इससे तमिलनाडु का गौरव बढ़ता है। इसलिये यह आरोप लगाना कि यह समिति विद्रुप और कुरूप प्रस्तुत करना चाहता है मैं समझता हूँ सरासर गलत है। वास्तविकता तो यह है मुझे क्षमा करें यह कहने के लिए कि कला जगत की बारीक जानकारियों से बहुत से लोग वंचित है। वे यह नहीं जानते कि कला कि दुनियाँ में खास तौर से यहां दिल्ली में बहुत सी लाबीज काम कर रही हैं। आज एक पेंटिंग 50 हजार रुपये में बिकती है। वह करंसी बन गई है। लोग इनकम टैक्स बचाने के लिए खरीदते हैं। इसमें पेंटर का भी निहित स्वार्थ पैदा हो गया है, मूर्तिकारों का स्वार्थ पैदा हो गया है, एक बाजार है कला का वह बाजार आज हल्ला कर रहा है, शोर कर रहा है अखबार के जरिये

I am sorry that some of my colleagues have been taken for a ride.

उन्हीं लोगों के जरिये हमले का बिन्दु क्या है? श्रीमती पुपुल जयकर एक बड़ी महिला है। न जाने कितनी उनकी सेवाएँ हैं। पिछले 50 साल से लगातार कला के लिए इस देश में अगर कोई व्यक्ति काम करता रहा है तो वह श्रीमती पुपुल जयकर हैं। उनका निहित स्वार्थ क्या हो सकता है सिवाय इसके कि इस देश की कला आगे बढ़े इस देश के कला के बारे में, संस्कृति के बारे में लोग जानें लेकिन हमले का बिन्दु समाचार पत्रों में भी पुपुल जयकर हैं और संसद् में भी पुपुल जयकर हैं। क्योंकि हमारे मित्र समाचार पढ़ते हैं उनके पास कलाकार आते हैं, शिकायतें करते हैं लेकिन उपसभापति महोदया, सब को प्रसन्न नहीं किया जा सकता। भारत में समस्त कला महान नहीं है, कुछ कचरा भी

है, कुछ थर्ड रेट भी हैं उस थर्ड रेट को बाहर नहीं ले जाया जा सकता है। कुछ महिलाएँ जो अपने जमाने में महान नर्तकियाँ रहीं होंगी आज वे वृद्ध हो चुकी हैं। वे कला गुरु कहलाने के लायक हैं लेकिन नृत्यांगना कहलाने के लायक नहीं हैं। उनका शरीर पहले की तरह नहीं रहा है। बहुत से कलाकार हैं जो कि झुक गये हैं वे अपने जमाने में महान रहे होंगे लेकिन उनका क्या होगा जो रास्ते में खड़े हैं, नौजवान कलाकार प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं कि उनकी कलाकृतियाँ भी बाहर जाएंगी। क्या उनको अवसर नहीं दिया जाना चाहिये? लेकिन जिस तरह से संगठित ढंग से प्रचार हो रहा है मुझे भय है कि कहीं सरकार अपना निर्णय परिवर्तित न कर दे कहीं यह फेस्टीवल कमेटी अपने निर्णय को परिवर्तित न कर दे और उन नौजवानों को विदेश जाने से उन नौजवान कलाकारों को अपनी कलाकृतियाँ प्रदर्शित करने के लिए मना न कर दे जिन्हें पहली बार यह मौका मिल रहा है। जहाँ तक प्राचीन कला का सवाल है मैंने उदाहरण दिया मोनालिसा का कि वह भेजी जा चुकी है उसके इलावा हमारी अपनी भी कलाकृतियाँ कोई पहली बार नहीं गई हैं।

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA:

You are repeating Mona Lisa. But what about the other examples that I have given?

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: Which other example?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Kohinoor and so many other things.

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA: Ranjit Singh's throne, Elgin marbles.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: If they have not been taken around, I can only chide the British Government for keeping them as private property. But then that is their attitude. Our attitude is different. We are much more democratic, we are much more proud, we are much more secure about our culture. We feel that our culture is to be exhibited, is to be taken round the world, and is not to

be kept in the shelves of the Reserve Bank.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You want to export gods also?

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): By that if you earn foreign exchange, what is wrong with it?

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): God is everywhere.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: You see, you are reminding me of the fable about Alexander. When Alexander came to India, he asked the King here whether he would like to export certain philosophers. The King then said: "Of course. It is not a question of export but also of import. We will export and also import, have a lot of exchanges, intellectual exchanges between Greece and India." If things were in my hands, I would exchange gods also. Why not? What is bad about exchanging gods? If the replicas of gods are being exported for a short period, what is bad about it? Let them see. For them it would not be just gods; it would be great works of art. Let them see what our approach to art is, what our approach towards nature is, how we have conceived universe. That is all reflected in your temples of South India. Don't feel offended. You belong to that particular State and in your speech you mentioned about that State. That is why I am making a reference to it. I am very proud of Tamil Nadu, I am very proud of its culture. Why should you not also feel proud? Why should you not feel that this has to be exhibited abroad?...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Let them come to Tamil Nadu and see them at their proper places?

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: Will you pay their passage? Therefore, I would only like to say let us not think in narrow terms. Art is the only thing which liberates man, art is a liberation of life, art is a great moment of life, art immortalises death, art immortalises life. Let us not confine it to this debate which would be forgotten tomorrow. Those

great works of art which are being taken to the United States and France, I am sure that they will serve even the political purpose, what to talk of the cultural purpose, more than all the ambassadors of the world combined. So let us send our ambassadors abroad. These works of art are our ambassadors, greater ambassadors of India than the greatest—forgive me, Mr. Narayanan. I would only request the honourable Minister not to be swayed away by the pressures and pressure moves, not to reconsider this thing. I would like to know categorically whether the Government is reconsidering these things, whether the Government, in the wake of all this hulla-baloo, is going to revise its decision. Thank you.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, यह जो विषय है, यह बहुत ही संवेदनाशील है क्योंकि विदेश में यानी फ्रांस और अमेरिका में हमारी कला और संस्कृति का ही प्रदर्शन नहीं होना है बल्कि जो पूज्य देवताओं की मूर्तियां हैं उनके प्रदर्शन का भी सवाल है।

हमारा देश, एक धर्मनिरपेक्ष देश है, हर व्यक्ति को छूट है कि अपने अपने धर्म को माने और दूसरे स्थान पर किसी दूसरे की धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस पहुंचाने का अधिकार किसी को नहीं है। न किसी नागरिक को है न इस देश की किसी सरकार को है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : धर्म से धर्म को ठेस लग जाए तो अलग बात है।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : यहां पर मान्यवर जो मूर्तियां थी, भगवान राम, भगवान लक्ष्मण और देवी सीता की, वे इस देश से बाहर न ले जाई जायें इसके लिए जो कामकोटि के शंकराचार्य थे : उन्होंने भी विरोध किया था और समाचार पत्रों में उन्होंने एक वक्तव्य दिया जो 11 अप्रैल के "हिन्दु" में प्रकाशित हुआ है कि इससे धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस पहुंचेगी



## [ श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय ]

एक विशेष धर्म के लोगों की, इसलिए इस देश की मूर्तियों को बाहर न ले जाया जाये ।

इसके अतिरिक्त इस विभाग के जो एक्सपर्ट्स हैं जैसे राष्ट्रीय म्यूजियम के प्रो० सन्धो चौधरी या श्री लक्ष्मी पी० सिहारे इन्होंने भी इसका विरोध किया और इस लिल-सिले में सन 1972 का जो आर्ट ट्रेजर्स एक्ट उसमें भी शायद इसी कारण से व्यवस्था की गयी थी कि जो कलाकृतियां किसी धर्म से संबंधित हैं उनका एक्विजिशन न किया जाये और इसलिए मैं उस आर्ट ट्रेजर एक्ट की धारा 19, उपधारा 7 की ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा

"The power of compulsory acquisition conferred by the section shall not extend to any object being an anti-quity of art treasure used for bona fide religious observances"

जो लोग शासन में हैं या जिन्होंने यह निर्णय लिया उनके पीछे यह मूलभूत भावना थी कि ये जो कृतियां हैं ये केवल कला कृतियां हैं' भारतीय संस्कृति से केवल इनका संबंध है । और इनका इस देश के धर्म या किसी संप्रदाय के लोगों से, ऐसे लोगों से जो धर्म में विश्वास करते हैं उनसे नहीं है । एक तो क्योंकि मैंने शुरू में निवेदन किया कि बहुत ही संवेदनशील विषय था । इसलिए सरकार का इस विषय में सारे राष्ट्र को और कम से कम जो इस देश के महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति हैं, महत्वपूर्ण राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं, उनको विश्वास में लेना चाहिए । लोकदल के अध्यक्ष और भारत के भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री चौधरी चरण सिंह इस विषय में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के पास एक पत्र 8 अप्रैल, 1985 को भेजा था । मैं उस पूरे पत्र की चर्चा में नहीं जाऊंगा, लेकिन केवल उनके जो अंतिम चार वाक्य हैं, उनको पढ़ना चाहूंगा और यह पत्र 8 अप्रैल को लिखा गया था, जबकि मूर्तियां भेजी नहीं गई थीं बल्कि उनके बारे में समाचार-पत्रों में और अन्य स्थानों में चर्चा चल रही थी । प्रधान मंत्री जी को अंत में लिखा गया

"It is my considered view that the proposed shipping of our priceless treasures entails unacceptable risk. I am sure that you will also share our concern the uncalled for risk that these symbols of our priceless national heritage and religion are being exposed to. I would request you to please get the matter thoroughly inquired into and call a meeting of all the parties to discuss this matter in all its bearings."

लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जैसा कि पूर्व में सुना था और इस भ्रम में निर्णय लिया गया था कि ये केवल कला और संस्कृति की कृतियां हैं, उसी प्रकार का उत्तर आया दिनांक 16 अप्रैल, 1985 को, जबकि 14 या 15 अप्रैल को कुछ मूर्तियां जहाज के द्वारा विदेश भेजी जा चुकी थीं । पत्र की केवल पांच गक्तियों का उद्धरण करना चाहूंगा क्योंकि उन्होंने उसमें केवल कला और संस्कृति की कृतियों का उद्धरण किया है

"All countries these days attach great importance to holding exhibitions abroad of their treasures. Most meticulous care is taken about their safety. I am sure that there should be no apprehension about the safety of our art objects which are being sent for display in France and the USA. This is not the first time that such objects are being loaned to reputed museums and galleries for short-term display."

तो मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि जिन लोगों ने निर्णय लिया, उन लोगों के जिस विभाग के एक्सपर्ट थे, उनकी सलाह के खिलाफ निर्णय लिया । जो हमारे देश के धार्मिक नेता हैं जैसे शंकराचार्य जी, उन्होंने जो सलाह दी उसको भी नहीं माना गया और जो इस देश के मंदिरों में मूर्तियां हैं उनको प्रतिस्थापित किया जाता है, हमारे धर्म में इस बात का प्रावधान है, शास्त्रों में इस बात का प्रावधान है कि मूर्तियों को जिस मंदिर में वे प्रतिस्थापित की जायेंगी, वहां से उनको हटाया नहीं जायेगा । हां जब वे मूर्तियां खंडित हो जायेंगी तो उन मूर्तियों का केवल विसर्जन किसी पवित्र नदी में हो सकता है । इसलिए

मेरा निवेदन यह है और मैंने शुरू में भी निवेदन किया कि जो आर्ट प्रिजर्वेशन एक्ट है 1972 का उसकी उपधाराओं का उल्लंघन किया गया है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहूंगा कि इस संबंध में जो आर्ट ट्रेजर्स एक्ट, 1972 का जो उल्लंघन हुआ है तो इसके लिए कौन लोग दोषी हैं, कौन लोग अपराधी हैं और क्या उनके विरुद्ध, कोई कानूनी कार्यवाही की जायेगी या किसी न्यायालय में उनके विरुद्ध मुकदमा चलाया जायेगा अथवा नहीं ? दूसरे क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि तमिलनाडु के मुख्य मंत्री श्री एम० जी० रामचन्द्रन और वहां के उस प्रदेश के जो सरकारी अधिकारी और कर्मचारी थे उन्होंने यह सलाह दी थी कि रामनवमी के पवित्र दिन के ठीक एक दिन पूर्व इन मूर्तियों को तंजावर के मन्दिर से हटाया नहीं जायेगा और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि रामनवमी के पवित्र दिन उत्सव में जलूस के रूप में जो मूर्तियां निकाली जाती थीं, इस बार वहां पर रामनवमी का त्यौहार बगैर राम की मूर्ति या बगैर लक्ष्मण की मूर्ति और बिना सीता की मूर्ति के मनाया गया ?

अन्त में मैं एक बात कह करके अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा, इस ओर जमवंत सिंह जी ने भी यहां पर एक चर्चा की है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की एक समिति है फेस्टीवल आफ इंडिया कमिटी और इसका पूरा खर्च केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से वहन किया जाता है। उनकी ओर से कई एक कलेण्डर आफ इवेंट्स प्रकाशित किया गया है, भगवान शिव शंकर को एक कामुक योगी लिखा गया है। तो मैं यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि भगवान शिव शंकर को कामुक योगी लिखना एक विशेष संप्रदाय के लोगों की धार्मिक भावना को ठेस पहुंचाना नहीं है ? अगर धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस पहुंचाई गई है तो इस सिलिल में सरकार क्या कदम उठाने जा रही है ? यह एक राष्ट्रीय मसला था या एक ऐसा विषय था, जिसके लिए सारे देश के लोगों को विश्वास में सरकार को लेना चाहिए था। लेकिन सरकार ने इसमें भ्रमित होकर विग़्रम में एक ग़लत निर्णय लिया, जबकि लोगों ने उचित सलाह भी दी।

इस बारे में लोक सभा में भी विषय उठाया गया और आज यहां भी चर्चा हो रही है, कुछ समाचार पत्रों के संपादकों ने भी इसका विरोध किया, धार्मिक नेताओं ने भी इसका विरोध किया। लेकिन सभी भावनाओं का उल्लंघन करके सभी भावनाओं के खिलाफ काम करके सरकार ने, मेरा यह कहना है कि न केवल एक अराष्ट्रीय काम किया है, बल्कि जो धार्मिक लोग हैं, उनकी भावनाओं और इच्छाओं के विरुद्ध भी काम किया है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: MR. R. K. Poddar.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am on a point of order. So long it has been our convention in the House that in Calling Attention the procedure followed is that first the names printed in the list of business are called, and then, after the list is exhausted, partywise speakers are called. I find first that our speaker, Mr. R. K. Poddar, has not been given precedence over others. That is number one.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: His name is not there in the list.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: His name was certain there. I submitted it myself. His name is not in the list. I submitted his name so that after the printed list is exhausted, he would be called first. He was not called first.

Secondly, Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy's name is there. If two names from one party are there and if the person whose name comes first is not there, then, the other name will be called according to the order. That also has been violated. I do not know how this has happened. I want an answer from the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. As far Mr. Gurupadaswamy is concerned, his name is there. I had called Dr. Sarojini Mahishi's name. She was not there. At that point of time Mr. Gurupadaswamy did not say that he wanted to speak in her place. Had he said that, I would have called him. He sent the chit a little later.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMI:**  
(Karnataka): I need not say that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You did not say.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMI :  
I need not.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** But your name did not come up. So, I thought that you did not want to speak.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMI :**  
I will come in the end. That is all right.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :** His name came a little later. He will be called. And the name of Mr. Poddar is not there in the list. When you came and gave the name of Mr. Poddar, it came to me a little later. So, he will also be called.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTREJEE :  
Madam, you are entirely wrong.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request you to withdraw your remark.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE :** I withdraw my remark. I say, your statement is not correct because I submitted the name at the very beginning of the sitting. We know it is a mistake. I am not interested in that. After you have received the name, it is your duty to call him first, give precedence he being from a leading Opposition party.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They are called according to the point of time. This is our procedure.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE :** It is according to partywise. I want a ruling from you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** Is it the convention of the House?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given my ruling.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** What is your ruling?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: My ruling is that he will be called according to the point of time.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** Not according to the party?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In Calling Attention we do not call according to the party.

**SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:** After the names in the printed list are exhausted

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** If Mr. Poddar is interested, he may speak. Is Mr. Poddar there? Please speak if you are there.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** According to the procedure, Mr. Gurupadaswamy should be called.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Whoever wants to speak, let them decide between them and get up. I have already called Mr. Mohapatra. He was not here. So, I don't have to call him again.

**SHRI RAMENDRA KUMAR PODDAR**  
(West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, many speakers have spoken on this issue. I think this Festival of India is a blanket festival and under its banner various exhibitions are being held. But the controversy has arisen in respect of the exhibition of art objects. I understand that there will be an exhibition on the scientific and technological development also. I presume that as science and technology are based on facts, there is not much controversy. The arts and culture are always controversial. So, it would have been better if the Government of India had placed the report of the Expert Committee that selected the art objects or the manner in which these objects were selected. The Government should prepare a report and place it on the Table of the House. The experts always differ; otherwise, they are not experts or art critics. It would have been much better if the Government had placed the views of the experts on the Table of the House without naming them because that will lead to animosity. Then,

we could have decided whether the decision taken by the Government is correct or not.

There is another important factor. Is it a fact that the Government has declared in the Lok Sabha on 16th of April that the U.S.A. and France were requested to hold reciprocal exhibitions in India as we are holding our exhibition in their countries and that both these countries have refused on the plea of shortage of funds? Now, my question is: Are we more solvent than those countries to hold our exhibition in their countries? The best museums in the world e.g. Louvre in Paris, Hermitage in Leningrad and Smithsonian Institution in Washington are not prepared to send their art objects outside their countries. In this connection, my esteemed colleague, Mr. Mitra, has raised a very important point and it is that we could have made replicas and sent those replicas outside India. Now, this is an important project. For that you need to have an art policy or culture policy. We do not have that in our country. The people who decide to be artists face the challenge of being starved because there is not much scope for making a living out of being an artist. If we could help our artists, I think that would have encouraged our talented artists to take up this work of making replicas. They could take up this old profession of making replicas. Our objects of art are the creations of those people who devoted their whole life and the art has been passed on from father to son. Like that, they have developed this kind of art and produced this kind of art. Unless the Government adopts a national policy to encourage the education and practice of art in order to prepare all these replicas of our cultural heritage, I think our policy would not be correct. It is true that this Festival of India is mainly on arts, culture and science and technology. Now, under the banner of this Festival of India, a seminar was organised in Princeton University of the U.S.A. on the 16th of March, 1985. In that seminar, Mr. L. K. Jha, Chairman of the Economic Administration Reforms Commission of India, and Mr. K.

Subramaniam, Director of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis represented as delegates from India. And from the United States, there was Mr. Stephen Cohen, a person who authored books on Indian and Pakistani armies. They participated in that seminar. And do you know, Madam, what was the topic of that seminar in that Festival of India? They discussed about the cohesiveness and effectiveness of the Indian Army and whether there is a possibility of a military coup in India. Now, I want to be assured by the Government that this aspect of the things should not be brought under the coverage of the Festival of India, and the Festival of India should not be turned into a brilliant and glittering screen to divert our attention so that through backdoor the US military and industrial complex can get an entry to this country. Thank you, Madam.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Madam Deputy Chairman, having called me the last speaker, you have given me an opportunity to say the last word on behalf of the Opposition on this subject.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You may not be the least.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Madam, culture is called the politics of the unpolitical. It is called the politics of the unpolitical because, of late, in the latter part of the 20th century, culture has become a very important instrument, a very important and vital means to influence other countries, to create goodwill for the country which represented the art and culture. It is called the politics of the unpolitical because it is not political, at the same time there is politics in it. What cannot be achieved by politics sometimes can be achieved by culture. That is why the cultural instruments are very much rated high in every part of the world, in every country. The Festival of Nations is a new trend, a new trend-setter in the international cultural field. It is a phenomenon which we are witnessing after the Second World War. Most of the countries are holding these festivals, to bring the best of art and culture, the best

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of craft, the best of industry, the best of talent in various fields and thereby not only influencing the opinion of that country but also encouraging the trade. So, trade has become a very important dimension of culture and art. I for one wholly subscribe to the theory that the culture of India, the history, the tradition, the heritage of India should be fully utilised, effectively utilised not only to create a favourable opinion in other countries about us but also rightly to achieve economic benefits thereby. So, I am not against the holding of Festival of India in any part of the world. I understand many countries of the world want to have Festival of India in their countries. We had the Festival of India in England in 1982 and the Government has decided to hold the Festival of India in France and the United States. I am told the Soviet Union is also anxious to have the Festival of India in their own country, may be, other countries also. So, I am not averse to hold the Festival of India in other countries and that has become, as I said, accepted fact of international cultural life.

Now, coming to the present exercise, I would only like to raise three or four issues. When you hold a Festival of India in a foreign country, we have to spend money. It involves money, on our part of course. But the host country also has to spend a lot of money. So, both the countries have to share in this expenditure. And the Festival of India should be effective, well organised. I think there has got to be more systematic approach, more organised approach, more thinking has to be invested on this, because, as my hon. friend, the Minister, would agree, our image is involved, and in the Festival of India our main job is to project our best of image in the world, and profit by it, while, at the same time, not to denigrate it to a lower level. I do not want our art objects, pieces of art, should become very common place. There is a danger in this. That is why I repeat, namely, that when we exhibit our pieces of art in foreign countries they should not become pedestrian. They should remain unique. It

has got to be preserved. I do not think sufficient thought has been given to this aspect of the problem. While exhibiting the rare objects of art and culture, our priceless treasures, abroad, my fear is they may become so commonplace in course of time that they will lose the value and the other countries may not look at these objects. They may take these objects for granted. Therefore, the rare pieces of art have got to be kept as rare and they have got to be preserved. That is one point.

The second point that I want to make is that when we export these pieces of art, art treasures, rare pieces, as far as possible, we should not affect adversely the sentiments, the susceptibilities, of our people here. For instance, some idols have been taken away from the temples. I do not want to go into that question. I will only refer to this. When idols are taken away from the temples where worship goes on, naturally the sentiments of the people will be ruffled. I think, as a policy, we should not touch those idols which are worshipped in temples, in religious places. And, if you think that it is desirable to show such pieces abroad, replicas can be produced. Other countries have replicas. I see in the statement that out of 441 art objects, 76 were dropped out later on because the question of their preservation was involved. Therefore, they have been taken out. May I point out the case of one piece, as an example? Didarganj Yakshi is a very rare piece which belongs to 3rd century B.C. It is exceptionally rare and it is a very beautiful object. I do not know why the Government is taking risk in exporting this object. Suppose something is done, some damage takes place to this object. I am afraid, we can not replace it. Why not the Government think of sending a replica of this object if they want to show it there? I only want to draw his attention to this particular thing. If they want to exhibit rare pieces of art, they can only send the replicas, not the originals.

There is another thing. U.S. designers involved in design, take the help of Indian tribal craftsmen and re-design according to their own tastes, and requirements. In

this, India will not get anything at all. On the contrary, Indian art may be disfigured. There may be distortion of Indian art, perversion of art by U.S. designers. I don't think it is a good move and I think the Government should rethink over it.

Finally, I would say about the selection of performing artists. I have no animosity against anybody, even against the Chairman of this Committee, Shrimati Jayakar. I only say that pressures are bound to be there; pressure lobbies are bound to be active. We should know there is more politics in culture than politics sometimes. But while selecting artists, care has got to be taken to select the best of artists. Best of artists have got to be selected; I agree. Secondly, this festival is spread, I am told, over a period of 18 months in the United States and also quote a few months in Paris. Therefore, there is enough opportunity for more artists to come in later on. But while selecting artists in the first instance, I would like the Minister to remember that those artists who have run in the past, who are somewhat aged, should be kept away for the time being, for the initial period. Young artists are coming up all over India and the best of artists are there. I would like the Minister to select the best of artists and among the best artists, young artists who have come to the fore in various fields of art and culture. There are experienced artists who have made a name also and they may be sent later on, not earlier because the purpose is to project the best in us. Young artists can give a better performance in foreign countries than the old artists. So, I would like the Minister to tell us frankly whether this Festival of India is becoming a regular feature hereafter, and whether he is going to have a comprehensive strategy, and whether opinion of the opposition also will be taken into consideration. In the field of art, we M.Ps. are novices but still we have got something to say in this matter, and I would like the Minister to follow the policy of open door so far as art and culture is concerned.

— SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members from both sides

for their learned observations, comments and their advice. There have been lots of points which have been made and some of them have been repeated. Some of them have been couched in a different language, but it means the same. Madam, I would like to know how much time I have.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Not very much.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : Madam, the reason why I asked was, when I tried to be brief and tried to meet some of the important points, there was a.....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : ... You may answer all the questions.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : Space of editorials in all the newspapers. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to place the facts before the House and also meet the controversy for all times to come. Madam, hon. Member, Mr. Gurupadaswamy said that I should be frank and, therefore, I would like to place all the cards before you.

I am grateful to Mr. Gopalsamy, who raised this Calling Attention and I am extremely grateful also that he has taken pains to go through the debate in the Lok Sabha, from which he was quoting—my statement as well as the hon. Mover of the motion in the Lok Sabha. I would have been very grateful if he had taken pains to go through the answer which I made in the Lok Sabha only yesterday on this very question. It was starred question No. 757. With your permission, I would like to read out the answer which will meet most of the points and then I will come to the individual points made by hon. Members.

The Festival of India in France will be inaugurated on June 7 and in the US on June 13, 1985, and the preparations are nearing completion. The Government of India will be spending approximately Rs. 515 lakhs, i.e. Rs. 5.15 crores in the U.S. and about Rs. 200 lakhs in France. The corresponding figure is, the U.S. sponsors would be spending about 12 million dollars, which in today's exchange rate comes to about Rs. 18 crores and the French Government would be spending about three

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million dollars which comes to about more than Rs. four and a half to five crores.

**SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa):** Who are the sponsors?

**SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO:** Among the highlights of the festival in the U.S. would be the six classical art exhibitions which I have already mentioned. I would not like to go into the details. Besides the above, there will be two major exhibitions on the rural arts and crafts of India namely Aditi from 4th June, to 28th July, 1985, at Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. and an exhibition on Contemporary Indian Terracotta art at the American Craft Museum, New York from September 9 to November 9, 1985. The progress and development of contemporary India will be emphasised in a Science and Technology Exhibition which will open in Chicago Science Museum from 12th June to 2nd September, 1985 and will travel to Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Portland (Oregon) and Seattle thereafter. Exhibitions on Wild life, Contemporary Art, Indian Architecture, Textiles, Costumes, and Design using Indian skill and raw materials will be among the highlights. In the performing art, the highlights would be the inaugural concert at the Kennedy Centre, Washington D.C. on June 13, 1985, followed by a series of classical dance and music performances at the Lincoln Centre, New York, in September, 1985, and a performing arts programme combining classical and folk forms sponsored by the Ford Foundation which would tour 40 universities from September 1985 to May 1986. Seminars and colloquia and a festival of Indian films would also be held during the Festival of India in U.S.A.

In France, among the highlights would be the Inaugural Mela on 7th and 8th June, in Paris, followed by the Avignon Festival which would feature some of the top exponents of Hindustani and Carnatic classical music and in September-October, 1985, the Autumn Festival which would be a series of 67 concerts of classical music and dance. Besides this a year long pro-

gramme of performing arts sponsored by the House of Cultures of the World will present in Paris and many other cities in France, most of the folk forms, like chhau, the martial arts, Naga dances, Ballads and folk songs, puppetry and shadow theatre, Ras Lila and Percussion concerts. An exhibition of classical art at the Grand Palais, Paris, in March-June 1986, an exhibition of Indian architecture in the Ecole des Beaux arts Paris in November 1985, a Textile exhibition in the Musee des Arts Decoratifs, Paris in October 1985, an exhibition of contemporary Indian art and a festival of Indian films at the Pompidou Centre as well as a series of seminars will also be among the highlights of the festival of India in France.

Now this is, in broad, a perspective of the type of art forms and seminars and exhibitions which will be held.

There was a mention about the calendar of events. May I take this opportunity of stating that the final calendar of events has not been released so far? Therefore, to whatever has appeared in any calendar of events neither the Government of India nor the Festival of India Advisory Committee has any responsibility. Therefore, some of the Members who had referred to Lord Shiva in various terminologies, to that name neither the Government of India nor the Festival of India Advisory Committee takes any responsibility.

Now I would like to go through the points made by various Members, one by one. The first point made by Shri Gopal-samy was on the Chola bronzes. This was also mentioned by many other Members. The Chola bronzes are nine in number.

Vrshavahana 1012 A.D., Consort (Vrshavahana) 1012 A.D., Kannappan Early Chola 10th Century A.D., Brahmadhiraivar Medieval period 11th century A.D. These are from Tanjore Art Gallery. The remaining are from the temples of Tamil Nadu. They are: Kalyanasundara Medieval period, Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Nataraja from the medieval period. As is being mentioned, the Tamil Nadu Government had first given its assent to allow these to be loaned. Later on, there was a





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the art before Government comes to a final decision to release it or not to Release it for public display or for being shifted from here. Therefore these expert committee reports, as is being claimed, from which he read out regarding some gentleman who is supposed to have given that, cannot be laid on the Table of the House. These are internal notings which are meant for coming to a decision regarding whether the art forms, sculptures or art pieces ought to go or not to go. In this case I would like to say that this was an expert Committee formed only for evaluation for insurance purposes, and I am sorry I cannot lay it on the Table of the House, because the final decision rests with Government and any art piece which goes out has to have Government's orders on it and not the orders or recommendations of the Expert Committee, although they are eminent people.

Then he mentioned about 76 pieces having gone out without agreement. This is not a fact at all. No art piece or any object has left the shores of India without the agreement or a written undertaking both from the sponsors who are loaning it (and this undertaking is with the Festival of India Committee) as well as the people or organisations/institutions which are taking them. Therefore this is not at all true to say that any object has gone out without written undertaking or agreement. To the question whether the insurance is sufficient or not, the objects which have gone so far have been insured for Rs. 120 crores for which about Rs. 82 lakhs has been the premium.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You cannot insure sentiments,

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: Please do not arrogate to your self the monopoly of sentiments of the people of India. We are also equally, if not more than you, concerned.

Then, the same things he repeated three or four times. Then he asked about reconsidering the question whether the bronzes should go or not. I think I have answered this point.

Mr. Sambasiva Rao asked why no experts were consulted and how they are being selected. This, I suppose, was with regard to the art pieces. As I said, Government takes a decision after there is a joint selection of the articles which are to be loaned. Now, as I have mentioned in my opening remarks, Government did not agree to 76 out of the 441 pieces to go because in their wisdom they should not go, due to various reasons. For example, some of them are very rare art pieces, some of them from the conservation point of view, some of them are embedded, some of them ought not to go. This was also based on the recommendations of advisers and experts.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: I don't think Shri Sambasiva Rao participated in the discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Somebody else must have said it.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: I would like to know what is on record. Who asked?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May be some other Member.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: I am sorry, I heard Mr. Sambasiva Rao—I am subject to correction... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Some other Member.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: The second Member who spoke after Mr. Gopalsamy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It was Mr. Balaram.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: I stand corrected, Madam. Then, Mr. Balaram mentioned about an international gang wanting to purchase everything from South India. I will be grateful if he can pass on the information: we would like to apprehend them.

Regarding replicas of idols, Madam, honourable Members, including Mr. Gurupadaswamy, agree that what India must project outside should be the very

best of Indian culture and it should not be denigrated and brought down. Replicas or plaster casts are not exactly what the international museums of repute accept. In this case, it is the originals which they had asked for and Government has cleared them for the simple reason that most of these had already gone to Japan and London during the Festival of India in 1981 and they have already been exhibited here. In fact, the three bronzes—Rama, Lakshmana and Sita—were exhibited here during the Non-Aligned Conference in Delhi in 1983. Some of the rare pieces to which Mr. Gurupadaswamy also referred have also been to Japan and London. It is not as if they are going out for the first time to the United States of America. And at that time, I am sorry, nobody said that they should not go out. At that time it was accepted and, therefore, some of the objects which had already gone out, they are the ones which have been cleared.

Then Mr. Balaram asked what guarantee was there that they will return. I have already explained the steps which the Government has taken while allowing things to go out. If you permit me, Madam, there are 16 points which enumerate the steps taken to ensure the safety and security of all these pieces to be sent to the Festival of India in France and USA. May I read them out?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Supply a copy of it to Mr. Balaram.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: I will lay it on the Table of the House so that once and for all you know.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If one Member asks for it, you can send it to him.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: Right Madam. Then, Justice S. P. Mitra welcomed the proposal and also asked about attempts to make replicas. Replicas are not accepted by museums of international repute, such high standard exhibitions, I have already mentioned.

About what steps have been taken so that the common people would appreciate the cultural heritage of India, most of

these are exhibited in our museums. I have answered a question earlier in this session, that the people visiting the various museums, whether in Calcutta or in Delhi or elsewhere, are on the increase, and some of these art objects are being televised and are being also shown in the national hookup as well as in the various television programmes. And, as you know, our Prime Minister on the 23rd of March as well as on the 12th of April had announced the setting up of Zonal, Regional Cultural Centres, one in North India in Punjab, at Patiala which has now been decided, and the other one at Shantiniketan where only yesterday we had the Cultural Ministers Conference. These centres will also be the focal points for not only preserving and developing culture but also for dissemination of cultures, especially to the rural areas and to our youth and to the regions which comprise the zone.

There was a question on Mona Lisa, which you have, from the Chair, answered. I would say, Mona Lisa had gone out twice, once to the United States and once to China.

Then, Prof. Lakshmana asked about Sanghol.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy wants Mona Lisa should visit India.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: We shall certainly...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I did not say that. "She refused to visit India", I said.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: Lakshmana mentioned about Sanghol objects going to the United States before the country sees them. That is not a fact. On the 12th of this month they are being put on exhibition at the National Museum. And five out of 117 are only being allowed to be loaned. The other pieces are either at Sanghol or will be in the National Museum. It is only after this that they are going to be shipped on the 15th of May, three days after the people have had a chance to see them.

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And this has been televised when the excavation was going on and the Sanghol finds were brought to the museum at Sanghol near Ludhiana.

Then, he asked again about export without insurance, which I have answered. It is not a fact.

About the idols which are worshipped, being shipped, that also is not a fact.

Then, about art designers from all over the world, he asked. You will be glad to know, Madam, that there is the Golden Eye Exhibition sponsored by the Commerce Ministry, in the United States. The concept was to bring about an interaction between the western design and the Indian craftsmanship, and top designers of the west have given their design to Indian craftsmen, and these products will be displayed at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, and this will also have commercial possibilities and also help the Indian craftsmen in the exhibition to have better interaction and to improve their skill also. This is being handled by the State Trading Corporation. Likewise, Indian designers have been involved in various exhibitions, eminent people like Charles Correa, Raj Grialval, Ramaswamy, Dasarathi Patel, Rajiv Sethi, Makhan Singh and others.

Now I come to our distinguished soldier parliamentarian, Maj. Jaswant Singh. He asked about the festival. In fact, he did refer to the United States in a particular terminology which I do not wish to repeat. That is all the reasons why the people of both the largest democracies in the world must be aware of each other's culture and cultural heritage. After all, we host a glorious cultural heritage of heritage of 5,000 years. It is now time that the United States of America is better aware of the cultural heritage—and it is one of the most significant events as far as both countries are concerned in the cultural field.

I am sorry, I do not know about the mule being hit between the eyes. Of course, being a soldier, he likes to make his shot count "Ek Goli Ek Dushman" is

the cardinal principle in the Army. So, hitting mule between the eyes, of course, is a soldier's action.

In fact, the Government of India's assessment is that the Festival of India in London was an unqualified success. Therefore, it was in 1982 when late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had visited the United States, it was then decided by President Reagan and Mrs. Gandhi that the Festival of India would go to the United States this year. Therefore, any other comments by very famous people whom he has quoted, I would not like to join issue on that. But the enthusiasm which has been generated in the United States and France is unprecedented. As you know, Madam, this Festival of India in the United States has been dedicated by the President of the United States to Mrs. Gandhi.

About the process of selection regarding individuals which he wanted to know, I would like to mention the answer which I had given to Prof C. Lakshman's Unstarred Question No. 323 on May 2, 1985. He had asked about why three eminent Artists, Mrs. Sonal Mansingh, Yamini Krishnamoorthy and Padma Subramanyam were not included in the Festival. But, my answer is for all performing arts. There are some guidelines on which they are selected. I would just mention these guidelines which I had given to Unstarred Question No. 323 on May 2, 1985:

- "(i) the traditional performing arts of the common people in rural India may be given pride of place in the Festival programmes;
- (ii) the selection may represent the highest creative excellence in our performing arts;
- (iii) the Indian presentations in the two festivals will encompass the widest possible range of Indian performing arts;
- (iv) the art forms not frequently seen abroad may be given preference;
- (v) group art forms as against individual soloists may be given priority;

(vi) Indian classical vocal music hitherto comparatively under-represented may be given due weightage;

(vii) the prestigious occasions such as the various openings of the Festival may feature artistes' representing the highest artistic excellence achieved in our classical arts;

(viii) both the established and the outstanding artists of promise may find representation in the Festival programmes, specially in view of the year 1985 being the International Year of the Youth".

So, no single person selects the Artistes'. There are sub-committees of eminent people, experts and specialists in their own field who do this selecting.

I hope I met Mr. Gurupadaswamy's points also. Major Jaswant Singh had asked about whether fumigation had been examined. There has been no detrimental effect as far as fumigation on the objects are concerned. It had been fumigated. He has asked about time by which these objects will be out from India. There are various times fixed to send the 400 objects. It will take time to give him the details.

Madam, if you permit I can lay it on the Table of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No you can send it to him.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : I will give him the details. Then about objects of worship and religious observance, I have already answered.

Regarding "Shiva, the erotic Ascetic", I have already answered that this has got nothing to do either with the Government of India or with the Festival of India Committee in India or the Advisory Committee outside. The official diary of events and the official brochures have not been released so far.

Then I am grateful to Shri Shrikant Verma for his very learned observations and his comments.

I have answered Mr. S. P. Malaviya regarding the points which he had raised about.....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you have covered all the points.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : I will go through them, Madam, because I would like to put the record straight. He had referred to having an all-party meeting on the subject. But after all, the Government has to depend on its experts since it is responsible to Parliament and to the public of India. So although it is desirable to have a dialogue with the various political parties on various issues, on such an issue, I think, the advice of the experts will be more valuable. He had said about violation of some Act. I would like to reassure the House that there has been no violation of any Act. About the calendar of events, I have already mentioned.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Over?

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : No, Madam, not yet. Not so soon, Madam. There are quite a few points....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have much more business to do.

DR. SHANTI G. PATEL (Maharashtra): He deserves to be complimented for noting down each point.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : Mr. Poddar asked about reciprocal exhibitions by the United States and France. In fact, no one has refused us so far. In fact, there is great enthusiasm that we should have reciprocal exhibitions both in West Germany and Soviet Union and France has already sent us certain art objects earlier on. And the United States has not refused so far. He said that there has been some hitch. The dialogue is still going on. I am sure they will come to a broad agreement as to which are the types of objects they should send here.

He also mentioned that on the 16th March, 1985, in the Princeton University some discussion was held by the Festival of India personnel. The two names which

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he mentioned have got nothing to do with the Festival of India Committee. So, for what they have discussed in the Princeton University, I cannot be held responsible nor the Government of India as far as the Department of Culture is concerned.

I have answered all the points, Madam.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, one small point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Still something remains?

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: There is one point which I left out. Here is the booklet of 1978. The patron at that time was Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder, Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture. Then there were Mr. Lal Advani, Minister of Information and Broadcasting; R. D. Sathe, Ambassador of India; Gill; Maneshwar Dayal; and a host of experts in their field, including Mr. Sivaramamurti and Dr. N. R. Banerjee. It was being quoted here. Here are the lists of priceless art objects and sculptures which had gone to France. If you want, I will name some of them out of a list of more than 100, which will give some indication, as Mr. Shrikant Verma said, that for the last 2500 years we have been having exchange of art and culture with various countries. Yaksh, 2nd century; Brihat Panch of 2nd Century Buddha; Kubera of 2nd century, the head of Buddha of 5th century. Shiv Vaman, 4th-5th century; Vishnu from the Gupta period, Avalokadheeshwar from 9th century; Manikubera from the 13th century and Parvathi from the 15th century.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: Madam, just one piece of information I wish to pass on to the Minister and that is with regard to insurance. A party in Kashmir had certain antique article insured for a particular sum at a particular point of time. Those articles were destroyed and the insurance company now says that the evaluation done at that point of time is not acceptable to them. What I request the Minister to ensure is that the amount—say, Rs. 120 crores—that the

insurance company has guaranteed, that in the event of loss of the entire articles or part thereof, they will guarantee that, the amount declared by them will be acceptable to the insurance company. If it is not already done, I request him to ensure that the sum specified shall be paid and there will be no controversy with regard to the pricing of that particular object.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister will take note of it. Next item.

### THE COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1985

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI ARIF MOHD. KHAN): Madam Deputy Chairman, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Companies Act, 1956.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

SHRI ARIF MOHD. KHAN: Madam, I introduce the Bill.

### REFERENCE TO THE HOMAGE TO THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST FASCIST FORCES DURING WORLD WAR II

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, today, the 9th May, is one of the most important days in the history of the whole mankind. Exactly forty years ago, on 9th May 1945, the peace-loving people of this world established their victory over fascism for ever. On this day the Nazi Hitler and his supporters were completely destroyed in their own den and the Red Army raised the red banner over the Reichstag, the highest seat of fascism. This 9th May became an ever memorable day in the history of the whole world. Today the entire peace-loving people of this world or the anti-fascist forces all over the world, are celebrating this day with joy and pride. None can deny the important role played by the Soviet people in this war of liberation against fascism. In this patriotic war the Soviet Red Army and the Allied forces fought and won, smashed the fascist