

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Nobody can question me about the source of information. I am talking as a Member of the Rajya Sabha.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She has said that rumours are going on.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: It may be uncharitable, it may be unfair. But it is a true statement that I am making that this is the impression.

SHRIMATI LALITHA (RAJA-GOPALAN): You yourself just now said that rumours are going on like this. Unless you can substantiate it, do not make any allegation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock. MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

RESOLUTION RE. ADVERTISEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS, ETC.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I move the following Resolution:

"This House is of opinion that pursuant to the undertakings already given in this behalf, the Government of India should issue orders forthwith that all Government advertisements, including advertisements of railways, statutory corporations, public sector undertakings or any industrial or other organisations which enjoys financial assistance or protection from Government should be done only through Indian-controlled and Indian-owned advertising agencies, and that no such advertisement shall hereafter be issued through foreign advertising agencies, whether wholly or partly owned or controlled by foreigners."

Sir, I want to go a little into the background of the British Press at the

first stage because the Indian Press has been a kind of an offshoot of the British Press. And here the British Press has expressed itself so forcefully that the whole number of the 'New Statesman' dated the 30th January 1970 has front-paged an article "Mortgaging the Fourth Estate". It is a very interesting article. I tried to get the paper from the Library but I could not succeed. I had to go back home and got it. We are wrestling with similar problems here. But I did not know, Sir, that Englishmen can use such forceful language, language that we even do not use in this House or which is not used even by me. The heading is 'Combines and Concubines'. So you can understand how the Englishman feels about it. 'Combines and Concubines' is the heading of the article. The House will forgive me for reading out the extracts from it because I want to show how the foreigners are strangling us in regard to advertisements. It says—

"It was Nye Bevan, with more Celtic feeling for a piquant image than for the objective facts, who described the British press as the most prostituted in the world. Yet the moral of the Red paper group's proposed takeover of the International Publishing Corporation is that in the not-so-distant long term Fleet Street could end up as a kept woman."

That is the phrase—"Fleet Street could end up as a kept woman."

"... not even the biggest, most profitable national daily in the country is safe from the takeover technique... In fact, sooner or later, the industrial tail will be wagging the publishing dog; however scrupulous the master board is, its main objective will be to maximise group profits—and in such conditions editorial freedom becomes relative... With only three or four of the national newspaper groups now making a profit, most of them have diversified in self-defence."

The Thompson Group has got a Printing Press at Faridabad. If we do not control them, we do not know where it will end.

"The Thompson Group, apart from a world-wide list of newspaper and magazine titles and its share in Scottish TV, includes an airline and five travel agencies; Associated Newspapers, which own the Mail and the Sketch, have several provincial papers and TV holdings; and the Express and the Guardian both have property interests...."

Lord Thompson has now reached Faridabad. He may land anywhere in India.

"Similarly, the more successful the group as a whole the greater the possibility that it will itself be taken over by an even bigger conglomerate in which the newspaper element will either be of minimal balance-sheet significance or regarded as a useful reflector of group views and attitudes that may or may not be in the public interest... How disinterested would its leaders on trade union-employer conflicts be?... Overdependence on advertising has already undermined the viability of too many national newspapers—even the increase in retail price expected soon will provide only temporary relief—and it has brought the threat of monopoly nearer. Mergers with commercial or industrial undertakings, however revitalising they may seem in share-value terms, could provide financial stability and stave off that threat only at the risk of eroding editorial integrity and public confidence... The press can only be free if it is independent and seen to be independent; as a subsidiary of any other industry it wouldn't be worth the paper it was printed upon."

No one on this side or that side of the House could have used strong language like this and this is what is written by the *New Statesman*, the foremost left-wing weekly of Britain,

read by thousands of people both across the Atlantic and even on this side of the Indian Ocean and I think that this is something worth considering.

I will now go back to give some figures about advertising here, written in my own paper 'Forum' of June, 1969.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan): He has been a newspaper editor. He is an 'interest party'.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): It is obvious.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I am sorry; it is not my criterion. "A depressing story comes from Britain"

(Interruptions)

Please. You have made a mountain of money, and perhaps lost it. I have not.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: You should know better.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Alva, you continue with your speech

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: The heading of the article is—

"British advertising firms collaborating with American advertising firms. Economic interest of India may be strangled."

"A depressing story comes from Britain that British advertising firms are setting a part of the interests to the stupendous mighty American Advertising firms. The British banks had first started it, preceded with the American economic invasion of Western Europe. Now the advertising firms will fall one by one. That is not the end of the story. In the next five years just half-a-dozen super advertising agencies of the US will lord it all over the world advertising and unfortunately the noted British companies are turning to America for their finances and thus their own power has been sub-

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verted altogether. We in India again remain indifferent to it. We shall be affected by it. The FORUM is proud that it was in the front of the battle against the foreign companies in India, especially against the foreign advertising firms. The Lintas and the London Press Exchange going to sell large chunks of their shares to American advertising agencies. Both the Lintas and the London Press Exchange are doing business in India. The Lintas is an offshoot of the mighty Lever Brothers, sporting under the name of Hindustan Lever today. The word 'Hindustan' is a magic name for these foreign concerns. America's largest advertising firm, J. Walter Thompson which has been operating in India for a few decades has this year suddenly gone under the magic umbrella of 'Hindustan' and these two bulls, the Lever Brothers and J. Walter Thompson—one British and another American—how much love they now display for 'Hindustan'?

Now, I will come to the figures as given in 'Forum' editorial:

"J. Walter Thompson, the largest US advertising firm has an overseas business of £99 million when its total billing was £266 million. Lintas is the largest UK owned advertising firm with overseas business of £51 million, with a total billing of £60 million. Of course, J. Walter Thompson's overseas £99 million business and Linta's overseas £51 million business include Indian advertising business however small it may have been. The British firm of Bonsons are also operating in India, though they are not such a big fry compared to the other big firms of the UK.

It must be said to the credit of the Japanese advertising firms that they do not operate outside their own country and their well-known firm Dentsu is the only non-American firm amongst the ten largest advertising agencies in the world."

This, Sir, is the background of the British press and advertising. And in this background what is our State?

In this House, Sir, on 4th May, 1956 there was a well-known Resolution moved by the late Shrimati Violet Alva and, it must be said to the credit of the then hon' ble Minister, the present Minister's predecessor, Dr. Keskar that he accepted it. The Resolution read as follows:—

"That having regard to the stronghold of foreign-owned and foreign-controlled advertising agencies in the business of advertising in the country—

this House is of opinion that with a view to encourage Indian-controlled and owned advertising agencies, Government should show preference to Indian-controlled and Indian-owned advertising agencies in the matter of advertising done by Railways, Government companies, statutory Corporations, Public Service Commissions and such other concerns including advertising done by Government in general."

"In pursuance of the Rajya Sabha Resolution, the Government of India laid down in September, 1956 the following directive principles in the matter of advertising by the national undertakings, statutory bodies, autonomous Corporations etc.:

(i) While releasing advertisements through advertising agencies, preference should be shown to Indian advertising agencies;

(ii) In giving business to Indian advertising agencies, the selection should be confined to the panel prepared from time to time by the Director of Advertising and Visual Publicity on the basis of standard and extent of their business."

And then wonderful things happened. The Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation stated:

"The circular of 1956 was issued probably before we were born. Anyway I am not aware of this circular."

What an irresponsible statement? I will come back to that part again. Then comes the Chairman of the Fertilizer Corporation of India. He stated:

"We are not aware of the circular. In fact I was wondering about it. May be we have not received this particular circular."

They do not care for anybody. This was after the Government had issued a circular against this hanky-panky business. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting says:—

"According to unofficial estimates about 60 per cent. of the advertisements of public sector undertakings are still canalised through foreign collaborated advertising agencies."

This is rather too much for us to bear. And what does the Chairman, Hindustan Steel, says? He says:—

"According to our understanding no advertising agency including the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity got any rebate or commission on classified advertisements."

And he feels it necessary for the undertakings to choose their own agencies from time to time.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): What are you quoting from?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: From the same book, Fourth Lok Sabha, 4th Report, page 14. It further says:—

"The report of Air India stated that they had consulted the Directorate of Advertising and Visual

Publicity as early as 1956 and had pointed out to them the specialised requirements of Air India, which was advertising in nearly 40 countries of the world."

Which means in effect:

"In India we want to run our own business. So mind your own business."

Then the Secretary, Ministry of Finance, also stated that:

"... the public undertakings should be allowed, if they had valid reasons to think so, to exercise their discretion as to where they should put their advertisements."

Now, things could not have gone worse. I must pay my tribute to Dr. Keskar who rose to the occasion and did something and his officers followed it up. I am sure the present Minister will also do it. But what happened thereafter is a real mystery.

Sir, I want the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity to be a live and dynamic organisation. Jobs like that of the News Editor, All India Radio, should not go on mere seniority without requisite qualifications. They should go to really competent men. In this behalf I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Sivaraman, one of the ablest journalists, once News Editor of the All India Radio. And after he left All India Radio, news reporting there has fallen on evil days. Against such an important assignment you cannot just put a man from the Publications Division or any other Division and make him a News Editor. He has to be a live wire to be a News Editor of a mighty organisation.

Similarly, your Director of Advertising and Visual Publicity. No doubt the present incumbent of the post is an experienced man with military background. He is a competent officer. But what I mean to say is the whole organisation should have real

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life in it. He should have the background of lay-out, copyright, accounts, direction, art, etc.

The Small Newspaper Enquiry Committee Report had made suggestion that small newspapers should be given advertisements. You have got the mighty organisations like the Air India, the Hindustan Steel, the H.M.T. and the L.I.C. with large advertising budgets, and small slices out of that could be put into the mouths of these small newspapers, and they will live and not go down the drain. They need so little. I am glad the Government has recommended that small newspapers should get their due share from these public sector bodies.

Air India is another case. So far so good. They say they have a bit of their prestige. And their prestige has been built up on that Maharaja. And that Maharaja has been sketched by an Indian artist of Goa, a Konkani man, done under Air India's able veteran, Bobby Kuka. The Maharaja has travelled around the world extensively and has won millions of customers for us.

We have first class commercial artists, accountants, lay-out men, copywriters and so on. What more do you want? Where is the need of a foreign agency? Why do you want foreigners? Let them be given a good lunch, treated as guests and sent away! Let these foreigners just go out.

I have given you the background of the mighty organisation, the Lintas, a byproduct of the Lever Brothers. Though they do not say so, they quietly demand 15 to 30 per cent commission for giving advertisements to the newspapers. Therefore, Sir, the whole thing is unethical, dishonest and immoral. Levers first killed our Indian vanaspati industry and then the soap industry with their mighty resources. They are the largest trading concern in the world. President

Roosevelt's New Deal affected even their products. Lever Brothers is the largest trading company in the world pounding away our Indian industries. Who can stand against them?

As regards Air India, I think it is time for them to Indianise their advertising concern. Suddenly Walter Thompson float the "Umbrella" in the name of "Hindustan" and seek protection under it. Let them embrace it in Kobe, New York and Japan.

Now, Sir, there is the Swatantra lord, Mr. Dandekar, the Chairman of Walter Thompson, rather Hindusthan Thompson. The Managing Director is an American baccha, a youngster, less than 35! Even an American youngster can become a Managing Director. Then why not an Indian? We have got a rich crop of Indian youngmen, first class artists, directors, executives who can deliver the goods. I think about 90 Indian advertising firms are existing without 60 per cent. of our public sector advertisements and 70 per cent. of the total advertisement.

Advertising is going to be a fabulous business. It started with less than Rs. 3 crores, in the sense at one time we spent only Rs. 3 crores. Now we are totalling more than Rs. 35 crores including government and non-government advertisements. The Minister may be able to give a better figure. I am only a layman. I hope by the end of the century the national advertising is bound to go to more than Rs. 100 crores.

Now there is the combination of Clarion & Co. with the foreign firm McCann, today one of the world's largest advertising agencies. It is rather scandalous. Why should we allow them when our sun is shining high in the sky of independence? We allowed one American firm to join a good Indian firm. They were all British employees, keymers became Clarion, when the former firm was

closed. Now they had also entered through the backdoor of an Indian firm, Messrs. Aiyar & Co. joining Press Exchange. Why should these two foreign firms be allowed to collaborate with Clarions and Aiyers? What has happened to our patriotism?

Sir, when I went to America I went to a druggist and asked for a German drug. The man snubbed so badly, "We do not sell any foreign drugs." He said this in such a rude tone that I felt humiliated. Why not adopt the same attitude here? Now here are the same foreign firms selling foreign drugs taking as much money as they like. They take away Rs. 100 crores from pharmaceuticals and may ultimately take another Rs. 100 crores for advertising. When is this going to end? This Ministry of Information which is the watchdog of information and direction for the national affairs should take some stronger hand. I am sure my friend, Mr. Gujral, who is young and dynamic, could even go farther than Dr. Keskar. I hope and pray he will put many things right. Now, about the L.I.C. it is very interesting. They have got a partiality for their kind. There was a Chairman, whom our friend Mr. Dahyabhai Patel knows, who passed on Rs. 5 lakhs to an advertising agency through his daughter and she thereafter in conjunction with her husband started an advertising agency. It goes on like this. But was it right for the Chairman of the L.I.C. . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Which Chairman? There have been a number of Chairmen.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: H. M. Patel. He passed on Rs. 5 lakhs to Birla's ASP through his daughter who later started an advertising agency. The Birlas have their own advertising agency, the ASP. The Lintas is the agency for Lever Brothers. The National Tobacco Company have their own agency, and the jute press in Calcutta have their own advertising agencies. They all take away the commission. There is no end to this loot. I would call this nothing but

loot. We are not strong enough to stop this; we have not the guts to stop it.

Now coming to HMT—I discussed it with the Managing Director of HMT also—they go to Hindustan Thompson. There seems to be a magic in this name "Hindustan." All the employees there, artists and others, are Indians, but this youngster from America, who is less than 35, is the Managing Director here and he gets his orders from America. This is a line of business which can be fully and thoroughly run by Indians from A to Z, who can even do the cleaning of urinals! I cannot put it more emphatically than that. Then there is also the danger to the freedom of the press. When my great weekly 'Forum' was closed down, Walter Thompson's white lords declared: "We have closed down Alva's paper. We shall see who will now bark at us." Now we should be prepared to say to Walter Thompson and others "You close down, we shall see what we can do." It seems people who had the patriotic fire to fight have gone. I am afraid that even the proceedings of this discussion will not be reported substantially in the Indian press. None of the things said here will be fully reported by the Indian press. The age of patriotic journalism seems to have gone. I remember, Sir, once when my car was burnt to ashes, I was asked to give an advertisement by the insurance company in the Madhya Pradesh papers. I am ashamed that I forgot the name of the paper, but when I sent a cheque of Rs. 50 to them, they refused to take it saying "You are a great patriot, we will put free your advertisement." Then the insurance company asked me again to put in an advertisement. Again I sent a cheque for a second advertisement, and they published the advertisement but refused to accept the cheque again, saying "We are fellow patriots and fellow journalists." These are the people who had kept nationalism going, the Bengal papers, the Maharashtra journalists—Lokamanna's Kesari—and the patriots of other places. That fire was there

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then. To-day that fire has gone. Now the Hindustan Times gets Rs. 50 lakhs from the LIC for vacating the LIC building. If you had divided this amount into 500 small and given to 500 small papers, they would have been living and they would have carried on strongly and patriotically.

Now about the HMT and Hindustan Steel, we are proud of the achievements of these organisations. They issue advertisements. The Minister must pass orders that any advertisement that appears in the name of these companies must give down below the initials of the advertising agency. If I, as an Editor, or the Editors of other papers do not mention our name, we will be prosecuted. Then why should not the agency give out its initials? We can then find out the truth and neither the Chairman of HMT nor the Chairman of Hindustan Steel can fool us thereafter. These are some of the things I wanted to mention. I do not want to take much of your time. Now I would like to give you a few suggestions.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Four minutes more.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Yes, my speech is practically over. Now, a very important point is that a lot of money is going from here to foreign countries across the Atlantic and the Pacific, money which you can preserve for our boys and girls. We can build up a team, a corps, of boys and girls, who can run all the advertising agencies for our country, and also the newspapers. Parliament is our real watchdog and if our Minister, who is young, dynamic and patriotic, does not stop this drain, nothing can be done. Perhaps he does not get co-operation from the other Ministries. Things have got to change. Then there is another danger. These foreign advertising firms can put foreign exchange to the credit of their employers or agents in foreign banks, and when they go abroad they can utilise it. That is a danger which has to be removed.

Now my suggestions are four:

One. No private sector company or organisation shall appoint, renew or transfer its advertising business to a foreign-oriented advertising agency in future, since there are a very large number of competent and fully equipped, wholly Indian-owned advertising agencies in the country.

Two. Every advertiser shall furnish details of all such appointment of foreign-oriented advertising agencies to the Reserve Bank of India within 30 days, indicating their financial year, and since advertising budgets are sanctioned on an annual basis, from year to year, no fresh budgets shall be allocated to foreign-oriented advertising agencies without permission in writing from the Government of India or the Reserve Bank of India, and this rule shall have retrospective effect from the 1st December, 1969.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: What are you quoting?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I am giving my suggestions.

Three. Then, all such existing contracts with any foreign-oriented advertising agency shall be limited to a duration of not more than 12 months, and full details of all such existing advertising contracts shall be submitted by the advertisers to the Reserve Bank of India, giving particulars of products or services advertised, the 12-month budget allocated for each product and each service, the area in which the advertising is to be carried out, whether in India or in any foreign country and a copy of the written advertising agency agreement, if any, laying down the terms and conditions of such contract or agreement for each product and service.

Four. Quite a few Indian-owned advertising agencies have plans for opening branch offices in export markets, especially in the undeveloped countries of the Middle East, East Africa and South-East Asia, for looking after our country's export adver-

tising and for helping the local advertisers in these undeveloped countries. This will be a fruitful source of earning foreign exchange for India.

I have done, Sir, and if there is anything more, I shall say it at the end. I am obliged to the House for giving me a patient hearing. I am happy to know that many people want to take a very enthusiastic interest in this discussion, including my friend, Mr. Mirdha, my friend Mr. Arora and the great sturdy man, Mr. Bhargava. Mr. A. D. Mani also wants to speak, but I do not know on which side he will be. Thank you, Sir.

3 P.M.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA:
(Rajasthan): Sir, I beg to move:

1. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added:—

'and this House is further of opinion that a Committee be appointed to go into the working of advertising agencies in India as a whole and to report in particular about the following matters:—

(a) whether Indian expertise exists for running advertising agencies;

(b) whether foreign agencies should be allowed to operate in India and, if so, under what conditions;

(c) whether Indians should be encouraged and helped to buy out foreign interests in advertising agencies working in India;

(d) what should be the advertising policies of Government bodies;

(e) whether any limit should be placed on advertising expenses of Government and private companies;

(f) what steps should be taken to ensure that advertisements are not obscene or of doubtful taste;

(g) what is the nature of marketing research available in the country and how it can be improved; and

(h) any other matter which 'or any industrial or other organisation'."

2. "That in lines 5-6 of the Resolution, delete the following words:

"or any industrial or other organisation which enjoys financial assistance or protection from Government'."

The questions were proposed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arjun Arora.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमान् मैं एक व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ । हमें यह सूचना दे दी जाय कि यहाँ पर भारतीय एजेंसी कितनी हैं और विदेशी एजेंसी कितनी हैं और जो आर्थिक आमदनी इनकी होती है वह क्या है । भारतीय एजेंसियों की कितनी आमदनी हो रही है, विदेशों से कितनी हो रही है और विदेशी एजेंसियों की यहाँ से कितनी आमदनी हो रही है, यह हमें मालूम होना चाहिये । इन तथ्यों का जानना बहुत जरूरी है । ये सब आंकड़े आ जायें तो चर्चा हो ।

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मैं यह आंकड़े मंगवाने की पेशिज करूँगा, अगर अवैलेबिल होंगे तो दे दूँगा ।

श्री ए० डी० मणि (मध्य प्रदेश) : जब बोलें तो पूरी डिटेल् दे देंगे ।

उपसभापति : वह कह रहे हैं कि अभी फिगर्स नहीं हैं, वह मंगा रहे हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह संसदीय प्रथा है कि जिस विषय पर चर्चा हो, उसमें सम्बद्ध जितनी जानकारी हो, लेख हो, वह सब मांगा जा सकता है ।

श्री राम निवास मिर्धा : जो माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं करीब करीब वही बातें मैंने एक प्रश्न के द्वारा 19-12-1969 को पूछी थी, लेकिन उनके बारे में आज तक जानकारी नहीं मिल पाई ।

श्री राजनारायण : नहीं मिल पाई न । देखिये न बुद्धिमान लोग एक ही जगह पर रहते हैं ।

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, at first I thought that as soon as Mr. Alva moved this Resolution and made his speech the honourable Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting would stand up and apologise to the House that the undertaking given earlier by the Government has not been honoured and that apart from apologising to the House for not carrying out the undertaking given, he would give further assurances for the future and that a debate, a discussion, on this Resolution would become unnecessary . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: Infructuous.

श्री राजनारायण : मंत्री जी को फुर्सत ही नहीं है, सरकार बनाने, गिराने में पड़े हुए हैं, इन छोटी-छोटी बातों में क्यों पड़े ।

श्री डाड्याभाई व० पटेल : विज्ञापन की छोटी-छोटी बातों पर क्यों ध्यान दें ।

श्री राजनारायण : कहां से राज्य सभा की सीट हुई । हो गया इनका पक्का । राज्य सभा की सीट का, मिर्धा साहब, हो गया इनका पक्का ।

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: . . . because the Resolution clearly says that pursuant to the undertakings already given in this House the Government of India should do this, this and that Sir, Mr. Alva mentioned the undertakings. The undertakings are very old. The Rajya Sabha passed a Resolution on 4th May, 1956 regarding the foreign-owned and foreign-con-

trolled advertising agencies, and it was in this connection that the Government gave the undertakings. It is surprising that in spite of that Resolution of the Rajya Sabha passed on 4th May, 1956, the Committee on Public Undertakings in 1968-69 had to report that the Government had not carried out the undertakings. And still though the report of the Committee on Public Undertakings came two years back we are discussing this Resolution in 1970. This whole episode is a very sad reminder of the Government's contempt for Parliament. It appears that instead of being sovereign, we, the representatives of the people, are becoming an institution of the third or the fourth order. The Supreme Court says we cannot amend the Constitution. The Supreme Court says we cannot legislate on certain things. And the Government ignores the Resolutions of the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha for years together. This is a very sad state of affairs and it is this contempt for Parliament exhibited both by the Supreme Court on the one hand and the executive on the other, which spells the real danger to democracy in this country. It appears that we have forgotten all that Mahatma Gandhi preached. It appears that have forgotten all that we cried hoarse about during our struggle for independence. The movement for swadeshi is an old movement. It is older than Mahatma Gandhi. The swadeshi movement started in 1905 and Mahatma Gandhi gave the life and blood to it. But what is happening in this country is that even for the sake of ordinary things foreign collaboration and foreign-controlled industries are being patronised. Not long ago—I think it was in 1966—we in this House expressed our anger at the sanctioning of a collaboration to an Indian firm with an American firm for the manufacture of biscuits, and the then Minister of Industry, Mr. Sanjivayya, was very apologetic that even for a thing like the manufacture of biscuits foreign collaboration was sanctioned. But not to be outdone, Mr. Sanji-

vayya's successor, the present Minister of Industrial Development, sanctioned foreign collaboration for the manufacture of ice cream. Those who have been to Bombay recently found Volga ice cream being sold there with a big advertisement that it is manufactured in collaboration with a British firm. Sir, in this atomic age we have set up steel plants. We have set up heavy engineering plants. Our atomic scientists are achieving wonders. But the Ministry of Industrial Development still thinks that for the manufacture of things like biscuits and ice cream we need foreign collaboration, and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting still thinks that we need foreign advertising companies for advertising ordinary things. It is surprising that in spite of the Resolution of the Rajya Sabha moved by Mrs. Violet Alva, who is no more with us, the Government in the Ministry of Finance sanctioned these four foreign collaborations. Mr. Alva has mentioned their names. These four foreign giants were allowed to eat away some of the old Indian concerns.

Sir, there is in this country a great deal of prestige advertising. (*Interruption*) Neither the Minister is listening nor is the mover present here. 'So do not bother . . .

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : आप कष्ट क्यों कर रहे हैं ?

श्री अजुन अरोड़ा : कल अखबार में नाम छपेगा ।

Sir, in this country prestige advertising and unnecessary advertising has become the order of the day. Railways for example do not advertise the time-table or changes in the time-table as much as some prestige advertisements, e.g. "Railways serve the nation." If they serve the nation, let them serve the nation efficiently. Why cry about it? If the Railways have some money for advertisements and the newspapers must get some money from the Railways they should repeatedly print the time-table. What is the fun in publishing slogans like

'Railways serve the nation'? What is the use of such advertisements and slogans when we know that the railway trains generally run late?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): And there are plenty of accidents.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Yes, that is also there. Similarly, the Hindustan Steel Limited is no doubt a pride of the country but why should it advertise in a bid to sell steel? It is all prestige advertisement and it is all unnecessary advertisement and the public sector industries or undertakings should be more careful about it. These steel produced by the Hindustan Steel or produced by the Tatas is not a medicine like Aspirin nor a tooth-brush which people buy because of advertising. Each sheet or rod rolled by the Hindustan Steel or by the Tatas does not bear their trade mark also. Why, therefore, advertise? They should spend that energy in improving their working and improving the conditions of their workers and in bringing about greater efficiency. But unnecessary advertisements go on. And thanks to the merger of four foreign concerns with Indian concerns, which in fact means that four big foreign advertising companies have eaten away four Indian companies, the preference of the public sector is for these big giants of the West.

Advertising, Sir, is a big business particularly in the United States and Western Europe. Advertising has its uses where there is competition. But Railways have no competition except among themselves because sometimes yesterday's train comes today and we do not know about today's train. Why should the Railways issue silly advertisements? They say "Railways serve the nation". They are actually meant to serve the nation and they should learn to serve the nation a little more efficiently.

Sir, the whole approach to foreign collaboration, the foreign-oriented outlook, will have to be changed if this country has to prosper.

[Shri Arjun Arora]

With these words I support the non-official Resolution of Mr. Alva but before I sit down, I want the Minister to apologise to the House on behalf of the Government for not implementing the Resolution of Mrs. Alva passed in 1956 and he should give an assurance that this time the performance will be better. Thank you.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have listened with very great respect to the speech of my old and valued friend Mr. Alva, and my very old and valued friend, Mr. Arora, who does not know as much of advertising as he knows about Indian labour. My qualification for speaking on this Resolution is that I have been a newspaperman for 40 years.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: But you are a journalist, not an Advertisement Manager.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I said I am a newspaperman. I was a Member of the Press Commission which went into the entire question of advertising business in this country. I was the Vice-Chairman of the Small Newspapers Enquiry Committee which also touched the fringe of the advertising business.

But I would like to deal with one point which Mr. Arora made about prestige advertising. Prestige advertising is necessary to keep the name of the product or any industry in the mind of the public. As a Member of Parliament I cannot reel off immediately how many public sector undertakings the Government of India conducts at the present time. Therefore prestige advertising is necessary to remind the members of the public and also the Members of Parliament that so many undertakings are being run by the Government of India. I want to mention BOAC. (*Interruption*) I would come to that question of privilege later. Everybody knows BOAC.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): Is it necessary that such

large amounts should be spent on what my friend, Mr. Arora, called prestige advertisement for you and me to know which are the public sector undertakings in India?

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is necessary, Sir, that prestige advertising should be resorted to to keep an institution or an enterprise in the mind of the public. (*Interruption*) I am coming to that point later. As one who has been a newspaperman for 40 years and who is connected with medium newspapers not favoured by foreign advertising agencies, I would like to say that advertising is not like any other industry where foreign collaboration should be shut out. Advertising is a business of art and art is never national, it is international; it is impossible to keep out foreign advertising for this reason that we have to think in terms of . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The money goes abroad.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, when we may have to advertise our goods, the Hindustan Steel goods, the Hindustan antibiotics, in foreign countries, we will be forced to enter into some kind of local arrangements with some agency in those countries to promote our own external trade. Therefore on account of advertising being an art we cannot keep out foreign advertising agencies. But I would like to make one reservation. Any agency which operates in India must be Indian-controlled with foreign collaboration, I have no objection to that. But this should be in tune with our general collaboration arrangements which are entered into with foreign firms.

Sir, references have been made to 'Hindustan Thompson', 'Lintas', etc. I used to deal with 'Lintas' 30 years ago when Mr. Prakash Tandon who is the Chairman of the STC was in charge of 'Lintas' agency. It was almost a great burden for me and almost an ordeal of tears for me to get some advertising space from him. He used to ask "What is your circulation, how in Bhandara and how many in Gondia and other places?" After all these fo-

foreign agencies have set up certain standards of market performance which are valuable to the advertising profession. In regard to the three agencies mentioned, LPIS, Hindustan Thompson and Lintas, we had to beg for advertising from them. (*Interruption*) Sir, I want to mention here that this advertising profession is so peculiar that at some stage or the other foreign participation in advertising agencies will become inevitable because, if East Germany, the German Democratic Republic wants to advertise in India, it would like to enter into some kind of arrangement with an Indian agency to put its advertisements in the papers and we cannot possibly object to that.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: How illogical you are. The German Democratic Republic will not enter into any agreement with an Indian company for advertising in Germany.

SHRI A. D. MANI: In India, I said. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, you should not allow this running commentary, because my time is limited.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already expressed your views, Mr. Arora. Please allow him to continue.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I wish to say here that the Resolution and the amendment are both premature because the Minister for Information has, in one of his speeches, said that the Government is considering the question of appointing a Second Press Commission. If a second Press Commission is appointed, as it is going to be I believe, as a result of the pressures exercised by various journalistic associations, all these points mentioned by Mr. Mirdha in his amendment and Mr. Alva's resolution would be considered by the Press Commission. Advertising is not such a monopoly as the Birla monopoly or the Sahu Jain Monopoly in the country is. The total advertising revenue in the country in the private sector is estimated to be about

Rs. 30 crores. Considering that one building costs about Rs. 5 crores in the Parliament Street, it is not a very big sum. Advertising is now developing in this country and at this stage any formal enquiry or any restriction placed on the advertisement business will only retard the growth of the advertisement business. You come from Nagpur. There are one or two small agencies which have come into existence. They are trying to tap up the local market and feed the regional papers. I, therefore, feel that we should not confuse this question of foreign agencies with foreign capital in other industries, because advertising belongs to the realm of freedom of expression. For example, in freedom of expression know-how is not confined to one man. Mr. Shankar is one of the greatest cartoonists of the world but if we send him to England on a collaboration arrangement he may not be able to impart his know-how to others. It is a matter of talent. So we have to accept some form of fraternal collaboration with foreign agencies in respect of advertising business.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Why all that?

SHRI A. D. MANI: This is my point of view. What is the purpose of debate? I am putting a contrary point of view. You are a lawyer, Sir. My friend Mr. Patel raised the question of patronage given by the Government. This is one of the reasons why I feel we should not interfere with the structure of advertising agencies in any form at present. The Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity is under the able direction of a very fair-minded person, Brig. Sreenivasan, who has seen to it that the regional, small and medium papers get a fair deal.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Mr. Mani is a veteran parliamentarian. There is no need to mention officers.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You can mention persons in a derogatory manner? That is the privilege of the parlia-

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

metarians. In 1968-69 the small papers got as much as Rs. 14.31 lakhs medium papers 11.28 lakhs, the small and medium papers got in all Rs. 25.57 lakhs, and the bigger papers got

Rs. 14 lakhs only. The small papers are being helped but purely on commercial considerations, I would like to ask you whether a private firm would have spent the money in the form in which it is being done by the DAVP? The private sector is interested in a return and a quick return and it will choose the most commercially profitable enterprise for inserting their advertisements but then it is public policy for us to help the small and medium papers and therefore I do not object the DAVP helping the small and medium papers. I am one of those who has benefited in this category because we are small and medium but purely from the commercial consideration, all such expenditure on the basis of smallness or mediumness or bigness cannot be justified.

Then I agree with Mr. Alva that since our advertisement budget is increasing every year, we must recruit qualified advertising men to man these positions. Now they have an information Cadre. No. 2 may be somebody connected with somebody in the Agriculture Ministry. If there is a job of a Director of Advertising vacant, that person, because he is No. 2 in the Cadre and knows a lot about agriculture, he is posted to that job. This is wholly unsatisfactory and I feel that the Government should now start thinking of having a specialised advertising unit of its own which should be recruited largely from the advertising profession and should be manned by those persons who have got knowledge of the conditions of the advertising business in India.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Is there any training school?

SHRI A. D. MANI: This is an art. In the matter of copywriting, it is again

an art. I would not be able to write a good copy although I have been a journalist for long.

That other point is that since you are raising this question of advertising and the public sector corporations advertising being taken over by the Indian agencies only we should try to have some kind of a body which will supervise Government advertising and which will prevent Government advertising being used as patronage. This is very important particularly with a minority Government at the Centre and in the various States. It is highly necessary that the Minister should accept some form of a supervision over the distribution of advertisement revenue in this country. I am not yet ready with the concrete proposals but I am thinking in terms of a committee consisting of persons who have knowledge of the industry and having representation from Members from both the Houses who will see to it that this advertisement revenue which is being placed at the Government's disposal, which I understand is about Rs. 3 crores now, is not used for purposes not connected with the public but for promotion of party or sectional interests. I am in agreement with Mr. Patel that the advertisement revenue should not be used for profit. Finally I would say that Indian advertising has grown rapidly from 1930. Over a period of 40 years I have seen it grow. Lintas in Bombay are a very fine agency but then they require a lot of expertise and expertise comes from competition. It is necessary that foreign competition should also be there because, as I said, it is a question of art. In the realm of art and literature, we cannot say we must produce an Indian Shakespeare against an English Shakespeare and say this is national and that is international. This is a question of creative effort and we should approach this matter in a very broad-minded way because we are now coming to the take-off stage when our public sector enterprise may have to

advertise abroad, may have to set up their own agencies or enter into collaboration with others. Foreign trade as well as mutual international understanding is always bilateral. We should rid ourselves of this obsession that the foreign monopoly is coming and sitting heavily on the Indian papers. I would like to say this that generally foreign capital is mixed up with foreign influence in this country. I would like to say this, in fairness to the Indian press, which I know quite well, and I hope Mr. Gujral will note this fact, that the oil companies have been advertising over a period of years in the Indian press but the Indian press, by and large, stood by Mr. Malaviya's policy of indigenous exploration of oil. Even on the question the control of the prices of drugs many papers received advertisements from the drug manufacturers but no paper has ever agreed to support the drug manufacturers to retain the present high level of prices. In this context we have set up a higher standard of performance than the British press which is very amenable to the pressure of advertising agencies.

Sir, I would like to make a final remark before I conclude and it is this. I would not expect the hon. Minister to give a straightforward assurance in respect of this Resolution.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am giving my opinion and you cannot prevent me from expressing it. This is Parliament. This is not one-man show. This is everybody's show.

As I said, Sir, I do not expect him to give an assurance. (*Interruptions*) I want him to leave all these matters to be examined by a press commission, which is far more qualified to go into this matter in detail by taking the evidence from all the concerned parties.

I repeat what I said that this Resolution at this stage is premature and uncalled for.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Sir, the Resolution which is before us was

moved by Shrimati Violet Alva in 1956.

SHRI DAHUYABHAI V. PATEL: Not this Resolution.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Almost in identical terms.

SHRI DAHUYABHAI V. PATEL: That is a different matter.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: That resolution was withdrawn and another resolution, with the consent of the Government, was passed by this House. And it is very clear from what has been said just now that that resolution and the spirit of the Resolution has not been implemented by the Government for which I would crave your indulgence to quote two paragraphs from the Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings.

"The Committee further regret that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting after issuing the instructions failed to watch their implementation or take any step to effect their compliance.

The Committee recommend that the public undertakings should furnish yearly reports to the controlling administrative ministries indicating therein as to how far they had implemented these instructions. The Ministries in their turn should send those reports to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting who should highlight the conclusions in their Annual Report."

Now, Sir, the least we can do is to have an assurance from Government that at least from now onwards these recommendations of the Committee on Public Undertaking would be strictly adhered to and regular reports would be sent and published in their Annual Report.

Now, Sir, I just heard Mr. A. D. Mani who had raised a number of basic problems. So I would rather state by giving my views on what he said.

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha.]

He mentioned about the Press Commission and the Small Newspapers Committee. The Press Commission was appointed a long time back, and the data they had before them was as old as 1951. The Small Newspapers Committee also did not go into this question thoroughly. They just touched upon it as part of the general problem. So, Sir, I will start by stressing the spirit of my amendment and say that a committee specially meant to probe all aspects of advertising business in our country is very necessary, and it would not be a day too soon if such a short of enquiry is started right now. To wait for a fresh commission is dangerous from two points of view. Firstly, we do not know when that press commission would come and, secondly, it would not receive the type of attention that I would like this important national problem to receive. Therefore a special committee just to probe into all aspects of advertising business and art should be accepted by the Government, and it should be started as early as possible.

Then, Sir, another thing was said, that advertising is an art, that it is not like any other business.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: It is commercial art.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: He did not even say that it is commercial art.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is commercial art....

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Even our film people say that they do not want any Government interference because it is an art form. There is no doubt it is an art form, but even an art form needs to be regulated, and there should be certain guide-lines on which art institutions or advertising institutions should proceed. And art is actually not in the management but in the production. If the management is not foreign, it does not mean that art would not be of a very high quality.

And then I will refute Mr. Mani's contention that art cannot be Indian. He says, if it is art, it is universal. I would definitely say that there is something like Indian art. One of my greatest complaints against the present trends in advertising is that the advertisements are completely divorced from our cultural traditions. If you see the trend, we are copying all the symbols and trappings of an affluent and a degenerate Western society. You see the advertisements, Sir. They are all sexy, all gimmicks, like beauty contests, all sorts of prizes, competitions, all suggestive of sex. I definitely object to all the phrases suggestive of sex and so on.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is the *vata-varan*.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: If it is the *vatavaran*, it has to be curtailed now. I am glad he mentioned it. We have to check this thing. All these trends are most unhealthy. Since we are going on a very wrong track and there is nothing Indian about it, I definitely say that there is something like Indian culture, Indian art, and all our activities whether in advertising or in journalism, should be imbued with the spirit that is Indian, which unfortunately is completely absent from our present activity in advertising. One reason why it is so is the influence of foreign agents.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Do you mean to say are must be Indianised?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Localised, regionalised.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: It is all foreign collaborators and Western collaborators who have initiated these trends, and I think they must be stopped as early as possible.

Now, Sir, another basic thing has been raised that why there should be advertising, first by the private enterprises and second by the Government. I will deal with these

separately. In a closed economy like ours, when there is a perpetual scarcity of everything—and that is also because of Government policies we have cut out all imports; the licensed capacity is much less than the demand at a particular time—there is absolutely no use of adding to the net cost of a product by advertising and salesmanship. It is definitely detrimental to the growth of our economy. It just means competition for things which are already scarce. So from that point of view it is not very necessary; it is not that advertising is something indispensable for the growth of Indian economy. I contest that proposition. No undue advantage or encouragement should be given to this sort of advertising and the marketing practices which are being followed now. Dalda is in short supply; yet the manufacturers of Dalda spend a lakh of rupees to push the sale of Dalda, even when there is not sufficient Dalda to go round. It is because they want to go on passing the commission and other benefits to the advertising agencies, to the big executives, who fatten on this sort of business and with whom they have links.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: And oblige Mr. A. D. Mani.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: As regards Government advertisements there may be still less necessity for them. To say about the Indian Railways or about Hindustan Steel, what they do and what they do not do, I do not think it is at all necessary to advertise all this. We are again following the Western pattern of prestige advertising and other types of advertising, which is not at all necessary in this country, because it has led to malpractices, which are being mentioned every now and then here. If you have this sort of press advertising, there are bound to be complaints of favouritism and things like that. Therefore this Government advertising policy has to be reviewed. For example, see the classified advertisements spread over column after

column. See the cost also. I think it costs ten or fifteen thousand rupees for one insertion in two or three newspapers. Instead of these advertisements I think Government should publish a journal—which they might distribute even free—containing these advertisements.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Nobody will read it if you publish it.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The advertisements may be meant for the contractors, for example. Now, the contractors, who are a specialised small group, will definitely go through this and see what is wanted by the Government. Then there may be the advertisements of vacancies and things like that. Now, every man, who is out of job and wants service will definitely go through the journal and see what is there for him. So these things can be done in this way and it can be done in a more effective manner and at much less cost than is the case now. I am very serious to urge upon the Government to stop all classified advertisements and publish a journal of their own for the purpose, which may be distributed even free to anyone who asks for it. All Government advertisements for services, for vacancies, for products, for tenders, etc. should be incorporated in the journal, and all advertisements should be stopped from all newspapers.

Then, Sir, another point was raised by Mr. A. D. Mani that it helps the small newspapers. Now let us face these things squarely. Is the Government spending that much money to help journalism? If it is so.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: It never reaches the small newspapers.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: So it does not reach the small newspapers. I agree the cream of the whole expenditure goes to the bigger newspapers, and the whole thing is topsyturvy. So, even from that point of view Government advertising policy should be reviewed, and that can only

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha]

be done by the type of committee that I have suggested. Well, Sir, there are two amendments of mine which I will shortly explain. One is a short amendment which says that the words "or any industrial or other organisation which enjoys financial assistance or protection from Government" are to be deleted. If this amendment is accepted, what it will amount to is that all Government advertisements should be channelled through Indian-controlled bodies. But of his amendment were not accepted, it would mean that even a business firm, which has taken a loan from, say, a Financial Corporation, would also be covered by this. So I would like to make it more realistic. I would request Government to please accept this amendment.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Even State enterprises.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Yes, State enterprises should be covered. This Resolution, as originally framed by Mr. Alva, would cover all enterprises, even private enterprises which have taken some assistance from Government, which would be rather too much. As far as my other amendment is concerned I have given the various points which the proposed Committee would go into and I would very seriously say that it is very necessary that this should be done.

As regards foreign collaboration I do not think there is any law in our country under which a foreign advertising firm has to take permission before he comes and starts a business. We have a law for the industrial undertakings which means if one wants to start an industrial undertaking you will have to seek Government's permission but there is I think no law which prevents a person coming here and starting an advertising business. It is basically wrong that there should be no law or no regulation in an important matter like this. So what is necessary is that the Government should come out with a comprehen-

sive law which would make for the registration, functioning and working of all these enterprises by which even the foreign collaborators would also be checked.

These are the main things that I wanted to say and I think it is very necessary that all these things should be very thoroughly probed into and that can only be done by a Committee which I hope the Government would appoint by accepting this Resolution with this amendment of mine. If we can have things like censorship and other regulations in the proposed Film Council for the films there is no reason why advertising should be left out. Advertising may be a form of art but it is essentially a big business and every big business has to be controlled in a particular way.

Before I close I would urge the Government to kindly accept both these amendments so that we can start an era and so that this advertising would proceed on healthy lines and our country as a whole may benefit from this very important medium.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: May I say, Sir, through you request Mr. Alva, the proposer, to accept the amendment regarding the appointment of the Committee?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I would accept it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I have listened to the discussion so far, but I am afraid I must say that Mr. Alva seems to be labouring under a lot of misapprehension. I know Mr. Alva has been trying to run a journal for a long time and he has had his difficulties. But these difficulties should not make him bitter against people who are able to manage better. He was talking about my sitting on a pile of money I do not know where he gets his information from. He is generally wrong—and he is in this case also—because his case is built on prejudices. It is true I was managing a certain newspaper. It was being

managed and run for the Congress by a Board of Directors. I did not draw any remuneration for all the three years I worked there because it was honorary work. I not only put my money in it but I also brought in money from friends which the newspaper company was not able to repay. I am not sitting on a pile of money. Mr. Alva is thoroughly misinformed about many things as about this also.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He was talking of the old days, Dahyabhai.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: In the old days also I was not sitting on a pile of money. If you want to know, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, I started life as a humble apprentice in an insurance firm on a salary of Rs. 100.

SHRI A. D. MANI: And you also lost a lot of money in the business.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I have done no other business. So I am not sitting on a pile of money. My life is clean and open book; you are welcome to check it at any time. I am repeating it for those people who have still some doubt about that.

Now certain things were said about the advertising business. I know there is a lot of prestige advertisements which may be necessary or may not be necessary. It may be a matter of doubt but I do not understand why Government concerns like the Railways advertise so much when they are not able to give the essential services which they should. Even the supply of time table they are not able to do. I was in Gujarat recently in the month of January and at two, three or four stations I asked, can I have a time table. I did not say Gujarati or English; any language. would have been all right but no time table was available. Under such circumstances are the Railways justified in printing large prestige advertisements as they are called? The Railways are out for service; that is what they want to tell us or that is what the Railways pay the newspapers for saying. But do they do it?

What is the feeling of the average passenger or the average person who travels in the Railways? Therefore this type of mesmerism or trying to create an atmosphere by advertising by the Railways and other Governments concerns is wrong, and should not be indulged in.

SHRI A. D. MANI: This you should say in the Railway Budget.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I know but I do not like to see money from the Railways being mis-spent in this way. It is also known that sometimes the business and sometimes the Government also gives advertisements which may be called hush money or patronage if you like it that way. That is wrong; that is objectionable.

I am not in favour of what Mr. Alva says about foreign advertising agencies. The art of advertising is something new to India and I hope it will develop to something much more than what it is. Because of our population, this is a market which will attract the whole world and therefore advertising is bound to grow not only that but it will induce the foreigners to advertise here and bring their money into this country. If we recognise that fact, we cannot say that we will have only those advertisements channelled through Indian agencies. And remember that foreign countries can retaliate also on the same basis. If you want your advertisements to be printed in foreign journals there has to be a certain amount of give and take. In the initial stage when we are learning, when we have not developed so much perhaps it would look as if we are giving more but I think that is what we have to pay for the time that we have lost and for learning. This can only be a business of goodwill; you cannot make it a one-sided business. Therefore I would strongly oppose this Resolution brought forward by my friend, Mr. Alva. It is entirely misconceived. I am sorry. I hope it is not true but my feeling is that frustration has got the better of Mr. Alva's judgment. It is because that he was not able to make a su-

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: cess or make his journal into something big that he dreamt of that he is against advertising agencies, that he is against businessmen, that he is against everything.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: It is you who could not make a success of your paper and lost Rs. 33 lakhs.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I told you everything. This is the trouble with Mr. Alva. He suffers from a misapprehensions. (*Interruptions*) Look at the way in which he is behaving.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: You should not make personal allegations.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: You started the game. You referred to me first. I did not refer to you. You began by referring to me and saying that I am sitting on a pile of money. If you make allegations you should be prepared to receive. If something is unpleasant to you it is equally unpleasant to other people. There are other people also who have done a little service to the country. It has not been your monopoly, remember that.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He is against monopoly.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: I hope he is.

श्री भिरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, आल्वा जी ने अभी यह जो संकल्प प्रस्तुत किया है, उसके पक्ष में और विपक्ष में दोनों प्रकार की बातें हमने सुनीं। मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि भारत-वर्ष में एडवर्टाइजमेंट की जो कला है वह विल-कुल नयी है और इसमें संदेह नहीं की भारत-वर्ष के अखबार, भारतवर्ष के दूसरे निगम और भारतवर्ष की दूरणी संस्थायें अभी विज्ञापन-बाजी में संसार के जो विज्ञापनकर्ता हैं, उनकी अपेक्षा बहुत पीछे हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA) in the Chair].

अभी कुछ दिन पहले विज्ञापनकर्ताओं के बारे में इंग्लैंड के एक पेपर में चर्चा हुई थी कि वहां पर एक बहुत ही छोटे आदमी ने धीरे-धीरे उन्नति करते हुए विज्ञापनबाजी में इतनी

उन्नति की कि आज वह संसार का एक बहुत धनी आदमी बन गया है। हमारे देश में दुर्भाग्य से यह कला बहुत पिछड़ी रही और उसका कारण यह रहा कि लोगों ने कभी इस कला की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया। अधिकांश में जिन लोगों ने विज्ञापनबाजों की या जिन्होंने विज्ञापन करने के लिये इस तरफ ध्यान दिया उन्होंने अपनी आत्मस्तुति में ही अधिकांश में धन खर्च किया। उदाहरण के लिये आप यहां पर जितने निगम हैं या जितनी संस्थायें हैं या जितने ऐसे संस्थान हैं जो कि विज्ञापन दे सकते हैं या उसके ऊपर धन खर्च करते हैं, उनके विज्ञापनों को आप देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि विज्ञापन में तो कम लिखा रहता है, लेकिन उनके नाम के आगे भूषण, आभूषण रहते हैं और उनका उद्देश्य अपनी वस्तु को बाजार में उतनी प्रसिद्धि करना नहीं होता जितना कि अपने नाम को प्रकाशित करना होता है और यदि कारण है कि वह इस कला में बहुत पीछे हैं।

अभी ऐसी चर्चा भी की गई कि भारत सरकार को इस पर ध्यान दे कर इस प्रकार की एक निगम सरीखा बनाना चाहिये जो कि समय समय पर इस प्रकार की खोजबीन करे और देखे कि भारतवर्ष में इस प्रकार के प्रतिष्ठानों को कहां तक लाभ पहुंचा सकते हैं और उसके द्वारा भारतवर्ष के प्रतिष्ठानों को किस प्रकार आगे चला सकते हैं। श्रीमन् जो विज्ञापन हैं वे दो प्रकार के होते हैं एक विज्ञापन तो ऐसे हैं जो कि कामुकता से भरे होते हैं, उनकी भाषा ही गन्दी नहीं होती बल्कि उन विज्ञापनों में जिन चित्रों का समावेश होता है, वे इस प्रकार के होते हैं, उनमें इस प्रकार के हाव-भाव बतलाये जाते हैं, जिससे कि कला के प्रति अरुचि ही नहीं होती, बल्कि ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि उनको किसी प्रकार से भी इजाजत ही नहीं देनी चाहिये। दूसरे प्रकार के विज्ञापन ऐसे होते हैं, जिन विज्ञापनों में सही बात न कह कर के असत्य बात का प्रचार किया जाता है। भारतवर्ष में दुर्भाग्य से ये दोनों प्रकार के विज्ञापन चलते हैं और इन विज्ञापनों का विदेशी

विज्ञापनदाताओं की अपेक्षा भारत के ही विज्ञापनकर्ता जो हैं वे अधिक प्रचार करते रहते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये अगर किसी एक दवा के बारे में विज्ञापन है, जिसके बारे में उनको सौ फीसदी मालूम है कि यह दवा कोई प्रभाव नहीं डालती, उस दवा का कोई प्रभाव नहीं होता है और बाजार में जो उपयोगकर्ता है, उन्होंने भी उस दवा के बारे में मालूम कर लिया है कि इससे कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है, वह ऐसे बड़े बड़े अक्षरों में विज्ञापन आता है और विज्ञापन ऐसा होता है, जिससे कि साधारण श्रेणी का आदमी उसकी तरफ आकर्षित हो जाय और वह समझे कि वह बहुत अच्छी चीज है। तो हिन्दुस्तान में दो प्रकार के विज्ञापन होते हैं, एक तो अशिष्ट है और दूसरे गलत। अब जहां तक विदेशी कम्पनियों का सम्बन्ध है, उनके मुकाबिले में निश्चित रूप से भारतवर्ष के ये लोग इस मामले में कमजोर हैं और जितने बाहर के विज्ञापनकर्ता हैं या जो इस प्रकार की एजेंसियां हैं, वे उतनी सीमा तक गलत नहीं होती है जितनी सीमा तक भारतवर्ष के लोग गलती करते हैं। तो शासन को पहले श्री जोकिम आलवा के इस संकल्प पर विचार नहीं करना चाहिये कि केवल भारतवर्ष की एजेंसियों के द्वारा ही विज्ञापन का प्रचार किया जाय और बाहर की जितनी विज्ञापन एजेंसियां हैं, उनको एकदम समाप्त कर दिया जाय, यह बिल्कुल अनुचित होगा, उसके लिये पहले यह देखना के कि क्या वास्तविक स्थिति है। भारतवर्ष के लोग इस कला में माहिर नहीं हैं, पूर्ण रूप से माहिर नहीं हैं और उनसे बहुत कुछ सीखने की स्थिति में हैं।

हमारे कुछ मित्र जब एडवर्टाइजमेंट की चर्चा कर रहे थे, तब कुछ दूसरे प्रश्नों पर भी विचार किया, जैसे कि अरोड़ा साहब ने इसमें सुप्रीम कोर्ट का नाम भी जोड़ दिया। हम समझते हैं कि उसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी। मौके, वेमौके अपने क्रोध और अपने फ्रस्ट्रेशन के नाम पर कभी किसी को घसीटाना यह कोई अच्छी परिपाटी नहीं है।

हम समझते हैं कि जो सम्बन्धित विषय है, उसी विषय पर बोलना चाहिये था, दूसरे विषय पर नहीं।

इसी प्रकार गवर्नमेंट को भी कुछ बातों पर ध्यान रखना चाहिये अभी हमारे सामने एक केस आया कि गवर्नमेंट कुछ मामलों में बेईमानी करती है और वह बेईमानी इस प्रकार के एडवर्टाइजमेंट में, उसके देने में यह करती है कि वह पक्षपात का रूप धारण कर लेता है, जो व्यक्ति गवर्नमेंट की नीति में हां में हां मिलाने हैं, उनको एडवर्टाइजमेंट के जरिये धन पहुंचाया जाता है और जो गवर्नमेंट की हां में हां मिलाने से इंकार करते हैं, उनको एक दूसरे प्रकार से पक्षपात कर के धन से हानि पहुंचाने का यत्न गवर्नमेंट करती है, जैसा कि पिछले दो तीन वर्षों में टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के मामले में हुआ। बनेट कोलमैन के मैनेजिंग एजेंट्स के समय में देखा गया था कि उस समय उसने गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी से किनारा कसा और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि उसको विज्ञापन देना बन्द कर दिया गया। तो इस प्रकार की नीति गवर्नमेंट की नहीं होनी चाहिये। दूसरी बात यह कि विज्ञापन के मामले में गवर्नमेंट को देखना चाहिये कि कहां-कहां क्या क्या होता है। बहुत से छोटे मोटे अखबार ऐसे व्यक्ति निकालते हैं जो कि गवर्नमेंट की हां में हां मिलाने वाले हों, उनके अखबार की कोई प्रसिद्धी नहीं होती, उनके अखबार का कोई सरकुलेशन नहीं होता लेकिन चूँकि वह गवर्नमेंट की बातों में जी हुजूरी करते हैं इसलिये उनको अधिक से अधिक लाभ पहुंचाने का यत्न किया जाता है। हम यहां पर इस प्रकार के एक अखबार का उदाहरण देते हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में वहां के जो चीफ मिनिटर हैं उनके द्वारा एक अखबार निकलता है रायपुर से और उसका नाम "महाकौशल" अखबार है, ऐसा मालूम हुआ है कि महाकौशल अखबार एक हजार से कम, उसके नीचे ही छूता है जब कि 10 हजार छपने के नाम पर उसका पृज प्रिंट लेते हैं। तो यह भी एक जांच की, अनुसंधान की चीज है। तो गवर्नमेंट

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

को देखना चाहिये कि विज्ञापन देते समय वह केवल पक्षपात की नीति पर ही तो नहीं चल रही है। विज्ञापन देते समय उनको बिल्कुल पक्षपात की नीति से परे रहना चाहिये। जहां यह व्यवहार हो, चाहे वह सरकारी हो या और कोई हो, वहां इस तरह का वातावरण बना कर रखना चाहिये ताकि कोई उनके ऊपर इस प्रकार के इल्जाम न लगा सके।

हमारे मित्र मणि साहब ने कहा कि विज्ञापनदाताओं की जो एजेंसीज हैं, उनको हम डिस्टेंड विद नहीं कर सकते। यह बात तो सही है, लेकिन वहां उसके साथ ही साथ दूसरी बात सही नहीं है कि वह सदैव ही इंटरनेशनल, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय होती है, इस बात को कोई भी आदमी स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। अगर उनकी इस बात को कि सदैव वह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संस्था रहे माना जाय तो हम समझते हैं कि इससे हमारे अपने यहां के उद्योग को बड़ा धक्का लगता है और इससे जो सीखने वाले हैं, उनको भी आगे नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं। इस समय जो वर्तमान परिस्थिति है वह परिस्थिति यह है कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विज्ञापनदाताओं की जो संस्थायें हैं, उन संस्थाओं की रीति नीति को हम देखें और यह देखने के बाद कि किस तरह से वह प्रचार करती हैं, उसी प्रकार से प्रचार करने में हम भी आगे बढ़ें। उदाहरण के लिये कम्प्युनिस्ट रूस की एक संस्था है जिसे नोवोस्ती एजेंसी कहते हैं। यह संस्था अपना काम करती है और जगह जगह इसके द्वारा विज्ञापन दिया जाता है। दूसरे देशों में किस प्रकार से वह विज्ञापन दे कर अपना काम करती हैं, इसको देखना है। इसी प्रकार से अमेरिका में भी कुछ संस्थायें हैं। तो इस समय आवश्यकता यह है कि इन संस्थाओं के द्वारा भारत-वर्ष में इस कला का विकास किया जाय और यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि गवर्नमेन्ट को, सरकार को, इस दिशा में निश्चेष्ट नहीं रहना चाहिये, उसके लिये इस बात का यत्न

करना चाहिये, ऐसे नियम बनाने चाहिये, इस प्रकार के कोई स्कूल या कोई संस्था का निर्माण करना चाहिये, जिसमें कि इस आर्ट को आगे ले चलने के लिये, इसके परिवर्धन करने, उत्साहित करने के लिये बराबर पर्याप्त मसाला मिल सके और तभी हम समझते हैं कि वास्तव में भारतवर्ष इस कला को आगे बढ़ा सकेगा।

हमने बहुत से स्थानों में देखा है कि इस कला में भारतवर्ष इतना नीचा है कि एक साधारण सी बात को भी हम शिष्टता के साथ नहीं रख सकते हैं। जैसा कि अभी बताया गया कि प्रेस्टिज की तरह से कभी कभी विज्ञापन किया जाता है, लेकिन बाहर के लोग किसी विज्ञापन को इस प्रकार से प्रदर्शित करते हैं कि आदमी की इच्छा न भी हो तो भी उसे पढ़ने के लिये इच्छा हो जाय। यह भी है कि व्यर्थ में कभी कभी गवर्नमेन्ट विज्ञापनबाजी में इतना धन खर्च करती है कि जिसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं होती। जैसा कि हमारे मित्र ने कहा कि रेलवेज में यह सब होता है और बहुत सी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं जो कि हानि पर चल रही है, लेकिन हानि पर चलने के बाद भी इतने भौंडे विज्ञापनों का प्रदर्शन करती है कि किसी आदमी को उसे पढ़ने की इच्छा नहीं होनी। अगर दो तीन वर्ष में उन्होंने एकाध नई चीज निकाल दी, तो यह विज्ञापननिकालेंगे कि हमने भी उत्पादन कर के बता दिया। उदाहरण के लिये भोपाल का हैवी इलैक्ट्रिकल्स है। हैवी इलैक्ट्रिकल्स के मामले में सब लोगों को मालूम है कि उसकी हानि की मर्यादा इस समय 70 करोड़ रुपये है, वह 70 करोड़ रुपये की हानि में चल रहा है और दो तीन वर्षों में वहां एकाध जेनरेटर निकल गया, तो उसका एडवर्टाइजमेंट इतने भौंडे तरीके से करेगे, जिससे कि लोगों को उसमें अहंति हो जाती है।

4 P.M.

हम गवर्नमेन्ट से यह चाहते हैं और हमारी यह अकांक्षा है कि इस प्रकार की जो नकली

विज्ञापनबाजी है, उसको बंद करने में भी गवर्नमेंट अपना दृष्टिकोण अपनाए और गवर्नमेंट इस दिशा में पहल करे और अच्छे प्रकार की विज्ञापनदाता एजेंसियों को यहां भी स्थापित करने में सहयोग दे। जिस प्रकार विज्ञापनदाता एजेंसियां भारत के बाहर है और वह भारतवर्ष में अपने पांव जमाती जा रही है, हम भी चाहते हैं कि हमारी एजेंसियां भी बाहर जाये। दूसरे देशों में भी हमारा व्यापारिक कालेक्शन जा रहा है, बिड़ला ग्रुप आफ इन्डस्ट्रीज दूसरे देशों में जा रहा है, मिडिल ईस्ट में भारत की ओर से नयी कंपनियां भारत के नये उद्योग-पतियों द्वारा खुल रही हैं, इसी तरह से पूर्व के देशों में भी हमारे उद्योगपति जा रहे हैं। तो वहां पर जो हमारा विज्ञापनदाता और एजेंसिया है वे अधिक कमा सकती है और हमारा नाम भी वहां हो सकता है। इस दिशा में हम शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Mr. Bhargava.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, I have to go for an urgent meeting. I just want to say that I accept both the amendments.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am very glad that my friend, Mr. Alva, has brought forward this resolution. If I may go back, this question was first raised by his wife and our respected Deputy Chairman, Mrs. Violet Alva, in 1956. The resolution which she moved at that time was in the following terms:—

This House is of opinion that Government should take steps to enquire into the monopolistic hold of foreign owned and foreign controlled advertising agencies in India and to ensure that the advertising of Government sponsored companies statutory corporations, railways and firms which enjoy financial assistance or protection from Government, is done through Indian advertising agencies only.

There was a regular debate in this House on the 4th of May, 1956. The hon. Members of the House at that time took part in the debate, and almost all of them expressed themselves in favour of the resolution. But another of my friends, Mr. V. K. Dhage, moved what he called a substitute resolution, and his substitute resolution was:

"Having regard to the stronghold of foreign-owned and foreign controlled advertising agencies on the business of advertising in the country, this House is of opinion that with a view to encourage Indian-controlled and Indian-owned advertising agencies. Governments should show preference to Indian-controlled and Indian-owned advertising agencies in the matter of advertising done by Railways, Government companies, statutory corporation, Public Service Commissions and such other concerns including advertising done by Government in general."

The then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. B. V. Keskar was pleased to accept the substitute resolution and it was adopted unanimously by the House.

Now probably the Government will take shelter under the pretext that the Rajya Sabha had only said show preference", but that technical stand should not hold good. The wish of the Rajya Sabha was absolutely clear in the debate which was held. The view was that more and more Indian advertising agencies should get work and less and less publicity work should be given to the foreign-controlled advertising agencies. If I may give a little figure work at this stage, when Mrs. Alva moved the resolution, 72 per cent of the advertisements were going to the foreign advertising agencies and 28 per cent were going to the advertising agencies. I will only give credit that a snail's pace improvement has been made in the whole situation. So far as today's position is concerned according to the report of the Public

[Shri M. P. Bhargava.]

Undrtakings Committee 60 per cent of the advertisements are going to the foreign-controlled agencies and 40 per cent are going to Indian agencies. So, legitimately the Ministry can take credit that there has been an increase of 12 per cent as far as the Indian advertising agencies are concerned. But here we have to consider whether this is progress adequate enough after the changed status of this country. When that resolution was discussed, it was only about eight or nine years after independence and the position was unhappy at that time, but it could be tolerated for some reason or other. But after twenty two years of independence it is a sad plight if we have to depend still for our advertisements on foreign advertising agencies. Let us try to understand what the Government has done in the matter. This is what I find in the report of the Public Undertakings Committee, which says:

In pursuance of the Rajya Sabha Resolution, the Government of India laid down in September, 1956, the following directive principles in the matter of advertising by the nationalised undertakings, statutory bodies, autonomous corporations, etc. :—

“(i) While releasing advertisements through advertising agencies preference should be shown to Indian advertising agencies.

(ii) In giving business to Indian Advertising Agencies, the selection should be confined to the panel prepared from time to time by the Director of Advertising and Visual Publicity on the basis of standard and extent of their business.”

I will not be very much wrong if I say that the Government thought that their duty was over with these two decisions being communicated through a circular to the persons concerned. That is all what I have been able to make out from the report of the Pub-

lic Undertakings Committee that that was the only thing which was done by the Government of India or the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to implement of resolution of this august House, and that is the reasons why today we find ourselves in the same position. There is not much improvement. I would urge upon the Government that they should take the resolutions of this august House or the other House more seriously than they have been doing hitherto. I have had occasions to speak several times in this House about the Government apathy for non-officials work, and this is a case where it is proved beyond any doubt. What are the non-official resolutions and Bills meant for. After they are passed do they not have as much force as the official Bills or official resolutions passed? Do they not have the same mandate of this House or the other House as the official work done. I would like to ask the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. If this were an official Resolution, instead of an unofficial Resolution, would he have shown the same apathy? Would he have taken the same inadequate steps for its implementation as he has done or his Ministry has done? And that feeling of mine finds a place in the remarks of the Public Undertakings Committee which says in paragraph 3.59 of its Report—

“The Committee further regret that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting after issuing the instructions failed to watch their implementation or take any steps to effect their compliance.”

This is exactly what I have said. I will urge upon the Government that those Members who bring forward non-official Bills or non-official Resolutions have to do their home-work and then only are they in a position to bring forward non-official Bills. And it takes years and years to get any non-official Bill or Resolution passed because it has to pass through the ballot, it has to go through the priorities and it is very

fortunate for those Members who get an opportunity of having their Resolutions or Bills discussed and get them passed. If after all that labour this kind of apathy is shown, there will be no incentive for any private Members to work and many of the good things which come through non-official sources will never see the light of day. I am not saying anything light-heartedly, I am saying with all seriousness that the Government should be more responsive to the non-official Members' work.

Now, there are certain other recommendations which the Committee on Public Undertakings have made and they also deserve consideration. The Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings was submitted on April 26, 1969, almost ten months earlier. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps he has taken so far to implement the recommendations of the Public Undertakings Committee which has categorically said what the Resolution of Mr. Alva points today, and they have further laid down a very healthy thing which I hope every body concerned will follow, and that is the recommendation in paragraph 4.25 on page 31:—

"The Committee further recommends that all the undertakings should mention in their Annual Reports the extent to which they have implemented the Government policies. The Ministries on their part should also keep a closer watch to ensure that the Government policies are being followed by the undertakings not only in letter but also in spirit."

I would request Mr. Gujral to note these words—"are followed not only in letter but also in spirit."

"The Ministries should furnish Reports to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting who should review the matter thoroughly and state the conclusions in their Annual Reports."

I do hope that the Ministry will see that in future, from today onwards,

this healthy recommendation of the Public Undertakings Committee is enforced strictly without fear or favour.

Before I conclude, I want to draw the attention of the House to another wasteful expenditure and that is about the printing of the Annual Reports of the public undertakings outside India, in foreign countries. I have come across a number of such Reports. In my personal opinion, Indian printing has developed to that extent where it can cater to the needs of this country without our looking to other countries, and I would request Mr. Gujral to take up the matter at the highest level in the Government and issue instructions that henceforward no Report of any public undertaking, howsoever mighty that public undertaking be, shall be allowed to be printed in any country except our own country, that is India.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, having heard my very good friends, Mr. Alva, Mr. Mani and Mr. Dahyabhai Patel and others, I have certain observations to make. The only qualification that I have for taking this work is that I am a qualified marketing man. Sir, what is marketing? People have been arguing that advertising increases cost, it is a dead weight, it is a wastage. But it has been proved beyond doubt that advertising is a must. It is the method to create and increase productivity of any business or industrial undertaking.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what does this advertising do? It increases the sales, it increases productivity. Under the circumstances, 14 years back, Mrs. Alva had brought forward a Resolution which was accepted, about which Mr. Bhargava has been speaking so much. But it is a pity that the Government has not taken serious note of it and has not done follow-up work to give sufficient and effective implementation to that. Sir, I am one of those who would always like to encourage local talents. Local

[Shri G. A. Appan.]

talents cannot be utilised unless they are grown up to a certain standard. How can a bird fly of its own accord unless it has learnt for some time to come to the standard which is required to fly alone, and without falling to the ground? How far have we developed in the field of marketing? Advertising is one of the various facets of marketing, sales management, exports, salesmanship and what not. Our Government officers are not ordinary people. They have to see that the money of the Government is spent on such good advertising techniques in the appropriate journals which command a good product image or product impression, not only of the product but of the services also. Perhaps all the Government advertisements aim at that. Suppose they give it to some unqualified or imperfect undertaking because it is an Indian-own undertaking of advertising, will not this House and that House take them to task? Naturally, they are also responsible to both the Houses of Parliament, to the hon. Minister and to the Director of Advertising and Visual Publicity.

Advertisements are of various kinds. There are prestige advertisements, monopoly advertisements, T. V. advertisements, advertisement on cinemas, slide advertisements, wall poster advertisements, institutional advertisements and advertisements in dailies, journals and scientific periodicals. Of course, the officers know all these things. They have to give advertisements to proper journals. For that we cannot take them to task. What I would only impress upon this august House and the Government is that the money spent on advertising, through the advertising agencies, should be fully qualifiable. But is it necessary that they should be only Indian advertising agencies? Supposing we receive our advertisements only through the Indian agencies. Will not an advertising agency in another country like to restrict its advertising revenue to their own adver-

tising media? It has to be a two-way traffic. It is never one-way traffic. If you cannot extend your helping hand or patronage to the other members, they will also shrink their arms. So to be really successful it is but meet and proper that the advertising agencies officers of the Government selected to give advertisement should be fully qualified.

Sir, the advertisements that are produced by our advertising agencies are just a laughing stock. Here is an advertisement which is rather ridiculous. Anybody will simply laugh at it. I showed it to my wife, my children, some laymen and some uneducated people. They simply laughed at it. Here is another advertisement, Mr. Vice-Chairman, of a woman, half waist, half eyes. How much money must have gone waste over it. Then, the Air India advertisements are really ridiculous. I do not know who approved of this huge commitment on this wasteful advertisement.

Here are some diaries. What are these diaries? Why should they waste their money like this? Here is another advertisement of a pocket diary which has been supplied by a private firm which could be used and put to some useful utility. Here is some waste paper over which they have wasted money.

Here is another naughty advertisement. This is supposed to have been printed by the so-called Indian Council of Agricultural Research of which, I am ashamed to say, I am a member of the Standing Finance Committee, and a member of their Governing Body. As the rightful protector or the guardians of the Government they have no sense of responsibility or sense of caution and waste money like this. If I could only have the power of the Minister I would dismiss the officers who approved of these two advertisements.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am also a member of the Institute of Marketing

and Sales Management, London. I am a member of the Institute of Export, London. I am a member of the Institute of Committee, London. I have spent nearly Rs. 3,000 for this education. Mr. Vice-Chairman, how far our people are qualified to be in the advertisement line I do not know. Many officers and artists are therein the advertisement line because they belong to some community, some region or have some relationship. In the Khadi and Village Industries Commission there are only Guptas, Mehtas and Ji's. If India is meant for the whole country, they should take people in every cadre from the various States.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, just look at the attractiveness of these advertisements. The officers in the Official Gallery can see. The Hon'ble Minister can see. Could you at least think of hanging these advertisements in your room? They are such naughty, ugly things. I would request the Government not to publish such useless diaries.

Here is a pencil, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It may not be useful even for a day. Metal is being wasted. The labour is being wasted. I do not know what this will be used for.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would request the hon'ble Minister to agree on the floor of the House to constitute a Committee of Members of Parliament and business people, not only our local business people but people qualified in other fields also to draft a syllabus in advertising, marketing, export, salesmanship and things like that. And as they have instituted an examination for Company Lawship they should also have examinations in these subjects.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would also request the hon'ble Minister to please lay on the floor of the House a list of people occupying high positions and drawing more than a thousand rupees per month, with their experience, their qualifications in art technique and things like that. That will show

how narrow they are in their outlook in appointing people of their own community, caste, religion and region.

About foreign advertising agencies also, I feel, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we cannot blame the officers because they give advertisements through them. Perhaps we cannot find that technical know-how in advertising, market research, advertisement research and so on with us. Let them educate our people and give them a better grounding and training. Just because they are foreign agencies, we cannot inflate the pockets of certain people here in advertising agencies.

(Time Bell rings.)

I will conclude with the request to the hon'ble Minister to give an assurance that he will constitute a Committee of people, qualified people, people experienced in art, science and in the technique of advertising research and things like that. He should also constitute a cell in his Ministry to find out how much money is spent by Government agencies on this.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, one more suggestion which will be very economical to the Government. We spend so much money on Railway advertisements. Where is the need for spending so much on monopoly concerns? It is not necessary. For these public undertakings they give any amount of money for advertising. We should immediately institute a cell in his Ministry to see how much money is being spent by every department, every Ministry, every Undertaking, not only of the Government but by private agencies also. That will contribute to the growth of healthy practices.

श्री बाजकृष्ण गुप्त (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बहस को बहुत देर से मुनता आ रहा हूँ। आज हमारे देश को आजाद हुए 23 साल से अधिक हो गये हैं, लेकिन

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

अभी भी लिन्टाज, वाल्टर थामसन आदि जैसी बड़ी-बड़ी विदेशी संस्थायें यहां की भारत सरकार के बड़े-बड़े प्रतिष्ठानों में भी एडवर्टाइजिंग एजेंसीज बन कर बैठी हुई हैं। शायद हमारी इस सरकार को विदेशी 'काधिकारी' लोगों से बड़ी मोहब्बत है और इस कारण केवल देशी मोनोपोलिस्ट्स के ऊपर ही प्रहार हो रहा है। अभी इम्पीरियल केमिकल्स के साझे में हमारी सरकार ने एक्सप्लोसिव का कारखाना पूना में कायम किया और अभी एक बड़ा भारी कारखाना फर्टिलाइजर का कानपुर में कायम होने वाला है और उस में सरकार सिर्फ 23 फी सदी की हिस्सेदार है। सरकार यहां के विदेशी बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण नहीं करती, केवल देशी बैंकों पर ही प्रहार करती है। मालकम मगरीज ने 'डेली टेलीग्राफ' में लिखा था कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू हिन्दुस्तान के आखिरी ब्रिटिश वाइसराय थे। उनकी बेटी भी उसी पथ पर चल रही है। यह समाजवाद का झंडा और यह लाल साड़ी, यह सब लोगों को भुलावा देने के लिए है और यह प्रस्ताव आल्वा जैसे आदमी यहां लाते हैं। दुनिया में कहीं भी इस तरह की चीजें नहीं हो रही हैं कि गुड इयर, फायर स्टोन और बरमा शैल और इस्सो स्टैंडर्ड को न्योते दिये जाते हों और उन से ऐसे एग्जिमेंट किये जाते हों कि 22 साल के बाद भी उनमें हेर फेर नहीं हो सकता। क्रूड आयल की इंटरनेशनल प्राइस का सरकार को पता नहीं है। यह सारा फारेन एक्सप्लायटेशन बाकायदा जारी है और जारी रहेगा। समाजवाद के नाम पर रूस को कुछ हिस्सा और मिल जायगा। अभी-अभी एक विचित्र घटना सुनने में आयी है। रूस त्रिवेद्रन में कोई कल्चरल सेंटर अपना प्रचार करने के लिए बना रहा था। उसको बंद करने के लिए आवाज उठी तो इसलिए अमरीका को भी अपने पांच ऐसे सेंटर्स को बंद करने को कहा जा रहा है। अगर ऐसा न किया गया तो आपने जो रूस के साथ

समझौता कर रखा है, उसको तोड़े बिना आप रूस के सेंटर कैसे बंद करा सकते हैं। इस तरह की तटस्थता और नान-एलाइनमेंट की नीति आज चल रही है। इसे देख कर आज हमारा सिर शर्म से झुक जाता है। यह सरकार बड़ी-बड़ी बातें करती है मार्क्सइज्म की और लेनिनइज्म की और गरीबों की गरीबी मिटाने की और समाजवाद की स्थापना करने की। लेकिन अभी तक तो उपनिवेशवाद ही यहां बड़ी अच्छी तरह से चल रहा है और यही अंग्रेजों का उपनिवेशवाद यह वाल्टर थामसन और लिन्टाज जैसे लीडर चला रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान लीवर के एक सज्जन मिस्टर टंडन स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के चेयरमैन बन कर बैठे हैं और वे ग्लैक्सो का जो मिल्क पाउडर विलायत से आता है, वह सारा लीवर ब्रदर्स को ही दे डालते हैं और वे उस एक रुपये की चीज को 11 रुपये की बना कर मार्केट में बेचते हैं और उसके अलावा उसमें ब्लैक मार्केट भी होता रहता है। यह सब देख कर मुझे बड़ा ताज्जुब होता है कि ये कांग्रेस के मेम्बर श्री आल्वा जो यहां इस तरह के प्रश्न उठाते हैं, वे जा कर प्राइवेटली अपने मंत्रियों से क्यों नहीं कहते कि तुम लोग इन फारेन कंपनियों के जाल में मत फंसो। ये लोग तो बिड़ला ब्रदर्स और टाटा आदि को खरीद कर अलग रख दें। हिन्दुस्तान लीवर, इम्पीरियल केमिकल, डनलप टायर और इम्पीरियल ट्यूबोको ऐसी ही कंपनियां हैं। इम्पीरियल ट्यूबोको को अभी सरकार ने बड़ा भारी ऋण एल०आई०सी० से दिया है। इन सब मोनोपोलिस्ट्स को आप बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं और देशी मोनोपोलिस्ट्स की एक रिपोर्ट निकाल कर हिन्दुस्तान के व्यापारियों पर बुरी तरह आपने हमला बोल दिया है। इन बड़े इंटरनेशनल मोनोपोलिस्ट्स को समाप्त करने की न तो आपकी कोई खाहिश है और न ही कोई इच्छा। बैंक आफ अमरीका आज दुनिया में सबसे बड़ा बैंक है। उसकी दो ब्रांचे यहां हैं और उनके ऊपर इन्दिरा गांधी

की हमदर्दी का हाथ है। उनके लिए कुछ कहने की किसी को हिम्मत नहीं पड़ती। यह भारतीय जनता को गुमराह करने के लिये किया जा रहा है और समाजवाद से उल्टे रास्ते पर जाया जा रहा है। लोगों को गुमराह करने के लिये कभी-कभी रूस की ओढ़नी ओढ़ ली जाती है।

विदेशी नीति को देख लिया जाय। कहा जाता है कि यह बड़ी प्रगतिशील सरकार है, बड़ी प्रोग्रेसिव है, यह गरीबों की सरकार है, लेकिन धनी आज भी उसी तरह से बरकरार हैं और वे देशी भी है और विदेशी भी। और कोई बहुत बड़ा विदेशी धनी होगा तो उस के जरिये किसी मंत्री को स्विट्स बैंक में रुपया ऊपर का ऊपर ट्रांसफर हो गया होगा। यह सारा सरकारी एडवर्टाइजमेंट तो बड़ा भारी स्कैंडल है। किस-किस को सरकारी एडवर्टाइजमेंट मिलता है और किस-किस को नहीं मिलता, यह चर्चा आज एक आम विषय हो गयी है और इसके बारे में एक बहुत भारी इन्क्वायरी की जरूरत है। झूठी झूठी इन्क्वायरी तो आप बैठाते है, इन्क्वायरी और यह इन्क्वायरी और वह इन्क्वायरी और इस इन्क्वायरी को कि सरकार किसको एडवर्टाइजमेंट देती है और किसको उसके जरिये प्रोत्साहन देती है, कौन उनकी खबर छापता है, उसी को एडवर्टाइजमेंट मिलते हैं। किसी दूसरे को भी मिलते है, इसकी जांच कराने की जरूरत है। ये एडवर्टाइजमेंट विदेशी एजेंसी के जरिये मिलते हैं। देशी एजेंसी के जरिये मिलते हैं, यह सारी बातें रोज आखों के सामने आती है और यह सारा मामला स्कैंडल से भरा हुआ है। यह भ्रष्टाचारी सरकार की आज इतनी हिम्मत हो गयी और हमारा राजनैतिक जीवन इतना पतित हो गया है कि हम प्रोग्रेसिव होने की घोषणा करने के साथ-साथ, अपने ही समाजवादी कहलाने के नाम पर गरीबों को गुमराह करते चले जा रहे है। पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने गरीबों की झूठी सहानुभूति और वामपंथ और समाजवाद का सहारा लेकर 22 वर्ष

तक देश को गुमराह किया। अब देखना है कि उनकी बेटी कितने दिनों तक इस तरह से देश को गुमराह रती रती है। यह सब झूठी और दिखावे की बाने हैं, झूठा प्रदर्शन।

श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव : समाजवादी तो आप हैं जो सब से गठबंधन करते रहते हैं।

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : मैं किसी से गठबंधन नहीं करता, हमारी पार्टी के लोग करते हैं। मैंने तो माजवाद से गठबंधन किया है या डाक्टर लोहिया से गठबंधन किया था, जिन्होंने 3 आने का सवाल उस सदन में उठाया था। अब यह तो गरीबी की बात कल से बोलने लगे हैं, मैं तो इसे बहुत शुरुआत से बोलता आया हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के 2/3 आदिमियों को एक वस्तु भी खाना नहीं मिलता और अब भी उन्होंने बंगलौर के पास ऐसी कौन सी चीज कर दी कि जिसमें 2/3 में एक फी सदी को भी कोई राहत मिली हो। यह सब आपका झूठा प्रचार है, झूठा प्रोपेगन्डा है और इसके कारण ही आज समाजवाद इतना बदनाम हो गया है कि हम को अपने को समाजवादी कहने में शर्म लगने लगती है। जब हम अपने को समाजवादी कहते हैं, तो लोग कहते हैं कि तुम किस तरह के समाजवादी हो, इन्दिरा समाजवादी हो, हीरेन मुकर्जी समाजवादी हो या ज्योति बसु समाजवादी हो ?

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : या जनसंघ समाजवादी हो ?

श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त : जनसंघ समाजवादी भी हम नहीं हैं। हम तो लोहिया समाजवादी हैं। हम तो उन गरीबों को उठाना चाहते हैं और जिस तरह से भी हो, करना चाहते हैं कि उनको कुछ खाना पीना मिले चाहे वड़ों के ऊपर कितना ही प्रहार आप करिये। लेकिन अगर आप प्रहार करें बिजनेसमैन पर और ब्यूरोक्रेसी की यहा चलनी रहे और संपत्ति इसी प्रकार एक के पास से दूसरे के पास जाती रहे और बेचारा गरीब पिसना रहे तो इस के लिए हम डपली बजाने वाले नहीं हैं। हम

[श्री बालकृष्ण गुप्त]

इस लिए ढोल बजा कर के आप के आगे चलने वाली सेना में शामिल नहीं होंगे। ऐसे समाजवादी आज बहुत हो गये हैं। डाक्टर लोहि ने जब शुरू में यह सवाल उठाया था तो पं० नेहरू बलबला उठे थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह 15 आना है। यह तो सारे देश की आमदनी थी, जिसमें बिरला भी शामिल हैं, टाटा भी शामिल हैं। उस हरिजन को आप ने कहाँ रखा है जो आज भी जगह-जगह मारा जाता है, पीटा जाता है और जिन्दा जलाया जाता है और बुरी तरह से अब भी उसे पददलित अवस्था में गांव के बाहर बसने को मजबूर किया जाता है। कहाँ कहाँ से यह समाजवाद आप लाये हैं, किस-किस के आपने हाथ जोड़े है। आज तो हम चेकोस्लोवाकिया से भी ज्यादा रूप के अधीन हो गये हैं और आज तो यह हालत हो गयी है कि आज जब हमें रूस के एक कल्चरल सेंटर को बंद करना पड़ता है, तो उसको ध्वस्त करने के लिए बिना वजह अमरीका के 5 कल्चरल सेंटर्स को, लाइब्रेरीज को, जो विभिन्न प्रान्तों की राजधानियों में हैं, उनको बंद करना पड़ रहा है। कैसी हास्यास्पद स्थिति हम लोगों ने कर रखी है कि अरसे से जो रूस के गुलाम थे उनके भी हम गुलाम बन गये हैं।

हम झंडा लिये फिरते हैं कि आइन्दा हम यह सब कर रहे हैं। जापान आज दुनिया में तीसरे नम्बर का राष्ट्र हो गया है और आज तक उसने कोई अपनी फारेन पालिसी नहीं चलायी है और हमारी फारेन पालिसी की धज्जी तो रबात में ही उड़ गयी और अब जो बची है, वह जद्दा में उड़ने वाली है और जगह-जगह उड़ने वाली है। यह सरकार फिर विदेशियों की खुशामद करती रहेगी और उसी को अपनी विदेशी नीति का नाम दे कर चलाती रहेगी। मैं आपका समय ज्यादा नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन यह एडवर्टाइजमेंट वाला स्कैंडल बहुत बड़ा है। मैं पूरी तरह से नहीं जानता कि गुजराल साहब की मिनिस्ट्री

का रुपया किस-किस अखबार को एडवर्टाइजमेंट के लिए जाता है और कौन-कौन से अखबार इन्दिरा समर्थक हैं और किस विरोधी अखबार को, जो इन्दिरा विरोधी है, उसको एडवर्टाइजमेंट नहीं मिला है या मिलना बंद हुआ है। यह सारी बातें हम लोगों के सामने आनी चाहिए। यह इस तरह की धांधलेबाजी बहुत दिन तक चल चुकी, अब ज्यादा समय नहीं चलेगी, 1/2 महीने, एक वर्ष, दो वर्ष दुनिया को गुमराह कर लें, लेकिन अब इस बात का भंडा फूट रहा है और जल्दी ही बड़े जोरो से फूटने वाला है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) :
माननीय मंत्री जी।

श्री राजनारायण : मुझे भी बोलना है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) :
आपकी पार्टी से श्री गुप्ता बोल चुके हैं। अच्छा, आप संक्षेप में बोलें।

श्री राजनारायण : पार्टी का यहां सवाल नहीं। यह कोई जरूरी है कि आज ही खत्म हो, यह नान-अफिशियल डे है।

श्रीमन्, वास्तव में इस पर मैं कुछ बोलना नहीं चाहता था, मगर अनावश्यक रूप से समाजवाद का नाम ले कर और जनसंघ समाजवाद का नाम ले कर के कुछ हमारे अन्दर भी उत्तेजना कर दी गई कि हम भी बोलें।

मैं आज आपके द्वारा जो भी इन्दिरा गुट कांग्रेस के लोग हैं, उनको चुनौती दे कर पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या उस गुट ने पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को विश्व का नेता बनाने की नाकामयाब कोशिश नहीं की। वह बने नेता नहीं बने। और आज हालत यह है कि जवाहर लाल को भूल गये हैं। कही चले जाओ, जवाहरलाल का नाम ले लो। कोई जनता याद नहीं कर रही है कि जवाहर लाल कौन थे और हमको अफगोस है कि धीरे धीरे लोग

गांधी जी को भी भूल रहे हैं, जिनको कि नहीं भूलना चाहिये और मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्री पंडित जवाहर लाल जी की कौनसी ऐसी नीति थी जिस नीति के सहारे यह देश चमका हो। न तो यह टीटो बन पाये न यह नासिर बन पाये।

श्री हयातुल्ला अंसारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, आप राजनारायण जी को बता दीजिये कि सबजेक्ट जवाहर लाल नहीं है, दूसरा सबजेक्ट है।

श्री राजनारायण : जवाहर लाल के गुलामों का है। जवाहर लाल का सबजेक्ट न हो, जवाहरलाल के गुलामों का सबजेक्ट है। अनावश्यक हमसे क्यों छेड़खानी करने हो ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : विज्ञापन पर ही बोलिये।

श्री राजनारायण : उसी विज्ञापन पर आ रहा हूँ। यह उसी नीति का फल है, श्रीमन् कि आज तक जो भारतवर्ष विदेशी वस्तुओं के बहिष्कार को ले कर चला, जो भारतवर्ष राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में विदेशी वस्तुओं की होली जलाने के कार्यक्रम को ले कर चला, जिसने आगे चल कर नमक आन्दोलन चलाया, आज उसी भारतवर्ष की दुर्गति हो रही है कि हम अब भी विदेशी एजेंसियों के जरिये अपना विज्ञापन करते हैं। यह कोई अलग चीज नहीं है, सबके सब को सम्यक दृष्टि से देखें, श्रीमन्, तब आप भी समझ पायेंगे और इस सरकार को भी समझा पायेंगे। हमारा कहना है कि समाजवाद का अर्थ आज भी इंडीकेट में, इन्दिरा गुट की कांग्रेस में, कोई समझता है। अगर इस विज्ञापन को रोकना है, विदेशी एजेंसियों को रोकना है तो उसका मूल उपाय जो है वह मैं बता रहा हूँ कि Indira must be Indianised.

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसद सिंह (बिहार) : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, आज का जो प्रस्ताव है वह पढ़िये। इसमें Indira must be Indianised.

कैप्टे रेनेवेंट है, यह मैं आपसे हाथ जोड़ कर के पूछता हूँ। इस तरह का भाषण किसी व्यक्ति को नहीं करना चाहिये। जो देश का प्रधान मंत्री हो, दुनिया में जिसकी इज्जत हो, जो कि दुनिया के चुने हुये स्टेट्समैन में हो उसकी हमें इज्जत करना है। इस प्रस्ताव में यह कैसे होता है। यह मेरी प्रार्थना है। आपसे कर बद्ध प्रार्थना है कि ऐसी चीज को अपक्यां एलाऊ करते हैं। मैं यह आपसे नम्रतापूर्वक पूछता हूँ।

SHRI RAJNARAIN: (Continued to speak)

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA: (Continued to speak).

SHRI G. A. APPAN: On a point of order, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I have often said that though I am a younger Member of this House that this House is the House of Elders. So . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: What is the point of order in this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Mr. Appan, pleased come to your point of order,

SHRI RAJNARAIN: On a point of order. I am in possession of the House.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: I am coming to my point of order. We are not the only persons sitting in this hall. There are visitors in the Visitors' Gallery. There are Press representatives. The whole world is looking at us. In this House now the debate is on the question of Indianising the advertising agencies and of giving Government advertisements only to the Indian agencies. There is no question of any personalities here. If anybody wants to demand anything, he can do so from the Minister concerned and that particular Minister is here, the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting. He is responsible to the Cabinet and to the Prime Minister.

[Shri G. A. Appan]

ter. And if anybody wants to take any action, the action should be taken against the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and let there be no mention of any personalities.

श्री राजनारायण : अगर उनका यह पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर है, तो हम भी लेक्चर दे सकते हैं।

श्री ह्यातुल्ला अन्सारी : वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, मेरा एक पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर है, अभी जो वाक्या हुआ उसके बारे में। हमारे हाऊस की अपनी एक डिगनिटी है और मैं समझता हूं बहुत से लोग शर्मिन्दा हैं, यहां जो कुछ हुआ उस पर। हम यह चाहेंगे अपने चेयरमैन साहब से कि वह सब अपोजिशन लीडरान से बातचीत करे कि कम से कम ऐसा हाऊस रहे कि हमारे ऐसे लोग हिम्मत कर सकें कि बोल सकें और इज्जत के साथ अपनी बात कह सकें। यह कोई आज का वाक्या नहीं है, कई दफा पहले भी हुआ और आगे के लिये न हो।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैं भी आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहूंगा . . .

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा एक पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर है।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर एक पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर के बाद दस पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर चलेगे और हमारा बोलने का समय नष्ट हो गया, तो मैं भी यह कहूंगा। एक पौइन्ट आर्डर पर मैं खड़ा हुआ हूं . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : एक पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर चल रहा है, तो उस पर आप खड़े नहीं हो सकते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : एक पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर हो गया, दो पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर हो गये। अब कितने पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर होंगे ?

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी : मैंने पहले पौइन्ट आफ आर्डर किया है। हमारे माननीय नेता अपने को संसदीय परम्परा का बहुत बड़ा ज्ञाता कहते हैं, परन्तु अभी वार्तालाप में जो उन्होंने चर्चा की है मैं नहीं समझता वह संसदीय चीज है। वह असंसदीय है और संसद् को उससे धक्का लगेगा। इसलिये मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि जो अभी दोनों माननीय सदस्यों के बीच में या सदस्यों के बीच में जो चर्चा हुई है उसे आज की कार्यवाही से निकाल दीजिए।

Interrupted

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, अब मैं अपने विषय पर आ रहा हूं . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : इसके बारे में व्यवस्था यह है कि जो कुछ सिंह साहब ने कहा, उसके बाद जो वाद-विवाद हुआ, वह सारा आज की कार्यवाही में नहीं आयेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : यानी सिंह जी ने जो कहा था वह आयेगा। मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सुन लीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : सिंह जी ने जो बात कही है उसके बाद में जो वाद-विवाद हुआ है, वह रिकार्ड में नहीं आयेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : उसमें जो संसदीय है उसको कैसे निकालेंगे। जो असंसदीय है उसको निकालने का आपको हक है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : असंसदीय बातें कही गई हैं कि उनको निकालने की आवश्यकता है। इसलिये वह सारी कार्यवाही से निकल जायेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं आपसे यह अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि जब तक भारतवर्ष में यह व्यवस्था नहीं होगी कि भारतवर्ष का कोई व्यक्ति, चाहे वह प्रधान मंत्री हो या कोई मंत्री हो, वह विदेशों में अपना रुपया जमा न करें, विदेशों में उसका खाता न रहे, तब तक सही मानों में स्वदेशी का प्रचार नहीं हो सकता है।

आज ये विदेशी एजेंसियां जिनको विज्ञापन दिया जा रहा है, उसका सबसे प्रधान कारण यह है कि आज की प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी का विदेशों में बही खाता है। इसलिये मैं अदब से निवेदन करूंगा कि इसके लिये एक संसदीय कमेटी बनाई जाये कि ऐसे लोगों जो विदेशों में अपने धन को ले जाकर रखते हैं और विदेशों में जाकर वहां के बैंकों में अपने पैसे के जरिये वहां की राजनीति से प्रभावित करते हैं, उसके लिये मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूं . . .

(Interruption)

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : आप यह सब कहने की कैसे इजाजत दे रहे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : . . इस तरह की परम्परा और इसी तरह की व्यवस्था चलाई जाय। यहां पर अगर कोई चाहे हुल्लड़बाजी करके हमें दबाये, तो हम दबने वाले नहीं हैं। हम केवल इतना ही कहना चाहते हैं कि किसी भी व्यक्ति की, चाहे प्रधान मंत्री हो या कोई हो, उसकी गुलामी की भी एक सीमा होती है। किसी भी पार्टी और किसी भी सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य की भी एक सीमा होती है।

श्री अवधेश्वर प्रसाद सिंह : भर्त्सना की भी सीमा होती है, क्रिटिसिज्म की भी सीमा होती है, सीमा हर जगह होती है।

श्री राजनारायण : चाहे वह हमारे पुराने साथी रहे हों, हमें पूरा फखर है कि हमने सिंह जी को बिफिटिंग रिप्लाय दिया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : अब वह बात खत्म हो गई।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: On a point of order, Sir. He has made a charge about foreign banks and so on. Except the royalty for Panditji's books, I would like to know whether the hon. Member can produce other records. It is not right to make irresponsible statements like that.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूं उसको देखा जाय कि किसी का विदेशों में खाता हो, चाहे वह प्रधान मंत्री हो, चाहे वह कोई मंत्री हो, उनको इंडियनाइज करना

चाहिये। मैं उनको शुद्ध भारतीय नहीं मानता, यह मेरी मान्यता है और मैं उसको फिर से दोहरा रहा हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : अपने देश में कानून बना है कि कहां रख सकता है, कहां नहीं रख सकता है।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI P. C. SETHI): Sir, may I make a submission?

श्री राजनारायण : कोई सबमिशन नहीं हो सकता है। अपने देश में जो कानून है उसी कानून की तह से आज विदेशी एजेंसियों को यहां से विज्ञापन दिया जा रहा है। कानून की अवहेलना हो रही है। कानून को बदलवाने के लिये आज यह परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है। अडंबड बातें करने से फायदा नहीं होता।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : अडंबड बातें आप कर रहे हैं।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, I rise on a point of order. The hon. Member is completely out of the point when he is referring to so many things. He just now referred to the bank account of the Prime Minister in foreign countries . . .

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: . . . Sir, according to the law if anybody has a foreign account, he has to . . .

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: What is that point of order? Now, Sir, he has made a charge and I must get an opportunity to clear the position. He is misleading the House completely.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है, है, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है, एक प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर में दूसरा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर आपने दिया है। यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है। यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है।

श्री पी० सी० सेठी : इसका डिस्मिशन आप कैसे करेंगे ।

श्री राजनारायण : यह श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू की दलाली है । यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है । अगर संसदीय प्रथा ऐसी तोड़ी जायेगी तो चलने नहीं दिया जायेगा । यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है ।

(Interruption)

श्री पी० सी० सेठी : फैसला तो सभापति करेंगे ।

श्री राजनारायण : यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है । यह इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी की दलाली है ।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, he is misleading the House.

श्री राजनारायण : कोई सफाई देना हो, तो भाषण के बाद होगा । यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर के नाम पर स्पष्टीकरण नहीं दिया जा सकता । श्रीमन देखिये यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : व्यवस्था यह है कि जब एक प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर चल रहा हो, तो उस प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर के ऊपर आप दूसरा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर न उठायें ।

श्री राजनारायण : यह स्पष्टीकरण है, इसको हमें सुनने के बाद दे सकते हैं । यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर तो है नहीं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : यह निर्णय आप न करें । पहले उनको सुन ल ।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Sir, the hon. Members casts aspersions on no less a person than the Prime Minister and he tries to mislead the House. In that case I have every right to explain the correct position.

श्री राजनारायण : This is not a point
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of order. मैं हम्बली आपसे, कहता हूँ;
this is not a point of order. यह
जेंट न है प्राइम मिनिस्टर के ।
Let the Prime Minister come and explain.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Any bank account cannot be opened in any foreign country without the permission of the Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry

श्री राजनारायण : यह प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर नहीं है । यह नहीं है प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर ।

SHRI P. C. SETHI: . . . as such I am directly concerned, Sir.

श्री राजनारायण : यह स्पष्टीकरण है, आप रोकिये इनको यह स्पष्टीकरण है ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You have made a wrong statement, Mr. Rajnarain. He is correcting it.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: No.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: With the Reserve Bank's permission there is an account of the Prime Minister; that is given in the tax returns and there is nothing wrong about it.

श्री राजनारायण : हम तो इसीलिये कहते हैं । अब हमारा कन्टन्शन विन्डिकेट हो गया ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री राम निवास मिर्धा) : सदन की कार्यवाही कल संध्या 6 बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जानी है ।

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till six of the clock on Saturday, the 28th February, 1970.