

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In asking the question you cannot make speech.

डा० आर० बी० गोड : मुझे समझाना पड़ेगा.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: 'Working Journalist' has been defined by this Act. So anybody who comes under the definition will get the benefit. You cannot go on arguing in the question our. It is not a matter for argument.

श्री आबिद अली : जो वर्कर्स की रूफ में प्रतिनिधि भेजे गये हैं वे काफी कबिल हैं और अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझ सकते हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है और मैं मैनबर साहब को होना चाहिये कि वे वर्कर्स के केस को अच्छी तरह रखेंगे और कोई ईंसाफी की गुजायश नहीं है।

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Jharkhand Pradesh): Sir, I beg to present the Seventh Report of the Committee on Petitions in respect of the 61 petitions relating to the States reorganisation Bill 1956 committed to

The Committee has directed that the copies of these two groups of petitions be circulated as papers to the Bill and the same be sent to the Joint Select Committee also. I present it.

#### RESOLUTION REGARDING ENQUIRY INTO MONOPOLISTIC HOLD OF FOREIGN ADVERTISING AGENCIES.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Violet Alva for Mr. Kishen Chand.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Bombay): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"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."

Sir, it was in the month of December last year when we were discussing in this House the Press and Registration Bill that some of us commented on the nature of advertising done by agencies in India for the newspapers. At that time, replying to my comments; the Minister had said:

"I wish the question of advertisement is raised some other time and I am prepared to consider it sympathetically."

He had veritably paid me a compliment further down when he remarked: "Mrs. Alva has made great points regarding advertising with which I quite sympathise."

Sir, that long deferred promise, I hope, will be fulfilled today on the floor of this House. There is so much to say on advertising and so little is heard because it is not considered either an industry or a type of business activity which draws quickly and sharply the attention of the people in the public. However, I shall try to go into as many details as I can in thirty minutes though it has taken more than six months to gather data. Data is not available as we would like to place it before the House and even the meagre data that I shall give may or may not be exact or exactly the figures may not be accurate. However, let me begin by thanking the Government and especially the Information and Broadcasting Ministry which is alive to the issue of advertising agencies, foreign and Indian, that exist in the country today. If all the Ministries could co-operate with the Information and

Broadcasting Ministry, perhaps there would be no place for a Resolution of this sort to be brought in this House. But since we still live with the old hang-over of the British days, we have to focus attention on what we feel is a right grievance made by our Indian advertisers who feel that they have suffered all through the eight years after Independence when we have laid down fresh policies of not only Indianising but revolutionising our economics in this country and built up new trends in business. This Resolution is brought in that spirit so that the Government's hands may be strengthened and that they pursue their declared and accepted policy a little more vigorously. Maybe, my Resolution may ultimately go to the waste paper basket, maybe, my Resolution, reluctantly and with modifications, may appeal to the hon. Minister. I don't say that this Resolution, as I have drafted, may be the final choice for the acceptance of the Minister but I do wish his co-operation that we tackle this subject successfully here today in this House. I want to bring to your notice the terrible handicaps and the seriousness of the foreign competition that we are facing in this country in the field of advertising. Then I want to make a plea in regard to an argument that the hon. Minister has made in this House some time ago to say that Indian advertising agencies are not up to date nor are they efficient and when Government hands over business to them, they come to grief. From personal knowledge of the Indian advertising agencies I would like to get an assurance from the Minister today whether he feels that the agencies are improving or deteriorating, whether the Indian advertising agencies have been sufficiently financially backed to make improvements and if not I want to know why do they not improve, if he still feels convinced that they don't. When our business is appreciated internationally and when our businessmen can deal with any international problems, why is it that in this narrow

field of Indian advertising we still suffer? Sir, I want to stress that in spite of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's best efforts, very recently, I think a month or two ago shall I call it a farce,—that may not be Parliamentary but really it was nothing less than that—was enacted when the Indian Airlines Corporation gave its large quota of advertisement to a foreign firm after calling up about 8 or 10 people to Delhi, making them incur the large expense of about Rs. 1000 or some thousands, having five minutes' chat with each of them and finally giving the contract to Walter Thompson. I mean, one must now know where to stop these affairs. If this show is to be enacted—this sort of farce—every year, what are the Indian advertisers to do who take the trouble of coming to put their case. And they had an assurance that all would be treated equally and finally such a huge contract goes over to a foreign concern where the profits go out of the country. These corporations take money from the Government and they hand it over to the foreigners. I would like to have an explanation on this point. The same thing happens in the Railway Ministry. They do not entrust Indians with their publicity. I would like to know whether there is any reorientation or new approach brought to bear on this subject in the Secretariat or whether Government officers are still suffering from a servile mentality that the foreigners alone can do the job well. Sir, I for one and many others in this House take strong objection to this state of affairs as it exists now.

Sir, with your permission, I would read out from the speech of the President of the Indian Merchant Chamber made at the third quarterly general meeting in November 1955. He says:

"It is rather surprising and regrettable to note that even after eight years of Independence, in the various spheres of economic and commercial services, foreign agencies are still in a dominant position. In the sphere of publicity and ad

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vertisement, the Indian interests have no effective place. In fact, as stated by Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, of the Government of India, in the Lok Sabha recently, the hold of foreign advertisers in this country is very strong. Advertising agencies have an important role to play in the matter of publicising efforts aimed at the economic regeneration of the country both in the private and public sectors. With the expansion of the public sector and the setting up of numerous Government-owned and Government-aided enterprises and concerns, Government have, naturally to engage the services of advertising agencies for publicising the products of such enterprises and concerns on an increasing scale".

Sir, I hope the House will kindly bear with me a little more, if I read a few more lines:

"Government are, therefore, in a position to give direct encouragement to the Indian agencies operating in the Advertising Sphere by entrusting the work of advertisement and publicising the products of Government-owned and Government-aided undertakings to the advertising agencies owned and managed by the nationals of the country. Once the principle is accepted that it is the duty of Government and all others concerned to encourage Indian agencies, there should not be any difficulty in securing for the indigenous undertakings in the various spheres of economic activity their rightful place in the country's economy."

Sir, there have been protests by the Merchants' Chamber. They seem to be alive to the issue, but still we find that these very merchants do not entrust their work to Indian advertising agencies. It is they who own the Government-aided enterprises and corporations and companies. They

own the concerns and it is they who do not do their duty. All the same, it is pleasing to note that they have voiced a protest.

Sir, I do not think I shall have the time to go through the very many points that I have to make. But I shall just run through the points in a very short way.

Sir, out of the 30 advertising agencies in the country which do business of over Rs. 5 crores, 72 per cent, of it is accounted for by some five foreign agencies. That is to say, 72 per cent. of this business of Rs. 5 crores goes to these five foreign agencies. What does it definitely show? It shows that the Indian agencies are not getting their due share.

Then a word about the Press Commission's Report. When we come to the Press Commission's Report, we have to discuss very thoroughly how pressure tactics operate in this country, on the editorial policy of papers. Two marked things can be observed. Whenever there is controversy on *Vanaspati*, it does not get its fair place in the press. Of late we have noticed the same thing about our soap industry also. If this is not pressure tactics, what is it? Why is it that our papers do not publish the information given to them?

I will read out from the Royal Commission's Report what they have said about advertising:

"The editor of the *Daily Express* in England denied that the paper refrained from attacking advertisers. He said: 'we are constantly opposing monopolies; cartels and combines in trade and we have, in the course of my career attacked Boots, the cash chemists, Woolworths' the chain stores and Lever Brothers'."

May I know which paper here writes about the Lever Brothers or makes impartial criticisms?

"We also criticised the Co-operative Society very vigorously

and the general manager added, 'we have carried on very violent campaigns against the banks and against the Bank of England'."

Sir, this is a pointer to show how free is our advertising, and what is the freedom of expression that we claim at every turn? This is the state of affairs which we find our Indian advertising agencies are in, and we want something to be done by Government by the Minister here, and by the other Ministries that are not here represented just now on the Treasury Benches. Our Minister for Information and Broadcasting has always been helping us, he has always been just to us and he has always encouraged and said that publicity should be done through Indian agencies. He must now take his colleagues also into his confidence.

Next, Sir, I come to some figures and since time is running out I will only give an indication.....

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Hyderabad):  
You have another twenty minutes.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I know, but I have matter for more than twenty minutes.

Here I want to state some figures which though they may not be very accurate, I don't think they are very far wrong either. The total turnover of advertising agencies is about Rs. 5 crores and some five foreign agencies among them get a business of Rs. 3,70,00,000 per year and the Indian agencies among them get only just Rs. 1,43,00,000. I shall just name these foreign advertising agencies. They are:

J. Walter Thompson, D. J. Keymer, Grants' Advertising, L. A. Stronach, Lintas, which is house agency of Uni Lever Empire.

On a total they do a business of Rs. 3.70 crores. As against this business done by five foreign agencies.....

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab):  
I do not want to interrupt the hon.

Member. But may I ask if she is not aware that in Stronach, the shares are almost all Indian? And is she not also aware that Keymeres of Calcutta is almost all staffed by Indians?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I am referring to.....

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL: I wish she had not mentioned the names, because it becomes invidious.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I am referring to D. J. Keymer which has closed down in Calcutta.

Then there are house agencies, the Advertising and Sales Promotion, Lintas, Shilpi, Veena Ltd., P. N. Joshi & Co., Madras Advertising Co. These get 22.9 per cent. of the total development in the country.

Then, there are many industries which get loans from the Government, they get protection from the Government and their names are available in the papers that we get, in the Indian Finance Corporation Reports and in other papers too.

The Bengal Potteries Ltd., get a loan from Government and the advertising is done by Walter Thompson. The Standard Batteries, Tatanagar Foundries, Aluminium Corporation, Kassels Ltd., Matchwell Electricals, Mysore Kirloskar, etc., are all companies which get loan from the Government and yet all these firms spend a sum of from three lakhs of rupees to the lowest figure of 50,000 rupees on advertising. Tata Chemicals, Calcutta Chemicals, Radio and Electrical Manufacturers, Tata Iron and Steel Company, Indian Aluminium, Burmah Shell, Standard Vacuum etc. are also companies which give business worth from 25 lakhs of rupees the highest to Rs. 75,000 which is the lowest. These are all concerns which are aided by Government. In my Resolution, I have said that Government concerns and statutory corporations or companies that get assistance from the Government should be encouraged to do their publicity more and more through Indian channels. I would

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like the Minister to bear in mind this fact and to help the growth of the Indian advertising agencies.

I come now to Keymer about which Mr. Chaman Lall spoke just now and I said that it had closed down in Calcutta. I would like to know whether a foreign advertising agency in Calcutta closed down because of losses or because it could not adjust itself to Indianisation. I am told that this concern has thrown out about 140 employees and I have just heard from someone that these 140 employees have started a new concern. Who has helped them? Is it the old parent body with a new name or is it a new organisation or is it a co-operative organisation?

I now want to focus my attention on a few of the Government agencies that do their advertising through foreign firms. They are, the Indian Airlines Corporation, the Air-India International, the Central and Western Railways, the State Bank of India, the Aluminium Corporation, Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Indian Telephone Industries, etc. There are a few more but for want of time I would not like to go into them. I want to know whether there is any set policy or whether we just allow these bodies to do as they please. Are they so independent as to do advertising through whichever channels they decide to have? I think the Indian Airlines Corporation does business to the extent of five lakhs—I may be wrong—and the Air-India International does business to the extent of about seven lakhs of rupees. I am not able to give the figures about the Central and Western Railways but the State Bank of India does business to the tune of about one lakh of rupees. So goes on the list. The point is that when Government helps them to run certain industry or business, is it not the duty of the Government to see that they do their publicity through Indian channels? The argument that the Indian advertising agencies are not efficient, that the Government comes to grief, is

there, but I want to know whether that has been revised and whether these categories of firms keep in touch with the Indian advertising agencies from time to time with a view to seeing that more and more publicity is done through Indian firms. I would like to know whether it is a wise policy to entrust publicity to the tune of 72 per cent of the total advertising in this country to foreign companies. Along with advertising, they run a market research department and I want to know whether this country has not come to a position when she should be independent of foreigners, so far as the work of market research is concerned. This should be our and ours alone and should not go to them. One house agency alone does business to the tune of ninety lakhs of rupees per annum and the second agency, an Indian firm, alongside the first agency does not do beyond eighteen lakhs. I would like Government to analyse these figures to be in a position to assure us that a re-orientation of policy would result in greater and greater business being given to Indian companies that are controlled by Indian nationals.

In the Resolution, I have said that Government should take steps to enquire into the monopolistic hold of foreign owned and foreign controlled advertising agencies in India. It may be that for reasons of the various trade agreements and other policies enunciated by the Government, it may feel reluctant or difficult to carry on an enquiry. In any case, there was some sort of an enquiry made at the time of the Press Commission. The Press Commission itself has laid down very clearly what the policy should be. My Resolution, in its second part which is the operative part, wants that the Government should ensure that advertising by Government sponsored companies, statutory corporations, railways and firms which enjoy financial assistance or protection should be done through Indian channels only. On this point, Sir, I would like to have a clarification from the hon. Minister as to

why it has not been done so far. I raised this question recently, last month—it is known to all—but even then a recent contract went back to the same foreign company. I would like to know why we thought of calling so many advertisers. Could we in five minutes convince the authorities on the efficiency of an Indian concern? I do not think five minutes or one hour is enough to ascertain the state of affairs. I also want to know as to why we are so reluctant to put confidence in our own agencies. This lack of confidence in our own nationals, in agencies controlled and owned by our own nationals, is deplorable. It is indeed deplorable that after eight years of freedom the President of the Merchants' Chamber should come out with such comments that the Government is not doing enough to put on a par with other business, the Indianisation that is going on in other industries, the advertising agency business.

I want to touch on one more point. The foreign advertising agencies have been strongly entrenched in the country. I would like to know whether they have made any effort to train up any personnel as yet. They may have done in a single case or two but, by and large, they have not undertaken the training of personnel. The personnel in the advertising line in India is very meagre and he who joins has to learn at his own cost. I have here a copy of the memorandum that was submitted to the Government of India. I do not think I shall have time to go through it here but on page 2, it is said, "If proof be needed of the over-whelming position of the foreign agency in India, one need only refer to the monumental Press Commission's Report. The overwhelming foreign business interests and advertising exert an unmistakable influence on the Indian press". I have already mentioned the other thing about the five foreign firms and so I shall not dilate on that. When this is the position, how do you expect your press to be free from pressure tactics when there is proof here that the foreign

agencies that operate in India hold you to ransom? They do hold you to ransom for the simple reason that they have gone on for eight years after Independence, without a voice of protest. Whatever has been done has been done chiefly by this one Ministry. But I appeal to the Railway Ministry and I appeal to the Commerce and Industry Ministry and Ministries of Transport and Communications why we should not now change our outlook, why we should not see and bring about in our secretariat a change or outlook. Good or bad we have to entrust our work to Indians, to the agencies that are controlled and are owned by Indians, and I hope that the hon. Minister for Information and Broadcasting, will convey this to the various Ministries, especially to the Railways, and to the Ministries that have something to do with communications and transport and to the Commerce and Industry and other Ministries that they also change the outlook and give more and more backing to the Indian advertising agencies only.

Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Resolution moved:

"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."

SHRI MD. UMAIR SHAH SAHEB (Bihar): I would like to express myself on this Resolution, Sir. I have sent you a chit to this effect.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Some time later.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

rise in support of this motion and at the very outset I would like to make it clear that I do not have any brief whatsoever for any advertising concern but, if I were to make a choice between Indian and non-Indian, naturally I would prefer Indian to non-Indian especially when I know it for a fact and everybody knows it for a fact that in the field of advertisements it is the foreign interests that dominate today and undoubtedly if they do it is the hang of the old days which we want to overcome and eliminate. Therefore, at the very outset I would emphasise the importance and urgency of eliminating these foreign interests from this field of our activity in our land. At the same time I would try to make out here that it is also possible, it is also necessary to ensure that Indian monopoly interests do not take their place, that is to say, I would not be interested in replacing the foreigners by the Indian monopolists. Here again I would like to have a great measure of control on the development of monopolistic tendencies even in the Indian advertising houses. How that is to be done is a different matter. I think you can take to the path of co-operative organisations and institutions as had been done in the case of D. J. Keymer's branch in Calcutta. To that I shall come later.

Then names have been mentioned of the most important and leading advertising concerns in the country and, as you know, Walter Thompson and Keymer top the list and there are also others of very great stature and they are also foreign-owned and foreign-controlled.

When the hon. mover of this Resolution was speaking on the subject I think Diwan Chaman Lal made an interruption to say that some of these concerns had been under Indian share holding and all that. I do not know as to how the shares are changing hands, but they do seem to change hands. We know that. We are not interested at the moment in that kind of thing. All that we are interested

in at the moment is to bring out the point that these are foreign-owned concerns. Some of them may be of course passing some of their shares to some Indian nationals. That does not detract from the fact that these are foreign-owned concerns. Now these have to be eliminated from this field of business.

Now in the last year on the 5th of December in reply to a question it was admitted by the hon. Minister that the amount of business given to three foreign advertising agencies, namely, Walter Thompson, Grant Advertising and D. J. Keymer & Co. by the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity on behalf of all the Ministries of the Government of India, excepting the Ministry of Railways, was Rs. 2,30,026 in 1953-54 and Rs. 2,44,122 in 1954-55 as against Rs. 3,95,513 and Rs. 3,98,064 in 1953-54 and 1954-55 respectively given to six Indian agencies. It is clear from the statements made by the hon. Minister that these foreign concerns do enjoy certain privileges as far as the Government advertisements are concerned.

Then in the Press Commission's Report it is pointed out on page 90—I am reading this portion—

“At present the advertising agencies account for a substantial portion of the advertisement volume of the newspapers and periodicals. There were 109 agencies in operation in 1951 which were conducting business. Their total turnover was about Rs. 3.5 crores of which Rs. 2.78 crores were advertisements placed with newspapers and periodicals, the balance of Rs. 72 lakhs being spent on publicity through other media. The advertising agencies are mainly (about 75 per cent.) situated in metropolitan towns. Fully half of the total turnover of advertisements placed by agencies with the newspapers and periodicals is accounted for by 5 big agencies. Out of these, four are owned by foreign interests and the fifth, though now owned by Indian

nationals has some foreign associations."

This is what was stated in the Press Commission's Report although it relates to an earlier date, that is to say, 1951. I do not think the situation has very much improved since. There are other facts. We find that 60 per cent. of the total advertising appropriations spent in this country go to foreign concerns. As against this phenomenal figure spent on three principal foreign advertising agencies, only 40 per cent are spent on over 109 Indian advertising agencies, that is to say, taking the picture as a whole it is the foreign interests that continue to dominate the scene. It is another aspect of the matter, but what is most surprising in this matter is that the Government is backing the foreign advertising institutions and concerns and I do not see as to how it should not have been possible for the Government to back up the Indian institutions and the Indian advertising houses in order to carry out Government advertisement assignments. We are told that Indian institutions are not efficient, but that is something which we are being told day in and day out. I think, Sir, given due encouragement and assistance and help Indian institutions would rise equal to the task and fulfil the function admirably well. That has been shown in other fields and I do not see that this particular field is going to be an exception to our common experience in this matter.

Now it appears that the nationalised industries, instead of making use of Indian concerns, give preference to foreign concerns and there, again, I find that about Rs. 18 lakhs worth of advertisements go to foreign concerns from the nationalised industries. I think it is very unfair. We have our nationalised industries in the State sector; they function directly under the Government and it should be possible for the Government to so direct these concerns that their advertisements are given to Indian nationals and to Indian institutions. I do not see why it should not be possible for

the Government to prevail upon the managements of these industries, of these business undertakings in the State sector to remedy the situation.

Then we find that certain private industries which are supported by the Government either by way of financial loans and so on also give their advertisements to foreign concerns and that way Rs. 33 lakhs worth of advertisements are given to foreign concerns. Now, one might say that these are private concerns, not under the control of the Government and it would not be fair on the part of the Government to dictate terms to them. I think since the Government is backing up these industries, the Government can tender advice to them saying that the advertisements should go to Indian concerns. If that attitude is taken by the Government, I am sure, most of these firms will accept the advice of the Government and will act accordingly.

Then we have a number of foreign manufacturers in this country with whom the Government enter into various forms of agreement and contract. They also give their advertisements to foreign concerns. Over a crore of rupees worth of business is given to the foreign concerns.

That is how we find in the field of advertising these foreign institutions and foreign business houses are dominating today. A great tribute has been paid to the hon. Minister and he was listening, I think, with great enthusiasm to the tributes that were showered from the back benches to the Treasury benches. Now, I would also be very happy to pay tributes to the hon. Minister if he would really indicate that he had certainly made a change in the situation. As far as we know, nothing much has been changed, although I am not at all saying that things are just as bad as they used to be some five years ago. Maybe, certain small changes have been made. In fact in reply to question he said last December that gradually changes were being made. I would be interested in knowing the pace of



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progress. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should tell us as to what has been the rate of progress in the field of patronising the Indian concerns and how that is being done. Our fear is that some consolation advertisements are being given to certain Indian firms whereas the British and foreign concerns are being pampered as before. That is our fear. Maybe, some crumbs are being thrown here and there but that does not affect the situation very much in favour of the Indian interests in this particular field. We would like to have more facts on this subject.

Sir, I think this matter should not be viewed merely from the point of view of business. Public policy is also involved in it. Foreign concerns would be conducting their business in a manner not very helpful to national interests. For instance, these people will not draw upon our literary and artistic heritage in preparing their advertisements. On the contrary, they would be doing something which would not be in accord with our national interests and that is something which is very common. We come across such grotesque advertisements given by foreign concerns and they are published. We see sometimes in newspapers and posters in the railway stalls certain types of advertisements which if I were in power I would ban by law. These foreign concerns are pastmasters in indulging in such type of atrocious and unhealthy advertisements in the interests of their business. And that is something which has to be put a stop to. The Indian advertising concerns would be more amenable to using this for promoting Indian art and culture. I do not know how far it is possible to promote Indian art and culture through this medium of advertisements, but if anything in that direction were possible, it is the Indian concerns who might be relied upon for doing so; not the foreign concerns.

(Time bell rings.)

How much time is allowed, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Fifteen minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, some of the advertisements are really bad and they should be, as I said, banned. Therefore I would like here to impress upon the hon. Minister that this whole question should be gone into with a view to (1) eliminating the foreign interests in this particular field and (2) preventing the growth of Indian monopoly in the realm of advertisement and promoting co-operative and other institutions where monopoly does not grow. As far as we are concerned, we know that so long as capitalism remains it will be necessary for them to have these advertisements because competition will be there; but since we have to put up with this system, let this institution pass into Indian hands and let the foreign elements be eliminated from the field lock, stock and barrel.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): I find myself this morning on the horns of a dilemma. There is a clash and conflict between the head and the heart. The heart goes out in sympathy with and in support of the mover of the Resolution who championed the cause of the Indian advertising agencies in her excellent exposition in a very admirable manner. On the other hand, my head refuses to fall in line with complete tabooing of foreign advertising agencies the efficiency of which over our own advertising agencies is a thing which cannot be doubted. Rigid nationalism, Sir, I beg to give a humble warning, is a double-edged weapon. Rigid nationalism, let us not think, is only beneficial and profitable; sometimes it proves very detrimental and harmful too. So with this reminder before our eyes we should proceed on the question of patronising the Indian advertising agencies at a slower pace. The mover of the Resolution as well as her supporters admitted that things were improving and that much more advertisements were now being put through Indian advertising agencies than they used to be put through before. So

With this improvement before us let us try to hasten slowly. For my part, I am firmly of the opinion that the two types of advertising agencies will have to live side by side at least for some time, at least till the time when the Indian advertising agencies come up to the same level and the same standard of efficiency that the foreign advertising agencies have attained and acquired by their long use of efficient and better financial position. The hon. the mover of the Resolution complained that there was a lack of confidence in our own advertising agencies and that is perhaps the reason why all advertisements—not only 28 per cent according to her figures—are not being put through by the Indian agencies. I shall be very sorry if this belief was correct. I do not say that her apprehension is absolutely unfounded but I am inclined to state that it looks to me to be exaggerated.

12 Noon.

Now, there is another additional advantage which we in our zeal for Indianisation are losing sight of. That additional advantage is for the benefit of the country as a whole, for the benefit of our traders our merchants, our Government even, in that these advertisements put through foreign agencies secure and cover a larger and bigger circle of readers of advertisements. And, therefore, they are financially, too, of benefit to us and that factor of advertising should not be lost sight of. With a little personal experience of this advertising business I know that an advertiser's mind works in the same manner and in the same fashion as that of a *Bania*. A *Bania* would invest his money in a branch of trade which brings him more money, the investment of which is secure and the returns on which are going to be quick. Now, all these factors an advertiser—be it a Government or be it a private individual—has to bear in mind and all these factors work together when their advertisements are concerned. So, while I would very much appreciate the

hon. Minister for information and Broadcasting sending a directive, to begin with, to the nationalised industries and even to the different Ministries and to all Government departments and establishments that as far as possible the advertisements should be placed with Indian advertising agencies, as I submitted earlier, the thing should not be exclusive; it should not be a taboo. With these words, I give my partial support to the Resolution and hope that the process of expediting the use of Indian and indigenous advertising agencies will be made greater and greater than it is now.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal): This Resolution as I find it has two parts. The first part relates to an enquiry into the monopolistic hold of foreign owned and foreign controlled advertising agencies in India. And the second part is in regard to the desirability of Government taking advantage of Indian advertising firms in relation to its advertisement of nationalised concerns, railways, and so forth. In so far as the first part is concerned, I do not think that that is necessary and I do not think that we have any need to enquire into the working of foreign owned and foreign controlled advertising agency firms. So long as it is the policy of Government to permit foreigners to operate in this country—whether we like it or not and so long as it cannot be stated that they are functioning in an anti-national way—I do not think that if there is a private sector they should be subject to frequent enquiries. So that, in so far as this part of the Resolution is concerned, I am afraid, I cannot accord it my support. But in so far as the second part of the Resolution is concerned, there is absolutely no conflict between my head and heart in giving my full support to that part of the Resolution. It is difficult for me to adduce arguments in support of this very desirable proposition, as I do not know what arguments could be advanced against it. I should have liked very much Dr. Keskar to speak first if he were

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

opposed to it, because I think that any reasonable person should support it. But the likely objections may be these and I am trying to analyse them. First, it might be stated that it might mean discrimination. But I do not think that argument holds water because there is no question of discrimination involved. Government have gone out in different fields of activity in assisting and furthering Indian participation, progressive Indianisation of Services and so forth. Even in the tea industry, I believe, the Government is trying to break the monopoly of foreign tea broking firms by supporting the rise of Indian firms in the tea broking business which is a very specialised and a kind of monopolistic business. So, I do not think that Dr. Keskar would advance that argument at all because that is—if I might say so—a preposterous argument.

The second argument may be that we have not firms of sufficient quality and standard. Now, let us first examine whether that proposition is true. I submit that that proposition is not quite true, although in reply to a question by the mover of the Resolution, the hon. Minister for Information and Broadcasting did say that they sometimes find themselves in difficulties when they had entrusted advertising business to Indian firms. Now, I do not know if you are aware that one of the most important advertisements that appear in papers is that of the Tea Board and that advertisement is, I think, by an Indian agency. I do not think that anybody here would contend that the art quality attained by the firm which is entrusted with this advertisement work is in any way inferior to the work done by any of the foreign agencies, because every one of us has seen the advertisements of tea. And as for myself I can say that I am perfectly satisfied with the quality of work done by that firm. Now, if that is so, then it cannot be contended that there are no Indian firms of adequate standard and quality. The question

then may be asked that there are not sufficient numbers of such Indian firms. And if there are not sufficient numbers then all the advertisements could not probably be entrusted to them to be properly handled. On that I have not, I am afraid, sufficient information. Probably the hon. Minister knows better as to how many Indian firms there are who can compare favourably or who are probably better than foreign advertising firms. But to the extent that there are, there can be no argument that so far as Government advertising work is concerned, it should be entrusted to such firms. I understand that these Indian advertising agency firms had met Government and they were given certain assurances. And I find that the Ministry of Production had subsequent to the meeting issued directives to all corporations under its control to make use of Indian advertising agencies. I should have thought that that directive would have been based on an appreciation of the work that could be performed by the Indian advertising agency firms. But the surprising part of it is that, even thereafter, many public undertakings like NEPA Mills and the new nationalised Insurance Corporations have entrusted their work to foreign agencies. This certainly is surprising. I had said just now that a question might be asked as to whether there were sufficient firms of the requisite standard available to handle all the work. If there are not, I believe that there is a duty cast upon Government to create conditions so that an adequate number of firms of the requisite standard may come up. Everybody is aware that advertising is a specialised job. Then there should be provision for the training of personnel. I find in the memorandum which the Indian Advertising Agency firms submitted to the Government that they had also made certain proposals in this regard. I should very much like to know if Government has taken any action in this regard because it is desirable that Indian personnel should be trained to equip themselves for this highly

specialised work. But, so far as the Resolution is concerned, I do not think that so eminent a person as the hon. Minister would in any way object to the second portion of the Resolution and it is really a little shameful that, while we have firms of adequate standard and quality, Government business should be going out to foreign agency firms. This is not sectionalism. It is certainly the duty of the Government to assist their own nationals, particularly when they are of the requisite quality. Even if the quality were a little inferior, I think it would have been the duty of the Government to assist them so that they might be encouraged to improve.

As I said, I do not have anything more to say except that I give my wholehearted support to the second part of the Resolution.

Dr. ANUP SINGH (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am in agreement with the substance and the spirit of the main Resolution. I would like to make just one or two suggestions as a sort of modification.

In the second part of the Resolution, I notice the words "is done through Indian advertising agencies only." I am in agreement with those who have suggested that we should fully encourage all our national agencies. All possible steps should be taken to encourage them. But I am inclined to think that some of our own agencies are not at par with the foreign agencies. But that certainly does not reflect any incompetence or warrant any generalization that our people are incompetent.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: May I interrupt, Sir? Is he of the opinion that there is no Indian firm of equal standard?

Dr. ANUP SINGH: No. I am in favour of deleting the word 'only'. I would say that every step should be taken to encourage our own nationals and as far as possible, other things being equal, it will have to be judged in terms of each and

every issue as it comes. Wherever the standard and all other considerations are equal, the Indian should be preferred. But having given the foreign agencies the freedom to function in our country and having agreed that we are not going to discriminate against any one simply because he happens to be a foreigner, I think that the word 'only' is too drastic. That should be deleted and some more proper term—like 'so far as possible'—should be preferred.

That is the only thing that I would like to add; for the rest, I am in favour of the Resolution.

श्रीमती सावित्री निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्रीमन्, मैं श्रीमती अल्पा द्वारा रखे हुए प्रस्ताव का हार्दिक समर्थन करने के लिए यहां उपस्थित हुई हूं। उन्होंने यह प्रस्ताव रखकर, सदन का ध्यान एक ऐसी समस्या की ओर दिलाया है जिसे हमारी सरकार ने और हमने बराबर नगलेवट किया है। यह देश के लिये बड़े ही दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि देश की जो ३२ एडवर्टाइजिंग एजेंसियां हैं उनमें से ७ विदेशी एजेंसियां को देश की एडवर्टाइजिंग के काम को ७५ और ७७ फी सदी काम दिया जाय। श्रीमन्, विदेशों में इस प्रकार इतनी लम्बी रकम जाने का जो गम हमें है वह तो है ही, लेकिन इसके साथ साथ सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि इन प्रकार ये विदेशी कंपनियां इन्डाइरेक्ट तरीके से हमारे देश की विचार शक्ति और देश के मस्तिष्क पर छा गई हैं और इसका प्रभुत्व ऐसा छाया हुआ है कि अगर आप किसी भी बाजार में जायें, एक काबलर से लेकर जेनरल मर्चेन्ट, कपड़े की दुकान, कहीं भी किसी दुकान पर जाय तो तुरन्त दुकानदार हर एक से कहता है कि जो, यह जर्मनी का है, यह विदेशी सामान है, यह विदेशी जूता है, इसे ले जाइये। यानी कि ऐसा कुछ उनके दिमाग में समाया हुआ है कि सिवाये विदेशी चीज के कोई चीज, हिन्दुस्तान की बनी हुई, अच्छी हो ही नहीं सकती, और यह हाल दुकानदारों

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

का ही नहीं खरोददारों का भी हो गया है। वे कहते हैं कि जरा विदेशी चीज दिखाइये, कोई विलायती सामान दिखाओ। इस तरह, श्रीमन्, विदेशी एडवर्टाइजिंग एजेंसियां अपनी मोनोपोली कर के हमें कितना नुकसान पहुंचा रही हैं इसका आफरैंड, एकाएक अंशा लगाना बहुत कठिन है।

श्रीमन्, सोलहवीं शताब्दी में जब विदेशी पूंजी ने अपना हाथ पैर भारतीय बाजारों में फैलाना शुरू किया और विदेशी उद्योग धंधे विदेशी कंपनियों के मातहत बढ़ने लगे तो विदेशी कुशल व्यापारो वर्ग ने यह उचित ही समझा कि हमारा अपने एडवर्टाइजमेंटों में जो रुखा खर्च होता है उसका भी पूरा लाभ विदेशों को पहुंचे। इसलिए उन्होंने तमाम विदेशी एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियां बनानी शुरू कीं। उन्होंने ये एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियां बना कर जहां अपने उद्योग धंधों को खूब फैलाया वहां भारतीय पत्रों को और भारतीय पत्रकारिता को भी एक प्रकार से मुनहरे जाल में फंसाने का पूरा पूरा प्रयत्न किया और उसका प्रभाव हम लोगों को बहुत भुगतना पड़ा, हमारे देश को भी भुगतना पड़ा। श्रीमन्, ये जितनी विदेशी कंपनियां हैं, ये जब से बराबर चलती आ रही हैं तब से इन्होंने एक मोनोपोली बना ली थी कि ये अपने पूरे एडवर्टाइजमेंट्स का एक एक हिस्सा विदेशी कंपनियों से कराती रहीं, अपना सारा बिजिनिस विदेशी कंपनियों को देती रहीं और इस तरह से उन्होंने अपनी मोनोपोली बनाई कि जितने नवोदित, नई आने वाले भारतीय एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियां थीं, वे उनके मुकाबले में कभी सिर नहीं उठा पाई, कभी खड़ी नहीं हो पाई। यही कारण है कि हमारे व्यापारियों ने, हमारे उद्योगपतियों ने इस देश में उतनी कामयाबी नहीं पाई जितनी कि उन्हें पानी चाहिये थी, और इसमें कोई शक और शुबहा नहीं है। इसके पश्चात् वार टाइम में, जब वार प्रोपेगेंडा

की आवश्यकता थी, तब ब्रिटिश हुकूमत ने चार, पांच बड़ी बड़ी कंपनियों को मिलाकर और उनके पर्सनल वगैरा को छांट कर एक एडवर्टाइजमेंट कंसल्टेंट बना दिया और बाद में उसका नाम बदल कर डाइरेक्टर आफ एडवर्टाइजमेंट्स और विज्ञान पब्लिसिटी कर दिया। लेकिन श्रीमन्, यह खेद का विषय है और दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जितनी भी गवर्नमेंट के एडवर्टाइजमेंटों की पूलिंग होती है उसको यह विभाग बराबर बराबर देश की एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियों के बीच में और विदेशी एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियों के बीच में बांटता है हालांकि अब भारतीय कंपनियों का हिस्सा थोड़ा बढ़ाना उसने शुरू किया है और उनको ज्यादा पूलिंग में हिस्सा देना शुरू किया है, लेकिन फिर भी यह सरासर अन्याय है कि देश के अन्दर जितनी विदेशी कंपनियां हैं, जिनका नाम अभी हमारी वहिन ने लिया, उनको लगभग मेंट पर सेंट दिया जाता है। हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार के मातहत जो यह विभाग है वह अपनी एडवर्टाइजिंग उन विदेशी कंपनियों को इस हद तक क्यों देता है जिनका कि पेट पहले से भरा हुआ है, जो खूब शक्तिशाली हैं, जो अपनी मोनोपोली बनाए हुए हैं, यह समझ में नहीं आता। आप किसी भी विदेशी कंपनी को देख लीजिए, यही बर्मा शैल को ले लीजिए, जब बहुत आवाज उठाई गई और शोर मचा गया तब जाकर उन्होंने सिर्फ आईवाश करने के लिए, एक या दो पर सेंट अपना एडवर्टाइजमेंट देशी कंपनियों को देना शुरू किया।

श्रीमन्, जो यह बात कही जाती है कि विदेशी कंपनियों के मुकाबले में भारतीय कंपनियां जो एडवर्टाइजमेंट का काम करती हैं वे उतनी एफीशियेंट नहीं हैं, इस विचार में कोई तथ्य नहीं है और यह लगभग गलत है। मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूं और जानना चाहती हूं कि इन विदेशी एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियों का, जिनकी कि इतनी बड़ी तारीफें होती हैं और जो गवर्नमेंट की निगाह में भी बड़ी ऊंची,

बहुत एफीशियेंट है पर्सोनेल कहां का है। उनके सारे आर्टिस्ट भारतीय हैं, ले आऊट करने वाले भारतीय हैं और कार्यकर्ता, कर्मचारी वगैरा का जितना भी पर्सोनेल है, सब भारतीय हैं। फर्क यह है कि जो विचारे भारतीय लोग परिश्रम करके पैदा करते हैं उस कमाई का लाभ जरूर विदेशियों को हो जाता है। फिर यह कहना कि विदेशी कंपनियों के मुकाबले में भारतीय कंपनियां अच्छी नहीं हैं, यह एक प्रकार से मानसिक दासत्व की सूचना देता है और इसमें हमारे राष्ट्रीय सरकार की कमजोरी भी दीखती है कि उसने इस उद्योग को करने वाली भारतीय कंपनियों को प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दिया। प्रोटेक्शन देना या उनको ग्रांट्स देकर इस प्रकार मजबूत बनाना कि जिससे विदेशी कंपनियों के मुकाबिले में वे खड़ी हो सकें, यह तो दूर रहा बल्कि उनके साथ सौतेली मां का सा व्यवहार किया। उनको एडवर्टाइजमेंट्स भी इतने काफी नहीं दिए कि वे अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को सम्भाल सकें और मुकाबले में खड़े हो सकें। इसलिए, श्रीमन्, इस सच्चाई को देखते हुए कि विदेशी कंपनियों में भी जितना पर्सोनेल लगा हुआ है, जो टेलेंट है वह भारतीय है, हमारे और सरकारी अधिकारियों के दिमाग में जो यह गलत आईडिया बैठा हुआ है कि उन कंपनियों के मुकाबिले में ये जो देशी एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियां हैं वे पिछड़ी हुई हैं उसको हमें बदल देना चाहिए यह समझना हमारी कमजोरी है और इसलिए इस विचार को हमें निकाल देना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह बात भी कहना चाहती हूं कि आज भारतीय एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियां लिमिटेड कंपनियों के रूप में ही नहीं चल रही हैं बल्कि हमारे यहां जो भारतीय एडवर्टाइजिंग एजेंसियां हैं वे कोआपरेटिव बेसिस पर भी चलाई गई हैं और बहुत सफल हुई हैं। उनमें से किसी खास कंपनी का नाम तो मैं नहीं लेना चाहती,

पर चूंकि यहां पर कुछ नाम लिये गये हैं इसलिए मैं भी एक कंपनी का नाम लूंगी। वह है क्लेरियन एडवर्टाइजिंग सर्विस प्राइवेट लिमिटेड जिसे कैमर्स के रिट्रेन्व्ड किए हुए लोगों ने बनाया है। यह कंपनी कोआपरेटिव बेसिस पर बनाई गई है और इसके बनाने में किसी पूंजीपति ने किसी तरह की धनराशि द्वारा सहायता नहीं की बल्कि वर्कर्स ने स्वयं अपने एफर्ट्स से यह कंपनी बनाई है। इस कंपनी की एफिशियन्सी से विदेशी कम्पनीज भी इतनी प्रभावित हैं कि वे अपना सारा एडवर्टाइजमेंट का काम इस कम्पनी को दे रही हैं। लेकिन इतनी एफिशियन्ट कंपनी होने पर भी हमारी सरकार ने किसी प्रकार का एडवर्टाइजमेंट इस कंपनी को नहीं दिया और न देने की परवाह ही की। इस प्रकार उपेक्षा करने से कोई भारतीय एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनी भी उस ऊंचे स्तर पर नहीं पहुंच सकती जहां कि उसे पहुंचना चाहिये, यह बात स्पष्ट है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगी कि अब समय आ गया है कि वे भारत में जितनी भी एडवर्टाइजिंग कम्पनियां हैं सरकार उनको सब तरह का एडवर्टाइजमेंट का काम दे। इतना ही नहीं अगर इन भारतीय कंपनियों को कैपिटल की जरूरत हो तो सरकार ग्रांट्स द्वारा उन्हें हर तरह की मदद दे ताकि वे अपने को पूरी तरह से भारतीय बना लें।

साथ ही साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि इस समय जो विदेशी कंपनियां भारतीयों से पूरा पूरा लाभ उठाते हुए भी मनमाना कर रहीं हैं और इतनी भी उदारता नहीं बरतती कि वे अपने यहां का एडवर्टाइजमेंट हमारी भारतीय एजेंसियों को दें, इस तरह की कंपनियों को किसी लेजिस्लेशन के द्वारा यह बात समझा दी जानी चाहिये कि उनका यह कर्तव्य है कि वे भारतीय कंपनियों को अधिक से अधिक काम दें या फिर सभी कंपनियों को बराबर काम दें, वरन् उन्हें करना

[श्रीमती सावित्री निगम]

तो यही चाहिये कि अधिकांश विज्ञापन  
भारतीय एडवर्टाइजिंग कंपनियों को जरूर दें।  
अन्यथाद।

**SRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful to the hon. the mover of this resolution for having spotlighted the attention of this House on a very important aspect of the newspaper industry. So far as the spirit of the Resolution is concerned, I feel there can be no two opinions about it. We all feel, and feel very strongly, that in the context of the progressive Indianisation of our commercial concerns, these foreign advertising agencies ought to have closed their shops much earlier. But there are one or two other factors which we should not also lose sight of. Oftentimes, the cry for progressive Indianisation has served as a premium on inefficiency. I do not suggest thereby that Indian talents, Indian commercial talents, are not up to the task of organising the advertising agency business in this country on a par with the foreign concerns. But I will cite here a very small example. You know that a very well-known travelling agency has closed its concern in Calcutta. I am not going to name that concern, but it is a matter of common knowledge that that travelling agency was very efficient, was very prompt, in booking seats not alone on the railways, but on the airways and in ships also. Now, after that concern has closed down, —and we thank the concern for its good sense—the travelling public have been undergoing infinite difficulty in getting their passages booked, may be in a ship or may be in an aeroplane. So, while I am second to none in the desire that there should be progressive Indianisation so far as the sector of advertising agencies is concerned, we should not be carried far away in our patriotic fervour and we must also see that our concerns come up to a tolerable standard. In this particular case, I completely disagree with the views

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that have been expressed that Government have got anything to do to bring these concerns up to a proper level. Here is a matter which cannot be done through spoon-feeding. That is a very important matter which we should not lose sight of. But then this monopolistic hold of the foreign advertising houses is not a cause; it is only an effect. What has contributed to it has also got to be analysed. The Press Commission had conducted a sort of survey in respect of 34 advertising agencies. The volumes of advertisements in the different sectors which were noticed by the Press Commission were as follows: General consumer advertising was to the extent of 17.1 million. Specialised advertising was to the extent of 4.2 million. Government and institutional advertisements were to the extent of 1.1 million. If we care to analyse these figures, we will find that specialised advertising and the general consumer advertising are mostly in the hands of the foreign firms. Specialised advertising means mainly mechanical and industrial advertising. It is a matter of common knowledge that this sector, not alone in its advertising but in the production of it, is mainly controlled by foreign concerns. Therefore, naturally those concerns always place their advertising budgets in the hands of these foreign agencies. In regard to general consumer advertising—advertising of goods, luxury goods, cosmetics, medicines and so on and so forth which come under this category—it is a pity that even in this sector, we are not producing these consumer goods in this country by purely Indian firms, what to talk of advertising those products through Indian advertisers. Who can ever believe that in this country the Indian talent is not good enough to produce even match boxes, so that there should be a WIMCO? We have our Godrej and we have our organised talent in the sector of the soap industry; yet, we must have Lever Brothers. Therefore, nobody should get away with the impression that only in the advertising sector

the foreign concerns are getting the major slice. Advertising means only the advertising of products. Unfortunately, the production of such goods is all in the hands of foreign-controlled firms. Nonetheless, it is not my intention to say that these foreign advertising concerns should carry on the business which they have been carrying on so far. If the Government has got anything to do in the matter, my only request is that the Government should make no delay in discharging their duty, which is already belated. There is also another aspect concerning this advertisement policy to which I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Minister. Sir, I am not so much against monopoly but I am against the demoralising effect of a monopoly. If there is advertisement monopoly, I don't bother very much about it but I am concerned if that monopoly exerts a kind of demoralising effect on the integrity of journalists. In this context I will submit that the Government also operate as a kind of monopolist in the sector of giving advertisements. If you look at the Press Commission's Report, you will find that in some of the smaller States the newspapers depend a good bit on the Government for getting advertisements. The Press Commission has reported that in Assam two papers completely depend on the Government for the advertisement revenue to the extent of 27 per cent and 26 per cent respectively. Two dailies in Hyderabad depend on the Government for their advertisement revenue to the extent of 17 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. In Bombay two dailies depend on Government for 20 per cent of their advertisement revenue. In Punjab, two dailies depend for 29 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. In Bombay, the Press Commission points out that a paper, with a negligible circulation, receives substantial advertisements from the Government. In West Bengal a newly started paper now gets one-fourth of the entire advertisement of the Government of the

State concerned. In this sector, here is a monopoly which we should not lose sight of. Here the effect of this monopoly is demoralising and is degrading. In this particular matter I do not think that the Government of India have got anything to do nor I am going to press it before the hon. Minister, except to appeal to the sense of morality of the powers that be in the States concerned. Then there is another aspect. The Press Commission also invited attention of the Government to the discrimination not only between foreign firms and Indian firms but between English papers and language papers. I will presently give you the figures for the year 1951 for which I have got ready figures with me. The advertising agencies patronised English papers to the extent of Rs. 1.82 crores whereas the language papers get only 0.9 crores of rupees. But the fact has to be remembered that the English daily papers enjoy only one-fourth of the total circulation of the newspaper in this country. Therefore here is a matter which is beset with a number of complex problems. It is not merely a question between the foreign advertising agency and the Indian advertising agency. It is not merely a question of monopolistic hold. Here is a question of an over-all advertisement policy and I feel personally that I don't know why the Government is so chary of bringing into existence the Press Council about which the hon. Minister was so hopeful. When that Press Council comes into existence, I believe that it will examine this question and will give such directives for being followed by all the parties concerned. In the meantime with all the emphasis at my command, I will urge upon the hon. Minister to see that the Indian advertising agencies get not only due share but they get a major share in the field of advertising. I will close with two suggestions. One is, the Second Five Year Plan will provide for the expending activities of production, as a result of which there will be more necessity for adver-



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[Shri S. Mahanty.]

tising. I wonder why the Government of India in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting does not set up a small unit for advertisement. It is a well known fact that these advertising agencies get—which varies from paper to paper and organisation to organisation—a commission from 25 to 40 per cent. If during a particular year the total turnover from advertising agencies could be to the extent of Rs. 4 or 5 crores, I think the Government can earn about a crore if they set up a small unit in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Moreover I don't believe that advertising requires a great deal of expert knowledge. I had something to do with advertising and I know how these advertising agencies function. Black-making, designing and then giving appropriate captions—these are matters which require not very specialised or expert knowledge. The only trouble is that these foreign concerns have gained an inertia in the market. Therefore when a firm or when a client goes to entrust his particular job of advertising, he goes to such concerns which have already gathered inertia in the market and therefore these Indian firms which are coming up, don't get the patronage that they deserve. It is a very simple matter. I personally feel that there is no need to bring a Resolution. The Government with a sense of urgency, could have effected all that the Resolution seeks to achieve. With these words, I support this Resolution so far as it relates to giving more patronage to the Indian advertising agencies.

SHRIMATI T. NALLAMUTHU RAMAMURTI (Madras): Sir, I rise to give my warm support to the Resolution which has been so ably moved, with an array of statistics and cogent arguments by my sister the hon. Shrimati Violet Alva. I am very happy to note that there is a consensus of agreement from all Members who have spoken on the Resolution in support of the Resolution. The principle that is implied, namely, that as a Welfare State we

should sponsor and support and nourish and cherish our own Indian advertising agencies goes without saying. Our agencies might be infants. I am surprised at the statement made that our indigenous advertising agencies, when the Government gives over advertisements to them, they are not properly carrying them out and it comes to grief. Which child, when it was born, showed hyper-efficiency straightaway? Our agencies are in the state of infancy. We have not been a nation of shop-keepers nor a nation of traders on the high seas. We have been the upholders of art and culture. Today we have entered into the industrial sphere and we are competing with other nations with great competence and wish to make our own stand in the world and as such, our indigenous advertising agencies that are trying to do their best for advertisement, need the State support and even bounties should be given to them to go ahead with the efforts which they are making in the right direction. The economic side of it I am not here to stress. One of my sisters had said that our agencies should not be spoken against as being inefficient, for after all the employees in many foreign advertising agencies were Indians. That is true, but on principle we should encourage the development of our own indigenous Indian advertising firms.

I am sorry that an hon. Member who spoke just before my getting up to support this Resolution said that he did not believe that advertisement needed expert knowledge. It is on that and that alone that I rose to speak. The art, the science and above all the psychology of advertisements, these constitute a tremendous asset to any country, and to any agency that has taken up the work of advertising. I had been abroad—not that our country does not specialise in that way—but the whole approach in these countries is to the educative side, to study and appeal to the psychology of the masses, how to make them understand, how to attract the people, how to make them look at some posters

or some advertisement so that they may be drawn to it, in spite of themselves. You enter a shop in the western countries like 'Sel and Ridges' or 'Liberty' in London with the intention of spending not a penny, but you come out of it with your purse almost empty, you buy a lot, because the whole paraphernalia, the whole approach is psychological, and educative propaganda. Not only on the art side but also on the science side of it, every effort is made to draw the customer and, in spite of himself, he is drawn and he spends and thus they achieve the purpose of advertising, which is to get a large number of customers. It is not just paper advertisement I am referring to. When you go to Piccadilly Circus in London for example, you find in large electric illuminated multicoloured letters in continuously moving chain to tell you "Eat more fruits and keep fit", "An apple a day keeps the doctor away", "Buy British goods". For everything there is advertisement. "It pays to advertise"—they have learnt this art. I will not say anything more than submit that in every place I visited there was this psychological approach to advertising and that, I feel, is at the root of the success of these advertising agencies. There is beauty, there is art and there is scientific accuracy and that is the way these people make their mark in every field they enter.

Apart from that, Sir, though it may not be in the Resolution proper, it is I think, implied in it and now that there has been so much discussion on the subject, may I ask, "Why not the State undertake a scheme for training for this kind of work? Why not they start 'a school for advertisement' for training people where the people could be properly trained?" One hon. Member referred to it slightly. We should have a school for training the personnel for advertising work so that the work might be done properly. This is very essential and I am sure when it is established and our people are properly trained in the technique of

advertising, there will be no question of indigenous Indian agencies not being able to hold their own against foreign or other competitors in the field. Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to offer my remarks on this vital subject.

THE MINISTER FOR INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (DR. B. V. KESKAR): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have carefully listened to the debate and also to the introductory remarks of the mover of the Resolution. I would first of all, like to try to stick to the Resolution and not digress either into the question of advertisements in general or with regard to the details of Government's advertisement policy with regard to all the Ministries. That will lead us into a debate which will probably not be completely in accord with the object of the Resolution itself.

Sir, there are two parts to this Resolution. Firstly, the Resolution wants an enquiry. As far as that part is concerned, I am of the same opinion as my hon. friend Mr. Ghose that this appears not at all necessary. Recently, the Press Commission held a very exhaustive enquiry into this subject. As hon. Members will find from the Report of the Press Commission itself, the Commission had the benefit of a very detailed memorandum submitted by the advertising agencies and their associations. They had also before them other facts and figures relating to advertisements and in their Report they have summed up the situation in an admirable way. This will be found in paragraphs 248, 252, 253 and 262 of the Commission's conclusions. There is no mystery about either the facts or the statistics of advertisements and I do not think any useful purpose will be served by trying to have another enquiry in regard to this matter. Therefore, I feel that as far as this part of the Resolution is concerned, it is entirely unnecessary. In fact, if the hon. Member who moved the Resolution wanted some information about the foreign advertising done here, it could have been got very easily, to satisfy her and those

[Dr. B. V. Keskar.]

who wanted to be satisfied about this subject. No such exhaustive enquiry is required for that.

Then there is the other part of the Resolution which is that Government should 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. So the Resolution wants the Government to ensure this and I would like to analyse this part of the Resolution before coming to the Government's policy. The Resolution refers to Government sponsored companies, statutory corporations, railways and firms which enjoy financial assistance or protection from Government. These cover practically 90 per cent of the concerns in this country, because as hon. Members are aware, a large amount of business in this country gets protection in the form of import duties, import restrictions, export restrictions and so on, so that our concerns might prosper and might not have unfair competition from outside. So it means that Government will have to enforce that on practically the major part of Indian industries and the Resolution asks that all their advertisements must be done only through Indian agencies. However desirable that might be, I am afraid it is not a practical suggestion and I am afraid it will not be possible to accept such a suggestion.

I would, however, like to say a few words regarding the spirit of the Resolution and firstly I might be permitted to.....

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: If the hon. Minister had omitted that portion of it and confined himself only to the others, to public undertakings, railways and public corporations....

DR. B. V. KESKAR: I am giving an opinion on the Resolution; I am not opposing or supporting the Resolution.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: But what is your answer?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: If you will let me finish, I am just coming to that. I am saying that this proposition in the Resolution is not a practical proposition.

As far as the other part which can be practical and about which I am now going to express myself, I would like first of all to say one word regarding advertisements and another word regarding Government policy in general. We have to remember before we come to any conclusion regarding the matter of advertisements that there are certain reasons why we find in this country a dominance by foreign advertising agencies. Firstly, advertisement is not a medium which we in this country have been accustomed to very much for influencing public opinion. You will find that from the very beginning it was the foreign agencies which began a large-scale use of advertisement, whether through posters or newspapers and it is they who brought to the notice of Indians the importance of this medium. Even today, the situation is—probably an unfortunate situation—that Indian industries, that is, industries which are entirely controlled and owned by Indians, are not so much interested in advertising as foreign business—whether it is foreign owned industries or Indian concerns doing foreign business, importing and so on. They give a greater importance to advertisement; they give a larger amount of money to advertisement though it cannot be said that Indian industry or business is so small that it cannot afford to give a large amount of money for advertisement. The reason probably is that we do not realise the importance of advertisement as much as the foreign concerns do. They feel that by advertising they could increase to a very great extent the sale of their goods; probably, our people do not feel that there is any necessity for them to waste money on advertisement in order to sell their goods.

Whatever might be the reason, it is undeniable that our businessmen and industrialists have been rather reluctant to invest any money in the advertising business. That is one of the reasons why you find such a dominance of foreign business agencies in this country. As far as Government's policy is concerned, I have had occasion, many a time, on the floor of this House to explain our general policy. I might straightway say that as far as the spirit of that part of the Resolution is concerned, the part which concerns Government agencies or firms under Government control, Government's policy has been that we should see that Indian concerns are encouraged and preference is given to Indian advertising agencies, wherever possible. That is not simply a pious wish or a pious sympathy expressed on the floor of the House. During the last four or four-and-half years, we have made a systematic effort to see not only that more and more business is given to Indian advertising agencies but also that Indian advertising is put on a sounder footing. This, of course, can only be done indirectly by Government because Government has nothing to do with that business directly. Hon. Members will find from the statistics that our business has been given more and more to Indian agencies. During the last few years, we have reduced every year whatever business used to be given to foreign concerns. When I say 'foreign concerns', I mean concerns controlled by foreigners. That business has been reduced and more and more business has been given to Indian agencies. I might here immediately say this. Mr. Mahanty said that we should have a separate unit for ourselves. Perhaps he does not know that we have got our own advertising unit which draws up advertisements, decorations, posters, etc. We are already issuing a large amount of advertisement direct to the papers. I am thankful to him for the suggestion but I might inform him that it has already been acted upon to a great extent.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Is it true, for instance of the Airlines Corporation, that material is handed over to the foreign concerns which earn a commission and do very little work?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: What I was saying was regarding the general policy of Government. I am coming to the other aspect but now I am giving this background in order that Members might understand the position that we are taking in this matter. I am explaining one or two points and if hon. Members would listen to me and put questions afterwards, I am quite prepared to answer them.

Mrs. Alva said something about an answer that I gave. It has been quoted two or three times here and so I might clarify it. The question should first be understood. She asked, "Why does not Government give all these advertisements to Indian agencies?" I replied, "Because the Indian agencies are not up to the standard". I said, "Certain Indian agencies were not up to the standard". The question was of giving all Government advertisements to Indian agencies; it was not for giving more and more. If the question had been put in that form. I would have certainly accepted the suggestion. The question was that all Government advertisements should be immediately given over to Indian agencies. A few years back we had given certain advertisements and we had difficulties; that programme was not carried out properly and we found that unless an agency has the technique and the knowledge and equipment to put through large-scale advertisements, we might be in difficulties if we want that agency to carry out a big campaign on behalf of Government. That, however, does not mean that we have left off others. We are giving more and more and there are certainly a number of Indian agencies which are quite good and satisfactory. Now, those agencies might not be able to work on such a scale as we would like them to do and the moment they are in a position to do so, we will

[Dr. B. V. Keskar.]

give them preference over the other agencies which are foreign controlled. This is what I have to say regarding our general position.

I would now come to the specific parts of the Resolution. The Resolution concerns not only Government or our general policy which has been discussed here many times—I take it that Members know what our policy is or even are in general agreement with our policy—but deals also with the railways and the autonomous corporations. We have had certain difficulties with regard to these; I cannot deny that. The difficulty has been that though the railways function under a Ministry, they are such a big undertaking that they have been functioning historically on their own. The various zonal railways and others have been carrying on their business in a very autonomous way and, therefore, they have been placing their advertisements according to their policy or at their own discretion. With regard to the autonomous corporations, the position is not yet very clear. There has been a view that the corporations being autonomous should be allowed to do things in their own way. To what extent extends autonomy and to what extent extends Government control has been something which has not been clearly defined and that is one of the reasons why in this matter hon. Members have found certain discrepancies and, if I might say so, something which they consider is not proper, that is, encouragement given to foreign controlled business and no preference being given to the Indian agencies. I might immediately inform hon. Members that we have taken up this question, that is, there should be no contradictory position taken by Government in general and the autonomous corporations or the railways. This matter is being pursued and I am quite certain that we will come to a satisfactory conclusion very soon. I hope Members will realise that because the question of the extent of the autonomy of the corporations was in question, a decision

could not be taken off-hand because the corporations have to run efficiently. Some of them are big business undertakings and we do not want any decision to be taken which will come in the way of their functioning efficiently. That is one of the reasons why we have thought over the matter carefully before taking up any definite attitude but I might assure the hon. mover of this Resolution and other friends who have spoken that this point had been taken up and I think a satisfactory solution will be arrived. At the same time I might say with regard to even this part of the question that it would be a categorical order to say—which certainly the Resolution does—that all advertising work should be given to Indian advertising agencies only. It makes it binding on us and it is not possible for Government to accept such a directive because I hope Members will realise what was quite rightly said by Mr. Ghose, that this is a very specialised business and let us support it in the way we want to have.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Will you take more time?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Five minutes more. If you like I can speak after lunch.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue after lunch. The House stands adjourned till 2-30 in the afternoon.

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

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

DR. B. V. KESKAR: I was observing, Sir, that when suggestions are made regarding the switching over of Government advertisements to Indian concerns only we have to bear in mind that advertisement or advertising as

a business is a very specialised sort of job. We should not think that advertising means preparing some motif for decorations or displaying it here and there or putting in some advertisements in newspapers. It is where there are large campaigns to be organised that technical skill in advertising comes into play and it is there unfortunately that due to what I said before, namely, due to Indians including businessmen and industrialists not being interested in advertisement or publicity, our country is a little backward. I do not mean to say that we will not get that technical skill or that imagination. Probably it is there latent, but it has not developed because there is no demand for it. Slowly it is developing and I am sure that soon we will have people with that technical skill and that imagination which can plan big campaigns, etc. Therefore I would request hon. Members that, when they suggest that Government should give advertising business to Indian concerns, they should look to the practical side of it also.

As I said at the very beginning, I am entirely in sympathy with the objective, and more and more of our business is being transferred to Indian advertising agencies. And, if it is not done *en bloc*, the reasons are those which I stated just before. I therefore feel that it would not be possible for me to accept the Resolution though, with the operative part of it, I am in full sympathy.

I was greatly interested to listen to the very nice and reasonable speech delivered by my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, with which I entirely agree except in one thing. He was still very critical that we are giving a large share of our advertisements to foreign companies. I have shown you before, Sir, that the share of the foreign agencies has decreased steadily and, as I said, we are decreasing it purposely in a gradual way. Our objective is to see that more and more goes to Indian agencies and competent Indian agencies. I hope the mover of the Resolution will not press

me to accept the Resolution because, as I said, one part of it is unnecessary and the categorical imperative that has been put in the Resolution makes it rather difficult to operate. As far as Government's general policy is concerned, regarding the question of autonomous corporation which has been brought forward in the Resolution and to which probably the Resolution is mainly directed, I might assure hon. Members that steps are being taken to see that there is co-ordination and a general overriding policy regarding Government advertisements, and I hope that very soon you will not have to complain that there is a contradiction or discrepancy in this matter.

That is all I have to say regarding the Resolution.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have listened to a very well reasoned speech by Mrs. Alva on this subject. She has taken a very long time in making out a case with regard to the Resolution that she has moved. Also the views expressed by other Members here have been very much interesting.

Dr. Keskar seems to have pointed out certain difficulties in the matter of his accepting this Resolution. Nevertheless he has expressed his full sympathy with the operative part of the Resolution. With your permission, Sir, I might move an amendment to the Resolution that has been moved by Mrs. Alva and it reads as follows.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Did you show it to the hon. Minister?

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: I have done so.

DR. B. V. KESKAR: I have got some paper with me, but will you read it please?

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Sir, I beg to move:

[Shri V. K. Dhage.]

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted, namely :—

'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 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.'

I think, Sir, this amended Resolution is in full accord with the views expressed by the hon. Minister in the House just now, and I hope he will be pleased to accept this form of the Resolution. I also appeal to Mrs. Alva that instead of the Resolution that she has proposed, this amendment may be accepted by her.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Minister accept it?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Well, Sir, I would have no objection to accepting this in this form because, as I have expressed, this is the general outlook of Government in this matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does the mover accept the amended Resolution?

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Sir, I was still reading this amendment. I am grateful, I don't mind if it goes in this form, in this amended form, but I would like to press a few points in a sense. The Minister has shown a great deal of sympathy to this subject that was being discussed from this morning. I am grateful to all the Members who spoke on this Resolution because they have accepted the underlying principle. We may have varied opinions as to how it should

be worded, strongly or persuasively or any other way. In any case the amendment as given by Mr. Dhage is acceptable to me and is acceptable also to the Minister. I have no objection but, Sir, I want the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to bear a few points in mind. No. 1 is: Why is the picture continuing to be lopsided. I mean the ratio 72 per cent to 28 per cent? It does not change. Mr. Saksena talked about rigid nationalism. We are not talking of rigid nationalism, maybe I have expressed it in my Resolution, this rigid nationalism, but it comes because.....

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Advertising business is in the private sector and the question can be with regard to Government advertisements only. Of course what Mrs. Alva said regarding advertising as a whole might be true. Yet I do not know what we can do in the matter as far as the private sector is concerned.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: The Government can do a great deal because the Government, though it may carry a very small percentage of advertising, can create a new psychology in the Indian business world in the sense that whatever advertisement they carry is prestige advertisement and they can give a lead that Indians must go to Indian agencies. That is one thing.

Another thing that I wanted to press also is: When we talk of Indian advertising agencies we always talk of their not being up to date, not competent, incompetent—are the phrases used. But I would like to know how can they become competent if they are not financially sound and how can they be financially sound unless we ourselves back them?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: It is a vicious circle.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: It has to be broken somewhere. I am very happy, Sir, that the Minister has given us an assurance that he will take it

up with the Railway Ministry and the other Ministries and that the Government are already discussing the matter. We are at a happy stage when we shall break this vicious circle and definitely take a right turn towards the right thing.

Then about training of personnel. As yet in India these advertising agencies which do such big business have not undertaken any training for the staff. I think a suggestion was thrown out by somebody that the Government also should take interest in seeing that proper personnel is trained for the advertising business. I think it is very necessary.

With these few points I accept the amendment that Mr. Dhage has moved.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will put the amended Resolution to the House. The question is:

"That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted; namely:—

'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, 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.'

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Resolution is adopted, as amended.

# RESOLUTION RE: FIXATION OF CEILING FOR INDIVIDUAL INCOMES

SHRI B. K. MUKERJEE (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move the following Resolution:

"This House is of opinion that Government should take necessary steps, by legislation or otherwise, to fix a ceiling for individual incomes at Rs. 25,000 per year, and as a first step towards the fixation of such ceiling, determine the maximum emolument to be drawn by any Civil Servant under the Central Government at a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,800 per month."

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the intention of this Resolution is very clear and I do not know if there will be even the slightest opposition to it. However, as there may be certain Members in some corner of this House belonging to the privileged class who may plead ignorance of the aspirations and demands of the people of this country, with a view to direct them to the right path, I will now like to offer a few points for their consideration so that they may leave the path that they have been treading so long which, in my opinion, is anti-social. I hope the privileged people of this country will mend their ways hereafter and try to fall in line with the people and support the aspirations and demands of the people of this country.

Sir, the country is just starting on the second Five Year Plan. The first Five Year Plan is just over and the Planning Commission has stated in the Introduction to the second Plan:

"The first five year plan ends in March, 1956. Its approach and outlook are part of our common thinking. It has prepared the way for achieving the socialist pattern of society."

The Introduction further says that the National Development Council directed the Planning Commis-