

**NEGOTIATING WITH FOREIGN TV NETWORKS:
CHALLENGES TO INDIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE
ERA OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION**

Dissertation submitted to the
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SURESH SINGH NEGI

CENTRE FOR STUDIES IN DIPLOMACY
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ECONOMICS
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110 067

INDIA

1997



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

**CENTRE FOR STUDIES IN DIPLOMACY
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ECONOMICS
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

December 22, 1997

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled NEGOTIATING WITH FOREIGN TV NETWORKS: CHALLENGES TO INDIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE ERA OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION submitted by SURESH SINGH NEGI in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University is a bonafide work and has not been previously submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma in this or any other University.

**PROF. PUSHPESH PANT
(CHAIRPERSON)**

**PROF. PUSHPESH PANT
(SUPERVISOR)**

CONTENTS

	Pages
Acronyms	i - ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Preface	iv - v
Introduction	1 - 7
- Economic Liberalisation and Multinational TV Networks	2
- Foreign TV Networks in India	5
Chapter One	8 - 25
Technological Innovations and Traditional Perception of National Interest: Emerging Challenges for Indian Diplomacy	
- Technological Innovations: Globalization of Television	9
- Television's Power: Changing Perception of National Interest	13
- Diplomacy in a Television Age	15
- Televisionism: Technological Imperialism	18
- Politics of Propaganda: Diplomatic Identity and Television	20
- Foreign Satellite Television and Indian Diplomacy	22
Chapter Two	26 - 39
The Satellite Television Revolution: Technological Commercial and Cultural Dimensions	
- Satellite Television Revolution in India	26
- Technological Dimension: Upgradation of Television Industry	29
- Commercial Dimension: Future of Satellite Television Market in India	30
- Cultural Dimension: Transformation of Indian Society	34
- Political Dimension: International Projection of India	36

Chapter Three	40 - 61
Commercial Bargaining and Regulatory Negotiations: Case Studies	
- Negotiating Freedom of Airwaves: Supreme Court's Judgement	40
- Hero Cup Negotiations: Government's Monopoly and Freedom of Airwaves	43
- Globalization of Television and International Regulatory Environment	43
- Regulatory Negotiations in India	45
- Case Study: DTH Negotiations Between Government of India and Star TV	46
- Commercial Bargaining	51
- Case Study: DD-CNN Tie-Up	52
- Case Study: Negotiating Live Telecast Rights: DD-World Tel Dispute	57
Conclusion	62 - 66
Glossary	67 - 69
Appendices	70 - 76
Bibliography	77 - 88
Index	

ACRONYMS

ABC	- American Broadcasting Company
ABC	- Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABNI	- Asia Business News International
ABU	- Asian Broadcasting Union
AIM	- Accuracy In Media
ATL	- Asia Today Limited
ATN	- Asian Television Network
ATV	- Advanced Television
BAI	- Broadcasting Authority of India
BBC	- British Broadcasting Corporation
BCI	- Broadcasting Council of India
BETV	- Business and Education Television
BiTV	- Business India Television
CATV	- Community Antenna Television
CBC	- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBS	- Columbia Broadcasting System
CCTV	- Closed Circuit Television
CNA	- Cable Networks Association
CNBC	- Consumer News and Business Channel
CNN	- Cable News Network
CVO	- Cable Video Opera
DBS	- Digital Broadcasting Service
DBS	- Direct Broadcasting Satellite
DCC	- Digital Compression Channel
DD	- Doordarshan
DDBS	- Digital Direct Broadcast Satellite
DDTH	- Digital Direct-To-Home
DGDD	- Director General Doordarshan
DRS	- Direct Receiving Sets
DTH	- Direct-To-Home
DTO	- Direct-To-Operator
DWTV	- Deutsche Welle TV
ECC	- Encrypted Channel
EDTV	- Enhanced Definition Television
ENG	- Electronic News Gathering
ESPN	- Entertainment and Sports Programming Network
FCC	- Federal Communications Commission
FSS	- Fixed Service Satellite
FTA	- Free-To-Air
HBO	- Home Box Office

HDTV	-	High Definition Television
HUT	-	Homes Using Television
IBA	-	Indian Broadcasters Association
INSAT	-	Indian National Satellite
INTELSAT	-	International Telecommunications Satellite Organization
ISDN	-	Integrated Services Digital Network
ISkyB	-	India Sky Broadcasting
ITV	-	Independent Television
JAIN	-	Joint American Indian Network
MBS	-	Mutual Broadcasting System
MEA	-	Ministry of External Affairs
MIB	-	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
MMDS	-	Multichannel Multipoint Distribution Systems
MNC	-	Multi-National Corporation
MNTN	-	Multi-National Television Network
MSO	-	Multiple System Operators
MTV	-	Music Television
NBC	-	National Broadcasting Corporation
NHK	-	Nippon Hoso Kyokai
PAS	-	Pan American Satellite
PBA	-	Prasar Bharati Act
PBB	-	Prasar Bharati Board
PBC	-	Prasar Bharati Corporation
PTV	-	Pakistan Television
RAI	-	Radiotelevisione Italiana
RCTV	-	Remote Commercial Television Service
SBS	-	Special Broadcasting Service
SET	-	Sony Entertainment Television
SITE	-	Satellite Instructional Television Experiment
STAR	-	Satellite Television for the Asian Region
TBS	-	Turner Broadcasting Systems
TNC	-	Trans National Corporation
TNT	-	Turner Network Television
TNT&CN	-	Turner Network Television & Cartoon Network
TVI	-	Television International
TWI	-	Trans World International
VSAT	-	Very Small Aperture Terminal
WRN	-	World Radio Network
YES	-	Youth Entertainment Service

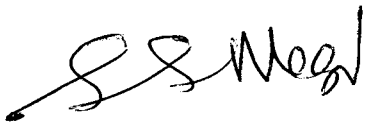
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Pushpesh Pant for guiding me through the entire process of writing my dissertation, and who has always encouraged me.

I am grateful to the library staff of JNU, IIMC, NM&ML, and ACL as also Om Prakash for astonishingly skillful typing against the heavy odds of my illegible writing.

I am indebted most of all to my mother, to whom I dedicate this dissertation, for her love and encouragement that have sustained all my exertions since early childhood.

It should not be necessary to add that I myself bear the responsibility for any errors and omissions in this work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S S Negi', with a stylized flourish at the end.

SURESH SINGH NEGI

NEW DELHI
DECEMBER 22, 1997

PREFACE

The present study is an attempt to review and analyze the negotiations between the government of India and foreign TV networks concentrating on several vital issues involved. It is important to look at different aspects of these negotiations that involve, commerce, culture and strategy. It projects the nature of international business negotiations as also facilitates our understanding of the changing role of diplomacy in an era of liberalization.

In international business negotiations national interest is invariably involved. Even in routine business transactions -- commercial negotiations, issues of strategy, ideology are involved to an extent constraining the government not only to monitor but regulate the bargaining. With the progress of liberalization in India economic diplomacy is increasingly focusing on commercial negotiations and non-state actors representing private commercial interest. Further, in the era of liberalization innovative bargaining skills are required from the negotiators representing both the government and the business.

Television is a vehicle through which ideas, images and information are dispersed throughout the world. As such, television can be a powerful agent for political and social change. In the era of economic liberalization, multinational TV networks are entering into foreign markets not only to earn additional profits, but also to influence cultural values and political setup of the host countries. A number of TV networks have grown to be large global television conglomerates, capable of providing a variety of television programmes in multiple countries.

The onslaught of foreign TV networks in India, that started with the CNN's live telecast of the Gulf War, has revolutionized Indian television industry. It has broken the hitherto sole monopoly of the government controlled broadcaster -- Doordarshan. Over the past three years (since 1994) the government of India and foreign TV networks are negotiating on several vital issues to establish control over the Indian sky.

The large size of foreign TV networks and their potential of propaganda politics are posing a complex challenge for Indian diplomacy. In the era of globalization of television it is very difficult for Indian diplomacy to deal with foreign TV networks, which often, indulge in anti-India campaigns. In this day of spy satellites it is very difficult for a government to prohibit or regulate effectively beaming of foreign TV networks.

The first chapter of the study discusses how technological innovations in the field of television are affecting the traditional perception of national interest, and the extent to which technological innovations are posing challenges for Indian diplomacy.

The second chapter reassesses the satellite television revolution in light of the increasingly global nature of television, and its technological, commercial and cultural impacts in Indian context.

The third chapter emphasizes the competitive effects of Indian regulatory environment, particularly those affecting foreign TV networks, and examines financial interest of government and foreign broadcasters. It also reviews briefly commercial negotiations between the parties involved. It also examines the case studies which are interesting and valuable to understand the nature and outcome of negotiations.

As a student of diplomatic studies, I have tried to scrutinize the negotiations and their implications purely from the point of view of diplomacy and international politics. In the process I have left out historical development of television in India. This research project is restricted to studying the impact of the invasion of foreign TV networks and its challenges to Indian diplomacy. In fact, one of the aims of this research is to study the changing role of diplomacy in a television age. I shall consider my labour to have been fruitful if the work leads to further research on each of the problems discussed in it.

INTRODUCTION

The potential of television is well-known, and just as surely as television can sell a particular brand of tyre or the model of a car of certain company, it can sell ideology and political policies. The moving images of television fascinates people, demand attention and eventually influence their thoughts and behaviour. Given the number of hours that viewers spend in front of their television sets and the degree to which they depend on it for information, such preoccupation with the power of the camera is understandable. Moreover, the stunning events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, disintegration of Soviet Union, and the Gulf War, have made the world understand how positive force television can be in international affairs.

Television informs us vividly and with great impact about wars, disasters, sports, political events, and elections around the world, often live or within hours of the event. In providing this near instant notification of what is going on globally television serves as a reliable source of information during crisis for policy makers. In case of fast-breaking crisis situations, television can and often does provide highly crucial information.

Apart from a very few groups in remote areas to which access is particularly difficult, people cannot live comfortably without television. Every nation now forms part of the day-to-day reality of every other nation. "Though it may not have a real awareness of its solidarity, the world continues to become increasingly interdependent."¹

Television was invented in 1920, but its first commercial application was in 1931, when the Columbia Broadcasting System began the first of a regular schedule of telecasts, and in most of developed countries television was not widespread until after the Second World War. The age of television dawned in 1936 when France and the United Kingdom began regular transmission of programmes. By 1950, five countries had a regular television service and by 1955 the number was 17. The figure had increased fourfold by 1960.

-
1. Many Voices One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order, Report by the International Commission to the Study of Communication Problems (Sean Mac Bride Report), (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), p.xiii.

Television, after twelve years of independence, became reality in India on September 15, 1959, with its promise of improving the lives of Indians through wide ranging programming. The comparative delay in starting television in India was because the general thinking of the government was that television was only a status symbol, with very limited utility and therefore not deserving any special priority in allocation of money needed by a poor nation for other more pressing needs.

From its beginning television fed the nation a powerful menu of propagandized, persuasive programming. Government used television to justify its policies. In India, television was apolitical at birth. "Since the smooth operation of society was the goal of politics, television was necessarily political."² Whether news related or entertainment, Indian television programming from its inception was political. This was especially the case in the news bulletins, where in a multiplicity of ways views were shown the world through politicized camera. Moreover, the government of India overstepped the boundary between regulation and manipulation, and became a prolific programmer throughout the emergency, and in the Rajiv Gandhi era.

The onslaught of foreign satellite TV networks started with the US news service, CNN-International's live telecast of the Gulf War in January-February 1991. The nation began to experience the generalized political, social and security challenges that resulted from the multinational, multichannel and multilingual invasion of foreign satellite TV networks. Moreover, as a result of this invasion, the state-owned TV network -- Doordarshan, today finds its agenda very different what it was in 1960s. Now, it is considered far more crucial for Doordarshan to negotiate aggressively for the right to telecast major international political or sport events.

ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION AND MULTINATIONAL TV NETWORKS

"The TV networks are to blame!" "The TV networks deserve the credit!" These have become outcries in the era of globalization of television, particularly when television is perceived as major political force. The way in which TV networks interpret events involving international conflict is recognized increasingly as important in international relations. Images of reality, however, not only are inadequate, they also differ among TV networks and very from country to country. Obviously, different TV networks produce different worlds when broadcasters disagree about

2. Jay G. Blumer and Doms McQuall, Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influences (London: Faber & Faber, 1968), p.3.

"which political actors and actions deserve the spotlight and which should be regarded positively, negatively, or neutrally."³

In the era of economic liberalization, still, the gap between the developed and developing is a reflection and legacy of the colonial past. The world today is still a world of dependence, a dependence which is political as well as economic and cultural. Dominance and oppression were more marked in the past; today, oppositions and confrontation are tending to become more prominent.

Faced by the reality of the opposition between the industrialized and developing countries, the TV networks have adopted positions which differ from one country or situation to another. In developed countries many TV networks simply reflect and bolster a self interested public opinion concerned by short-term matters, and more or less indifferent to the great issue of inequality. In the developing countries, the TV networks seldom have sufficiently powerful technical means, tools and the professional skills needed to make their voices properly heard. As a result, they are frequently powerless both to present what they regard as their legitimate demands and to react against what they consider to be misguided or unfair outside interpretations. Moreover, "they are not always ready to denounce with the necessary vigour the injustices and inequalities persisting in their own countries."⁴

In these circumstances, the importance of multinational satellite TV networks is fundamental. Moreover, as a result of the tremendous strides taken by science and technology, the means now exist of responding to that need. Television in the satellite era offers all peoples the possibility of simultaneously witnessing the same events, exchanging full information, understanding one another better notwithstanding their specific features, and valuing each other while acknowledging their differences.

At the international level, broadcasting pattern closely follow other sectors of economic life, in which the general expansion of multinational companies in the most vital fields is one of the significant recent trends affecting the world market, trade, employment, and even the stability and independence of some countries. This phenomenon known as "multinationalization" or "multinationality" has affected practically the whole field of broadcasting. Indeed, one can speak of a multinational television phenomenon.

3. Doris A. Graber (ed.), Media Power in Politics, (3rd ed.), (Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 1994), p.45.

4. Many Voices One World..., op. cit., p.181.

The multinational TV networks have created models of productive efficiency with high-capacity technologies. The high rate of their profits stimulates further investment in television industry. There are companies with high capital intensity and high research and design costs. Most of the multinational TV networks are based in the industrialized countries. In television industry, there is a relatively small number of predominant networks which integrate all aspects of production and distribution. Concentration of resources and infrastructure "is not only a growing trend, but also a worrying phenomenon which may adversely affect the freedom and democratization of television."⁵

In the era of globalization of television the societies are heavily dependent upon multinational TV networks for the provision of information, "they are part of the structure that fosters the development of economic and social models, as well as a uniformity in consumer behaviour unsuitable to many local environments."⁶ Multinational TV networks have a major influence on ideas and opinion, on values and lifestyles, and therefore on change for better or worse in different societies.

In the era of economic liberalization, nations are becoming more interlinked than ever before in history. The globalization of television in, potentially, performing a function analogous to that of the nervous system, linking millions of individual brains into an enormous collective intelligence.

The multinational TV networks are in the process of transforming the basic purpose of social broadcasting within individual nations, completely changing the conditions governing the transmission of knowledge, opening up whole range of possibilities for making formal and non-formal education generally available, bringing culture to people at large, and promoting knowledge and know-how. They are creating conditions which allow of constant individual enrichment and enable the population of all nations to take part in their own advancement and to broaden their outlook to take in the whole international community.

Multinational TV networks' role in international politics is also important, and indeed vital, because they have the ability and capability to alert the international community towards the problem which threaten mankind's survival -- problems which cannot be solved without consultations and cooperation between countries; the disarmament issue, envi-

5. Georgeh Quester, The International Politics of Television (Toronto: Lexington, 1990), p.17.

6. Many Voices One World..., op. cit., p.111.

ronmental degradation, violation of human rights, and international trade negotiations. These are but the principal problems, and "it is essential to highlight how very serious, deep rooted and far-reaching they are, and even more, how the same challenge and the same dangers affect all nations."⁷ The multinational TV networks have a vital role to play in altering international public opinion to these -- and other -- problems, in making them better understood, in generating the will to solve them; and equipping ordinary people, if necessary to put pressure on authorities to implement appropriate solutions.

Privately owned multinational TV networks in the broadcasting field wield a power in setting patterns, forming attitudes and motivating behaviour which is comparable to that of government, and sometimes -- because of financial resources committed -- even greater.

National governments have found it necessary to intervene and apply corrective measures which limit the power of such private multinational TV networks. But that power is not confined to national level. The huge size and virtual independence of multinational TV networks has become a qualitatively new phenomenon in broadcasting. The number of channels beamed by multinational TV networks is increasing, particularly in developing countries. Moreover, they are exerting their influence through programme sales, technology, professional models, marketing patterns, flow of entertainment material. With the growing number of joint ventures between international capital and local capital, both private and public, foreign influence has become in many cases more forceful and more acceptable.

FOREIGN TV NETWORKS IN INDIA

For a TV network India is a perplexing place to do business in. A channel can be launched without any one ever being able to see it -- the cable operator may not distribute it at all. If he does distribute it the viewers TV set may not have the capacity to receive it. And even if the set does receive the channel, the broadcaster has only one source of revenue to recover the money -- advertising. The other avenue, "pay-TV, wherein a channel depends on subscription rather than advertising support -- and which is the norm for satellite channels in the west -- is yet to develop in India."⁸

7. Ibid., p.35.

8. Amit Agarwal, "An Awful Lot of Hoping", India Today, June 15, 1996.

Undeterred by these difficulties, TV networks -- particularly foreigner, have been negotiating on several vital issues with the government, to establish control over the Indian sky. At the technological level, the issue of licensing various services such as terrestrial TV, cable TV, satellite TV, direct-to-home (DTH), microwave multipoint distribution system (MMDS), and the issue of whether to allow uplinking to private broadcasters and particularly foreigners, have been the thrust of negotiations.

The commercial negotiations centre around the issue of foreign equity and joint venture. The regulatory negotiations are based on programming code, particularly cultural values and security perception. As a result of these negotiations several private TV networks have formed joint venture in India such as TV India, which runs the channel Home TV, is a joint venture between K.K. Birla Group's Hindustan Times Vision and the London based Pearson, Carlton Communications, and Schroder International, and Television Broadcasters of Hong Kong; ABNi is a joint venture between Asia Business News (Singapore) P. Ltd., Indus Ind Media and Communication P. Ltd. and Television Eighteen India Ltd. Moreover, in 1995 Doordarshan also had a tie up with CNN-International.

The I&B Ministry has responded with a "swadeshi broadcasting policy", in which it opposed the entry of foreign TV networks in Indian market, and put forward three basic arguments; foreign TV networks will endanger our internal security, they will further erode our national culture and finally they will destroy our own nascent television industry.

During the negotiations the foreign TV networks appear to have tried to maintain pro-Indian stand, and lobbying with the influential personalities in the government to get some beneficial deal in the proposed "Prasar Bharati Bill". According to them they are totally in India's interest, they will bring in technology in keeping with 'swadeshi' sentiments and they will save valuable foreign exchange for India. Moreover, the granting of DTH and uplinking facilities is an effective way of bringing foreign TV networks within the ambit of Indian laws.

For the government the problem has been since the footprint of a satellite spans nearly two-thirds of the world, how does it make a particular TV network comply with the laws of the land? In the era of spy satellites, how does Indian diplomacy will deal with the anti-India propaganda shown by foreign TV networks. Moreover, in the era of economic liberalization, how long can Indian diplomacy control the limit of foreign participation in broadcasting.

Most democratic countries allow private broadcaster to telecast terrestrially but subject them to various regula-

tions. But satellite TV networks are not subject to the same regulations. According to foreign TV networks, in India where there is no free terrestrial broadcasting, bureaucrats, have taken American and European regulations that relate to terrestrial operators and tried to impose them on satellite broadcasters claiming inaccurately that they are merely following the international pattern. Meanwhile, foreign TV networks are making all diplomatic efforts to negotiate all the disputed issues with the government of India. But despite the changes in the government; in the ministry; nothing concrete has negotiated since the negotiations began in 1994.

Chapter One

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS AND TRADITIONAL PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST: EMERGING CHALLENGES FOR INDIAN DIPLOMACY

"International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim."¹ In international politics nations preserve and promote their interests through foreign policy. Nations may define their policy in terms of a religious, philosophic, political, economic or social ideal. A nation that seeks to pursue an intelligent and peaceful foreign policy cannot ignore the paramount importance of diplomacy.

International politics has been described as the process of "influencing, manipulating or controlling major groups in the world so as to safeguard and advance the interests of some against the opposition of others."² National interest is the key concept in foreign policy. The starting point in foreign policy making is the national interest. "As long as the world is politically organized into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in world politics."³

In the context of international politics role of technology has been tremendous as it has radically transformed the fundamental concept of national interest and power. National power depends on its major elements -- natural resources, economy, human factor, means of communication and transport, and military preparedness -- technological innovations, however, have completely, changed the character and dimension of these elements.

Technological innovations in communication and information technology have opened source of quick and correct information. Surveillance, spying and remote-sensing through electronic gadgets and through satellites' roaming about in

-
1. Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Sixth ed. (New Delhi: Kalyani, 1985), p.31.
 2. Quincy Wright, The Study of International Politics (New York, 1955), p.130.
 3. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Another Great Debate", American Political Science Review, XLVI, 1952, pp.717-18.

the space, many nations have acquired an almost fool-proof system of information. An invisible camera eye mounted on a space satellite produces a facsimile copy of the newspaper in the hands of the man taking breakfast, on a computer in the office of the MEA in New Delhi.

Television -- the sensational technological innovation of 20th century -- today plays distinct roles in the shaping and reality of foreign policy. It functions as a rapid source of information useful for policy decisions; an agenda setter which influences the agendas of nations; a proxy for diplomats; a diplomatic signaling system with policy influence and a tool used by terrorists and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Moreover, "television also plays distinct diplomatic roles through space bridges and on-air negotiations, sometimes called "television diplomacy".⁴

Television shows us political, non-political, sports, and cultural events around the world, often live or within hours of the event. In providing this nearinstant notification of what is going on globally, television serve "four"⁵ distinct roles or rapid information sources for policy makers. Mostly, policy officials use television for immediate useful information. The policy makers use television in the early stages of an issue to make decisions. Usually, TV networks are often the only source of policy information in crisis situations. Moreover, television's information is often seen as critical for policy making, sometimes make critical than official data.

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS: GLOBALIZATION OF TELEVISION

The first prime minister of India said in 1952 that "we live in an age of science. We hear and read of revolution but the greatest revolutionary force in the past 150 years has been science, which has transformed human life and has changed political, social and economic organizations. This process of change goes on at an ever-increasing pace and we have to understand it and adopt ourselves to it."⁶ Indeed, today, technology plays a major and decisive role in day-to-day life. Technological innovations in information

-
4. Patrick O'Heffernan, "Mass Media Roles in Foreign Policy" in Doris A. Graber (ed.), Media Power in Politics, Third ed. (Washington, D.C.: C.Q. Press, 1994), p.326.
 5. See for details, *ibid.*, p.327.
 6. Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Tolerance of the Spirit: A Broadcast to the Nation", December 31, 1952, in Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology (Delhi: Oxford, 1983), p.324.

technology -- particularly television -- have transformed lifestyle world over.

The impact of technological change is most apparent with television, which can now beam pictures instantaneously from virtually any location on the planet, thereby creating an instantaneous transborder imagery difficult to assess and impossible to control across as well as between borders. The immediate turbulence of television's constant action and interaction is real and "must be dealt with, but it can be misleading."⁷

Technology has transformed broadcasting, increasing both the flow and the volume of data available to broadcasters. Information that once was the sole province of governments is now routinely scrutinized in real time - or its functional equivalent, the same news day -- by cadres of trained and independent professionals.

The exploitation of technology by the TV networks, in turn, has been abetted by, and contributed to the transformation of TV networks into far-flung international business conglomerates engaged in an internecine competition for global markets. The natural inclination of broadcastes to explore every avenue for possible scoops has made the TV networks adamantly hostile to various efforts to regulate or restrict their activities.

Television broadcasting is under direct state control in most developing countries, so that programmes from abroad can be rejected or edited before being arrived. But with the advent of direct satellite transmission, this situation is changing. It is already possible for individuals to purchase relatively cheap dish antennas and receive programmes directly from the orbiting satellites, bypassing any state control.

As ownership of television sets increases in developing countries, as the technology of personal satellite antennas becomes cheaper, it will be as easy to receive international television programmes as it is now to receive terrestrial television transmissions. "Since so few countries have the resources to launch satellite or to rent satellite time -- or to join transmissions -- direct transmissions will tend to short-circuit any attempt to control the flow of information."⁸

7. David Webster, quoted in, Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy (New York: St. Martin, 1991), p.2.

8. Witold Rybczynski, Taming the Tiger: The Struggle to Control Technology (New York: Penguin, 1985).

Another television technology that has made state control of television obsolete is the video recording machine, which enables the owner of a television set to bypass the propaganda that passes for national programming in many countries, and purchase, legally or illegally, any television material that is available. The fact that video tapes can be so easily copied makes state control of this technology extremely difficult.

The development of new distribution systems provides potential additional sources of supply of all types of television programmes. Today, in addition to terrestrial broadcast systems, TV networks deliver their programmes to consumers through cable systems, multichannel multipoint distribution system (MMDS), and direct broadcast satellites. Satellite transmission systems have greatly facilitated the delivery of television internationally. Fiber based transmission systems can potentially play a significant role in the international delivery of television programming.

Both satellite and cable based transmissions are relying increasingly on digital technologies.⁹ As breakthrough in digital signal compression techniques permit the transmission of the same or higher quality signals in smaller bandwidths, digital delivery systems are likely to become more commonplace.

"The spread of cable and the proliferation of other local delivery systems, when combined with a satellite capable of delivering signals around the world, will confuse both the markets and the viewers".¹⁰ What are we watching? From where did it come, and to whom does it belong? Really it will become impossible for the government to regulate airwaves.

Due to convergence of key technologies, national governments are losing control over their national communications. Satellites make nonsense of traditional geography and notions of distance; cable multiplies the local delivery systems and sucks in distant signals; video-cassette recorders give to individuals the ability to retain and replay the signals; computers process information; and the downsigning and demystification of video technology allows its use by ordinary people. These "technical advances have been accompanied by a fashion for deregulation and privati-

9. Globalization of the Mass Media, U.S. Department of Commerce (Washington D.C.: NTIA Publication, January 1993), p.ix.

10. David Webster, "New Communications Technology" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.224.

zation -- ideology and technology in a marriage of convenience."¹¹

The old fashioned network television is now disappearing, because technology is creating both commercial opportunity and danger in fragmented international markets and because the major networks are losing control over television schedules and, consequently, over consumers. Of course some barriers will remain -- market, cultural, regulatory and language. As well as those, sometimes quite deliberately set up for protectionist reasons, of different technical transmission standards.

There was a time when observer thought that the development of new technology would make television more thorough and complete in its coverage of the world, but the most recent breakthroughs -- mini-cams and spy-satellites -- have actually been a setback to the quality of coverage. Because "it is now possible to fly a crew to the scene of a crisis and intantaneously send back information, television is more addicted to "parachute journalism" than before."¹²

Just over the horizon are a number of new developments that will affect the international scope of television. The arrival of optical fibre systems is dramatically increasing transglobal links. A new generation of satellites are delivering high power signals directly to consumers with small receptors. The effect of advancement in the use of remote satellite imaging -- the spy in the sky -- on world affairs is significant. "The 'Remote Satellite Imaging' have a considerable impact on international law and commerce."¹³

The dominant character of what we are now experiencing is private rather than governmental. It is "the drive for future markets and profits that is providing technical innovations and breaking down institutional and governmental controls."¹⁴ These market forces have their own political power and in many countries complement government policies that view television as vital to the nations' economic well being.

11. Ibid., p.226.

12. David R. Gergen, "Diplomacy in Television Age" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.51.

13. David Webster, "New Communications Technology", op. cit., p.227.

14. Ibid.

TELEVISION'S POWER: CHANGING PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST

"A government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government does do anything which in the short or long run manifestly to the disadvantage of the country."¹⁵ Every nation aims at preserving its political independence -- freedom of the nation to follow any policy, domestic or foreign, which it likes -- and to territorial integrity, by safeguarding its international boundaries.

National interest of different nations, and even of the same nations at different times, stems primarily from the stage of social and economic development which it has reached. In the era of globalization, however, the most important national interest, outside of preserving political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity is economic development.

Especially in the modern age of globalization national interest is exceptionally nebulous and unclear concept. It assumes a variety of meanings in the various context in which it is used. In fact no agreement can be reached about its ultimate meaning. The minimum essential components of the national interest of any modern state are security, economic development, culture, prestige and world order, all interrelated to each other. Second to security comes the promotion of economic interest which includes the preservation or acquisition of favourable conditions and terms in international trade and business negotiations.

Over the years television all over the world has been seen as a major force that influences both the substance of national policy and the process by which it is formulated. The past many years have witnessed "profound changes in the scope and reach of the international television, in the way TV networks conduct their business, and, perhaps most pointedly, in the broadcasters' relationship with national governments."¹⁶

No constitutional government can adopt at all times a town meeting approach to the conduct of national military and foreign policy, and refer every issue regardless of sensitivity to the public for resolution. In certain situations "national interest can and should limit the unbridled exer-

15. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches, September 1946-April 1961, (New Delhi, 1961), p.28.

16. Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.1.

cise of individual rights."¹⁷ India is no exception to this rule.

As a vigilant watchdog TV networks have to play a crucial role as a safeguard against abuses of official authority. Television broadcasters provide a much needed service by checking the government's ability to manipulate the information flow. The decisive consideration, however, is whether any measures to limit television abuses would not themselves do greater damage to the public as well as the national interest than is currently the case in the absence of any such measures.

While TV networks claim a responsibility to question policy -- foreign or domestic, in the name of public interest -- as it is done in Parliament, too -- they usually disavow any obligation to educate the public on foreign affairs. Yet by "serving as the principal means of communication between the governing and governed, and by providing the most important source of alternative information and analysis to the public at large, the TV networks act as the nation's principal educator on foreign policy matters."¹⁸ And in this area too it is appropriate to ask just how well the television broadcasters have served the public interest.

Generally, foreign TV networks have a tendency to focus on bad news rather than on good, on the obsession rather than on the norm. In this they probably do no more than reflect public taste. But the result of this emphasis is that the failure of technology tend to receive considerably more of the public attention than its success. The public accepts this negative view of technology all the more easily because it has never properly understood the "new technology environment".¹⁹

The TV networks are often handicapped by government restrictions on movement and coverage. For example, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan would have caused much more of a sensation if Western television had had early access to the fighting. Restrictions on television coverage have also spread to industrialized nations such as Israel and Britain. The pattern is alarming because it appears to work short-term political diplomatic advantage of the censoring nation.

17. William E. Odom, quoted in, Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.11.

18. Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.12.

19. Witold Pybczynski, Taming the Tiger, op. cit., p.

Television clearly serves many excellent purposes. Yet it is a mistake to expect too much of the medium. In particular, policy makers cannot assume that television alone will ever create a public informed and enlightened about international affairs. "Television can awaken people's interests, but it does not yet have the capacity to educate them."²⁰ Foreign policy personnel, however, often rely on television -- delivered information during crisis. "In case of fast-breaking crisis situations, television can and often does provide highly crucial information."²¹

The TV networks have been often criticized for meddling foreign policy. But policy makers see television involvement as an infrequent occurrence, although one that can have very serious consequences. In fact, "the problem with television inheres in the medium itself. By its very nature, television is an instrument of simplicity in the world of complexity."²²

DIPLOMACY IN A TELEVISION AGE

There is no definite answer to the question of power of television in shaping the politics despite a great deal of research and informed speculation. The full scope of television power and the circumstances that make it wax and wane remain shrouded in mystery. Current investigations do shed light, however, on many factors that explain various aspects of television power. They provide some clues to the puzzling question about when, where and why television power peaks and when it reaches bottom. The challenge to diplomacy from TV networks has taken several forms, but has been particularly strong just because the television was already involved in political-diplomatic processes and because the introduction of "broadcasting was a political act."²³

Since its invention the television industry has held a special place in international society. Television provides

20. David R. Gergen, "Diplomacy in Television Age" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.52.

21. Patrick O'Hefferman, "Mass Media Roles in Foreign Policy" in Doris A. Graber (ed.), Media Power in Politics, op. cit., p.327.

22. David R. Gergen, "Diplomacy in a Television Age" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.50.

23. Denis McQuail, "The Influence and Effects of Mass Media" in Doris A. Graber (ed.), Media Power in Politics, op. cit., p.19.

the vehicles through which ideas, images, and information are dispersed across India and throughout the world. In so doing, "television industry continuously replenish the market place of ideas"²⁴ that is essential to informed self-government. Through its instantaneous and broadranging dissemination of pictures and music to all parts of the country, television also help build the shared experience that perpetuate a sense of community and nationhood within the increasingly political aware population of India.

"While critics of television insist on describing it as one way information flow from the West to the rest of the world -- this is not always the case."²⁵ The Viet-Cong, during the war with the United States, permitted various TV journalists and public personalities to visit North Vietnam precisely because they were aware of the effect that television coverage of these visits would have on American Audiences. The PLO has been equally adept of using television to make its point to international audiences. The Iranian students who occupied the United States Embassy in Tehran in 1980 were very conscious of television coverage and staged a number of events specifically for the visiting television journalists; the most memorable tableau was probably the picture of two Iranians using the American flag as a garbage bag.

The slogan daubed on the embassy well were as often in English as in Iranian, and American television cameramen were never prevented from entering Iran (and left safe doing so) because the Islamic fundamentalist corectly perceived the television as a crucial ingredient for a successful blackmailing of the United States. It was undoubtedly the Ayatollah Khomeini who inspired this curious combination of "Islam and McLuhanism", he had, after all, smuggled tape-recording of his speeches to initiate the revolution in Iran while he was exiled in Paris. In the recent past we have witnessed several incidents where various governments have used television power to achieve their goals.

At the same time, television can be a powerful agent for political and social change. For example, the East German government's efforts to control life behind the Berlin Wall were finally shattered by glimpses of a better future provided by West German television. The Chinese Government's attempts to cover up its suppression of the 1989 pro-democracy movement were thwarted by the ability of student protesters to receive information about government's activities through foreign TV networks. In each of the cases, and in many others, the presence of television added

24. Globalization of the Mass Media, op. cit., p.1.

25. Witold Rybczynski, Taming the Tiger, op. cit.

momentum to the underlying forces of change.

Recognizing the television's power, political leaders, diplomats and terrorists have all followed suit, tailoring their message to television audiences in their country and elsewhere. Since the early 1970s, "it has been axiomatic that television constitutes an independent force in international affairs."²⁶ Who will soon forget the Chinese students in Tiananmen square carrying aloft their Goddess of Liberty; the young men and women dancing atop the Berlin Wall; Karsevaks demolishing Babri Masjid or Kashmiri Militants setting afire Charar-E-Sharif shrine; sending a euphoric message to television viewers across the world?

The stunning events of collapse of the Berlin Wall, Gulf-War, demise of Warsaw Pact and disintegration of Soviet Union have made "the world understood how positive a force television can be in political as well as in human affairs."²⁷ Time and again, evidence has surfaced that televised pictures from the West were a catalyst for people in communist countries of the East to press for a change and that, in turn, repressed people used the medium to build public support in the West. The past 10 years (since 1987) have been the most triumphant in television's short history.

The public debate over national security has become more complicated and more important. Yet TV networks have failed to keep pace in explaining defence and non-proliferation issues to a confused Indian public. Indeed, the performance of the broadcast journalism in reporting and analyzing these issues is one reason why the national security debate in India has become increasingly chaotic, simplistic and ill-informed.

The "popuarlization of politics has had an important impact on the national security debate."²⁸ Traditionally, core Indian national security questions -- disarmament, border disputes, non-proliferation, missile development, nuclear option and Kashmir dispute -- were addressed among a limited community of government officials, interested politicians and academic think tankers. This community has grown larger, with profusion of new think tanks and alert politicians.

26. David R. Gergen, "Diplomacy in Television Age" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.47.

27. Ibid., p.48.

28. Richard R. Burt, "The News Media and National Security" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.137.

The impact of populism on the television coverage of national security is reinforced another long-term development: the failure of Indian diplomacy in the post-Cold War era, but especially the rout of India at the hands of Japan for UNSC's non-permanent seat (1996), to establish either a durable and result oriented foreign policy to get a permanent seat at the UNSC, or withdraw the claim.

As strategic policy in the least understood item on national security agenda "as a consequence of the failure of the executive branch for many years to engage seriously in promoting public debate and understanding of the issue involved."²⁹

Some scholars maintain that certainly, it would be difficult to argue that irresponsible television broadcasting has directly and significantly damaged the physical security of a nation. In principal at least, "the need to respect certain limits on the flow of information can neither be denied nor ignored."³⁰ In broader terms, however, whether a democratic society's need for open and informed debate can be reconciled with its need for secrecy in the conduct of an effective national security policy.

Practically, in an age of television and growing transborder signals and unfiltered information, publicly available information and popular impressions increasingly condition the conduct of international relations. These will be "problem for politicians who underestimates the power of television to affect radically the views and moods of his constituents."³¹ Due to the new communication technology, the reach and the impact of television is enormous.

TELEVISIONISM: TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERIALISM

Obviously there is no foreign TV network that has the Indian interests at heart or is interested in promoting the Indian national goals and objectives. The foreign operator of whichever country looks upon any other country as a market for earning profits and will go to any extent to earn them. In fact, some foreign operators may act to the detriment of the interest of other country and operate to serve the interests of their countries. Any developing and democratic

29. Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.15.

30. Ibid., p.7.

31. David Webster, "New Communications Technology" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media Power and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.227.

country, by opening its doors to foreign TV networks, "will invite interference with the democratic process in the country, and with its social, political and cultural policies."³²

It is believed that foreign TV networks may also try to create instability by formenting divisions in various social groups in countries like India. If India opens its doors to foreign TV networks, the security integrity, sovereignty and the governance of the country will be exposed to all kind of sabotaging influences. "With their vast resources and the capacity to survive for a long time by underselling and incurring losses, they may succeed in wiping out the indigenous players, who will either close down or opt to be taken over."³³

Foreign TV networks like other MNCs have been generally resistant to the local interests and preoccupation of foreign national governments whose domestic environment has been internationalized accordingly. The globalization of satellite TV networks have given rise to a novel influence in international politics, an important and powerful international television network capable of circumventing the control of any national government and supported by its own working ideology.

This new phenomenon is known as "televisionism". "Televisionism" has been commended or blamed as it has by terms furthered or frustrated the aims of statesmen and politicians. But whether it bodes well or ill for particular national governments, "televisionism" "represents a force that political leaders ignore at their own peril."³⁴

Broader changes within the "televisionism" in India have also had an adverse impact on the serious coverage of national security and foreign policy. The competition created by foreign TV networks has probably "accelerated the merger of news and entertainment on television."³⁵ Foreign TV networks have contributed to a decline in the attention span of viewers, especially young people. Despite the profusion of news programming on television the quality comprehensive-

32. Justice P.B. Sawant, "Imports we can do without", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), November 16, 1997.

33. Ibid.

34. Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op.cit., p.6.

35. Richard R. Burt, "The News Media and National Security" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.139.

ness of national security and foreign policy has declined. In more recent years, "television's ability to generate news events has depended less on its persuasive powers and more on its entertainment value."³⁶

The 'televisionism' has a great impact on both the formulation and implementation of policy -- foreign or domestic. Although, "the TV networks do not usually determine the foreign policy agenda, they clearly wield a large amount of influence."³⁷ As this influence used responsibly, or, is it so intensive as to be detrimental to national interest? How does TV networks broadcasting of government secrets damage a nation's national security interests, if at all?

POLITICS OF PROPAGANDA: DIPLOMATIC IDENTITY AND TELEVISION

Television on national basis in India probably began to assume a really significant role in the domestic political-cultural process in the 1980s. We are now witnessing its effects on the international politics and will become vividly aware of them in coming years.

The extreme turbulence and currency turmoil in South-East Asian market in October-November 1997 should have made everyone painfully conscious of the existence and significance of round-the-clock global trading, stimulated by the developments of computer technology and satellite transmissions. Similar developments are starting to take place in the world's political life. We are aware of international finance's nervous system with its instant transactions, but not quite so cognizant of its diplomatic and political equivalents.

We are now so accustomed to the pervasive presence of television that is quite difficult to remember the world in which it did not exist. Television now transcends all classes and borders. By creating "an instantaneous transborder imagery difficult to areas and impossible to control, it has added to the complexity of international relations."³⁸

Not only factual but also fictional television "is creating the world's shared icons and common imagery and providing the broad cultural context in which complicated political

36. Ibid., p.142.

37. Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.6.

38. David Webster, "New Communication Technology" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Foreign, op. cit., p.221.

message are correctly and incorrectly decoded."³⁹ In view of some traditional diplomats, the choppy waters of world politics have been whipped to a frenzy by television's intervention. According to televisers, however, television has served to inform people. The tone in which television does its job and the underlying motives are besides the point.

Whenever one talks of the growing importance of cross-border television, someone is sure to ask why its impact should be different from that of other technology such as short wave radio or newspaper. The answer is that television's influence would not be all that different were it not for the fact that it is part of a process which has now reached critical mass. Consequently, "it revolutionizes, rather than merely continues, the process."⁴⁰

In order to cope with international demands and to stimulate high technology industry, India is breaking down the old order and bringing to its television services new money and new energy. Ideological inclination have shifted, and eliticism is no longer fashionable. The market will deliver, the thinking goes, and those assumed social goods previously encouraged by the regulated system will just have to take their chances. This is a revolution of great political significance. In one sense it will mean more freedom of choice, but no one yet knows what may be destroyed in the process.

Television has given many people a wider perspective on world. Some doubt, however, must be cast on the quality of that perspective. Modern leaders -- Indian or foreign, come to rely on pictures rather than argument. Their thoughts are expressed in sound bites or in sharp political advertising. Rational discourse is avoided. "Information is moved, but rarely analyzed or explained. This national problem becomes more severe in the international cross-cultural babel of misunderstanding."⁴¹

Another national and international affect of television involves amplification. Stories, issues and trends both nationally and internationally seem to be exaggerated by television. "Information moves faster and people react faster. Instant response and instant interaction help to generate choppy waters in the sea of international

39. Ibid., p.221.

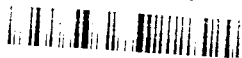
40. Ibid., p.220.

41. David Webster, "New Communication Technology" in Simon Serfaty (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.222.

TH-6639

DISS
384.5540954

N3121 Ne



TH6639

g

politics."⁴² The immediate turbulence of television's constant action and interaction is real and must be dealt with, but it can be misleading.

The soon-to-be-worldwide problem of preserving and promoting diplomatic identity along with cultural identity in the global television age is seen most clearly in countries like India, because after Europe and the United States it is in India that the most dramatic impact of new delivery system will be felt. "This process of mechanization is encouraged in a variety of ways. These include, to some extent, the modern methods of propoganda. So that while you make great progress on certain planes -- and that progress is necessary and desirable and must be made -- you lose something which is perhaps very valuable and very precious."⁴³

Any country, however, which really wants to protect and isolate itself from the world information economy will be able to do so by running its national communication system on standards severely incompatible with those of other nations. The price, however, will be considerable.

FOREIGN SATELLITE TELEVISION AND INDIAN DIPLOMACY

The function of diplomacy in the modern age are many and complex, perhaps more so than even in the past. India is a multi-lingual, multi-cultural subcontinent. Programmes, particularly on foreign channels should, therefore, meet its desparate tastes and cultural aspirations as well as be in consonance with Indian sensibilities. The biggest challenge for Indian diplomacy in the era of globalization of television is to cope with the generalized political, social and security challenges that resulted from the multi-national, multichannel, multilingual invasion of satellite television.

For the governments of different countries, the problem has been since the foot print of a satgellite spans nearly two-thirds of the world, how does one make a particular broadcaster comply with the laws of the land? Television, because of its reach, reliability and popularity is the most effective medium of propaganda politics. A satellite channels' enormous footprint has had some beneficial effect. For instance, "when they telecast India's parliamentary debate or the `Republic Day Parade', they are seen by vast number of people outside India who can get some idea of the

42. Ibid., p.223.

43. Jawaharlal Nehru, "The Price of Progress", speech at the Annual Session of the FICCI, New Delhi, March 31, 1951, in Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p.445.

working of a lively democracy and be impressed by the grandeur of the parade."⁴⁴ Nothing is more effective in dispelling misinformation than such telecasts cutting across national boundaries.

Foreign TV networks have a great effect on domestic as well as on international politics of a country. In the era of new information economy satellite TV networks, particularly foreigners, are creating problems for Indian diplomacy. They are damaging India's image in international politics by beaming the programmes which are against Indian interest. The live telecast of Babri Masjid demolition by CNN-International led to the communal riots in Bombay. The controversial reporting of Charar-E-Sharif episode by BBC-World, dented the image of Indian Armed Forces. Foreign new channels such as CNN-International, BBC-World, NBC and CNBC "discrediting India by showing the Indian map without Kashmir or, describing Kashmir as India-administered."⁴⁵ The alleged reporting of human rights violation in Kashmir, Punjab and North-East by foreign TV networks is posing a threat to Indian democracy.

In the current jungle-like situation in India, where no norms exist, we find virtually every foreign broadcaster -- STAR TV, Sony, Discovery -- is dubbing programmes that were created to meet the demands of a western audience and showing them down Indian gullets. "These broadcasters are not, in other words, investing specially for making software which is in consonance with Indian cultural values."⁴⁶ And the trend will only grow if they are given a free hand.

Since liberalizing its economy in 1991, India is facing a major problem on the issue of foreign participation in broadcasting. Indian diplomacy has to deal adroitly with foreign governments in negotiating business and trade. It is important to recognize, however, that "foreign participation in broadcasting does not flow from the India's quest for foreign direct investment."⁴⁷ Broadcasting in that sense is different from the soft drink sector, the cosmetic sector or the civil aviation sector. In the latter, the country perhaps needs technology, but more than that, it

44. Amulya Ganguli, "Sorry for Interruption", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 21, 1997.

45. Ashish Mullick, "Broadcast Policy: Give Indian Players First Chance to Uplink", Times of India (New Delhi), May 8, 1997.

46. "Would you Invite Caterers to Your Party", Economic Times (New Delhi), May 21, 1997.

47. Ibid.

requires investments. In broadcasting, "it needs primarily technology - money is otherwise available for programming as well as for the purchase of technology."⁴⁸

While negotiating foreign investment and technology transfer in broadcasting, Indian diplomats and politicians have to keep in mind that foreign relations, though they involve trade, business, etc. are not like opening a branch of a business firm, as sometimes some of our business negotiators seem to imagine. It is a very intricate and very difficult business dealing with the psychology of human beings, the psychology of nations, involving considerations of their background and culture, language and so on."⁴⁹

As part of the 'imperialistic economic diplomacy', in May 1997 the US and British envoys to India put the demand for foreign investment in the broadcasting sector and wanted a discussion on the Indian Broadcast Bill with foreign companies as has been done for foreign investment in other sectors. Information and Broadcasting Ministry rejected the demand, for, it rightly refused to equate soft drinks and cosmetics with information -- with its invariable skew -- being bombarded on the Indian populace by foreign televisioners.

India has made it clear to the US and Britain that economic liberalization and broadcasting policy cannot be treated on a par. From the stand of the Information & Broadcasting Ministry, it is clear that "the Indian government is not ready to buckle under diplomatic pressure from any lobby, be it as might as the Americans or Britishers."⁵⁰

"The question, therefore, we need to ask and find a dispassionate reply to is whether we want foreign commercial or political interests to be participants in our domestic process. Because in today's world no commercial interest is divorced from the political."⁵¹ Given the sensibility of the issue, worldwide there is a cap on foreign participation in broadcasting.

48. Ibid.

49. Jawaharlal Nehru, "Our Approach to the World", A speech in the Constituent Assembly, March 8, 1949 (in) Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru, op. cit., p.367.

50. Sharif D. Rangnekar, "India Refuses to Truckle to US on Broadcasting", Economic Times (New Delhi), June 23, 1997.

51. Jaswant Singh, "Will it serve our Democracy?" Economic Times (New Delhi), May 21, 1997.

Finally, predicting the effects of technological change is an inexact business. One thing, however is clear -- we are experiencing today only the initial impact of the new forms of internationalization of television and creation of a "populist diplomacy". National leaders, more and more, appeal directly to constituencies in other nations. This international political discourse, often including players authorized by officialdom, exists alongside traditional and controlled intergovernmental transactions.

One thing is clear that in near future, when the possible number of channels would be around 500,⁵² big international players will ride the airwaves over the Indian sub-continent. The policy makers and diplomats have to negotiate international as well as national issues very adroitly, while keeping in mind the propaganda power of television, especially in the era of 'television diplomacy'. The Digital Broadcasting Service (Digital Direct Broadcast Satellite and Digital Direct To Home Television) is drastically increasing the pace of globalization of television. The time alone will tell that how Indian diplomacy will cope with so-called satellite TV invasion.

52. According to industry experts the number of channels that will be possible in near future would be around 500. For details see, "Gatecrashing the Skies", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), November 28, 1997.

Chapter Two

THE SATELLITE TELEVISION REVOLUTION: TECHNOLOGICAL COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

Following the liberalization of the Indian economy a number of satellite networks -- both Indian and Foreign, are operating in India. Since their entry in early 1990, however, the nation began to experience the generalized political, social and security challenges that resulted from the multinational, multichannel, multilingual invasion of satellite television.

Satellite technology has revolutionized the way in which television programming is distributed around the world. Satellites increasingly deliver television programming directly to the home and cable operators, which re-transmit programming to home viewers, and even to broadcaster. As satellite cuts across borders and undermines state-owned television monopolies, India's television market is up for grabs like never before. Indeed, a host of entrepreneurs is poised to offer viewers a sweeping variety of cable and satellite-linked programmes.

The steady internationalization of the television industry is attributable to expanded market opportunities. Nowadays, we are witnessing globalization as an economic and cultural phenomenon. In economic terms, globalization is a process by which TV networks attempt to earn additional profits through entry into foreign markets. Globalization is also a cultural phenomenon. "Technology has eroded the barriers to communication previously posed by time, space, and national boundaries, resulting in rapid and pervasive shaping of information around the world with improved communication has come greater cultural and political interdependence among nations."¹

SATELLITE TELEVISION REVOLUTION IN INDIA

As pointed out earlier, in India satellite television's onslaught started with CNN-International, when it came with live telecast of Gulf War in January-February 1991. Soon it captured the Indian imagination sufficiently, followed by "various satellite TV networks"² -- particularly foreigners, offering variety of entertainment.

1. Globalization of the Mass Media, op. cit., p.4.

2. For details, see Appendix A.

The satellite television revolution which coincided with the opening of the Indian economy has triggered enormous interest in the Indian market from foreign investors. This revolution has forced state owned television network -- Doordarshan to radically change its programming.

"After the decade of controlled broadcasting, the country has suddenly found itself inundated with a barrage of foreign telecasting."³ In past government did little about it, while the barrage grew in volume, partly because economic liberalization within the country changed the mindset towards foreign influences. Armed with the cultural invasion factor, "the government is now trying, rather late in the day, to get a handle on the situation."⁴

Doordarshan finds its agenda very different what was in 1980's. Now, it considered far more crucial for it to negotiate aggressively for the right to telecast major international political or sport events. To cope with the situation the newly formed Prasar Bharati Corporation has planned to beg exclusive rights to telecast national and international sport events. As its Chief Executive Officer, S.S. Gill, said that "we will fight for the national events and would bid for the international ones."⁵

Because of the satellite television invasion Doordarshan found itself caught in a whirlpool of sweeping changes. In a desperate attempt to cope with the challenge posed by foreign TV networks, it introduced privatization of the services in 1994-95. Initially to start with Doordarshan hastily commissioned a number of new satellite channels".⁶ The exercise, however, proved to be a case of premature birth."⁷

The satellite television revolution has reinforced the new atmosphere of globalization of television. "Unlike the time of Doordarshan's boring monopoly, the viewer today has a remarkably wide choice, comparable to almost any where in

3. Sevanti Ninan, "The Airwaves Belongs to Us", The Hindu (Delhi), November 16, 1997.

4. Ibid.

5. "Gill(s) help Doordarshan breathe easy", Economic Times (New Delhi), December 1, 1997.

6. For details see Appendix B.

7. Gopal Saksena, Television in India: Changes and Challenges (New Delhi: Vikas, 1996), p.9.

the world, which was unthinkable."⁸ In addition to the usual song and dance routine which is the staple of nearly all the TV networks, the viewer can turn to the CNN, BBC and NBC for live, prompt and fairly comprehensive news and documentaries. Or to the Discovery channel for excellent programmes on wildlife, famous historical episodes, places of tourist interest, astronomy, aviation and so on. Or to the CNBC and ABNi for latest information about business world. Or to the TNT, STAR Movies, CVO for the favourite among movies. Or to the telecasts in regional language on Sun TV, Eenadu TV and Doordarshan's regional channels for a whiff at home. Or to the ESPN, STAR sports for watching sport events like WWF wrestling, which one could not ordinarily hope to see.

In India in the coming three or four years satellite television industry is expected to grow in two areas -- in advertising revenue for television and in the number of satellite television homes. According to estimate the number of satellite television homes will go up "from 12 million in July 1996 to 25 million by year 2000. In the same period, the total number of television homes is expected to climb from 45 million to 65 million."⁹

The satellite television has "shown an astounding growth rate of 500 per cent in its very first year" (1992-93).¹⁰ And during next three years or so, the same growth rate was maintained -- and is expected to continue. The total reach of satellite television, however, has not yet touched even twenty per cent of India's population as against over 95 per cent of Doordarshan. "Distribution remains one of the key bottlenecks"¹¹ in the growth of satellite television in India.

Doordarshan is the only network that is broadcasting on educational and social issues all over India. While competition and market forces can provide good broadcasting in some parts of the country, a large part of India is not covered by the markets. "The public service broadcasters have to step in to fill the gap left out by the market."¹²

8. Amulya Ganguli, "Sorry for Interruption", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 21, 1997.

9. For details see, Indian Readership Survey 1996.

10. Gopal Saksena, Television in India, op. cit., p.219.

11. Directory of Indian Television Industry 1996 (New Delhi: Cable Waves, 1997), p.155.

12. B.G. Verghese, "Freedom i the AIR Aplast", Interview in Economic Times (New Delhi), September 24, 1997.

The satellite onslaught has broken the hitherto sole monopoly of the government control over television for more than three decades. Despite its reach, Doordarshan has now lost its ability to influence educated-urban viewers. As a result it is losing its credibility.

TECHNOLOGICAL DIMENSION: UPGRADATION OF TELEVISION INDUSTRY

The development of "new distribution systems"¹³ has greatly expanded the potential sources of supply for television programming. Today, satellite transmission systems have greatly facilitated the delivery of television programming from programme packager to distributors, both domestically and internationally. Live trans-oceanic transmission of television programming is now routine using geostationary satellites, which have evolved dramatically since 1965, when the International Telecommunication Satellite Organization (INTELSAT) launched its first low-earth-orbiting satellite, 'Early Bird'. INTELSAT and a variety of other "satellite systems"¹⁴ provide international delivery of television programming. The use of satellites to provide coverage of fast breaking news events has made "more people aware of the possibilities of this technology than ever before."¹⁵

The identity of a satellite TV networks' nationality is, in many cases, difficult to determine due to the increasingly international nature of many TV networks. Many factors, however, could be used to describe the national identity of a TV network; the nationality of a networks' owners, the physical location of the headquarters of the network, the physical location of the particular facilities, the nationality of the work force, the nationality of managerial control, and the degree to which network is subject to a given national jurisdiction.

A variety of factors influences both the demand for and supply of television programmes. The development of new delivery systems complemented by technological innovations in consumer electronics, has facilitated the supply of television programming to viewers on a global basis. "Governments also affect the worldwide market for television programming, both by opening new markets and by creating barriers to entry."¹⁶ In addition, other factors, such as linguistic differences, leisure time and the development of

13. For details see, Chapter II.

14. For details see, Appendix C.

15. Globalization of the Mass Media, op. cit., p.31.

16. Ibid., p.29.

pop culture, have an impact on the dissemination of television programmes.

The development of new communication technologies has revolutionized the television industry worldwide, changing the way television programmes are delivered from TV networks to distributors and from distributors to viewers. These technologies have expanded the source of supply of television programmes to meet increased viewer demand for such programmes on a global level.

Satellite television channels are available to any television owner who is able to afford a cable connection or a dish antenna. Because of the satellite television revolution Doordarshan, who leads the competition, is already in trouble. In 1996, "the Nitish Sengupta Committee"¹⁷ estimated that there were 52 million television sets in India but only 9 million were connected by cable or satellite. Doordarshan still covers 87 per cent of the Indian population, and more than 70 per cent of all television advertising revenue -- 50 odd channels share the remaining per cent between themselves.

The big advantage Doordarshan has over satellite TV networks is that as a terrestrial broadcaster it can be received by anybody with a television set and an antenna. No satellite dishes or cable connections are advised. In this day of spy satellites, however, no government can stop the spread of delivery systems and beaming of satellite channels. It will create a big challenge for India, particularly for Doordarshan.

COMMERCIAL DIMENSION: FUTURE OF SATELLITE TELEVISION MARKET IN INDIA

The television industry, now, has a special place in Indian society, and plays an important role in the Indian economy. Like other domestic industries, the television industry has been profoundly affected by the internationalization of economic markets. To discredit Doordarshan and to influence policy makers and people who matter, foreign TV networks are willing to take any financial losses because they believe that "India is the great market of 21st century and that it is important to get a foot hold early enough."¹⁸

The present advertising scenario is complex, even if not baffling. Still, the reach of satellite television stands

17. For details see, Nitish Sengupta Committee Report, Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, 1996.

18. Amit Agarwal and Paromita Mukhopadhyay, "Doordarshan Rules OK?", Sunday, July 6-12, 1997.

nowhere today in comparison to that of Doordarshan, which has touched the 87 per cent mark in the country. In the era of globalization of TV networks -- Indian or foreign, are negotiating aggressively for the right to telecast major international political and sport events. It is a known fact that the most of Doordarshan's advertising revenue is coming from sports, "it had earned Rs.350 million during the Cricket World Cup 1996 and Rs.200 million from the Independence Cricket Cup 1997."¹⁹

Doordarshan has registered an increase of 33 per cent in its revenue from Rs.4.30 billion in 1995-96 to Rs.5.72 billion in 1996-97, an increase of Rs.1.42 billion. At the time of satellite television's invasion in 1991-92, its revenue was Rs.3.0 billion. Its revenue "will touch Rs.10 billion by year 2000."²⁰ When Doordarshan first went commercial in 1976-77 its revenue was Rs.2.7 million. In 1997, however, the share of Doordarshan has decreased to 65.5 per cent, which was 85 per cent of the total television advertisement revenue in 1991-92. Presently, near about 50 odd channels are sharing the remaining 34.5 per cent of revenue between themselves.

By the year two thousand, television's share of advertising revenue is expected to grow to Rs.3,000 crores from the 1995 figure of Rs.1,000 crores. Satellite TV networks are hoping that Doordarshan's market share -- which declined from 80 per cent in 1993 to 65.5 per cent in 1997 -- will drop further to between 55 per cent and 60 per cent by the year 2000. However, "only 20 per cent of the channels will get 80 per cent of the advertising."²¹

In 1996-97, the ad-spend on television as a whole increase by 25 per cent over the year 1995-97, Doordarshan's share of the revenue went up by 33 per cent at a time when it was under sustained attack from the satellite TV networks. Despite the advent of a large number of satellite TV networks, it is estimated that Doordarshan, with its monopoly over terrestrial television, still bags the lion's share of advertising in India.

There is no money -- at least at present -- in satellite television in India. Despite the facts, slowly growing market, and low returns satellite TV networks -- particularly foreigners, are investing in India. STAR TV has invested

-
19. "Cricket proves profitable for DD", Cable Waves, New Delhi, Vol.3.10, May 16-31, 1997.
 20. For details see, Indian Readership Survey 1996.
 21. Amit Agarwal, "An Lawful lot of Hoping", India Today, July 15, 1996.

800 million dollars, Sony has spent Rs.150 crore on its Indian channel, and Home TV has spent Rs.100 crore. "None of these channels are even close to recovering part of their investment."²²

The foreign investment in satellite television industry is expected to grow at much higher speed. The cable TV market in India will grow at the rate of 16 per cent annually in the first decade of the 21st century benefitting largely from direct broadcasting services. The cable TV service revenue is expected to touch Rs.2,800 million by year 2000 from Rs.1595 million in 1997. The DTH services revenue, if government will allow, is expected to touch Rs.1,307 million by year 2000.²³

The uplinking facilities to satellite TV networks -- Indian or foreign, if granted by the government of India, it will not only effectively check the outflow of foreign exchange to the tune of "between 300,000 dollar and 500,000 dollar per annum"²⁴ (the amount that each broadcaster has to roughly shell out currently for use of facilities in Hongkong, Singapore etc.), but actually bring in similar amounts of foreign exchange.

Private Indian broadcasters shelling out anywhere between "1 million dollar and 3 million dollar per annum towards transponder rental on foreign satellites."²⁵ If government of India allow Indian players to launch their own satellites it will not only save foreign exchange, but also bring in fresh reserves from global clients who may want to hire transponders on Indian satellites.

As per the new Broadcasting Bill 1997 a foreign TV network cannot hold more than 49 per cent equity in a joint venture with an Indian TV network. All foreign TV networks, who wants to operate in India, will have to divert their foreign equity so that they are 51 per cent Indian owned. In India several TV networks are running in joint venture with foreign partner, where the foreign equity is more than 49 per cent. In the Asia Today Ltd, which runs the Zee TV, foreign equity is 50 per cent; in Sony Entertainment Television

22. Amit Agarwal and Paromita Mukhopadhyay, "Doordarshan Rules, OK?", op. cit.

23. For details see, "Cable Waves Projections", in Directory of Indian Television Industry 1996, op. cit.

24. Ashish Mullick, "Broadcast Policy: Give Indian Players First Chance to Uplink", Times of India (New Delhi), May 8, 1997.

25. Ibid.

India Private Limited Limited foreign equity is more than 60 per cent; in TV India, which runs Home TV, foreign equity is more than 70 per cent.²⁶

The 30 member Joint Parliamentary Committee on broadcasting, in November 1997, has recommended that the foreign equity in any case should be "far less than 49 per cent"²⁷ -- proposed in the new Broadcasting Bill 1997. As a matter of fact, an overwhelming majority of its member feel that foreign equity should be "less than 26 per cent, barring terrestrial services",²⁸ where they feel foreigners should not be allowed at all.

The Information and Broadcasting Ministry in November 1997, has told the Industry Ministry to hold back six proposals involving foreign investment in television industry which had earlier been cleared by the Foreign Investment Promotion Board (FIPB). The proposals that are held up in the cross-fire are those of US based Sony Pictures Entertainment, Asia TV -- which runs Music Asia, Magic Box, Action Time, Scholastic, Inhouse Production.

Among the six proposals, "Sony Entertainment has envisaged an investment between 1.5 to 2 million dollar during the course of five years. Asia TV has planned an investment of about 10 billion dollar, whereas, Inhouse Production has stated that about Rs.8.75 crore would come in as foreign investment."²⁹

The government's stand on foreign equity and participation is still ambiguous. Government of India can earn a good amount of money per annum through registration fee, licensing, sharing percentage of revenue from TV networks other than Doordarshan. In the era of economic liberalization television industry no more remains inferior to any other industry in the world. The satellite television revolution has completely transformed television as a business. Major TV networks in the world now look to India as the market of the future.

26. For details see, Directory of Indian Television Industry 1996, op. cit.

27. Sharif D. Rangeekar, "JPC Signals red to 49% Foreign shareholding in broadcasting", Economic Times (New Delhi), November, 17, 1997.

28. Ibid.

29. "Sony, Asia TV among 6 caught in I&B-FIPB spot", Economic Times (New Delhi), October 1, 1997.

CULTURAL DIMENSION: TRANSFORMATION OF INDIAN SOCIETY

The satellite TV networks -- particularly foreigners, have a tremendous social impact. They have "set off a whole gamut of change in the way Indian families conduct their lives and their leisure. A nation is suddenly sleeping less and watching television more."³⁰

Programming on foreign satellite TV networks has time and again been criticized for not being in consonance with Indian cultural values. Apart from explicit scenes in films aired on the STAR Movies channel, programmes such as *The Bold and the Beautiful*, which portray promiscuity within the family to the extent that father and son share the same woman, and the unforgettable and infamous *Nikki Bedi Show*, which made history by default, when it allowed a guest on the show to use an expletive, while referring to the Father of the Nation -- Mahatma Gandhi.

In *Nikki Bedi Show* a guest called Mahatma Gandhi a "bastered Bania"³¹ -- a remark that led to much hysteria in the media as well as Parliament. Tushar Gandhi, the Mahatma's grandson, filed a suit in the Bombay CMM's Court and demanded Rs.50 crore as damages from the programme broadcaster, STAR TV. As pressure mounted on STAR TV -- then Home Minister S.B. Chavan even talked about enacting a new legislation to rein satellite channels -- the network scrapped the show, even though it had already apologised on air for the lapse.

The most worrying legacy of satellite television, however, was an early introduction to sexuality, and this was compounded by the sharp increase during the period of public awareness campaign on television regarding AIDS. Children began to see ads on television such as on one STAR Plus which had an uncle advising his promiscuous nephew to carry condom with him on his next date.

Foreign TV networks, however, have rescheduled their programmes and content to suit Indian viewers. "MTV, the single most potent symbol of foreign influences, corrupting Indian youth, is now almost unrecognizable, being 60 per cent Indian in programming content."³² BBC, CNN, MTV, STAR TV, Discovery, Sony -- all have provided India -- specific

-
30. Sevanti Ninan, Through the Magic Window: Television and Change in India (New Delhi: Penguin, 1995), p.156.
 31. Amit Agarwal and Anupama Chandra, "Taming the Show", India Today, May 11, 1995.
 32. Sevanti Ninan, "The Airwaves belongs to us", op. cit.

beams with special programming on the occasion of its 50th year anniversary of Independence than Doordarshan itself.

Moreover, foreign TV networks are keen to get an early foothold on the Indian market, in doing so they will not offend popular Indian sentiment. The Bold and the Beautiful may have led the way to obscenity and vulgarity, but indigenous competition has successfully marginalized it. Indian satellite TV channels like Sun Music carries more vulgar programming than most satellite channels owned by foreign broadcasters.

In its effort to cope with satellite TV networks -- Indian or Foreign, and to regain the credibility of Doordarshan, the newly constituted 'Prasar Bharati Corporation' has decided to modernise Doordarshan programming. The Chief Executive Officer, S.S. Gill, said that "we don't need to ape the West or make clones of serials such as Santa Barbara",³³ further he said, "Indian ethos and morality had to be protected."³⁴ Most of the policy makers think that foreign TV networks "had damaged the Indian cultural fabric and led to a pub culture where people feel beer is an alternative to water."³⁵

To cope with the cultural degradation, the Delhi High Court in March 1997, while hearing a Public Interest Litigation, has asked the government of India "to report on what had been done to enforce the programme and advertisement codes to stop alleged indecent and obscene programmes being aired by foreign TV networks and by Doordarshan."³⁶

In September 1997, the Court of the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate Delhi, has summoned the officials of some foreign TV networks on the complaint filed by Arun Agarwal. In his complaint, Arun Agarwal had stated that several films telecast by these foreign channels were not just vulgar but were offensive to the sensibility of Indian culture.

In his judgement the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, Prem Kumar, maintained that there was enormous "displaying of vulgar, indecent and obscene programmes on the small screen

33. "Prasar Bharti Plans to change DD Programmes", Economic Times (New Delhi), November 25, 1997.

34. Ibid.

35. Sevanti Ninan, Through the Magic Window, op. cit., p.196.

36. "Obscene programme worry Court", Cable Waves (New Delhi), Vol.3.06, March 16-31, 1997.

depicting sexual conduct."³⁷ The Court observed that sex is being shown in a repulsive manner causing damage to the traditional and moral fabric of the Indian society. "Threats to the ageless Indian culture and ethos is no less serious than the threat to its political sovereignty and independence,"³⁸ the order said.

The Court noted that economic liberalization and consumerism have contributed largely to the cultural invasion by exposing the vast innocent masses of India to obscenity and vulgarity of the worst kind. It observed that youths and adolescents of India are being poisoned by influx of foreign TV networks through satellites. In fact the display of obscene and adult movies on television greatly affects the mental health of the children.

POLITICAL DIMENSION: INTERNATIONAL PROJECTION OF INDIA

The satellite television revolution has a great impact on domestic politics of a nation, as well as, on its international relations. The affect of satellite television is enormous. On several occasions satellite TV networks have changed the course of politics -- domestic or international, of many nations. As in the case of India, during Babri Masjid Demolition and Charar-E-Sharif fire episode, foreign TV networks played a critical and anti-India role.

The live telecast of Babri Masjid demolition on December 6, 1992 by CNN-International led to the riots all over India. Within one day of the live telecast nearabout 100 people killed in Bombay alone. Overall, "more than 2000 people killed in post-demolition riots."³⁹

Foreign TV channels such as CNN-International and BBC-World well in advance -- a week earlier of the demolition, started the coverage of dispatching of para-military forces and 'Karsevaks' to Ayodhya. The CNN-International covered the mini-yatra of L.K. Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi from Varanasi and Mathura respectively to attend 'Karseva' in Ayodhya. It also covered 'Dharma Sansad' organized by 'Sangh Parivar' -- the RSS, VHP and BJP, which held in Ayodhya on December 4, 1992 to define the exact meaning of 'Kar Seva'.

37. Murdoch Basu and Others Summoned", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 25, 1997.

38. Ibid.

39. "Aftermath of Demolition...", Times of India (New Delhi), January 3, 1993.

In its live telecast CNN-International aired the picture of 'Kar Sevaks' with shovels and bricks in their hands, and chanting slogans like "*Jis Hindu Ka Khoon na Khaule, Khoon nahin woh pani hai*". The police forced moved away as the 'Kar-sevaks' scaled barricades and clambered on the domes of the mosque where saffron flag were hoisted. Then began a frenzied demolition with shovels, iron rods and pickaxes.

During the whole reporting of the Babri Masjid demolition incident foreign TV networks were deeply involved in anti-India propaganda. On the day of demolition, they covered the issue "within few hours in their news bulletins projected India as a communal and anti-Muslim country."⁴⁰ For instance, BBC-World in its coverage had repeatedly stated that "Hindu demolished the Babri mosque at Ayodhya",⁴¹ instead of specifying that "fundamentalist Hindus" demolished the Babri Masjid.

In its news bulletin on December 6, 1992 BBC-World reported that the act of the Hindu militants was seen as shaking the foundation of India's secular democracy. After watching the whole demolition episode on television news, several countries strongly "denounced this odious crime and expressed regret that the Indian government allowed fundamentalist Hindus to cause damage to this great symbol of Islam in India."⁴²

The television images of Hindu crowds carrying trishuls in an orgy of violence "has reinforced a new popular concept of Hinduism in the mind of Western audiences",⁴³ accustomed to seeing similar images of the warring African tribes with primitive weapons and Islamic fundamentalist group. Of late, there is a surge of interest in Hinduism and Buddhism in West. But after the demolition of Babri Masjid Western experts on Hinduism find it hard to explain the events in Ayodhya, the concept of Hinduism as interpreted by politicians or the message of the 'Maryada Puroshottam Ram'.

During the Hazratbal crisis in October-November 1993, and Charar-E-Sharif in May 1995, too, foreign TV networks played an anti-India role. The misleading reporting of these two episodes emerged as another bottleneck in restoring the

40. "Ayodhya Hogs Headlines in Britain", Times of India (New Delhi), December 8, 1992.

41. Neeta Lal, "Chechen-E-Sharif", Sunday, June 25-July 1, 1995.

42. "Hindu Fundamentalist...", International Herald Tribune (Paris), December 8, 1992.

43. "Ayodhya Hogs Headlines in Britain", op. cit.

peace in Kashmir, and further dented India's image in International politics. During Hazratbal crisis, even while the siege of Hazratbal was on, a BBC news report went ahead and said that Indian troops had stormed the mosque.

In its coverage of Charar-E-Sharif episode, BBC-World covered every moment of the issue since March 1995, when militant captured the shrine. On May 11, 1995 militant burnt down the Charar-E-Sharif, in their effort to escape the besieged town. The BBC-World, however, alleged that the fire was result of a late night encounter between the Indian Armed Forces and the Kashmiri-militants, in which Army with the help of gas cylinders exploded the shrine.

On the one hand the entire Indian media reported that the role played by the para-military and Indian Army in Charar-E-Sharif was "a measure of their self restraint and discipline".⁴⁴ It is obvious that that the arson by the terrorists was aimed at provoking the security forces into taking precipitate action and thus raise a storm both within India and outside India. Indian media reported that there were as many as "70 heavily armed terrorists, including Pakistani and Afghan mercenaries",⁴⁵ had taken shelter inside the shrine. They belong to *Harkut-ul-Ansar* and *Hizbul Mujahideen*, and alleged them Pakistani funded, aided and armed militant organizations, and reported that their leader "Mast Gul a-Afghan national, is a known ISI operative."⁴⁶

On the other hand, in continuation of their anti-India campaign, foreign TV networks -- particularly BBC-World, reported that at least 100 Kashmiri militants killed in the encounter of May 11, 1995. They never mentioned these militants as foreign mercenaries, instead, they often referred them as "freedom fighters" fighting for "Azad Kashmir". Moreover, in one of its documentary on Charar-E-Sharif fire episode, BBC-World, used "the footage of Chechnya"⁴⁷ -- Russian tanks and soldiers were shown in the place of Charar-E-Sharif's footage. Earlier in 1993 also, the network had incorrectly reported tht Indian troops had exchanged fire with militants in Hazratbal. The BBC-World

44. "Crisis in Charar-E-Sharif", The Pioneer (New Delhi), May 11, 1995.

45. "Charar shrine Guttred", The Pioneer (New Delhi), May 12, 1995.

46. Ibid.

47. "Laying the Blame", Story aired by BBC-World on May 12, 1995 at 1.30 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. For details see, Sunday, June 25-July 1, 1995, pp.44-5.

in its first report said that Indian troops has stormed the Charar-E-Sharif town and captured the shrine. Tough "BBC radio did correct itself in subsequent broadcasts, BBC-World continued to use the word storm."⁴⁸

As a result of this negative propaganda by foreign TV networks, "six persons killed and over 200 injured in sporadic clashes in the entire valley".⁴⁹ Three temple were destroyed by irate mobs in Solana, Jawahar Nagar and Gandhi Pura. Moreover, the foreign news channels blamed Indian Army for the violation of human rights, thus paving the way for international human right organizations to step into India, and interfere in the domestic matter.

Both the episode -- Babri Masjid demolition and the arson at Charar-E-Sharif, and the projection by foreign TV networks took India's image beyond the merely weird to the disturbingly medieval at a time when India had been desperately trying to project a modern image for itself in the world.

In less than a decade -- since 1990, satellite television has spread across India, evoking extreme reaction in this diverse and turbulent country. That's why government of India has to deal and control adroitly satellite TV networks -- particularly foreigners, because they have the technology and potential to propagate any thing in whatever way they want.

48. Neeta Lal, "Chechan-E-Sharif", Sunday, June 25-July 1, 1995.

49. Ibid.

Chapter Three

COMMERCIAL BARGAINING AND REGULATORY NEGOTIATIONS: CASE STUDIES

Satellite TV networks have a special responsibility in today's world for, given that societies are heavily dependent upon them for the provision of information, they are part of the structure that foster the development of economic and social models, as well as a uniformity in consumer behaviour unsuitable to many local environments. Satellite TV networks have a major influence on ideas and opinion, on values and life-style, and therefore on change for better or worse in different societies.

Satellite TV networks operating in India and world over, want less restrictions, therefore, they are negotiating for more freedom. At the same time, through their programming foreign TV networks appear to be working against the national objectives and socio-cultural values of the host country, thus showing irresponsibility. Freedom, however, is always accompanied by responsibility. As Nehru said, "Freedom always entails an obligation, whether it is a nation's freedom or an individual's freedom or a group's freedom or the freedom of the press. Therefore, whenever we consider the question of freedom we must also inevitably consider the responsibility that goes with freedom. If there is no responsibility and no obligation attached to it, freedom gradually withers away."¹

NEGOTIATING FREEDOM OF AIRWAVES: SUPREME COURT'S JUDGEMENT

Freedom of airwaves is of major concern to everyone, a generous aspiration which, however, as a doctrine has sometimes been misapplied and narrowly interpreted and for which all necessary conditions for its genuine implementation on both the national and world level have yet to be created.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, "Freedom and Responsibility", An Address at the All India Editors' Conference, New Delhi, August 13, 1954, in Sarvepalli Gopal (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology, op. cit., p.639.

through any media and regardless of frontiers."² Progress in the implementation of this right has certainly been achieved around the world. Nevertheless, in some countries it has been halting and intermittent and sometimes, even thwarted by retrogressive autocratic measures or increasing monopolistic trends.

In practice, freedom of airwaves, which failed to take account in its exercise of the objective necessities of the right to information, would be designed more to satisfy the informer than to serve the public good." In various regions of world, serious violation of human rights, particularly of freedom of airwaves, are often too readily based on such justifications as national sovereignty, executive privilege or reasons of state.

For the broadcaster, freedom and responsibility are indivisible. Freedom without responsibility invites distortion and other abuses. But in the absence of freedom there can be no exercise of responsibility. "The concept of freedom without responsibility necessarily includes a concern for professional ethics, demanding an equitable approach to events situation or process with due attention to their diverse aspects."³ This is not always a case today.

The importance of the issue has been highlighted in the Supreme Court judgement of 1995,⁴ in the Hero Cup case, where the apex court has ruled out that the government should not monopolise airwaves. Airwaves constitute public property and must utilize for advancing public good. No individual has the right to utilize them at his choice and pleasure and for purposes of his choice including profit. "The right to free speech guaranteed by Article 19(1)(a) does not include the right to use airwaves, which are a public property." Airwaves can be used for broadcasting by a citizen only when allowed by a statute. "Airwaves being a public property, it is the duty of the state to see that airwaves are so utilized as to advance the freespeech right of the citizens which is served by ensuring plurality and diversity of views, opinions and ideas."

The right to free speech guaranteed to every citizen of this country does not encompass the right to use these airwaves at his choosing. "Conceding such a right would be detrimen-

2. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, quoted in Many Voices One World, op. cit., p.137.

3. Ibid., p.261.

4. For details see, Supreme Court's Judgement on Cricket Association of Bengal vs. Union of India, February 9, 1995.

tal to the free speech rights of the body of citizens in as much as only the privileged few would come to dominate the media." By manipulating the news, views, and information, by indulging in misinformation and disinformation to suit their commercial or other interests, "they would be harming -- and not serving -- the principle of plurality and diversity of views, news, ideas and opinions."

According to the landmark judgement of the apex court "there are no geographical barriers on communication" -- a citizen has fundamental right to the best means of imparting and receiving information and as such, to have access to telecasting for this purpose. Further it ruled out that a wider choice and plurality of views can be facilitated only by promoting private broadcasting. This cannot be provided by a medium controlled by a monopoly -- whether the monopoly is of the state or any other individual, group or organization. As a matter of fact private broadcasting networks may perhaps be more prejudicial to the right of free speech of the citizen than the government-controlled broadcasting.

Public good lies in ensuring plurality of opinion, and that would scarcely be served by private broadcasters who are bound to be motivated by profit. Further it said, broadcasting media is affected by the free speech right of the citizens. Once this is so, monopoly of this medium, whether by government or by an individual body or organization is unacceptable." The opinion of Supreme Court's judgement was, undoubtedly, to ensure plurality and diversity of services, so that the common man -- who was a viewer or subscriber is the end user of services -- is not deprived of quality.

The Indian Supreme Court judgement seems to follow the same line of reasoning as expressed in the UNGA resolution of 1982. In its resolution on the "Principle Governing the Use by States of Artificial Earth Satellite for International Direct Television Broadcasting,"⁵ formulated that every one shall have the right to freedom of expression -- this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. Further, it formulated that "this right, of course, can be restricted by law to ensure a respect of right or reputation of others and for the protection of national security or public order or public health or morals."

5. For details see, United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Resolution on Principle Governing the Use by States of Artificial Earth Satellite for International Direct Television Broadcasting, 37th Session, December 10, 1982.

HERO CUP NEGOTIATIONS: GOVERNMENT'S MONOPOLY AND FREEDOM OF AIRWAVES

The Supreme Court gave the landmark judgement in Hero Cup case on February 9, 1995, while disposing of the petitions relating to a dispute between Cricket Association of Bengal (CAB) and Doordarshan over satellite uplinking facilities for CAB to telecast the multinational cricket series for the viewers abroad. On the occasion of CAB's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations in November 1993 (Hero Cup), the triangular series, and during the West Indies Cricket tour (1994), dispute arose between Doordarshan and CAB over the satellite uplinking facilities. In their 291 page verdict, Justice P.B. Samant, Justice S. Mohan and Justice B.P. Jeevan Reddy said that CAB had the right to sell telecasting rights of the matches to any agency including Trans World International (TWI) -- a foreign setup.

The court also held that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting or national broadcaster, Doordarshan, had no right to deny CAB or TWI the facilities to uplink the signals generated by them to a foreign satellite for telecast abroad. Underlying the importance of electronic media vis-a-vis print media which is accessible to merely 1.5 per cent of about 35 per cent literate population in the country, the judges noted that "the viewers' right, like the readers' right was equally of paramount importance, particularly in a country like India."

The Supreme Court ruled out that the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, is totally inadequate to govern an important medium like television. It is therefore imperative that the Parliament makes a law placing the broadcasting media in the hands of a public/statutory corporate or corporations. Further the Supreme Court asked the government of India to establish an independent autonomous public authority to rescue the electronic media from the government monopoly and bureaucratic control. In accordance to the Supreme Court judgement government of India has established an autonomous body -- Prasar Bharati Corporation, on September 15, 1997, with its government has provided "BBC-type"⁶ autonomy to broadcast media.

GLOBALIZATION OF TELEVISION AND INTERNATIONAL REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT

Historically, many nations have had state-owned broadcast systems that provided relatively limited services. Over the

6. Jaipal Reddy, "BBC type Autonomy for AIR and Doordarshan", Interview in Economic Times (New Delhi), September 10, 1997.

past two decades, a combination of forces -- political, economic, cultural and technological -- have moved the international mass media industry toward more competition and less regulation on a global basis. Many of the countries that are undergoing privatization of the mass media are moving toward mixed broadcast environments, similar to United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy, in which state-owned broadcasters coexist with private broadcasters. Poland, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, Hungary, Sweden, Thailand are some of the countries, including India, that are either privatising their mass media industries or awarding more concessions to commercial television networks.

Media liberalization in Western Europe has led to the "gradual introduction of independent, commercial television stations in United Kingdom, France, Spain, Germany, Portugal and Italy".⁷ In many Central and East European countries, since the collapse of the Soviet regime, there has been a shift away from total state control of the media to some reliance on the market. However, the degree and pace of change varies by country. Media privatization in Latin America and the accompanying introduction of "free market principles have led to a rise in private television stations".⁸

Until recently, programming opportunities have been limited in Asia. Many Asian governments have sought to control the flow of news and information in their countries "in order to protect their domestic, mainly state-owned, terrestrial broadcasters."⁹ They also have been restricting the growth of cable. However, recent media reforms in Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Papua New Guinea, and in India are enabling new commercial programme providers to enter those markets.

The media reforms taking place in some Asian countries are having an impact across national borders, in some instances overwhelming the efforts of neighbouring countries to control the flow of programming. In particular, because individuals often are able to receive satellite-delivered programming from neighbouring countries, even when such programming is restricted in their own country -- they are increasingly (and sometimes illegally) investing in satellite dishes in order to access such programming. Furthermore, "as more people are becoming aware of the alternative programming available in neighbouring countries,

7. Amdur, "Mipcom Lesson: No Country is an Island", Broadcasting, October 19, 1992, p.6.

8. Globalization of Mass Media, op. cit., p.44.

9. Ibid., p.45.

it becomes increasingly difficult for governments to justify and enforce restrictive broadcast policies."¹⁰

Public regulation also can have the effect of limiting entry in domestic markets, thereby impeding the television globalization process. Regulations that limit entry of foreign TV networks into domestic markets include "import quotas, domestic content or work requirements, hiring or immigration regulations, foreign ownership regulations, foreign exchange remittance restrictions, screen quotas, and customs duties."¹¹ The rationale behind government barriers to entry for TV networks varies, but largely focuses on protecting indigenous industry and culture.

Many governments treat television industry as an instrument to further national culture. With respect to national culture, governments actively promote television industry, through promotional measures. In addition, some countries use "protectionist" trade policies to limit competition from foreign TV networks. These barriers, however, also inhibit the free flow of information and entertainment around the world.

REGULATORY NEGOTIATIONS IN INDIA

The Indian Broadcasting Bill - Prasar Bharati Act 1997, has a large section devoted to regulation of private broadcasting. Reacting on the key clauses of this section, broadcasters, especially foreign broadcasters, have been shouting themselves hoarse against the proposals in the Bill.

Earlier in March 1996, Nitish Sengupta Committee Report¹² on Prasar Bharati proposed that terrestrial broadcasting should remain the monopoly of Doordarshan, uplinking rights for private broadcasters, both Indian and foreign. Permitting local terrestrial stations will create enormous job opportunities and bring in revenue. The Indian Telegraph Act of 1885 should be suitably amended. Uplinking for Indian or foreign satellite channels will bring them under Indian law and the regulatory authority will compel them to adhere to the existing advertising and programming codes and enforce the guidelines that Doordarshan follows. At the same time the Sub-Committee of the Parliamentary Consultative

10. Ibid., p.46.

11. For details see, Glossary.

12. For details see, Nitish Sen Gupta Committee Report, Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, March 1996.

Committee¹³ for the I&B Ministry, headed by Ram Vilas Paswan, suggested that direct or indirect foreign equity participation in companies entering the field of private broadcasting should not be permitted.

According to new bill (Prasar Bharati Act) six categories of people are disqualified from bidding for broadcasting licences: "an individual who is not an Indian national; a partnership firm all of whose partners are not citizens of India; companies not incorporated in India but with foreign equity exceeding 49 per cent and in case of public companies share of Indian promoters falling below the foreign share holding; government and local authorities; and persons committed of an offence under this law or declared insolvent or convicted in a criminal case."¹⁴ The licences will be available for seven kinds of services: "Terrestrial radio broadcast; terrestrial TV broadcast; satellite radio broadcast; domestic satellite TV broadcast; non-domestic satellite TV broadcast; direct satellite broadcast; and local delivery services including cable network."¹⁵

For the purpose of licensing the government may also later categorize terrestrial TV and radio services into analog and digital, and also into national, regional, local and restricted local services of a non-commercial nature. There is a provision that any one person, including a company, will be allowed to hold a license in only one out of seven license categories. Further, the government can prescribe the maximum number of licenses for a category of service which cannot at any time be held by any one person, including a company. In its effort to bring foreign TV networks under the ambit of Indian law, government of India has decided to give preferential treatment to those satellite TV networks who will uplink from Indian soil.

CASE STUDY:

DTH: NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND STAR TV

The government at present (December 1997) is against the idea of allowing foreign TV networks -- particularly STAR TV, to launch DTH service. During Deve Gowda regime, Information and Broadcasting Minister, C.M. Ibrahim first tried to scuttle the service by demanding the KU band dishes be licensed. When the Department of Telecommunication was about to announce the license fee, he declared that he would

13. For details see, Working Paper on National Media Policy, Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, March 1996.

14. "The Restrictions", Cable Waves (New Delhi), Vol.3.03, February 1-15, 1997.

15. Ibid.

not allow a DTH service to begin and "asked the telcom ministry to delay the announcement."¹⁶ Finally he came with a notification of banning DTH services in December 1996. However, he was not averse to the idea of allowing uplink rights to TV networks. He described that "the granting of uplinking right will bring foreign TV networks under the ambit of Indian laws."¹⁷

In fact restrictions on foreign broadcasters suit some Indian players. For instance, Subhash Chandra Goyal of Zee TV in his ongoing battle with partner Rupert Murdoch -- the US media baron of STAR TV, who holds 50 per cent equity in Zee TV. Restrictions also suit those media houses which are against the entry of foreign media. According to them, the foreign TV networks want to operate without any restrictions.

In May 1996 Gene Swinstead, STAR TV's managing director for India and the Middle-East, said that they are "not averse to the idea of government's charging of a registration fee to beam into India"¹⁸ and government can "simply take a percentage of revenue per DTH subscriber."¹⁹ Further he proposed that the government can control programme content through the cable operator.

Rupert Murdoch visited India twice in February 1994, and June 1996. His 1994's visit was a quick trip to Delhi in which nothing serious negotiated with the government of India. In his second visit, on June 19, 1997 Murdoch met with, the then Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda. Murdoch's meeting with Deve Gowda had centered around live uplink facilities, and DTH service for STAR TV.

During the negotiations, Swinstead put forward the argument that the granting of uplink and DTH facilities would be in India's interest. "It will generate employment and create a whole new industry, it will bring in technology in keeping with pro-swadeshi sentiments, and it would save us valuable foreign exchange." Further he pointed out that "if we uplinked out of India, we'd totally bound by Indian laws."²⁰

-
16. "I&B to delay DTH", Economic Times (New Delhi), November 29, 1996:
 17. Amit Agarwal and Paromita Mukopadhyaya, "Doordarshan Rules, Ok?", Sunday, July 6-12, 1997.
 18. Namita Bhandare and Paromita Mukopadhyay, "TV Wars", Sunday, July 14-20, 1996.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Ibid.

On the other hand, those opposed to giving private TV networks -- Indian or foreign -- live uplink and DTH facilities put forward three basic points: such a facility will endanger our internal security, it will further erode our national culture, and finally, it will destroy our own nascent television industry.

Therefore, C.M. Ibrahim followed a 'Swadeshi' policy. His guiding principle was to keep foreigners out and to protect Indian players. His successor Jaipal Reddy has followed the same broadcasting policies. The I&B Ministry has brought the line that DTH will allow STAR TV to beam pernicious and evil foreign influence to innocent Indian viewers.

In March 1997, STAR TV announced the sale of DTH service when there was no sign that the government is ready to give a license for DTH operation to any broadcaster. Just a few days after STAR's new sister company India Sky Broadcasting (I Sky B) took out a full page advertisements in major newspapers to announce the sale of its DTH service, the chief spokesperson of the government of India gave journalist a copy of December 1996 notification "which makes it mandatory for broadcasters and receivers to hold a license before any band service can go on air or be receive by anybody."²¹

Earlier, News Corp -- which runs STAR TV in India, had filed petitions in the Allahabad and Gwalior High Courts. On May 19, 1997, the respective High Courts termed the December 19, 1996 notification by I&B Ministry as legal notifications, while hearing the petitions filed by News Corp.

The I&B Ministry, again issued a notification banning DTH services on July 16, 1997. In a statement the I&B Minister, Jaipal Reddy, said that "the DTH ban will give Indians a fair chance and it will provide a level playing field for both foreign and Indian players."²² He stated that "at present Indians are not permitted to broadcast from Indian soil and therefore any broadcaster who decided to start DTH services for reception in India would be a foreign entity, uplinking his signals from outside Indian soil and if so allowed would have pre-empted any Indian entity to start such a service in India."²³

21. "I Sky B! Direct to Nowhere", Cable Waves (New Delhi), Vol.3.06, March 16-31, 1997.

22. "DTH Ban to Give Indian a Fair Chance: I&B Note", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 15, 1997.

23. Ibid.

The CEO of STAR TV in India, Ratikant Basu, wrote a letter to Jaipal Reddy on July 18, 1997, to reconsider the notification banning DTH services. Earlier on May 24, 1997, STAR TV through a letter, urged I&B Ministry to allow DTH services in India. Finally, after not getting any positive reply, News Corp again filed a case in the Delhi High Court in July 1997.

A division bench of the Delhi High Court on July 22, 1997 issued notices to the Ministry of Communication, the I&B Ministry, and others on the petition filed by News Corp, challenging the government's notification banning equipment capable of receiving transmission signals in the frequency band of 4,800 MHz and above. Government officials refused to comment as the matter was sub-judice. However, they said that "it will not be in national interest to allow STAR TV or any other DTH player to commence operation."²⁴

The DTH notification has come in a situation where the Indian cable and satellite market has boomed to over twelve million homes in less than five years, but "the ground distribution arm of the industry remains in an archaic state -- under capitalized, using primitive technology and fragmented."²⁵ The Cable Networks Association (CNA) has welcomed the ban on DTH service. Unveiling what they perceive as "STAR TV's game plan to wipe out all cable operators and gain an absolute control over the ground segment, the CNA has decried the DTH broadcasting plan which the STAR TV is relentlessly pursuing."²⁶

In response to the Notification R. Basu said that "the notification is malafide and unconstitutional. The ban violates the fundamental right to freedom of speech."²⁷ STAR TV officials pointed out that in effect the ban was on citizens owning smaller dish antennas, which would prevent a "superior technology" from reaching the people. In a statement, however, Communication Minister Beni Prasad Verma said that "the ban is temporary."²⁸ At the same time, senior

24. "Notice to Centre on DTH Ban", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 23, 1997.

25. Directory of Indian Television Industry 1996, op. cit., p.166.

26. "Cable Operators Decry Star TV's DTH Plan", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), August 30, 1997.

27. "Star goes to Court on DTH Ban", Cable Waves (New Delhi), Vol.3.14, July 16-31, 1997.

28. "Ban is Temporary: Verma", Hindustan Times, July 18, 1997.

Congress Party leader Pranab Mukherjee wrote a letter to Prime Minister I.K. Gujral for "withdrawal of the DTH ban."²⁹

The Delhi High Court has already held a number of hearings on the issue, and has once told the government to hurry up and resolve the issue of DTH transmission. The government has been consistently telling the court that it has no plan to ban DTH services indefinitely, but it wants the regulatory structure to be in place before allowing a new kind of television service to beam into India.

The I&B Minister, Jaipal Reddy has indicated that the "DTH service would stage its entry into India by early 1998."³⁰ Meanwhile STAR TV has indicated to the Delhi High Court that it wants to start its DTH package through Cable Operators (Cable Operators) at once. According to STAR TV officials since government appeared concerned about the issue of content control on DTH package, "this package could be started through cable operators, which would give the government a route to control the content."³¹

The STAR TV has reportedly started furious lobbying against the Prasar Bharati Bill. R. Basu of STAR TV is learnt to have met senior functionaries in the PMO, and to have asked for major changes in the Bill. Further in front of Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) he said that "STAR TV is in national interest",³² and countered the argument given by Subhash Chandra Goyal of Zee TV that foreign TV networks are against the national interest. Moreover, he proposed that "in the case of DTH, the programming code and Indian corporate laws should be the criteria for obtaining a license and the auctioning system suggested in the bill should be done away with."³³ STAR TV officials have been trying very hard to neutralize the lobbying power of the Zee TV chief Subhash Chandra. That was why they announced the Zee group was likely to join the DTH platform of STAR, even when Chandra had repeatedly indicated otherwise.

29. "Lobbying Against Ban Order", Times of India, July 25, 1997.

30. "Jaipal Confident of DTH Entry by Early 1998", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 26, 1997.

31. "STAR Plans Direct-to-Operator Service", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 30, 1997.

32. "Zee Planning to Strike Down Star in JPC Deposition", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 8, 1997.

33. Ibid.

Subhash Chandra is lobbying with influential personalities in the government. According to him "letting STAR TV into India will signal the return of colonialism and Rupert Murdoch in particular is a spoiler who wants to control broadcast media in India with a view to eventually take control of political events in India itself."³⁴ Murdoch wanted to be sole gatekeeper of Asia. When China banned foreign broadcasters he turned his attention to India. Subhash Chandra has made the useful arrangement with the powerful, he has got entire I&B Ministry humming along.

On the other hand, Rupert Murdoch in keeping the DD-CNN tie-up in mind, has offered to share programmes with government owned broadcasters. Murdoch is said to have offered some of his networks programmes to Doordarshan and is willing to share advertising revenue with it.

Overall, the situation has placed STAR TV managers in India under immense pressure. They have already been under pressure for the last few months, because they have been overconfident of their ability to start DTH service. Rupert Murdoch wants to make some profit from its expensive India operations, and to see it soon.

Murdoch has been investing heavily in the Indian market since the acquisition of STAR TV from Li Ka-shing in July 1993, but the channels on his STAR bouquet are still running at a huge loss. His managers in India have been telling him that the situation will change dramatically once I Sky B starts its DTH operation. But the government has been showing no sign of giving licenses for DTH operations in the near future, and Murdoch is getting impatient all the time.

COMMERCIAL BARGAINING

Following the liberalization of Indian economy, and globalization of television, private TV networks -- Indian or foreign, are negotiating either between themselves, or with the government of India on commercial issues. Commercial negotiations centre around the issue of foreign equity participation and joint venture bargaining.

The government's stand on foreign equity is still ambiguous. On the one hand, in proposed Prasar Bharati Bill government came out with a provision of maximum 49 per cent foreign equity in joint venture. On the other hand, the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, which is studying the proposed bill before it becomes a law, is pressurizing government to alter the provision, and allow only 26 per cent foreign equity in a joint venture.

34. Namita Bhandare, "STAR vs. Zee", Sunday, December 29, 1996-January 4, 1997.

Interestingly, government in itself following an ambiguous broadcasting policy. In June 1995, Doordarshan has successfully negotiated a deal with Turner International of the US, and in a tie-up with CNN-International it has launched a 24 hour news channel. Moreover, in India Doordarshan is also negotiating with foreign TV networks for the live telecast rights of major political or sports events. As earlier Doordarshan has negotiated with Trans World International for the telecast rights of Hero Cup in 1993, and with World Tel for Wills World Cup in 1996.

CASE STUDY: DD-CNN TIE-UP

Recognizing the potential of multinational TV news networks in international politics of propaganda, the government of India in June 1995 cleared the long-standing proposal by CNN-International to be part of Doordarshan platform. Finally, the DD-CNN deal was successfully negotiated nearly 18 months after CNN put up a proposal, in November 1993, before the I&B Ministry seeking cooperation with Indian national broadcaster. Rathikant Basu, then the Doordarshan's Director-General, and Joseph Hogan, Vice President, Turner International, signed the pact on June 30, 1995 in New Delhi.

The CNN channel would have started much earlier but the I&B Ministry did not have a spare transponder. But once the government okayed the CNN proposal in April 1995, and additional transponder on Insat 2-B was transferred by the Department of Telecommunication to the I&B Ministry, thus facilitated the launch of the channel. It was no different from CNN-International, already beamed to 210 countries including India through Apstar-1, except that DD too has a slot on it.

The landmark DD-CNN pact -- "it was the first time anywhere in the world that a public broadcaster had offered an entire channel to a private news channel"³⁵ -- it has argued, is equally beneficial to both parties, the CNN-International offering local Indian programming produced by Doordarshan, the Turner network is offering one hour a day current affairs and entertainment programmes for airing on Doordarshan's terrestrial channels. Moreover, for the Turner network, "the agreement was nothing short of a coup".³⁶

The deal gave CNN access to a better positioned satellite over South Asia, in comparison to its previous platform,

35. Ashish Mullick, "DD, CNN Join Hands to start New 24-hour News Channel", Times of India (New Delhi), June 30, 1997.

36. Ibid.

Apstar I, which was not meant for the region. Till then in many parts of India cable operators preferred to show the rival BBC-World instead as it offered better picture quality and transmission. By using Doordarshan's C-12 transponder on Insat 2-B, CNN got a potential reach of 12 million cable TV households in India. Significantly as per the agreement CNN is uplinking from Delhi.

For the government of India, the deal was an attempt to build bridges with the US. S.S. Ray, then the Indian ambassador in Washington, has "played a major role in negotiating CNN-DD deal."³⁷ And the Ministry of External Affairs was also keen on it -- it saw in this "an opportunity for increased coverage of India on CNN".³⁸

Under the two year agreement, it was negotiated that the CNN will provide 22 and half hour of live news and other current affair programmes from Monday to Saturday every week, while Doordarshan will provide its own news programmes during the remaining period on the 24-hour channel, with an option to increase this to four hours a day. As per the negotiation, the Doordarshan programmes will be on air between 12 p.m. and 12.30 p.m., and 2.30 p.m. and 3.30 p.m. from Monday to Saturday. On Sundays between 2.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. and 11.30 p.m. to 1.30 a.m., further Doordarshan will provide an hour-long panel discussion on global and regional issues on Sundays. However, Doordarshan is using its time on the DD-CNN channel, among other things, to counter "Pakistani propaganda", because "Doordarshan feels that it has been rather inadequate in this department."³⁹

Both the parties managed to negotiate that neither side will interfere editorially, in the other's programming, although Doordarshan will monitor CNN closely. And if CNN's perception of what's happening in India differs from Doordarshan's the Indian network will correct that imbalance through its own programmes. The government of India negotiated the deal because it expected obviously that CNN will not have an anti-India stance. As it made clear by R. Basu, that "if there were some news stories that had an anti-India slant, Doordarshan would use the slot reserved for it on the channel to correct any distortion."⁴⁰ Clearly for Doordarshan, the arrangement was an attempt to turn a

37. Amit Agarwal, "Together on the Air", India Today, June 30, 1995.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. "DD, CNN Sign Historic Pact to Start Channel", Times of India (New Delhi), July 1, 1995.

potential competitor into a collaborator. It was explicit from R. Basu's statement, when he said that "the foreign channels are coming in anyway. If we make them part of our platform, they become one of us rather than our competitor."⁴¹

The I&B Ministry's proposal for the tie-up with CNN, incidentally, got the blessing of both PMO and the opposition. The government had reposed enough confidence in CNN, it was evident from the fact that CNN had been allowed to air its news bulletins live -- something unprecedented for Doordarshan, which insists on previewing all such programmes.

The proposal of CNN, as well as similar proposals by other companies including the BBC, the Pearson Group, the News Corp, and the HBO went to the Committee of Secretaries in January 1994 for consideration. "There it boiled down to choice between CNN and BBC."⁴² In negotiations government felt that the BBC is "biased and tended to editorialise", whereas the CNN "confined itself to reporting events". Perhaps BBC had drawn more flak because it has done more stories out of India than CNN.

In May 1994, Ted Turner -- owner of Turner International, planned to visit India, to influence top Indian political leaders for an early approval of the proposal in the favour of CNN. Unfortunately he had to cancel his visit, because on the scheduled day of flight, his personal plane could not take off due to some mechanical problem. In the same month, however, Committee of Secretaries recommended the CNN proposal to the Cabinet. Two months later, in July 1994, Union Cabinet cleared the proposal, and asked Doordarshan and CNN to work out the details.

Doordarshan and CNN officials after 8 months of negotiations submitted the details to government in February 1995. The Congress government consulted main opposition leaders on the issue and encountered no opposition. Finally, in April 1995 the proposal was approved by the government of India.

Doordarshan and CNN negotiated that latter will pay to former "an annual fee of 1.5 million dollar. Both partners will share the advertising revenue accruing to the channel on a 50:50 basis, after CNN recovers the 1.5 million

41. "Turner International Ties with DD to Telecast CNN Networks", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 1, 1995.

42. Amit Agarwal, "Together on the Air", op. cit.

dollar."⁴³ Further, the Turner India will market for the channel, presently which is also responsible for the sale and distribution of CNN-International and TNT & Cartoon Network. As per the agreement CNN has provided Doordarshan a state-of-the-art uplink facility at a nominal cost of 200,000 dollar. Moreover, CNN has spent a substantial amount of money to train Doordarshan technicians and staff at its Atlanta headquarters to sharpen their news gathering and presentation skills. As was pointed out, for Doordarshan, the helping hand from a professional outfit like CNN, was a big boast.⁴⁴

The DD-CNN pact, however, started with a controversy, when CNN in its inaugural news bulletin -- its maiden visual on India, featuring a programme on Indian economy had "cows walking on the streets of Bombay and blocking traffic."⁴⁵ Further, CNN aired a wrong map of India, in which "some parts of the Kashmir being shown as being in Pakistan, in the weather capsule of newscast."⁴⁶ It also caused CNN a few embarrassing moments on the inaugural day. This touched off a protest causing red remarks among the CNN top brass who had a difficult time defending what one official later admitted was "a clinched image of India."⁴⁷

While replying on the matter, R. Basu said that "DD has no editorial control over CNN news. It is CNN news and we have nothing to do with it." The CNN's Vice President, Peter Vesey, embarrassed by the unexpected controversy, said that "the cow visual was only a teaser and the actual programme that it sought to introduce was a positive story on Bombay and the Indian Economy. The teaser was only meant to attract viewers."

But later, Vesey admitted that it was "a wrong choice and a clinched image of India." In a statement he regretted that the ten second promotional headline "mistakenly did not take into account the sensitivities of some Indians."⁴⁸ He described all the reports as incorrect which alleged that

43. "Turner Int Ties with DD to Telecast CNN Network", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 1, 1995.

44. Ashish Mullick, "DD, CNN Join Hands...", op. cit.

45. "CNN launch starts with a Teaser", The Hindu (Madras), July 1, 1995.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. "CNN Admits Mistake in Showing Teaser", The Hindu (Madras), July 2, 1995.

the CNN's weather map showed Jammu and Kashmir a part of Pakistan. He said that "CNN's weather map, which provided by independent meteorological services, clearly show Indian controlled Jammu and Kashmir as being a part of India."⁴⁹ The CNN also released the transcript of the programme to prove that it was not biased.

CRITICISM OF DD-CNN TIE-UP

There is no harm in seeing news channels like BBB, CNN and learn about the world. But global events need to be interpreted to the Indian public from an Indian point of view. That is the challenge we are facing today because of invasion of foreign TV networks.

The Doordarshan's tie-up with CNN has therefore rightly been criticized by many political parties and media persons. Through this agreement government owned media is projecting world news from an American viewpoint. This is bound to influence the views and attitudes of the Indian public opinion at large, especially its elite sections which largely shape the country's foreign policy.

On the day of DD-CNN's channel's launch, I.K. Gujral, now Prime Minister of India, while criticizing the pact said, "total freedom can be counter-productive. In case of a conflict between the US and Iran, a CNN stand which is a variance with India's can create a crisis. This has not been taken into account."⁵⁰ Further he said, "It is unfortunate and highly objectionable that the government has chosen to act in a way that lacks transparency."⁵¹

The CPI(M) called for a review of Doordarshan's agreement with CNN. It raised its voice against the leasing of Indian transponder to a foreigner, and particularly to an American one. The Communist leaders said that the "news and analysis put out by the CNN will reflect the US worldview."⁵²

The BJP President, L.K. Advani also condemned the tie-up, called it "a sellout of the nation's interests." He said it was ironical that while Indian companies were subject to democratic censorship the "CNN would use Doordarshan to

49. Ibid.

50. I.K. Gujral, "Looking Beyond Weather Maps", Statement in Times of India (New Delhi), July 7, 1995.

51. I.K. Gujral, quoted in, "CNN Launch starts with a Teaser", The Hindu (Madras), July 1, 1995.

52. "CNN Admits Mistake...", op. cit.

telecast its views with impunity and without censorship."⁵³ Further he alleged that the Rao government "is out to sell the country to multinationals in the name of economic reforms."

Some other political leaders described it as unprecedented for a country to lease out a transponder to a foreign TV network, and alleged that "there was more to deal than met the eye." They wondered why the transponder was not offered to any Indian TV network, and why no tenders had been called before settling on CNN.

"One does not, however, expect CNN to indulge in anti-India propaganda; and they are even exercising some self censorship, as in China, though deriving advantage from India's domestic system."⁵⁴ The real issue is that the CNN is projecting world news from an essentially American viewpoint which Indians are absorbing sub-consciously. For instance, the search of Americans missing in action in Vietnam twenty two years ago, Saddam's Kurdish invasion, the NATO enlargement, the Japanese unfair trade practices, the wrong doings of Muslim fundamentalists and many more.

At present the telecast of DD-CNN channel is irregular. The two year pact has expired on June 30, 1997, yet both the parties have to renegotiate for future action. During the last two years channel showed a very ordinary performance often it remain off the air. The problem started when CNN got another transponder on PAS-4, beaming on South Asia. Overall DD-CNN pact has remained a low profile tie-up.

**CASE STUDY:
NEGOTIATING LIVE TELECAST RIGHTS: DD-WORLDTTEL DISPUTE**

In May 1994, Doordarshan negotiated the broadcasting rights to telecast the Wills World Cup. Then Doordarshan had everything going for it. It had exclusive rights for a live telecast of the biggest sporting event in India. And it had a full 21 months in which to prepare for the production of the telecast. As the Cup drew near, Doordarshan expected to generate "more than Rs.60 crore in advertising from the event though it had paid only Rs.16.6 crore for it."⁵⁵

53. L.K. Advani, quoted in, "CNN Admits...", The Hindu, July 2, 1995.

54. K. Subrahmanyam, "Facing the CNN and BBC Challenge", Times of India (New Delhi), July 5, 1995.

55. "World Tel Invite DD for Negotiations", Times of India (New Delhi), January 11, 1996.

World Tel -- a US based marketing company, from which Doordarshan had negotiated the broadcast rights, went back on its MOU with Doordarshan in November 1995, thus denied the national broadcaster exclusive telecast rights for the Wills World Cup. World Tel had bought exclusive worldwide television and radio rights from the organizing committee of the tournament -- Pakistan India Sri Lanka Organizing Committee (PILCOM), "in August 1993 for 10 million dollar, and signed an MOU with DD in 1994, confessing on it the exclusive telecast rights for 4.75 million dollar."⁵⁶

World Tel cancelled the deal on November 1, 1995 (a letter to this effect was issued from hotel Taj Bengal in Calcutta) on grounds that the third instalment of 14,25,000 dollar had not been paid within the stipulated time. Two days later, it sold the satellite and cable TV rights of tournament to STAR TV for 5 million dollar, .25 million dollar more than Doordarshan even excluding terrestrial rights. Surprisingly, no attempt was made to remind Doordarshan about the payment by telephone or fax from Calcutta. The haste with which World Tel cancelled its deal with Doordarshan and gave away the satellite and cable rights to STAR barely two days later was an example of professional approach in which Doordarshan cornered.

Rathikant Basu, then Director General of Doordarshan, in response alleged that "World Tel wanted to make extra money by depriving us of the satellite rights and selling them to STAR."⁵⁷ In reply, World Tel President Mark Marcarenhas, commented that "instead of accusing people of being greedy, DD should pay careful attention to keeping its contracts or risk being blown away."⁵⁸ The sequences leading to the cancellation of World Tel-Doordarshan deal were evident from the Ind Com -- a part of PILCOM, Covenor Secretary's request way back on July 21, 1995 for granting uplinking rights to World Tel, despite the fact that the company had an MOU with Doordarshan. A request that was repeated on October 20, 1995. Or, for the matter World Tel's reported insistence that "there was the scope for selling Pan-Asian rights",⁵⁹ even after doing deal with Doordarshan.

In December 1995, Doordarshan went to the Delhi High Court with an application to restrain World Tel from terminating

56. "Key Questions Dog World Cup Telecast Row", Times of India (New Delhi), January 15, 1996.

57. Amit Agarwal, "Embarrassing Verdict", India Today, January 31, 1996.

58. Ibid.

59. "Key Questions Dog World Cup Telecast Row", op. cit.

their deal and from selling the satellite right to STAR TV. The Court, on January 8, 1996, rejected Doordarshan's application, following which Doordarshan lost the telecast rights. Further, the court passed strictures on Doordarshan officials, observing that their conduct "had not been above board."⁶⁰

In its judgement, the Delhi High Court questioned the delay on Doordarshan's part to reply to World Tel's various letters "as two parties negotiated a formal contract to replace the original MOU."⁶¹ In its judgement the court upheld World Tel's contention that the third instalment of Doordarshan's payment to World Tel was not made in time. Further, the court also asked why Doordarshan kept pending a letter it received from STAR TV in October 1995, in which it offered to pay Doordarshan Rs.50 crore in return for sharing and marketing the coverage.

In response to these strictures Doordarshan officials said that "It takes time for things to move in government, and World Tel itself was in no hurry except in the last few weeks of the negotiations."⁶² Further they claimed that World Tel started negotiations for co-production with Doordarshan only in December 1994. On STAR's offer they commented that the STAR had signed up with World Tel before they could reject it."⁶³

Doordarshan, then appealed to Supreme Court in January 1996, to restrain World Tel from terminating their deal. An official of Doordarshan justified Doordarshan's stand, and said, "DD does not need to be told what to do when. The issue is not about terrestrial transmission, since this option is any way available to us. The issue is restoration of the satellite and cable rights that DD was granted, by virtue of its deal with World Tel. Which is why the matter will go to the Supreme Court."⁶⁴

Meanwhile, just two days after the Delhi High Court judgement, on January 10, 1996, Mark Mascarenhas urged Doordarshan to come forward and negotiate the purchase of terrestrial rights for the Wills World Cup. Terrestrial

60. "Court Rejected DD's Plea", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 9, 1996.

61. Ibid.

62. Amit Agarwal, "Embarrassing...", op. cit.

63. Ibid.

64. "World Tel Invite DD for Negotiation", Times of India (New Delhi), January 11, 1996.

rights, however, were of no use to any other network other than Doordarshan, since it alone was legally authorized to terrestrially transmit programme in India. The telecast of matches on STAR TV network also hinged on Doordarshan because under the 1885 Telegraph Act the national broadcaster alone can uplink signals from Indian soil. The only way STAR had to beam the matches, was to operate in tandem with Doordarshan.

On January 11, 1996, World Tel sent a fax message to I&B Secretary, Bhaskar Ghosh, from Bangalore. In it, again, World Tel urged Doordarshan to come forward and negotiate the purchase of terrestrial rights. This followed a press statement issued few days after, again from Bangalore, where it made a similar plea to Doordarshan in the interest of Cricket lovers in India. In its response I&B Ministry said that "since the matter is sub-judice, it cannot consider this request."⁶⁵

The sponsors of the Wills World Cup -- Coke and ITC, who had spent millions of rupees (till January 1996), on the assumption that the matches would be beamed to 50 million homes across the country on the national network, were bound to be unhappy, at the prospect of reaching out to less than a third homes of that figures through STAR TV. That was why they pressurized to all concerned parties, to ensure that the matches should be beamed on Doordarshan. The sponsors came up with warning that "otherwise they will review their sponsorship deals."⁶⁶

Finally, after several rounds of negotiations Doordarshan and World Tel along with STAR TV reached a face-saving, out-of-court settlement, under which Doordarshan beamed the matches terrestrially, and STAR TV through cable. In July 1997, Doordarshan "sought Rs.50 crore compensation from STAR TV in connection with the telecast dispute of Wills World Cup."⁶⁷ The Court, however, ruled out that the issue of damages and dues be settled by arbitration. The arbitrator in this case is N.K.P. Salve -- who earlier negotiated the final arrangements of Wills World Cup, under which DD beamed the matches terrestrially and STAR through cable.

In another case, World Tel also has taken Doordarshan to the court in May 1997, accused Doordarshan of "going back on a financial commitment, that the national broadcaster owes it

65. "Key Questions dog World Cup Telecast Row", op. cit.

66. "Coke, ITC Threaten to Back", Times of India, January 17, 1997.

67. "DD Seeks Rs.50 Crore damages from STAR Over '96 World Cup Dispute", Times of India, July 25, 1997.

Rs.1 crore.⁶⁸ The Delhi High Court in turn has issued a notice to the I&B Ministry. Doordarshan had taken the responsibility for securing total exemption from payment of the customs duty on equipment brought into India by World Tel for Challenger Cup Cricket Tournament held in March 1995.

In this regard, Doordarshan, through the I&B Ministry, had sought a complete exemption of the duty from the customs department, but the limit exempted was 85 per cent. As a result, Doordarshan accepted to cover the remaining 15 per cent. While this was the understanding, the national broadcaster failed to meet its commitment, and the World Tel forced to pay over Rs.83 lakhs in custom duties. Responding to the notice, Doordarshan said that "it was not responsible for any payment towards the custom duty and that it was not legally bound to make the payments to World Tel."⁶⁹

As shown by these cases the technological explosion in television has both great potential and danger. The outcome depends on crucial decisions and on where and by whom they are taken. Thus, it is a priority to organize the decision-making process in participatory manner on the basis of full awareness of the social impact of different alternatives.

68. "World Tel Accuses DD of Failing to pay Up Rs.1 Cr", Economic Times (New Delhi), May 30, 1997.

69. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

In the era of economic liberalization international politics has become truly international, and is characterized by a high degree of interaction and interdependence. Clearly, the international system is changing in innumerable ways. Of all the factors that make for the power of a nation, the most important, however unstable, is the quality of diplomacy. Propaganda is an important weapon in the armoury of diplomacy.

Certainly, the beaming of foreign TV networks in India is posing a challenge to Indian diplomacy, as it has to counter the negative projection of India, in which these networks are indulged, at the diplomatic level. The Babri Masjid Demolition and Charar-E-Sharif episodes, in which Indian national and security interests were undermined by the foreign TV networks, have proved their propaganda potential and anti-India stance.

In the era of globalization, in the context of international business negotiations, the role of diplomacy has changed because it is very difficult to negotiate adroitly with foreign TV networks. Practically, in this day of spy satellites government can't prohibit and regulate beaming of foreign TV networks. Further, without granting Uplink and DTH facilities it is impossible to make foreign TV networks to comply with the laws of the land. Moreover, the relationship between the right to freedom of airwaves and national interest has a decisive impact on the negotiations between the government and foreign TV networks.

The social impact of the foreign TV networks has been tremendous. It has set off a whole gamut of changes in the way Indian families conduct their lives and their leisure. While the negotiations between foreign TV networks and government of India have exercised much of our imagination and indignation -- the television business has been directly consolidating itself into something resembling an industry. There is no money -- at least at present -- in the satellite television. Despite the situation the foreign TV networks are willing to take these losses because they believe that India is the great market of the 21st century and it is important to get a foothold early enough. The entry of the big players, however, also begs the question: are they here simply because of the size of the Indian market or do they have other interests.

As a matter of fact, foreign TV networks want to control Indian broadcast media. They want to be allowed to operate without any restrictions. They don't want any restriction on the number of DTH platform, uplinking right, ground

distribution system. Moreover, they have opposed strict advertising and programming code, and any auctioning for DTH service. On the issue of foreign participation they have challenged government's stand to allow maximum 49 per cent of foreign equity. According to them, if they cede control of more than half of their channel to Indian partner, where will they find somebody who is willing to match the millions of dollars required to keep channel going.

Their primary interest is to earn profit, and for that they can go to any extent. As Star TV had scrapped the Nikki Bedi Show as the pressure mounted on it. In doing so, Star TV underlined that it was in India to do business, and that it would do whatever was needed to protect that business. This episode clearly demonstrated that how susceptible foreign networks are to local pressures. According to them there is no basic difference in allowing them as in allowing a MNC to open an automobile company here. Further, they warned that it will go against the government if it will try to control or block the free flow of information. In this context they are negotiating on the basis of Supreme Court's judgement on freedom of airwaves. Earlier, on this ground Doordarshan had lost two valuable deals with World Tel and Trans World International to telecast World Cup and Hero Cup Cricket Matches.

Multinational TV networks are pressurizing government to follow a liberal broadcast policy. If government of India continue to force more restrictions on them, they are hardly going to view India as a country opening its door for foreign investors. Foreign news and business channels are mounting pressure on government to be less restrict on them. In practice, however, these channels are posing real challenge for Indian diplomacy, because they are often indulged in anti-India propoganda, such as CNNI and BBC. These channels want to establish themselves as the only available source for genuine information. As a part of their strategy they want to penetrate in every house of the world, so they can't ignore a populous country like India. They can go to any extent to achieve their target.

At any cost foreign TV networks want maximum freedom and favour from government. Because of their huge network, money generating capacity, and credibility they often manage to pressurize government. The DD-CNN tie-up is a clear example of their potential, pressure tactics, and negotiating skills. When CNN was in need of a satellite for South Asian region, it successfully negotiated an agreement with Dordarshan and managed to get a better positioned satellite. But, as soon as, it got an American satellite for the South Asian region it shifted its platform from INSAT 2B to PAS-4. As a result the DD-CNNI channel is almost closed. Moreover, CNN is not negotiating this two year agreement for renewal, clearly getting benefit because of political instability in Delhi. Despite, government's repeated objection foreign TV

networks are indulged in anti-India projection and beaming such programmes which are against the Indian cultural values.

Clearly, the government's major thrust is on cultural invasion, and security-threat factors. The policy makers are making a law to open broadcasting to private Indian TV networks, while simultaneously trying to tame foreign TV networks. Moreover, its provisions will not apply to Doordarshan -- a public broadcaster. Political awareness and vested interests of some politicians led to the need of broadcasting regulations, particularly to control foreign TV networks. For instance, the proposed law provides for 49 per cent foreign equity, but the MPs who are debating the final shape of the Broadcasting Bill feel that it should be not more than 26 per cent. In present situation, however, India indeed need broadcasting regulations to cope with technological advancement, consumerism, political and cultural subversion, and above all to protect Indian players.

The government, now, in its effort to bring foreign TV networks under the ambit of Indian laws, has suggested to allow foreigners uplink facilities. At the same time its policy on DTH is still ambiguous. In fact the Indian government is itself in a confusing stand, because earlier it had taken a stand that granting of uplink and DTH facilities will go against national interest.

Practically, government cannot bring foreign TV networks under its programming code, however, in theoretical terms by allowing Uplink and DTH facilities it can control the programming on foreign TV channels. Interestingly, government has made a clever move by proposing licenses to foreign TV networks for uplinking and DTH, because licenses can always be cancelled for not adhering to regulations. Moreover, by proposing license system government has planned to increase its source of income. Further, by licensing cable television government can control the programming, of those TV networks who do not want to uplink from India, via the cable operator or through the licensing mechanism which provides for cancellation of licenses in case of programming offenses.

Foreign TV networks are negotiating with the government to liberalize foreign equity restrictions which are proposed in the draft bill. If foreign channels such as NBC, STAR Plus, TNT and Cartoon networks, MTV, Discovery decide not to restructure their shareholding according to proposed Broadcasting Bill, Indian viewers will not have access to them. Interestingly the proposed bill, attempting to tame the foreign TV networks, exempts free to air channels and channels devoted to exclusively to news and current affairs or to sports from licensing. It means it will not touch world's two most powerful channels like CNN-International and BBC-World. The government has exempted these channels

from licensing requirement on the basis of Supreme Court's judgement of February 1995, and in tune with its commitment to promote a free flow of information and ideas all over the world.

In doing so government has forgotten that without licensing the regulatory authorities will have no control whatever on the content of these channels. In almost all countries, however, basic control over content is exercised, at least in matters of national interest. If it allowed, these foreign channels, openly with consent of the government, will project negative image of India in International affairs. Definitely it will be a great challenge for Indian diplomacy to counter the propaganda politics of these foreign TV networks.

Doordarshan -- the government owned broadcaster, can play an important role in the globalization process, based on its ability to affect numerous aspect of the international competitive environment. In some instances, government action may result in the opening of the television market by allowing more competition and less regulation. In other instances, government action may have the effect of closing markets, through domestic content or work requirements, regulations, foreign ownership regulations.

There is no need to change policies that seek to promote local availability of broadcasting service because television broadcasting continue to be the most pervasive source of local news and information. Government should explicitly recognize the numerous worldwide changes affecting the globalization process when designing its regulatory and economic policies for its television industry. Finally, the government will play a growing role in orienting, controlling, organizing and dispersing broadcasting activities.

No bill could have been negotiated more thoroughly than the proposed Broadcasting Bill. Foreign TV networks have a vested interest in its provisions. Despite the changes in the governments, despite the round of negotiations, nothing concrete has been accomplished since the draft of Broadcasting Bill was produced. But one thing is clear, as long as politicians have vested interests in controlling foreign TV networks, nothing concrete can be negotiated. It hardly matters that which party or which front is in power.

What distinguishes the current debate about controlling foreign TV networks is that two sides continue to be so far apart. It seems to be less a question of what to negotiate, than of whether to negotiate anything at all. Instead of negotiations between the government and foreign TV network there is polarization. On the one hand the "Boosters", for whom all foreign TV networks represents progress and who see any attempt to control free flow of information as a violation of the right to freedom of airwaves. On the other

hand, are the "obstructionists", for whom any foreign TV network is a threat, and for whom controlling them means gradually reducing their impact. While the booster reflect the pro-liberalization optimism about the globalization of television, the obstructionist represents a more recent and more novel view whose origin is "Swadeshi".

Today there is a powerful impact of the globalization of television, and India itself witnessing invasion of foreign TV networks. There can be no doubt that the globalization of television will succeed and change the face of India. How far this will affect what might be called the basic individuality and uniqueness of India is a question which the future alone can answer.

Finally, the invasion of foreign TV networks has both great potential and great danger. The outcome of negotiations depend on crucial decisions and on where and by whom they are taken. Thus, it is a priority to organize negotiations, bargaining, and decision making process in a participatory manner on the basis of a full awareness of the security, political, economic and social impact of different alternatives. It is very doubtful that Indian diplomacy can deal adroitly with the threat posed by foreign TV networks, because in international politics India is neither powerful enough to bully, rich enough to bribe nor principled enough to inspire.

GLOSSARY

- Carriage fee** - What channels have to pay cable operators to ensure they are on the Prime Band.
- Co-axial cable** - This is a combination of wires within a shield which makes possible transmission of more signals for much greater distances than would be possible with ordinary wire.
- Cross-ownership** - When print media allowed to expand into electronic media and vice-versa.
- DBS** - This service uses more powerful transponders than conventional satellites to transmit signals directly to inexpensive home receivers without the aid of a community or ground transmitter.
- Direct-To-Home** - It is a delivery system that will enable viewers to access television signals directly on a Ku-band (instead of the C-band that cable operators presently receive). Basically what this means is that Ku band which is an enhanced signal can be received by a small dish, the size of a pizza.
- Domestic content** - Domestic content or work requirement mandate that if a cultural product such as a film is to be shown in a country, a certain percentage of the creative and production effort that went into making it must have been conducted in that country such requirement seek to ensure that the local industry receives a portion of the economic interest or reward from the final work.
- Encrypted channel** - A channel where the signal is scrambled. To receive a clear picture one need to purchase a decoder. As these are expensive, it is the cable operators who buy them and supply these channels for a monthly fee. Examples are, Star Movies, ESPN and Zee Cinema.
- Fiber Optic** - These cables transmit video signals by short bursts of light through glass filaments. Fiber optic transmission facilities can offer much greater information-carrying capacity than other delivery systems.
- Footprint** - The area covered by a satellite beam. If a satellite's beam reaches all of Asia then that is its footprint.

Foreign Exchange Remittance Restrictions - They influence whether a foreign TV network will produce or exhibit in a country. These regulations can prevent the foreign network from taking profit out of the country.

Foreign Ownership Regulations - These are aimed at limiting foreign holding in assets deemed important for national security, such as broadcasting and preserving local culture.

Free to Air - Cable operators are free to pick up the signal of a channel and show it to their subscribers at no extra cost to them. The channel that does not feature any advertising.

ISDN - The software for fiber optic cables that can carry video.

MMDS - Commonly referred to as "wireless cable", MMDS systems use microwave frequencies to deliver video signals to roof-top antennas located on homes or multihousehold dwellings such as apartment buildings. MMDS systems typically provide less diverse and fewer programming choice than cable systems, but greater diversity and more programming than available over-the-air from broadcast stations.

Prime Band - In India, most television sets can receive a maximum of 8 to 12 channels. At present more than 50 channels were fighting with each other to be aired on prime time. But naturally, the fight is to get on to one of these 8 to 12 channels on prime time which are referred to in the trade as the Prime Band.

Screen Quotas - It mandates that a percentage of films exhibited in a country must be of local origin.

Set Top Convertors - This little box enhances the number of channels a television set can receive to a maximum of 99.

Set Top Convertors (Addressable) - It will not only enhance the number of channels, but will enable two-way communication.

Terrestrial Broadcasting - A signal sent out from a transmitter as distinct from a satellite signal. To receive signals there is no need of dish, an antenna will do.

Transponder - The part of a satellite that beams a signal. A typical satellite may have eight transponders which beam eight channels. Digital technology could make it possible to beam four to six channels from one transponder.

Uplink - From the place of event television camera beamed up live signal to the satellite hovering somewhere in the space. Once the signal is sent up, it is then beamed down to the channel's headquarter or earth-station. From there it is sent up again to the corresponding satellites and then beamed into homes or to the cable operator.

VSAT - It refers to small earth receivers, usually with antenna diameter below 2.5 m, which can be installed at a user's premise to receive satellite-distributed programming.

APPENDIX-A

MAJOR FOREIGN TV NETWORKS OPERATING IN INDIA

TV Network	Channel
ABNI (India) Pvt. Ltd.	ABNi
British Broadcasting Corporation	BBC-World
Discovery Communications Inc.	Discovery India
Entertainment and Sports Programming Network	ESPN
MTV (India) Pvt. Ltd.	MTV
National Broadcasting Corporation	NBC, CNBC
Sony Entertainment (India) Pvt. Ltd.	Sony Entertainment TV
Star TV Network	Star Plus, Star Sports, Channel [V], Star Movies
Turner International (India) Pvt. Ltd.	CNNI, TNT & Cartoon Network

Source: Directory of Indian Television Industry, 1996.

APPENDIX-B

KEY CHANNELS OF DOORDARSHAN

Channel	Service	Satellite	Region	Programming
DD1	National	INSAT1D,2C	All India	EDU, ENT, INF
DD2	Metro	INSAT 2C	All India	EDU, ENT, INF
DD3	Infotainment	INSAT 2C	All India	ENT, INF
DD4	Malayalam	INSAT 2C	Kerala	EDU, ENT, INF
DD5	Tamil	INSAT 2C	Tamil Nadu	EDU, ENT, INF
DD6	Oriya	INSAT 2B	Orissa	EDU, ENT, INF
DD7	Bengali	INSAT 2C	West Bengal	EDU, ENT, INF
DD8	Telugu	INSAT 2C	A.P.	EDU, ENT, INF
DD9	Kannada	INSAT 2C	Karnataka	EDU, ENT, INF
DD10	Marathi	INSAT 2B	Maharashtra	EDU, ENT, INF
DD11	Gujarati	INSAT 2B	Gujarat	EDU, ENT, INF
DD12	Kashmiri	INSAT 2C	J&K	EDU, ENT, INF
DD13	Assamese	INSAT 2B	Assam	EDU, ENT, INF
DD14	Hindi	INSAT 2C	Rajasthan	EDU, ENT, INF
DD15	Hindi	INSAT 2C	M.P.	EDU, ENT, INF
DD16	Hindi	INSAT 1D	U.P.	EDU, ENT, INF
DD17	Hindi	INSAT 2B	Bihar	EDU, ENT, INF
DD-CNNI	English	INSAT 2B	International	NEWS&CA
DD-INDIA	Indian Lang.	PAS 4	International	EDU, ENT, INF

A.P. - Andhra Pradesh

U.P. - Uttar Pradesh

EDU - Education

ENT - Entertainment

M.P. - Madhya Pradesh

J&K - Jammu and Kashmir

INF - Information

CA - Current Affairs

Source: Directory of Indian Television Industry, 1996.

APPENDIX-C

SUMMARY OF SATELLITE LOOKING INTO INDIA

Satellite	Country of Origin	Launch Date	Design Lifetime	Occupants Channel	Channel Type
Asia Sat1	Hongkong	April 7, 1990	9 yrs	Star Plus	FTA
				Star Sports	FTA
				Star Movies	EC
				Channel V	FTA
				Zee TV	FTA
				EL TV	FTA
				Zee Cinema	EC
Asia Sat2	Hongkong	November 28, 1995	15 yrs	Deutsche Welle TV	DC
				TV5	DC
				MCM	DC
				RTE International	DC
				WRN	DC
				NBC	DC
				CNBC	DC
Gorizont 42	CIS	May 20, 1994	3 to 5 yrs	Raj TV	FTA
				Vijay TV	FTA
				Music Asia	FTA
Intelsat 703	Inter-national	October 6, 1994	10-15 yrs	Sun Music	FTA
				Gemini TV	FTA
				Sun Movies	FTA
				Sun TV	FTA
				Asianet	FTA
				NEPC TV	FTA
				TVI	FTA
Udaya TV	FTA				
Intelsat 704	Inter-national	January 10, 1995	10-15 yrs	YES Channel	FTA
				Eenadu TV	FTA
Insat 1D	India	June 12, 1990	7 yrs	DD1	FTA
				DD16	FTA

Insat 2B	India	June 22, 1993	7 yrs	DD6	FTA
				DD10	FTA
				DD11	FTA
				DD13	FTA
				DD17	FTA
				DD-CNNI	FTA
Insat 2A	India	July 9, 1992	7 yrs	N.A.	N.A.
Insat 2C	India	December 6, 1995	10 yrs	DD1	FTA
				DD2	FTA
				DD3	FTA
				DD4	FTA
				DD5	FTA
				DD7	FTA
				DD8	FTA
				DD9	FTA
				DD12	FTA
				DD14	FTA
				DD15	FTA
				PAS 4	USA
Discovery	FTA				
ESPN	EC				
Sony	FTA				
DD-India	FTA				
CNN-International	FTA				
TNT & CN	FTA				
ATN	FTA				
BBC-World	FTA				
MTV Asia	FTA				

FTA - Free to Air, EC - Encrypted Channel, DC - Digital Compression

Source: Directory of Indian Television Industry, 1996.

APPENDIX-D

SATELLITE TV CHANNELS IN INDIA

Channel	Satellite	Transponder	Uplink	Service	Main Language	Present Start	Financial Situation
Zee TV	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	GE	Hindi	1992	Profit
EL TV	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	GE	Hindi	1994	Loss
Zee Cinema	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	Indian Movie	Hindi	1995	Loss
Music Asia	Gorizont 42	C-Band	Singapore	Music	Hindi	1996	Loss
ATN	PAS-4	C-Band	Singapore	Music & GE	Hindi	1995	Loss
NEPC TV	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Hindi	1995	Loss
TVI	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Hindi	1995	Loss
Sony TV	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Hindi	1995	Loss
Home TV	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Hindi	1996	Loss
YES Channel	Intelsat 704	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Hindi	1995	Loss
Star Plus	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	Mixed	English	1992	Loss
Star Sports	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	Sports	English	1996	Loss
Channel V	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	Music	English	1994	Profit
Star Movies	Asia Sat1	C-Band	Hongkong	Movie	English	1994	Loss
MTV Asia	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	Music	English	1996	Loss
TNT&CN	PAS 4	C-Band	Hongkong	Speciality	English	1995	Loss
CNNI	PAS 4	C-Band	Hongkong	News & CA	English	1995	Loss
ABNi	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	Business News	English	1996	Loss
NBC	Asia Sat2	C-Band	Singapore	GE	English	1996	Loss
CNBC	Asia Sat2	C-Band	Singapore	Business News, LS	English	1996	Loss
Discovery	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	Documentary	English	1995	Loss
BBC	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	News & CA	English	1996	Loss
ESPN	PAS 4	C-Band	Singapore	Sports	English	1995	Loss
DD-CNNI	Insat 2B	C-Band	India	News & CA	English	1995	Loss
Sun TV	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Tamil	1994	Profit
Sun Music	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	Music	Tamil	1994	Loss
Sun Movies	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	Music	Tamil	1994	Loss
Vijay TV	Gorizont 42	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Tamil	1995	Loss
Raj TV	Gorizont 42	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Tamil	1994	Loss
Asianet	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Malayalam	1994	Loss
Eenadu TV	Intelsat 704	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Telugu	1995	Loss
Gemini TV	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Telugu	1995	Loss
Udaya TV	Intelsat 703	C-Band	Singapore	GE	Kannada	1994	Loss

CA - Current Affairs, LS - Lifestyle, GE - General Entertainment

Source: Directory of Indian Television Industry, 1996.

APPENDIX-E

THE 30 MEMBER JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE
ON THE BROADCASTING BILL, 1997

Party	Member
Congress (I)	: Sharad Pawar (Chairman) K.P. Singh Deo Ajit Kumar Mehta Sriballav Panigrahi K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy Nawal Kishore Sharma C. Narayan Swamy Ahmed Patel Janardan Poojary K.K. Birla
BJP	: Nitish Bhardwaj Amit Lal Bharti Kashi Ram Rana K.L. Sharma Jaswant Singh Sushma Swaraj K.R. Malkani Mahesh Chandra Sharma
DMK	: G. Swaminathan P.N. Siva
Janta Dal	: Mohammad Salim Wasim Ahmed
Samajwadi Party	: Jung Bahadur Patel Raj Babbar
CPI	: Guru Das Gupta
CPI (M)	: Rupchand Pal
MGP	: Ramakant Khalap
Shiv Sena	: Suresh Prabhu
TDP	: K. Subbarayudu
TMC	: P.V. Rajendran

APPENDIX-F

PRASAR BHARATI BOARD, 1997

Member	Duration
Nikhil Chakravarty (Chairman)	All the appointees will hold the office for six years from the date they assumes charge
S.S. Gill (CEO)	
B.G. Verghese (PTM)	
Abid Hussain (PTM)	
Prof. U.R. Rao (PTM)	
Romila Thapar (PTM)	
Rajendra Yadav (PTM)	
A. Padmanabham (PTM)	

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

PTM - Part Time Member

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES:

UN Documents:

UNGA Publications

United Nations General Assembly Official Records: Resolution on Principle Governing the Use By States of Artificial Earth Satellite for International Direct Television Broadcating, 37th Session, December 10, 1982.

UNESCO Publications

Broadcasting Without Barriers, Coddling (Jr.) George A. (Paris, 1959).

Communication in Space Age: The Use of Satellite by the Mass Media (Paris, 1968)..

Many Voices One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order, Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (Sean Mac Bride Report), Paris, 1980.

Planning for Satellite Broadcating: The Indian Instructional Television Experiment, Karnik, Kiran and Chander, Romesh, (Paris, 1976).

W.T.O. Documents:

The Decision on Negotiations on Basic Telecommunication, Uruguay Round (Geneva, Switzerland), April 1995.

Government Documets:

Parliamentary Debates:

Lok Sabha (9th, 10th, 11th), Debates, 1989-97.

Rajya Sabha, Debates, 1989-97.

Parliamentary Select Committee on Broadcasting Policy.

Acts:

Cable TV Networks (Regulation) Act, 1995, GOI, New Delhi.

Cinematograph Censorship Act, 1952, GOI, New Delhi.

Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, GOI, New Delhi.

Indian Tariff (Wireless Broadcasting) Act, 1932, GOI, New Delhi.

Indian Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1933, GOI, New Delhi.

Indian Cinematograph (Amendment) Act, 1984, GOI, New Delhi.

Prasar Bharati, 1990, GOI, New Delhi.

Study on Agenda-setting Role of Television, Balagopal, S., Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, GOI, New Delhi, 1992.

Mass Media and Cross Cultural Communication: A Study of Television in India, Joshi, S.R. and Trivedi, Bela, Development and Educational Communication Unit, ISRO, Ahmedabad, May 1994.

Radio and Television, Report of the Committee on Broadcasting and Information Media (A.K. Chanda Committee), Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, GOI, New Delhi, April 1966.

Akash Bharti: National Broadcast Trust, Report of the Working Group on Autonomy for Akashwani and Doordarshan (B.G. Verghese Committee), Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, February 1978.

An Indian Personality for Television, Report of the Working Group on Software for Doordarshan (P.C. Joshi Committee), Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, April 1984.

Report on Offering Broadcasting Rights to Public Corporations, (K.A. Vardan Committee), Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, 1991.

Committee Report, (Nitish, Sengupta), Ministry of I&B, GOI, New Delhi, 1996.

Supreme Court's Judgement on Union of India vs Cricket Association of Bengal Case, February 9, 1995.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Globalization of the Mass Media (Washington D.C.: NTIA, January 1993).

Directory of Indian Television Industry: 1996 (New Delhi: Cable Waves, 1997).

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Books:

Aggarwal, S.K., Media and Ethics (New Delhi: Shipra, 1993).

Bagdikian, Ben H., The Media Monopoly (5th edn) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).

Bhargava, G.S. (eds.), Government Media Autonomy and After (New Delhi: Institute of Social Science, 1991).

Blumler, Jay G. (ed.), Television and the Public Interest (London: Sage, 1992).

Blumer, Jay G. and McQuall, Dems, Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influences (London: Faber & Faber, 1968).

Briggs, Asa, Birth of Broadcasting (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Centre for Media Studies, Reforms in the Media Scene: Emerging Challenges and Opportunities for DTH (Delhi: CMS, 1997).

Chatterji, P.C., Broadcasting in India (New Delhi: Sage, 1987).

Chayes, Abram, Satellite Broadcasting (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Deodhar, P.S., The 3rd Parent: Growth and Development of Indian Electronic Media (New Delhi: Vikas, 1992).

Diamond Edvin and Bates, Stephen, The Spot! The Rise of Political Advertising (Cambridge: MIT, 1984).

Franklin, Bob, Televising Democracies (London: Routledge, 1992).

French David & Richard, Michael (eds.), Contemporary Television: Eastern Perspective (New Delhi: Sage, 1996).

Gillespie, Marie, Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change (London: Routledge, 1995).

- Graber, Doris A. (eds.), Media Power in Politics (2nd Edn) (New Delhi: MacMillan, 1990).
- Hamelink, C.J., Cultural Autonomy in Global Communication (New York: Longman, 1983).
- Hollins, Timothy, Beyond Broadcasting: Into the Cable Age (London: bfi, 1984).
- Iyengar, Shanto, Is Any One Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, The Media and Politics (New Delhi: Sage, 1996).
- Joseph, M.K., Modern Media and Communication (3 Vols.) (New Delhi: Anmol, 1996).
- Keeley, Joseph, The Left Leaning Antenna: Political Bias in Television (New York: Arlington House, 1971).
- Livingstone, Sonia and Lunt, Peter, Talk on Television: Audience Participation and Public Debate (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Livingstone, Sonia M., Making Sense of Television (Frankfurt, Pergamon Press, 1990).
- Luthra, H.R., Indian Broadcasting (New Delhi: Publication Division, I&B, 1986).
- MacDonald, Fred J., Television and the Red Menace! The Video Road to Vietnam (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985).
- Manekar, D.R., Whose Freedom Whose Order: A Plea for a New International Information Order by Third World (Delhi: Clarion, 1981).
- Meyer, William H., Transnational Media and Third World Development: The Structure and Impact of Imperialism (New York: Greenwood, 1988).
- Mickelson, Sig, Electronic Mirror: Politics in an Age of Television (New York: Mead, 1972).
- Negrine, Ralph (ed.), Cable Television: and the future of Broadcasting (New York: St. Martin, 1985).
- _____ (ed.), Satellite Broadcasting: The Politics and Implications of the New Media (London: Routledge, 1988).

- Ninan, Sevanti, Through the Magic Window: Television and Change in India (New Delhi: Penguin, 1995).
- Quester, Georgeh, The International Politics of Television (Toronto: Lexington, 1990).
- Raymond, Williams, Television: Technology and Cultural Form (Wesleyan University Press, 1992).
- Rybczynski, Witold, Taming the Tiger: The Struggle to Control Technology (New York: Penguin, 1985).
- Saksena, Gopal, Television in India: Changes and Challenges (New Delhi: Vikas, 1996).
- Sauvant, Karl P., International Transactions in Services: The Politics of Transborder Data Flows (Boulder: Westview, 1986).
- Schudson, Michael, The Power of News (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Serfaty, Simon (ed.), The Media and Foreign Policy (New York: St. Martin, 1990).
- Singhal, Arvind and Rogers, Everett M., India's Information Revolution (New Delhi: Sage, 1989).
- Taishoff, Marika Natasha, State Responsibility and the Direct Broadcast Satellite (New York: Frances Pinter, 1987).
- Thomas, T.K. (ed.), Autonomy: For the Electronic Media: A National Debate on the Prasar Bharti Bill, 1989 (New Delhi: Konark, 1990).
- Tyson, James L., U.S. International Broadcasting and National Security (New York: Ramapo, 1983).
- Unnikrishnan, Namita and Bajpai, Shailaja, The Impact of Television Advertising on Children (New Delhi: Sage, 1996).
- Verna, Tony, Live TV (Boston: Focal, 1983).
- Whannel, Garry, Fields in Vision: Television Sport and Cultural Transformation (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Warner, Charles and Buchman, Joseph, Broadcast and Cable Selling (California: Wadsworth, 1993).

Articles in Journals/Periodicals:

- Abrams, Burton A., "Broadcasting and Political Campaign", Journal of Broadcasting, Spring 1997, 21(2).
- "ABU Comes of Age", Asian Broadcasting, December 1989-January 1990.
- Agarwal, Amit, "A New High", India Today, July 31, 1994.
- _____, "An Awful Lot of Hoping", India Today, June 15, 1996.
- _____, "Embarrassing Verdict", India Today, January 15, 1996.
- _____, "From Rice to Riches", India Today, August 15, 1994.
- _____, "Star Wars", India Today, November 30, 1996.
- _____, "Ruling the Air Waves", Sunday, August 3-9, 1997.
- _____, "Broadcasting Bill: Laying Down Draconian Laws", India Today, February 28, 1997.
- _____, "DD-CNN Tie-Up: Together on the Air", India Today, June 30, 1995.
- _____, "BBC: When Beeb Blunders", India Today, July 15, 1995.
- Agarwal, Amit and Chandra, Anupama, "Taming of the Show", India Today, May 31, 1995.
- Agarwal, Amit and Mukhopadhyay, Paromita, "Doordarshan Rules OK?", Sunday, July 6-12, 1997.
- Bansal, Suchi, "The Empire Strikes Back - or Tries To", Business World, April 21-May 4, 1993.
- Bhandare, Namita, "Star vs Zee", Sunday, December 29, 1996 to January 4, 1997.
- Bhandare, Namita and Joshi, Namrata, "Prasar Bharati: Too Little To Late", India Today, August 4, 1997.
- Bhandare, Namita and Mukhopadhyay, Paromita, "TV Wars", Sunday, July 14-20, 1996.
- Butalia, Urvashi and Chakravarti, Uma, "Censorship and Free Expression: Balancing the Extremes", Voices, Vol.IV, No.2, 1996.

- Chakravarty, Nikhil, "Keep Out Freebooters", Outlook, July 17, 1997.
- Chatterjee, Saibal, "Heavy Weight Measures: Panic Grips the Nascent Broadcasting Industry", Outlook, June 18, 1997.
- _____, "The Star Raider", Outlook, July 17, 1997.
- Chowdhary, T.H., "Cable TV! Role and Regulatory Issues", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 4, July 1996.
- Dasgupta, Surjeet and Junankar, Prachi, "The TV Revolution", Business World, September 23 to October 6, 1992.
- Dasgupta, Surjeet, "New Stars", Business World, April 22-May 5, 1992.
- "DTH - The Green Light is on", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 10, January 1997.
- Ghose, Bhaskar, "Television and Regulatory Policy Responses", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 4, July 1996.
- Goswami, Anupam, "Message For the Media: The Rules of the Media Game Are Changing", Business India, March 26-April 6, 1997.
- Gupta, Shibani Das, "Broadcasting Bill: Change a Mirage", Public Opinion, Vol.XLIII, No.8, May 1997.
- "I am an Opportunist", Rupert Murdoch's Interview in India Today, February 29, 1994.
- "Is BITV on the Brink of Bankruptcy?", Business Today, April 7-21, 1997.
- "I Sky B: Direct to Nowhere", Cable Waves, Vol.3.06, March 16-21, 1997.
- "Is Sky the Limit? Murdoch's Global Ventures", Cable Quest, Vol.4, Issue 2, May 1995.
- "Issue of Obscenity: Channels are in the Dock", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 7, October 1996.
- Jain, Madhu, "Prasar Bharti Bill: Ambiguous Autonomy", India Today, September 30, 1990.
- Jenkinson, David, "Asia Rising", TV World, December 1992.
- Jesudasan, Tony, "Media as Commerce", Seminar (458), October 1997.

- Joseph, Ammu, "Electronic Democracy: An Indian Perspective", Media Asia, Vol.23, No.2, 1996.
- Lal, Neeta and Basu, Shrabani, "Chechan-E-Sharif", Sunday, June 25-July 1, 1995.
- Lall, Bhuvan, "Indian Mystique", TV World, April 1997.
- "Looking Forward to 1998: The State of the Industry, From the Broadcaster", Cable Waves, Vol.318, September 16-30, 1997.
- Madr, Milan, "Broadcasting: Television as a Battlefield", Democratic Journalist, June 1990.
- Malik, Amita, "As Doordarshan Approaches Doomsday", Seminar (389), January 1992.
- Mukasa, Standford Gavikayi, "The Epistemology of the New World Information and Communication Order", Indian Journal of Communication, Vol.II, No.243, April-August 1987.
- Mukhopadhyay, Paromita, "Far from Home", Sunday, July 27-August 2, 1997.
- Nadkarni, Shirsh, "India - Opting for a Single Peoplemeter", Asia-Pacific Broadcasting, Vol.13, Issue 6, June 1996.
- _____, "Indian Broadcast Industry Urges future liberalization", Asia-Pacific Broadcasting, Vol.14, Issue 1, January 1997.
- Nagarajan, Usha, "Boom Time on the Boob Tube", Business World, July 27 to August 9, 1994.
- Narasimhan, Sakuntala, "Consuming Pornography: A Question of Individual Rights", Voices, Vol.IV, No.2, 1996.
- Natanagara, Safwan, "Impact of Satellite Broadcasting on Media Environment", Media Asia, Vol.22, No.3, 1995.
- Ninan, Sevanti, "Negotiating the Satellite Super Highways: Technology and Censorship", Voices, Vol.IV, No.2, 1996.
- _____, "Plodding on", Seminar (390), February 1992.
- "One Law to Rule Them All", Cable Waves, Vol.3.03, February 1-15, 1997.

- Padgaonkar, Dileep, "Media at the Cross Roads", Seminar (365), January 1990.
- "Prasar Bharati in Focus! Sen Gupta Committee Report", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 7, October 1996.
- Rao, N. Bhaskara, "The Wave of the Next Generation", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 10, January 1997.
- Sahgal, Priya, "Tele Blues", Sunday, February 23-March 1, 1997.
- Sanjay, B.P., "Freedom of Expression: The Challenge of Technology", Voices, Vol.IV, No.2, 1996.
- Sharma, Roop, "Are we Serious About Regulations", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 4, July 1996.
- _____, "Multichannel TV in India", Cable Quest, Vol.2, Issue 8, November 1995.
- Singh, Malvika, "TV Tales", Seminar (458), October 1997.
- Singh, Tavleen, "Shooting Down DTH: Does the Government have nothing better to do than ban Technology?", India Today, August 4, 1997.
- "Symbolic Spaces: A Symposium on Media, test and Design", Seminar (453), March 1997.
- Thapa, Vijay, "TV News: Sound Bite Soldiers", India Today, May 15, 1997.
- The Basis of the Broadcasting Bill", Cable Waves, Vol.310, March 16-31, 1997.
- "Too Many Birds in the Sky", Cable Waves, Vol.3.04, February 16-28, 1997.
- "Twenty-four Hours Channels: Wooing the Asian Audience", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 4, July 1996.
- "Uplinking by Private Parties: Murdoch Takes the Initiative", Cable Quest, Vol.3, Issue 4, July 1996.
- Verma, Sanjeev, "Sending the Wrong Signals: The Bill Imperils the Future of Media Companies", Business India, June 2-15, 1997.
- Wanvasi, Anil, "The Idiot Box Byers", Business World, January 26 to February 8, 1994.

"We Must Ensure a Level Playing Field", Jaipal Reddy's Interview in Cable Waves, Vol.3.10, New Delhi, May 16-31, 1997.

Articles in Newspapers:

Anand, Mulk Raj, "Many Obstacles to Free Media", Times of India (New Delhi), January 10, 1990.

Chadha, Kumkum, "Prasar Bharati: The Morning after", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 27, 1997.

_____, "Charge of the Board Brigade", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), December 7, 1997.

Chatterji, P.C., "Electronic Media: Autonomy only first step", Times of India (New Delhi), January 1, 1990.

Dua, Vinod, "Autonomy to me Means a Total Removal of Bureaucratic Bottlenecks", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 7, 1990.

"Free Airwaves This Year", Jaipal Reddy's Interview in Economic Times (New Delhi), May 6, 1997.

"Freedom in the AIR at Last", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 23, 1997.

Ganguli, Amulya, "Sorry for Interruption", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), July 21, 1997.

Gopal, Madan, "Scooping the World", The Pioneer (New Delhi), July 22, 1997.

Guruswamy, Moha, "Liberating the Air Waves", Indian Post, January 8, 1990.

"India to be More lively for Foreign Broadcasters", Economic Times (New Delhi), February 11, 1995.

Iyer, Ramaswamy R., "Prasar Bharti: Will it Work" - I & II, Indian Express (New Delhi), November 27, 28, 1990.

"It is an Article of Faith", Jaipal Reddy's Interview in Hindustan Times (New Delhi), November 9, 1997.

Karnik, Kiran, "Agenda for Autonomy", Indian Post, December 27, 1989.

- Khapre, Shubhangi, "DD, AIR May Continue to be Puppet in Government's Hand", The Pioneer (New Delhi), July 24, 1997.
- Khare, Harish, "Beyond Mr. Murdoch's Temptations", The Hindu (New Delhi), September 10, 1997.
- Mullick, Ashish, "Broadcast Policy: Facts and Fiction about Cross Media Ownership", Times of India (New Delhi), May 5, 1997.
- _____, "Broadcast Policy: Beware of the Licence Raj", Times of India (New Delhi), May 7, 1997.
- _____, "Broadcast Policy: Give Indian Players first Chance to Uplink", Times of India (New Delhi), May 8, 1997.
- _____, "New Players join Satellite Race", Times of India (New Delhi), February 12, 1995.
- Ninan, Sevanti, "Star Bashing By the Star Struck", Indian Express (New Delhi), September 5, 1997.
- _____, "The Airwaves Belongs to US", The Hindu (New Delhi), November 16, 1997
- Nooravi, A.G., "Freedom in the Air: New Bill does not go for enough", The Statesman (New Delhi), January 12, 1990.
- "Prasar Bharati to Ensure Probity, Integrity", The Hindu (New Delhi), November 25, 1997.
- Rai, Usha, "Could We Have the Bill, do you think?" Hindustan Times (New Delhi), June 20, 1997.
- Rangnekar, Sharif D., "Ban on DTH can Infringe Fundamental Rights", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 18, 1997.
- _____, "DTH Ban to Give Indians a Fair Chance", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 15, 1997.
- _____, "India Refuses to Truckle to US on Broadcasting", Economic Times (New Delhi), June 22, 1997.
- _____, "Its Free Airwaves, Forget Broadcating Policy for Now", Economic Times (New Delhi), July 25, 1997.
- _____, "No Limit on Number of Players in Satellite TV", Economic Times (New Delhi), May 11, 1997.

- , "Zee Planning to Strike Down Star in JPC Deposition", Economic Times (New Delhi), September 8, 1997.
- Rao, Dr. N. Bhaskara, "No More Cable Guy?", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), October 10, 1997.
- Rao, Padmanabha, "Independent Authority on Telecast", The Hindu (Madras), February 10, 1995.
- Sahay, S., "Prasar Bharati Bill: A Bill with Many Pitfalls", Telegraph, January 9, 1990.
- Sawant, Justice P.B., "Imports We Can Do Without", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), November 16, 1997.
- Sharma, Ramesh, "Marauder in the Market/From State Monopoly to Murdoch's", Indian Express (New Delhi), September 2 and 3, 1997.
- Sud, K.K., "Need for All Party Support", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 20, 1990.
- Suroor, Hasan, "Prasar Bharati Act may get a Reprive", The Hindu (Madras) February 12, 1995.
- Thapar, Karan, "Correcting Lapses in Autonomy", Times of India (New Delhi), January 10, 1990.
- , "Unshackling Doordarshan", Indian Express (New Delhi), December 11, 1989.
- "The Broadcast Medium is linked to Democracy", Reed Hundt, Chairman FCC, interview in Economic Times (New Delhi), July 1, 1997.
- Verma, S., "Gatecrashing the Skies", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 27, 1997.
- "Would You Invite Caters to Your Party", Economic Times (New Delhi), May 21, 1997.

INDEX

- ABNi, 28
- Act, Indian Telegraph 1885, 43, 45, 60
- Advani, L.K., 36, 56
- Afghanistan invasion, Soviet Union's, 14
- AIDS, 34
- Argentina, 44
- Asian Regulatory Environment, 44
- Babri Masjid Demolition, 17, 36, 37, 39, 62
 - CNN's reporting of, 23, 26, 28
- Basu, Rathikant, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58
- BBC-World, 23, 28, 34, 36-39, 53, 54, 63, 64
- Berlin Wall, fall of the, 1, 16, 17
- BJP, 36, 56
- broadcast, non domestic satellite, 46
 - domestic satellite, 46
 - terrestrial TV, 10, 11, 46
- broadcasting, satellite, 46
- business negotiations, International, 62
- Cable Network Association, 49
- Cable TV, 32, 53, 58
- Charar-E-Sharif, 36, 37, 38, 62
 - BBC footage, 38, 39
- Chavan, S.B., 34
- Chechnya, footage, 38
- China, 51, 57
- CNBC, 28
- CNN-International, 34, 36, 37, 52, 55, 63, 64
- Coke, 60
- Commercial bargaining, 51
 - foreign participation, 46, 51, 62, 64
 - commercial negotiations, 51
- Consumerism, 36, 64
- CPI(M), 56
- Cricket Association of Bengal, 43
- CVO, 28
- Dimension, Technological, 29,
 - cultural, 26, 27, 34-36
 - commercial, 31
 - political, 26, 27, 31, 36
- diplomacy, function of, 22
- diplomacy, role of, 62
- diplomacy, television, 9, 25
- Direct broadcast satellite, 11, 45
- Discovery, 23, 28, 34, 64
- Doordarshan, 27-31, 33, 35, 43, 45, 51-61
 - DD-CNN pact, 51-53, 55-57, 63
 - autonomy, 43
- DTH, Negotiations, 6, 46-51, 62-64
 - ban, 49, 50
 - notification, 49
- Direct To Operator, 50
- East, Middle, 44
- Economic liberalization, 3, 4, 6, 24, 27, 36, 62
- Eenadu TV, 28
- ESPN, 28
- Europe, Central & East, 44
- Europe, West, 44
- exploitation, technology, 10
- Fibre Optic, 12
- footprint, satellite, 6
 - beam, 5
- foreign equity, 6, 32, 33, 46, 51, 62, 64
- Foreign Investment Promotion Board, 33
- foreign policy, making of, 56
- Foreign TV Networks, 6, 7, 14, 16, 19, 23, 27, 30, 32,
 - 34-40, 45-47, 50, 52, 56, 62-66
 - STAR TV, 23, 31, 34, 46-51, 58-60
 - CNNI, 23, 26, 28, 34, 36, 37, 52, 55
 - BBC, 23, 28, 34-39, 53, 54
- France, 44
- Free To Air, 64
- freedom of airwaves, 40, 41, 62, 63, 65
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 34
- General Assembly, UN, 42
- Germany, 44
- Ghosh, Bhaskar, 60
- Gill, S.S., 27, 35
- globalization of television, 2, 4, 13, 19, 22, 25, 27,
 - 51, 66
- Gowda, H.D. Deve, 46
- Goyal, Subhash Chandra, 47, 50, 51
- Gujral, I.K., 50, 56
- Harkut-ul-Ansar, 38
- Hazratbal Crisis, 37, 38
- Hero Cup 1993, 41, 43, 52
- Hindu fundamentalist, 37
- Hogan, Joseph, 52
- Home TV, 32, 33
- Human Rights, Universal Declaration of, 40
- Hungary, 44
- Ibrahim, C.M., 46, 48
- import quota, 45
- Independence Cup, 1995, 52
- India, negative projection of, 39, 53, 57, 62, 65
- Indian Armed Forces, 38
- Indian diplomacy, 6, 18, 22, 23, 25, 62, 63, 65, 66
- Indian diplomacy,
 - challenges, 62, 63
 - economic diplomacy, 24
 - security diplomacy and television, 22
- Indian Sky Broadcasting, 48
- innovations, technological, 8, 9, 29
- Insat 2B, 52, 53
- Intelsat, 29
- International affairs, 1, 15, 17
- International politics, 4, 8, 19-21, 23, 52, 62, 66

International regulatory environment, 43
 International relations, 2, 18, 20, 36
 Italy, 44
 ITC, 60
 Joint Parliamentary Committee, 50
 joint venture, 5, 6, 32, 51
 Joshi, Murli Manohar, 36
 journalism, television, 17
 parachute, 12
 broadcast, 12
 Karsevaks, 36, 37
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 16
 Latin America, 44
 Mascarenhas, Mark, 58, 59
 Militants, Kashmiri, 38
 Ministry, I&B, 6, 46, 48-52, 54, 60, 61
 DTH Negotiation, 46-50
 Ministry of External Affairs, 9
 MMDS, 6, 11
 MTV, 34, 64
 Mukherjee, Pranab, 50
 multichannel, 2, 22, 26
 multilingual, 2, 22, 26
 Multinational TV Network, 2, 26, 52, 63
 Mujahiddin, Hizbul, 38
 Murdoch, Rupert, 47, 51
 NBC, 28, 64
 National interest, 8, 13, 14, 62, 64, 65
 National interest and technology, 13, 14
 National interest and Foreign TV networks, 49, 50
 national objectives, 40
 national security, 17-20, 42, 62, 64, 66
 Negotiations,
 DD-CNN, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 63
 World Tel-DD, 52, 58-61
 TWI-DD, 43
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 40
 News Corp, 48, 49, 54
 Occupation, US Embassy in Iran, 16
 Pakistan India Srilanka Organizing Committee, 58
 Pakistani propaganda, 38, 53, 55
 Paswan, Ram Vilas, 46
 PAS-4, 57
 PLO, 16
 Politics of Propaganda, 22, 25, 52, 62, 63, 65
 Populist diplomacy, 25
 Portugal, 44
 Prasar Bharati Bill, 6, 45, 46, 50, 51
 Prasar Bharati, 6
 Corporation, 27, 35, 43
 Programming code, Indian, 6, 35, 45, 50, 63, 64
 Ram, Maryada Purushottam, 37
 Rao, (PV Narsimha) government, 57
 Ray, S.S., 53
 Reddy, Jaipal, 43, 48-50
 revenue,
 Advertising, 28, 30, 31, 45, 63
 Licensing, 33, 46, 64
 RSS, 36
 Sen Gupta, Nitish, Committee Report, 45
 Show, Nikki Bedi, 34, 63
 Sony, 23, 32-34
 Soviet Union, disintegration of, 17
 Satellite, Spy, 12, 30, 62
 Square, Tinnanman, 17
 Spain, 44
 Star Plus, 34, 64
 Star Movies, 28
 Star Sports, 28
 Star TV, 31, 34, 46-51, 58-60, 63
 Sub-Committee, Parliamentary on Broadcasting, 46
 Supreme Court,
 judgement of February 9, 1995, 41-43, 59, 63, 65
 Sun Music, 35
 Sun TV, 28
 Swadeshi,
 broadcast policy, 48, 66
 sentiments, 47
 Sweden, 44
 Swinstead, Gene, 47
 technology control, 11
 Television Age, 15
 Television power, 15, 16
 Televisionism, 19, 20
 terrestrial TV, Doordarshan's advantage, 30, 31, 44-46,
 58-60
 Thailand, 44
 The Bold and Beautiful, 34, 35
 Trans World International, 43, 52, 63
 Turner, Ted, 54
 Turner International, 52, 55
 United Kingdom, 44
 Verma, Beni Prasad, 49
 Vesey, Peter, 55
 VHP, 36
 War, Gulf, 17, 26
 Warsaw Pact, demise of, 17
 Wills World Cup - 1996, 52, 57-60
 World Tel, 52, 58-61, 63
 Zee TV, 32, 47, 50