

INTRODUCTION

Mass communication is the study of communication with masses. Mass communication in recent years has been transformed by the technology of human communication.

Jharkhand, being a dominant tribal state in eastern India, has been using variety of modes of communications through the ages. Jharkhand earlier being part of Bihar has its own culture and tradition, mostly dominated by the core Indian culture and the tribal culture. Jharkhand was carved out of the Southern part of Bihar on November 15, 2000.(Dutt, 2014)¹

The topic selected for the present study, ‘Mutual perceptions of role performance: A study of political leaders and media persons in Jharkhand,’ is very important to assess the political situation in Jharkhand which is languishing in political drama and instability since its inception.

An article supplied by PTI and published on July 08, 2013 in the Economic Times (<http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-07-08>)² says, “Jharkhand is set to witness another political re-alignment with Chief Minister hopeful Hemant Soren of JMM trying to stitch an alliance to give the state its ninth government since its inception 13 years ago. The state has already seen eight governments and four chief ministers – Babulal Marandi (Nov 2000 to March 2003), Arjun Munda (2003/2005/2010), Shibu Soren (2005/2008/2009) and Madhu Koda (2006) since it attained statehood on November 15, 2000.” This has ultimately resulted in to economic backwardness of Jharkhand and increased poverty in the state.

Again after the formation of the ninth government in the state on July 13, 2013 Niticentral said, “**Nine Governments in 13 years, the fragile politics of Jharkhand....**Nine Governments in 13 years, the fragile politics of Jharkhand.” (<http://www.niticentral.com/2013/07/13>)³

Jharkhand is a type of political laboratory for not only India but also for the entire world which can study the politics of the mineral rich region of the globe and understand the social nitty-gritty’s of the democracy.

The other two states, Chattisgarh and Uttarakhand, created along with Jharkhand, developed much more rapidly and have built up an environment for investment and all round growth. Unless there is political stability, no policy, however good, can be implemented and this results in anarchy.

Jharkhand has bounty of resources, both natural and human, but it could not be utilized because of policy paralysis in the state.

Background:

Jharkhand is a tribal inhabited state in eastern India. It was carved out of the southern part of Bihar on 15 November 2000. Jharkhand shares its border with the states of Bihar to the north, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh to the west, Orissa to the south, and West Bengal to the east. It has an area of 79,714 sq. km. The industrial city of Ranchi is its capital and Dumka is sub capital while Jamshedpur is the largest industrial city of the state.

The politicians and the media have an important role in the development and doom of the Jharkhand state. Most of the politicians are playing destructive role in the state. Their approach is mostly greedy and self-focused. (Dutt, 2014)⁴ Media is also playing mostly a partisan role. Both of them are working for their vested interest. It is attempted here to study why this is so in Jharkhand and how can the role of political leaders in Jharkhand be made more constructive.

History of Jharkhand:

The tribal rulers, some of whom continue to thrive till today were known as the Munda Rajas who basically had ownership rights to large farmlands. During the Mughal period, the Jharkhand area was known as Kukara.

After the year 1765, it came under the control of the British Empire and became formally known under its present title, "**Jharkhand**" – the Land of "Jungles" (forests) and "Jharis" (bushes). Located on Chhota Nagpur Plateau and Santhal Parganas, the place has evergreen forests, rolling hills and rocky plateaus with many places of keen beauty like Dasham, Jonha and Lodh Falls. (Dutt, 2014)⁵.

Jharkhand has a population of 32.96 million, consisting of 16.93 million males and 16.03 million females. The sex ratio is 947 females to 1000 males. The population

consists of 26% to 28% tribals, 12% Scheduled Castes and 60% others. The population density of the state is 413 persons per square kilometre of land; however, it varies from as low as 148 per square kilometers in Gumla district to as high as 1167 per square kilometers in Dhanbad district.

Census data since 1881 has shown a gradual decline of tribal population in Jharkhand as against the gradual increase of non-tribal population in the region. The reasons given for this are low birth rate and high death rate among the tribals; immigration of non-tribals into the region; emigration of tribals into other places; and the adverse effects of industrialization and urbanization in the region. The tribals, however, assert that their numbers are not as low as recorded by the census that they are still in the majority and that they remain a demographic force to reckon with.

Majority of the tribals of Jharkhand follow animistic Sarna religion which is distinct from Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Sarna is the Mundari word for 'Sacred Grove'. Sarna involves belief in a great spirit called the Sing Bonga. Tribal belief holds the world to be inhabited by numerous spiritual beings of different kinds. Tribals consider themselves as living and doing everything in close association with these spirits. Rituals are performed under the groves of Sal trees called Sarna (also called Jaher), where Bonga is believed to appear or express himself.

As per the 2001 census, Hinduism is followed by 68.5% of the population of Jharkhand. Islam is followed by 13.8% and Animistic Sarna religion is practised by 13% of the population. Christianity with 4.1% of the population is the fourth largest religious community in Jharkhand. Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism are all practiced, but less than 1%.

Jharkhand has 32 most important tribal groups. These are the Asur, Baiga, Banjara, Bathudi, Bedia, Binjhia, Birhor, Birjia, Chero, Chick-Baraik, Gond, Gorait, Ho, Karmali, Kharia, Kharwar, Khond, Kisan, Kora, Korwa, Lohra, Mahli, Mal-Paharia, Munda, Oraon, Parhaiya, Santal, Sauria-Paharia, Savar, Bhumij, Kol and Kanwar. In some of the districts of Jharkhand, the tribal population is dominant.

Although Hindi is the State Language, the people of Jharkhand speak a number of languages belonging to three major language families: the Munda languages which include Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij ; the Indo-Aryan languages which

includes Bengali, Maithili, Nagpuri, Sadri, Khortha, Kurmali and Panchpargania and the Dravidian languages which include Oraon (Kurukh), Korwa, and Paharia (Malto).

Polity of Jharkhand

According to some writers like Gautam Kumar Bera, there was already a distinct geo-political, cultural entity called Jharkhand even before the period of Magadh Empire. Bera's book also refers to the Hindu mythological book Bhavishya Purana. The tribal rulers, some of whom continue to thrive till today were known as the Munda Rajas, who basically had ownership rights to large farmlands. During the Mughal period, the Jharkhand area was known as Kukara.

British rule

The subjugation and colonization of Jharkhand region by the British East India Company resulted in spontaneous resistance from the local people. Almost one hundred years before the Indian Rebellion of 1857, adivasis of Jharkhand were already beginning what would become a series of repeated revolts against the British colonial rule.

The period of revolts of the Adivasis to protect their Jharkhand land took place from 1771 to 1900. The first ever revolt against the landlords and the British government was led by Tilka Manjhi, a valiant Santhhal leader in Santhal tribal belt in 1771. He wanted to liberate his people from the clutches of the unscrupulous landlords and restore the lands of their ancestors. The British government sent its troops and crushed the uprisings of Tilka Manjhi. Soon after in 1779, the Bhumij tribes rose in arms against the British rule in Manbhum, now in West Bengal. This was followed by the Chero tribes unrest in Palamau. They revolted against the British rule in 1800. Hardly seven years later in 1807, the Oraons in Barway murdered their big landlord of Srinagar, west of Gumla. Soon the uprisings spread around Gumla. The tribal uprisings spread eastward to neighbouring Tamar areas of the Munda tribes. They too rose in revolt in 1811 and 1813. The Hos in Singhbhum were growing restless and came out in an open revolt in 1820 and fought against the landlords and the British troops for two years. This is called the LarkaKol Risings 1820–1821. Then came the great Kol Risings of 1832. This was the first biggest tribal revolt that greatly upset the British administration in Jharkhand. It was caused by an attempt by the Zamindars to

oust the tribal peasants from their hereditary possessions. The Santhal rebellion broke out in 1855 under the leadership of two brothers Sidhu and Kanhu. They fought bitterly against the British troops but finally they too were crushed down. Other notable Adivasi warriors are Jabra Paharia, Veer Budhu Bhagat, PotoSardar, TelengaKharia, Phulo-Jhano, Maki Munda, and Gaya Munda.

Then Birsa Munda revolt broke out in 1895 and lasted till 1900. The revolt though mainly concentrated in the Munda belt of Khunti, Tamar, Sarwada and Bandgaon, attracted its supporters from Oraon belt of Lohardaga, Sisai and even Barway. It was the longest and the greatest tribal revolt. It was also the last tribal revolt in Jharkhand. All these uprisings were quelled by the British through massive deployment of troops across the region.

The British Government faced a lot of tribal revolt in Chhota Nagpur division. Wherever resistances to British rule existed, they tried to divide them. The policy of "divide and rule" was made effective by Lord Curzon, when he was the Governor General of India. He carried out Partition of Bengal in 1905, when the princely states of Gangpur and Bonai of Chota Nagpur states were transferred from the control of Commissioner of Chhota Nagpur division to Orissa division and princely states of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Chang Bhakar and Koriya were transferred from Chhota Nagpur division to Chhattisgarh division of Central provinces, leading to shrinkage of Chhota Nagpur division. Due to popular resistance to Partition of Bengal, the two Bengals were united in 1912 by Governor General Harding and the province of Bihar—Orissa was created by taking out of Bengal the Bihar division, Chhota Nagpur division and Orissa division. During this creation, Midnapur, Purulia and Bankura remained with Bengal. Thus, whenever there was reorganisation of provinces, Chhota Nagpur division lost some area. Thus, during British rule, tribal areas, although geographically contiguous, were put under different administrations. As a result of this, when India gained independence in 1947 and after the princely states acceded to Government of India in 1948, the princely states of Magadh were put under Orissa province, princely states of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Chang Bhakar and Koriya were put under Madhya Pradesh and Midnapur, Purulia and Bankura were put under West Bengal. Princely states of Gangpur and Bonai were combined together to form Sundergarh district. Princely states of Koriya and Chang Bhakar were combined together to form Koriya district and Udaipur was included in Raigarh district.

The twentieth century, the Jharkhand movement may also be seen as a moderate movement compared to the bloody revolts of the nineteenth century. Having the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 to protect their lands, the tribal leaders now turned to socio-economic development of the people. In 1914 Jatra Oraon started what is called the Tana Movement. Later this movement amalgamated with the Satyagrah Movement of Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 and stopped giving land tax to the Government. In 1915 the Chhotanagpur Unnati Samaj was started for the socio-economic development of the tribals. This organisation also had political objectives in mind. When the Simon Commission came to Patna in 1928, the Chhotanagpur Unnati Samaj sent its delegation and placed its demand for a separate Jharkhand state for self-rule by the tribals. The Simon Commission however, did not accede to the demand for a separate Jharkhand state. Thereafter, Theble Oraon organized Kisan Sabha in 1931. In 1935 the Chhotanagpur Unnati Samaj and the Kisan Sabha were merged with a view to acquire political power.

Jharkhand movement

For almost six decades the movement had been changing colour and strategy to gain a foothold. Gradually, the Jharkhand Party grew politically stronger but the commissions examining the demands for a separate Jharkhand state rejected it one after another. In August 1947, the Thakkar Commission rejected it saying that it would not be beneficial for the Adivasis. In 1948, Dar Commission also examined the demand for a separate Jharkhand state but rejected it on linguistic grounds. Despite reports of these commissions going negative in nature, Jharkhand Party never lost sight of its ultimate target: a separate state of Jharkhand. Jharkhand Party contested the 1952 elections with a declared aim of strengthening the demand of a tribal homeland and won 32 seats in the Bihar Assembly. In the second general elections in 1957, too, Jharkhand Party won 32 seats and for two terms the party remained the leading opposition party. In 1955, the Report of the State Reorganisation Commission came out. Here, too, the demand for a separate Jharkhand state was rejected. **(Dutt, 2014)⁶**. In the third general election in 1962 the party could win only 23 seats in the Bihar Assembly. Personal interests of the Jharkhand leaders started playing upper hand. The following year Jharkhand Party aligned with Congress and Jaipal Singh became a minister in Vinodanand Jha's government in Bihar. With this, the demand for the Tribal Homeland was put into cold storage for nearly a decade.

In the fourth general election held in 1967, the party had a very poor show. It could win only eight assembly seats. The party was soon split into several splinter groups, each claiming to be the genuine Jharkhand party. These were the All India Jharkhand Party led by Bagun Sumroi, the Jharkhand Party led by N.E. Horo and the Hul Jharkhand Party led by Justin Richard which got further fragmented and came to be called the Bihar Progressive Hul Jharkhand Party and it was led by Shibu Soren. The movement was infused with a new radicalism when Santhal leader Shibu Soren formed the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) in league with the Marxist co-ordination Committee in 1972. In its early years, the JMM under Soren's leadership, brought industrial and mining workers mainly non-tribals belonging to Dalit and backward communities such as Surdis, Doms, Dusadh and Kurmi-Mahtos, into its fold. However, Soren's association with the late Congress M.P. Gyanranjan brought him close to then prime minister of India, Indira Gandhi, in New Delhi. He won the Dumka Lok Sabha seat in 1972. Irked by Soren's association with the Congress, a few of the younger members of the JMM banded together in Jamshedpur and set up the All Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU). This did nothing to stunt the growth of the JMM in the 1991 Lok Sabha elections where the JMM won six seats.

That year saw the emergence of another foreign educated scholar, Ram Dayal Munda, who reignited the movement by unifying splinter groups among the tribals. Under his guidance the Jharkhand Coordination Committee was constituted in June 1987, comprising 48 organisations and group including the JMM factions. Due to Munda, Soren, Mandal and AJSU leaders like Surya Singh Besra and Prabhakar Tirkey briefly shared a political platform. But the JMM pulled out of JCC as it felt that 'the collective leadership was a farce'. The JMM/AJSU and JPP successfully orchestrated bandhs and economic blockades in 1988–89. In the interregnum, BJP came out with its demand for a separate "Vananchal" state comprising 18 districts of Bihar, arguing that demand for a greater Jharkhand is "not practical" (Dutt, 2014)⁷.

In response, Buta Singh, the then home minister, asked Ram Dayal Munda, the then Ranchi University Vice Chancellor, to prepare a report on Jharkhand. Munda handed his report in September 1988, advising the Home Ministry to grant 'autonomy' to 'Greater Jharkhand'. In August 1989, the Union Home Ministry formed a committee on Jharkhand Matters (CoJM) to look into the issue. These were followed by further talks between the then Bihar Chief Minister, Satyendra Narayan Sinha, the central

government and Jharkhand groups. In September 1989 the COJM submitted its report proposing the alternatives to the formation of a greater Jharkhand, a Union Territory or a Jharkhand general council. In 1995 the Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC) was set up after a tripartite agreement was signed by the Union government represented by the then minister of state for home, Rajesh Pilot, the Bihar government represented by the chief minister Lalu Prasad Yadav and Jharkhand leaders like Soren, Munda, Mandal, Besra and Tirkey. Horo did not sign this agreement. He dubbed the JAAC as a 'fraud' and stuck to his demand for Tribal Homeland. So did the AJSU and JPP.

Jharkhand—a separate state

The state of Jharkhand became a functioning reality on November 15, 2000 after almost half a century of people's movements around Jharkhandi identity, which the disadvantaged societal groups articulated to augment political resources and influence the policy process in their favour. It is the 28th state of India. The Jharkhandi identity and the demand for autonomy was not premised solely on the uniqueness of its tribal cultural heritage but was essentially a fallout of the failure of development policy to intervene in socio-economic conditions of the adivasis and non-adivasis in the region. (<http://www.niticentral.com/2013/07/13>)⁸.

It was carved out of the relatively under developed southern part of Bihar. According to the 1991 census, the state has a population of over 20 million out of which 28% is tribal while 12% of the people belong to scheduled castes. Jharkhand has 24 districts, 260 blocks and 32,620 villages out of which only 45% are electrified while only 8,484 are connected by roads. Jharkhand is the leading producer of mineral wealth in the country after Chhattisgarh, endowed as it is with vast variety of minerals like iron ore, coal, copper ore, mica, bauxite, graphite, limestone, and uranium. Jharkhand is also known for its vast forest resources.”

This paradoxical development profile of Jharkhand is combined with the fact that distortions in the distribution and access to resources have made little difference to the lives of ordinary people. However, the people of the region are politically mobilized and self-conscious and are actively seeking better bargains for their state. The people in Jharkhand have the advantage of being culturally vibrant, as reflected in the

diversity of languages spoken, festivals celebrated, and variety of folk music, dances, and other traditions of performing arts.

Greed for power

Unnoticed by the rest of the world, a drama was played out in Jharkhand in early 2010- that is, even more bizarre than the claims made by the then Jharkhand Chief Minister Shibu Soren's aides that Soren voted for the United Progressive Alliance in the Lok Sabha on a cut motion moved by the BJP on the Union budget because he was suffering from Alzheimer's disease, so he forgot that it was the National Democratic Alliance led by BJP which was supporting his government in Jharkhand.

Paulus Surin, a member of Legislative Assembly from Soren's Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, who represented the Torpa constituency, first offered to quit his seat and then decided to withdraw the offer from his luxuriously appointed quarters in Simdega prison where he was lodged on charges of murder and waging war against the state (he's a former Maoist). Torpa was the constituency Soren was eyeing to become an MLA -- something he had to do before June 30, when the six-month period to become an MLA to continue as chief minister had to end. Soren thought of Torpa because there was no other vacancy and the party couldn't get anyone to vacate a seat in Soren's stronghold Santhal Pargana.

The party was anxious to avoid the embarrassment of the January 2009 Tamar by-election when Soren was defeated by a rookie in politics, Gopal Singh Patar alias Raja Peter. The party leadership had thought that even though the JMM did not have a strong presence in Torpa, they could have clinched the seat for Soren. However, no such situation finally arose as the Shibu Soren led government fell in May, 2010 after BJP withdrew its support to it.

Not that it makes much difference. Complex games were afoot in Jharkhand, endemically unstable, to form some sort of government. The Congress had an alliance with the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha-Prajatantrik (led by Babulal Marandi) with 24 seats, while the BJP-Janata Dal- United alliance had 20 seats in the 81-member assembly. The JMM held 18 seats.

Sudesh Mahato's AJSU had six Lalu Prasad's Rashtriya Janata Dal had five seats, while other parties had 13. The Congress would not have minded at all if the

President's Rule was imposed in Jharkhand, while Hemant Soren was pleading desperately with the BJP to forgive his father's mistake and let him (Hemant) become chief minister. But on a moral high, the BJP said it would shore up the government only if the chief minister's post is given to it. Once again, Jharkhand was teetering on the brink of instability and after the BJP withdrew the support, Shibu Soren had no other option but to resign and in fact the president's rule was imposed in the state. After about 100 days of the President rule, again JMM and BJP-JDU-AJSU alliance came together to form a new government in the state under the leadership of Arjun Munda of BJP. It took oath on September 11, 2010. This government hardly completed 28 months in power but fell on 8th of January, 2013 as the JMM withdrew its support to the Arjun Munda government before it could complete its fixed tenure of four years. Time and again JMM and Congress tried to cobble up a new coalition and ultimately they could do so on July 09, 2013 after about six months of president's rule and ultimately on July 13, 2013, a new government, the ninth one was formed under the leadership of Junior Soren, Hemant Soren. In the state a new coalition government is in power which has the support of 13 Congress MLAs, five RJD MLAs, four one MLA parties, three independents besides 18 MLAs of JMM. In all it has the support of 43 MLAs in an assembly of 81.

So, in the last 13 years, Jharkhand has not had any government which has managed to complete its term. This is because of the fundamental change that the tribal identity is undergoing. Earlier, the great unifying factor was the 'foreigner' (diku), the non-tribal. Jharkhand tribals resisted efforts by the Mughal dynasty and the British to overcome their rich land and luxuriant forests. The tribals were marginalised when Hindu traders and Muslim farmers moved in and modern law and administration were established -- primarily for them. The British authority and its accompanying array of devices hastened the pauperisation of the tribals. The administration was manned by dikus and the introduction of paper currency was alien to the tribals. Their villages went to principally Muslim landlords who wanted access to the forests and the communities that lived there as cheap labour. All this had one inevitable result: armed resistance. **(Munda, R 2003)⁹**.

Independent India offered little that was better. Missionaries stayed behind and the tribals continued to resist efforts to subvert their own variant of Hinduism and Gods -- which were modelled on living tribal leaders. This led to the realisation that their lot

would not improve until their identity was recognised as unique: for this they needed self-governance and their own province. The JMM was started in 1973 by a young man just out of his teens, Shibu Soren.

Till such time as there was a diku, the tribal identity was carved out in juxtaposition to it. But gradually, younger tribals realised that it was more profitable to side with the diku than to oppose him. One fallout from this process is Madhu Koda and the mining-lease scandal. There is also a reason to believe that the same issues -- who should be given mining licences -- were at the bottom of the political stalemate in the last Arjun Munda government as well.

Whether it is Hemant Soren, Arjun Munda or anyone else, instability in the mineral-rich state is likely to continue. Nor is the President's rule the answer (a past spell of President's rule saw, for the first time in India's history, a case being lodged by the Central Bureau of Investigation against the aides of the governor). India has to come to terms with the fact that greed is one of the most important motives for politics in Jharkhand. The rest follows.

Probably this is the reason that in the last 14 years of its creation Jharkhand has seen 13 governments consisting of nine political governments and four times the President Rule through Governor Rules.

Nine governments in 14 years and now....?

Since its inception in November 2000, government formation has been a game of musical chairs for the BJP and JMM. As a matter of fact, things spun so much out of any party's control in 2006 that independent MLA Madhu Koda managed to grab the chief minister's chair. Koda was in jail for over three years on a slew of corruption charges. The longest serving government lasted two-and-a-half years and the shortest 11 days. If one takes out the first CM Babulal Marandi, tainted Madhu Koda and the present Hemant Soren, the son of Shibu Soren, power has shuffled mainly between JMM president Shibu Soren and BJP's Arjun Munda.

The political shenanigans began after 2003 when the first NDA government led by Marandi fell no sooner it rejected its alliance partner JD (U)'s demand of a change of chief minister. Power-hungry politicians have kept the state constantly on tenterhooks.

Munda and Shibu Soren have both been dethroned thrice by each other. In 2006, Madhu Koda, a former BJP minister, brought down the Munda government with the Congress and JMM support.

With Soren never really having given up his ambition for the CM's chair, the earlier BJP-JMM-AJSU-JDU coalition was always unstable. Incidentally, Soren has never managed to retain power for more than six months. While Munda has averaged better at two-and-a-half years.

The reasons behind the fall of governments have always been very trivial. The first government formed by Marandi fell after JD(U)'s Lalchand Mahato wanted the CM to remove the then power board chairman Rajib Ranjan. After the 2005 election, Soren insisted he could prove his party's majority on the floor of the house, but failed.

In 2006, just when things appeared to be smooth, Koda pulled down the Munda government after the latter had not been attentive to his demand for repairing the Haat Ghamaria Road in West Singhbhum under his constituency. **(Mahato, Shailendra 2011)¹⁰**.

Soren again came to power in 2008 after bringing down Koda and then losing to political novice Gopal Krishna Patar in the 2009 Tamar by-election. After 2009, when nothing concrete appeared to be working for any party, arch rivals BJP and JMM joined hands and Shibu Soren took oath as the seventh Chief Minister of the state on December 30, 2009. His government could not complete its six months and had to resign on May 31, 2010 as its main ally BJP withdrew support sighting the reason that Shibu himself voted as a Lok Sabha MP in favour of the Congress led UPA government at the Centre on a cut motion of BJP on the budget.

Again after a President Rule of 102 days, from June 01, 2010 to Sept 10, 2010, BJP formed a new government in the state with the support of the same allies including JMM under the leadership of Arjun Munda.

On January 08, 2013 the Arjun Munda government resigned as the JMM once again pulled the rug demanding swap of leadership of the government. Once again the state was put under the President rule on January 18, 2013 and it continued till July 12, 2013 as JMM's Hemant Soren, the son of Shibu Soren took over as the ninth Chief Minister of the state and still he is continuing and now on October 25, 2014 five

phased Assembly elections have been declared which is scheduled to be completed by of December 23, 2014 and then the tenth political government is expected to take over.

The Congress, which had supported Hemant Soren's government with Lalu Prasad's Rashtriya Janta Dal had entered into a deal of fighting the Lok Sabha elections 2014 together, on a formula of Congress fighting 10 and JMM only on four seats of the 14 seats of Jharkhand which resulted into JMM winning its two seats, out of four, which it fought and Congress falling flat with the end result being zero for it.

Once again the JMM supremo Shibu Soren voiced his unhappiness over seat sharing deal with Congress and RJD for the upcoming Assembly elections after his son, Hemant Soren almost completed his stint as the CM of the state. Once again the results are there for all to see that on the eve of the assembly elections the ruling alliance has broken down and the JMM is going to fight the elections on all the 81 seat on its own. The Congress, which is in bad shape since the last couple of years, after a series of corruption cases against its ministers at the erstwhile Manmohan Singh government at Delhi, has no option but to fight the upcoming elections in the state on its own with only Lalu Yadav's RJD and Nitish Kumar's JDU obliging it for any sort of alliance. On the other hand, Narendra Modi led BJP seems to be all set to grab power in the state for the first time on its own. Its former ally in the Arjun Munda led BJP government, All Jharkhand Students' Union (AJSU) has allied with it unconditionally and AJSU has agreed to be content with only 08 seats while BJP will fight on the rest 73 seats of the state assembly.

In the given circumstances the upcoming elections are very much favourably posed for the BJP as the anti BJP votes are bound to be divided among the JMM, Congress-RJD-JDU alliance and the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajatantrik) of Babulal Marandi. Moreover the country has been witnessing a wave in favour of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership since the Nov-Dec 2013 elections of four states Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Delhi. This wave, if it continues at all, may further help the saffron party to capture the seat of power in Jharkhand, for a change, with full majority. The recent assembly elections of Maharashtra and Haryana, held in Oct-2014, where BJP has been able to form the government on its

own, for the first time in the political history of the country, have possibly reflected the mood of the country and it is clearly in favour of 'change.'

Media in India

An important reason why India became vulnerable to penetration by colonial powers from the west was that, by the fifteenth century, the pursuit of rational knowledge and of technology had virtually stopped.

The historical context

India has been a great sea-faring nation. But by the time the colonial trio of the trader, soldier and missionary came by ship, crossing the ocean had become taboo for a people who used to have extensive trade and cultural contacts overseas. There is archaeological evidence that the Indus Valley civilization of 3000 B.C. had trade links with the contemporary civilization of Mesopotamia. The south Indian kingdoms which flourished as naval powers from the third till the thirteenth century had trade relations with China and the inland countries of the East as well as with Arabia and Rome.

Superstition prevailed among people whose ancestors of the early centuries A.D had given the world the concept of zero in mathematics and the positional value of numerals; the Indian number script, then it was spread by the Arabs, which came to be known in Europe as the new Hindu-Arab arithmetic. dos and don'ts based on astrology ruled life in the land of the famed astronomer Aryabhata of the fifth century, whose works were translated into Arabic and who wrote of the daily rising and setting of planets and stars due to the earth's rotation round own its axis.

The status of women, some of whom attained fame for their scholarship during Vedic times, centuries before the Christian era, had declined steeply. Child marriage was common and, in certain high classes of the society, an aberration occurred and it was self-immolation of the widow on the husband's funeral pyre in accordance with the custom known as Sati.

This was the Indian scenario when the first modern printing press was brought to India by Christian missionaries from the West towards the close of the fifteenth century. In India, as in the countries of Europe, printing presses were utilized initially

for bringing out religious literature and polemical tracts; next, for the publication of periodicals containing news and views; and finally, daily newspapers, for serving which, news agencies came into existence.

The Christian church was a close ally of early colonialism, and gave a religious sanction for conquest. A Pope of the mid-fifteenth century had evidently heard of the tradition that the apostle St. Thomas landed at Cranganore in A.D. 52 and founded on the Malabar Coast the first Christian of an exaggerated notion of the number of Indian converts to Christianity. He issued in 1454 a letter, granting Portugal control over the East: "Our joy is immense to know that our dear Henry, Prince of Portugal, following the foot of his father of illustrious memory, King John, inspired with a zeal for souls like an intrepid soldier of Christ, has carried into the most distant and unknown countries the name of God and has brought into the Catholic fold the perfidious enemies of God and of Christ, such as the Saracens and the Infidels.

"After having established Christian families in some of the unoccupied islands of the Ocean and having consecrated churches there, the Prince believed that he could give God the best evidence of his submission if by his effort the Ocean can be made navigable as far as India, which, it is said, is already subject to Christ. If he enters into relations with these people, he will induce them to come to the help of the Christians of the West against the enemies of the faith."

In 1506, Francesco de Almeida proclaimed himself at Cochin as 'Viceroy of the Indies' and Alfonso de Albuquerque styled himself 'Captain-General and Governor of India' at Goa in 1510. The Catholic missionaries accompanying these grandees used printing presses to publish catechisms in Malayalam and Tamil.

In the wake of the Portuguese came the Danes, the French and the English. They wanted to displace the Arabs in the trade between Europe and south and East Asia. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to "certain adventures for the trade of the East Indies". This was the origin of the East India Company; which was given the monopoly of the English trade with India.

The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602. Though initially the Dutch competed with the English for the trading right by offering competitively large sums of money to the Mughal emperor in Delhi, they soon turned their attention to the spice

islands of the East Indies. The chief rivals of the English in India were the French, who formed their company in 1668 and a few years later bought the town of Pondicherry on the eastern coast.

The Europeans established trading posts, and began to fortify them and to raise their own garrisons. With the disintegration of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the provincial rulers fought each other and sought the aid of the foreigners who were only too ready to take sides in order to advance their own interests. The English, eventually got the better of both, the French and the mutually warring Indian rulers. The battle of Plassey in 1757 gave mastery of the large and rich province of Bengal to the English, who installed a puppet of theirs as the Nawab and steadily reduced the Mughal emperor at Delhi to a figurehead. The appointment in 1774 of a governor-general at Calcutta—Warren Hasting was the first to hold the office—with supervisory authority over the governors of Madras and Bombay, marked the emergence of the East India Company as a territorial power. Calcutta was also the seat of the Supreme Court which had jurisdiction over British nationals.

The Company brought printing presses into India, augmenting those of the missionaries: a press was installed in Bombay in 1674, in Madras in 1772 and at Calcutta in 1779. But the Company's officials did everything to discourage the publication of newspapers. The last thing they desired was publicity—especially in London—of their illegal accumulation of wealth through private trade, using the power to dictate miserably low prices to Indian peasants and artisans and selling at a large profit.

Anglo-Indian and Evangelical Journals

The publication of the first newspaper on Indian soil probably owed to infighting between two factions in the governor-general's council. The opposition to Warren Hastings was led by Philip Francis, whose ambition was to become governor-general himself.

A weekly journal made its debut on 29 January 1780 under the title of the Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser. Published by James Augustus Hicky, it was addressed exclusively to Europeans and described itself as “a weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by one”. In fact it was

pronouncedly against the party of Warren Hastings and his friend Elijah Impey, the chief justice of the Supreme Court. The journal would lampoon Impey as 'Poolbundy' in an obvious reference to a contract for maintaining bridges (pul in Hindustani means bridge) which the chief justice had secured for a relative. Warren Hasting and his wife were also boldly satirized. In those days, when inconvenient Britishers could be deported, Hicky could not have carried on his campaign against the governor-general without the backing of some powerful patrons in the administration. The inference is strengthened by the fact that the types were seized and Hicky's paper was suppressed in 1782 only after Philip Francis decided to leave India.

Hicky's Gazette carried news of the fighting in various parts of the country between the Company's forces and those of Indian princes not yet subdued; lengthy accounts of parties and balls given by European residents of Calcutta; advertisement notices of property and articles available for sale; a Poet's Corner which carried amateur verse--- and a large number of letters which praised Hicky to the skies. A sample of these eulogies is the opening item on the front page of the 47th issue dated 16 December 1780¹. It will be seen (the better with the aid of a magnifying glass) that the letter-writer speaks of the nausea experienced by him on exposure to a rival newspaper, and the cure effected by Dr. Hicky's medicine. The only item in this issue pertaining to a non-European is the announcement that a slave by (a Kaffir, from southern Africa) is available for sale. It reads:

To be SOLD

A fine Coffre Boy that understands the Business of a Butler, Kismutdar and Cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees. Any Gentleman wanting such a Servant may see him; and be informed of further particulars by applying to the printer.

There were also repeated insertion about a slave boy who has run away from his master, under the heading 'Eloped'.

Considering the content and context of Hicky's paper, it is hardly appropriate to regard him as the founder of Indian journalism or as a principled fighter for freedom of the Press. He was merely the first in the line of Anglo-Indian newspaper publishers (the term was used in those days for Britons living in India, not for persons of mixed parentage).

India Gazette, as a rival to Hicky's weekly, enjoyed support from Warren Hastings who gave it postal facilities denied to Hicky. In the ensuing years more journals with official patronage appeared—all British-owned—in Calcutta itself as well as in Bombay and Madras.

A half-way house to the emergence of an Indian Press was marked by the journals brought out by Christian missionaries. Though published by foreigners, these journals were addressed to Indian and some of them were in Indian languages. It was to counter the attacks on Indian religions which these journals carried, and to assert national self-respect, that the first truly Indian newspapers were established by Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), the initiator of India's modern enlightenment.

With the rise of Protestantism in Europe and the establishment of the Anglican Church in England, the early Catholic missionaries were followed by many more of other denominations. The Christian missions did undertake educational and humanitarian work including medical relief, but primarily as aids for converting 'heathen' Indians to their religion. In the words of Iqbal Singh, "Evangelical acquisitiveness often inspired missionary good deeds in India—and elsewhere." If social service and not proselytisation had been their motivation, there was plenty of work for them to do right at home, in England, where illiteracy and ill-health were rampant. As in other European countries which were at that time passing through the phase of the primitive accumulation of capital for industrialization, workers in Britain, women as well as men, had to slog away for long hours in crowded and ill-ventilated factories. More the amelioration of the living conditions of their countrymen, the prospect of saving the souls of non-Christians impelled the missionaries to come out to India.

The first among the missionaries to publish newspapers were the Baptists of Serampore, where a mission was founded in 1799 by Dr. Joshua Marshman and William Carey. Their attitude is illustrated by a pamphlet brought out in 1813 by Marshman on the 'Advantages of Christianity in promoting the Establishment and Prospect of the British Empire in India.'

He wrote: "It is my opinion that to the very end of time, through the imbecility of their character, which Christianity itself will never remove; they will be dependent on some other nation." Again: "Every converted Hindoo or Mahommeden is necessarily

the cordial friend of the British, on the grounds of his own interest and security; for on the continuance of their empire in India his very existence depends.”(Raghavan, 1987)¹¹

The Serampore journals pursued the dual objective of promoting religion and empire. Dig-Djarshan, a Bengali monthly magazine for youth, was brought out in 1818. It was followed soon after by Smachar Darpan, a weekly in Bengali, and Friend of India, a monthly in English. When the Baptist editor of the English journal went so far as to say that Hinduism owed its origin “to the Father of lies”, Rammohun Roy had to remind him that they were engaged in solemn religious discussion and not in a competitive exchange of abuse.

The early missionaries thought nothing of holding out material inducement to secure conversions. Rammohun Roy wrote in a letter to the Rev. Henry Were of the Harvard College, USA. : “Several years ago there was a pretty prevalent report in this part of India that a native embracing Christianity should be remunerated for his loss of caste by the gift of five hundred rupees, with a country-born Christian woman as his wife; and while this report has any pretension to credit, several natives offered from time to time to become Christians. The hope of any such recompense being taken away, the old converts find now very few inclined to follow their example. This disappointment not only discourages further conversion, but has also induced several Moosulman converts to return to their former faith; and has Hindoos with equal facility admitted the return of outcasts to their society, a great number of them also would, I suspect, have imitated the conduct of their brother Moosulman converts.” On the other hand there were also, in later years, and especially in Bengal, instances of the acceptance of Christianity by educated persons belonging to notable families, including Brahmins.

Broadly speaking, there were two contrasting reactions to the Western impact. Many educated Indians aped Western manners of dress and living even if they did not change their religion. The conservatives, in contrast, both among Hindus and Muslims, withdrew into the shells of their respective orthodoxies. But the most constructive response, which was receptive to the best elements of Western civilisation while wanting to retain the Indian cultural heritage and to purify it of the dross of superstition and evil customs, was typified by Rammohun Roy.

The impulse of national awakening generated by Rammohun Roy in Bengal soon spread to other parts of India. It resulted, by the mid-nineteenth century, in the formation of British Indian Associations by educated Indians in the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as well as citizens' forums in some other large towns like Midnapore in Bengal and Pune in Maharashtra. They urged steps towards representative government and sent petitions to the British parliament for a less expensive and more responsive administration in India. The process was not interrupted by the 1857 Uprising. Largely confined to north India, it was essentially in the nature of a feudal backlash by expropriated rulers and chiefs; as Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Not by fighting for a lost cause, the feudal order, would freedom come." A significant consequence of the Uprising was the end of the East India Company's rule and the assumption of direct responsibility for the government of India by the British Crown and Parliament. The governor-general became the Viceroy of India.

Alongside the formation of political associations, newspapers sprang up in different parts of the country. Most of them advocated political and social reform. The Marathi journal *Kesari*, brought out by V. K. Chiplonkar from Pune, said in its first issue in January 1881: "A continuous flow of writing in the newspapers from various places have the same value as the street lights and the regular police patrol in the night have. The honesty of government officers is maintained so long as their functioning is brought before the eyes of the people from time to time....One can well imagine how much benefit will accrue by discussing in newspapers matters like which old practices are worth giving up, and which new ones worth taking up."

Surendranath Banerjee, prominent in journalism (he was the editor of *Bengali*) as well as in public life, convened in December 1883 in Calcutta the first all-India political conference attended by more than a hundred delegates from different parts of the country. It was the precursor of the Indian National Congress. The "72 good men and true" who met in the first session of the Congress at Bombay on 28 December 1885 included a sizeable contingent of journalists along with other categories such as lawyers; representatives of regional political associations; members of municipalities and local boards and doctors.

Foreign media in India

There are two media traditions in India, the older tradition of a pluralistic and relatively independent press, and the younger tradition of manipulated and misused “electronic media”, to wit radio and television. Most fair persons will agree that, for all its faults, the first is a worthwhile tradition while the second is a stultifying and unedifying one. **(Journalists, 1994)**¹² This is not to say that the press plays its role with any kind of commitment to absolute independence and freedom of expression, or provides space fairly to various shades of ideological and political opinion. Recent experience demonstrates that while the Press as an institution or at least a major section of it has stood up in defence of secularism and has helped combat the communal menace at a critical juncture, its performance vis-à-vis the issue of economic sovereignty has been far from creditable.

More than mere propaganda

The “propaganda model” developed by the great linguist and progressive intellectual, Noam Chomsky, and his associate, Edward Herman, in their book, *Manufacturing Consent* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1988) represents a theoretical framework to study “the political economy of the mass media” in the United States. Chomsky’s ideas on the subject are also presented in an excellent Canadian documentary film, *Manufacturing Consent*, produced by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonik, and available in video format). This theoretical framework can be applied with suitable modification, to the analysis of the way influential sections of the Indian press are manipulated in the “manufacture of consent” for official policies.

But the point to be borne in mind is that criticizing and exposing the Indian press for its several shortcomings and failures must not be mixed up with the question of whether foreign media interest should be allowed to function on Indian soil. One thing is certain if they are allowed the propaganda role played by the press in India will become much more emphasized given the ideological and political agenda of these powerful transitional interests.

Those who cite the advent of satellite television and its quite impressive penetration of the urban middle class market, as additional justification for lobbying for a policy reversal in the press sector deliberately ignore the fact that between the two media

traditions in India there stands a great Chinese wall. Nothing necessarily follows for Indian press from what is seen to be happening in the invaded, but never democratically legitimate, realm of Doordarshan and All India Radio.

The Indian press is two centuries old. Its freedom and rights and its relative independence were won as a part of India's freedom struggle out of colonial thralldom. After the country became independent the challenging question arose whether, in the light of historical experience, foreign ownership of daily and periodical newspapers was good for India and its press.

The first press commission headed by justice G.S. Rajadhyaksha, clear-sightedly recommended in 1954 that foreign players should not be allowed to operate newspapers in India and that where on account of the colonial heritage foreign ownership prevailed in sections of the press, there should be Indianisation of the capital and other staff, especially at the higher levels. This was absolutely necessary in the national interest and for the healthy, democratic development of the press.

A solid and wide consensus in political and press circles backed the acceptance of the intentionally important recommendation. On September 30, 1955, the Minister for information and broadcasting, Dr. B.V. Keskar, announced in the lok sabha that the Government of India had decided to accept the Press Commission's recommendation that foreign newspapers and periodicals which dealt mainly in news and current affairs should not be allowed to bring out editions in India. He said that the decision which 'I read out is quite clear. There is no ambiguity about it'. "He also revealed that The New York Times had been informed that pursuant to the uniform policy adopted in accordance with the above decision, it would not be possible to accede to their proposal for bringing out their international edition in India."

A quarter of a century later, the Second Press Commission, which had justice K.K. Mathew as its chairman, considered the same issues in the light of the evolved circumstances and made the interesting recommendation that there should be a specific legal provision under which no newspaper undertaking should have any foreign ownership either in the form of shares or in the form of loans. "It also suggested restrictions on certain types of financial patronage newspapers in India might come to receive from abroad to the detriment of their independence."

Given to strategic 1955 decision (which was confirmed and incorporated in a more comprehensive Cabinet media policy decision in 1956) , there was no question of any foreign player (other than The Readers' Digest, the one publication of significance which had got away with clearance prior to the policy decision) being allowed to operate newspapers in India.

Comprehensive debarring law

However, in the wake of the order passed by the Division Bench of the Delhi High Court on March 2, 1994 (and the judicial mind it revealed) and the Government's making up of its mind, it is clear that time has come to share and adopt a comprehensive debarring law along the lines suggested by the Second Press Commission.

Such a course would make sound constitutional sense. Freedom of speech and expression a fundamental right guaranteed by Art 19 and subject to several reasonable restrictions, is available only to citizens. There is no question of the freedom of the press a right derived from Art. 19 and expanded effectively through judicial interpretation being available to foreign nationals. Sanctioned by the Constitution itself, the 1955 national policy decision was fenced in by other laws, notably the Press and Registration of books Act 1867 as amended in respond to the well identified requirements.

A separate but related Government decision was that foreign news agencies would not be allowed to operate in India by providing services directly to Indian newspapers; they would have to channel their services through Indian news agencies. This decision has also stood India, its news agencies and its entire press in good stead. (The policy has made a fairly exception for the distribution of financial and commercial information by foreign news agencies directly to non-media subscribers; Reuters became the first beneficiary and other foreign news agencies have also come in).

If these 1955-56 decisions-adopted in the national interest and to provide an environment not just conducive to, but vital for, the development of indigenous newspaper capabilities are reversed, the character of the Indian press will change drastically and decidedly for the worse. Driven by Murdoch-type aggressiveness as deromanticised language publications. This is at best a naïve assumption. The pursuit

of profit and power is unlikely to find linguistic barriers. And this will apply not merely to English language newspapers, but also to the vigorously developing but still fledgling Indian language press.

It is sometimes asserted or implied in the debate that foreign players will be interested only in the so-called national newspaper sector comprising English language publications. This is at best a naïve assumption. The pursuit of profit and power is unlikely to find linguistic barriers any kind of obstacle.

If the 1955-56 policy decision is thrown out of the window in the name of market friendly liberalization, nothing will, in principle, bar a Rupert Murdoch from expanding his transitional media empire to Indian soil and taking over, directly or through his agents, one or more of India's major newspaper groups functioning in a variety of tongues.

Let us be more specific. As the political scientist, Robin Jeffrey, points out in a recent study of the Indian language press: "In most of the industrialized world, the past 15 years have seen a reduction in the number and circulation of daily newspapers. But in India daily newspapers have grown remarkably since the late 1970s". The diversity and plurality of the Indian press is one of its major strengths. Naturally, the growth performance has varied across language sectors, but in general this is a period of dynamic growth for Indian language press. **(Jeffrey, 2000)¹³**.

The circulation of Hindi dailies has grown most impressively, but so has the reach of the less developed press in languages such as Assamese, Punjabi, Oriya and Urdu (starting from very low bases). By international standards, India still has a very low coverage of daily newspapers per thousand persons in the population. Something in the region of 30. This varies from over 260 per thousand 'speakers' in English to a figure in the vicinity of 15 for Assamese. The Malayalam press scores over 60, followed by Gujarathi, Urdu and Marathi, all hovering around or just above 30. What is clear is that there is a long way to go before the Indian press can claim to be developed. **(Journalists, 1994)¹⁴**

In this situation, there are some star performers with respect to circulation growth and readership penetration and influence. The undisputed national champion in this regard is the Malayalam Manorama, with a daily circulation in excess of 700,000 (the

circulation of the Manorama weekly is over 1.3 million); according to evidence provided by National Readership Surveys, it is the only Indian newspaper which has a substantial readership among all classes, including agricultural labourers, Ananda Bazar Patrika in Bengali, Enadu in Telugu and Punjab Kesri and Dainik Jagran in a very competitive Hindi field are other notable performers with respect to circulation growth.

Why would these publications, or the language sectors they operate in be exempt from the interested eye cast on the Indian media scene by the Murdochs and other powerful transnational players, any more than, say, The Hindustan Times or The Times of India or India Today or business dailies in English world be? In fact, commercial and political considerations would seem to point to certain Indian language press areas as the most attractive targets for foreign capital. Nothing, no coup can be ruled out in a situation where the bidding for a single percentage of equity holding in a powerful newspaper can run into some crores of rupees far above the price any 'rational' economic calculation of return from the investment will allow.

This is with respect to the threat of takeover of existing publications, which could be either of the thriving or the sick kind. But foreign capital, once it is allowed through the door will also start new newspapers in collaboration with Indian parties, which can be either active or content to play the role of agents or fronts. Murdochism is already at play within the Indian press notably in the Delhi arena. Once foreign players are in, the tendency is likely to expand into other venues and into the soft and volatile arenas of the Indian language press.

Nor is a minority equity holding stipulation for foreign player going to make any sensible difference in favour of indigenous interests. Where the play is between unequals, the developed and more resourceful foreign player is not going to be placed at a disadvantage by a minority ownership status. The reason for this is the high probability that the Indian party to the joint venture will be dependent editorially, technologically, financially and also in terms of brand name and image on the much stronger foreign players. Let us take in illustratively the case of The Financial Times in relation to proprietors of the Ananda Bazar group or Time magazine in relation to the proprietors of India Today or Murdoch in relation to Indian press baron X, or a hinduja type of transnational Pakistan businessman (resident in the U.K. or in North

America) vis-à-vis an Indian company 'Y'. Is the action capable of being regulated or controlled with respect to overall business operations, or politics or such matters as humiliatingly differential remuneration for Indian and foreign journalists working for the same publication and sometimes in the same arena.

What happens to the democratic media when the Rupert Murdochs, the Reinhard Mohns, the Robert Maxwells and the Jean-Luc Lagarderes move in under the signboard of the new "global village" is the subject of a growing field of study. In his pioneering book, *The Media Monopoly* (Beacon Press, Boston, original edition: 1983, Fourth Edition; (1992). Ben H. Bagdikian, who has been hailed as "the conscience of American journalism," called attention to the homogenizing, stultifying and manipulative implications of some 50 corporations owning "most of the output of daily newspapers and most of the sales and audience in magazine, broadcasting, books and movies" in the United States and constituting "a new Private Ministry of Information and Culture". (Bagdikian, 2004)¹⁵.

In the preface to the Fourth Edition published in 1992, Bagdikian observes "I derive no pleasure from having been correct. With each subsequent edition of this book, concentration of control over mass media has intensified. Ownership of most of the major media has been consolidated in fewer and fewer corporate hands, from fifty national and multinational corporations at the time of the first edition published in 1983 to twenty with this fourth edition". The implications, he points out go far beyond the economic. Concentration brings greater uniformity in content which means manipulation, it brings greater pressure to "emphasise events. Policies and politicians favoured by media owners". It also increases" the existing power of media owners to bend government policy to their collective will".

Another point about the situation of the media in the United States is relevant to the debate on whether the press in India should stay Indian. It is true that U.S media transnationals have been active in various foreign countries and also that over the past decade, foreign media and manufacturing firms have increased their presence as owners of American newspapers, magazines , book publishing firms, movie studies and recording companies. However it is not as though the doors to broadcasting in the most powerful media television and radios in the United States are open to foreign players. As Bagdikian point out, U.S law

“severely limits” foreign ownership in broadcasting (After all, even Murdoch had to give up his Australian nationality and become an American citizen in order to launch his Fox television network).

In an important supplementary analysis, “The Lords of the Global Village,” featured in *The Nation* (an American periodical) of June 12, 1989, Bagdikian focused on the appalling global implication of a handful of mammoth private organization dominating the world’s mass media. “As the world heads in the last decade of the twentieth century, five media corporations dominate the fight for the hundreds of millions of minds in the global village. The rankings of the giants change sometimes week by week as they compete to take over smaller companies” But the trend is assured.

Among other things, Bagdikian commented on the well substantiated fact that the lords of the global village have their own political agenda. All resist economic changes that do not support their own financial interests. **He offered a chilling conclusion,. Together they exert a homogenizing power over ideas, culture and commerce that affect populations larger than any in history.**

Blood and breasts journalism

As for what Murdoch represents, Bagdikian characterizes him as “the world’s principal purveyor of blood and breasts journalism and has several enlightening things to say about his methods. For example as is what he did to *The Sun* which he bought in 1969 and subsequently to *The Times* of London. “Murdoch lured readers into his tent by perfecting the prurient journalism that by now has become the standard at almost all his publications, a mix of lurid crime tales under souped up headlines and pinups with their bare breasts pushing out of page three. Even the august *Times* and *The Sunday Times* of London were not immune. After Murdoch acquired them in 1981 and they were too slow to introduce the titillation formula, a memorandum appeared demanding more sex. The next day *The Times* carried the headline, “How I sold myself to a sex club”. **(Journalists, 1994)¹⁶**

Murdoch also “unabashedly used his British papers to help Margaret Thatcher into power and in the United States wielded the same conservative clout in the Slavish service of the Reagan Administration”. His fox broadcasting chain of television

stations in the United States, the so called fourth network has offered a steady diet of sex, violence and peeping Tom programming.” Further insights are offered by Bagdikian into Murdoch’s ways of weaving his way through complicated laws that permit multinational corporations to escape taxes and into his acquisition technique and style.

Thus far the press in India has been protected from the Murdoch type of newspaper operations.

But Murdoch is not the only kind of foreign player we are concerned with. If the 1955-56 policy decision is reversed nothing will prevent in principle. American or West German or Israeli or Iranian or for that matter, Pakistani businessmen from operating with the Indian press sector by acquiring ownership interests, taking advantage of the new sovereignty minimal policy. Further, once the gates are open foreign governments or official agencies cannot be prevented from entering the press game in India, because they can very easily hid behind business interests or special arrangements tucked away offshore.

The difference such healthy and unavoidable foreign participation will make to the Indian press coverage of Kashmir or Punjab or ethnic troubles or communal processes (Sharma, J. S. (Ed.). (1962)¹⁷ And disturbances or nuclear policy or general politics can well be imagined. Discussing these implications has nothing to do with any conspiracy theory. The cultural and moral influence of the streamlined market tested “blood and breasts journalism aggressively promoted by Murdoch and other market leaders in England and the United States can also be

In 1990s when Congress spokesman Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, former editor of a Hindi daily said that the time was not appropriate to allow the entry of the foreign press media, he was speaking on his own bat. As a journalist he expected the decisions to be on those lines. He was pulled up, forced to retract in 48 hours and said that the party had come to the conclusion after the in-depth study of the subject that there should be no opposition to the entry of foreign media. The correction reflects the governments thinking because the new statement was made at this bidding.

Except for the two groups-ananda Bazar partrika and India Today most other groups of newspapers in the country were more or less opposed to the entry. The vernacular paper is particularly hostile. In the face of such protests, the prime Minister could not have acted otherwise. He was believed to have been touched by Malayala Manorama Chief editor K.M. Mathew's letter. Writing in anguish, Mr. Mathew said,"I wish to personally point out that it will be dangerous to open the floodgate for foreign newspapers to start publication in India which will not only destroy many independent newspapers, which are the pillars of democracy, but it will in the ultimate analysis destroy the great traditions and values of our country."

Let us now deal with arguments in favour of entry. The first point made is that in an overall atmosphere of liberalization, the press cannot be treated as a holy cow. It is argued that the liberalization of Indian Industry had to take place because it had lagged far behind the latest technology and had developed a hide bound attitude where it faced no competitions and enjoyed a protected market. This is not the case with the Indian press. It has been importing the latest technology and machinery for the last several decades even small newspapers have kept up with the revolution that computers and modern type setting machines have brought in its wake. The Press has not enjoyed a sheltered market because there are roughly 28,000 publications in India competing with one another for readers and advertisements. Every big city has 10-12 daily newspapers and they are competing fiercely.

As regards the argument of opening up the industry, it does not jell. A newspaper is not a product like steel, cloth or jute. It is a concomitance of news and views of ideas and thoughts of values and way of life of the nation. It is not a process where raw material is fed at one end to get a finished product at the other.

Writing is creativity not automation

Journalism is profession a vocation requiring specialized training in the field of learning and writing. Comparing it with the industry is lowering the lofty mind to the level of machine.

The press barons, who consider journalism an industry, should also realize this. The way some of them treat journalists in their fancy, flabby set up is primarily their ego problem to the detriment of professionalism. It is reprehensible. Also, all that appears

in our papers does not do us proud. There is a lot of rubbish and very little money is being spent on news gathering. There should be a relentless pressure on such point. But punishing the owners by admitting foreign print media is like throwing away the baby with the bath-water.

Media in Jharkhand

Though the regional media of Jharkhand is ruled by the popular newspapers Hindustan, Dainik Bhaskar and Dainik Jagran, who have nationwide presence, Jharkhand has some of its own newspapers and magazines, which are powerfully voicing the state's myriad social, political and economic concerns and are also keeping a keen eye on the national and international developments at the same time. Among the prominent English dailies The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, The Telegraph and The Pioneer are also being published from Ranchi and some of the important cities of Jharkhand. They have a voice of their own and an important role in influencing the top bureaucrats and academicians. They are also the agent of change and opinion making in the state.

PrabhatKhabar (Morning News): This Hindi daily voices the concerns of the common people and the development issues with a candid expression and uncommon introspectiveness. It has a strong local flavour in its contents, and has been a leading player in the media of Jharkhand. This paper has played an important role in various exposes such as fodder scam and land scam. Prabhat Khabar is one of the most circulated Hindi newspapers in Jharkhand. This paper has seen about 25 years of publication. The circulation of the paper is rising day by day and currently it is 2,70,000 copies. It provides entertainment as well as glamorous news, though the focus is on serious issues. However, of late, the newspaper has lost its pious path of being the 'Akhbarnahi nandolanhai,' and it has been blamed of being casteist bargainer. Most recently it also faced the allegations of political bias as its Chief Editor himself vied for the Rajya Sabha ticket of Janta Dal (United) and ultimately getting through to the upper house of the parliament allegedly by selling out the interests of his newspaper establishment.

Deen Dalit: This is a product of a washer man's sustained and uncompromising endeavors. Yes, a washer man in the state of Jharkhand is bringing out a weekly newspaper for the last 20 years that is totally handwritten! He has found out a unique

platform for spreading awareness among the people in the state. Gaurishankar Razak of Dumka town is the man behind the mission named 'Deen Dalit', which first came into picture two decades ago. The newspaper is registered with the RNI i.e. the Registrar of Newspaper, and is available in Hindi.

Ranchi Express: It is another important Hindi daily from Jharkhand, which attempts to give a holistic view of Jharkhand from the angle of socio-political, cultural and economic developments. This is the newspaper which, in fact, wholeheartedly supported the Jharkhand movement when most of the national media was against it. The newspaper has become part of many households in Jharkhand. However, in the recent years it has lost its grounds due to several reasons.

Balbir Dutt, the Chief Editor, of the newspaper is probably the longest serving Chief Editor of any daily newspaper in India and he has been serving the newspaper in this capacity for the last over five decades. He is considered to be the father of journalism in Jharkhand, especially in Ranchi.

Both Prabhat Khabar and Ranchi Express are available in most parts of the state and both have their web presence. The important Indian newspapers published in Bengali (for example, Anandabazar Patrika), Hindi and English are also available regularly in the big cities of the state.

The only radio station in the state of Jharkhand is the All India Radio that covers the entire state of Jharkhand. For the last few years some of the FM stations of the Radio have also come up but they are mostly engaged in entertainment. The national TV. broadcaster, Doordarshan, is available in most parts of the state.

The big cities of Jharkhand are served by the different T.V. channels that are available in India. These channels are activated through the cable network and DTH, as anywhere in India. The channels are also received through the satellite dishes in some of the interior parts of the state.

Local news channels, Kashish, News 11, Nakshatra, Aryan and Sahara as well as ETV are covering all the regions of the state.

The connection of the landline telephone is basically done through the BSNL (Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited), Tata Indicom (Tata Teleservices) and Reliance Infocomm.

These telephone services cover different parts of the state. Reliance Telecom, BSNL, Aircel, Airtel (GSM Service), Tata Indicom and Reliance Infocomm (CDMA Service) provide cellular service that covers all the main centers of the state. The Internet connection is provided in most of the headquarters of the district. Through these fixed line phone services and wireless modems, internet services are provided and people have access to the web-media.

In the state of Jharkhand, the community radio is fast emerging as one of the most important instruments for facilitating development across the underserved and neglected communities. The community radio raises the voices of those who are marginalized.

Statement of the Problem:

Communication has become part of the life of mankind and not a day passes without it. The media brings the people together and helps the globalization process in the modern scientific era. We believe that most of the problems of the world are communication problems and most of the problems in this world can be solved by more and better communication. Similarly most of the political problems and problems of unity and integration can be solved with appropriate and effective mode of communication. The study has attempted to find out the real role of the politicians and the media in the development of the Jharkhand state. How far they have been constructive and how far not? How much they have been instrumental in shaping the polity and the government of the state? It is interesting to know the cause of the political instability and backwardness of the state and media's role in governance. The research has examined the role of politicians and political parties in the development, administration, awareness and education of the people of Jharkhand and their role, if any, in ruining the fate of the state. The research has also analyzed the role of media in the development, administration, awareness and education of the people of Jharkhand. Analyzing the media behavior of different target groups such as tribal women, children and youth, the research has attempted to explore the areas of media responsibility. It will be useful for researchers, students of media and anthropology, policy makers and media men; as such, there is hardly any significant study on the

topic. Our research has focused on this important aspect and has come up with new facts and findings.

Aims and Objectives

The study intends to find out the role performance of politicians and media persons of Jharkhand towards the development of Jharkhand state. However, the specific objectives of the study are:

1. To find out if the role played by the politicians in Jharkhand is constructive or not.
2. To analyze whether the role played by media persons in Jharkhand is constructive.
3. To find out whether the role played by politicians and media persons have been instrumental in shaping the polity and government of the state.
4. To find out if there is any relation between political instability of Jharkhand and the role performance by media persons.
5. To find out the relation between role played by politicians and the political atmosphere in Jharkhand.

Reference

1. Dutt, B. (2014). Kahani Jharkhand Andolan ki. Ranchi: Crown Publication.
2. http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-07-08/news/40443516_1_jharkhand-mukti-morcha-hemant-soren-shibu-soren.
3. <http://www.niticentral.com/2013/07/13/nine-governments-in-13-years-the-fragile-politics-of-jharkhand-103436.html>
4. Dutt, B. (2014). Kahani Jharkhand Andolan ki. Ranchi: Crown Publication.
5. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.*

7. *ibid.*
8. <http://www.niticentral.com/2013/07/13/nine-governments-in-13-years-the-fragile-politics-of-jharkhand-103436.html>
9. Munda, Ramdayal and Basu Malik, Sanjay (2003) *The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples' Travel for Autonomy in India*. International work group for indigenous affairs, Kopen Hagen, Denmark.
10. Mahato, Shailendra (2011) *Jharkhand Ki Samargatha*. Danish Distributers, Delhi.
11. Raghavan, G. N. (1987). *PTI Story: Origin and Growth of the Indian Press and the News Agency*. Press Trust of India.pp1-35
12. *Bombay Union of Journalists (Journalists, 1994).pp8-16*
13. Jeffrey, R. (2000). *India's Newspaper Revolution: Capitalism, Politics and the Indian*. Language Press, 1(9), 77-9.
14. *Bombay Union of Journalists (Journalists, 1994).pp8-16*
15. Bagdikian, B. H. (2004). *The new media monopoly*. Beacon Press.
16. *Bombay Union of Journalists (Journalists, 1994).pp17-24*
17. Sharma, J. S. (Ed.). (1962). *India's struggle for freedom: select documents and sources (Vol. 1)*. S. Chand.