

Tour Report of the study group and statement of the Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, I lay on the Table a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following:—

(i) Report of the Study Tour of Study Group of the Committee on its visit to Agra during August, 1990.

(ii) Statement showing action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in Chapters I, II and III and final replies in respect of Chapter V of Fortieth Report (Eighth Lok Sabha) on Reservations for and employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited (Hyderabad and Hardwar Unit).

(iii) Statement showing action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in Chapters I, II and III and final replies in respect of Chapter V of Forty-first Report (Eighth Lok Sabha) on Socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

(iv) Statement showing action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in Chapters I, II and III and final replies in respect of Chapter V of Forty-fourth Report on Socio-economic conditions of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territory of Lakshadweep.

(v) Statement showing action taken by Government on the recommendations contained in Chapter I, II and III and final replies in respect of Chapter V of Forty-fifth Report on Reservations for and employment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bank of Baroda and credit facilities provided by the Bank to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Indian Ports (Amendment) Bill 1990

THE MINISTER OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN): Madam, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Ports Act, 1908.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Madam, I introduce the Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, further discussion on the Prasar Bharati Bill....

श्रीनती प्रतिभा सिंह (बिहार): महोदया बिहार में फायरिंग हुई है, उसके बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहती थी...

उपसभापति: इसके बाद मैं आपको परमिट करूंगी। अभी डिस्कशन है बिल पर, पहले इसको पूरा हो जाने दें। फिर आप बोलें, मनोरमा पांडे जी भी आई थीं, तब जो कुछ कहना हो कहें... But not now.

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am thankful to you that you have given me an opportunity.... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not now. When the Minister gives the statement, I will allow it. Please sit down. When the Minister comes with a statement, I will allow it. At the moment, we are taking up the Prasar Bharati Bill. Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu to speak.

PRASAR BHARATI (BROADCASTING CORPORATION OF INDIA) BILL, 1990—(Contd.)

SHRI RAJNI RANJAN SAHU (Bihar): Madam, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on such an important Bill, namely, the Prasar Bharati Bill, 1990.

[Shri Rajni Ranjan Sahu]

Madam, had you not been there yesterday, the Government would have bulldozed this Bill without any discussion. Once again, I express my hearty thanks to you.

The way in which the Government is rushing through this Bill to fulfil its election promise gives rise to several doubts in the minds of the people. I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command, that the country is paying a heavy price, so much so that several people have been killed only yesterday in Patna due to the lack of imagination and perception on the part of this Government.

A minority Government which has been supported by only 17 per cent of the electorate has no right to play with the lives of the people nor it has the right to destroy the entire fabric of the electronic media. The very approach shows that their much-trumpeted promise of autonomy in their election manifesto is phoney and fraudulent. I do not want to go into any controversy and I do not want to allege, but the worst offender in this game is no less a person than the Prime Minister himself.

It is well known that the Government has not given due consideration to the reports of several committees and to the findings of the study group set up earlier. It is needless to emphasise the importance of the electronic media in the coming Century. We should not take it lightly. Today, the country is passing through a grave crisis. The caste war is a gift of this Government. We are getting weak every day and our border is being threatened with war. I would like to know from the hon. Minister and my friends here, at this juncture, is it desirable to hand over such an important instrument, the electronic media, to a few people?

Madam, we are not opposed to autonomy. We have reiterated it several times, right from 1948. Our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru, advocated autonomy in the Constituent Assembly on 15th March, 1948. We have also said in our manifesto....

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): Madam, who is piloting the Bill?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Unnikrishnan is taking notes. Mr. Minister, please take notes.

Mr. Upendra, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, has gone to the Lok Sabha. He has got some work. He will come back in half-an-hour. Mr. Unnikrishnan is here.

SHRI RAJNI RANJAN SAHU: It does not matter. Mr. Unnikrishnan is there.

As I said, we are for functional autonomy. We are for functional autonomy for the 28,000 workers employed in the electronic media, but not such type of autonomy which is being proposed and argued through this Bill. There is total confusion and I can say that the Government's strategy is to perpetuate its baneful control over this powerful weapon.

In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to clause 23 where the word 'direction' has been used. This is a clear indication of the Government's strategy. I am thankful to our learned friend, Mr. N. E. Balaram, who pointed out about this in his speech. Balaramji is a very learned person and a freedom fighter. I would urge upon him to rise to the occasion, to rise above the petty bindings, and ask the Government not to pass this Bill in a hurry. This Bill should not be passed in a hurry and huff.

Autonomy is an ideal concept. But the ideal is just like the horizon which you can see but cannot reach. Very rightly, our learned colleague, Kapil Vermaji, said that there is no country in the world where there is full auto-

onomy, I do not know how this Government perceives it. I do not know what is its perception of autonomy. On the one hand they are talking of autonomy and on the other we find that the official media is being used by the two Central Cabinet Ministers for propagating civil war which is a cognisable offence. This Government does not have rudimentary respect for the law of the land and it is using the electronic media for subversion and disruption. The country has not forgotten the blatant misuse of electronic media which the Janata Dal did in their earlier incarnation of the Janata Party. They were the worst offenders in order to minimise the autonomy and professionalism.

I was hearing our friend Mathur Saheb. He had all praise for Shri Advani, the then Minister for Information, but it is he who shamelessly and blatantly used the official media to launch a campaign of vilification, character assassination and calumny against the late Prime Minister Indiraji. The House and the country is aware of this. This Government has come riding on the crest of high promises for providing right to information and it is established that in search to inform people, sovereignty of Parliament is lost. The Government in usual hypocrisy has not talked about it.

The print media which accounts for much larger question of information is still in the hands of private people who are not accountable to anyone. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he has got any idea in his mind, or what is his perception about this print media which in recent years has taken over the making and unmaking of the Government.

Madam, again I would like to reiterate that in this Bill there is nothing for the employees working there. This Bill has not said a word about the autonomy to right from the DG to the employees. On the other hand, lock stock and barrel have been transferred in the hands of a few. So, neither the Parliament nor the people have been taken into confidence. If all this is being transferred, the National

Front Government is deceiving the people. On the one hand they are talking of the workers participation and on the other they are appointing two representatives from the employees in the Board without any right to vote. The Director Generals of AIR and Doordarshan are ex-officio members who will be working as clerks in the Board.

I would like to draw your attention to clause 4. Look at the manner in which the Chairman and other Governors shall be appointed by the President of India on the recommendation of the Committee consisting of three members, that is, Chairman of the Council of States, that is the Vice President of India, the Chairman Press Council and a nominee of the Government. I have a serious objection to this particular appointment of the nominee, by the Government. In place of that I suggest that the committee should be expanded. It should have five, six or seven members and the Lok Sabha Speaker or the Lok Pal should be its members.

Again the provision of his removal from the office is also highly misleading, that is, he can be removed only by the President of India on the ground of misbehaviour and the misbehaviour will be considered only when the Supreme Court indicts him. It is highly preposterous that the President can only suspend him on the order of the Supreme Court.

In the end, Madam, the Bill does not mention anywhere about giving any autonomy either to Akashvani or Doordarshan. There is no provision for giving greater freedom to those people who have worked all their lives to make Akashvani and Doordarshan successful.

With these words, Madam, I oppose this Bill and propose that the Bill may be sent to a Select Committee. Thank you

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Professor Thakur. I must announce that at 1.30 we will ask the Minister to reply. I have before me now, 10 Members. So I would request you to please stick to the ten-minute time. Otherwise, some Members may not get a chance to speak. So, please be kind to them.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): Thank you, Madam. I appreciate your concern. To begin with, let me put on record my protest that a part of the agreement last night also envisaged that the Minister will be here and listen to the debate.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is coming. He has sent a letter. He has some work....

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: There is a indifferent replacement who is not listening very carefully, it shows that the Minister is not serious about it.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Madam, this is casting an aspersion. This is very unfair

THE MINISTER OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (**SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN**): My colleague had to rush to the other House on urgent work. It has happened all the time and, I am sure, the Member is experienced enough to understand these things.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: And, secondly, sometimes some people don't look serious, but they are very serious. That Mr. Unnikrishnan keeps his smile on his face doesn't mean he is not serious. He is a very serious person.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: I accept your assurance on his behalf, Madam. We hope that it will be reflected in the reply of the Minister.

Madam, while we are discussing this Bill we appreciate that any country and the citizens of that country need access to entertainment, information, news and views, facts and their analysis and all these in relation to past, present as well as something in recent future. We are interested in the domestic components of the news and views as well as the international components. Now, all this has to be related to the national milieu. We have certain national concerns, we have certain international concerns, and all these concerns have emerged or thus grow in the context of our cultural, social and historical setting

There is no doubt that we have grown a lot over the last four decades. It is a rich country, but it can be richer. At the social plane we have certain cohesiveness, but there are certain problems which bring pressure and exert not so healthy an influence on our social fabric. Now, internationally also we want to raise our voice, we want to be listened to, we want to bring about a certain degree of sanity, peace and universal brotherhood in the comity of nations. For all these, both for domestic and international interaction, we need a vehicle to transmit our message with effectiveness.

[**The Vice-Chairman** (**Shri M. A. Baby**) in the Chair]

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the electronic media constitutes a very powerful tool in this regard. Its capability is growing with every additional forward step in the technological field. Its outreach, its penetration, its capacity to influence individual and group thought processes are phenomenal. Now we want a democratic consolidation, we want secular strength and we want egalitarian forces to consolidate in this country. In all these, the media can be an aid. It can be a source of cohesive consolidation, it can strengthen the richness of our national life and it can keep the country together.

In this context, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know that the media is not independent so far as the world setting is concerned. The power substantially rests with certain international communities in the international media network. The flow of information and the processing of information are not necessarily equitable

across the nations. It is in that context that a new information order was promoted as a concept, with a certain number of countries—India included—and we know the fate of that. Similarly, in any domestic context, if there is a rebellion, if there is a threat to established Governments, the first target is the media installation.

The point I am trying to make is, both in the international context and the domestic context, the vitality, the strength and the capability of the media constitute a very critical link. Now, the Government has taken an initiative. I welcome the initiative, but the fact remains that this is a minority Government, it is a divided Government at that, and it is a confused Government so far as the policy initiative in the basic area is concerned.

Much has been talked about the manifesto. When reference comes to the manifesto, where did the idea get first conceived? Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is always a problem, with all respect to my colleagues, of presumption on paternity versus the fact of maternity. Whether Rajiv Gandhi has the paternity of the idea through the Congress Party manifesto or the illegitimate claimers of paternity of the idea from the other group, is a matter of opinion. But the fact that Mr. Upendra happens to be a Member of the Rajya Sabha is a reality. Politically he got delivered in the Rajya Sabha and has had his upbringing in the Rajya Sabha. It shows that the maternity of this Bill is established in the sense that Rajya Sabha, wholly and solely, has a lot to do so far as the fostering of the idea and the further evolution of the steps at the Government level are concerned. In that context I would like to submit that much of this controversy that is going on, as to why the Congress Party has changed its stand in the Rajya Sabha, is hogwash.

After all, what is the very concept of the second House? Do you expect the Rajya Sabha to endorse, by voice vote, on the first point, whatever has been done in

the Lok Sabha? So, this controversy is baseless. The basic strength of the Rajya Sabha is that it gives a second look, and a somewhat dispassionate look, at that and, if there are certain lapses, as our colleague, Shri Salve, mentioned, if you take all the amendments in the Lok Sabha accepted by the Government so generously—apparent generosity accepted—was a kind of political trading and, in the process, the whole structure of the Bill has been put to jeopardy.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say here that a series of objectives have been identified and in order for the objectives to be able to be met, there is a need that the basic structure should be subservient to that. It must help the organization to work in that direction.

Now let us come to the objectives themselves. One of the principal objectives is to promote autonomy. Sir, you do not promote autonomy by token gestures. Unless there is a substantive step towards autonomy and this substantiveness is carried forward with a credibility so far as the effectiveness is concerned, it will remain only a token thing. And for that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, does the Government still retain with the executive, on balance, a larger power to influence the functioning of the Corporation or not? Where is the funding coming from? Primarily, the funding is coming from grants-in-aid or loans or whatever it is. In that context, the good old saying is, one who pays for the piper calls for the tune. If there is to be autonomy, there should have been some provision for the corpus fund to develop over a period of time.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is a provision that it will undertake advertisements. Advertisement is a revenue earning proposition. Now, you can control the time for advertisement but the agencies, whether it is the producers or the idea-men—domestic and international—if they pay for that, can influence the whole social life. There is a great risk that if it is an open-ended use of advertisements, then even multinationals can come in and they can put through their products and their ideas to the disadvantage of the national organization.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I thought I haven't still begun.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You are encroaching upon the time of Dr. Ratnakar Pandey ... (Interruptions) ... It is not fair for a Professor to encroach upon the time of a Doctor.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: He is a Principal, Sir.

(Interruptions)...

श्री ज.दीश प्रताप नाथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बेटा बड़ा दीजिए, पोरिमंड खत्म हो जाएगा।

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: Time or not, Professors are used to being listened.

Mr. Chairman, if you look at the basic structure, then, there is a provision for the Board, there is a provision for the Broadcasting Council and the Parliamentary Committee. Together they are supposed to promote the objectives, among other objectives, the autonomy of media.

But look at the composition and method provided for it, of the power of the executive to influence all the bodies. I need not go into those details. Salveji put forward all those points in a very lucid way. But, if you take the Broadcasting Council in particular, it has the right to look at the complaint, but what happens finally is that it emerges as a toothless body, it has no power to direct that these complaints should be redressed to the advantage of the aggrieved party or to the satisfaction of an independent party. Similarly there is the Parliamentary Committee. We appreciate that for the first time a provision has been made in a particular context for the Parliamentary Committee to be there.

First, about the composition itself, I submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, as I said, the idea belongs to Rajya Sabha. Mr.

Upendra was born and raised politically here. So, Rajya Sabha should have 15 Members rather than the Lok Sabha. In the Finance Bill they have interest. They do a great deal, go into it a great deal. Rajya Sabha, by its very nature, is the House of elders. Perhaps people have more time to reflect. They can take an overview of that, an inclusive view of that. So, more representation should come to Rajya Sabha so far as this Board is concerned because it is an intellectual exercise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): With that suggestion, you may conclude.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: You look at the problem of the national media. It requires a reflective capability, it requires intellectual wisdom, and not the pressure of the heat of the constituency. We have our constituency. Our constituency is not one local unit. And then we are not overwhelmed by financial issues.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now please conclude. Your time is over now.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: So, I would recuest, through you, the Minister. Okay, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

I would like to submit that within the broad structure, the Bill is still loaded in favour of the executive, number one. Number two, Parliament has a role. It is just a token item. It has no power, no effective way to influence the working of that. So far as the Broadcasting Council is concerned, it has been provided for. But it has no powers again. It is again a toothless one.

So, in conclusion, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say that the initiative is welcome. The idea is well taken. But it is a borrowed idea, and it lacks the courage to go the whole hog in terms of bringing in substantive autonomy in the working of the media.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please conclude.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: So far as the Broadcasting Board is concerned, it is dominated by the executive through the powers of nomination, through the powers to further change or supersede the body.

Then the Broadcasting Council requires further power to direct the appropriate body, particularly the Executive Director to process those complaints to the satisfaction of all.

Similarly, the Parliamentary Committee should have much more opportunity to look into the working of Corporation.

In that context, in the amendment we have suggested that to take the country into confidence the Council should arrange to prepare a theme paper on the broadcasting scene in retrospect once in two years and also give a prospective view of the content and the direction in which all these activities will be directed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, the objectives are wide ranging and all-inclusive. Whether they are effectively likely to be met or not depends on the financial package behind it. And in view of the fact that the financial package is coming primarily or almost entirely from the Government, the Corporation is going to be hamstrung. So, from that point of view, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to submit that the Government should look at it in a more serious way.

On the objectives part, two minor points, Mr. Vice-Chairman, and I would have done.

Number one, it talks about women and weaker sections of the society. I have heard our woman colleague quite often complaining that there should be no condescending attitude towards women. We should think of the possibility that this Corporation will create opportunities for the richer potential of the women-folk to be brought to the

best use of the national and social and cultural life of the country rather than simply saying, "uplift of women." Uplift of what? Of all the downtrodden. They will always be at the receiving end of a condescending attitude. We should grow out of that. Similarly, it talks about evils like untouchability. The greatest evil today engulfing the country, which is likely to tear us apart in the years and decades ahead with its venom is casteism and communalism that has been unleashed. There should have been specific mention that the entire media activities will be directed towards fighting against this new Avtar of the old evil i.e. casteism and communalism, which is being, unfortunately promoted for political expediency considerations by the powers currently having influence on the working of the media.

In the end, I would like to say that we retain interest in the functional autonomy of the Corporation. We had ourselves announced that in our election manifesto and some of our colleagues talked about that. We would like to offer our constructive cooperation in making its objectives effective, but only when they come out clean with an open mind rather than with a kind of a conceited way of doing things where there is still executive control and it tries to give a camouflaged message that we are promoting autonomy. As proof of Government's sincerity about it more power should be given to the Parliamentary Committee, to the Broadcasting Council and the funding arrangement should be allowed in such a way that the corpus fund over a period develops, which will take care at least of a substantial part of the cost of running the Corporation. Advertisements are allowed, but they should not be allowed to become a kind of open-ended opportunities through which multi-national and external agencies increasingly influence our national life and policies.

So far as its different bodies are concerned, membership of that should be confined to Indian citizens. Otherwise there is risk that external agencies in-

[Prof. Chandresh P. Thakur]

terested in destabilising India will take charge and begin to influence this powerful instrument to our disadvantage.

With these words, I would like to retain our healthy criticism and opposition to the provisions of the Bill to fulfil those objectives. With this in view we have moved a series of amendments. Our primary amendment is looking to the critical gaps in the Bill, the Government may accept that this Bill be sent to the Select Committee for a considered second thought on it and so that it can come out with recommendations which can help in effectively promoting the objectives of the Government for having useful, worthwhile and autonomous media which will serve the national, social and cultural objectives, which we cherish, to be promoted in a better way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): I would just like to remind the Members that as per the decision yesterday, at 1.30 the Minister has to reply. So, we have to be very restrained in taking time. For example, Prof. Thakur has taken seven minutes more than his allotted time. I do not mind it because he has been making only relevant points, but the point is that other Speakers will have to reduce their time. I think Shri Masodkar will set an example on that. Shri Masodkar.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR (Maharashtra): Thank you. Really speaking I was not intending to participate in the debate. But with a view to show how many confusions are there, we have sample-surveyed provisions of the Bill and have given certain amendments.

The first question is—and which the House should seriously debate upon—what type of autonomy the Government wants to confer through this particular Bill? You know the concept of autonomy has the widest possible horizon—right from the Governmental autonomy to creating a super-power within the structure of our Constitution. What

type of autonomy are we intending to build? This Bill is totally inadequate to answer this question. As you are aware—are my learned colleagues have already referred to it—the stand of the Congress had been right from the days of Pt. Nehru that we are for functional autonomy. Functional autonomy in the Government's own view is a concept which this Government should have considered and appreciated. Now, what is happening to this autonomy? Is the Government wanting to create one more power within the structure of our Constitution? Let me pose this question to the House. Information and Broadcasting is an important wing of the democratic Government. Are you going to sever this wing from the Governmental structure? What is going to happen and which particular interaction would be there? Has this Government or the particular department which has moved this particular Bill taken care of the views of the Defence? I am really happy that Ramanna Ji is here. What is the view of the Defence sensitivity on this? This is a sensitive area where comes the broadcasting, where comes what you call the Door-darshan. Having they taken the views of the Defence Ministry as well of the External Affairs Ministry? Have they taken the views of the Home Ministry? Are they not aware of the threats we are facing in Kashmir and also in Punjab as well as in Assam and on other frontiers? Here, on the floor of this House we have heard the statements that the security of our Door-darshan and radio installations is in danger in Kashmir. There is an open threat to it. What is there to protect these in this Bill? Tomorrow, we put our seal on this Bill and make it a law, but who is going to protect these installations? Is there any mechanism provided in this Bill? Or is it that just in the name of the manifesto, we are going to do some novel experiment? I do not know your personal views, Mr. Vice-Chairman, but politically we are passing through a phase which is very very sensitive. This country, as I said in my speech, has been pushed to the brink of war on the one hand and actually a caste war is raging for a few

weeks. Therefore, there is a duty on this House, notwithstanding the objection that in the other House it had received a unanimous support to be cautions. A very very high responsibility is there on this House as the House of the Elders to ever pause and ponder. Let us pause and ponder as to what we are doing? Are we throwing away information and broadcasting in the hands of a few bureaucrats, a few academicians and a few elites? How the Government of India will protect if there is an outrageous assault by the terrorists? Have we got the opinion of the Defence at least? You are aware that with the advancement of technology we are having satellites. I read the Bill that transfers properties to this Broadcasting Corporation. Now, what is going to happen to our satellites? Is the Government going to control or is the Corporation going to control? These are fundamental issues which have not appeared to the mind of the Government. In ugly haste—I am using this word—the Government has rushed through a particular type of measure and even friends on that side are doubting a very very serious effort to ask this House to pause and ponder. This is the function of this House. We are the Council of States. Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me remind Hon'ble Members of this House what are the interests of the several States of Indian federation? There has been a demand by the States to have a second channel. Is any of their interests protected in this Bill? These are the very people, when the other side was ruling here, who were coming out with the plea for protecting interests of the States on the TV. What type of interests does it protect? There is no representation to the State; who will protect the interests of the States? It is one thing -- and I again repeat—that when Information and Broadcasting is a Governmental function, it is exposed to review by this House and by the other House. Now we are diluting our democracy by bringing forward this measure.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Are you categorically
492 RS—9.

demanding that the second channel should be given to the States?

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I am saying that no thought has been given to this aspect in the Bill. The question of giving the second channel is a policy matter. You have rightly posed it but that policy will be decided now by whom after this Bill becomes a law? Let us have an answer from the Government. Now, a Corporation will decide giving a channel even to the Municipality. It will run counter to the policy of the State; the national policy of cohesion, unity, integrity amongst the people will be affected. I find at several places very loose wording has been used and I will come to it and to the structure of the Bill. Why I am saying this is because, firstly, there is no concept of autonomy clearly brought out by the Bill. Secondly, the Government is giving away its power of regulating information and broadcasting. It is a power and you cannot give it away only on the ground that it was abused. If it was abused, you have used it. You are there as a Government. You use it properly. It is no ground that only because it was abused, you will not exercise this power; otherwise don't reign, don't have the Government. You must walk out as a Government. This is a method of giving away the governmental functions in favour of some few elites. You can choose your elites. There are several bureaucrats who do this function. But I personally feel, whatever may be the view of the parties, my party also included—that this is a very, very sensitive matter to surrender governmental power. Also this touches on our culture. This touches on our unity. This touches our people and I am afraid we are making a hotch-potch bureaucratic organ like this. We are creating a chaos in the information and broadcasting system of this country. I would suggest that the amendments which are moved by this party should be referred to a Select Committee. This should be welcomed by the Government and the suggestion should be accepted in good grace so that a second thought can be given. It is possible that the Select

[Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar]

Committee may come up with better model and ideas. It will immunise the system from what they call abuse of power, abuse of the governmental power. Otherwise you know all our powers will have to be shed. If this is the only ground which was made by some of the speakers.... (*time bell rings*)... I will need some more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): If other speakers agree to this. You have made relevant points

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I do not know whether they are relevant or not but I am sure that my mind is with the subject. I want to impress upon this House that kindly don't take it lightly. Don't take it in a partisan way. Don't take it as a challenge only because the Congress did not do it and you want to do it. That is not the spirit in which you can run the Government. You must run it with certain objectives, with certain purposes and your objectives must be clear and without any confusion and that is what is lacking in the present policy. A few samples, as I said, are explicit and I have given it in my amendments. Some of the amendments moved by Prof. Thakur. I have already endorsed but I will point out and urge upon the Government and the hon. Minister who is here certain things and I am certain that he will take note of them. If the House turns to Clause 4, appointment of Chairman and other Members, an administrative Committee is being constituted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): The Minister can take note of your points provided Madam Alva does not distract his attention.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I am absolutely sure that he will not be distracted by Mrs. Alva.

Sir, a very serious thing is happening if Clause 4 goes as it is and if the Government intends that it should go like that. The Vice-President of India is being dragged into question. See the

position of the Vice-President of India in Clause 4. Are we going to make the office of the Vice-President of India, a debatable office, a disputable office? I am asking myself: What are we doing? The Chairman of the Council of States, who is the Vice-President of India shall be the Chairman of the Committee. Now he is our Chairman but his view is not final. Now the recommendations of this Committee will go for the approval of the President. It is possible that though the Vice-President heads this Committee, the President may turn it out. Is it the function of the Vice-President? What is the motive behind Clause 4? Do you want internecine war between the President and the Vice-President of this country? You are well aware and as you have rightly pointed out when the word "President" is used, the consultations, the recommendations of this Committee will be routed through the Ministry. So the Vice-President's view and the view of this Committee will again go to the Cabinet and thereafter it will reach the President. I personally feel that this is a denigration of the Office of the Vice-President.

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): Will you kindly yield?

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I can yield but he is not permitting me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Yielding or not yielding is the right of the Member. The Chair does not come into the picture.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I have no objection.

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI: It is implicit in the Bill that the recommendations of this three-man Committee will be binding on the Government. Secondly, the Chairman of the Press Council is also selected by a Committee of three in which the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha are also there. So just to remind the House, there is that precedent also.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I would have been happy if some-

thing like that was there but there is nothing of that kind. Even the Committee's recommendations are not final. Even these three members can fight among themselves. Your Vice-President and other two members can fight for the purpose of selection. Please open the bill. This is what is happening. Some catchy idea is being put in the form of statute and pushed in this House to give it a form saying that here is your autonomy and go on saying that we are giving something progressive. Are we really progressive or are we killing our institution? As I said, we are diluting our democracy, the very vital wing of the Government to project itself through information and broadcasting. This is the first. Then, secondly, we are diluting the Constitutional offices. Similarly, in one provision, I want to point out to the House, the Supreme Court has been dragged in for the purpose of finding out misbehaviour. Let us assume that according to the Supreme Court, some misbehaviour has been committed, will that decision be final? Will that person have not right of challenging it in the lower court? So again you are dragging the Supreme Court machinery into dispute. What is happening to the Vice-President will also happen to the Supreme Court. There is no finality. At least the Government should consider to give finality, in clause 4 in a view of the Vice-President's office. It should be binding on the Government. Let us accept it but the Government will have to consider it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): You have taken fifteen minutes.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I will take two more minutes. I will just mention only points and leave it at that. There are several provisions which do require a second look. Clause 7 is one of them. So also Clauses 13 and 14. I want the hon. Minister and hon. Member, Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi to kindly see the wording in Clause 12 and see the potential dangers in the structure of this particular wing. It merely says, "The Corporation shall in the discharge of its functions be guided"... the words are 'be guided', it is not bound. Are you satisfied with this wording—in the hands of strangers who are not part of any de-

mocratic set-up, who are not answerable to Parliament? Are you satisfied? What will happen to the objectives of the Government? I am taking a very small illustration—family planning—and if this is the objective of this Government, the Corporation says, no. What is going to happen? Are you going to open second or have a new Doordarshan or a radio programme? Are you going to buy time? You are not simply visualising what are the complications you are introducing. It is the function of the Broadcasting Ministry to broadcast what are the governmental policies because we are a welfare society, we are a welfare State. Our policies must go to the people. Now the words are: "inform, educate and entertain the public". Is it the governmental function to entertain the public. I did not give the amendment but I would very much like the Government to expand upon these words in section 12 by saying, "public at large as well strive to inculcate the spirit of unity and equality amongst the people". This is the essence of this country. There is what you call Indian culture and that culture does not recognise division on the bases of caste, it does not recognise the division by creed. Where is the scope for that particular culture? So, Sir, I am sorry and I would like to say, the Bill does not satisfy my inquisitive mind. There are so many lacunae, so many pitfalls, so many drawbacks. There has not been a mature thinking behind the provisions of this Bill and therefore I would very much like the Government to have a little thought and call everybody together. If that is not possible, refer it to a larger body, what you call the Select Committee of this House. That is the function of this House. Don't object to that. I was surprised, Sir—I am making it a special mention to you—that TV and radio made it a first point that Congress is opposing this Bill and the Ministry is very well behind this news. What they are scoring? I am happy that Congress has rather stopped to ponder. I am happy about it. The Government should welcome this. This is the function of this House. I am again saying it. That is why, Rajya Sabha or the Council of States was conceived by the constitutional method.

[Shri Bhaskar Annaji Masodkar]

With these words, I again urge upon the Government to welcome the resolution which seeks the reference to the Committee of the House for a larger consideration. It will take the views of the public and also of departments like defence, I am again saying you have not given thought to the defence and security.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN: Sir, I am sure, the hon. Member for whom I have great respect, knows that whenever a Bill is introduced, it is always circulated for opinions of most of the Ministries and their views are always taken into consideration.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: It must be so when the Minister says this was so, I had not been a Minister. He has been a Minister. I must accept what he says. But what I find, Mr. Minister, with due respect to this Government, we read many stories that there are division among the Cabinet on various issues. So I am making a point that if it is not done, have the views of the experts what are the implications from the security angle, from the angle of the internal peace and public order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now please conclude.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I have already concluded. I am just adding to it. So my conclusion is, thank you.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अपने मुझे प्रसार भारती विधेयक पर बोलने का मौक़ दिया, मैं कृतज्ञ हूँ आपको। उपनिषद में कहा गया है—सत्यं ज्ञानं अमृतं ब्रह्म या अमृतं ब्रह्म का ज्ञान ही सत्य है और सूचना व प्रसारण मंत्रालय जो कुछ भी सत्य है धरती पर या अंतरिक्ष में, उन सबसे जनचेतना को समन्वित करके सूचना देने का सही काम करती है और यह सरकार अपने चुनौती घोषणापत्र और अक्षम शासन प्रणाली के दौर में पर खड़ी है, बुरी तरह से दुविधा में है और स्थिति

ऐसी है तुलसी दास जी के शब्दों में कहा जाये कि—

धर्म सनेह उभय मति धेरी ।
भई गति सांप छछुंदर केरी ॥

सांप और छछुंदर की गति में यह सरकार है इस बिल को लेकर के। पूर्ण रूप से न इसे कार्यान्वित कर पा रही है और न अपने द्वारा बनाये गये इस स्वायत्तता के झूठे जाल से निकल पा रही है। स्वायत्ततापूर्ण स्वतंत्रता नहीं है और स्वतंत्रता इसमें है लेकिन स्वायत्तता का अर्थ स्वतंत्रता नहीं है बल्कि आत्मालोचन करके तार्किक सामंजस्य की स्वायत्तता देना ही स्वायत्तता की कसौटी मानी गयी है। देश जनतांत्रिक विकास के जिस मोड़ से गुजर रहा है वहाँ इस तरह के सरकार के समर्थ प्रचार संचार माध्यमों का सरकारी नियंत्रण में रहना बहुत जरूरी है ताकि लोग स्वायत्तता की आड़ में देश की सर्वतोभावेन प्रगति में बाधाएँ न खड़ी कर सकें। यह हमारी जनतांत्रिक राजनीति तथा विकासोन्मुख प्रक्रियाओं की संधि है। इसका उपयोग देश की एकता और अखंडता के लिए सजग होकर राष्ट्रनिर्माण के आह्वान में एक जुट होकर हमें करना है। अगर इसका संयंत्रित प्रयोग न हुआ, नियंत्रित प्रयोग न हुआ तो देश की एकता और अखंडता खतरे में पड़ जायेगी।

चाणक्य से बड़े राजनीतिज्ञ आज नये पैदा हो गये हैं। चाणक्य ने भी कहा था कि राज्य का संसाधनों पर पूर्ण अधिकार होना चाहिये। जय शंकर प्रसाद ने भी कहा था —

शक्ति के विद्युत कण जो व्यर्थ सकल बिखरें
हैं हों निरुपाय समन्वय उनका करे समस्त
विजयिनी मानवता बन जाये।

यह जो मीडिया है मानवता को विजयिनी बनाने का एक साधन है और इस पर सरकार का नियंत्रण हटा करके, यह जो अल्पमत सरकार है जो कुछ प्रसार भारती विधेयक के माध्यम से करने जा रही है, मैं स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जनता, संसद, आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन के कर्मचारियों और इस मीडिया में लगे हुये सारे लोगों को

छोड़ा देने वाला विधेयक है। इस विधेयक पर न व्यापक वार्ता की गयी, न बहस करायी गयी। संसद का नियंत्रण इन माध्यमों पर से समाप्त होने की यह प्रक्रिया है और व्यवसायिकता के नाम पर बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों विज्ञापन देकर इन माध्यमों पर नियंत्रण कर लेंगी। इसके बाद सरकार और संसद उसमें कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं कर पायेगी। यह विधेयक स्वायत्तता देने के बजाय उच्छृंखलता प्रदान करना है और बिल के तहत प्रस्तावित स्वायत्तता निगम की निर्भरता प्रत्यक्ष रूप से बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों पर आधारित हो जायेगी क्योंकि वे ही अगली स्थानीय एजेंसीज के द्वारा इसे सँभाल मुड़या करायेंगी। इस निगम का मूल स्त्रोत तो सरकारों से रखा गया है, पर आवृत्ति खर्च के लिये कौमशियल स्त्रोत पर निर्भर किया गया है। इस तरह जो लोग मीडिया को पैसा देंगे यह मीडिया उनके अप्रत्यक्ष अधिकार में चली जायेगी। कौमशियल चैनल के साथ-साथ एक राष्ट्रीय चैनल भी होना चाहिये। दूरदर्शन और आकाशवाणी का नियंत्रण उसके कर्मचारियों के हाथ में जैसे था, होना चाहिये। इस बिल से संसद की कोई भूमिका नहीं रह जायेगी और न ही निगम पर सरकार का या हम सांसदों का कोई अधिकार रह पायेगा। संसद इसकी सालाना रिपोर्ट पर केवल बहस कर सकती है, चर्चा कर सकती है जिसकी बहुत अधिक उपयोगिता मैं नहीं समझता हूँ। इसलिये इस विधेयक को प्रवर समिति को वापिस कर देना चाहिये, यह मेरी मांग है और प्रवर समिति इस पर पूरा विश्लेषण करके गंभीर ढंग से चिंतन करके इसे सदन में फिर से लाये। प्रवर समिति इस पर गंभीर ढंग से चिंतन करके सदन में इसे फिर से लाए। प्रसार भारती संसद के माध्यम से देश की जनता के प्रति उत्तरदायी भी रहनी चाहिये। इसलिए इस विधेयक में ऐसी व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए कि जिससे संसद की एक समिति इन संस्थाओं के रोजाना के कामकाज में दखलअंदाजी न करके भी उनके कामकाज पर नियंत्रण रखे और नजर रखे। प्रसार भारती का

मूल लक्ष्य प्रचार न होकर आम आदमी के चित्र को प्रस्तुत करने का होना चाहिए। उसे वह भावना आपने नहीं दी है जहाँ वह अपने को विश्व-बंधुत्व से जोड़कर सही अर्थों में निपट भारतीय होने का दावा कर सके। वह अपनी पहचान रेखांकित कर सके, ऐसा कुछ आपने इस विधेयक में नहीं दिया है।

महोदय, इसमें स्वायत्तता शब्द का कहीं उल्लेख नहीं है। मोटे तौर पर कंट्रोल बोर्ड शब्द का अपने उपयोग किया है जिसमें प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष ढंग से लोग नामजद किए जाएंगे। आप इंजीनियरों को भी नामजद कर रहे हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपके जो स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट हैं, आपने कहा है कि उनमें से दो चुनकर आएं, उपेन्द्र साहब, किसी बड़े कच्चे दिमाग वाले ने इस बिल की ड्राफ्टिंग की है। पत्रकार जो है, वह सामाजिक चेतना का वाहक होता है। चाहे मीडिया के अंदर के पत्रकार हों, चाहे बाहर के पत्रकार हों, उनको कहीं आपने प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं दिया है। यह बहुत बड़ी भूल है। जिन पत्रकारों की कला हम रोज देखते हैं उनको आप अवश्य प्रतिनिधित्व दीजिए तभी आपका यह शासी निकाय अर्थात् गवर्निंग बॉडी सफल हो पाएगी अन्यथा यह मजाक बनकर रह जाएगी।

चूंकि अभी तक अधिकारियों की जो कार्य-शैली है वह जी-हजुरी वाली है इसलिए मुझे संदेह है कि उन्हीं का प्रभाव इस गवर्निंग बॉडी में भी बना रहेगा। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि इसमें एक शिकायत मंडल भी होना चाहिए जो आरोपों को सुने और उनका निराकरण करे। शिकायत करने वाले लोगों में इतना धैर्य नहीं होता कि वे महीनों अपनी बात का उत्तर सुनने के लिए आपकी प्रतीक्षा करते रहें।

प्रमाणिक और नियंत्रण करने वाली अर्थव्यवस्था ही संप्रेषण तंत्र की लगाम है। यदि व्यापक विज्ञापनों से ही इसका खर्च चलने वाला है तो जाहिर है कि विज्ञापन देने वाले किसी न किसी

[डॉ० रत्नाकर पाण्डे:]

तब से अपनी बात मनवा लेंगे और तब आ. के प्रसार भारती के माध्यम से जो कार्य होगा प्रसारण और सूचना का, वह उनकी इच्छानुसार होगा। तो जैसे हाई कोर्ट का जज है या सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज है, वह किसी दबाव में काम नहीं करता है, पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता में काम करता है तो इसी तरह से विधेयक में यह व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए कि इसके जो चैयरमैन और शासी निकाय के सदस्य हों, उनको पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता आप दें। तब जाकर आपके प्रसार भारती को नौकरशाही से मुक्ति मिलेगी और तभी वह मुक्त हो सकेगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप अत्यंत सक्रिय और जिम्मेदार लोगों को इस काम में लग जाए। सांस्कृतिक धरती से भारत का रक्त संचार गुड़ा है और आप उसी को छोड़कर सिर्फ नाजुक बयानी कर रहे हैं। शेर क्या है—“रंग है लफ्जों के खून का”।

आपने चुनावों में जो वायदे किए हैं उनको पूरा करने के चक्कर में आप इस देश को बरबाद करना चाहते हैं, इस देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े करना चाहते हैं जिस चीज का पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने इतना आगे बढ़ाया था, प्रसार के माध्यमों को पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता देकर सरकार का नियंत्रण रखा था, आप बदले की भावना से हर कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं और प्रसार भारती विधेयक भी आप इसी भावना से लाए हैं। इंदिरा गांधी ने इस देश में दूरदर्शन का जो जाल बिछाया और जो हमारी इतनी संपत्ति है, उस संपत्ति को तोड़-फोड़कर, उस संपत्ति को विनष्ट करके आप इस देश में मोड़िया के माध्यम से अराजकता फैलाना चाहते हैं।

मैं यूनिवर्सिटी से संबंधित हूं। यूनिवर्सिटीज भी संतप्त हैं। अहां पर 10 वर्ष तक का कार्यकाल खराब जाना है। इन विल में आपने रिटायरमेंट ऐज 58 वर्ष रखी है। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन के जो कर्मचारी 58 वर्ष में रिटायर होते हैं, उनकी रिटायरमेंट ऐज 60 वर्ष होनी चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (M. A. BABY). Please conclude; otherwise Mr. Pachour will lose time.

डॉ० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: दो मिनट तो आपने सब को दिए हैं। मैं दो मिनट में अपनी बात खत्म कर दूंगा। इतनी कृपा आप करें। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि आपने आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन को जो स्वायत्तता दी है। उसके तहत आप जहां इंजीनियरों को महत्ता दे रहे हैं, जहां 62 साल को उम्र वालों को इस कमेटी में रखेंगे तो वहां के कर्मचारियों की रिटायरमेंट की उम्र भी 60 साल रखिए। आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन का पहला कर्तव्य है कि वह जनता का सही सूचना दे और आप केवल पी.टी. आई. और यू.एन. आई. के समाचारों का अनुवाद करा रहे हैं। इसलिए राजभाषा हिन्दी के लिए एक पूर्ण नियंत्रित आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन का समाचार विभाग होना चाहिए जो हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं में समाचार लें। उसके लिए एक पूर्ण इकाई स्थापित की जाए। उसके लिए धन का व्यापक प्रावधान की जाए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं एक और चीज की ओर आपका ध्यान आर्पित करना चाहता हूं क्योंकि जो मोड़िया है वह वाणी होती है और उस वाणी को नष्ट करने का जो षूचक आपकी सरकार रच रही है, वह साफ दिखाई दे रहा है। इस सदन के सभापति माननीय श्री शंकर दयाल शर्मा जी ने उस दिन आपके प्रधान मंत्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह को इस सदन को अवमानना करने, इस चैयर को अवमानना करने के लिए बराबर प्रताड़ित किया था और उदाहरण दिया था कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने भी अमा याचना की थी। उस समाचार को और इस सदन के सभापति के समाचार को अस्त, व्यस्त करके, तोड़-फोड़कर गलत ढंग से दिया गया। आप स्वयं अपना नियंत्रण रखना चाहते हैं और यह छलावा और भुलावा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): With that relevant point you can conclude now.

डॉ० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: मैं अंत में एक बात की ओर आपका ध्यान आर्पित करना चाहूंगा कि आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन के जो प्रोग्राम विभाग हैं उनकी जो आलोचना चारों तरफ होती है, उनके कार्यक्रमों के लिए जो स्टाफ अटिस्ट होते हैं उनकी जो आलोचना

होती है, इसके लिए बीसियों बार मैंने आपको पत लिखे हैं, लेकिन जैसी आदत है आप लिख देते हैं कि मैं देख रहा हूँ, सुन रहा हूँ। समाचार संग्रह करने वाले कर्मचारियों, स्टाफ आर्टिस्टों और इंजीनियरों को पूर्ण रूप से इसमें सम्मिलित करिए। दूरदर्शन के माध्यम से आपने देश के विनाश करने का बीड़ा उठाया है। आपने आरक्षण किया है और सारे देश में कल्ले आम हो रहा है। आप यह बिल ला रहे हैं प्रसार भारती का, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बिल के माध्यम से आटोनामी के साथ एंकाउंटेबिलिटी आपने क्या फिक्स की है। कोई उत्तरदायित्व आपने निर्धारित किया है? केवल चीफ पापुलेरिटी, छोटी और हल्की प्रशंसा के लिए इस देश के 83 करोड़ जनता के साथ भारत की वाणी और मोडिया दूरदर्शन और आकाशवाणी के साथ आप मजाक कर रहे हैं और वाणी के साथ खुला बलात्कार कर रहे हैं। उसकी मैं निन्दा करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह का काम करिए जिससे यह बिल सही रूप में आए। इसलिए इसे प्रवर समिति को भेजिए जहाँ एक्सपर्ट उस पर अपने विचार प्रकट करें और नेशनल वाइज इसकी चर्चा हो। तब जाकर इस बिल को आप कालून का रूढ़ दे अन्यथा इस देश की जनता और आने वाला भविष्य आपको, आपके प्रधान मंत्री को और आपकी सरकार वहाँ कभी माफ नहीं करेगी और जनतंत्र में इस तरह का जो तानाशाही का ढंग से नाटक कर रहे हैं, स्वायत्तता का स्वांग कर रहे हैं और मल्टी मिलियनर्स के हार्थों, विज्ञापन देने वालों के हार्थों प्रसार भारती को इस बिल के माध्यम से सौंप रहे हैं, ऐसे कदम की मैं निन्दा करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि इस बिल को आप वापस करें या प्रवर समिति को सौंपें ताकि सही ढंग से इस पर गौर किया जा सके।

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say a word on one very important point which the honourable Ratnakarji made. While I welcome this Bill, I associate myself with one point made by him and that is about commercial advertisements. I am very much concerned about that aspect. I welcome this Bill wholeheartedly, if some provisions are

not made by which we can control advertisements, commercial advertisements, I am afraid, it will go into their hands, as has been mentioned by Ratnakarji. To give you an example,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please don't give examples. Now I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, even if my party would not have opposed this Bill, I would have certainly opposed this because, after going through the Bill, I am convinced that there is no autonomy for the people working in the Doordarshan itself or in the Akashvani itself. Forget about the word "autonomy". What will be the fate of this structure? That is also not being spelt out properly in this Bill.

Sir, Doordarshan has a number of functions, not merely to telecast news. They have to show and they are showing films, serials, telefilms, artistic and cultural programmes, etc. So many things they are telecasting. At present, there is a Director-General for Doordarshan and also a Director-General for AIR. Then there are some Additional DGS. There are about ten Controllers of Programmes who are dealing with different subjects. All of them today are working without any interference except from the Ministry or the Department. No other people are interfering with their working. Only if the Minister and the Department stopped interfering with their working, Doordarshan and AIR will get better autonomy than what is contained in this Bill. Today, there is only one boss, that is, the Director-General. But now you are forcing 15 more bosses on the media. Instead of decentralising, you are centralising the whole Doordarshan.

Sir, I want to know from the Minister what would be the actual functions of this Board. Will they interfere with the day-to-day working of the Doordarshan? Will they see the films? Will they see the serials? Will they see the telefilms? What are they going to do? If they are

[Shri Vithalbhai M. Patel]

not going to interfere with the day-to-day functioning and if they are only to see to the administrative work, then it is not necessary at all to have this Corporation.

In this connection, I would like to tell you one thing. For the last nine months, I have been watching very carefully the news that is telecast, both the Parliament news and the general news. Previously, the news items which were telecast, the headlines which were in the bulletin, we used to find in the newspapers of the following day. But, today, a number of things are missing from the Doordarshan bulletins which we find in the morning newspapers. Why is it so? It is because they are being censored. Those who are covering the news will never think of twisting the news, never think of not telecasting the news. This has been done by some other people, not by the journalists themselves because the journalists will hand over the copy and they do not know what happens afterwards in the Doordarshan. So, my point is that it is being censored.

In the Bill also, the Minister has kept some scope for interference. Clause 23 is here in the Bill under which, whenever they want, they can interfere. This clause is absolutely not necessary. If you want to give autonomy then do not interfere in the day-to-day working of the Doordarshan. This clause should be omitted.

By this Bill, Sir, the Sword of Damocles is hanging over the heads of the Doordarshan staff, how a member of this Board will function. The way the Government hurriedly wanted to pass this Bill—yesterday I was watching this—shows that they are interested to put their own men among these 15 people, so that at least for six years they can control the Doordarshan. Otherwise why do you hurry? Let it be debated. Let the people also have their say. So this Bill is confusing, absolutely confusing, and it seems it is a fraud not only on the persons working in the Doordarshan but it is a

fraud on the country also—by declaring 'we are fulfilling the promises, we are giving the autonomy'. What autonomy are you giving? By keeping clause 23 and other clauses what type of autonomy are you giving to the Doordarshan? There is no autonomy to the Doordarshan.

A number of things they have kept which will be framed in the Rules. God knows what type of rules they are going to make! I strongly demand that the Minister must put all the Rules framed on the Table of the House, because, we want to know what type of rules you are framing. There may be rules which are contrary to the aim of this Bill. So whatever rules are framed under the different clauses, they should be placed on the Table of the House and should be debated also, so that the people must know what type of Rules they have framed.

Today what is happening? A lot of things are going on against the Mandal Commission, and very little is being telecast in news bulletins. If this is so, if there is censorship... (Time Bell rings)

Let the people know. No 'Focus' has also been arranged.

Then, I come to the last point. There was a Nawab and there was a king. A war was going on between the Nawab and the king.

नवाब ने वजीर से पूछा कि जो हमारी फौज है वह क्या कर रही है और कहाँ है? वजीर ने कहा, शहनशाह,

प्रेम व्यूरो के तारों से नतीजा यह निकलता है, फतह सरकार की होती है कब्जा दुश्मन का होता है।

श्रीमती श्रमता प्रीत (नाम निर्देशित) : सर इलैक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया को घटानामी मिले इससे कोई इन्फ्लेक्शन नहीं हो सकता। मबाल इस बात का है कि इसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में क्या क्या खामियाँ सामने आ सकती हैं, कारपोरेशन किस हद तक देखलदाज हो सकता है, फंक्शनल फ्रीडम का मार्जिन कितना होगा, क्या यह सत्ता का एक हाथ में दूसरे हाथ में ट्रांसफर तो नहीं होगा। वर्किंग की सूरत क्या होगी,

स्वतंत्रता के नाम पर गलत इस्तेमाल को किस तरह रोक पाना होगा, इन सब की गहराई में उत्तर पाने के लिये अगर एक सलेक्ट कमेटी बना दी जाये तो मैं सोचती हूँ कि अच्छा होगा और इससे इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन ठीक सूरत में हो पायेगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Prithvijit Singh—Not here. Shri V. M. Jadhav.

SHRI VITHALRAO MODHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to oppose this Bill and I would like to support the stand taken by our hon. Deputy Leader, Mr. N. K. P. Salve. Sir, I do not understand what they want to do. Is it Prasar Bharati or Prachar Bharati? After passing this Bill on 30th August, 1990, in the Lok Sabha, they have brought it here. It is not necessary that the same stand should be taken by the Rajya Sabha as was taken in Lok Sabha, as my senior friends have already pointed out.

The present Government says that they want to give autonomy to the audio-visual media. Autonomy to whom? Autonomy for whom? Whose autonomy are they going to bring about? I do not understand it. As my friend has stated, regarding the appointment of Chairman and other Members, they have said in Section 4 that the Chairman and other members except the *ex-officio* member, the nominated members and the elected members except the *ex-officio* member, President of India on the recommendation of a committee consisting of... Who is going to recommend these members to the President of India? It is the Government. It is the Cabinet or the Prime Minister. It means that they are going to recommend all the members of their choice to the President of India. It means that it is the autonomy of their choice and not the autonomy of the people. I remember a story of Akbar and Birbal. I will tell you in Hindi.

बीरबल ने अकबर से कहा कि लोग बेवकूफ हैं । अकबर ने कहा कि यह कैसे हो सकता है । सारे हिन्दुस्तान की जनता बेवकूफ

कैसे हो सकती है । बीरबल ने कहा कि मैं आपको दिखाता हूँ कि लोग कैसे बेवकूफ हैं । बीरबल ने क्या किया कि काउंडिंग लगे और रख दिया और ऊपर से चार-पांच झमेले मिट्टी डाल दी । उसके बाद उन्होंने प्रचार किया कि यहां से भगवान निकल पड़ा, यहां ईश्वर है, खुदा है । लोग वहां जाने लगे । यात्री बढ़ते गये और लाखों लोग वहां जाने लगे । एक दिन बीरबल ने बादशाह से कहा कि मैंने कहा था कि लोग बेवकूफ हैं । यह देखिये कि लखों लोग यहां दर्शनों के लिये जा रहे हैं कि यहां से ईश्वर निकला है, खुदा निकला है । बादशाह ने जाकर देखा कि वहां पर लाग बड़े पैमाने पर जा रहे हैं । बादशाह ने पूछा कि क्या बात है जो यहां जा रहे हो तो वे कहने लगे कि यहां पर भगवान निकला है, खुदा निकला है । उसके बाद बीरबल ने वहां जाकर खोदकर निकाला तो बादशाह ने देखा कि

It is cowdung and nothing else. So, this is the autonomy of confusion. It is not their own confusion. It is the confusion of the people also. They want to confuse the entire people of this country.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : अच्छा सब को बेवकूफ बना रहे हैं ? आप मसझते हैं कि देश के लोग बेवकूफ बनते हैं ?

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: They want to try to make fools of the people.

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu): There are Congress people in the other House also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.A. BABY): Please don't interrupt. Let the Member speak.

SHRI VITHALRAO MODHAVRAO JADHAV: People will teach you a lesson at the proper time.

(The Deputy Chairman in the Chair)

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY: I do not know whether Congress has one parliamentary party or two parliamentary parties.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: I want to tell the hon. Member that they cannot make a fool of all the people all the time. You can befool them for some time. That is what you are doing.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't have any arguments. The Minister will reply on behalf of everybody. Let him make his point.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Madam, as Prof. Willbert Canon has said, it is the society which colours, shapes and favours the mass media from time to time. The society exercises the control over mass media in many ways. Control through legislation is only one dimension of it. The granting of the institutional autonomy alone will not effect a sea-change in the very approach of the mass India in India.

Madam, in August, 1977, B.G. Verghese Committee was appointed whose 405-pages report was submitted on 19th March, 1978. Madam, the Group suggested that the Complaint Board should comprise of persons selected by the Chief Justice of India. The Board would deal with the complaints from the public relating to the charges of unjust or unfair treatment including unwarranted invasion of privacy, and must report any such grievances. The Board of the Trustee is specially responsible to the House of the People, the Lok Sabha. (*Time bell rings*) Madam, time is very less. I have started just two minutes earlier.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But I have many other people.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Ten minutes are given for one person. I have not taken...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not saying anything. It is the Party's time. It should be divided accordingly. I have no objection if you speak, 'x' speaks or 'y' speaks.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Another thing is that in the same Bill, under Section 13, a Parliamentary Committee has also been declared I do not understand the role of a Joint

Parliamentary Committee. Here, the Board is there and the Parliamentary Committee is also there. But the role of these two bodies has not been stated properly. Madam, this TV network credit goes to Madam Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. For the last ten years, there is a network of TV through out of the country. More than 75 to 80 per cent of the population is covered by the TV network. And it has gone to the interior and rural parts of the country.

Madam, another point is, as my senior friend. Mr. Masodkar has suggested, what are the measures of security for this media because it has appeared in the press in the month of March that Kashmir TV was attacked and one person was killed there. So, what are the security measures that you are going to take? Are you going to have a separate Police force or is the media allowed to have a separate police force? What measures are you going to take?

Madam, I would have appreciated if we had the Third World Corporation of media on the lines of BBC. Of course, BBC is different because if it had been the Third World Corporation, the present conflict the Gulf would have been reported promptly. There should be some vision, there should be some foresight while declaring this Corporation. And I request that the Government must consider this seriously.

Madam, the last point that I want to make is that our neighbouring country. Pakistan is going to borrow a satellite from China. And some parts of the satellite can be used by Pakistan also so that the inter-continental programmes will be visible not only in Pakistan but also in India. So, when the international or inter-continental programmes will be visible through this TV, what measures are you going to take in this regard?

Madam, we are having two channels. As my friend has suggested, I would request the Government that the Second Channel whether it is at Madras or Bombay or any other place, if not totally, a major part of it should be handed over to the

State Governments or to the regional areas so that these people can make better use of it.

Madam, another point is that this audio-visual media is very important in our country. It plays a very major role. By converting this into a Corporation, by way of advertisements, by 2,000 A.D., Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 crores will be spent every year. And this separate Board will have control over all that money. That means, indirectly the multinationals will control this Board. So, I would like to ask the Government as to what measures they are going to take after having such a Corporation.

Madam, I fully oppose this Bill which has been brought without proper thought given to it. This Bill is full of confusion. It is not the autonomy of the Prasar Bharati. It is the autonomy of confusion in the Prasar Bharati Bill. With these observations, I oppose the Bill.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Vishvjit P. Singh I have allowed fifteen minutes extra. But it does not mean that all the fifteen minutes you will have.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): Madam, I will be very brief.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have other names. Mr. Hashim is also there.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Madam, I would like to start by quoting from Mr. Marshal McLuhan's book, 'Understanding Media'. In his book, he has said:

"Archimedes once said 'Give me a place to stand and I will move the world'. Now, he would have pointed to our electronic media and said 'I will stand on your eyes, your ears, your nerves, your brain, and the world will move in any tempo and pattern I chose'."

Madam, what is sought to be achieved in this Bill is exactly this. Mr. Upendra is going to sit on our eyes, on our ears, on our nerves and on our brain and impose on us whatever he wants to. Let me make it quite clear. If his intention was real autonomy, he would have gone by

the report of the Akash Bharati Committee. The Verghese Committee had made two specific recommendations which are not there in the Bill. It had made a recommendation that there should be a Constitutional guarantee given. He had asked for Constitutional guarantee and to make it a statutory body. This is not there in the Bill.

The Committee had also recommended certain powers to be given to the Complaints Board. Quasi-judicial powers were recommended for the Complaints Board. It was, to consist of four persons selected by the Chief Justice of India. Powers of the civil courts, under the Civil Procedure Code, were envisaged. Under the C.R.P.C. also. In the Bill which was introduced by Mr. Advani in 1978, under clause 15, it was envisaged that the Board would have powers under the Code of Civil Procedure while dealing with the complaints. These powers given in clause 15 of the Bill introduced by the previous Janata Government have been diluted in the present Bill. It gives no such powers.

This is a dilution. The Board is proposed to be set up without giving any powers to it. This is on pages 11 and 12.

Madam, there is one more problem here. Powers of overseeing have been given to the Parliamentary Committee. Similar powers have been given to the Broadcasting Council in regard to receiving of complaints. There is a duplication of work. What are going to be the exact powers? It is very vague. What would be the powers of the Parliamentary Committee? What would the Parliamentary Committee be doing? Would it have the powers to enforce what it wants to, as opposed to the Broadcasting Council, something like the Appeals Board as envisaged in the earlier Bill.

I would go further. No autonomy is possible without fiscal autonomy, without autonomy in terms of appointments. The Minister has sought to dilute the provisions, recommended by the Akash Bharati Committee and contained in the Akash Bharati Bill introduced by the previous Janata Government. This particular Bill retains all powers in the hands of the Government. In this connection, I would

[Shri Vishvijit P. Singh]

like to refer to sections 32 and 33. Section 32 is in regard to the power to make rules and section 33 is in regard to the power to make regulations. The power to make rules is vested in the Government. The power to make regulations is vested in the Corporation. I would like to know, what is the difference between rules and regulations? I do not see where the difference is. It is exactly the same if you read the clauses. I say, control is in the hands of the Government. You say here 'any other matter which is required to be, or may be, prescribed.'. This is in clause 32(1). Please also see clause 32, sub-clause (c), (d) and (e). Sub-clause (c) says: 'the control, restrictions and conditions subject to which the Corporation may appoint officers...'. "(d) the manner in which and the conditions and restrictions subject to which a Recruitment Board may be established." So, this is kept with the Government under the rules. And under power to make regulations, rule 33 (c) and (d) says:

(c) the methods of recruitment and conditions of service of officers and other employees of the Corporation...

(d) the remuneration and other conditions of service..."

Later in the bottom of the proviso it says:

"Provided that the regulations under clause (c) or clause (d) shall be made only with the prior approval of the Central Government".

The Central Government has kept its stranglehold completely on the Corporation. Even in clause 23(2) it says:

"Where the Corporation makes a broadcast in pursuance of the direction issued under sub-section (1), the fact that such broadcast has been made in pursuance of such direction may also be announced along with such broadcast, if the Corporation so desires."

There is no mandatory requirement as was envisaged in the original Act or in the Akash Bharati proviso. These provisions

have been sought to be diluted. (*Time bell rings*). Yes, I would like to say categorically that I support the suggestion made by Mr. Masodkar as well as by other Members from our side wherein it has been suggested that this Bill should be sent to a Joint Select Committee. I also support the amendment in regard to the provision about the appointment of the Board itself. It talks of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and I feel it is definitely an insult to the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha if two nominees of the Government are to overrule him. To get over the difficulty we have to say that the hon. Speaker should be the third member of the Board along with the Chairman of the Press Council.

I would like to quote at the end from one of the editors of the Times of India at the moment. He was talking on autonomy for media in 1977. He had warned at that time and had said:

"There is a widespread belief that autonomy by itself would rid AIR and Doordarshan of the stranglehold of bureaucracy and make them immune to political pressure and that it would help to tap new talent. But even a cursory glance at the newspaper and publishing houses shows that everything depends on what use is made of autonomy."

All this was written by Dileep Padgaonkar. The fact is that we have to change our whole way of thinking. The inherent conflicts between the interests of the masses and political expediency will always remain. It is how we resolve them that we will be judged.

Therefore, Mr. Minister I urge upon you to send this Bill to a Joint Select Committee.

उपसभापति : हाशमी जी, बड़ा मुक्तमर में बोल दीजिएगा।

श्री शमीम हाशमी (बिहार) : मोहतरमा, हमने तो सोचा था कि —

हवैदा आज ही अपने जखम पिताह करके छोड़ंगा और लहं रो-रो के इस गुलशन को गुलिस्तां करके छोड़ंगा।

लेकिन हमारे दामन में बेकारी के बाद अगर सिर्फ एक वक्त बचा था—आज न मालूम क्यों मेरी किस्मत ने मेरे दामन से उस वक्त को भी छीन लिया है।

उपसभापति : किस्मत ने नहीं छीना, द्विप ने छीना है।

श्री शर्मा हाशमी : हां, जिसने भी छीना हो। आज मुख्तसर वक्त में मेरी पार्टी का जो आटोनोमी पर स्टैंड है, उस सिलसिले में जो तजवीजें पेश की गई हैं, जो तरमीमें लाई गई हैं, मैं उसकी मुकम्मिल तौर पर तारीफ करता हूं, उसको मानता हूं और उसके साथ हूँ।

मैं हाऊस का खास तौर पर लैफ्टिस्ट ताकतों को, प्रोग्रेसिव लोगों को और सेक्युलर लोगों का एक खास साजिश की तरफ उसके जहन को मैं मबजूब करता हूँ। यह न समझिये कि मैं कांग्रेस (आई) का एक एम०पी बोल रहा हूँ।

आज की तारीख याद कर लीजिए। हम आने वाले वक्त की तारीख हमारी जुबान तारीख ने मेरे मुंह पर अपनी जुबान लिख दी है। मैं उस जुबान से बोल रहा हूँ मुनिये, आज बढ़ती हुई सरमायेदारी का निजाम अपने जिंदगी के लिए आखिरी दौर पर नहीं जिंदगी की तड़पती छटपटाहट उसके अंदर पैदा हुई है। यही वह छटपटाहट है जहां सरमायेदारी ने अलग-अलग मुल्कों के मुताबिक वहां की फिरकापस्त ताकतों के साथ गठजोड़ करके रिलीजस रिवाइवलिज्म की जो नहरीक शुरू की है, उसका पहला तमाजा पूर्वी युरोप के अंदर सोशलिस्ट मुल्कों की शिकस्त होती है, और न्यू रिवाइवलिज्म जो मजहब की शकल में सरमायेदारी की शकल में, ओपन मार्केट में कंप्यूमर की शकल में आया है...वह हम देख रहे हैं। हिंदुस्तान में यह सरमायादार ताकतें यह मल्टीनेशनल बहुत दिनों से इस साजिश में थीं कि

यहां के इलैक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया को हम अप्रु कब्जे में कर लें। जो कमनज़र लोग हैं वे ऐसा समझते हैं कि एक मिसाल हमेशा इस हाउस में बी बी सी० को दिया जाता था। जापान को दिया जाता है। आपने सोचा है इंग्लैंड, एक एक्सप्लान को छोड़ कर बाय एंड लार्ज एक भाषा का देश है, एक धर्म का देश है, एक साइकी का देश है, बी०बी०सी० भी उसी साइकी को रिप्रेजेंट करता है। आपने सोचा है कि जापान एक धर्म का देश है, एक भाषा का देश है, एक कल्चर का देश है, वहां कोई कंट्राडिक्शन नहीं है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान यह मान कर चलिए मुख्तलिफ भाषाओं का देश है, क्षेत्रीय संस्कृति का देश है, अलग-अलग मजहब का देश है, अलग-अलग वर्ग का देश है, जहां पूंजीवाद के खिलाफ गुरबत कराह रही है। गरीबों की बात है, आदिवासियों की बात है, हरिजनों की बात है, माइनारिटी की बात है। इनके एस्पिरेशन में इस देश जो सैकुलर सरकार बनेगी उसका यह कर्तव्य होता है कि इन देश की एकता के लिए कन्या-कुमारी से लेकर काश्मीर तक, नागालैंड से लेकर पंजाब तक जो मुख्तलिफ कामे हैं, जो जातियां हैं, वर्ग हैं, जो एस्पिरेशन है, पिछड़ों को आगे बढ़ने की जो तड़प है, गरीबों में जो वेदारी है दौलत के बंटवारे के लिए जो ख्वाहिश की बढ़ने इन तमाम एस्पिरेशंस को मीडिया को रिप्रेजेंट करना है। मीडिया क्या है, सरकार की ख्वाहिशात के इजहार का सवाल है, यह एक ऐसी सरकार है जो अपनी जवान काट करके इस मुल्क के सरमायादारों के हाथ में दे रही है, इस मुल्क की फिरकापस्त ताकतों के हाथ में दे ही है। इस चुनाव के पहले बड़े मल्टी-नेशनल का समाझीत नेशनल फ्रंट की सरकार से हुआ था। जिसे हम अपना चाहो, मैं दूंगा, झोली तुम्हारे खोल दूंगा तुम ईनाम के तौर पर इलैक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया को हमें दे देना। यह जो कहते हैं कि मैनिफैस्टो को फुलफिल कर रहे हैं, यह मैनिफैस्टो को फुलफिल नहीं कर रहे हैं, यह उस वायदे को फुलफिल कर रहे हैं जो मल्टी-नेशनल के साथ इन्हीं चुनाव के पहले किया था। मुझे तज्जुब

[श्री शमोभ हाशमी]

है, ऐसा तजुबेकार समाजवादी यहां बैठा हुआ है, कम्युनिस्ट यहां बैठा हुआ है (व्यवधान) साम्यवाद की बात है, साम्यवादी यहां बैठा हुआ है, क्या आपकी निगाहें रेडियो को देख कर नहीं समझ रही हैं कि इस रेडियो में गरीबों की बातें आई हैं, यह रेडियो फिरकापरस्ती पैदा करता है। मैं तीन मिसालें दे करके... (व्यवधान) जब से नेशनल फ्रंट की सरकार आई है। 19-8-90 को दिन में मैं एक सीरियल देख रहा था। उस सीरियल का नाम "न्यू" है। जरा गौर से उपेन्द्र जी देखिए, माथुर साहब, आप भी सुनिए, न्यू सीरियल देख रहा था। उस सीरियल में एक लड़के को दिखाया गया कि वह सूट-बूट, टाई, फ्लाइंग शर्ट पहने हुए था। एक लड़के को दिखाया गया अलोगढ़ी पायजामा-कुर्ता पहने हुए और हल्की-हल्की दाढ़ी रखे हुए था। डिसक्रिमिनेशन तो हर जगह दाढ़ी देखकर कर ही दिया जाता है। .. (व्यवधान) मेरी बात सुनिए, जो कुड़ते-पायजामे वाला लड़का था उसने पैट-शर्ट वाले को एक मुक्का मारा और कहा कि अंग्रेज की औलाद, अंग्रेज तो चले गए और औलाद छोड़ गए। अंग्रेजों की औलाद कौन हो सकते हैं, कहां सकेत हो सकता है? जरा सोचिए। पैट-शर्ट वाले ने फिर दाढ़ी वाले को एक मुक्का मारा और कहा कि दाढ़ी वाले चले गए और औलाद छोड़ गए, इस टी.वी. और रेडियो के अन्दर हम अकलियतों को गालियां दी जा रही हैं, दो अकलियतों को लड़ाया जा रहा है। नफरत का बीज बोया जा रहा है। आप सोचते हैं कि इसको और बेलगाम कर दिया जाए? मैं एक मिसाल छोड़ता हूं। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : यह कौन सा सीरियल है ?

श्री शमोभ हाशमी : "न्यू" 19-8-90 की दोपहर की बात है। एक मिसाल देता हूं। टी.वी. पर सीरियल दिखाया

जाता है, प्री-हिस्टोरिकल इसका सीरियल दिखाया जाता है, धार्मिक कथाओं का दिखाया जाता है, वंश कथाओं पर आधारित सीरियल दिखाया जाता है। (समय की घंटा) थोड़ा वक्त दीजिए ?

उपसभापति : वक्त मेरे हाथ में नहीं है। अभी मुझे एक स्पीकर को और बुलाना है। आप बैठ जाएं।

श्री शमोभ हाशमी : उपेन्द्र जी, आप मुद्दा-अले हैं, मैं मुद्दई हूं, एक मुकद्मा पेश कर रहा हूं। मेरी फरियाद सुन लीजिए।

उपसभापति : मेरी फरियाद उनको सुना दीजिए।

श्री शमोभ हाशमी : हर तरह के सीरियल्स टी.वी. पर दिखाए जाते हैं। एक सीरियल "टीपू सुल्तान" का है। उसके बारे में पंजाब केसरी का यह फोटो है। आर.के. मल्हानी जो आर्गनायजर के एडिटर थे, बहुत बड़े बुद्धिजीवी हैं। उन्होंने कहा था कि टीपू सुल्तान ऐसा देशभक्त था जिसे हर आजाद हिंदुस्तानी सलाम किए बगैर नहीं रह सकता। यह सीरियल जब शनिवार को चलता है तो इसमें पहले यह कहा जाता है कि यह एक काल्पनिक कथा है। इतिहास से इसका कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है। यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है। जो इस पर दिखाया जा रहा है, वह एक नोटक है। आप हर शनिवार की रात को मुझे गालियां देते हैं। आप हर शनिवार की रात को मेरा अपमान करते हैं। आप हर शनिवार की रात को मेरे वजूद से खिलवाड़ करते हैं। मैं मातम करने के लिए खड़ा हूं, मैं भाषण करने के लिए नहीं खड़ा हूं। आप ऐसा क्यों करते हैं? 18वीं शताब्दी के अंदर टीपू सुल्तान अकेला देशभक्त था जिसने कहा था "आजादी का एक दिन की जिंदगी, गुलामी की सौ दिन की जिंदगी से अच्छा है? वह टीपू सुल्तान जिसने आजाद रहना पसन्द किया, जिसने अंग्रेजों

کی گولامی قبول نہیں کی اور اپنی جان دے دی۔ اس سے ہندوستان کی تاریخ میں یہ بات ساف ہوتی ہے کہ مسلمان بھی देशभक्त ہوتا ہے۔ مسلمان بھی देश کے لیے جان دے گا، وہ بھی آزادی کا متوالا ہوتا ہے۔ لیکن یہ देश میں ایک نजर بیاں چل رہا ہے۔ کہ مسلمان سب کچھ ہو سکتا ہے، देशभक्त نہ ہو سکتا۔ کچھ لوگوں مسلمانوں کی گھریلو خیریت سے اسے پریشان بنانا چاہتے ہیں (بمبئی کی خبریں)۔ اس طرح سے چھوٹے بچوں کے دماغ کو جھڑپا دیا جا رہا ہے کہ مسلمان देशभक्त نہیں ہوتا ہے۔ ٹیپو سلطان کا جو کیریئر ہے، وہ یہ ثابت کرتا ہے کہ اتنا بڑا देशभक्त اس زمانے میں نہیں آیا۔ اس سیریل کو... (بمبئی کی خبریں)... دیکھنے سے لوگوں کے دماغ میں آتا ہے کہ مسلمان بھی देशभक्त ہوتا ہے... (توضیح)... جب یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہ کائنات ہے... (توضیح)... بڑا لگتا ہے۔

उपसभापति : श्रीम साहब भाषण खत्म कर दीजिए मेहरबानी फरमाकर।

श्री शशीम हाशमी : मैं एक शेर अर्ज करता हूँ --

“फल की पत्ती से कट सकता है हीरे का जिगर,
हम सर्वे नादां पर कलामे नमो नाजुक बेअसर।”

† اش. ش. م. هاشمی (بی.ا.) :

میں نے تو سوچا تھا کہ -

ہمدرد آج اپنے زخم پیمائ کر کے چھوڑا
لہو روو کے گلشن کو گا۔ تباہ کر کے چھوڑا۔

لیکن ہمارے دامن میں بھکاری

کے بعد اتر کچھ وقت بچھا تھا آج

نہ معلوم کہوں میری قسمت نے

میرے دامن سے اس وقت کو بھی

چھین لیا ہے -

اپ سبھا پتی قسمت نے نہیں
چھینا وہی نے چھینا ہے -

شری شمیم ہاشمی : ہاں جس نے بھی چھینا ہے۔ آج مختصر وقت میں میری پارٹی کا جو آڈیو پر اسٹیٹ ہے اس سلسلہ میں جو تجویزیں پیش کی گئی ہیں - جو ترمیمیں آئی ہیں - میں اسکی مکمل طور پر تائید کرتا ہوں - اسکو ساندھوں اور اسکی ساندھوں - میں ہاؤس کا خاص طور پر لیمٹس طاقتوں کو - پروڈیسیو لوگر کو اور سیکولر لوگوں کا ایک خاص سازش کی طرف انکے ذہن کو مبذول کرتا ہوں - یہ نہ سمجھئے کہ میں کانگریس : دانیء کا ایک ایم پی بول رہا ہے -

آج کی تاریخ لیجئے - ہم آنے والے وقت کی تاریخ - ہماری زبان تاریخ کے میرے مذہب میں اپنی زبان رکھدی ہے - میں اس زبان سے بول رہا ہوں - سنئے آج بڑھی ہوئی سرمائے داروں کا نظام اپنے زندگی کے لئے آخری دور پر ایک نئی زندگی کی ترقی چھٹیماہت کے اندر پیدا ہوئی ہے - یہی وہ چھٹیماہت ہے جہاں سرمائے داروں نے الگ الگ ملکوں کے مطابق وہاں کی فرقہ پرست طاقتوں کے ساتھ کٹے چور کر کے ریجنس ریوائیٹزم کی

جو تھوڑے شروع کی ہے اسکا پہلا طمانچہ یورپی یونین کے اندر سوشلسٹ ملکوں کی شکست ہوتی ہے - اور نیو ڈائری لزم جو - مذہب کی شکل میں سرمایہ داری کی شکل میں ادین مارکسٹ میں گذریوہ کی شکل میں آیا ہے - وہ ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں - ملحدستان میں بھی سرمایہ دار طاقتیں یہ ملتی نیشنل بہت دنوں سے اس سازش میں تھیں کہ یہاں کے الیکٹرانک میڈیا کو ہم ابھی قبضے میں کر لیں - جو کمزور لوگ ہیں وہ ایسا سمجھتے ہیں کہ ایک مثال ہمیشہ اس ہاؤس میں پی - بی - سی - کا دیا جاتا تھا - جاپان کا دیا جاتا تھا آئیے سوچا ہے انگلینڈ ایک ایکسپریشن کو چھوڑ کر بائی ایئر لارج ایک ہاشا کا دیس ہے - ایک دھرم کا دیس ہے - ایک سائنیکی کا دیس ہے - پی - بی - سی - بھی اسی سائنیکو کو ریپریزینٹ کرتا ہے - آئیے سوچا ہے کہ جاپان ایک ہاشا کا دیس ہے ایک دھرم کا دیس ہے - ایک کلچر کا دیس ہے - وہاں کوئی کنٹراڈکشن نہیں ہے - لیکن ہندوستان پہ مان کر چلے - مختلف بھاشوں کا دیس ہے - چھیدیئے سنسکرتی کا دیس ہے - الگ الگ مذاہب کا دیس ہے - الگ الگ رنگ کا دیس ہے - جہاں پونجی واڈ کے خلاف غربت کراہ رہی ہے - غریبوں کی بات ہے -

انہی واسیوں کی بات ہے ہریجنوں کی بات ہے مائٹاری کی بات ہے - انکے ایکسپیریشن میں اس دیس میں جو سیکولر سرکار بنے گی اسکا یہ کوتاہیئے ہوتا ہے کہ اس دیس کی ایکٹا کیلئے کلیا کہادی سے لے کر کشمیر تک ناگالینڈ سے لیکر پنجاب تک جو مختلف قومیں ہیں - جو جاتہاں ہیں - بھاشاں ہیں وہیں ورگ ہیں - جو ایکسپیریشن ہیں - پچھڑوں کو اگے بڑھانے کی جو تڑپ ہے - غریبوں میں جو بیداری ہے دولت کے بتوارے کیلئے جو خواہش کا بڑھنا ہے - ان تمام ایکسپیریشن کو میڈیا کو ریپریزینٹ کرتا ہے - میڈیا کہا ہے - سوکار کی خواہشات کے اظہار کا سوال ہے - یہ ایک ایسی سرکار ہے جو ایسی زبان کاٹ کر اس ملک کے سرمائے داروں کے ہاتھ میں دے رہی ہے - اس ملک کی فرقہ پرست طاقتوں کے ہاتھ میں دے رہی ہے - اس چنناؤ کے پہلے بڑے بڑے ملتی نیشنلزم کا سمجھوتا نیشنل فرنٹ کی سرکار سے ہوا تھا جتنا روپیہ چاہو دوںگا - چھوٹی نمہارے کھول دوںگا تم انعام کے طور پر الیکٹرانک میڈیا کو ہمیں دے دینا - یہ جو کہتے ہیں - کہ مینی فیسٹو کو فل فل کر رہے ہیں یہ مینی فیسٹو کو فل فل نہیں کر رہے ہیں - یہ اس وعدے کو فل فل کر رہے ہیں - جو ملتی نیشنلزم کے سانہ انہوں نے

چٹاؤ سے پہلے کھا تھا۔ مجھے تعجب ہے ایسا تجویز کا سماجواوی یہاں بیٹھا ہوا ہے۔ کمیونسٹ بیٹھا ہوا ہے۔ ... (مداخلت) ... سامے واں کی بات ہے۔ سامے واںی یہاں بیٹھا ہوا ہے۔ کیا آپکی نگاہیں ریڈیو دیکھ کر نہیں سمجھ رہی ہیں۔ کہ اس ریڈیو میں فریڈوں کی باتیں آئی ہیں۔ یہ ریڈیو فرقہ پرستی پیدا کرتا ہے۔ میں تین مثالوں دیکھ کے ... (مداخلت) ... جب سے نیشنل فرنٹ کی سرکار آئی ہے۔ ۱۹-۸-۹۰ کو دن میں ایک سیریل دیکھ رہا تھا۔ اس سیریل کا نام دہنیو ہے۔ ذرا دور سے ایلندر جی دیکھئے۔ ماتھر صاحب آپ بھی سنئے نیو سیریل میں دیکھ رہا تھا۔ اس سیریل میں ایک لڑکے کو دکھایا گیا ہے کہ وہ سوتہ بوتہ فٹنگ ٹائی سوتہ پہنے ہوئے تھا۔ ایک لڑکے کو دکھایا گیا علی گڑھی پانجامہ کونہ پہنے ہوئے اور ہلکی ہلکی داڑھی رکھ ہوئے تھا۔ قسمریمہلہ سن تو ہر جگہ داڑھی دیکھ کر ہی دیا جاتا ہے۔ ... (مداخلت) ... مہری بہات سنئے جو کرتے پانجامے والا لڑکا تھا اسلے پہلے شرف والے کو ایک مکہ

مارا اور کہا کہ نکریز کی اولاد نکریز تو چلے گئے اور اولاد چہرے گئے۔ انگیزوں کی اولاد کون ہو سکتے ہیں کہیں سنگیت ہو سکتا ہے لڑا ذرا سوچئے۔ پیدائش شرف والے نے پھر داڑھی والے کو ایک مکہ مارا اور کہا داڑھی والے چلے گئے اور اولاد چہرے گئے۔ اس ٹی۔ وی۔ اور ریڈیو کے اندر ہم اقلیتوں کو گالیاں دی جا رہی ہیں۔ دو اقلیتوں کو لڑایا جا رہا ہے۔ نفرت کا بیج بویا جا رہا ہے۔ آپ سوچتے ہیں کہ اسکو اور بے لگام کر دیا جائے۔ ہمیں ایک مثال دیکر چہوڑنا ہوں۔

شری جگدیش پرساد ماتھر : یہ کونسا سیریل ہے۔

شری شمیم ہاشمی : دہنیو، ۱۹-۸-۹۰ کی دوبہر کی بات ہے۔ ایک مثال دیتا ہوں۔ ٹی۔ وی۔ پر سیریل دکھایا جاتا ہے۔ پوری ہمدردی کل اسکا سیریل دکھایا جاتا ہے دھارمک کتھاؤں کا دکھایا جاتا ہے دنٹ کتھاؤں پر آدھارت سیریل دکھایا جاتا ہے۔ .. (وقت کی گھنٹی) تھوڑا وقت دیجئے۔

اب سہا پتی : وقت مہرے ہاتھ میں نہیں ہے۔ ابھی مجھے ایک

اسپیچر کو اور بلانا ہے - آپ بیٹھ جائیے -

شری شمیم ہاشمی : اینڈر چی-
آپ مدعا علیہ ہیں میں مدعی ہوں-
ایک مقدمہ پیش کر رہا ہوں -
میری فریاد سن لیجئے -

اپ سبھا پتی : میری فریاد ان
کو سنا دیجئے -

شری شمیم ہاشمی : ہر طرح کے
سپرڈیل ٹی - سی - پر دکھائے جاتے
ہیں - ایک سپرڈیل ٹیڈو سلطان کا
ہر اسکے بارے میں پنجاب کیسری
کا یہ فوٹو ہے - آ - کے - ملکائی جو
رگڈمانڈر کے ایڈیٹر تھے - بہت بڑے
بدھی جیوی ہیں - انہوں نے کہا
تھا کہ ٹیڈو سلطان ایسا دیس بھگت
تھا - جیسے ہر آزاد ہندوستانی سلام
کئے بغیر نہیں رہ سکتا - یہ سپرڈیل
جب سلیچر نو چلتا ہے - تو اس
میں پہلے یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ
ایک کالپک کتا ہے - اتھاس سے
اس کا کوئی تعلق نہیں یہ بالکل
غلط بات ہے جو اس پر دکھایا جا رہا
ہے - وہ ایک نائٹک ہے - آپ ہر
سلیچر کی رات کو مجھے گالیاں

دیئے ہیں - آپ ہر سلیچر کی
رات کو میرا ایمان کرتے ہیں - آپ
ہر سلیچر کی رات کو وجود کے
ساتھ کھلاڑ کرتے ہوں - میں مقام
کرنے کیلئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں - میں
بہاشن کرنے کیلئے کھڑا نہیں ہوا
ہوں - آپ ایسا کیوں کرتے ہیں -
۸ اوپن شتابدی میں ٹیڈو سلطان
اکھلا دیس بھگت تھا جس نے کہا
تھا آزادی کی ایک دن کی زندگی -
غلامی کی سو برس کی زندگی سے اچھی
ہے - ساجس : انگریزوں کی غلامی
قبول نہیں کی - اور اپنی جان دے
دی - اس سے ہندوستان کی تاریخ
میں یہ بات صاف ہوتی ہے -
مسلمان بڑی دیس بھگت ہوتا ہے -
مسلمان بھی دیس کے لئے جان
دیتا ہے - وہ بھی آزادی کا متوالہ
ہوتا ہے - لیکن اس دیس میں
ایک نظریہ چل رہا ہے - کہ
مسلمانوں سے کچھ ہو سکتا ہے -
دیس بھگت نہیں ہو سکتا - کچھ
لوگوں نے مسلمانوں کی شہریت
چین کو اسے اپرین بلانا چاہئے -
وہ وقت کی گھنٹی ،، اس طرح
سے چھوٹے بچوں کے سامنے کو ڈھریلا
کیا جا رہا ہے - کہ مسلمان دیس

بہکت نہیں ہوتا ہے - تپتو سلطان
 کا جو کیریر ہے وہ یہ ثابت کرتا ہے -
 کہ اتنا بڑا دیہی بہکت اس زمانہ
 میں نہیں تھا - اس سیریل کو ...
 وہ وقت کی گھنٹی ہے ... دیکھنے سے
 لوگوں کے دماغ میں اٹھتا - کہ
 مسلمان بھی دیہی بہکت ہوتا ہے -
 ... وہ مداخلت ہے ... جب یہ کہا
 جاتا ہے کہ یہ کالہنک ہے ...
 وہ مداخلت ہے ... بڑا لگتا ہے -

اپ سیدیا پتی : شمیم صاحب
 ، شن ختم کر دیجئے - مہربانی
 فرما کر -

شری شمیم ہاشمی : میں ایک
 شعر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں -
 ”پھول کی پتی سے کتہہ لکھتا ہے
 ہیرے کا جگر -
 ہم مرد لڑا ، وہ دلازمہ بازگ ہے اثر -“

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Jagjit Singh Aurora, just five minutes I will give you.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, my special thanks for permitting me to speak. I rise to support the Prasar Bharati Bill and congratulate the National Front Government for bringing it to the after successfully piloting it in the Lok Sabha.

It is surprising that the Opposition which was a partner for agreeing to this Bill in the Lok Sabha, has decided that this is a document in which everything is wrong and that, therefore, it has to be sent to a Select Committee of Rajya Sabha to put it right. The number of days spent in Lok Sabha, I think, were four, and now to find that everything is wrong with it, appears somewhat inconvincing. Maybe, politically it is more convenient to forget or to get over what they had already agreed to earlier.

The importance of the electronic media in the present day cannot be overemphasised. We are going through this Bill not to point out the various failings that the National Front has committed during the period they have been in Government. Our aim really is to look at this Bill and to see whether it achieves the autonomy that we are keen that this Bill must have. If one were to go into the performance of the last Government for the last ten years when it was in power, one gets more than ever convinced that if it is going to be run for the well being of the public, for the proper information of the public, for the improvement of the public, educational and otherwise, it is necessary that a Bill of this nature must be passed because the misuse by the last Government for ten years was horrendous. And the people who suffered the most were the Punjabis and the Sikhs. It is its misuse that had created a situation in Punjab which has been brewing for the last ten years, and now it has become an intractable problem. So, it is necessary that this Bill must be passed by all right-thinking people. Any effort at trying to delay it would be doing a great deal of harm and mischief to the people of India.

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora],

I feel that the basic concept of this Bill has everything to commend it. There may be certain restrictions which may be unwanted at the moment. But one has to realise that neither the Government nor the new organisation has had any experience of working of an autonomous electronic media. Maybe, we are erring on the side of having more restrictions that it would have been desirable in the end. But you can never achieve perfection in one step. So, I find that basically this Bill is sound.

A certain amount of criticism has been made about the selection of the Prasar Bharati Committee. I am surprised at it that because the selection committee for selecting the key members of the Committee could not have consisted of people more respected than the Vice-President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the President himself. In constitution of the Committee it has been seen that the Members of workers and engineers and the staff have been included.

Similarly, the criticism about the Broadcasting Council, I think, is uncalled for. I find that possibly people have not understood or misunderstood its functioning. It is really a committee which would be accessible to the public. The public shall come out with their complaints and suggestions to it. Its job is to shift those complaints and suggestions and pass them on to the Prasar Bharati Committee.

The inclusion of a Parliamentary Committee is innovative, and I consider it extremely useful and a good idea because this would show that the final control or judgement is going to rest with Parliament and not with the Government itself. Therefore, it is up to Parliament to see that the media functions, the Prasar Bharati functions, properly, and if there are any failings and shortcomings, these can put right.

So, I commend this Bill, and I do hope that the Members of this House would give this Bill a real chance and let it work. If there are any changes to

be made, any amendments to be carried out, those can be done later.

Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the discussion is over. I would request the Minister to reply.

RE. ARREST AND RELEASE OF TWO MEMBERS

SHRI KAHNU CHARAN LENKA (Orissa): Madam, I would like to make one submission.

Yesterday, I myself and Mr. Basudeb Mohapatra, a Member of the House, had been arrested at Bhubaneswar at 11 a.m. and we had been released at 7 p.m. in the evening. I doubt whether the information has come to you. But we had been obstructed on the way. We had to come yesterday to Parliament to attend Parliament for voting today, but we have been obstructed. This is a question of privilege of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You had mentioned it to me in my chamber. I enquired from the Secretariat if they had received any intimation. I was informed and I have got a telex before me. The Secretariat received the intimation at 11 a.m. today. It says about your arrest and release, both. It says: "Hon. Chairman, Rajya Sabha, New Delhi. INF DGP Orissa, Cuttack, Special..." I don't know what all. It says: "Reference this Office WTMSG," some number, Sarvasri Kanu Charan Lenka and Basudeb Mohapatra, both MPs, Rajya Sabha, who were arrested on 4/5-9-90 at 12 noon have been released on PR bond, the same day at 6.20 p.m. from Khandagari Police Station."

SHRI KAHNU CHARAN LENKA: Madam, this is not correct that we have been released on PR bond.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: O.K., but this is the information which came and I have read it out.

SHRI BASUDEB MOHAPATRA (Orissa): We have been released unconditionally.