

श्री नागेश्वर रसाद शाही : एफ० सी० आई० का हैंडलिंग चार्ज हाईस्ट है इन दि वर्ल्ड । इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ मंत्री महोदय से कि क्या कोई नयी कमेटी बनायेगे जो एफ सी आई की वर्किंग को एग्जामिन करे और उपमें सुधार ला सके ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सवाई सिंह सिसो-दिया) : इसका उत्तर दे चुके हैं कि इसके बारे में अधिक कुछ कहना नहीं चाहते ।

The House stands adjourned for lunch till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-four minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock. The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair.

RE: NEW TERMS OF REFERENCE OF PRESS COMMISSION

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to raise a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): On what?

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Yesterday, the hon. Minister...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Just a moment. Let me first see what this problem is.

Yes, Mr. Dhabe.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: On the last day, Sir, the hon. Minister was pleased to make a statement on the enlargement of the terms of reference of the Press Commission, and we are to ask some clarifications or to make some suggestions. Sir, I would like to know at what time it would be taken up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That I do not know. I will enquire and let you know.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: That was to be done today. Will it be taken up after this debate or earlier?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That, I will just check up.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING —contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Kalyan Roy. Not present. Shri A. P. Janardhanam.

SHRI A. P. JANARDHANAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is a very poor country, and I fear that the colour TV is an ivory elephant for our country. Of course, the idea of providing TV to the rural areas is very much welcome. But, still, I think that the radio should be given precedence over the TV till we attain self-sufficiency. Cheap radios, even at the rate of about Rs. 50, should be the target.

Another thing is that our external services need to be revamped. Externally our policies have to be well broadcast to the neighbouring nations, and to impress upon the world, our achievements and the need for our progress have to be well stressed. Our external services must be strengthened. The need for powerful transmitters has been stressed often by Members here.

Apart from all these things, every Government has the temptation to become self-laudatory. The Goebbelsian propensities may sometimes overtake certain overzealous people. Our Government should clear itself of all such temptations. This morning the Minister ruled out the minutes given to the

[Shri A. P. Janardhanam]

Opposition (in the coverage of Parliament proceedings) and the minutes given to the Government. I have to emphasise that the Opposition speakers are many and the Opposition parties are many. The Government has its own spokesmen, besides the Ministers. Always the Opposition must have the precedence. Democracy is a two-way debate. Democracy is an adult form of Government and the opposition points of view must be taken into full consideration. Opposition throttling and muzzling is never the way of democracy. We are all very jealous of the liberties we have got, and everybody is longing to savour the luscious fruits of freedom. Everybody here, some way or the other, is thirsting for freedom. Some might have languished in jails; some might have undergone tortures; some might have braved lathis; some might have gone very near the hangman's noose. So everybody is a jealous guardian of rights. Every party stands for its ideals. The other day the cooing Bombay dove and the Bengal tigress were ranged against each other. Satyajit Ray painted our country black. But truth cannot be hidden. We are a very backward nation. That we have to admit. We have our own social ills. We have to admit it. There is adulteration, there is smuggling, there is grand corruption, there is everything. They are all there in developing countries. We have to admit it. We have to search our hearts as to where we failed and how we can set right all these things. It can be only through powerful media of expression. Full freedom of expression should be allowed to everybody. In Britain you have soap-box orations in Hyde Park. Here does the opposition have full freedom of expression? Only when the opposition is not razed, only when everything is free, only then we are fit for democracy. We know the attempts made sedulously and assiduously; we know how colours change with the change of Government, how overzealous people try to flock to the banner, beat drums and do everything. So the opposition must have its say. Small and medium

newspapers must be encouraged. I have been a journalist myself. The journalists, especially small journalists, must be given full play. (Time bell rings) Am I nearing the end of my time? All right. Television is a costly luxury. Let us have newsprint. At least let us devote some space for forests, for growing trees. If it is not possible, let us concentrate on having raw materials like bagasse and all that. I am proud to hail my leader, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, M.G.R., darling of the millions, who has made a very successful use of the film medium. His films bagged him millions of votes and the film songs were packed with our own ideals. They led us to victory. So in our State you should have advisory boards. Only the State people know the localities, the culture, the civilisation, the background, everything. These advisory boards will play a vital role in focusing attention on everything. Artificial integration won't stand. Integration blossoms from the hearts. We should respect each other and as one interested in the States' rights, I have to emphasise that the States' liberties should be respected and the States should be allowed to have their own say in all media. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):
Mr. Kalyan Roy, please.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal), Sir, as I have a very short time...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI):
Yes, very short time.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I know my time and the time of others. Within the very short time at my disposal, I will only touch three points, namely, the AIR, its news broadcasts and its 'Today in Parliament', which are heavily biased in favour of the ruling Party. There are hundreds of instances where the criticisms of opposition parties are totally suppressed and cut out. The viewpoints of the Communists are particularly shut out, even rather crudely.

Mr. Sathe is a nice man and is a good friend of ours. When we pointed out to him this black-out once, he wrote on the 17th March, 1980 that the lapse is being brought to his notice. Again and again this is happening and one is tired of pointing, it out to him. It has happened in the reporting on the Finance Bill discussion. On the 10th March we pointed out and on the 21st he replied. This time the reason was something else. He wrote, and I quote: "I would, however, take the opportunity to bring to your notice the limitation of time in the AIR news bulletins". At that time it was a lapse, this time it is shortage of time. There is always some excuse or other with the result both the All India Radio and the TV are fast losing their credibility.

During the Janata regime there was near total suppression of news of the struggles of the working classes, the kisans and the views of the trade unions and the serious economic offences or misdeeds of big monopoly houses and big business houses. Daily newspapers and contours owned by the topmost income-tax evaders of the country will naturally suppress this kind of news. And Mr. Sathe cannot do anything about it, as he said during the Question Hour. Therefore, people naturally expect the All India Radio to give a balanced picture and here they have failed. They have suppressed this kind of news. Most of the people think AIR is an extension of the chambers of commerce. In the last four years, 1976 to 1980. All India Radio had put on air numerous programmes on coal industry. Not a single trade union had been invited to participate in the discussions; not one. Only the top big bosses of mining and Coal India have been allowed to participate and, through the All India Radio have slandered and vilified miners. On the 8th August, 1978 I drew Mr. Advani's attention to this. Shri Advani in his letter of December 28, 1978, said, and I quote: "You have rightly pointed out that this is an omission in the programme". But nothing was done. Again and again this has been happening.

On another occasion, when we drew the attention of Mr. Advani once again he wrote to us on April 12, 1979, and I quote:

"AIR however did not cover the statement of the trade union before the strike since the AIR as a policy do not give advance publicity to the proposed token strike, go-slow and other agitations. So far as broadcasting of current programmes of coal industry in All India Radio and Doordarshan is concerned, I appreciate your viewpoint and in my earlier letter to you I had also expressed my unhappiness over the manner of the presentation of the programme which has been conveyed to the producer concerned and I have been assured that at a suitable opportunity All India Radio and Doordarshan will explore the possibility of presenting another programme on coal to make good the omission to which you have drawn my attention."

In the last four years in this programme, not one M.P. or one trade union either from AITUC or INTUC has been called to participate.

That is one thing. Now, we started this session on the 23rd with a discussion on coal which was totally blacked out. The climax is that on that day in 'Today in Parliament', it just stopped when the coal discussion began. Mr. Sathe should be ashamed of this. On the 1st July, 1980, the Prime Minister called a meeting of the 21 leading trade unions of the country. Mr. Ramanujam was there. Mr. Srivastava was there. All the leading trade union representatives expressed their opinions as to what is wrong in the country. The Prime Minister was sitting there from 3 to 7 P.M. taking down notes. She listened to us very patiently. Not a word was mentioned in the All India Radio. Only what the Prime Minister said in three minutes was mentioned. Not a word of what Mr. Ramanujam said or what I or Mr. Patel or other AITUC or INTUC leaders said was there. Is this the impartiality in the opinion of Mr. Sathe? Is this a balanced pic-

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

ture? Is this not presentation of news in a partisan manner, shutting out the view of the trade unions? But what is happening outside, Sir. In the Delhi newspapers, owned and controlled by top monopolists, jute and sugar barons, the position is even worse, and whatever little freedom we have it is under a cold and calculated attack. Sir, on the 20th May, 1980, I pointed out to the empire of Mr. Irani of the Statesman and how Mr. Nihal Singh had to pack up and go and Shri Irani decided what was to be printed and what not to be printed.

What is happening in the Hindustan Times today—owned by the house of the Birlas—Chairman is Mr. K. K. Birla—is shocking. One cannot believe that these things can happen in the capital—in 1980. Sir, democracy has stopped at the gate of the Hindustan Times Building. This is the position. The Hindustan Times, in my opinion, today has been converted into Tihar Jail by Mr. Khushwant Singh. He took over on the 1st May, 1980. From the 1st of May, 1980 till today, four-top-most, experienced journalists have been hounded out, victimised and thrown into the street. Sir, the top-most journalists who were working there for the last 15 to 20 years have been victimised by both Mr. K. K. Birla and Mr. Khushwant Singh. There is a saying in the Hindustan Times that there is a gang of two that is ruling the Hindustan Times today. The first to go was Mr. Parimal Dasgupta who was writing the editorials for the last 15 years. Mr. Khushwant Singh said: You cannot write editorials but somebody else would do. Mr. Parimal Dasgupta had to pack up and go. He took a long leave although he had five years more to go. The next to go was Mr. Sundar Rajan. What was his crime? His crime was that he had written three articles—one regarding Mr. Sanjay Gandhi during the election times Artificial Blow Up; the second after his tragic death and the third about Mrs. Maneka Gandhi whom Mr. Khushwant Singh proclaimed to be the next Prime

Minister. The result? Mr. Sundar Rajan was sacked. This is democracy. Next, it was Mr. Balram Tandon. The last to go was Mr. Pritish Chakraborty, a man who has worked for more than 31 years there. On the 9th June, Mr. K. K. Birla asked him to meet him.... (Time bell rings) What Mr. Chakraborty went to meet Mr. K. K. Birla, Mr. Khandelwal, another Director, a sugar baron, was also sitting there. He was told by Mr. Birla that Mr. Khushwant Singh wanted his own men in top positions, whom he trusted. Mr. Birla asked him: Can you go next week? He said: Yes. Mr. Chakraborty had to go on leave—and that also without getting proper salary. Instructions as to what to print and what not to print are conveyed over the telephone, through teleprinter and the other agents of Mr. K. K. Birla. This is democracy that we are having. If this is the freedom the Press is enjoying, the Press Commission Mr. Sathe is talking of, will be futile ... (Time bell rings) After these sackings, who will dare to go before the Press Commission to give evidence? Let the Press Commission take up this item of the Hindustan Times ...

(Time bell rings)

My last point, Sir, is about the film industry. I will take only two minutes more. I am finishing.

Mrs. Nargis Dutt has spoken, and I must say that she has made an excellent contribution to the film world and the film industry in Bombay and to make it what it is today. We all know what is decent, what is culture, what is civilisation, what is beauty, what is imagination—all these stop at the gates of Bombay movies. And this is the creation of Mrs. Nargis Dutt. Sir, I do not want to say anything more about Shri Satyajit Ray, who does not need any defender. I can only draw the attention of the House to what Mr. Shamlal said the other day. The Bombay Talkies are "a dash of adventure in the form of violence. It is the new opium of the people. Let those who make a lush living by legal traffic in this drug do so by all means.

But they ought not to crib at those who want the cinema to create a coherent imaginative world of its own."... "Even an aggressive portrayal of poverty cannot do any harm to anyone in a country distressingly familiar with poverty. It can indeed do a lot of good by giving some people a bad conscience and by goading some others to action seeking redress."

Finally, Sir, I want to say to Mrs. Nargis Dutt what Sham Lal said that "In any case only some one deaf to the music of this picture would charge it with fouling up the image of the country."

Lastly, Sir, I would say that the Press Commission references are welcome. But is he satisfied that the composition is good and the people who have been nominated are competent? Is Mr. Shishir Mukherjee competent to tackle the problems? We are surprised as to why the outstanding retired journalist Mr. Chalapathi Rau has not been taken. So, Sir, the whole composition is so biased that they would do little justice to the reference. I would request the hon. Minister to have a rethinking about the whole thing.

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी कुछ ही रोज़ हुये यूनेस्को द्वारा संचार माध्यमों पर नियुक्त मैकब्राइड कमीशन की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है। इस रिपोर्ट से संचार माध्यमों को सारी दुनियाँ में एक केन्द्रीय स्थान मिल जाना चाहिये। मैं सूचना मंत्री महोदय से भी यज्ञनिवेदन करूंगा कि जब वे अपने मंत्रालय की कार्यवाही पर विचार करें तो इस रिपोर्ट की महत्वपूर्ण सिफारिशों को भी ध्यान में रखें क्योंकि यह किसी भी लोकतंत्र के लिए और किसी भी सामाजिक व्यवस्था के लिए बहुत ही जरूरी है, महत्वपूर्ण है। दरअसल जैसा कि मैकब्राइड रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है, संचार माध्यमों को, जिनमें कि अखबार, टेलीविजन सभी कुछ शामिल हैं, अब तक केवल आंशिक महत्व दिया गया था, हाशिए पर लिखी गई इबारत जितना महत्व दिया गया था।

लेकिन अब इस रिपोर्ट के जरिए यह माँग की गई है और सही माँग की गई है कि उसको मुख्य इबारत की जगह दी जाये, क्योंकि संचार माध्यम सामाजिक परिवर्तन का सबसे बड़ा औजार है, उनके बिना कोई सामाजिक सुधार सम्भव नहीं है। रेडियो, टेलीविजन और समाचार-पत्रों के बिना हम इस शताब्दी की कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते। हम यह कल्पना नहीं कर सकते कि गाँव में रहने वाले आदमी कभी भी बीसवीं सदी में पैर रख सकेंगे। इसलिए मेरा तो यह ख्याल है कि रेडियो और टेलीविजन का जितना इस देश में, एक विकासशील देश में विकास होना चाहिये था उतना नहीं हुआ। इसलिए हमें अपने अधिकारों के प्रति जितना सजग होना चाहिए, हम उतने नहीं हैं। जितना हमें दूसरों के प्रति उदार होना चाहिये उतने नहीं हैं, क्योंकि उदारता, अधिकार जैसे कुछ मूल्य हैं जो अपने आप में पैदा नहीं होते जो एक से दूसरे के पास पहुंचते हैं और दूसरे से तीसरे के पास। अगर इन मूल्यों को सार्वजनिक मूल्यों में बदलना है तो संचार माध्यमों का विकास करना होगा और बहुत तेजी के साथ लाना होगा। लेकिन स्थिति क्या है? स्थिति निराशाजनक है। मैं आपके सामने कुछ आंकड़े रखता हूँ, जिससे हिन्दुस्तान में संचार माध्यमों के विकास की दर सामने आ जायेगी। यूनेस्को के प्रतिमानों के अनुसार अखबारों की प्रतियाँ सौ लोगों में कम से कम 10 तक पहुंचनी चाहियें। लेकिन हमारे देश में 1.6 प्रतियाँ पहुंचती हैं।

रेडियो सेट्स का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, स्थिति कुछ बेहतर है। लेकिन फिर भी निराशाजनक है। यूनेस्को प्रतिमानों के अनुसार सौ आदमियों के पीछे पांच सेट होने चाहियें जब कि हमारे यहां सौ के पीछे केवल तीन सेट्स हैं। लेकिन सिनेमा का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, क्योंकि सिनेमा जिस तरह से विकसित हुआ है शायद

[श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा]

वह मनोरंजन का माध्यम होकर रह गया है, इसलिए सिनेमा का अतिशय विकास हुआ है। सौ आदमियों के पीछे दो सीटों की कल्पना की गई है लेकिन भारत वर्ष में 9.5 सीटें उपलब्ध हैं। इसका मतलब है एक आदमी को चार सीटें उपलब्ध हैं जब कि चार आदमियों को एक सीट उपलब्ध होनी चाहिये थी। तो यह स्थिति आज है और यह बहुत उचित स्थिति नहीं कही जा सकती है। बल्कि मुझे रिपोर्ट में यह पड़कर निराशा हुई कि छठी योजना के लिए रेडियो और टेलीविजन माध्यम के विकास के लिए केवल 86 करोड़ रुपए की व्यवस्था की गई है, जो कि बहुत कम है। उपरमाध्यम महोदय, इससे ज्यादा निराशाजनक स्थिति क्या हो सकती है कि पूरे देश में केवल 84 आकाशवाणी केन्द्र हैं जिनमें कि सिर्फ 9 या 11 ही उत्तर पूर्वी अंचल में हैं और उनमें से चार आसाम में हैं जब कि होना यह चाहिये था कि इन अंचलों में सबसे ज्यादा आकाशवाणी के केन्द्र होने चाहिये थे। हमने पिछले दिनों जो आन्दोलन देखा, उसके पीछे एक कारण यह भी था कि संचार माध्यमों का जितना इस्तेमाल वहाँ होना चाहिये उतना नहीं हुआ। तो मैं केवल यही निवेदन कर सकता हूँ कि संचार माध्यमों का, विशेष रूप से सीमावर्ती इलाकों में, ज्यादा विकास करे।

जहाँ तक टेलीविजन का ताल्लुक है, टेलीविजन टेक्नालाजी का सबसे नया, आँखों को सबसे ज्यादा प्रिय बनाने वाला, इंद्रियों को सुझाने वाला माध्यम है। सुचना संचारन की मांग विकसित हो रही है कि रंगीन टेलीविजन का विकास होना चाहिये। मैं इसका पूरी तरह समर्थन करता हूँ। किसी भावनावश नहीं, बल्कि इसलिए कि रंगीन टेलीविजन का मतलब ही टेलीविजन है, दूसरे टेलीविजन का मतलब नहीं रह

गया है। इसके प्रमाण में मैं फिर आपके सामने आंकड़े रखता हूँ कि सन् 1979 के अन्त तक संसार के 160 देशों में से सिर्फ 49 देशों में ब्लैक एण्ड व्हाइट टेलीविजन था, बाकी ने इसको छोड़ दिया था। आज ब्लैक एण्ड व्हाइट टेलीविजन की टेक्नालाजी भी उपलब्ध नहीं है। अगर ब्लैक एण्ड व्हाइट टेक्नालाजी पर हम आश्रित रहेंगे तो शायद टेलीविजन टेक्नालाजी में बहुत पीछे रह जायेंगे।

दूसरी बात यह भी है कि टेलीविजन एक कम्प्युटेशन का मीडिया, प्रतियोगिता का माध्यम है। यह संसार प्रतियोगिता का है। जानकारी के क्षेत्र में विकसित और अविकसित देश कुछ नहीं होता है। अविकसित देश विकसित हो सकता है और विकसित अविकसित देश। शिक्षित कहलाने वाले गंवार हो सकते हैं और गंवार कहलाने वाले शिक्षित हो सकते हैं। इसलिए इस माध्यम का पूर्ण विकास किया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन किसी दिशा के साथ जो कि मेरे विचार में पिछले 30 वर्षों में नहीं हो पाया है। यह दृष्टि विकसित नहीं हो पायी है कि हम टेलीविजन को किस रूप में इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं, सूचना देने के लिए, शिक्षा के लिए या मनोरंजन के लिए। कभी शिक्षात्मक मनोरंजन होता है, कभी मनोरंजनात्मक शिक्षा होती है। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होता है कि दोनों का एक ऐसा सन्तुलन कायम किया जाय जिससे सही सही दृष्टि लोगों में विकसित हो सके। मुझे आशा है कि विशेषज्ञों की सहायता से टेलीविजन का ठीक ठीक विकास होगा और इसकी ठीक ठीक दिशा निर्धारित होगी।

जहाँ तक समाचार-पत्रों का ताल्लुक है श्री कल्याण राय जो ने कुछ घटनाओं और

व्यक्तियों के नाम लेकर सुनाये। मैं तथ्यों से परिचित नहीं हूँ, इसलिए इस बारे में नहीं कह सकता हूँ। लेकिन यह जरूर कहूंगा कि जिस जनता सरकार ने समाचार-पत्रों की आजादी की दुहाई दी उसने 1977 में गसन में आते ही तीन महीनों के अन्दर केवल एक संस्थान "टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया" से कम से कम आधे दर्जन पत्रकार निकाल दिए।

3 P.M.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Should it continue?

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: No, that should not continue. But, did you protest at that time?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: If you see the records, I initiated the debate. (Interruptions).

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: But I am the victim. Did you say anything when I was victimised?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Of course.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: I do not remember. But thank you very much if you supported at that time. (Interruptions).

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I hold even now you have been victimised.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: Nobody is being victimised for having written something which is not palatable to the Government. But unfortunately because you belong to a certain political party and it is your job to criticise the Government, so you are just overlooking the facts.

मगर स्थिति यह है कि समाचार-पत्रों में सब कुछ छप रहा है और मैं नहीं समझता कि सरकार की किसी एजेंसी ने दबाव डाला है। समाचार-पत्रों के क्या कर्तव्य है, इसकी परिभाषा करने का अधिकार सरकार को नहीं है और सरकार ने इस तरह का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया है कि

समाचार-पत्र क्या कर्तव्य पालन करें और क्या न करें। लेकिन जहां तक समाचार-पत्रों में कार्य करने वाले लोगों का ताल्लुक है, सरकार को उसमें हस्तक्षेप करना होगा क्योंकि उनकी कार्यदशा में कोई महत्वपूर्ण सुधार पिछले वर्षों में नहीं हुआ है। जनरल मैनेजर की तनख्वाह— बड़े समाचार-पत्रों में रु० 10,000 होती है प्रति मास। लेकिन सब-एडिटर या रिपोर्टर की तनख्वाह केवल एक हजार रुपया या आठ सौ रुपया और कई मामलों में तो छहसौ रुपया है। यह विषमता क्यों है? इसका सीधा कारण है कि समाचार-पत्र वास्तविक अर्थों में भारतवर्ष में विकसित नहीं हो सका है। यदि विकसित हुआ है, तो यह इंसीडेंटल है। इसके पीछे कोई उद्देश्य नहीं था। इंसीडेंटली इसका विकास हो गया है। मुख्य प्रवृत्ति यह है कि मुनाफा-खोरी की जाए और ज्यादा से ज्यादा इससे मुनाफा कमाया जाए। इस प्रवृत्ति को सरकार को निरुत्साहित करना होगा और कुछ कदम उठाये जाने चाहियें। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि ये कदम इसलिए उठाये जायें कि समाचार-पत्रों के मालिकों पर दबाव डाला जा सके, उनसे कुछ राजनीतिक रियायतें हासिल करने के लिए, बल्कि समाचार-पत्रों के कर्मचारियों के हित की रक्षा के लिए सरकार को यह सब करना चाहिये और उनके लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा रियायत हासिल करनी चाहिये।

उसी तरह से छोटे और मझोले पत्रों की अक्सर चर्चा होती है। जहां तक छोटे पत्रों का ताल्लुक है, मैं नहीं जानता कि छोटे पत्रों की परिभाषा होगी। सौ प्रतियां छापने वाला समाचार-पत्र भी छोटा पत्र है और दो हजार प्रतियां छापने वाला समाचार पत्र भी छोटा पत्र है। इसलिए इसके मामले में सरकार को सतर्क होना होगा। लेकिन जहां तक मझोले समाचार-पत्रों का ताल्लुक है, सरकार को

[श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा]

ज्यादा उदार नीति अपनानी होगी और वर्तमान सूचना मंत्री जी ने कई बार यह कहा है कि इस बारे में ज्यादा उदार नीति अपनायेंगे और छोटे-मझोले समाचार-पत्रों की विज्ञापन नीति में परिवर्तन कर विकास करने में सहायता देंगे ।

ठीक इसी तरह से हिन्दी न्यूज एजेंसी का प्रश्न भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि दोनों ही हिन्दी न्यूज एजेंसियां लगभग डूब सी रही हैं और घाटे में चल रही हैं और इनके बारे में सरकार को ध्यान देना होगा, खास तौर से इस बात पर सरकार को फिर से विचार करना होगा कि अंग्रेजी न्यूज एजेंसी को लगभग साठ लाख रुपया—मैं ठीक-ठीक आंकड़े नहीं बता सकता—लगभग 60-70 लाख रुपए दिये जाते हैं, जब कि हिन्दी समाचार-एजेंसियों को इसका दसवां हिस्सा भी प्राप्त नहीं होता है आल इंडिया रेडियो और टेलीविजन से । तो, यह विषमता क्यों है और अगर यह विषमता है तो इसको दूर करने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिये ।

जहां तक फिल्मों का तात्लुक है, इस पर जितना कम कहा जाए उतना ही बेहतर है । उस दिन श्रीमती नरगिस दत्त ने बम्बई की फिल्मों की बहुत वकालत की । बम्बई और कलकत्ता के बीच में यह झड़प तो कभी न कभी होनी ही थी । यह उसकी तकदीर में था कि एक दिन बम्बई और कलकत्ता में टकराव होता क्योंकि बंगाल एक विशेष प्रदेश है जिसकी कला और संस्कृति बहुत विकसित है और जिस के लिए फिल्म एक संस्कृति है, कला है, लेकिन बम्बई में बहुत से लोग जा कर बस गए हैं और वे लोग हिन्दी को अपनी जुबान के रूप में इस्तेमाल तो करते हैं लेकिन दरअसल हिन्दी का इस्तेमाल केवल पैसा कमाने के लिए किया जा रहा है । अगर वे हिन्दी

फिल्म में हैं तो यह केवल आर्कास्मिक है, फिल्मों का इस्तेमाल मुनाफाखोरी के लिए किया जा रहा है और उसी उद्योग के रूप में लिया जा रहा है जबकि फिल्म मेरे विचार में उद्योग नहीं है, संस्कृति है । संस्कृति का जरूरी अंग है जिस तरह से नाटक संस्कृति का जरूरी अंग है । इसलिए सत्यजीत रे की बम्बई के किसी निर्देशक से कोई तुलना नहीं हो सकती है । उस एक व्यक्ति की तुलना उस व्यक्ति से नहीं हो सकती है जिसकी एक मान्यता हो और दूसरा उस मान्यता को समझ ही नहीं रहा हो । लेकिन मैं कहूंगा जहां अब तक यह रोग केवल बम्बई तक सीमित था, वह मलयालम फिल्मों तक पहुंच गया है, मद्रास तक पहुंच गया है ।

श्री कल्याण राय : कलकत्ता में भी आ गया ।

सूचना तथा प्रसारण और पूर्ति तथा पुनर्वासि मंत्री (श्री बी० पी० साठे) : कलकत्ता में बहुत पहले आ गया ।

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा : मगर यह संक्रामक रोग है, इसको रोकना जरूरी है । मेरा अपना यह विचार है कि भारतवर्ष में पिछले 10 साल में अपराध वृद्धि में जो बढ़ावा हुआ है उसका बहुत बड़ा श्रेय फिल्म उद्योग को है । अपराध के नए-नए तरीके बम्बई के फिल्म उद्योग ने सिखाए हैं और मेरे विचार में भारत सरकार को सेन्सर बोर्ड के मामले में स्वीडन जैसी नीति अपनानी चाहिए जो एक साथ ही उदार और अनुदार भी है । स्वीडन में सेक्स का जहां तात्लुक हो एक उदार दृष्टिकोण अपनाया जाता है, लेकिन जहां तक अपराध के फिल्माने का तात्लुक है, एक सख्त दृष्टिकोण अपनाया जाता है । तो मेरे विचार में इस तरह की दुहरी नीति अपना कर फिल्म उद्योग

के हितों की भी रक्षा की जा सकती है और साथ ही साथ सामाजिक हितों की भी। तब शायद श्रीमती नरगिस दत्त को शिकायत नहीं होगी। (*Time bell rings*)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं दो-एक बातें और कहना चाहता हूँ एक तो पब्लिकेशन डिविजन के बारे में मुझे गिनती नहीं गिनानी है कितने पत्र उसके निकलते हैं। लेकिन मेरे ब्याल में 50 से ज्यादा पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ यहां से प्रकाशित होनी हैं। अपने आप में यह भी एक छोटा-मोटा उद्योग है। निकालना भी चाहिए क्योंकि बहुत से मंत्रालयों में देश के भीतर बहुत-सी महत्वपूर्ण गतिविधियाँ हो रही हैं, उनका ब्यौरा भी समाज को मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन कोई पढ़ता है? संसद सदस्यों के पास ही नहीं और भी लोगों के पास कंप्लीमेंटरी प्रतियाँ पहुंचती हैं। उसके जलावा बाज़ार में ये प्रतियाँ रखी रहती हैं। लेकिन क्या उनको कोई पढ़ता है? अगर कोई नहीं पढ़ता और नहीं खरीदता, तो क्यों नहीं खरीदता और क्यों नहीं पढ़ता? इस पर पब्लिकेशन डिविजन को विचार करना चाहिए कि क्यों नहीं वे इतने इतना रोचक बनाते कि लोग उसको पढ़ें। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि वे संचार माध्यम का इस्तेमाल ठीक-ठीक नहीं कर पा रहे हैं।

अंत में उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि जो भी संचार माध्यम है, उनका विस्तार जल्दी से जल्दी, थोड़े समय में, जरूरी है, ताकि हम अपने लोकतंत्र की शर्तों को और अधिक मजबूत कर सकें। लेकिन केवल विस्तार ही आवश्यक नहीं होता। विस्तार के साथ गहराई भी जरूरी होती है, दृष्टि भी जरूरी होती है। इसलिए इसका विस्तार करते समय इसकी गहराई को भी ध्यान में रखा जाए और यह समझा जाए कि सामाचारपत्र कहाँ जा रहे हैं, उन्हें कहाँ जाना चाहिए? रेडियो-टेलिविजन कहाँ पहुंच गए हैं और उन्हें कहाँ

पहुंचना चाहिए? तभी हम अपने थान और नियति को समझ सकेंगे, तभी हम संचार साधनों का विकास कर सकेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Murasoli Maran. Your party has six minutes.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me at the outset congratulate the Government for having abolished the licence fee in relation to two-band transistors. But I would plead with the Hon'ble Minister that exemption should also be given in respect of four-band transistors, because, they are also inexpensive and India has been ushered into the modern transistor age. Secondly, I would also like to congratulate the hon. Minister for the efforts he has taken in regard to bringing colour television. I am for colour television, not in the sense that I like colour or that it is a modern fashion. But from the point of view of economics, very soon, we have to change to colour. If you do not do it now, you will be paying dearer for it in future. For example, all over the world the tendency is for colour TV. So, in the near future we cannot be importing those picture and power tubes. Ultimately, it may fall on the Bharat Electronics which will be obliged to meet those requirements of transmission and receivers, with the result, we may have to pay a heavy price. So, from the economic point of view I am for colour TV. Sir, out of 40 countries of the Asian Broadcasting Union 31 countries have introduced colour TV, 7 countries have no television network and there are only two countries, India and Vietnam, which are still on black and white TV. Moreover, Sir, this question is as old as 1975. In 1975 the Government set up a Technical Advisory Committee to go into the question of colour TV. They suggested a gradual changeover to colour TV. Along with this they also suggested co-existence

[Shri Murasoli Maran]

of black and white TV. Sir, it is my opinion that the colour TV should be financed by commercial advertising. Lord Thompson said: Television advertising is a licence to print money. In America one minute advertisement spot during prime time costs 80,000 to one million dollars. So, it is my view that we should go in for colour TV and it should be completely financed by commercial advertising. Then, Sir, advertising on the broadcasting services is considered in the developing world more as a part of the process of economic modernisation and enlargement of the traditional concept of the market than an issue affecting broadcasting policy. Sir, in our country even though we are talking about colour TV, the quality has not improved, it is very poor, far from satisfactory. We have not yet imbibed the television culture. In fact, if you look at the TV, it is popular because of the cinema content of it. We have not developed the quality. I think recently a survey was made in Delhi. Most of the teachers in Delhi do not find the school TV programmes useful and most schools possessing TV sets, hardly switch on the sets. This is the position. So, the Minister should see that the quality is improved, not with more cinema content, but as a TV.

Then, Sir, we have to curb the monopolistic tendency in the press. In the words of the Press Commission. Monopoly of thought is as bad as monopoly of wealth. One way of curbing the monopoly interest is to bring a measure like the price-page schedule. I know it was struck down by the Supreme Court, but if necessary, we have to amend the Constitution. Only such a measure would curb the monopolistic tendencies of the press.

Then, Sir, even within the four walls of the Constitution there are ways by which we can help small and medium type of newspapers. For example, article 269 provides that the Centre can levy a tax on advertisements published in newspapers. These

taxes should be levied and collected by the Union Government and assigned to the States. But so far, Sir, no Government has taken note of this provision. Here is a provision for resources. You can levy taxes, but because after collection the same are to be given to the States, the Centre is not very much interested in it. Again the Fifth Finance Commission has gone into the question of levying tax on advertisements, and they have said that there is *prima facie* a reasonable source of revenue. But so far it has not been done. When Mrs. Satpathy was the Minister, at that time I had raised a question in Lok Sabha. She had said: We have prepared a report and the same we are submitting to the Finance Ministry. Very soon we are taking a decision. But so far nothing has happened. Now the advertising policy of the Government is also helping the monopoly press. For example, there are as many as 10 newspapers which claim 75 per cent of the advertisement revenue from Government channels—I mean both from the Centre and the State Governments. For example, in this year's Report, in this list of classified and display combined advertisements, about 62 per cent of the amount spent for classified and display advertisements, go to English and Hindi newspapers alone. So they get the lion's share. How about the other language newspapers? They get a very poor percentage, a very poor share. I would request the hon. Minister to look into the matter so that there will be a rational policy so that all the language newspapers will get an adequate share.

I agree with what Mr. Kalyan Roy has said. The other day Mrs. Nargis Dutt was very unkind towards the guru of modern Indian cinema, Mr. Satyajit Ray. She said that poverty is projected in his films in such a way in the other countries as not to bring fame to the country. Sir, I completely disagree with her, with all respect to her. She has said: "In which home do we see snakes going back into the huts?" That is her question. It is

really ridiculing a grand personality like Mr. Satyajit Ray. In fact, we the commercial film people have no right to criticise Mr. Satyajit Ray because he is an outstanding personality. In his films, he has depicted not only poverty but the Calcutta city life and the Bengal fame in such a way as nobody else in India can do. We are all proud of him. I do not know how she levelled this criticism. In his films, poverty is depicted with sadness and innocent dignity. What stands out is not horror of poverty but the humanity, simplicity and the indomitable Indian spirit. I do not want to go further into it.

We know what we get from the commercial movies is two hours escapade for the poor for the common man from his uninteresting life which brings romance with vicarious joy of voyeurism. But it is an industry. For example, about Rs. 200 crores per year are collected as the box office amount in the film industry. Out of every rupee collected in the box office, 54 paise go to the Government by way of taxes, 27 paise go to the exhibitor, 4 paise go to the distributor. The poor film producer can get only about 15 per cent of the gross intake to recoup the cost of production.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What about the poorest actor?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: They are all taken care of. Sir, the situation is very sad. We should put the commercial cinema also on a sound footing. For that, they should get institutional help for financing their films. There is no such help given at all. No bank will give the film producer any money. But as an industry, it collects about Rs. 200 crores per year. It is a very sad state of affairs. The film Finance Corporation which is there now cannot perform the job. They are taking care of one particular section of art films—the out-of-way films. I would urge the hon. Minister to go into the problem. Let him create a Corporation like the IDBI which takes care of the industry—not an apex corporation but

regional corporations—to give finances to the film industry. Then all the bad habits of the film industry will vanish. They are paying usurious rates of interest—ranging from 65 per cent to 70 per cent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): May I request you to conclude?

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN: I will not be doing justice if I do not refer to the irksome and thoughtless censorship which is prevailing in this country. The Censor Board members are appointed in such a way that many of them do not know anything about the cinema industry. I would urge the hon. Minister that in future at least if he appoints Censor Board members, he should see that they have knowledge about the cinema industry. It causes hardship to the producers. It is quite surprising what is allowed in one picture in Malayalam is not allowed in a Tamil picture; what is allowed in a Telugu film, even if it is re-made is not permitted in a Tamil picture. I can quote several examples. For example one picture by name 'Paruvaththin Vasaliley' in Tamil was a re-make of a Malayalam picture. It is a carbon copy. But the Regional Committee of Censors objected to certain portions. They went to the Central Censor Board and finally appealed to the Central Government also. In the meanwhile, there was so much delay that the poor producer, who was living on borrowed money, had to come back. He measured all the corridors of the I&B Ministry but could not achieve his object. Then he voluntarily surrendered and agreed to cut all those portions saying: "Please leave me alone and give me the certificate". That was the position. There is some illegality in the present censorship system. When Mr. Abbas went to the Supreme Court, the Supreme Court passed certain strictures. At that time the Attorney General of India gave an assurance on behalf of the Government of India that they would change the law of censorship. What they

[Shri Murasoli Maran] meant was that the final authority, the appellate authority of censorship should not be a bureaucrat, should not be a Minister; there should be a tribunal. It should have the colour of a court, Sir,...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That is all right.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN:... still that loophole is there. In the Supreme Court the Attorney-General has given an assurance that very soon there would be a tribunal. In the case of the picture 'Paruvaththin Vasaliley' if there were a tribunal the suffering would not have been there. I would urge upon to the Minister to come forward with a legislation creating a tribunal.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in the modern world knowledge is freedom and true freedom is discipline from within and not a compulsion from without. A truly free country does not really need a Ministry of Information because a Ministry of Information tends to become a Ministry of National Guidance and then to become a Ministry of Propaganda for the Government. I would, therefore, request the House to consider whether a Ministry of Information is at all necessary if we wish to build a democratic polity in the country. In fact, in a sense, I am inviting the Minister of Information and Broadcasting to commit suicide. In the modern society ...

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Not physically.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN:... the media is the image and the image tends to become a reality and the shadow tends to acquire a substance. We know the power of the media. The media can conjure a saviour, a hero, a leader out of the thin air, out of the blue. And this brings me, therefore, to the question why this Government has completely abandoned the quest for autonomy. You know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the

Verghese Report has been consigned to oblivion. You know, Sir, that the Prasar Bharati Bill is not going to be replaced. You also know that the Mukherjee working Group on the films Division has been disbanded. All this, therefore, is part of a pattern. This is part of the quest for total power. This is a Government which wants to acquire a control over the body, mind and soul of the people. We should not be taken in by the big, blue, bubbling eyes of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, who is a very dear friend of mine. We should not be taken in by his jovial and friendly mien. Behind it lurks a mind which is conspiring to control the press, enslave the spirit of the people. It is, therefore, in this context that I would suggest that indeed in this country they are trying to bring in censorship through the backdoor, without the emergency, of which many instances have been given. For this I would thank the Prime Minister who has chosen her Minister of Information and Broadcasting well.

I have just read the new terms of reference of the Press Commission. They appear to be comprehensive enough, but the composition is not very inspiring, I am sad to say, and the way the old Press Commission was asked to pack up and go home left a very bad taste in everybody's mouth. Indeed, the ownership must be defused and monopoly control over the press must be ended. But the Government patronage is also responsible for distorting the press. I would, therefore, think that the Government control which comes through newsprint quota and through Government advertisements also needs to be regulated and controlled. These means of control have really assumed a scandalous proportion. I think one way out would be to make the newsprint freely available in the market so that any newspaper gets as much of it as it wants. And the Government advertisements should be reduced to the minimum and should be given purely on commercial basis. It should not be, as we say in Urdu: "Halwai ki dukan aur dada jaan ka fateha". We know

that English and Hindi newspapers capture the bulk of the advertisement expenditure of the Government, as has been pointed out. Twelve other languages get only 37 per cent. This is unfair. This lopsidedness must go. I would also think, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that a Newspaper Development Corporation should be created, instead of giving indirect subsidy through advertisement which also brings in control, in order to finance and promote the small and medium newspapers.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, film is the characteristic medium of our age for artistic expression. The film industry has deep roots. It has established great traditions. It has become a social force in our country; notwithstanding the criticism by one of our distinguished colleagues, I think its greatness lies in that it has produced Satyajit Ray. Let it not be a commercialised, a vulgar medium a narcotic for the people, a means of escape from the daily drudgery of life. Obscenity, sex and violence seem to determine the content of a film more and more. I was shocked to read in the Annual Report that in 1979, 126 feature films, out of 714, got 'A' Certificate, and thus there was a rise from 5.3 per cent in 1976 to 18 per cent in 1979. Is it a sign of maturity of the industry or is it a sign of maturity of the audience or is it that there is a growing malady with which our social system is suffering?

The report of the Working Group on National Film Policy has just come in. I hope the Minister will give it sympathetic consideration and implement its main recommendations. I would particularly plead for financing a series of cinema houses which should be very simple, very austere to screen cultural films, artistic films and good film such as those which are financed by the Film Finance Corporation. In that sense I welcome the setting up of the Film Development Corporation which is going to take over the function of the Film Finance Corporation also. It should also serve as the chan-

nel for importing foreign films. Here also the lopsided development must go. Most of our films come from the western world, the U.K. and the United States, and the great experiments in cinema in the third world are not yet known to the people of India. That deficiency must be made up.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would just like to take a few minutes more. We are a multilingual country, and the AIR must evolve a scientific basis for distributing the broadcasting time, among the various linguistic groups, that compose the service area of a particular station. That will take away all the irritation and the sense of grievance that arise from time to time.

I would also plead that emphasis on English must be abandoned. And our tribute to Sanskrit can perhaps be lowered. There should be less concentration on the speeches of the President and the Prime Minister and perhaps of the Minister of Information. I find that the A.I.R. Archives is giving more and more time to them. They should try to record the voices of our poets, our artists, our scientists and our great writers for posterity.

The commercial service, I am told, has become a den of corruption. That should be cleaned up.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): You have forgotten the Members of Parliament.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Well, they have a chance to become Prime Minister or Minister of Information.

The overseas programme—I would like to draw the attention of the House to this—has to be rationalised. (*Time bell rings*). Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will just take two minutes.

There are too many small programmes of very short duration. There is no sense at all in having a programme of less than 30 minutes duration. And these programmes are broadcast on very, very weak channels. I, therefore, welcome the sug-

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin]

gestion in the report that in the next few years we shall add two high-powered short-wave transmitters.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I know that by the end of this Plan the present TV programmes will cover only 35 per cent of the area and 15 per cent of the people. Yet already they are talking in terms of the colour TV. I do not know how many families today in this country have TV sets and how many TV sets are available for social purposes. The TV was introduced with a social mission. Has the Minister any reason to believe that the social purpose has been fulfilled or it is anywhere near fulfilment? And he is talking of the colour TV. There is no rationale, no justification for the colour TV for a poor country. It will not fulfil any felt need of the people. It will invest funds in a non-priority sector. It will delight the eyes and the ears of chosen elite, who will, of course, utilise public funds in the name of masses and in the name of social education. Ugly truth, Mr. Vice-Chairman, cannot be concealed howsoever colourfully you may dress it up.

On technology, the Minister has spoken several times. Need comes before technology. We can be content with the absolute technology. We do not want to chase and follow the affluent societies whose appetite can never be satiated. Let us first eliminate the bullock-cart which is an obsolete technology; let us first eliminate the plough which is an obsolete technology. Let us first address ourselves to the felt needs of our people, the basic needs of our children in the schools before we come to the colour TV.

The Publications Division can again do much more than it has done so far.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Please conclude.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: One minute more.

I find, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that in 1979, 63 publications were in English and 31 in Hindi, and all the other languages of India put together had only 9 publications to their credit. This is absolutely scandalous. This must be changed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, news-gathering is not the responsibility of the AIR. Their special correspondents abroad, to my mind, are wasting time. But news-gathering from our districts is important and precedence must be given to it by giving a certain amount of subsidy so that they may have a telex linkage with every district headquarter in India. (*Time bell rings*). I have never exceeded my time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I know, but I have allowed you more than the time given to you.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Finally, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there is rising discontent—I shall caution the Minister—in the ranks of his own Ministry, not only among the permanent employees who are not gathered into one organised cadre—the Central Information Service is only a beginning—but there is rising discontent among the temporary staff, among the part-time staff. I will request him to look into the matter before the situation gets out of hand and explodes. I would suggest that there should be regular cadres for every identifiable category of personnel that comes under his care. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Ajit Kumar Sharma is not here. Mr. Dinesh Goswami is not here. Mr. Chakraborty is not here. Mr. Alexander Warjri.

SHRI ALEXANDER WARJRI (Meghalaya): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to speak, especially since the time is short, on the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting only in connection with the North-east. I feel that like the other Ministries, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, has also given a

step-motherly treatment to the North-east, except perhaps Assam where, according to the paper submitted by the Ministry, we have Gauhati, Dibrugarh and Silchar, and altogether they are about 200 KW of transmitters. Imphal, 50 KW; Shillong only 1 KW; Kohima, 51 KW; Agartala, 20 KW; Arunachal Pradesh has got the biggest power station there; and in Aizawl, it is only 20 KW. Now, these centres are so weak that they cannot reach the people. And very often people are keeping the radio sets just as ornamental things in their houses, only for show. All India Radio, Shillong, is depending on Gauhati only. In fact, they never call it All India Radio, Shillong. They call it All India Radio, Gauhati-Shillong in spite of the promise given by the Ministry during the Janata regime that Shillong would have an independent centre and that it will have a 100 KW transmitter. One point which I would like the Minister to note here is that it seems that in the North-east, an instruction has been given to All India Radio that they should put out news only after it is censored by the State Governments there. So many distorted news items have been given by the All India Radio. For example, take the news item given by All India Radio, Shillong-Gauhati, on the incident that happened on the 2nd of June in which there was a demonstration by young children for squatting before the DC's court in Shillong in connection with the foreigners issue. All India Radio announced that some of the children got hurt by running and falling. But actually what happened was—was an eye-witness there—that the children were teargassed and were beaten mercilessly by the CRPF. Yet All India Radio twice, not once, in the morning and once in the evening, was giving news that the children got hurt while running and falling, thus totally distorting the news. It is a totally distorted news. I would like to submit that All India Radio should have a reporter of its own to find out the truth and report correct news. Either report correct news or do not publish any news at all. I would also like to refer...

(Time bell rings). There is nobody else from Independents group...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): The Minister is there. The discussion was to be concluded at 3.30. We are already late. Now, I have accommodated you. Otherwise, I could have called the Minister.

SHRI ALEXANDER WARJRI: Another thing I would like the Minister to enquire into is the breaking of some contracts by the All India Radio. For example, a month before last a contract was given to a certain journalist to speak in the All India Radio. This journalist happened to belong to an opposition Party. His speech was recorded. In the morning it was announced that his speech will be broadcast in the evening. But the speech never came and when enquired the reply was: Please ask the State Government. I want the Minister to enquire into this.

Another thing I want to say is what I have heard just now from most of my friends. They were speaking about coloured T.V. Everyone is trying to get coloured T.V. We in the North East consisting of 7 States cannot even dream of a colourless T.V. Of course, we can see T.V. programmes from across the border, from China and Bangladesh. Should we take recourse to this and see T.V. programmes consisting of propaganda against our country? I am really surprised that after so many years there is not even a single T.V. centre in the seven States of the North East. I would request the Minister to kindly assure us from the North East that at least by next year a T.V. Centre will be set up in the North East.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, let me begin by thanking all hon. Members who have not only participated in the debate, but have made very valuable contributions. I will take all the valuable suggestions made into consideration, although in

[Shri V. P. Sathe]

the short time at my disposal it may not be possible to reply to every single suggestion or point. But you can rest assured that we have tabulated and made a detailed note of every suggestion and I will go into it and try to do that we can to improve the working of the media.

Before I take up certain aspects media-wise, I would like to deal with two major items of general importance which were touched upon and which have been exercising the minds of many hon. Members for some time.

Much was said about my remarks allegedly made in connection with the reporting of crimes connected with rape incidence in the press. I would like to clarify and say that newspapers have a tendency to—as some hon. Members also must have experienced this—take something sensational from somebody's speech and quote it out of context and highlight it. For example, here I was speaking ...

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): You must be aware of the AIR's sense of news value.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: The only difference is that the news value which the newspapers find is sensational while what the All India Radio finds is not sensational, but useful and newsworthy. Now, what has happened was that I was speaking at a function organised by the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation and I was telling there that we were not conscious in this country of the effort which is being made throughout the world and by outside agencies for destabilising democracy and even the freedom of our country. We don't take a serious view of this because we are not even aware of it. What happened in Chile when the Allende Government was overthrown? The strategy that was adopted was

one of infiltrating into the newspapers, of bloating non-issues, of creating disaffection, if infiltrating into universities, of totally crippling and sabotaging the whole transport system, encouraging fissiparous tendencies. All these things are a part, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to mention through you, of an international strategy and many countries have suffered because of this. In our country, I was trying to point out, we are just trying to come out of the traumatic period of the last three years when the entire time was wasted on non-issues. The whole Government fell on non-issues because they wasted their time on non-issues and wasted their time in trying to persecute one single person and harass that person.

SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA (Madhya Pradesh): The Shah Commission was there.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: They were interested only in that. Mind you, that was harming our democracy and I said that when I was a Member sitting on the Opposition and I had pleaded with the then Government not to waste time on non-issues, but attend to the major issues of nation-building programmes and economic programmes of economic relevance to our country. Somebody asked me what the issues were according to me. I was speaking at that meeting also and I said that the major issues were the integrity of the country, unity of the country, saving the independence of the country and pulling this country out of the quagmire of poverty. These are the major issues and these cut across all political considerations and political parties and party lines and everyone who loves this country has to apply his mind and energies to this task. Be critical, by all means; criticise seriously, as harshly as you can, to improve the economic programmes of the Government, if you want. But, if you side-track, if the whole country is derailed on communal clashes, for example,

the fissiparous movements like the one you see in the North-Eastern region raising their heads, what will happen to our country? The whole North-Eastern region will get cut off and that is the strategy, and, therefore, I said, if the newspapers blow up, give a four-column headline, to an item like the one which happened at Baghpat, what will happen. I said in that very speech, Sir, that I thoroughly condemned any crime of the nature of molestation of women. And, Sir, not only that. I said that hanging was not enough because the man would escape. What should be done was that the punishment should be, just as they say "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", like this that in these cases either the man should be castrated or should be dismembered. In that context I said, "Please see this because after some time it becomes counter-productive and then how easy it becomes." You demoralised even the police forces because it is so easy. I have dealt with this as a lawyer in many cases and I can tell you, it is so difficult to prove and establish a crime of this nature. Now, if somebody goes in a house for inspection or raid by the police that is necessary, some woman can come out, tearing her sari and shout: I have been raped. What will happen? You will not be able to deal with the law and order problem in this country if you try to condemn them. If found guilty, punish—punish harshly, by all means. Now what happened when no less a person, Sir, than Shrimati Vijaya Raje Scindia issued a public statement and she condemned the police for mass atrocities of some poor, tribal women. The next day we found, those very women came forward to state that there was no truth in the allegation at all. This contradiction was published on some fourth page or somewhere else, but the people... (Interruptions) There is another instance in Bombay. Such a fuss was made and the Radio was criticised about the story appearing in the Indian Express about an incident of rape molestation and then burning of a housewife. The newspaper itself

came out with an apology and contradiction, that all that was a concocted story and lie. Sir, I beg of the House, through you, Sir, to consider what happens when Members after Members give a lurid account, reproduce from the newspapers, of the molestation? It not only harms the women; remember—but you are doing more than what you are condemning what is done in films, because what is not shown in the films you are describing under the protection of your privileges in this House. Sir, my hon. friends will forgive me for saying that if some of the newspaper editors who have been writing these accounts were to be put on the couch of a psychiatrist, I am afraid he may discover that they were having somewhere a tinge of...

AN HON. MEMBER: Guilty conscience.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: No, not guilty conscience, but having a vicarious satisfaction from their describing or while writing these... (Interruptions)

SHRI KALYAN ROY: This is not fair at all.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I cannot understand how, while in the same breath you condemn these atrocities gloating over the description... (Interruptions) It is in this context that I called it a non-issue, compared to the entire national perspective. But, unfortunately, again I was quoted out of context. (Interruptions)

An issue is an issue or a non-issue only in the context of the perspective. (Interruptions) Madam, an issue is an issue only in the context of the perspective. It is in that context that I was talking. I have said, for your satisfaction, that I consider rape as a very heinous crime, which deserves to be punished very severely. Will you be satisfied with that?... (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Aspersions were

[Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee]

made against the editors and journalists. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I would say, Sir, before I conclude on this topic: Please do not try to make political capital out of such incidents. Please do not... (Interruptions) It will be counter-productive. I have seen in newspapers, Sir, that the Lok Dal is planning to launch a nation-wide campaign on this. Why are you holding the Government responsible—as if the Government is responsible for such atrocities? Don't compare the two things, i.e. atrocities on a minority helpless community and stray incidents like this against the Police. Don't try to do it against the police force. You will demoralise it. That is what happened in your regime. You have paid for it. We are not going to do it.

I come to another aspect of general importance to which many Members including Shri Kalyan Roy who spoke just now, have referred. They have tried to make it appear as if since this Government came into power, we are continuing with the attitude of the previous Government in blacking out the Opposition Members from the news bulletins of the All India Radio.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I spoke about the struggle of the working class and particularly about misneeds of the big business and monopoly houses.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I will just touch that point. Firstly, let me tell you that when I took over, the first thing I did was to circulate and call a meeting of the Secretaries, Officers and Heads of media and to tell them that hereafter there will be no such thing as blacking out and irrespective of political parties and views or conviction, everyone will be treated with the same respect as far as radio and T.V. are concerned. I will give you examples. Maybe that we have not been able to have our senior veterans

like Mr. Pandey for radio talks. But let me mention a few examples for your benefit. Sir, a perusal of the script of "Today in Parliament" or "Sansad Samiksha" which deals with Parliament for the months of June and July shows that the prominent Members of Rajya Sabha who have time and again expressed their grievances against the radio were mentioned on a much larger number of occasions than the Congress (I) Members.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): If it is a fact, then it is also discrimination.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: If you make a charge of discrimination against my own party members in favour of the opposition, I will understand it. (Interruptions) I will appreciate it. I am sure that I will take care of the grievances from this side. Let me quote for your satisfaction.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: It is because they do not speak much. (Interruptions) Secondly, they seldom speak sense.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: On both counts, you will appreciate that we have been fair to you. You have been speaking sense and we have been reporting you. You should be thankful to me. Just see the number of time the Opposition Members have been quoted: Mr. Kalyan Roy—27 times; Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay—18 times; Shri Shiv Chandra Jha—35 times; Shri L. K. Advani—41 times; Shri Bhupesh Gupta, the doyen of Parliament,—44 times and Shri J. P. Mathur—24 times. As against this, the leading Congress (I) Members were quoted like this: Shri Ramanand Yadav—15 times, Shri Shyam Lal Yadav—14 times; Prof. D. P. Chatopadhyaya, Shri Prakash Mehrotra and Shri Bipinpal Das—9 times each and Shri N. K. P. Salve only 7 times. (Interruptions) Now the facts speak for themselves.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Not the number of times but how many lines Mr. Salve got? Mr. Salve must have got 200 lines.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Sir, I do not want to repeat myself.....

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: Sir, Mr. Salve will bear testimony to what the hon. Minister has just now said. He has been mentioned only 7 times there. But he had appeared three times on the television.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Have some patience. More is coming. (Interruptions)

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Minister, it appears that in the competition between the ruling party and the Opposition, you never mention about us who take a sober attitude.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Sir, about lines, I do not want to repeat because I have stated in the morning in the House that the Opposition, whose names have been mentioned, got 361 lines as against only 57 lines of the entire Congress.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Will there be a joint enquiry?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Therefore, Sir, so many times they have been mentioned. Therefore, I don't think they can really have a grievance.

Then, Sir, about the talks, in the 'current affairs' programmes.....

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): How many times have you been quoted on the All India Radio?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I have not compared that but it was very negligible. I may also like to clarify that in discussions and programmes such as current affair where eminent men and experts are invited from the general society, hon. Members like Shri

K. C. Pant, Shri K. C. Haldar, Shri J. P. Mathur, Shri Satish Chandra Aggarwal, Prof. Dutt, Shri Prakash Mehrotra have already participated in these discussions. This is only for two months. (Interruptions) Sir, I assure the hon. Members that hereafter whether it is programmes on the TV or the radio, subject to the expertise and the interest that the hon. Members show, they would be invited. For example, concerning labour, whenever there is such an important discussion dealing with labour matters, I have no doubt, Mr. Kalyan Roy would be invited....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Our names are on the black list.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: You are not blacklisted. There is no black list.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: There is a list.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: There is no black list. So, there is no question of your name being there on the black list.

Sir, I can also assure our revered, veteran senior Member, Shri Pande, that I found out on what occasions he was called in the previous regime. I found, Sir, that particularly when talks were held on such topics like the life of Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri Gobind Ballabh Pant, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and the reminiscences of the freedom struggle, he was invited. And I can assure him that we will draw, I am sure, on his experience and rich expertise both for the TV and the Radio.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: The only concession to our party.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Sir, now I would like to deal with items media-wise as briefly as I can...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, he did not reply to my question. My question was specific. It is not a question whether you are giving more cover-

[Shri Kalyan Roy.]

age to Mr. Mathur or less coverage to Mr. Salve. The pointed criticism is that since the Janata regime, the AIR and the Doordarshan have been systematically, calculatedly blacking out the economic misdeeds and irregularities of the big business that have been raised in discussions in both the Houses. That is what I criticised.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Here, there is no blacking out of anything. Sir, he again referred to the meeting of the labour leaders.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: A brief account.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am saying about that. The fact is that it was broadcast on 8 o'clock bulletin 4 P.M. and it not only conveyed the labour leaders efforts to co-operate in reviving the economy but also gave their demands, for example, revival of the tripartite body at the apex level and the names of prominent labour leaders, including that of Shri Kalyan Roy, were mentioned.

Now, Sir, let me turn to the other important issues media-wise which have been raised by hon. Members. Sir, as far as the Akashwani is concerned, I have to very frankly admit that during all these years somehow the media has not been given the importance that it deserves and that it should be given in any democratic free country. Sir, media, as they say, is the second line of defence. In peacetime it becomes even more important because, you see, today in the world there is virtually, if I may describe it so, a media invasion taking place. All powerful radios from all big countries constantly blare their news and views on the entire world. You can hear the Voice of America, you can hear Peking, you can hear the BBC, you can hear Moscow anywhere in any corner of the world, including our country. Pakistan also can be heard more powerfully. Dacca can be heard more powerfully. But

our radio cannot be heard anywhere even in the nearby countries.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Not even within the country.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Within the country is another side of it and I will tell you of that. You cannot hear Calcutta in Delhi because all capital radios were thought of are regional radios meant only for the regions with the result that Madras cannot be heard in Delhi, Delhi cannot be heard in Trivandrum, Delhi cannot be heard in Calcutta, Patna cannot be heard in Delhi, Delhi cannot be heard in Patna and so on. What is it due to? If you look at this, you will see that we have neglected it so thoroughly that the result is that you cannot be heard outside in the world and you cannot be heard internally as well although radio covers nearly 80 per cent of the territory. But, unfortunately, when the population is concerned, hardly ten per cent of our population can take advantage because they do not have the capacities, up till now they did not have, of having the radio sets. Therefore, we are taking a two-pronged view. Firstly, external publicity must be strengthened and there is a proposal to have in the Sixth Five Year Plan and even thereafter 22, as against only two at present, which are weak, short wave stations with a power of 250 to 500 k.w. Then along we will be able to cover at least some parts of the world outside. This is one thing. But all that means investment. If you treat the media as having the lowest priority, and if Members of Parliament while talking in their enthusiasm, say that other media are important and this media is not important, then you will have the situation as it is because nobody can and I cannot create miracles as far as technology is concerned, as far as having high-power stations are concerned. We have a programme internally of having a link, national of both medium wave high power stations and F. M. stations. If that

is introduced, then, you will be able to have a national hookup and a national programme to hear all stations within the country. Now, electronics has advanced so much that technologically, all this is possible and not at a very heavy cost. I will come to that presently.

Then, comes the question, in regard to which my friends have been agitated again and again, of television. About television, let me say very clearly once again that I am not enamoured of or just with the thought of colour television. If you have colour television, I do not have colour television. It makes no difference as far as personal approach is concerned. When I came, I had a look at television as a media, which was ten times more powerful than any other media, particularly, for a country like ours, where we have our common man in the rural areas, who may be illiterate, in terms of not knowing how to read and write, but he is not uneducated or unintelligent. He carries the wisdom of centuries with him and he has proved again and again that he is capable of understanding and adopting modern technology both in agriculture and in industry. Such a wise audience, but who do not know how to read and write. To them, an audio visual media has the greatest relevance and is of the greatest use. Therefore, when I come, the first question that I had asked was 'How can I take television to the rural areas?' I know and I agree with my friend, Shri Shahabuddin, that it is an elitist luxury today because it is restricted only to some metropolitan towns. But I am sure he will be very happy if he were to know that technologically, it is now possible to reach nearly all the electrified villages in this country in the remotest corners, particularly, in the North-East Region, where, we do not have television as yet, but Sir, when this INSAT comes, in 1982, it will be possible. There, already, two transponds have been provided. What I am saying is that

technologically, it is possible, to reach two lakh village, electrified villages, in all corners of the country. Nobody has the capacity in the rural areas. Obviously, no individual in the rural area will have the capacity, hardly any, as in the case of an individual in an urban area, to buy a television set. Hence, in the rural areas, it will have to be a community set. The State authorities like the Zilla Parishads and so on, will have to organise to have a television set, which would cost, approximately, if you would like to have it in colour, about Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 27,000, direct receiving sets as they are called. If you want it in black and white...

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN:

According to your report, you have, so far, only 1771 community sets in the village areas. How do you raise it to two lakhs?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am speaking of the potential. Today, it is true that only round about metropolitan areas and wherever you can reach, in the rural areas, you have some community sets. (Interruptions). The ISRO experiment which was made was on an experimental basis. I am telling you, now, after this experiment, the potential that we are having in this country. Now, the question is: What can be done with this? If you do not provide for it, it would not be done, as you said. The last Government, I remember, when this was suggested to them, they just said Oh; nonsense; we do not want this at all; what we want is an additional Rs. 200 crores to be provided, to be given to private organisations, for adult education and we know what those private organisations were. But here, when a proposal comes...

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH (Gujarat): When you are making a statement, please make sure as to what you say. Read from your own report of the Education Ministry. Not more than 25 per cent of the money was given to voluntary agencies.

[Prof Ramlal Parikh]

Seventy-five per cent was spent by the Government themselves and of this Rs. 200 crores, only Rs. 20 crores have been used. Hence, there is no question of Rs. 200 crores wasted. When you make a statement, please make sure that it is born out of facts.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I said that is what was provided and was not used properly.

PROF. RAM LAL PARIKH: Are you justifying illiteracy? Does your party stand for illiteracy? Is this your programme?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I will reply to you some time later.

Therefore, the potential is, if you want to reach the rural area, if you really mean to do that, you have to provide over a period, in the revised Sixth Plan, may be of the magnitude of about Rs. 90,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 crores. You will be surprised, Sir, this whole approach of reaching the entire rural area of this big sub-continent, particularly the inaccessible areas like the North Eastern region where normally TV studios and sets cannot be created easily, could have been successful if we had spent on hardware and software and also on the entire transmission ground arrangement, over a period of nearly six to seven years, only Rs. 400 crores. In a plan of nearly one lakh crore of rupees this comes to 0.4 per cent. Now compare the utility, compare the impact for the rural masses of showing to them educational programmes in their own homes, bridging the gap between urban and rural areas; not only this but bridging the gap between various regions having different cultures and strengthening integrity and unity of the country. Consider this and then tell me whether the whole programme was worth it or it was not worth it. I am not having a fad in technology. Let me tell this House that in these

modern days you cannot afford to lag behind in technology. And if you do, it will be at your own cost only. All countries around you are going ahead. Why are you unnecessarily wanting to be stuck with obsolete technology. Tomorrow you may need cameras and you are not going to produce them. In the near future you may not even get cameras for your black and white TV because no cameras are being produced. Where will you go? You cannot export a single TV anywhere because no country wants black and white sets. You have the potential. If you were to manufacture colour TV sets, you could be exporting them at cheaper costs, because of your cheap labour, to many countries, including the advanced countries. You could earn foreign exchange. You are living in the modern scientific age. You have the potential. You say that you are the third largest country in the world with technological expertise, but in the field of electronics—Mr. Era Sezhiyan will bear with me and support—even the smaller countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, are exporting electronic items worth Rs. 1000 crores annually. Do you know that? You say that you have a vast technological knowhow. Do you know what is our export? Our export is only of Rs. 40 crores and out of this the export for consumer electronic goods is only of the order of Rs. 6 crores. This is the position. In this field you have the highest employment potential. This industry, not based on raw materials can be started practically everywhere. It gives the largest employment to women. And we have been neglecting this industry.

I beg of this House and learned men to please try to understand this and support advancement of this country with modern technology if you really want to develop—as Jawaharlal Nehru called it—scientific temper in our country. He used to lecture to masses and tell them about scientific development because he felt convinced that

our common man is capable of understanding the advantage of modern technology. Sir, this scientific temper must develop. That is why I talk of the latest TV today in the world—which means colour TV. That is why I talk of colour TV—not because I have a fad the colour TV. It has been proved—we experimented in Madras and Delhi—that our present transmitters are good enough. With minor modifications costing a couple of lakhs, you can transmit from these very transmitters colour programmes, so that we can use colour films. Many people are criticising so much. I cannot understand this. The entire film industry is producing colour films and my greatest difficulty is, if I want to exchange TV programmes with any other country. I cannot do it because my programmes are black and white, they do not have black and white TV and I cannot use theirs because I do not have colour transmission. So we cannot have relationship. If you want to insist on it by making an emotional speech, as Mr. Shahabuddin did, my dear friends, speeches can be made but facts are facts, realities are realities. We do not want to get stuck on that. Therefore, this is as far as colour TV is concerned.

Having done with radio and TV, then I come to the films. There are many aspects and I cannot touch upon all of them. But I can assure you—for example Mr. Sezhiyan made a very beautiful speech, studied speech about the budget. I can tell him that on paper it appears that we have reduced it, although in fact, due to the increase in prices, we should have asked for more. I have found out that in the Plan budget there were certain proposals which could not have materialised till 1981-82. Therefore, although they were included earlier we had to drop them from this so as to make the budget appear realistic instead of having proposals which we know are not going to materialise. That is why it appears

that it has been reduced; actually there is not much reduction. But I would have been more happy if I were to get more money for my Ministry for further growth.

Then I come to the film industry I agree with hon. Members that much needs to be done in this field. Although outwardly the cinema industry looks all glamour, yet it has serious problems. And if you really want to help it—as some hon. Members have suggested if you want good cinema to grow—then the crux of the problem, I have found out, is exhibition. Unless you have cinema houses where good films can be shown, all your effort to correct at the wrong end and trying to give sermons and good lectures on having a good cinema will not do. That is what is thwarting the beautiful films produced in Bengal. Because there are no cinema houses to show those films. And this is all a commercial vicious circle, in which the whole film industry is caught up. You will be surprised if I tell you this. Do you know that for the producers to get money in the market, they have to take it at the rate of interest of 40 per cent. No wonder they are in the clutches of unaccounted money and this unaccounted money is controlling the films. Then it is the law of demand and supply. The other thing is that this 40 per cent rate of interests on this money which they have got has to come back. Therefore, what must be produced are formula films where they can be sure of getting back the money. Sir, it is a callous game of everything having a price tag—everything for sale, the law of the market, the market value system, the market economics and market everything. Therefore such things happen. Of you really want to help, I entirely agree with my hon. friends when they suggested that there must be a method of giving them legitimate finances. That can be done only by recognising the film industry as really an industry. Film-making is an industry. As one of the Members, Mr.

[Shri V. P. Sathe]

Shrikant Verma, said, the film itself need not be an industry. You can have very good films. According to me, there are only two types of films. This division of films as commercial films and art films is artificial. There are only two types of films, good films and bad films. A commercial film can be as artistic as an art film. Many examples can be given. For example, the films produced by V. Shantaram and many other producers and directors like Sohrab Modi were commercially successful. And the latest example, if you want one, is *Shankarabharanam*. If some of the Members have not seen it—I have given a repeat show of this film recently in Vigyan Bhawan—let them see it. (Interruptions) No, I had seen it before. It is a beautiful film. And then the art films are also commercially successful. Therefore, let us not try to distinguish them that way. The question is how to encourage good films. Some small cinema houses, not the sophisticated ones, as Mr. Shahbuddin said, can be built. We must have a movement for more cinema houses in this country. I think there was some mistake when it was pointed out by somebody—I think by Mr. Shrikant Verma—that for one man there are four seats. I think there is some mistake there because if that were so, how is it that we have only about 8,000 cinema houses as against over a lakh of cinema houses in Russia? We have with a population of 650 million less than 10,000 cinema houses, all included. Now if you take 10,000 cinema houses and calculate the number of seats available, how can it be that there are four seats for one man? I think there is some wrong calculation there. (Interruptions) Even that should not be there, because this calculation is not correct. In short, Sir, we have a paucity of cinema houses. Therefore, if we accept this, what can be done is to recognise cinema as an industry. If you can give money for banks and hotels, why cannot the cinema houses get money from the banks, especially

when the investment is safe and secure because they never lose? Therefore, the banks should be only too glad to advance money for building cinema houses. I am having a proposal to consider whether the Film Development Corporation should not stand guarantee for persons constructing cinema houses getting loans from the banks, on recognition of this as an industry. I am proposing to bring two Bills in the next session: one, the Cinematograph Bill, and the other, the Cine Employees' Protection Bill. So two Bills I am proposing to bring, which will directly make this an industry and will also help give benefits to the artistes who have outlived their lives as artistes and are in very bad conditions. Such persons can be helped.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Some of them can be nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Oh, yes, if you make way for them, we will be quite happy to do that.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Banks are giving them loans, but the only thing is that they get a low priority. If the hon. Finance Minister can give them instructions that this is to be treated as a high priority, they can give it straightaway.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: That is precisely what I propose to do, to take this whole matter in its totality. I want good films to be created. And we are proud that internationally we have won acclaim. My hat off to Satyajit Ray who for the first time took our cinema to the outside world and proved that it is not only equal to the other cinemas but also in certain respects better than the other cinemas in the world. But may I tell you one thing honestly? I have been abroad recently—and before that also I had gone—to attend certain film festivals. The latest one was to the Karlov Vary. Mind you, the experts there told me

that unfortunately the image is that because certain couple of films got awards, Satyajit Ray has produced some films on other aspects of life than on the poverty of India. Only two, I think, "Asani Sanket" and "Pather Panchali" have projected poverty, showing the poor people's life. What happened? They won awards.

AN HON. MEMBER: They were classics. They were not on poverty.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Because they have won the awards, outside, somehow, the image, in the western world of India is still that of the India which Rudyard Kipling had painted it to be, with snakes, the maharajas, jungles and beggars. This somehow becomes an image. Because of what we have seen in the magazines etc, when we think of Africa, the immediate impression is all jungles, dense forests, crocodiles everywhere, and the negroes and naked people living in there.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Satyajit Ray has given answers to these in today's paper.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am supporting Satyajit Ray. Mrs. Kanak Mukherjee, have patience. I am not criticising Satyajit Ray. Just have patience.

This impression is created by what is depicted again and again by the western media to the west. There is another India, a modern India, a thinking India, an India with electronic advance, an India with scientific advance. Such things will not be projected. What happens is this. A recent film which won the prize in Karlovy Vary, is "Neem Annapurna". That film is about dire poverty. For a morsel of rice, what happens to a family?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Is that not a reality on account of thirty years of your rule?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: That is all right. You can think in terms of a

revolution. In that view, we, both of us, will agree. But that is different.

I am saying that when you want proper presentation of India, a cross section, all types of films must go and they should be shown. They will be very popular, mind you. These films win awards, but people do not see them. The other films do not win awards, but they are seen more. We want to help the film industry in every way to solve their various problems.

Then comes the Press, the last media. As far as the Press is concerned, I would like to reiterate once again—this does create difficulties—we believe in complete freedom of the Press.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: That means freedom to sugar barons and jute barons.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: That, we will see, how to control it. I am coming to that. Sir, how should the freedom of the Press be guaranteed? You have also to think in terms of how you can help the small, the medium and the language Press, and unless they have the economic viability, the freedom is meaningless. The big people, the big houses, the monopoly Press, can take care of themselves, Sir, the small people, the small Press cannot. How can we help them without adversely impinging on their freedom. That is where your newsprint policy and advertisement policy can play an important role. I entirely agree, I am seriously considering this proposal, whether we can have some sort of a Press Development Corporation or some such thing which can finance the small Press or which can itself run, as was suggested, printing presses and do job work for these people. How can we help them? We want to help them, and we are serious on how they should be helped. I entirely agree that 60 per cent of the newsprint we have to import. Most of the newsprint, we have to import, by spending the hard foreign currency.

[Shri V. P. Sathe]

[The Vice Chairman (Shri Dinesh Goswami) in the Chair]

Why should we allow it? Now, it is for you to consider. Shall I encourage the spread of a chain of editions of a big house newspaper, pushing out the small newspaper from the district towns or local areas, in the name, again, of freedom? Shall I give newsprint to them, 60 per cent or 70 per cent of newsprint only to a few houses to start more and more editions? Or, shall I give protection to small language papers by giving more newsprint to them? This I have spelt out as the basic thrust of our present newsprint policy. We will take even more steps to achieve that objective.

Then comes advertising. There also comes the price-page schedule business, the Supreme Court decision, and all these factors are there. And the major newspapers carry away all the advertisements. Now, I entirely agree with Mr. Shahabuddin when he says that advertisement must be on a commercial footing. Perfectly right. If Lever Brothers or a private house can decide where they will advertise, what they will advertise and what rate they will give, why should the Government not have the same privilege? Then I can decide whether I should give more advertisement to language newspapers which, in fact, have a larger circulation. Why should I not do that?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Before the hon. Minister closes this point, I would request him to enlighten us as to how he proposes to review the advertisement policy to ensure that this overweightage to English newspapers, particularly the big newspapers, in the matter of advertisements is given up and the regional language papers are guaranteed their legitimate share in government advertisements.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: The first thing that we are going to do is to treat all newspapers as national newspapers.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Very good.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: No distinction hereafter is going to be made for preference to English newspapers as against language newspapers either on the test of circulation or on any matter. That will do away with much of the mischief that is at present there.

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM (Madhya Pradesh): Rates also.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Rates also we will consider. I began by saying that we must have uniformity of rates for language newspapers and English newspapers. This is the policy which we are seriously considering.

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: You are still considering it? You have not yet decided?

संवाद कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री
(श्री सताराम केसरी) : लाडली मोहन जी
बैठिये ।

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I will tell you, I am not making a commitment on this because the group on advertisement policy which I had created is giving its report. It will come within a week. We will then take a positive view. Then . . .

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: For language newspapers. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I have said it. As far as the press is concerned, there is one more point. Then you can ask me questions. Sir, regarding the new Press Commission, some uncharitable remarks were made by some friends about certain members. Now, Sir, if you would like to see . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What is the competency of these people?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: That is what precisely . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: And what is the incompetency of Mr. Chalapati Rau?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Don't compare two individuals. Such comparison is very uncharitable. Never compare two individuals like this. Never compare two such individuals—never—because it will hurt both in the process. Never do that.

I am going to justify and show you the quality of the persons that we have kept, without criticising the previous body. Now, what we decided this time to do is to have representation on the Press Commission of a cross-section of the industry. There should be representatives of small papers, there should be representatives of medium papers and there should be representatives of language papers. This was what had been neglected. Actually in the previous personnel, there was not a single member representing the vast section of language newspapers either from the South or from Urdu or from any other language. Therefore, we decided this time that this thing must be set right. Now what have we done? Apart from Justice Matthew, we got, because we needed an expert in legal matters ...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: S. K. Mukherjee.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Now, what have you against him? (*Interruptions*) A retired judge, who has been Vice-Chancellor ... (*Interruptions*) He may not like him.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is not a question of my liking him or not liking him. What is his performance?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Where?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Central Government's Industrial Tribunal. Please ask the Labour Minister.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: If he has given some decisions against you ...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Not some. All the decisions

SHRI V. P. SATHE: ...I do not know how you can judge him on that basis.

We wanted a working journalist and Mr. P. V. Gadgil, an eminent journalist from Maharashtra, was taken. Every man from Maharashtra will say that he is one of the best persons. He was honoured with Padma Shri. Apart from that, he has been known as one of the most eminent journalists of Maharashtra ...

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: He is very old.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: He is not too old. Then, we took Mr. Ishrat Ali Siddiqui who was also a member there—a well-known, veteran, Urdu journalist, formerly a member of the committee appointed by the U.P. Government to recommend measures for information and publicity and to commission Samachar. He was the Editor of a small Urdu newspaper 'Quomi Awaz'.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: It is an organ of the Congress Party.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Then, why the previous Government appointed him?

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Gujarat): Because, the previous Government was impartial.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: and Mr. Ran-pointed him and you should be happy about it. Then, Mr K. R. Ganesh...

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Eminent journalist?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: and Mr. Ranbir Singh, Editor of Milap. Everybody need not be a journalist. You had

[Shri V. P. Sathe]

two persons before, Mr. Dwivedi and another gentleman who was not a journalist. He was Mr. Moinuddin Harris ...

SHRI SADASHIV BAGAITKAR (Maharashtra): He was Editor of Anjuman for a long time...

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Long, long before.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: You said you would not compare two persons.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am not comparing. I am only saying that when you had an independent man, we also have an independent man like Mr. K. R. Ganesh. Then, you had Vatsyayan. You were saving so much about Khushwant Singh, Hindustan Times, etc. Vatsyayan was a member of this committee. He is an eminent poet, writer and novelist. Vatsyayan was brought in in place of Akshay Kumar Jain. I am not trying to compare. I did not blame the Government then. I am asking you not to blame this Government for what is happening in the newspaper world. On the ground of superannuation Akshay Kumar Ji was shunted out and a person who was ten years older than Akshay Kumar Jain was brought in as editor—he was 71 years of age. He was brought in as editor and also appointed on the Press Council. I respect Vatsyayan. He is a good novelist. In his place we have taken Amrita Pritam. You ask anybody about Amrita Pritam, who is a writer, novelist ...

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Eminent journalist?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Why should everybody be a journalist? I am against this idea. There must be some others also who have some aesthetic sense ...

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: You ask Khushwant Singh about Amrita Pritam?

SHRI V. P. SATHE: When you find it convenient you use him. Otherwise you criticise him.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: It is your privilege to use him.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I am not spelling out other items. I will mention one more item and that will be enough to justify the new terms of reference, and that is relating to the right of every citizen to privacy. In the entire Press, today, the biggest casualty is the ordinary citizen. What defence has he got? You say "Oh, let him go to a court of law and file a defamation suit". Lawyers like Mr. Dhabe and I know that filing a defamation suit is, in fact, inviting more trouble.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is only for the benefit of the lawyers.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: Yes, it is only for the benefit of the lawyers and filing a defamation suit means further defamation. Mr. Dhabe and I know this and we all know it. Is this the protection? And, Sir, there is the general Code. I would like to know what has happened to this Code. Something is published in the newspaper on the front page, damaging the reputation of a person, whether it is Mrs. Gayatri Devi or Shrimati Vijaya Raje Scindia or whether it is anybody. You can publish anything about anybody on the front page damaging his or her reputation and, when there is a contradiction issued, the Code is or should be that the contradiction must be published in the same place with the same prominence.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: More prominently.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: More prominently. Is this ever done? Every time it goes by default and you will find that damage is done to the reputation of the ordinary citizens who are defenceless. Forget about the Government, because the Government can take care of itself and it is strong enough. But it is in the Press, my dear friends, where most of the damage is done to the individual citizens who are defenceless. Therefore, this

aspect also we have to put before the Commission and I want it to consider this seriously. There is also the aspect of delinking and of how to curb monopoly.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What about the mass-scale victimisation going on in "The Hindustan Times"? Four senior correspondents have been sacked from May, the day Mr. Khushwant Singh took over. (*Interruptions*). Who is going to give evidence before the Press Commission?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Just a minute. Our debate was to end at 3-30 and it is now 4-40. So, Mr. Minister, kindly reply to the points only and do not take notice of the interruptions.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I have practically ended. I have practically dealt with all the media that are under my control, Sir. More than enough has been said. Sir, as some Members have said, some points might have been left out; very valuable suggestions, as I said, at the very beginning, might have been left out. I will deal with them individually if the honourable Members meet me and I will see what I can do to help any particular individual as best as I can. But, I can assure you, our desire is to put the media in its right place and to use it for the service of our people. That is the objective and it is with this objective in mind that we function. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, we shall take up the next item, the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1980.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: Sir, on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): What is the point of order?

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) : उस दिन बात हुई थी कि प्रेस कमीशन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ क्लेरीफिकेशन उठाए जाएंगे जिसका जवाब आज ये देंगे । तो क्लेरीफिकेशन वाला क्वेश्चन कहां खत्म हुआ । (*Interruptions*). देखिए मुझे पूछना है, क्लेरीफिकेशन पर दो-चार सवाल मुझे पूछने हैं ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE: What about the Press Commission? The honourable Minister said that he will consider the suggestions and give the clarifications.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think he has clarified enough on the points about the Press Commission and I don't think there is any need for further clarification. We take up now the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill. Yes, the honourable Minister.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उस दिन बात हो गयी थी, मुझ पूछना है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): He has dealt with the Press Commission at length. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: How do you know that he has replied to my points? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM: Sir, on the terms of reference there are so many questions to be put. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: How do you know that he has replied to my points? Kindly give me two minutes. (*Interruptions*). Kindly allow me two minutes.

SHRI V. P. SATHE: I have already dealt with the terms of reference. I have clarified them and I have circulated them and, so, I don't think, Sir, that more can be said or I can enlighten the Members any more. On this let there be no more discussion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think Mr. Sathe has made a very encouraging speech and, therefore, let us go to the next item. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: Very encouraging and very rhetorical. But certain clarifications are to be sought and you should allow the clarifications.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): All right. I am giving an opportunity to you, Mr. Jha, and to Mr. Patel.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ने जो बात कही है कि हमारे प्रेस में बहुत खराबियां हैं, मोनोपोली प्रेस है, चेनप्रेस है, कंट्रोल्ड प्रेस है और छोटे प्रेस को और मीडियम प्रेस को मौका नहीं मिलता है और यह सब उन्हें ठीक करना है और उस को सही मायनों में फ्रीडम दिलाने के लिये प्रयत्न करना है

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Ask questions. It is already 4.45.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : जरा सुनिये तो । दो मिनट धीरज से सुनिये । अभी खत्म हो रहा है । अब प्रेस कमीशन के टर्म्स आफ रेफरेंस के बारे में उन्होंने कहा है । तो मैं पहला सवाल यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो उन्होंने साफ नहीं किया है कि प्रेस कमीशन के चेयरमैन जस्टिस मैथ्यू है । क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि इस कमीशन की चेयरमैनशिप लेने में उन्होंने यह शर्त रखी है कि हम त्रिवेन्द्रम और बंगलौर से आगे काम करने के लिये नहीं जायेंगे । चेयरमैन त्रिवेन्द्रम और बंगलौर में रहेंगे और सारा प्रेस कमीशन का दफ्तर दिल्ली में रहेगा तो क्या इससे सही नक्शा आ सकेगा और क्या सही मायनों में काम हो सकता है । इसको आप साफ करें कि क्या वह चेयरमैन बंगलौर में रह कर काम कर सकेगा ।

दूसरी बात यह कि इसमें पहला टर्म आफ रेफरेंस है :

"Role of the Press in a developing, democratic society."

इस टर्म में प्रेस रेप्लेक्शन है । जैसी इकोनामी होती है देश की, जैसी सोशियल इकोनामिक कंडीशन्स होती है उसी का रेप्लेक्शन होता है प्रेस में । हमारी इकोनामी प्लान्ड होने जा रही है । तो अब सवाल है कि प्रेस को प्लान्ड करने के लिये क्या किया जाय । आपने इस बात को प्रेस कमीशन के सामने रखा है या नहीं ? क्योंकि जब आप प्रेस की मोनोपोली की बात करते हैं और सरमन देते हैं और कानून जो है इंग्लैंड के या यहां के वह सब इनएफेक्टिव रहे हैं मोनोपोली को रोकने में, क्योंकि जब मोनोपोली का रटीम रोलर चलता है तो वह कहां रुकेगा उसे कोई नहीं जानता तो प्रेस को प्लान्ड करने के लिये जितने मोनोपोली हाउसेस है सब को आप बोर्ड में ला कर विचार करे । डेमोक्रेसी में विचार फ्री होना चाहिए, पार्टी प्रेस की फ्रीडम रखने के लिये सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट उन को कुछ सब्सिडी दे । . . . (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I cannot permit this. Then I go on to the next item, because I cannot permit a debate on that. The hon. Minister. Appropriation (No. 3) Bill.... (*Interruptions*) You cannot force a debate . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: This is not fair. In protest, I walk out . . . (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. W. DHABE: I wanted to ask some questions on the Press Commission. I have not been allowed. I also walk out.

(At this stage some Hon. Members left the Chamber)