

श्रीमन्, मैं आपकी अनुमति से निम्नलिखित पत्र सभा पटल पर रखता हूँ :

I. कम्पनी अधिनियम, 1956 की धारा 619क की उपधारा (1) के अधीन निम्नलिखित पत्रों की एक-एक प्रति (अंग्रेजी तथा हिन्दी में) :—

(क) 1976-77 के वर्ष के लिए इण्डियन इग्जिक्टिव फार्मस्युटिकल्स लिमिटेड, नई दिल्ली का सोलहवां वार्षिक प्रतिवेदन तथा लेखे, लेखों पर ले जा परीक्षकों के प्रतिवेदन और उस पर भारत के निष्पक्ष महा लेखा परीक्षण की रिपोर्टों सहित।

(ख) कम्पनी के कार्यकरण की नगरपाल द्वारा समीक्षा।

II. उपरोक्त I में उल्लिखित पत्रों को सभा पटल पर रखने में हुए विलम्ब के कारणों को दर्शाने वाला विवरण (अंग्रेजी तथा हिन्दी में)।

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2350/78 for I and II].

#### Notification under the All India Services Act 1951

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. D. PATIL): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (2) of section 3 of the All India Services Act, 1951, a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms):

(i) G.S.R. No. 585, dated the 6th May, 1978, publishing the Indian Administrative Service (Fixation of Cadre Strength) Sixth Amendment Regulations, 1978.

(ii) G.S.R. No. 586, dated the 6th May, 1978, publishing the Indian Administrative Service (Pay) Fourth Amendment Rules, 1978.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-2351/78 for (i) and (ii)].

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Setting up of the Second Press Commission

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI LAL K. ADVANI): Sir, the Hon'ble Members are aware of Government's firm commitment to the functioning of all democratic institutions in a free and unfettered atmosphere. A series of steps have already been taken during the last one year to strengthen the freedom and independence of the press by way of setting right several aberrations of the Emergency. These measures have included the dismantling the apparatus of Press Censorship, the repeal of the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Act and the revival of the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act. A Bill for the establishment of the Press Council has already been introduced in Parliament, and referred to a Joint Committee. Although these steps have paved the way for the revival of a free and independent press, it is considered that the time has come for an in-depth examination of the entire state of the press in the country with a view to determining further steps that need to be taken to restore it to full vigour and health.

A comprehensive study of the problems of the Indian Press was conducted by the First Press Commission which submitted its report in July, 1954. Since then, the Indian Press has undergone several changes. It has taken new strides and has acquired an added significance with the continuously expanding readership. As its role in educating public opinion has been firmly established, it is essential to safeguard the freedom and independence of the press against pressures of all kinds. All this points to the need for re-examining its place, status and functioning in a democratic set up—more so, in view of the

recent experience when the press was subjected to a series of legal and administrative assaults.

It has, therefore, been decided to appoint a Second Press Commission under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952.

The Commission will be headed by Justice P. K. Goswami, a former Judge of the Supreme Court and will consist of the following members:

3. Shri Abu Abraham
2. Shri Prem Bhatia
3. Shri S. N. Dwivedi
4. Shri Moineudin Harris
5. Shri Ravi Mathai
- fi. Shri Yashodhar N. Mehta
7. Shri V. K. Narasimhan
8. Shri F. S. Nariman
9. Shri Arun Shourie
10. Shri S. H. Vatasayan

The Second Press Commission will inquire into the growth and status of the Indian Press since the last Press Commission reported and suggest how best it should develop in future.

It will, in particular, examine:

- (i) The adequacy of the present constitutional provisions and laws with regard to the freedom of speech and expression.
- (ii) Means of safeguarding the freedom and independence of the press against pressures of all kinds including Government, trade union or others in a plural and democratic society.
- (hi) Pattern of ownership and the financial structure of organs of the press with a view to ensuring editorial independence and professional integrity and the readers' right to objective news.
- (iv) The pattern of relationship between the government and the

press especially with regard to access to information.

(v) The structure and functioning of the existing news and feature agencies and measures necessary for their growth as strong and viable organisations.

(vi) The nature of relationship between different elements of the press viz., publishers, managers, editors, journalists etc.

(vii) Measures necessary to inculcate in the press a sense of social responsibility and public accountability.

(viii) Ways and means to promote the growth and development of the language press, the regional press and a rural-oriented press.

(ix) The economies of the news paper industry including determination of the basis for a fair price for newspapers.

(x) Existing facilities for training in journalism and newspaper management, and other areas of newspaper industry with special reference to the need of the language press and to suggest measures to augment these facilities.

The Commission is required to complete its work in one year.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I have a submission to make. First of all, I must take exception to the sudden announcement of the appointment of the Press Commission. Sir, it is being done against the background which we have discussed. We would not have even time to give our reactions on it. Therefore, in the beginning, I say that today some time, one hour or two hours should be kept to discuss even this matter of announcement about the appointment of the Press Commission.

Sir, first of all, I should like to point out that in the course of the announcement that he has made, he has given the names of the members of

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] the Commission. Do you have one man like Mr. Chalapathi Rau here who was the member of the Press Commission, the first Press Commission, which was appointed and which gave its report in 1954? You do not have. You do not have such people. Sir, it is weighted in favour of the jute press and the monopoly press in so far as the journalists and the newspaper world representatives are concerned. Sir, I should like to know whether in the matter of selecting the personnel, there was any consultation in the Federation of the Indian Working Journalists. I do not have any indication of it at all. Why are their representatives not there? Why are some progressive newspapermen not there? Why are the people from those quarters are brought in whose opinions are well known and whose views are well known? Sir, we know how they are behaving with regard to the wage board for the journalists and non-journalists. Upto now, the wage board has been blocked and it has not come into activity. Sir, they are blackmailing, bullying and non-cooperating with the employees and yet we find this Commission is filled with a number of people who are the employers' side. This is one point I wish to make.

I have taken a serious exception to the whole procedure. These things should be debated upon, I demand. The personnel of the Press Commission should be determined by the two Houses of Parliament on a Resolution by Parliament and the Government should hold consultations with the opposition and, if possible, come to an agreement, let the panel be put to vote in the two Houses of Parliament. I would request that this part of the Resolution, or the decision of the Government may not be given effect to till the Parliament meets two months later. Let us discuss the whole thing and decide as to who should be the members of the Press Commission. This is an important point. This is my first suggestion.

Sir, they say that they are dismantling the Emergency. But I am saying that it is bringing in the Emergency. Sir, compare the names here in this list with the names which were there in the earlier list when the first Press Commission was appointed. I think we had progressed. But I find that in this matter, we are going in the direction of the Goenka Press, the Birla Press and the Sahu Jain Press because this Government likes them to be placated. This body will be a body to do the common performance and I say, Sir, that the interests of the newspapermen, the freedom of journals and newspapers as well as journalists will not at all be safeguarded by this body. They should have learnt from the experience of the first Press Commission some of whose recommendations have not yet been implemented. Here, Sir, it is a reversal.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): Whose fault is that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, these are shocking things. Are you not shocked?

Then, what about the terms of reference? It is very difficult to say from but of memory all the things that have been said here. One of the terms of reference is that they want to devise means of safeguarding the freedom and independence of the Press against pressures of all kinds including Government, trade union and others. Trade unions trying to bring pressure on the Press?

This is an insult to the trade union movement. They are talking about the pressure of the Government, pressure of the trade unions, pressure of the CRP, pressure of the workers and so on. Is it the way to speak? Is it a term of reference or a provocation? They are saying this as if the trade union movement, the employers and the capitalists are in the same category, as if they all stand on the same footing in the matter of influencing the Press. This is an insult, I do hope the trade unions in the country will take a serious exception to it. I do

hope the journalists would also launch a strong protest against this kind of behaviour.

Sir, the announcement in regard to the appointment of the Press Commission is an announcement that the Government wants to influence the Press, bully the Press, disturb whatever little they have got and establish its control under the cover of the recommendations of the Press Commission, the new Press Commission, which they are going to appoint. This is a matter of shame. It is a deplorable announcement. Sir, I am not "opposed to the appointment of the second Press Commission. But it should have been done in consultation with all of us and in consultation, above all, with the working journalists and others who are interested in this matter. This unilateral and arbitrary decision prompted undoubtedly by the monopoly Press has been announced as the Government's decision. What else could be a greater affront and an insult to the working journalists, the patriotic and democratic journalists, the Press and the public than this kind of announcement? Sir, this is shocking. We have gone through the experience of the first Press Commission whose report was submitted twenty-four years ago. We had discussed. We know which forces obstructed them and who came in the way of preventing the implementation of the good decisions of the Press Commission the earlier Press Commission. These very people, these very forces, have been given now the common position in the name of the second Press Commission so that they can have their pound of flesh. Sir, this is a deplorable decision. We condemn it. I do hope Members in this House will instantly join me in raising our strong protest against it. I demand that this resolution -or this announcement of the Government be not given effect to till we meet in the next Session of Parliament two months later where things should be discussed and Parliament should appoint the Press

Commission act Mr. Advani, unilaterally with the help to the monopoly Press and the other officials.

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir. I have very little to add to what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said. I agree with him that it is very shocking indeed. It is extremely significant that Mr. Chala-pathi Rau's name does not appear in this list.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): He could not guarantee....

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you want to say anything you can say it later on.

SHRI N. G. RANGA: He was the Chairman of the Press Commission. He was held as the leader of the working journalists not only in this country, but all over the world and the world association also had held him as one of the leaders and if such a veteran journalist and a well-known editorial writer should not have been on this Commission, detracts from whatever value the Commission might be having. It is only a partisan Commission one-sided Commission, it is a political Commission and we disassociate ourselves from it.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): Sir, the announcement of the Second Press Commission....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your leader has already expressed the opinion.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO: I want to add just one word. The announcement of this Commission at this last moment is not only most undemocratic but shocking. I am not talking of the persons who are on the list. You can talk of so many persons with shady character, but I am not doing it. At the moment, I am interested that there should be a discussion on the matter before they are able to proceed in this particular thing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your leader has already said it. You are not saying anything new.

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO: This is what I say. There are many people whom this Commission wants to accommodate. This Ministry is interested not in the performance of the Commission, but in omissions. In this press matter it is interested to have so many omissions. That is the intention of this Government. Otherwise there is no purpose in coming with this announcement at this last minute and not giving an opportunity to discuss the matter. Therefore I call it the most undemocratic and this Government should not go ahead with it till the matter is discussed. They should also discuss the matters that are being referred to it.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: Sir the hon. Members have made a mention of a very respectable editor. He happens to be the chairman of the Editorial Board of the Associated Journals also but I regret to say that he could not and he did not safeguard the liberty of the freedom of the editor of the National Herald Shri C. N. Chittaranjan. He had to submit his resignation to the Board of Directors. (Interruptions). He was harassed. He was a heart patient. He was harassed (day in and day out by the management of which Shri Chalapathi Rau was the chairman of the Editorial Board. Shri Chalapathi Rau is not the same person when we were the students. He could not guarantee the freedom of the editor of the National Herald. That is the state of affairs today.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir..

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA (Andhra Pradesh): Sir...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is to be discussed. This is a reactionary body.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Sir why did you allow Dr. Siddhu to speak?

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA: Why did you allow that man Dr. Siddhu, to speak?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is he not a Member? (Interruptions) Please resume your seat. Mr. Bipinpal Das, please resume your seat. You can speak later on. Now the point is, hon. Mr. Maurya has raised a question as why a Member on this side should be allowed. Every Member has got equal right. Nobody is superior or inferior. Yes, please speak.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Sir, I support. . .

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA: Sir, you have...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have not allowed you. I have allowed Mr. Bipinpal Das. Please resume your seat.

श्री बुद्ध प्रियनौर्य : आपने अभी यह कहा था . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN; No, no. Please resume your seat. I have asked Mr. Bipinpal Das. Let him speak. You should not come in the way. Kindly resume your seat. Will you resume your seat or not? First resume your seat. Let Mr. Bipinpal Das speak.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I strongly support the views expressed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I must also say that it is a matter of deep regret and I strongly protest against the remarks made by Dr. Siddhu about Mr. Chalapathi Rau.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU: But these are facts.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: I strongly protest against his remarks about a very respectable, seniormost journalist in the country—Shri Chalapati Rau.

I support the views expressed by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

It is very strange that the Government comes forward suddenly with such a proposal without having any consultation with anybody. And, therefore, I submit, Sir, that the Government, before going ahead with this proposal, must consult all parties in Parliament and must also consult the Associations of journalists. Before doing that, they should not finalise the composition of the Commission or its terms of reference.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Tamil Nadu): I find from the composition of the Press Commission that has been announced certain names which certainly one can't take exception to— like these of Mr. Abu Abraham and Mr. V. K. Narsimhan.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: The question is of procedure.

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I did not interrupt you. You must have that much patience. Please don't interrupt me. Please listen to me fully and then say anything.

I find names like Mr. Narsimhan who stood up at the time of emergency and was later on dismissed by Mr. Goenka also. These are certainly some such names: I do not know about other names. What I would like to say is, when the Press Commission is appointed, I would request the Government not to implement it immediately. We also have got certain other suggestions to make about the names of certain other people who are absolutely independent and I would like the Minister to give an assurance that the names that some other people, some members of the other parties might suggest will also be considered. For example, we have got our own experience about the smaller journals. When we talk of the press, here the so-called national press is the press owned by big monopolists. That is a reality. Therefore,

how exactly the freedom of the press can be preserved is the question. And on this, some of us who are running journals know how we suffered during that period. Therefore, we would like to give some other names and I would want the Government to give an assurance that these additional names will also be considered. That is all.

SHRI MANUBHAI MOTILAL PATEL: Sufficient time has elapsed after the First Press Commission's report and it is welcome that the Government has appointed this Second Press Commission very promptly. So it is a welcome thing.

Regarding procedure for the appointment of the Commission, Parliament can never appoint such a Commission. With more than a hundred names coming, every name will be controversial. So it should be left to the Government and the concerned Ministry only and they can get a panel of names prepared. I can say, this Commission is the most balanced Commission. If there are certain names objectionable to them, there are certain names which are objectionable to me also. There is one name who, during the emergency, outrightly supported it, outrightly supported throttling of the press and was outrightly supporting the wrong deeds of the press censorship also. That name also appears there. This shows that this Government is bold enough even to incorporate such a name in order to keep the press free. So I welcome this.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER-. Mr. Mau-rya raised his hand before Mr. Ranga.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am giving him opportunity.

SHRI ANANT PRASAD SHARMA (Bihar): Every one of us wants to make a point in this connection.

श्री महेंद्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) :  
मौर्य साहब ने रंगा साहब के बाद ही हाथ  
उठाया था और इस लिए अल्पसंख्यकों की बात है

[श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र]

इसलिये मैं आग्रह करूंगा कि मौर्य साहब को आप मौका दें।

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : सभापति महोदय, मैं केवल दो, तीन बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। एक तो प्रेस आयोग की स्थापना की पहले भी यहाँ कई बार चर्च हुई और उस समय सूचना मन्त्री महोदय ने यह आश्वासन दिया कि प्रेस आयोग स्वामित्व के ढांचे में परिवर्तन पर विचार करेगा। जो लोग इस प्रेस आयोग के सदस्य नियुक्त किये गये हैं उन में से अधिकतर को मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से जानता हूँ। उन के विचारों से परिचित हूँ और मेरी निजी राय हो सकती है कि कुछ भी हो, लेकिन उनकी राय जो कुछ भी हो, वे स्वामित्व के ढांचे में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं चाहते हैं जब कि अधिकतर पत्रकार, जो प्रेस एसोसिएशन के लोग हैं बर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट हैं, यहाँ तक कि एन०यू०जे० के लोग हैं वह प्रेस ढांचे में परिवर्तन चाहते हैं। लेकिन जो उस के सदस्य हैं, वे परिवर्तन नहीं चाहते हैं। इस तरह प्रेस आयोग का बुनियादी उद्देश्य ही विफल हो जाता है। मुझे यह कहने में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि इन में से अधिकतर सदस्यों को एक तरह से पुरस्कृत किया गया है क्योंकि उन्होंने इमरजेंसी का विरोध किया था। अगर उन को पुरस्कार देना था तो उस के दूसरे तरीके हो सकते थे। लेकिन अच्छा होता कि सरकार प्रेस आयोग में उन पत्रकारों को रखती कि जो उस के वास्तविक रूप से परिचित हैं और जिन का भविष्य उस से जुड़ा हुआ है। ये पत्रकार स्वामित्व के ढांचे में परिवर्तन नहीं चाहते लेकिन सरकारी हस्तक्षेप बन्द करना चाहते हैं यानि कि अपने हितों की रक्षा चाहते हैं। वे चाहते हैं कि सरकार उन के दैनिक कार्यों में दखल न दे, लेकिन मैनेजमेंट जो रोजभर्रा दखल देता है पत्रकारों के कार्यों में और उन में जिस तरह की असुरक्षा है, उस की उन को कोई विशेष

चिन्ता नहीं है। मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन कुछ एक के साथ मुझे कार्य करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है और मैं केवल यही चाहता हूँ कि दुबारा ऐसे लोगों के साथ काम का अवसर न मिले। सभापति महोदय, अच्छा होगा कि इस पर पुनर्विचार किया जाय और इस में ऐसे लोगों को शामिल किया जाय जो श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों के प्रतिनिधि हों ताकि वास्तविक रूप से प्रेस आयोग बन सके और आंशों में धूल झोंकने की कोशिश न हो।

श्री बृद्ध प्रिय मौर्य : माननीय सभापति जी, संविधान में मूल अधिकार या फंडामेंटल राइट्स आर्टिकल 19(1)(ए) फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच और एक्सप्रेशन की गारण्टी देता है। निश्चयपूर्वक साथ साथ संविधान में प्रेस की आजादी का शब्द नहीं आया है लेकिन उस में फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच और एक्सप्रेशन में प्रेस आ जाता है। जब यह प्रश्न मूल अधिकारों से सम्बन्धित है तो उस के सम्बन्ध में कमीशन बनाते समय सरकार को विरोधी दलों की भावना को भी जानना चाहिए। इस के साथ ही साथ सरकार को यह भी देखना चाहिए कि जहाँ तक अंग्रेजी भाषा का प्रश्न है मुश्किल से दो फीसदी इस देश के लोग अंग्रेजी समझते या बोलते हैं और जहाँ तक अंग्रेजी अखबारों का प्रश्न है या पत्रकारों का उन से सम्बन्ध है अंग्रेजी अखबार मुश्किल से इस देश के .001 फीसदी अखबार अंग्रेजी के 65 करोड़ जनता का अनुपात लगाया जाय तो पड़ते हैं। लेकिन कमीशन की जो नियुक्ति हुई है उस में अंग्रेजी का मुझे प्रभाव नजर आता है। इलाकाई भाषाय चाहें वह बंगाली हो, चाहे मराठी हो, चाहे पंजाबी हो या चाहे तेलगू हो उन का इसमें कोई प्रतिनिधित्व मुझे ठीक तरह से नजर नहीं आया।

दूसरा मेरा एतराज इस में यह है कि जो छोटे पत्र हैं उन की संख्या अगर ले ली जाय तो बड़े पत्रों के मुकाबले में वह बहुत

अनुपात में आते हैं लेकिन उन का भी कोई रिप्रेजेंटेशन इसमें नहीं है। श्रीमन्, इमरजेंसी की बात को ला कर बात को टालना नहीं चाहिए। जब संविधान निर्माताओं ने इस अधिकार को संविधान में रख दिया और मैं देखता हूँ कि दुनिया के जितने भी डेवलपिंग स्टेट्स हैं, कांस्टीट्यूशन लॉ का विद्यार्थी होने के नाते मैं कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ इस तरह की इमरजेंसी की व्यवस्था है। अब वह रहे या न रहे यह बात जो है उस पर सत्तारूढ़ दल विचार कर रहा है, चिंतन कर रहा है। जहाँ तक हम लोगों का प्रश्न है यह कहना चाहते हैं कि एमरजेंसी के दौरान जब फण्डा-मैटल राइट्स ही सस्पेंड हो जाते हैं तो उसके साथ साथ और चीजें भी सस्पेंड हो जाती हैं। उसमें इसको कोई आधार न बना कर के मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार को चाहिये था कि इससे ऊपर उठ कर दलबन्दी से ऊपर उठ कर पक्षपात से ऊपर उठ कर गोरों की भाषा के प्रभाव से आगे बढ़ कर प्रेस कमिशन की नियुक्ति करते जिससे कि पूरे भारत का दर्शन उसमें हो सकता।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI  
(Assam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a very important matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN.- But be brief. So many people have spoken.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI; The House should welcome the appointment Of the Press Commission but the fact is that the hon. Minister has said that the Commission has been brought into existence to create a democratic fervour in the whole system of press. Now the Press Commission should not start giving the impression that the entire Opposition is today against the composition of the Press Commission or the terms of reference this Press Commission. After all, the most important fact before the press today is how the editors can express their views, because the whole country is getting an impression that it is not the editor

428 RS—2.

who expresses his views and that the paper does not reflect the views of the common man but the paper reflects the views of the proprietor who has complete control of the press. If he is only interested to create a climate that the press should perform fully and effectively, if its role is to create a healthy democratic atmosphere in this country and that the press should be in a position to reflect the moods and aspirations of the common man, then he should take the Opposition into confidence. I am not saying that the Government is not in a position or that this Parliament should give the names. That would be impracticable, But he should first discuss with the Opposition the names, if there are any names suggested from the Members of Parliament, and also about the terms of reference. He should not stand on a question of prestige on this. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Minister that instead of going ahead with the Commission, let him have a discussion with the Members, Leaders of the Opposition, firstly about the terms of reference that he has drawn up because there may be some very valuable suggestions from the other side, and also about the composition of this Press Commission so that when the Press Commission will come into existence to start work, the members of the Commission will feel that here is a Commission in which the entire country and the whole Parliament have confidence, and all of us also will have confidence that the Commission will act in such a manner that its recommendations would reflect not views of one side of Parliament or one side of the country only but would fruly reflect the moods and aspirations of all the people of this country.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu);  
Sir, only one submission.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Madhanvan is there. You cannot have precedence over him.



SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala); Sir, I have been the editor of more than one paper. . . (Interruptions). . . The first paper which I edited refused to take advertisements for the simple reason that I believed the dictum that he who pays the piper would call the tune. It was a shortlived paper and I am proud of that. I am surprised that a statement is made on a very important subject like this by the Leader of the House, when the other House of Parliament has been adjourned sine die, and at the fag end of the session of this House. That is very significant, Sir. This is a very sinister method, a surreptitious method—hitting below the belt—which is not expected according to standards of decency and decorum of a democracy or according to the journalistic standards which I expected of Mr. Advani. (Time bell rings) I go by the White Paper be published.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What do you want to suggest?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN; White Paper on the misuse of mass media and then the appointment of the Kuldip Nayar Commission. What happened to the report of that committee? It was re-jected because it was not tailored to the requirements of the Government. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I do not say 'the Government'. It was not tailored to the requirements of the Jana Sangh people and also the RSS people.

MR. CHAIRMAN: is it over?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN; And it was rejected. A lot of money was wasted. One of the best journalists in the country was chosen to head the committee, Mr. Kuldip Nayar. Now here I find that a judge, a retired judge, has been appointed to head

this Press Commission. What does this judge know about the subject? Is he a journalist? Has he anything to do with journalism? I can understand if he is appointed to the Law Commission.

MR. CHAIRMAN; Your papers are falling down.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN; Thank you.

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude Mr. Madhavan.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: However eminent he may be as a judge, however eminent he may be as a jurist, he is the least competent person to head a commission like this.

About the choice of the members of the Commission I have nothing to say—But about the choice of the class character of the members I have a difference of opinion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: This Commission is heavily loaded with big business. (Time bell rings), I have two more points, very short points. I will be very brief.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can't go on arguing.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I make a very detached, impersonal approach to this problem.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is loaded with the excrecence of the Indian press, not the essence of it.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: And this Commission is coming without any prior information. There is a well-known proverb in Malayalam:

"Kollanumarinhilla, kollathiyumarinhilla, Thitheyennoru Kovcharu-val.

It means: Neither the blacksmith nor his wife, who was also at work at the furnace, knew what happened, but they saw, all of a sudden a sickle dropping before them. This is what has happened. This is how the statement about the Commission has come. (Time bell rings)

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Sir, give him a little time. The hon. Member is making important points.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: My friend, Mr. Ramamurthi—whatever differences I may have with him—has upheld the cause of the small newspapers. Now; what is the fate of the small newspapers at the hands of this Commission?

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is all right.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: One thing more. This Commission is meant for upholding the cause of the big business in this country. I shall quote one of the best journalists of this country, Mr. D. R. Mankekar, from his book "The Press versus the Government". He mentions about one of the biggest papers in the world regarding the Thomson deal. At page 33, he says:

"The Commission \_\_\_\_\_

This was about the first Commission.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary to read it out.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN:

"The Commission was confronted with the dilemma of either allowing the paper to die or... "

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please give the book to the Minister.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: This is my last point.

approve of the best possible arrangement that would not only save the paper and ensure its future

but retain its most precious heritage, namely, its editorial independence and journalistic excellence."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you please pass on that book to the Minister?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: No, no, it is not a private matter; it is not a private dialogue.

"The Thomson deal meant the Thomson Organisation holding 85 per cent of the shares in the new Times Newspapers Company, and Lord Thomson had never made any secret that he ran his papers to make profits. But he was also reputed for not interfering with the editorial autonomy of his papers."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now please resume your seat.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: That is an important point to note. Now my last point is....

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have already made your last point. Please sit down. Now, Mr. Kamalnath Jha.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: My last point: They questioned the propriety and legality of the previous Government's supersession of so many personnel and so many people. But what are they themselves doing now? What about the appointment of an outsider as PIO, head of the Press Information Bureau?

**श्री कमलनाथ झा (बिहार) :**  
सभापति जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोगों का ख्याल बहुत ऊंचा है। हम लोग सभी यह मानते हैं कि यह बहुत बड़ा बुनियादी सवाल है। यह प्रेस कमीशन का मामला कोई इक्का-दुक्का आदमी से या छोटी मोटी घटना से सम्बन्धित मामला नहीं है। प्रेस के माध्यम से जनतन्त्र में जनमत का सृजन होता है। यह बेसिक शीट एंकर है फ्री प्रेस का। जनता पार्टी का यह दावा है कि हमने डेमोक्रेसी रेस्टोर की है इस कंट्री में।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** यह सही है।

**श्री कमलनाथ झा :** सही है या गलत इसका फैसला तो इतिहास करेगा। लेकिन जनता पार्टी अपने को डेमोक्रेसी का क, ख, ग कहती है मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट होती है वह अपोजीशन को कॉन्फिडेंस में लेकर जनहित के काम को करती है। यह पहला मुद्दा है इसका। आडवाणी साहब जो बड़े ही सौम्य हैं, बड़े ही शालीन हैं और बड़े ही शीलवान व्यक्ति हैं क्या मैं उनसे पूछ सकता हूँ कि आपकी जनता पार्टी ने, डेमोक्रेसी में, देश के इस बुनियादी सवाल पर अपोजीशन के लीडर को, दूसरी पालिटिकल पार्टी के लीडरों को अपने चैम्बर में बुला कर कन्सल्ट करने की जरूरत समझी है? उनको बुला कर, इसके टर्मस आफ रिफरेंस क्या होंगे, कौन इसके व्यक्ति होंगे इस पर आपन विचार किया? आप अगर कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी, भूपेश गुप्त, विपिनपाल दास, चव्हाण साहब को अपने चैम्बर में बुलाते तो इनके आप केवल मुझाव ही लेते, निर्णय तो आपका ही होता, आपकी सरकार का होता। आपने विरोधी दल को मुझाव देने ही से वंचित कर दिया। यह आपने शुरुआत में ही कर दिया है और आगे क्या होगा यह तो भगवान ही बताएगा।

दूसरी बात है सरकार के और संविधान के लक्ष्य को और जनतन्त्र के साथ साथ समाजवाद की स्थापना करने की। समाजवाद की दिशा में जनमत का निर्माण समाजवादी दृष्टिकोण से होगा यह चीज हमारे संविधान में और आपकी सरकार का घोषित उद्देश्य है। क्या आपने प्रेस कमीशन बनाते समय इस बात का ख्याल रखा टर्मस आफ रिफरेंस में कि प्रेस कमीशन इस देश में ऐसा जनमत तैयार करेगा जिससे डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट माज बनाने में इस देश की जनता का सहयोग मिलेगा। आपने गांधी जी की समाधि पर सौगन्ध खाई है। लक्ष्य क्या है

इसमें सम्बन्ध नहीं है। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि साधन और साध्य में साधन महत्वपूर्ण है। आप इस ढंग से फीडम रिस्टोर करते हैं तो बहुत बड़ी बात है। डेमोक्रेसी शब्द और सोशलिस्ट शब्द का इस संसार में बहुत दुरुपयोग हुआ है। हम तो समझते हैं कि आपकी अप्रोक्रेसी बहुत चालाकी से पेश आई है। जैसा माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है, अन्त में मैं भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चालाकी और चरित्र में काफी फर्क है। आप लोग चालाकी का सहारा ले रहे हैं, खूडनेस का सहारा ले रहे हैं। यह गांधीवादी तरीका नहीं है। गांधी जी की समाधि पर शपथ लेकर यह आपका काम करने का तरीका नहीं है। आपको सारी स्थिति को फेस करना चाहिए था और इस मामले में सब लोगों का सहयोग लेना चाहिए था। मैं समझता हूँ कि आपको प्रेस कमीशन बनाते समय बकिंग जर्नलिस्ट्स और अन्य लोगों से सलाह-मशविरा करना चाहिए था। अगर आप सब लोगों से विचार विमर्श करके और सब की सहमति लेकर यह कमीशन बनाते तो किसी को विरोध नहीं होता।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you will say something? What are you going to say? We want to hear you on this.

**श्री कमलनाथ झा :** श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप हमारे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त जैसे सदस्यों और अन्य सदस्यों से सलाह करके यह कमीशन बनाते तो हम सब लोग इस कमीशन का स्वागत करते।

MR, CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat.

**श्री कमलनाथ झा :** मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि आप डेमोक्रेसी की आड़ में और सोशलिज्म की आड़ में इस प्रकार के कार्य कर रहे हैं। आपकी नियत साफ नहीं है। आपका निशाना किसी दूसरी तरफ होता है। इसलिए मैं यह आग्रह करता हूँ कि सदन में जो भावनाएं व्यक्त की गई हैं उनको दृष्टि में रखते हुए

मन्त्री महोदय इस फंसले पर पुनः विचार करें।

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, I have got a submission to make now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Sezhi-yan.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, one submission I want to make. When I was coming in and hearing the speech in the translation, the honourable Member, Shri Maurya, the honourable Member of this House from the State of Andhra Pradesh, said something—as it came in the translation—and described the English language as the foreigners' language Or as the Whiteman's language. Sir, he might have his own opinion. But English has become the State language in some of the States also like the States of Meghalaya, Nagaland, etc. I do not know why he described this language like that. I say this because the question of language. is always a sensitive issue.... (Interruptions) Why did he describe it as the foreigners' language?

SHRI BUDDHA PRIYA MAURYA: I said that Tamil also is one language (Interruptions). You don't agree?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't raise the language issue now.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: He said that it is the foreigners' language. Sir, he is coming from the State of Andhra Pradesh. If you are going to Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and other places and are going to say that English is a foreign language, please avoid it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you are asking him to say something?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Pardon?

•SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you have heard me earlier. I raised an objection. Sir, I am grateful to

the honourable Members of the Opposition, all parties. All the parties, Opposition Members and the Independents are basically of the same view. It is quite clear that the House in which initially the, statement has been made is against it, the majority of the House or the views expressed on behalf of the majority are against it....

(Interruptions) SOME

HON. MEMBERS: Yes. SOME

HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, it is not a question of voting. You are not putting anything to vote now. But there should be some decorum, there should be some convention and there should be some ethics. Sir, are you in doubt that the majority of this House is opposed to this statement?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Sir, are, you in doubt that the majority of this House is opposed to this statement? If you are in doubt, then I have nothing to say. if you think and if you reasonably come to the conclusion that jt seems that the majority of the Members of this House, in which the statement has been initially made, are opposed to it, then, Sir, you should kindly ask the Minister not to proceed with this matter at all. (Interruptions). It does not have the consent of this House in which this statement has originated. In any case, in the face of opposition. he should not proceed with it. Some of my honourable friends on the other side rmay not share this view. But

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

we would like to have a clear assurance from the Minister that this will not be proceeded with in view of the views expressed here. Sir, here is this statement. You know, Sir, I am a journalist and Mr. Advani has been a journalist. I have been an Editor for many years. Here are the terms of reference one of which says:

"Means of safeguarding the freedom and independence of the Press against pressures of all kinds including Government, trade union or others in a plural and democratic society."

Employers do not exist for you at all?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Employers do not exist for you at all for exerting any pressures! I would like to ask why employers have not been mentioned at all. But the trade unions have been dragged in. Trade unions have been fighting for the freedom of the Press, have been fighting against the monopolists, have been fighting against the Press barons and so on and that is the tradition of the trade unions. I would like to know why the trade unions have been mentioned. Sir, I would like to know now whether he bows to the opinions expressed in this House. I would like to know from you, Sir, what is your reaction. You are a citizen of the country ----- (Interruptions) \_\_\_\_\_ Citizen No. 2 or 3, I do not know.

AN HON. MEMBER: What a discovery!

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please resume your seat....

(interruptions)

**श्री नगेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
श्रीमन, प्वाइंट ऑफ आर्डर । मंत्री महोदय कृपया यह बतायें कि पहले जो प्रैस कमीशन

अप्वाइंट हुआ था, तो उस समय को सरकार ने अपोजीशन से सलाह कर के अप्वाइंट किया था, या बिना उसकी सलाह के ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is an insult to us. He did not consult us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Advani was also in the Opposition. Now he is on the treasury benches. He knows both. Do not bother----- (Interruptions).

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: First of all, there seems to be an impression as if the names mentioned for the Press Commission are those of journalists. Out of these eleven members, whose names I have mentioned, four are journalists; other seven are laymen.... (Interruptions).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have not heard of them.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: You have not heard of them. At least this you admit that there is nothing against them. The kind of impression that was given because of Bhupeshji's speech was in a way unfair to these members, all of whom are eminent, very respectable and very responsible in their respective fields. The kind of impressions sought to be given by my friend, Bhupeshji, as if journalists have been picked up who are committed, who are loaded....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not know who the other members are.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I would once again repeat the names of four journalists, because all the discussions that have taken place particularly in respect of the personnel are rather unfortunate. This should not have been done. He should not have dragged in names and made a remark of this kind which is uncalled for. I do not approve of that remark either about Government or even about journalists. I would not like this House and this forum to be used to express adverse views about individuals outside. So far as \_\_\_

SHRI N. G. RANGA: The omission was so glaring.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Please bear with me. Four journalists of this Commission are Shri Abu Abraham, Shri Prem Bhatia, Shri S. N. Vatasayan and Shri V. K. Narasimhan, two of whom are my colleagues. One of my colleagues, Shri Ramamurti, said that so far as these two are concerned, he does not understand how exception could be taken to their names. I can say that a<sup>^</sup> of them are very outstanding journalists in the country; all of them are respected. Sir, my submission" is That for the last one year, over and over again, the issues about the Press Commission have been discussed. I have had an occasion to discuss this even with the members of the Consultative Committee, and I would say that the terms of reference that have been framed by the Government are comprehensive to cover every aspect. The pattern of ownership is a very important aspect which has been specially highlighted, because I feel that the present pattern \_\_\_\_\_

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) :** इस टर्मों आफ रिफरेंस में टीचिंग आफ जर्नेलिज्म के बारे में कुछ है या नहीं है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He does not yield.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Therefore, after a very careful consideration the Government has formulated all the aspects the Commission is required to go into. As far as the personnel is concerned, I would say that under the Commission of Inquiry Act it has been the tradition, right from the beginning till now that Government owns the responsibility of personnel. I would say that we have gone through it very meticulously and the choice has been made very carefully. Therefore, I would repeat that the impression sought to be given as if out of these.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about others? I strongly protest against this-----

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, special mentions. Yes, Mr. Chengalraya Naidu.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, he has not yielded. He has not respected the opinions expressed here in the House. Sir, all I can say is that in order to register our strong protest against the Government's terms of reference, its behaviour and attitude, we propose to lodge a symbolic protest and to register that protest walk out against this kind of a thing being done.

SHRI S- W. DHABE: In protest I also walk out.

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

#### REFERENCE TO SLUMP IN PRICES OF JAGGERY AND SUGARCANE

SHRI N. P. CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I draw the attention of the House to the fact that the prices of jaggery and sugarcane in the country have fallen so low that farmers are put to a great deal of hardship and untold suffering. The Minister of Agriculture has failed to take any remedial measures and give relief to the cane growers.

Sir, last year the price of jaggery was Rs. 165 per quintal. Now the price has come down to Rs. 65 only per quintal. In U.P. the Government has fixed the price of cane at Rs. 140 per tonne but now cane is being sold at Rs. 30 only per tonne. The farmers instead of cutting and transporting the crop from the fields, for which they have to pay more' than Rs. 30 per tonne, are setting fire to their crops in U.P. and other places. This is the fate of the farmers in the country. The price of jaggery has fallen to an unprecedented low level.