

the no profit no loss basis is to be there but in the case of middle income group and others some element of profit is there which we generally use to subsidise the houses for economically weaker sections. In any case I have noted whatever has been said and I will make enquiries.

### ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS DURING REMAINING PART OF CURRENT SESSION

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 30th April, 1974, allotted time as follows for Government Legislative Business to be taken up during the remaining part of the current Session of the Rajya Sabha :—

#### 1. Consideration and return of the following Bills, as passed by the Lok Sabha :—

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| (a) The Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1974.   | 2 days   |
| (b) The Finance Bill, 1974.   | 2 days.  |
| (c) The Union Duties of Excise (Distribution) Amendment Bill, 1974.                     | 1 hours. |
| (d) The Additional Duties of Excise (Goods of Special Importance) Amendment Bill, 1974. | 1 hour.  |
| (e) The Estate Duty (Distribution) Amendment Bill, 1954                                 | 1 hour.  |

#### 2. Consideration and passing of the Coal Mines (Conservation and Development) Bill, 1974, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

2 hours.

#### 3. Consideration of motions for concurrence for the reference of the following Bills to Joint Committee:—

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| (a) The Public Financial Institutions Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1973. | 30 Minutes |
| (b) The Code of Civil procedure (Amendment) Bill, 1974.            | 1 hour.    |

The Committee recommended that the House should sit up to 6.00 P.M. daily or beyond 6.00 P.M. as and when necessary for the transaction of Government Business.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

### DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश) उपसभा-पति जी, प्रजातन्त्र में समद, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय और सूचना मन्त्रालय में इनका अपना एक विशेष महत्व होता है। स्वतन्त्रता से पहले, जय अन्तरिम सरकार बनी थी, उस समय मुस्लिम लीग की निगाह जिन महत्वपूर्ण विभागों पर गई उनमें एक सूचना और प्रसारण मन्त्रालय भी था उसका उन्होंने अनुचित लाभ उठाया। इसी दृष्टि में स्वतन्त्रता के बाद सरकार बल्लभभाई पटेल ने इस महत्वपूर्ण विभाग का अपने हाथों में रखा। उस समय से लेकर अब तक श्री दिवाकर, श्री केसकर, श्रीमती गांधी और अब श्री दन्द्रकुमार गुजराल जैसे व्यक्तियों के हाथों में यह विभाग रहा है। मैं बहुत पिछले इतिहास में तो नहीं जाना चाहता लेकिन कुछ वर्षों से जनता की यह प्रतिक्रिया होती जा रही है कि आकाश की वाणी और दूरदर्शन, ये सत्ताधारी दल के प्रचारक होने चले जा रहे हैं। चुनाव के दिनों में तो रेडियो जिनकी

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

भ्रष्टता से सरकारी पक्ष की हवा बनाने का काम करता है, उसमें यह भावना कुछ और अधिक प्रबल होती जा रही है। स्थिति यह है कि विपक्ष की ओर से जब कोई बात कही जाती है और सरकारी पक्ष की ओर से प्रधान मंत्री अथवा किसी मंत्री के द्वारा जो उसका उत्तर दिया जाता है वह जितनी व्याख्या के साथ आकाशवाणी के द्वारा प्रसारित किया जाता है उतना दूसरी बातों को प्रसारित नहीं किया जाता।

उदाहरण के लिए अभी कुछ दिन पहले जब श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कुछ बातें इस देश के प्रजातन्त्र के भविष्य के सम्बन्ध में कही और उनका उत्तर देते हुए भुवनेश्वर में श्रीमती गांधी ने जो बातें कही, आकाशवाणी ने प्रमुखता के साथ श्रीमती गांधी के वक्तव्य को तो प्रसारित किया पर जयप्रकाश बाबू ने उसके सबध में क्या कहा इस बात को प्रमुखता नहीं दी गई। इन्हीं सारी बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए चन्दा कमेटी ने यह सुझाव दिया था कि आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन को एक निगम के रूप में परिणत कर दिया जाए। अगर यह स्वतन्त्र एजेंसी के रूप में काम करेगा तो उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि निष्पक्ष समाचारों का प्रसारण भी होगा और जो कार्यक्रम होंगे वे भी तटस्थ रह सकेंगे। लेकिन मैं नहीं कह सकता कि अभी तक यह सरकार इस प्रकार का निर्णय क्यों नहीं ले सकी है।

अभी कुछ दिन पहले एक प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार श्री मानकेकर ने एक पुस्तक लिखी थी 'दि प्रेम अन्डर प्रेशर' किम तरह समाचारपत्रों की स्थिति दयनीय होती चली जा रही है। किम तरह से सरकारी पंजा समाचार पत्रों के ऊपर आता चला जा रहा है। इसका प्रमाण पीछे इलस्ट्रेटेड वीकली के सम्पादक श्री खुशवंत मिह ने प्रधान मंत्री जी से अपनी एक मुलाकात का अपने पत्र में विवरण दिया है। उसकी अन्य बातों की चर्चा न करते हुए मैं इस बात की चर्चा जरूर करना चाहूंगा कि जब प्रधान मंत्री ने उनके पत्र के सबध में उनसे कुछ जानकारी चाही तो श्री खुशवंत मिह ने कहा कि जहां तक हस्तक्षेप का प्रश्न है उस विषय में मैं इतना कह सकता हूँ कि अभी तक मेरे मालिकों की ओर से मेरी नीति

में किसी प्रकार का कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं हुआ। लेकिन अभी तक सरकार की ओर से तीन-चार बार उसके अधिकारी आए। मेरी नीति में परिवर्तन करने के लिए। इसी तरह की एक दूसरी घटना कुछ दिन पहले घटी थी जब हरियाणा सरकार ने ट्रिव्यून के विज्ञापन बन्द कर दिये थे। ट्रिव्यून के विज्ञापन बन्द करने का कारण यह था कि ट्रिव्यून में कुछ समाचार या अग्रलेख इस प्रकार के आए जो हरियाणा गवर्नमेन्ट को पसन्द नहीं थे। उन्होंने समाचारपत्र की प्रतियों को लाने-ले जाने वाली गाड़ियों के ऊपर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगाया। और तो और उन्होंने समाचारपत्र को ले जाकर घरों में देने वाले हाकरो पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगाया। जब स्वतन्त्र भारत में, या प्रजातन्त्र में इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ होने लगती हैं तो फिर यह लगता है कि सरकार अपनी आलोचना पसन्द नहीं करती। प्रेम परिपद ने इसके ऊपर बड़ा मखन रख लिया था। प्रेम परिपद ने हरियाणा सरकार के इस कार्य की बड़ी तीव्र भर्त्सना की थी। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री गुजराल को प्रेम परिपद का वह निर्णय पता होगा। लेकिन प्रेम परिपद के निर्णय के बावजूद हरियाणा सरकार ठग में मस नहीं हुई। इसी तरह की एक दूसरी घटना घटी पाँछे, 18 मार्च को जब मर्चलाइट और प्रदीप पत्र के कार्यालय में आग लगाई गई। इन दोनों पत्रों के कार्यालय में आग किसे लगी? प्रारम्भ में मन्देह था कि इस घटना के पीछे कौन है। कोई इस को दोष देता था, कोई उसको दोष देता था। अब अनुमान लगाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं। जिस पत्र के साथ इतनी बड़ी दुर्घटना हुई, उसके कार्यालय को आग लगाई गई, बगल में पुलिस स्टेशन था पर पुलिस नहीं गई केवल इसलिये कि मिनिस्टर का कोई आदेश नहीं हुआ। इन सब बातों के बारे में जब अनुमान ही लगाए जा रहे थे तभी बिहार सरकार ने प्रदीप और सर्चलाइट को विज्ञापन देने के लिये डिलिस्ट कर दिया। जो प्रदीप के सवाददाता है या मर्चलाइट के सवाददाता है या जो प्रेस फोटोग्राफर है वे किसी सरकारी कार्यवाही में भाग नहीं ले सकते। इससे स्पष्ट अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि समाचारपत्रों की स्वतन्त्रता के प्रति सरकार का क्या रुख है। मैं इस बात को अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि जब सर्चलाइट और प्रदीप के कार्यालय में आग लगी तो भारत सरकार के जो निर्माण, आवागमन मंत्री श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री हैं उन्होंने अपनी महान्-

भूति प्रगट करते हुए कहा था कि हर तरह की सभ्य सहायता उसको दी जायेगी। मुझे इस बात की भी जानकारी है कि केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित ने भी अपनी सहानुभूति प्रगट की थी और अगर मैं गलती नहीं करता तो वर्तमान सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री ने भी सहानुभूति प्रगट की थी और कहा था कि इन दोनों पक्षों को जिन के कार्यालयों को आग लगी है उनको अपनी यथास्थिति बनाने के लिये जिस प्रकार का सहयोग सभव हो सकेगा दिया जायेगा। एक और तो केन्द्रीय सरकार के मंत्रियों के ये आश्वासन हैं और हमारी ओर जिस प्रान्त में पत्रों के कार्यालय को आग लगी है, उसी बिहार सरकार के वित्त मंत्री दागेगा राय का वक्तव्य समाचार पत्रों में श्री गुजराल ने पढ़ा होगा। उसमें उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा है कि हम इस पत्र को इतने विज्ञापन देने हैं, फिर भी वह हमारी नीति का विरोध करता है तो कैसे हम उसको विज्ञापन दें।

इतना ही नहीं कि उन्होंने डिलिस्ट करके आगे के लिये विज्ञापन देने बन्द कर दिये हों, आपको जानकारी आश्चर्य होगा कि जो इस समाचार पत्र में बिहार सरकार के विज्ञापन पहले छप चुके थे उनका भी 10 लाख रुपये जो बिहार सरकार की ओर शेष था वह भी रोक लिया है। जब राज्य सरकारों की समाचार पत्रों के प्रति इस प्रकार की नीति हो जायगी तो कैसे इस देश में समाचार पत्र स्वतन्त्र और निष्पक्ष हो कर कार्य कर सकेंगे ? मुझे इस बात की जानकारी है कि—अगर इसमें कोई बात असत्य नहीं है तो . . .

श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी (बिहार) उपसभापति महोदय, मेरा पाइंट आफ़ आर्डर है। मैं बिहार से आया हूँ। ये खामखवाह इल्जाम लगा रहे हैं। इसलिये यह बात काबिले बर्दाश्त नहीं रही। इसलिये हमको पाइंट आफ़ आर्डर करना पड़ा। चूंकि बैकवर्डस क्लाम को दागेगा राय रिप्रजेंट करते हैं, इसलिये बिल्कुल फ़िरकापरस्ती की बू आती है इनकी स्पीच से। जो मर्चलाइट और प्रदीप में आग लगी है वह क्यों लगाई गई यह इनको पता है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is not a point of order.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : मैंने जान लिया कि यहाँ भी उनके कुछ समर्थक उसी प्रकार के बटे हुए हैं।

श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : ये तो बिहार सरकार को गुण्डा कह रहे हैं।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता। मैं तो यह कह रहा था कि राज्य सरकारों का समाचार पत्रों के प्रति अगर यही रवैया रहेगा तो देश में इस धारणा को बनने में कोई रोक नहीं सकेगा कि हमारे देश में निष्पक्ष समाचार पत्रों के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया। वित्त मंत्री के जिस वक्तव्य का मैंने उल्लेख किया, यह जो सज्जन अभी व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा रहे थे मैं उनसे चाहूँगा कि वह पहले उस वक्तव्य को देखने का कष्ट करें और तब इस प्रकार के व्यवस्था के प्रश्नों को उठाये।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली में भी कुछ इस प्रकार के समाचार पत्र हैं जिनके सबंध में कानों में भनक पड़ी है प्रत्यक्ष रूप से चाहे उनका न कहा जाए, लेकिन अप्रत्यक्ष उनके ऊपर दबाव डाला जाता रहा है वह निष्पक्ष लेख या समाचार प्रसारित न करे। मेरा कहना यह है कि स्वतन्त्र भारत में, विशेषकर जिस देश के अन्दर प्रजातन्त्र हों, उसमें अगर इस प्रकार में दबाव डाला जाता रहा तो ये समाचार पत्र भाटों के गीत बनकर रह जायेंगे। फिर ये जनता की भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले पत्र नहीं रहेंगे। मैं एक और बात का भी विशेष रूप से उल्लेख करना चाहूँगा और चाहूँगा कि—श्री गुजराल जब अपना उत्तर दें तो इस बात को बतायें सरकार की यह क्या प्रवृत्ति चल पड़ी है जब प्रधान मंत्री विदेश जायें या राष्ट्रपति बाहर जायें तो समाचार पत्रों के सवाददाताओं से सीधे संपर्क स्थापित किये जायें। जो भी समाचार ऐजेंसी या पत्र हैं उनको कहना चाहिये कि आप अपने यहाँ से किसी प्रतिनिधि को भेजें। मुझे जानकारी मिली है—इस बार जब प्रधान मंत्री ईरान यात्रा पर गई हैं तो एक समाचार पत्र के प्रधान संपादक ने केवल इसीलिये अपने प्रतिनिधि को भेजने से इकार कर दिया क्योंकि सरकार ने सीधे उनसे संपर्क स्थापित

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

किया था। यह प्रवृत्ति भी इस बात की परिचायक है कि हमारे देश में निष्पक्ष समाचार पत्रों की क्या स्थिति बनती जा रही है। अगर यह हाल रहेगा तो प्रजातन्त्र के लिये गौरव की बात नहीं होगी बल्कि अभिशाप होगा।

इसी तरह की एक बात मैं जो कहना चाहता हूँ वह है समाचार पत्रों को, अखबारों को जो न्यूजप्रिंट मिलता है उसके बारे में। हमारे देश में उप-सभापति जी, न्यूजप्रिंट की स्थिति यह है कि लगभग 82 प्रतिशत न्यूजप्रिंट विदेशों से आयात होता है। इंडियन एण्ड ईस्टर्न न्यूजपेपर्स सोसायटी ने अभी पीछे जो आकड़े दिये थे उनके अनुसार गत वर्ष हमारे देश में न्यूजप्रिंट की जितनी कमी थी वह 78,300 टन थी। लेकिन इसी अनुमान में इस वर्ष के लिये जो उन्होंने आकड़े दिये हैं 1974-75 के लिये, उसमें 1,33,000 टन की कमी का अनुमान लगाया गया है। मैं जो विशेष रूप से बात कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जो बाहर से न्यूजप्रिंट का आयात होता है यह स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कॉर्पोरेशन, राज्य व्यापार निगम द्वारा होता है। राज्य व्यापार निगम को अक्टूबर 1972 में इस बात का आभास हुआ था कि न्यूजप्रिंट की यह स्थिति होने वाली है। तो राज्य व्यापार निगम जो एकमात्र बाहर से न्यूजप्रिंट का आयात करने वाला संगठन है उसने क्यों नहीं इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था की जिससे देश के अन्दर न्यूजप्रिंट के अभाव की स्थिति न हो। उसी का परिणाम यह है कि जो समाचार पत्र आठ-आठ पृष्ठों के निकलने थे वह चार-चार पृष्ठों के निकलने लगे। उसमें सरकारी समाचार तो निश्चित ही निकलेंगे, मन्त्रियों के वक्तव्य निश्चित रूप से निकलेंगे, लेकिन जन भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली बातों का अभाव होता जा रहा है। यह किसी भी प्रजातन्त्र के लिये शोभा की बात नहीं है कि जनता की भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व समाचार पत्र न करें, केवल सरकारी समाचारों के बाहक बनकर रह जायें। इस प्रकार की दयनीय स्थिति समाचार पत्रों की नहीं होनी चाहिये।

मुझे एक बात यह कहने की भी आज्ञा दी जाए मुझे पता लगा है—भारत की राजधानी की बात कहना हूँ, बम्बई, कलकत्ता और मद्रास की बात नहीं कहता हूँ।

ऐसे समाचार पत्र भी इस दिल्ली राजधानी में हैं जो सरकार के कृपणाव हैं और सरकार के कृपा का वह दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं। उन को जितना न्यूज प्रिंट मिलता है—मैं चाहूँगा कि श्री गुजराल बाजार में जा कर अपने स्रोतों से इस बात की जानकारी लें जितना न्यूज प्रिंट उनको मिलता है उस का पूरा उपयोग वह नहीं कर रहे। अपनी सख्या ज्यादा प्रदर्शित करने हैं और न्यूज प्रिंट ब्लैक में बेचते हैं और ब्लैक से दूसरे समाचार पत्र उसी न्यूज प्रिंट को खरीदते हैं। जब सरकार की नाक के नीचे दिल्ली में इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ घट रही हैं तो दूसरे बड़े नगरों में इस प्रकार की घटनाएँ नहीं घट रही होंगी इसके लिये क्या गारंटी दी जा सकती है। मैं इस के लिये यह चाहता हूँ सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री इस बात को अवश्य बतायें इस सदन को कि भविष्य में न्यूजप्रिंट की कमी को पूरा करने के लिये उन के पास क्या योजनाएँ हैं। क्या वह भारतवर्ष में उसका उत्पादन बढ़ाना चाहते हैं या उसे बाहर से आयात करने के लिये उन्होंने कोई विशेष प्रयास किया है। मेरी जानकारी तो यह है कि बंगला देश में और चेकोस्लोवाकिया में, जैसा कि मैंने समाचार पत्रों में देखा है, भारत को आने वाला न्यूजप्रिंट बदरगाहों में पड़ा है। लेकिन राज्य व्यापार निगम ने जहाजों की व्यवस्था नहीं की जिससे वह न्यूजप्रिंट यहाँ आ सके और समाचार पत्रों को दिया जा सके। इस बात को विशेष रूप से देखना चाहिये।

एक बात मैं आकाशवाणी की स्वतन्त्र अभिव्यक्ति के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ। आकाशवाणी सरकार की एजेंसी नहीं देश का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाला संगठन है लेकिन कुछ दिनों से आकाशवाणी की जिस तरह की स्थिति बनती जा रही है उसमें लगता है स्वतन्त्र विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति का यह माध्यम भी अब धीरे-धीरे सरकार के विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम बन जा रहा है। परिणाम क्या है? मैं चाहूँगा कि गुजराल साहब इस बात को बतायें कि वह वास्तविकता है या नहीं सरकार पहले तो अपने विभागीय अधिकारियों को रिपोर्ट लेने के लिये या पता लगाने के लिये भेजती है या उन से सर्वे कराती है और जब उस में कुछ वास्तविकता होती है

और किसी ढंग से वह प्रसारित हो जाती है तो उन अधिकारियों को दंडित किया जाता है। मेरी अपनी जानकारी में यह है गुजरात के संबंध में जहां की खाद्य स्थिति की जानकारी लाने के लिये सरकार ने अपने एक अधिकारी को नियुक्त किया। वह अधिकारी वहां की खाद्य स्थिति की जानकारी लेने के बाद यहां आये और सामायिकी में उन का कार्यक्रम प्रसारित हुआ स्पष्ट लाइट में भी वह इस देश के खाद्य मंत्री को बुरा लगा रेडियो से इस प्रकार वहां की खाद्य स्थिति के बारे में क्या प्रसारण कर दिया गया। मेरी जानकारी में तो यह भी कैबिनेट की पोलिटिकल समिति में भी वह बात गयी और वह अधिकारी आकाशवाणी में नहीं रह सका और उसको पी० आई० बी० में स्थानान्तरित कर दिया गया। मेरा कहना है जो स्वतन्त्र विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम है अगर वहां इस प्रकार में निष्पक्ष बात कहने पर वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों को हटाया जायेगा या उनका ट्रांसफर किया जायेगा तो आगे चल कर उसका परिणाम क्या होगा। यह आप ही सोचें। आलोचना का मुहू बढ़ करने के लिये एक और नयी बात की गयी है जो पिछले कुछ वर्षों से चली है। जो बड़े बड़े समाचार पत्र है खास तौर से वह समाचार पत्र जो किसी तरह से आकाशवाणी की या विभाग की आलोचना कर सकते हैं उन के संपादकों को अपना कृपा पात्र बनाये रखने के लिये वार्ताओं के माध्यम से और वार्तायें प्रसारित करने के लिये आमंत्रित किया जाता है स्पष्ट लाइट में भी आमंत्रित किया जाता है। अगर मैं भूल नहीं करना तो यह उत्तर सरकार का ही है कि जो सरकार ने दिया है। दिसम्बर 1972 से 30 नवम्बर 1973 तक ऐसे व्यक्तियों की लिस्ट कि जिन को ऐसे कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करने के लिये सौ रुपये से अधिक या सौ रुपये पारिश्रमिक दिया गया। यह जो लिस्ट है उस में 73 ऐसे व्यक्तियों की लिस्ट है जिस में वर्ष में किसी को 9 किसी को सात या किसी को दस तक वार्तायें प्रसारित की गयी और ज्यादातर यह कार्यक्रम एक विशेष विचारधारा के ही लोगों को दिये गये एक यहां जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी खुली है। मैं नहीं कहना चाहता कि उस की पृष्ठभूमि क्या है और क्या उस जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय का देश की राजनैतिक और शैक्षणिक स्थिति को सुधारने में योगदान रहा है क्योंकि यह दूसरा प्रसंग हो जायेगा लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय के कुछ विशेष ही प्राध्यापक हैं जिन को

आकाशवाणी आमंत्रित करना है। वह समाचार पत्रों के संपादक हैं कि जिन के द्वारा जनता के समक्ष विशेष विचारधारा को रखा जा सके और उन्हीं को विशेष रूप से आमंत्रित किया जाता है। मेरे कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि रेडियो जो स्वतन्त्र विचारों की अभिव्यक्ति का केन्द्र था उन लोगों के माध्यम से वह हमारे दिशा में मोड़ा जा रहा है। जो अधिकारी किसी प्रकार से स्वतन्त्र विचारों को कार्यक्रमों में प्रसारित करते हैं उन को हटा दिया जाता है। यह आकाशवाणी के लिए शांति की बात नहीं है। दूसरी सबसे बड़ी बात जिस पर मुझे प्रसन्नता भी हुई थी और जिस को हमारे सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री जी ने ही अपनी देख-रेख में प्रारम्भ किया था, वह है युववाणी कार्यक्रम। उसको युवकों के लिये ही रखा गया है। इस प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों की युवकों के लिये आवश्यकता भी थी, वे अनिवार्य भी थे और हर तरह से ही ठीक थे। लेकिन आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि इस युववाणी कार्यक्रम के प्रसारण की देखरेख के लिए एक रिटायर्ड व्यक्ति को नियुक्त किया गया है। पहले वह दूसरी तरफ डाइरेक्टर था अब उसको युववाणी कार्यक्रम का निदेशक नियुक्त किया गया है। परिणाम इसका क्या है युववाणी कार्यक्रम अगर कभी आपको सुनने का अवसर मिला हो तो उसमें पश्चिमी संगीत और पश्चिमी नृत्य की भरमार है। क्या यह युववाणी शहरों के युवकों के लिए ही प्रसारित होता है या भारतवर्ष के किमान युवक और युवतियों के लिए भी है। उनका पश्चिमी संगीत और नृत्य से क्या रिश्ता है? क्या हमसे भारतीयता बनी रहेगी, ऐसा सोचा जा रहा है, या उनको पश्चिम की गोद में डाल दिया जाएगा? या फिर इसका अभिप्राय यह है जो हमारे गांवों में रहने वाले युवा हैं वे किसी प्रकार का लाभ उससे न उठा सकें? इस दिशा में भी कुछ थोड़ा मोचना चाहिए।

एक और बात जो मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूँ वह है—विदेशी समाचारों के बारे में। हमारी आकाशवाणी से जो समाचार बुलेटिन प्रसारित होते हैं उससे आपत्ति महोदय, आपने स्पष्ट कभी-कभी अनुभव किया होगा विदेशी समाचारों की इतनी भरमार उनमें होती है जो आवश्यक देशीय समाचार होते हैं उनकी उपेक्षा हो जाती है। मैं नहीं कहना कि विदेशी समाचार प्रसारित न किए जाएं। लेकिन दुनिया के अन्य देशों के समाचार

बुलेटिन सुने। उनमें विदेशी समाचारों का प्रसारण किया जरूर जाता है पर उन्हीं का जो बहुत महत्वपूर्ण समाचार होते हैं। कहीं कोई जबर्दस्त क्रांति हो गई है या कोई इस प्रकार की स्थिति हो गई हो जैसे सैनिक शासन स्थापित हो गया हो। एक आध जो इस प्रकार के समाचार हैं जरूर उनको देना चाहिए। हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री ईरान की यात्रा पर गई हुई है, हमारी इच्छा है कि हम जानें हमारी प्रधान मंत्री वहां क्या कर रही हैं, किस प्रकार में उनका मिशन सफल हो रहा है, इसमें आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन कभी-कभी आकाशवाणी से विदेशी समाचारों के प्रसारण में ऐसे समाचार भी प्रसारित हो जाते हैं—मुझे वह निश्चित निथि याद नहीं है, अगर आप आकाशवाणी के बुलेटिन को दिखाएंगे तो मैं निथि भी दे दूंगा—एक दिन एक समाचार प्रसारित हुआ कि तजानिया में एक बिल्ली ने इतने बच्चों को जन्म दिया या किसी सुअरनी ने इतने बच्चों को जन्म दिया। हमारे मस्तिष्क में जो दामता की छाप अभी तक है उसका यह प्रमाण है। अभी तक इस प्रकार के विदेशी समाचारों की भरमार हमारे प्रसारणों में है।

दूसरी बात मैं विशेष रूप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ विदेशी समाचारों के प्रसारण में जहां थोड़ा सा समुलन रखा जाए, वहां एक सुधार और किया जाए। अगर मैं भूल नहीं करता हूँ तो लोक मभा में स्वयं डा० केमकर ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया था, आकाशवाणी से राजनैतिक समाचारों की भरमार कुछ अधिक होती चली जा रही है, हमारे देश का जो सामाजिक जीवन है उसकी उपेक्षा होती चली जा रही है। देश के जीवन में जो दूसरे अंग हैं उनको प्राथमिकता नहीं दी जा रही है। तो केवल राजनैतिक प्रचार ही न हो, हमको इस का भी ध्यान रहना चाहिए। राजनैतिक समाचारों के अतिरिक्त जो सामाजिक समाचार हैं या और दूसरे प्रकार के समाचार हैं, जो इस देश की भावना का या जन-जीवन का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, उनको भी प्राथमिकता दी जाए।

दूरदर्शन की स्थिति यह है टेलीविजन जिसको कहते हैं, मैं विस्तार से नहीं कहूंगा, क्योंकि मुझे और बाने भी कहनी हैं। लेकिन मक्षेप में कुछ जरूर कहना चाहूंगा। दूरदर्शन कार्यक्रम के जिस अधिकारी ने

आत्महत्या की है, मुझे पता चला है, उस केस को या उस कहानी को ऐसा बढ़ा जा रहा है उनका और उनकी पत्नी का आपस में क्लेश था और तग आकर उन्होंने आत्महत्या कर ली। उस हिस्से को छिपाया जा रहा है वहां के जो प्रशासक हैं, डायरेक्टर हैं वे अधिकारियों को, कर्मचारियों को किस प्रकार से परेशान करते हैं और किस प्रकार से कर्मचारियों के काम में वे बाधक बने हैं। उन के ऊपर जो लोहे का पत्रा है उसी से तग आकर उस अधिकारी ने आत्महत्या की। मैं चाहता हूँ, श्री गुजराल इस सबध में एक ससदीय समिति का निर्माण करें और इस काण्ड की पूरी जांच करें। दूरदर्शन कार्यक्रम सभी देश में चालू होने जा रहे हैं, नया-नया कार्य है जो देश में लोकप्रिय हो रहा है। इस विभाग में ऐसे अधिकारी न बैठे दिए जाएं जिनके माध्यम से पूरा विभाग ही बनना हो जाए। और अभी कई बातें मेरे कानों में पड़ी हैं जिनके पुष्ट होने या अधिकृत न होने से मैं उनको कह नहीं सकूंगा। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ दूरदर्शन के कार्य कर्त्ताओं की एक बार फिर से उच्च-स्तरीय जानकारी ली जाए। कैसे कार्यक्रम उनमें दिए जाते हैं लोगों को, किस-किस ढंग से दिए जाते हैं वे मारी बाने जिस प्रकार की हैं उनके बारे में खोज बीन की जाए।

एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ फिल्म डिबिजन के बारे में। फिल्म डिबिजन का जो सेमर बोर्ड है, मुझे खुशी है इस बात की कि सरकार ने स्वयं इस बात के लिए कहा है, इसमें थोड़ी सी और मछली की जाए। लेकिन सरकार के कहने के बावजूद और सेन्सर बोर्ड के थोड़ा बहुत एक्टिव होने के बावजूद भी चलचित्रों में किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन नहीं आया। बाहर से आने वाले उन चलचित्रों पर हम रोक लगाते हैं जो देश के अन्दर हिंसा और यौन भावनाओं को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं या इस प्रकार की और प्रवृत्तियों को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं। लेकिन बाहर के चलचित्रों को रोकने से क्या होगा जब अपने देश में ही उस प्रकार के चलचित्रों की बाढ़ आती जा रही है। सेमर बोर्ड इस देश की भावनाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं करता। सेमर बोर्ड का पुनर्गठन तो किया ही जाये, लेकिन पुनर्गठन के साथ-साथ उसको कुछ दिशा-निर्देश भी अवश्य दिया जाये कि सेमर बोर्ड किस मार्ग पर चले, किस रास्ते पर चल कर चलचित्रों का निर्माण होने दे।

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

आचार्य विनोबा भावे ने अब से कई साल पहले यह बात कही थी, चौराहों पर चलचित्रों के जो परिचायक पोस्टर लगे रहते हैं उनके लिए उन्होंने नौजवानों को कहा था कि वे उनको फाड़ दें। लेकिन आचार्य विनोबा भावे ने जब यह बात कही थी तब चौराहों पर लगने वाले चलचित्रों के परिचायक विज्ञापन इतने भयंकर नहीं थे, जितने चलचित्रों के विज्ञापन आज भयंकर होते जा रहे हैं। किस प्रकार नागरिकों को नग्न रूप से चित्रों में प्रदर्शित किया जाता है और किस प्रकार की भावनाओं का प्रदर्शन किया जाता है यह स्वयं आप चौराहों में अपनी गाड़ियों में निकलते होंगे। सिनेमा में वह दृश्य आता है तो शायद एक आधा क्षण में हमारी आँख से गुजर जाता है। लेकिन चौराहों पर जहाँ चौबसों घंटे इस प्रकार के चित्र लगे रहते हैं उनका हमारे छोटी आयु के बच्चों या बहनों पर क्या असर पड़ना होगा, यह आप अच्छी तरह समझ सकते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में शीघ्र मनी महोदय को निर्णय लेना चाहिये, यह मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

अन्तिम बात मैं पत्र सूचना कार्यालय के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। पत्र सूचना कार्यालय की जो मेन्टल इन्फार्मेशन सर्विस है, केन्द्रीय सूचना सेवा है, उसका निर्माण 59 में हुआ। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि 59 में लेकर अब तक, उप-समापति जी, इस विभाग के सचिव, सयुक्त सचिव, उप-सचिव, अवर सचिव आदि का केन्द्रीय सूचना सेवा के अधिकारियों के साथ किसी प्रकार की तालमेल नहीं हो पाया। तृतीय वेतन आयोग ने भी इस प्रकार का प्रतिवेदन दिया था कि उनकी जो सेवा की शत है उनमें सुधार होना चाहिए। इस सेवा के वह लोग जो योग्य से योग्यतम होते हैं, यहाँ के अधिकारी सोचते हैं, अगर इनमें से कोई इस विभाग में आकर बैठ गया तो हम जैसे चाहेंगे वैसे पृष्ठ हिला कर वह नहीं चल सकेगा। परिणाम यह है कि आज योग्य व्यक्ति उस विभाग में नहीं है। कैसे व्यक्ति आकर बैठ गए हैं? या तो वे हैं जो दो-तीन साल मेन्टल हॉस्पिटल में रहे हों, वे व्यक्ति काम कर रहे हैं या फिर वे व्यक्ति हैं जिन्हें उस विभाग में काम करने का अनुभव ही नहीं है। मैं स्वयं श्री इन्द्र कुमार गुजराल से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब पीछे श्री ब्रेजनेव यहाँ पर आए थे और लाल कृष्ण के मैदान में उनका और श्रीमती गांधी का भाषण हुआ था तो क्या यह बात सत्य नहीं है 3 वजे दिन में

उनका भाषण हुआ और रात को 12 बजे तक समाचार पत्रों को उसकी रिपोर्ट नहीं मिल सकी, उस सम्बन्ध में जानकारी नहीं दी जा सकी? अगर यह बात सत्य है तो आपको देखना चाहिए कि आखिर ऐसे कौन व्यक्ति विभाग में बैठे हैं जो समाचारपत्रों को उनके भाषणों का भार नहीं दे पाएँ।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ पदोन्नति के विषय में। पदोन्नति की स्थिति यहाँ यह है इस प्रकार के व्यक्ति, जिनको अपने काम का अनुभव नहीं है, उनकी पदोन्नति हो जाती है। यह बात व्यक्तिगत हो जायगी, इसलिए अधिक मैं उसमें जाना नहीं चाहता। योजना पत्रिका एक हमारा है। वह देश में आर्थिक विषयों का सर्वेक्षण कर उनकी जानकारी देती है। अगले पांच वर्षों में हमको आर्थिक दृष्टि से कितनी प्रगति करनी है उसकी सारी जानकारी देनी है। जो व्यक्ति आर्थिक विषयों के जानकार होते हैं, आर्थिक पत्रों के पत्रकार रह चुके होंगे हैं उनको मुख्य सम्पादक बनाया जाता है। अब चूंकि विभागीय अधिकारी ऐसे व्यक्ति से प्रमत्त नहीं हैं, इसलिए उसको हटा दिया जाता है और इतिहास व पुरातत्व के विद्यार्थी उनके स्थान पर बैठा दिए जाते हैं। वे कहां तक आर्थिक विषयों का विष्लेषण कर सकेंगे और किस प्रकार आर्थिक विषयों का दिग्दर्शन करा सकेंगे, यह आसानी से समझा जा सकता है। मेरा कहना यह भी है इस विभाग के द्वारा या दूसरे विभागों के द्वारा जिनकी भी पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ हैं वे घाटे में क्यों जा रही हैं, यह भी सरकार को सोचना चाहिए। हमारे निजी लोग जो ऐसी पत्रिकाएँ चलाते हैं वे मुनाफा कमाते हैं लेकिन मन्त्रालयों के द्वारा लाखों रुपये खर्च होने के बाद यह सारी पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ घाटे में जा रही हैं। केवल एक पत्रिका है जो मुनाफे में चल रही है उसका नाम है बाल-भारती। बाल-भारती के सम्बन्ध में बाहर से अच्छे-अच्छे आर्डर भी आते हैं। अभी पञ्जाब सरकार ने आदेश किया है कि हम 2 हजार प्रति लेना चाहते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार ने भी आदेश किया है कि हम 15 हजार प्रति लेना चाहते हैं। लेकिन चूंकि बड़े अधिकारी अंग्रेजी के समर्थक हैं और उनको अंग्रेजी में मोह है, इसलिए उनके आर्डर को पूरा नहीं किया जाएगा और अगर पूरा भी किया जायगा तो ऐसे प्रेम में छपवाया जायगा, जिसमें बच्चों के लिए चित्र आकर्षक नहीं हों, कहानियाँ आकर्षक नहीं हों। तो मेरे कहने का

अभिप्राय यह है कि जो पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ आय के साधन बने हुए हैं और आपको कुछ दे सकते हैं तो थोड़ा उनको संभालिये, उनको आमदनी के पीछे भी लगाइये। उनको घाटे के पीछे क्यों लगाने हैं।

दूसरी बात मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आप पदान्त्रि के क्रम के लिए एक नियम बना लीजिये, या तो मीनियारिटो का ही नियम बना लीजिए या योग्यता का नियम बना लीजिए। मलयालम के लिए आपको आवश्यकता थी तो आपने एक थर्ड ग्रेड आदमी को सैकड़ों व्यक्तियों को लाध कर फर्स्ट ग्रेड में रख लिया। भुवनेश्वर में पी०आइ०बी० में सूचना अधिकारी की जगह थी उसे ऐसे ही रख लिया। लेकिन जब हिन्दी का प्रश्न आता है तो मीनियारिटो बाधक हो जाती है। मेरा कहना यह है कि जहाँ जहाँ इस प्रकार के कार्यालय हैं, राजधानी में हैं या बाहर वहाँ पर आपको योग्य से योग्य व्यक्ति बैठाने चाहिए ताकि जिन विचारों को आप आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं वह उसको पूरा कर सकें। मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है उस समय सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय की मलाहकार समिति में मैं भी था। उस समय यह निर्णय हुआ था कि कुछ मूल लेख हिन्दी में भी तैयार होंगे। श्री गुजराल वहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं, इन्हीं की निगरानी में यह निर्णय हुआ था। लेकिन वह बात अभी तक नहीं बन पाई।

पत्र सूचना विभाग की हालत यह है कि 713 पत्र इस प्रकार के हैं जो अंग्रेजी में निकलते हैं, जिनको पत्र सूचना कार्यालय से जानकारी दी जाती है, लेख दिये जाते हैं और भी सामग्री दी जाती है। 1295 पत्र ऐसे हैं जो हिन्दी में निकलते हैं। लेकिन उनको जो इन्होंने सामग्री भेजी है—यह मेरा कहना नहीं है—इनकी जो वार्षिक रिपोर्ट 1973-74 की प्रकाशित हुई है इसके आधार पर आपको मैं बताता हूँ कि 1713 अंग्रेजी के पत्र हैं उनको 14794 प्रकार की सामग्री भेजी है, लेकिन 1295 जो हिन्दी के पत्र हैं उनको सामग्री भेजी है 7212 प्रकार की। इसी से अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि या तो इस विभाग में इस प्रकार के काम करने वाले हैं जो देशी भाषाओं को जान-बूझकर महत्व नहीं देना चाहते हैं या वह चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी का प्रभुत्व बना रहने दिया जाए। उसका परिणाम यह है कि हमारे देश में देशी भाषाओं की स्थिति दयनीय होती जा रही है।

दो तीन बातें संक्षेप में मैं आपसे और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई यह जानकर कि आप भगवान महावीर स्वामी की जयन्ती एक वर्ष तक मनायेंगे और उसके लिए आकाशवाणी से कुछ कार्यक्रम प्रसारित करेंगे। मुझे उस समय भी प्रसन्नता हुई थी जब मुझे मालूम हुआ कि आप राम चरितमानस चतुर्थी और गालिव जयन्ती का कार्यक्रम मना रहे हैं। मुझे यह कहना है कि इस देश में कुछ और भी इसी प्रकार सामाजिक मगठन है। जैसे 1975 में आर्यसमाज का शताब्दी समारोह होने जा रहा है। देश के सामाजिक सुधार के कार्यक्रमों में, देश के उत्थान में उनका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस और भी आप सोचें।

दूसरा मेरा कहना है कि 'ब्रजमाधुरी' के कार्यक्रम में थोड़ा सा सुधार करने की आवश्यकता है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि वहाँ कुछ एकाध आदमी ऐसे घिसे-पिटे आपने भेजे हैं जिनके पास सूझ-बूझ नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसमें भी सुधार हो। मथुरा का जो रेडियो स्टेशन है, जो ब्रज की संस्कृति और साहित्य का प्रसारण वहाँ से करना है, थोड़ा सा उसकी प्रसारण क्षमता को बढ़ाया जाए क्योंकि मथुरा के आसपास ही उसका प्रसारण हो पाता है और पूरे प्रदेश में इसका प्रसारण नहीं हो पाता।

तीसरी बात मैं अन्त में जो कह रहा हूँ वह यह है कि आकाशवाणी से कुछ शब्दों को जिनका पूरे देश में महत्व है, उनको जान-बूझकर बिगाड़ा जाता है। उप-महापति जी, अभिवादन के लिए 'नमस्ते' शब्द का प्रयोग होता है। लेकिन आकाशवाणी में 'नमस्कार' का प्रयोग होता है। 'नमस्कार' का क्या अर्थ हुआ 'नमस्कार' का अर्थ हुआ नमस्ते करना। नमस्ते का अर्थ हुआ मैं आपका अभिवादन करता हूँ। यह बहुत गलत है। अमल में इसके पीछे एक पड़यत्न है। पता नहीं सूचना मंत्री की जानकारी में है या नहीं। पुराणों में कहा गया है कि जब ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मण को मिले तो 'नमस्ते' करे और जब ब्राह्मण प्रब्राह्मण को मिले तो 'नमस्कार' करे जिसका कोई अर्थ नहीं है। वही बात हमारे देश में अब फैशन के रूप में चलती चली जा रही है। आकाशवाणी उसकी सबसे बड़ी प्रचारक बनी हुई है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जैसे सरदार पटेल जैसे व्यक्ति के हाथ में यह महत्वपूर्ण विभाग रहा है, फिर उसी प्रकार के महत्व को प्राप्त करें। बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद।



**SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI** (West Bengal) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving this opportunity to this House to discuss the working of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

**MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN**: I would warn the hon. Members now itself that there are a number of speakers. They should try to confine themselves to 10 or 15 minutes.

**SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI**: I was listening to the speech of my senior colleague, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri with rapt attention. He started with Muslim League and ended with difference of 'Namaskar' and 'Namaste'. He levelled certain charges against the All India Radio. His first charge was that the All India Radio has been the main spokesman of the Congress Party, as far as I have understood him. As a party man, I would have been very happy if the All India Radio had become a party spokesman. But unfortunately this has not yet been done. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri's charge has been that on various occasions, the speeches, remarks and observations of Mrs. Indira Gandhi are being broadcast by the All India Radio whereas certain speeches of Jaya Prakash Narayan have not been focussed by the All India Radio. Sir, whatever status a leader might have in public life if he preaches violence or a particular method of doing things which is not supported by the Constitution or by the norms of democracy of the country, it is better that these things are not brought down to the level of the common masses to agitate them. On the other hand, if as a leader of the nation, Mrs. Gandhi makes an appeal to the nation that the democratic norms of the country will have to be maintained and the parliamentary institutions of the country will have to be respected, then such things will have to be given publicity and if the All India Radio has done it, I do think that they have done it for the total welfare of the nation and the country. I was really surprised to hear what Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri was saying. Of course there are various charges against the All India Radio. The

All India Radio plays a very important role in the life of the nation inasmuch as it is one of the mass media. I have also certain things to comment against the All India Radio. There are many more things which can be done by the All India Radio. There are many activities of the Government, developmental activities, national integration and welfare activities which can be broadcast to draw people's attention to those programmes. We find that not much time is being given by the All India Radio to these activities. The All India Radio should not be an instrument for recreation alone. I believe that the All India Radio should broadcast programmes in which the activities of the nation, the activities of the Government of India and various State Governments are brought to the notice of the people in order not only to rouse national feelings but also to make them aware of the total activities of the nation so that they also can participate in the total welfare and the developmental activities of the country.

Sir, my second point is that a national programme is being broadcast every week from the All India Radio. How is it that the songs of Nazrul Islam and Tagore are not being included in the national programme? I do not know why? I would request the Minister to look into this matter and see that such programmes are broadcast from the All India Radio. Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri was speaking very much against the news that relates to the international activities and the international world. He raised an objection. Of course, I am also not one of those who want the total activities of the All India Radio only to be surcharged with the activities in the international world. But, it is also true that as a nation we cannot simply shut our eyes to the problems which confront the whole world as such. There are problems, for instance, the problem of Vietnam, the problem of Palestine Liberation, the problems in the South and the problems in the West Asia. There are so many problems. Those problems will also have to be broadcast to our people. And, that is why if All India Radio takes the initiative of giving this information to the nation,

to the people, that is also a service rendered to the nation. As a nation we all can contemplate on these problems. Not only certain elite people of the country will be apprised of the situation but that as a nation we are all to unite together so as to listen to it, to express our views and to think what our Government and our nation should do. Therefore, I plead with the hon. Minister to see that events of international importance are also broadcast from the All India Radio, through the External Services Division and that will benefit us, the nation as such.

Sir, I will speak a few words about the D.A.V.P., i.e. the Directorate of Audio Visual Publicity. Sir, I am really constrained to say once again in this House—I have brought it to the notice of the hon. Minister while I was a Member of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's Consultative Committee and also through various questions in the House—that D.A.V.P. publicity is being given to all big presses and to all big newspapers. The decisions which they take or the way in which they release publicity materials to different newspapers shows that they are doing so only from the commercial point of view. I do not think that a Government organisation or rather a particular Government sector organisation should simply judge things from commercial point of view. Sir, D.A.V.P. will also have to think and assess things from the point of view of promotional activities. The small newspapers hardly get any assistance or publicity materials from the D.A.V.P. Whereas, I find that various big presses get lots of publicity materials from the D.A.V.P. This links the big presses with the officials in the D.A.V.P. If the hon. Minister wants me to give him information then I can give. There is a competition between two big newspapers in one particular region and there are certain D.A.V.P. officials connected. I know that one D.A.V.P. official had to visit Calcutta and arrangement was made by one newspaper that he would go in the First Class. The moment the other newspaper got the information, they booked an air ticket for that particular official. A lot of information material

thereafter had been given to these particular presses. This is not fair. We need the ideology of socialism. We should also see that small newspapers get some assistance through public financial institutions as well as public organisations. But, that is not done by the D.A.V.P. Therefore, I would earnestly request the hon. Minister to take initiative in the matter and see that medium and small newspapers also get their due. This is what I want to submit about the D.A.V.P.

Then, Sir, I want to say a few words about the Press Information Bureau. There are various offices under the Press Information Bureau. The work of the Press Information Bureau is to give information to the Government from the down level of the country as well as to percolate news from the Government agencies to the people. But, what is actually being done in the Press Information Bureau? Sir, I want to very earnestly submit to the hon. Minister that the officials in the Press Information Bureau think that they are all mini-Gujrals and mini-Dharam Bir Sinhas. They expect that all the newspaper reporters will come to them, salute them, and if they like a particular man or a particular reporter then he will be given certain material from a huge bundle of papers which are daily being typed and cyclostyled. If that particular officer is satisfied with the salute or with the smile or with the appearance of the particular reporter, then he will give some material to him. I believe, Sir, this is not the way. If the informations about the activities of the Government are to reach the millions of our people, then it is the responsibility and duty of the Press Information Bureau officials to percolate it to the down level of the people. If the attitude of the P.I.B. officials continues to be the same, I apprehend, Sir, that the activities of the Government will not be percolated to the people.

Then, about the timings of the Press briefings by the P.I.B. officials. The timings of all the press briefings are such that it is hardly possible to get them printed

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]  
in the newspapers—either it is at the flag end of the day as Shri Prakash Vir Shastri was telling about the briefing of President Brezhnev's visit or at some other time. The same thing is being adopted by the Press Information Bureau officials. Therefore, I would plead with the hon. Minister to look into the affairs so as to break the activities of the PIB officials. This is a very important media through which the activities of the Government percolate. I would submit that it should cover not only the activities of the Government in different walks of life and in the different Ministries. I would request him to see that all very minor but detailed information is also given by the PIB to the press people, so that the nation is aware of the activities of the Government in order to make such more awareness for a better solution of the problems with which we are faced.

Then, Sir, a few words about the Film Finance Corporation. It is all the more good that the Government has formed the Film Finance Corporation. With regard to its activities, my first appeal to the hon. Minister is to Open an office of the Films Finance Corporation at Calcutta. As you know, Bengali films have suffered a setback, have suffered very much for want of finance. I find that some assistance is being given to certain directors and producers. There are directors and producers who are not world famous. There are directors and producers who could do much better, but they are not getting assistance. Mr. Satyajit Ray or Mr. Mrinal Mukherjee is getting assistance, but what about the newcomers who want to make headway in the film world? They are not getting assistance. That is because you do not have an office in Calcutta. On some occasion he had given us to understand that an office would be opened. Such an office is needed very much. I would plead with the hon. Minister to open the office immediately. When they give public financial assistance for making pictures, is it not the duty of the Government to see that the forces of violence or the ideas

of violence are not inculcated? As regards the films which are being financed by the Government some caution is required when it gives assistance to some producers or directors through the Film Finance Corporation.

As a whole the activities of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry are satisfactory, but there are many things which should be improved. With regard to the television programme, barring Hindi pictures I do not find any other picture being shown. There is neither a Bengali film shown nor an English film. No other film is shown. Only old pictures are shown in the same way. Vulnerable pictures are also being shown. It has become a headache to keep TV in our house. Small kids are also interested in it. It should not cause any harm in their minds. It should do them some good. In the domestic atmosphere we want to witness certain films in the TV. It must be educative. Therefore, while presenting these things through the TV I hope the Minister will take the initiative to see that they show educative films. Scenes from the national life should also be depicted. It should be creative and educative. I would request the hon. Minister to take initiative in those things.

With these few words, I thank you, Sir.

SHRI B. D. BARMAN (Tripura) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting plays an important role in the formation of public opinion and also it is the link through which the Government keeps in touch with the masses and with the public in general. If we want to have a glimpse of future India, we can have it from the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I have gone through the Report of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and I am sorry I do not find anything with regard to the future India and the socialist India about which we are speaking.

First of all, I would like to say that the press is a very strong instrument by

[Shri B. D. Barman]

which we can come into contract with the masses. But what is the position of the press? It is controlled by the big monopoly houses, by a few industrial houses. If you want to free our press from the clutches of the vested interest, you should try to delink the press from the control of big business houses, otherwise, the success of our public sector for which this vested interest class can obviously have no affection will become difficult, because they want to denationalise the public sector. It is the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which can make it endearing to the public, by propagating the ideas of the public sector to the people in general. I fail to understand why in this Report under review on 'Conference of Public Enterprises' only a few lines are written. But I think the success of the public enterprise is the success of India as a whole. If the public undertakings fail, it is the failure of the future India as a whole. So, a greater responsibility lies upon the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to popularise the public sector, to make it understandable to the people in general, to the masses because without the support of the masses, without the support of the people in general, public enterprise cannot thrive. There is difference between public sector and private sector. There has been much discussion in this House about the public sector and the private sector in the debate upon industry and other subjects. I think that public sector cannot thrive without popular enthusiasm, without popular support, without popular affection. And the task lies upon this Ministry to make it popular, to make it understandable to all as to what are the aims and objects of public sector, why the public enterprise is undertaken and with what mental makeup we should build up the public enterprise. So, I think the necessity lies for the delinking of the press from the big industrial houses and that will expose real motive of the vested interests, who cannot obviously support public enterprises on which the future of India lies.

There is shortage of newsprint. I

brought it to the notice of the House that the price of newsprint has gone up from £180 per tonne to £430 per tonne in the last few years. There are small and medium newspapers apart from the big newspapers. And because of this shortage of newsprint, the small and medium newspapers are going to be extinct. Measures should be taken to see that 75 per cent newsprint goes to these papers. Otherwise, we cannot have an independent press.

Then I come to the question of films which play a great role in the formation of the country. But what is the picture of the films today? Film is also controlled by the big monopoly capitalist.

It is in the hands of monopolists. The producer has no regard for quality or standard of film. He always looks to box office popularity. And what do these films contain? The films are always obsessed with vulgarity and violence. And then if our young boys go astray who is to be blamed? It is we who are to be blamed for their moral degradation. We must be blamed for producing films which do not project any high standards of life. The films are full of violence, sex appeal and obscenity. Therefore, until and unless the Government takes control of the film industry, which is a very important step in the reformation of our country, we cannot have any hope for the future of our nation.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will speak something about the All India Radio. While T. V. in other countries has attained maturity we are still in infancy. Therefore, the least said about T. V. the better. T.V. is not accessible to the poor and illiterate masses. It is within the reach of an affluent few. And what sort of programme is given by the All India Radio which has now reached the masses of this country? The programme is stereotyped. Does its programme give any impetus to the masses as to what we are and what our future is going to be?

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would be failing in my duty if at this moment I

do not say something about my State of Tripura. Sir, there is a programme from the All India Radio station of Calcutta which is called Tripuri programme. It is broadcast not from Tripura but from A.I.R. Calcutta. I am thankful to the Calcutta station of All India Radio for not discontinuing that programme because this programme is mainly for the Tripuri listeners. Tripura attained full-fledged Statehood in 1971. But the Tripura station of All India Radio is not broadcasting a single programme in the Tripuri language which is spoken by one-third population of the State. The tribals of Tripura speaking the Tripuri language do not have the opportunity of hearing from the Agartala station of A.I.R. any programme in Tripuri language.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the Report of the Ministry it is stated that AIR puts up special programmes for Adivasis in more than one hundred tribal dialects. The All India Radio station of Calcutta gives fifteen minutes time for this Adivasi programme in Tripuri language. It is meant for those speaking Tripuri dialects in Tripura. Within this fifteen minutes there is a talk, song, the market review and so on. And this fifteen-minute programme in Tripuri for Adivasis is broadcast from the All India Radio, Calcutta and not from Tripura. Why this step-motherly attitude

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so far as All India Radio, Tripura, is concerned? The listeners of All India Radio Tripura, are entitled to hear the programme of All India Radio, Tripura in their own mother tongue. Why have they to listen to All India Radio, Calcutta, for that purpose? Of course, All India Radio, Tripura, is relaying All India Radio, Calcutta so far as the Tripura programme is concerned. Tripura had been a centre of fine arts and music, both vocal and instrumental. The Rajas of Tripura were patrons of music and fine arts. But I know that All India Radio, Tripura, is giving no programme from the local musicians, vocal and instrumental, from persons who have got much

proficiency in that line. They have been disregarded. They are rotting in their own State. Why is this step-motherly attitude for the people of Tripura? If you tune in to All India Radio, Manipur, you will hear programmes in Manipuri language. If you tune into All India Radio, Gauhati, you will hear the Assamese language. But if you tune in to All India Radio, Agartala, you will not hear the mother tongue of the people of Tripura who are speaking the Tripuri language. Why is this sort of discrimination, this sort of step-motherly attitude towards the people of Tripura, particularly the Tripuri-speaking people of that locality? So I want to say that All India Radio should develop the heritage and culture of the people of Tripura so that the people of Tripura may get a better deal from the service of All India Radio. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon.

SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON (Kerala) : I thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, for giving me an opportunity to participate in this discussion. I consider this Ministry a very important one because it is the one on which we depend to induce and promote social changes and social development in this country. I congratulate the hon. Minister and his colleagues for the sincere efforts they are making to create an atmosphere in this country so that vast millions of our people, who can only learn and get enlightenment through their eyes and ears, may get some knowledge of what is going on in the country. There is, no doubt, that the AIR, TV and films are some of the biggest media in this country for transmission of knowledge and enlightenment to our people. I am glad that the Ministry has taken on the objective of having a "Face to Face" programme with individuals so that this medium could be properly utilised to the fullest extent. I know it is a far cry now because we have only 1,28,000 sets and only 15 per cent of our rural people are contacted through this

[Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon]  
medium. The UNESCO standard, I believe is that there should be one set for every five persons. That should make us realise that we are very far from that standard. Nevertheless, as I said, a very sincere effort is being made and I congratulate the Ministry for the same.

I now come to the controversy that is raging against All India Radio being utilised to project the policies of the Government. I think it is unnecessary because I feel strongly that the All-India Radio, the television and other media should project the policies and programmes of the Government because that is the only way in which the people can understand the policies and programmes which have been adopted on their behalf by the Government. I also know that the All-India Radio is not shutting out other shades of opinion. It is giving sufficient chances for various shades of opinion being presented. But I feel that these media should be utilised by the Government to project the policies of the Government. And if anybody has any idea of political influences being projected through the All-India Radio, he is building castles in the air to capture the All-India Radio. The All-India Radio has taken on many programmes of expansion. But because of lack of funds they have not been able to really do justice to both the old and the new programmes. For example, I cite the Calicut station of All-India Radio. Its position is rather dismal. It has no programme of any improvement during the near future. At the same time in Kerala we had a new station which has been inaugurated and by the experience of this being on the air for only a small period of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours, it is so short, one wonders whether it is worthwhile having a station which is of so little utility to the people. I think that some new programmes should be planned to give more funds for the All-India Radio. At least the amount that is coming from the commercial sector today, which is about Rs. 16 to Rs. 18 crores, should be utilised so that these expansion schemes could be put on a better scale than these are today.

There are complaints that some of the programmes are very unimaginative and wooden. Probably the new Directorate of Evaluation will find out the drawbacks and suggest remedial measures. And the radio listeners forum and the rural club could be better organised. Audience research idea of the Ministry is now being put forth and it will give a greater chance to make these programmes more effective. It brings out new talent. Some of the new programmes have brought out new talent. I disagree with the Member from the Opposition that Yuv Vani is not a good programme. I believe that it is one of the most popular programmes of the All-India Radio. It has introduced new talents and this programme is being enjoyed by both the young and the old. There is no harm in adding on more nuances to the same programme. Nevertheless this has been a very good beginning. Some of the new programmes have failed like the science programme which was, no doubt, a good idea. It has been so badly presented that it has been appreciated. If there are mistakes—and I think we can make mistakes—those mistakes can be corrected so that we can retain the good and throw out the bad.

With regard to family planning programme I find that the Ministry has given more number of hours to the family planning programme than it had intended and targeted. That is very good. 1974 being the World Population Year I feel that special programmes should be drawn up for this so that the objective of the UN, viz. to project the dangers of population explosion in the world, could be better taken to our people. I feel that this programme should have a priority this year.

A word about women's programmes. I know that a vast majority of our women are illiterate. But they are not imbecile. And many of the programmes are so patronising and didactic that I wish something should be done about these programmes so that instead of leaving the listener with an exasperated impatience, we could have some sort of really interesting programmes for women.

I think the Ministry should pay some attention to this programme, in particular.

With regard to external services, I do not know whether Shri Shastri had misunderstood or whether I had. I take it that external services are meant mostly to project India's image abroad rather than to project outside world's image to India. Probably both of us are right. But in the projection of our image abroad, due to certain technical difficulties, people abroad are hardly able to hear the news that we send out from here. They are barely audible even in the best sets. I do not know whether we could improve on it without incurring heavy expenditure on technical equipment etc. But there is a danger. Other countries less friendly or rather indifferent to India are projecting a lot of wrong information about India in other countries. We have got to do something about it and see that this distortion is prevented.

I agree with Shri Shastri that we have to have good A.I.R. correspondents at least in certain places such as headquarters of United Nations in New York and Geneva where our programmes, policies and our political and economic problems are discussed. We do not have this arrangement today.

Press is another transmission belt that takes very good and very bad news throughout the country. The hon. Minister has again and again reiterated that he would stick to policy of delinking the Press from monopoly houses so that the Press remains an independent organ. I feel proud that we in this country have a Press which is the freest in the whole world. We must commend the role of our Press because while they use all the freedom of expression, they also know when to exercise the freedom of not expressing certain thing and this is when reporting general news about discord and disunity in the country and

which encourage saboteurs of our integrity and freedom. In this regard I think I must congratulate the Ministry for its policies of national integration and leadership that it has given which has made our Press aware of the freedom and also aware of the restraints that they should exercise when they should.

With regard to the big papers, of course, some of them are being controlled by big industrial houses in order to project their ideas and policies. But there are some big newspapers in this country which have been built up on popular goodwill and which have always received popular support and stood for popular causes. I think when we speak of big newspapers, these should not be clubbed with those papers which are just the mouth-pieces of big industries in this country.

I congratulate the Ministry for the way in which they have come forward to help small and medium newspapers especially at this juncture when newspapers are facing a very bad period due to shortage of newsprint (Time bell rings.). I shall conclude soon. I only want to make a point that with regard to newsprint I heard—I do not know how far it is true and if I am wrong. I hope the Minister would correct me—that our ships have refused to lift the newsprint cargo from Canada especially when there has been such shortage of newsprint in this country. I wish the news is wrong.

Sir, with regard to the newsprint factor, I feel that the pace at which they are going is so slow that something has to be done to expedite its being commissioned as quickly as possible.

Sir, with regard to the films—I do not have much time and that is why I am rushing from the issue of newspaper to the film media—I do not underrate the importance of the influence of the films. But I want to say one thing. I want the Government to see that the Film Finance

Corporation is able to help in the production of films in the country more in order that there will be more good films. In the present-day world, Sir, the trend in films is to put some stress on violence and sex. Sir, this is a country where the woman is symbolised as Shakti and the mother. But even in this country now the stress is laid on sex in the films and the woman has become a sex symbol in our films and it is a very sad thing for this country especially when the countries where the woman was treated only as a sex symbol are coming to our country to get some spiritual inspiration and to see what could be done in their countries to reverse this evil trend. Of course, I know that we have no right to dictate as to how films should be produced. But something should be done in this connection.

Then, Sir, with regard to television, I should say it is also equally important. The honourable Minister said that he was trying to delink the Television Wing from the AIR. I do not know when we are going to have several channels on TV so that the TV can cater to the needs of every type of people. In this connection, Sir, I would like to say that there should be a separate programme for children. There are neither good books for children nor good films for them nor good programmes on the TV. I hope that this aspect would be taken care of. One more point and I will conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have to wind up now.

SHRIMATI LEEIA DAMODARA MENON : Before I sit down. I would like to make a small appeal to the honourable Minister. Sir, in Kerala we do not have the Light & Sound programme anywhere. Kerala is going to become very important from the tourist angle and, therefore, for the tourists that may be coming there and also for the people of Kerala, it would be a very interesting feature if at least one Light & Sound Programme is introduced. This is my appeal to the Minister.

Sir, I thank you once again for having given me this opportunity to participate in this discussion.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Nawal Kishore.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय आज हम एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण मिनिस्ट्री के ऊपर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। यही वजह है कि इजिप्ट में इसका नाम मिनिस्ट्री आफ नेशनल गाइडेंस है। जो कुछ अखबारों में छपता है, जो कुछ आल इंडिया रेडियो कहता है या टेलिविजन और फिल्म के जरिये जो चीजें जनता को दिखाई जाती हैं उनसे जनमत भी बनता है और प्रतिदिन के जो वाक्यांश हैं, घटनाएँ हैं उनसे भी उनको अवगत कराया जाता है और यह सब इनफार्मेशन एण्ड ब्राडकास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री के अन्तर्गत आता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि गुजराल साहब नौजवान भी हैं और डाइनेमिक आदमी हैं और वे इस बात में विश्वास करते हैं कि किसी भी डेमोक्रेसी में प्रेम का एक बहुत ही इम्पारटेड रोल होता है और उसकी जो आजादी है, स्वतन्त्रता है वह उसी ही आवश्यक है उसके ठीक से काम करने के लिये। यही वजह है कि इसको फोर्थ एस्टेट कहा जाता है।

शास्त्री जी ने कुछ चीजों की तरफ ध्यान आकषित किया। कुछ रिपिटिशन तो होगा। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि सरकारों की यह प्रवृत्ति बन गई है या बनती जा रही है कि जो अखबार उनके अपने विचारों का प्रतिपादन नहीं करते उनको किसी न किसी तरीके से परेशान किया जाय। सबसे बड़ा हथियार उनके हाथ में एडवर्टाइजमेंट का है। एक बार और भी मैंने गुजराल साहब से इस सदन में निवेदन किया था कि वे एडवर्टाइजमेंट के देने का कोई तरीका बनाएँ जिसके अन्तर्गत केन्द्रीय सरकार हो या स्टेट की सरकारें हो वे एडवर्टाइजमेंट दिया करें। शास्त्री जी ने ट्रिब्यून की बात कही। वह बात कई बार इस हाउस में भी आई लोकसभा में भी आई प्रेस कॉमिल ने भी उसको टेक-अप किया। यह बात ठीक है कि ट्रिब्यून के सम्बन्ध में हरियाणा सरकार ने जो बर्ताव किया है वह न शौभनीय था न जनतन्त्रीय था। सर्वेलाइट के ऊपर अधिक न कहते हुए मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्ट्री से जो घटना



[श्री नवल किशोर]

हुई 18 मार्च को जो मर्चलाइट के दफ्तर को आग लगाई गई वह एक शर्मनाक वाक्या था। मैं उस बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता कि उसको किमने किया। कोई कहता है कि आर०एम०एम० ने किया, कोई कहता है कि सी०पी०आई० ने किया, कोई कहता है कि आनन्द-मार्गियों ने किया, कोई कहता है कि गुंडों ने किया। मगर एक बात सही है कि मर्चलाइट जो कि हमारी आजादी के दिनों में आजादी की लड़ाई में बैंगार्ड (Vanguard) में था, जिसने आजादी की जग में न जाने हम जैसे कितने नौजवानों को प्रेरणा दी थी, उसकी कुछ दिनों से टिप्पणियाँ और कमेन्ट्स बिहार की मौजूदा गवर्नमेंट के हक में नहीं हो पाते थे। वाक्यात की बजह हो या कुछ भी हो और इस अग्निकांड के बाद जिसको करोड़ों रूपयों का नुकसान हो गया, बजाय इसके कि बिहार सरकार को उसके लिए कुछ हमदर्दी हानी और जैसी कि गुजराल साहब ने आश्वासन भी दिया था कि वह इस मामले को देखेंगे, क्या कर दिया गया कि उसको डिमिस्ट कर दिया गया। इसके माने सिर्फ ये नहीं है कि सरकारी ऐडवार्टीजमेंट्स बन्द हो गये उसका अमर यह हुआ कि उसका कोई रिप्रजेंटेटिव सरकारी कार्फेसेज में नहीं जा सकता, न उसका फोटोग्राफर जा सकता है, उसका सरकारी न्यूज से विलकुल वक़्त कर दिया गया और जैसे मेरे मित्रों ने कहा सरकार की पालिसी क्या है, उसके प्रोग्राम क्या है उसका जानना जनता के लिए आवश्यक है, तो श्रीमन् इनने टाप के पेपर के साथ में जो यह व्यवहार किया गया उसके सम्बन्ध में जानना चाहूँगा गुजराल साहब से कि वह इस मामले को बिहार सरकार में टेक अप करेंगे और यह कोशिश करेंगे कि जो अन्याय उसके साथ हुआ है वह अन्याय समाप्त हो जाए।

शास्त्री जी ने कहा कि पत्रकार अगर चाटुकार हो जाये तो देश का क्या होगा। मुझे चाणक्य का वाक्य याद आता है। चाणक्य ने कहा था कि यदि मंत्री, डाक्टर और अध्यापक तीनों चाटुकार हो जाये तो उस राष्ट्र का अन्त हो जाता है। मैं तो यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि सभी पत्रकार चाटुकार हैं मगर मैं यह जरूर जानता हूँ कि जब मिनिस्ट्री में बैठने है—चाहे मैं बैठ या राजू साहब बैठें—तो कुछ चाटुकारिता की इच्छा हो जाती है। वह

अच्छी लगती है। श्रीमन् आप सौभाग्यशाली हैं, आप जहाँ बैठते हैं वहाँ हमकी गुंथायण कम है। मगर जब गवर्नमेंट में आदमी बैठता है तो उसको चाटुकारिता बहुत पसन्द आती है और उसका मेटल विलेस कुछ बिगड़ जाता है। मैं एक बात साफ कर दूँ कि गुजराल साहब, जैसा मैंने कहा, कि डाइनेमिक भी है और समाजवादी भी है गुजराल साहब जरा मेरी ओर देखें। (interruption) कान भी हो और शक्ल भी क्योंकि आपकी शक्ल मुझे बहुत पसन्द है। इसलिए अब चर्चा डिफ़्यूजन आफ ओनर-शिप की ओर से है। मगर मेरे उसके खिलाफ नहीं हूँ मैं भी उन आदमियों में से हूँ जो यह नहीं चाहते कि कोई भी शक्ति केवल चन्द आदमियों के पास हो, उनके हाथ में केन्द्रित हो चाहे पैसे की हो चाहे दूसरी हो। लेकिन डिफ़्यूजन आफ ओनरशिप की आड़ में यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि अखबारों की आजादी ही समाप्त हो जाए।

श्रीमन्, आल इंडिया रेडियो के बारे में एक बात कही गई कि वह फारन न्यूज और हिन्दुस्तान की न्यूज में कोरिलेशन नहीं है। अमजद अली साहब ने ठीक कहा कि हम कूप-मडूक तो नहीं हैं हमको भी इंटरनेशनल न्यूज की आवश्यकता होती है, लेकिन शास्त्री जी की बात यह थी कि हमारी न्यूज में और इंटरनेशनल न्यूज में कोरिलेशन होना चाहिए क्योंकि आम जनता की ज्यादा दिलचस्पी देश की खबरों में होती है। हम जैसे जो माफि-स्टिकेटेड आदमी हैं अमजद अली साहब की बात दूसरी है मैं उसके अगेन्ट नहीं हूँ कि फारन न्यूज होनी चाहिए, लेकिन उसके अन्दर एक प्रपोर्शन अपनी जगह पर हो तो ज्यादा अच्छा है। श्रीमन्, आल इंडिया रेडियो के बारे में मुझे यह भी कहना है कि सरकार ने इस बात का वायदा किया था कि हिन्दी का बुलेटिन स्वतंत्र रूप में तैयार किया जाएगा। अब तक जो अंग्रेजी का आता है उसका हिन्दी में अनुवाद करके प्रसारण होता है। उसके लिए चीफ एडिटर की भी नियुक्ति हुई और गुजराल साहब को याद होगा कि मारा स्टाफ उसके लिये नियुक्त किया गया, लेकिन आज भी इंडिपेंडेंट हिन्दी का बुलेटिन तैयार नहीं होता है।

क्योंकि श्रीमन् मसखरापन यह है कि हम जो हिन्दी में भाषण देते हैं उस का अंग्रेजी वर्जन वह उनके लिये भेजते हैं और वह लोग उस का हिन्दी ट्रांसलेशन करते हैं। तो हमारे भाषण को ट्रांसलेशन दो मर्तबा होता है। पहले हिन्दी का अंग्रेजी में और फिर अंग्रेजी से हिन्दी में। तो मैं गुजराल साहब से चाहूंगा कि वह अपने वायदे को पूरा करे, जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा है और इसके अलावा वहां दो टेलिप्रिन्टर्स हैं। अगर किसी वजह से हिन्दी के टेलिप्रिन्टर पर न्यूज पहले पहुंच जाय तो जब तक चीफ एडिटर साहब अंग्रेजी के उम पर टिक न लगाए तब तक हिन्दी के न्यूज टेलीप्रिन्टर को प्रायगिटी नहीं मिल सकती। मैं समझता हूं कि यह उचित बात नहीं है और यह प्रिजुडिस है अग्रेस्ट हिन्दी।

तीसरी बात, मुझे एक शिकायत है। इत्फाक से गुजराल साहब भी राज्य सभा के मेम्बर है लोक सभा के नहीं हैं मगर जितना समय ए० आई० आर० में या जितनी स्पेश अखबारों में लोक सभा को मिलती है वह राज्य सभा को नहीं मिलती। इस मैटर को श्रीमन् आप को भी टेक अप करना चाहिये क्योंकि आप हमारे कस्टोडियन हैं कि जितनी स्पेश लोक सभा की प्रोसीडिंग्स को मिलती है उतनी राज्य सभा को नहीं मिलती और यही बात आल इंडिया रेडियो में भी है और जब संसदीय समीक्षा होती है तो मुझे को पता चला है और ठीक बात है कि एक ही व्यक्ति राज्य सभा और लोक सभा दोनों की समीक्षा करता है। मेरी एक बात समझ में नहीं आई कि जो व्यक्ति लोक सभा में बैठा होगा वह राज्य सभा में कैसे पहुंच जाता होगा।

श्री बी० बी० राजू (आंध्र प्रदेश) : एक और पाणिगिलिटी है कि अपोजीशन को पहले जगह देते हैं और रूनिंग पार्टी को बाद में देते हैं।

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: Mr. Raju is a very clever man. He has anticipated as to what I was going to say.

तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि मैं चाहता हूं कि इस समीक्षा में दो आदमी हों। मैं एक बात मानता हूं कि गवर्नमेंट चूँकि सारे काम करती है इसलिये गवर्नमेंट का थोड़ा ज्यादा हिस्सा होना चाहिये। यह बात समझ में आती है लेकिन अपोजीशन का बिल्कुल ब्लैक आउट हो जाय ऐसी बात

समझ में नहीं आती और मैं यह बात ईमानदारी के साथ कह सकता हूं—वैसे मैं जानता हूं कि हमारे यहां अपोजीशन में भी दिक्कत यह है कि जहां इतनी पार्टियां हों वहां किस-किस को कितना समय दिया जाय, लेकिन फिर भी अपोजीशन को अनुपात से उतना समय नहीं मिल पाता जितना कि उस को मिलना चाहिये और अगर राजू साहब कुर्सी के मोह को छोड़ कर मेरी बात को समझें तो मेरी बात से वह इत्फाक करेंगे।

दूसरी बात मैं अपोजीशन के बारे में कहूँ इस के पहले एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे बी० बी० सी० की ब्राडकास्टिंग एजेंसी है वह फारेन कट्टीज के लिये अपने प्रोग्राम्स ईस्टर, क्रिस्मस, राम नवमी, दीवाली और दशहरा के बारे में ब्राडकास्ट करती है लेकिन आल इंडिया रेडियो जो फारेन ब्राडकास्ट करता है उस में आप क्या करते हैं। मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि आप ईस्टर, गुड फ्राइडे और एक्समस के लिये तो प्रोग्राम ब्राडकास्ट करते हैं। लेकिन अन्य त्योहारों पर नहीं सेकुलरिज्म का कम से कम यह तो नकाजा है कि उस के साथ आप रामनवमी, कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, दशहरा, दीवाली जैसे प्रोग्रामों को भी अपने यहां रक्खा करें क्योंकि काफी तादाद में हिन्दुस्तानी हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर भी रहते हैं। थाईलैंड है, मारिशस है, मलेशिया है और न जाने कितनी जगहें हैं, तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस के लिये आप जरूर कुछ करें।

हमारे मित्र अमजद अली साहब नहीं हैं यहां, नहीं बैठे हैं, उन्होंने कहा कि टी० वी० पर जो पिक्चर आती है वह हिन्दी में ज्यादा आती है।

You are so conspicuous that I cannot miss you.

टी० वी० पर जो पिक्चर आती है उसमें गुजराती फिल्म, मराठी फिल्म, पंजाबी फिल्म, बंगाली और तमिल की फिल्में भी होती हैं और वे दिखाई जाती हैं और विज्ञान भवन में भी जो प्रोग्राम होता है उस में भी गुजराल साहब काफी पैरिटी मॉन्टेन करने की कोशिश करते हैं, लेकिन जब देश में बहुमत हिन्दी के लोगों का है तो

SHRI SARDAR AMJAD ALI: I was speaking about the percentage of Bengali films. The number of Bengali films or

[Shri Sardar Amjad Ali]  
some other films shown is in not in proportion to the Hindi films

श्री नवल किशोर : तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था यह सही है कि हिन्दी की पिक्चरों की तादाद कुछ ज्यादा होती है और मैं समझता हूँ सही भी है, इस मायने में कि हिन्दुस्तान के दर्शकों की बहुत बड़ी तादाद वह है जो कि हिन्दी फिल्म देखती है। (Interruption) तो श्रीमन्, मैं फिल्म के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ बड़ी सजीदगी से (Interruption) राजनारायण जी, आप तो खुद ही फिल्म हैं

श्री उपसभापति : ज़िदगी का आधा फिल्म वह देखे हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर : ज़िदगी में उनके जितने काम हैं वे सब अधूरे हैं।

श्री प्रकाशबोर शास्त्री : उपसभापति जी, राजनारायणजी रंगीन फिल्म देखते हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर : तो श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह रहा था कि गुजराल माहब आज इस बात पर ध्यान दें कि जो तम्र शरीर का प्रदर्शन किया जाता है और जो इम्फेसिस मेकम तथा हिमा के ऊपर है, जिसका काफी अमर हमारे नौजवानों के ऊपर गलत तरीके से पड़ता है, उसकी तरफ भी ध्यान दें।

श्री राजनारायण : (उत्तर प्रदेश) क्यों आप देखते हैं?

श्री नवल किशोर : मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, अभी कृष्णमूर्ति जी की वाइफ का मर्डर हुआ, उन्हीं के मेड सर्वेन्ट के लडके ने उनका मर्डर किया। आज के जमाने में जब कि देश में चारों तरफ लोड-फोड हो रही है, आज हिमा जोर पकड़ रही है, जो गांधी-वादी मूल आदर्श थे, नीनिया थी, आज उनका आहिस्ता आहिस्ता हल्ला होता जा रहा है, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ आप इस आल इंडिया रेडियो के माध्यम से और इस फिल्म के माध्यम से वे कौन से कदम उठा रहे हैं जिनसे आज का नौजवान इस लोडफोड की बातों से हटे और सही मानी में जो डेमोक्रेटिक वैल्यू है, सोशलिस्टिक वैल्यू है, जो आज पीसफुल एण्ड आर्डली चैन्स की बात है, वह भावना उनके अन्दर पैदा हो।

आखिर मैं श्रीमन्, मैं खत्म करना हूँ इतनी बात कह कर। मेरी कोई नायत पाल्ट फाईडिंग की है नहीं क्योंकि कोई कितना ही अच्छा काम किया जाए उसके अन्दर भी कमी रहती है और मैं जानता हूँ गुजराल माहब अपने ढंग से सुधार करने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन आज शिकायत इस बात की है कि आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता एक ऐसा वातावरण बनता जा रहा है, इस कन्टी के अन्दर कि डेमोक्रेसी को खत्म किया जाए—फ्रीडम आफ एक्सप्रेशन फ्रीडम आफ स्पीच, फ्रीडम आफ दी प्रेस इसको जितना भी कर्ब कर सके उसके किसी न किसी ढंग से किया जाए—मैं समझता हूँ यह एक खतरनाक चीज है और इसको रोकने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिये।

SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR  
ADIVAREKAR (Maharashtra) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting through its different units function to reach the maximum member of people and despite what other Members feel I think it has made considerable progress with the help of these mass communication media; specially in times of crisis and emergencies it has rendered valuable service.

Sir, I will not go into the working of all the different units but I would like to make my observations restricted to two or three units only.

Firstly, I would like to refer to films. The Films Division is really doing a good job and is painstaking in its endeavours to produce good film, documentaries which cater to Indian as well as foreign audience. But it can do still better as there is enormous scope for improvement. A variety of subjects are selected but the presentation has not much of variations, imagination or originality. So many a time these documentaries fail to capture the interest of the audience and the purpose is lost. In the cities we see the audience leaving the theatre when the documentaries are being screened. Fortunately the interest in short films, cartoons, quickies, etc. is increasing and the Department should

take advantage of it. Another thing is the documentaries produced with the eye to the foreign audience can never be appealing to the tribal and rural audience. Even the urban and the rural audience have different appeal. So the approach should be a separate one if we really intend to give information and education to the illiterate population of our country. At least there are some screening facilities in urban and semi-urban areas but there are none in the rural areas.

Even a mobile van reaches there one or twice in a year. The field publicity department should have more facilities of mobile vans fully equipped to move in the remote areas of the country.

The Central Board of Film Censors examines two to three thousand films every year. It is a well-known fact that by and large the films that are produced are devoid of any aesthetic or artistic taste and it has hardly any social objective to fulfil. They are mostly un-Indian. Sir, the high increase in the premium of violence and sex in our films poses an alarm and not without its social, political and economic consequences. The scenes are in bad taste with a tinge of morbidity and completely out of context. The only justification for it is it draws a larger audience and makes larger profits, which leads to a number of other evils like black money, income-tax evasion, the star system, etc. What we require, Sir, is a bold national film policy, well defined and comprehensive and along with it the conditions of work and employment in this industry must be regulated. There are a number of potentialities in Indian films for earning the much-needed foreign exchange by securing overseas market with a proper policy laid down. There are more than 400 feature films produced every year. With a few exceptions, they are extremely over-romantic, devoid of any real imagination. It has a shoddyscript of time worn subjects, sprinkled with equally silly songs and extremely

naive in its approach. The Film Finance Corporation was formed with the specific idea to finance production of quality films in order to raise the general standard of films, provide clean, healthy and purposeful entertainment and also represent all that is best in our country for the overseas audience. But unfortunately, Sir, the low-budget films and specially those helped by the Film Finance Corporation failed to have the right encouragement. These films are facing a problem—where to screen them? Because of lack of availability of films theatres, the fate of these quality films is nothing but to be repacked into the cans after receiving some praise from here and abroad. But, sir, do you think that it will give a boost to the film movement to produce low-budget movies or will they ever come forward to undertake such a venture? The Ministry will have to give serious thought to starting an art-theatre movement. I know the experience of one theatre at Bombay is not very successful, but it is all the more necessary to make efforts to solve the problems which serve as hurdles. Once it is overcome and a chain of such theatres is established, these films which have excellent production, technical and acting value will no doubt be popular. There is one more point, Sir, to which I would like to draw their attention. It is all the more likely, in order to complete with TV, that our films might incline to be more daring. We have to guard against this danger and so the urgency of popularizing these quality films.

It can also establish some contacts with commercial cinemas and distributors who may have surplus playing time or gaps in the playing time between two big star-cast films. This will take films produced by the Society to a larger audience. Another thing that the Children's Film Society should do is they should attract and encourage good film-makers and directors of renowned fame to produce films for children, as well as for parents, who also need education on children's problems. These directors should be given a free hand to select a suitable story and should be

[Shrimati Sushila Shankar Adivarekar] allowed to handle the rest of it with a condition to finish the film in time and within the stipulated budget. The Society will have to make fresh approaches and leeway to reach the children who are nearly 40 per cent of the population and who are the hopes of tomorrow.

Sir, now I will come to AIR and TV units. AIR has made a marked quantitative expansion in its various activities and more so in regard to programmes. But, Sir, the content and quality of programmes, coupled with poor, unimaginative and indifferent presentation, is the basic criticism against all varieties of programmes, be it classical music, light music, talks, dramas or even a school broadcast. The Chanda Committee in its report has made a number of valuable observations and suggestions for improving the basic character and approach of this most powerful and popular mass media. I hope that they should be implemented fast. We have to depend more now on producing our own programmes, as in the present situation buying them from abroad will have to be curtailed to save the foreign exchange. This puts us to utilise all our resources to develop a self-reliance policy for improving our programmes. AIR rightly claims that because of its encouragement many new amateurs are taking to music. But still AIR has to depend more on mediocre talents for its various programmes. Top-ranking artistes must not be allowed to develop any apathy towards AIR by awarding them good remuneration. It should also establish and maintain contacts with a number of musical schools and music circles for finding trained talents and artistes from the rural areas also should find a place and right encouragement.

The programme of talks, discussions, etc. has its own importance. But they look more like stilted studio discussions which go unnoticed. The survey gives a surprising result that these prestigious talks have hardly 2 per cent of listeners.

There are certain hours reserved for Hindi, Sanskrit and other South Indian language lessons. But no evaluation of

listeners taking advantage of them is taken. These lessons are extremely monotonous and repetitive from one year to other.

The family planning programme has a special consideration in the broadcasting schedule. But the reports are that it too has started lacking in variations and presentation to draw the audience attention.

The Youth programmes both on TV and AIR are good but they cater to and lean more on, western-oriented youths and youths of the University campus. Special programmes for non-student youths will be equally welcomed and appreciated.

Another popular programme is the women's and children's programme. There are over 4800 women listeners' clubs and over 8000 children listeners' clubs. What is the utility of these clubs except that they write letters to the Department? Some participation of these members or a visit to their clubs from the Department will definitely establish a link between the AIR and the listeners.

The audience research survey is meaningless if done without proper resources. So, it is very necessary to provide proper financing so that the survey could help in improving the programmes.

The Vividh Bharati is another immensely popular programme which receives nearly four to five lakhs of letters of request every year. It is a commercial service to earn revenues. There is a fear expressed, Sir, that this popular channel might be overpowered by utilising it for marketing interests and products and promotion of private enterprises. And so, some versatile changes should be made by introducing items of interest in announcements. The Ministry will also have to lay down certain norms to control the advertisement messages; otherwise, the business interest might dominate to the tune of deviating the AIR from its objectives. So, also, in selecting TV films, it appears that the selection of films is more from the big budget films than the quality films. TV could also be utilised for the literacy drive as is done in many other countries.

The staff problem has been left to simmer for an unnecessarily long period. The practice of discrimination between the programme executives and the programme producer staff is not healthy at all. Both are equally important and complementary wings of the AIR. A sarangiwalla or a tabalchi is just like any other executive staff. Housing, promotion and other such facilities should be for all. It seems that the production staff has no promotion. Once he is recruited as drama-voice or drama assistance, he retires as drama-voice without any promotion. The programme staff should have social consciousness and freedom to work if he has to do justice to his assignments and must have proper facilities of reading room, library, separate room for writing, etc. to get better work from them. The Minister should also make it a point to meet the production staff members once in a year at least without the protocol paraphernalia around them so as to really understand the grievances of the staff. The announcement by the Minister for fresh thinking on the subject itself is refreshing.

The delinking of T.V. from A.I.R. is another welcome gesture. I only hope that these decisions will not be tossed around for a longer time. What we need in A.I.R. today is not a change of management but new reforms to meet the new challenges.

**श्री श्याम लाल यादव :** (उत्तरप्रदेश): माननीय उपमहापति जी, सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय के संबंध में चर्चा करते हुए दो, तीन बातों की तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान और मदद का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आज रेडियो की जो महत्ता है और जिस प्रकार से भारतवर्ष जैसे अशिक्षित देश में जहाँ अनपढ़ों और बेपढ़ों की संख्या 70 फीसदी से ज्यादा है, उस देश में रेडियो अथवा टेलीविजन की महत्ता सर्वाधिक है, उसको कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं और यही कारण है कि सरकार भी इन माध्यों का अधिकाधिक सदुपयोग अपने हित में बराबर करने का प्रयत्न करती है आज समाचार

पढ़ने वाले लोगों की मध्याह्न रेडियो सुनने वालों के मुकाबले कम है। एक अनुमान लगाया गया था कि लगभग 180 मिलियन लोगों में जो पढ़े लिखे हैं, 8 मिलियन लोग अखबार खरीदते हैं जब कि रेडियो जो मीडियम वेव पर चलता है उसको सुनने वालों की संख्या 400 मिलियन है। इससे आप आकाशवाणी लगा सकने हैं कि रेडियो की क्या महत्ता है। इस आकाशवाणी के माध्यम से जिस प्रकार से सत्तारूढ़ दल अपना प्रचार करता है और इसका सदुपयोग अपने पक्ष में करता है उस तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. B. Raju in the Chair)]

विशेषकर पिछले चुनाव में और हर चुनाव के अवसर पर, चाहे वह लोक सभा के चुनाव हो या देश के विभिन्न प्रान्तों की विधान सभाओं के चुनाव हों यह देखा जा रहा है कि आकाशवाणी वितरात सत्तारूढ़ दल का प्रचार करती है। अपने समाचार बुलेटिन में और उसके अतिरिक्त विशेष प्रकार के कार्यक्रम बना कर, विशेष प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों के नाम पर सत्तारूढ़ दल के और उस के नेताओं के भाषणों का प्रचार होता है, उन की सभाओं में आये लोगों की मध्याह्न का वर्णन और विशेष कर अगर प्रधान मंत्री जी विरोधी दलों पर जो आक्षेप करती है उसका प्रसार यह आकाशवाणी करती है। सब में दुख की बात तो यह है कि दूसरे लोग जिन पर आरोप लगाया जाता है अगर वह कुछ बयान देते हैं तो आकाशवाणी उसका बहिष्कार करती है और आकाशवाणी पर उनके बयानों को कभी नहीं सुनाया जाता उत्तर प्रदेश में चुनाव हुए। प्रधान मंत्री बराबर वहाँ का दौरा करती थी और दिन भर रेडियो में उनकी समाचार आता था। उसके मुकाबले दूसरे दलों का कोई प्रचार दिन भर किसी बुलेटिन में नहीं आता था। मैं चाहूँगा कि माननीय मंत्री जी मदद को अवगत कराये की इस चुनाव के दौर में कितनी बार विपक्ष दलों के नेताओं के भाषणों के लिए समय दिया गया। मैं केवल एक उदाहरण मदद के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। यह

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

जबाब लोक सभा में श्री धर्मवीर जो ने दिया था कि मितम्बर अक्तूबर 1972 में कांग्रेस वकिंग कमेटी और ए० आई० सी० सी० की बैठकों को कुल दो घंटे 35 मिनट का समय दिया गया और उसी दौरान में कांग्रेस संगठन को 28 मिनट और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का 13.5 मिनट का और कम्युनिस्ट मार्क्सिस्ट को कुल 4 मिनट का समय दिया गया। तो आप देखें कि किस तरह से यह पक्षपात किया जाना है और चुनाव के अवसरों पर तो कांग्रेस और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को छोड़ कर किमी दल का कोई प्रचार नहीं होता, किमी का कोई समाचार नहीं दिया जाता और उन दिनों आकाशवाणी खुलमखुल्ला कांग्रेसी वाणी बन जाती है मान्यवर, यही नहीं आकाशवाणी की एक और परंपरा है कि विरोधी दलों की बातों को मजबूर हो कर जब यह देने है तो उस को तोड़ मरोड़ कर और गलत तरीके से देने हैं। उदाहरणस्वरूप मैं एक बात रखना चाहता हूँ कि अभी हाल में मान्यवर, आप को स्मरण होगा कि मान गैर कम्युनिस्ट विरोधी पक्ष के दलों ने एक विरोधी दल बनाने का प्रयास दिल्ली में किया था। उस में जो दल शरीक नहीं थे उन के बयान निकले और यह निकला कि वे दल उस नये दल में शरीक नहीं होंगे, एक अकाली दल था और एक नयी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी बना है जिसमें डाक्टर हलीम है। वे तो उसमें शरीक भी नहीं थे लेकिन उनका भी नाम दे दिया आपने। तो जो समाचार वास्तविक रूप में देना चाहिए था उसको उचित ढंग में नहीं दिया। तो आखिर इस परम्परा को चलाने हुए आप किस तरह से यह कल्पना करते हैं विपक्षी दल एक आदर्श इसको स्वीकार करेगा। जनसंघ ने मान्यवर इन्हीं बातों में ऊब कर आकाशवाणी का विरोध करने का फैसला किया और अपना विरोध प्रगट किया। बावजूद आकाशवाणी के प्रचार के अभी जो उत्तर प्रदेश के चुनाव हुए, 70 फीसदी जनता ने कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध वोट दिए, मतदान किया। लेकिन चुनावों की जो प्रणाली है, जिस प्रकार में उनमें धांधली हुई उसके परिणाम-स्वरूप अवश्य कांग्रेस को काम-चलाऊ बहुमत

मिला लेकिन हम यह कहना चाहते हैं मान्यवर कि मदन और मदन के बाहर भी बार बार यह मांग की गई कि आकाशवाणी को एक स्वतंत्र निगम के रूप में क्यों नहीं स्थापित किया जा सकता? 1966 में जो चंदा समिति सरकार ने नियुक्ति की थी उसकी सिफारिश आई, उसने सिफारिश की कि हमें एक स्वतंत्र निगम बनाया जाए लेकिन मान्यवर, अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है, सरकार की तरफ से आज तक कोई समुचित, कोई संतोषजनक जवाब नहीं दिया गया कि क्यों उस समिति की सिफारिश को सरकार ने नहीं माना है। केवल एक जवाब है कि सध्या के बल पर समद में जो बहुमत है उसके बल पर उस चंदा समिति की रिपोर्ट को कार्यान्वित नहीं करना चाहते। इसके सिवाय कोई दूसरा जवाब सरकार ने नहीं दिया। अगर, मान्यवर, आकाशवाणी देश के अंदर और विदेशों में अपनी ख्याति को कायम करना चाहता है तो मैं समझता हूँ उसे बी० बी० सी० की तरह एक स्वतंत्र निकाय के रूप में बनाने की जरूरत है। इस बार हमने उत्तर प्रदेश में देखा कि बी० बी० सी० के प्रतिनिधित्व वाले प्रदेश का दौरा कर रहे थे, वे गांव गांव में जाकर लोगों से मिले, विभिन्न दलों के उम्मीदवारों से मिले जो जो, ब्राडकास्ट, जो समाचार, उसने प्रसारित किए हैं वे ज्यादा सही निकले, लोगों को ज्यादा संतुष्ट करने में। आकाशवाणी ने एकपक्षीय समाचार जो प्रसारित किए उन पर जनता को यकीन नहीं रह गया। आज क्यों समाचार सुनने वाले बी० बी० सी० के समाचारों को सुनने के लिए आतुर रहते हैं? अपने देश की राजनीति हो या कहीं और की हो या संकट के समय की कोई विशेष परिस्थिति मुल्क में या मुल्क के बाहर पैदा होती है तो बी० बी० सी० को सुनना इसलिए लोग पसंद करते हैं क्योंकि वह निष्पक्ष तरीके से, व्यापक तौर से, सही समाचार देने का प्रयास करता है, जब कि आकाशवाणी केवल कुछ बातों में परागत है—किमी न किमी रूप में सत्ताधारी दल की तमबीर को बढ़ाया जाए और विपक्षी दल के अधिकारों की कोई पूर्वाह्न न करके उनकी तस्वीर को उनके कार्यक्रमों को कहीं प्रसारित न किया

जाए। इससे विपक्ष दल कमजोर होता है और मान्यवर, जब विपक्षी दल देश में कमजोर होगा तो जनतंत्र के ऊपर उसी प्रकार के हमले होंगे जिम प्रकार गुजरात और बिहार में घटनाएँ हुई हैं। अगर हिंसा होती है तो उसकी जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस सरकार के ऊपर आ जाती है। विपक्षी दलों को विकसित होने का ये अवसर नहीं देना चाहते।

मान्यवर, चुनाव नतीजे जो आम तौर पर निकलते हैं वे भी बहुत गलत होते हैं। जहाँ पर बिरोधी दल के लोग थे, उनका नतीजा निकला नहीं उनको पहले ही हरा दिया गया। उसमें जो सबसे महत्वपूर्ण मूचना प्रसारित की थी आकाशवाणी ने मान्यवर, वह थी श्री चन्द्र भान गुप्त के चुनाव के मिलमिले में उनका चुनाव नतीजा निकला नहीं था और दोपहर के बाद में ही आकाशवाणी समाचार देने लगा कि श्री चन्द्रभान गुप्त हार गए। बाद में दूसरे दिन जाकर उन्होंने उसका परिमार्जन किया। उसी पर मान्यवर, कहना चाहता हूँ कि कानपुर में कांग्रेस के श्री देवी राम के हारने की खबर बागणसी में हमको 12 बजे मिल गई लेकिन आल इंडिया रेडियो ने, आकाशवाणी ने, दूसरे दिन सुबह में पहले उसे प्रसारित नहीं किया। तो क्यों ऐसा हुआ ? जब हमारे नेता श्री चरण सिंह पहले दिन शाम को विजयी हो रहे थे, 10-15 हजार वोटों से आगे बढ़ रहे थे, तब आकाशवाणी ने दूसरे दिन सुबह तक इस बात को नहीं कहा। तो क्यों पक्षपात आप करते हैं ? श्री गुजराल ने इस बात का जवाब एक बार दिया है—चूँकि सरकार के हित में है सरकार की नीतियों का प्रचार करना, प्रसार करना, प्रतिपादन करना, उसका कार्य है जनता के प्रति आकर्षण पैदा करना। आप कीजिये, सरकार की नीतियों और सरकार के कार्यक्रमों को प्रसारित कीजिए, सरकार में भावना पैदा कीजिए, हमें इस पर पेंतराज नहीं है लेकिन मान्यवर, इस प्रकार से आकाशवाणी का दुरुपयोग राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोण से राजनैतिक लाभ के लिए आप क्यों करते हैं ?

आप अपने विपक्षियों के लिए, उनका समय क्यों नहीं देते ? इलेक्शन कमीशन ने, चुनाव आयोग ने बहुत पहले यह सुझाव सरकार के सामने रखा कि सभी विरोधी दलों को, सभी राजनैतिक दलों को समान अवसर दिया जाए आकाशवाणी पर। लेकिन मान्यवर, प्रधानमंत्री के पास जब यह विभाग था उन्होंने साफ तौर से इसका इन्कार किया, गुजराल साहब ने भी इन्कार किया और कहते हैं सभी दलों को समान रूप से आकाशवाणी पर समय नहीं दिया जाएगा। इसको न मानने वाला कोई दल है तो कांग्रेस पार्टी है। दूसरे सारे दल इस बात से सहमत हैं लेकिन कांग्रेस पार्टी इस एकाधिपत्य के अधिकार को नहीं खाना चाहती। आकाशवाणी का वह पूर्ण रूप से कांग्रेस-वाणी की तरह उपयोग करती है। उस पर या दूरदर्शन पर बोलने के लिए, जिनको आप बुलाते हैं वे वही लोग होते हैं जो या तो साम्यवादी विचारधारा के होते हैं या वे लोग होते हैं जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के समर्थक हैं। निष्पक्ष लोग, चाहे वे पत्रकार हों, चाहे सार्वजनिक जीवन के कार्यकर्ता हों, विश्वविद्यालयों के प्रोफेसर हों उनको नहीं बुलाया जाता। उनका केवल एकमात्र मापदण्ड है कि या तो वे साम्यवादी विचारधारा के लोग हों या मत्तारूढ़ दल के समर्थक हों। ऐसे लोग रेडियो या टेलीविजन पर बुलाए जाते हैं। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में या हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों में ऐसे विद्वान नहीं हैं जो आज के सामयिक विषयों पर सही आंकलन प्रस्तुत न कर सकें। वे इसलिए नहीं बुलाए जाते हैं क्योंकि आप उन्हीं को पसन्द करते हैं जो आपकी विचारधारा के हों। वह देश के हित में हो या न हो, इसकी चिन्ता आप को नहीं है।

मान्यवर, मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि आकाशवाणी को अगर आप स्वतंत्र निगम बनाएँ और उसका बॉर्डर आफ डाइरेक्टर्स बनाएं तो वह मोटे तौर से नीतियों का निर्धारण कर सकता है और जो आपके प्रशासकीय अधिकारी हों, डाइरेक्टर जनरल हों, मुख्य कार्यकारी अधिकारी हों, वे उसे कार्यान्वित कर सकते हैं। सरकार भी समय-सम



[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

पर उसे निर्देश दे सकती है। ऐसे लोग हममें ग्वे जा सकते हैं जो मार्वाजनिक क्षेत्र के व्यक्ति हो, विचारक हों, कलाकार हों, प्रमुख गायक हो और जिनकी निष्पक्षता पर सामान्य लोगों को भी विश्वास हो। अगर ऐसे लोगों के द्वारा आकाशवाणी का संचालन हो तो हम समझते हैं कि आकाशवाणी निष्पक्ष तरीके से जनतंत्र की सेवा कर सकेगी, वरना यह आकाशवाणी सर्वसत्ता-सम्पन्न सरकार की एक दूकान भी हो गई है, जो बन्द है और जिसमें बाहर से कोई जा नहीं सकता।

इसके अनतिरिक्त मैं दूरदर्शन के सम्बन्ध में एक ही बात निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। गुजराल जी टेलीविजन के कार्यक्रम को जो बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और पाचवी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्दर जितना धन व्यय करना चाहते हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि उसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमारे जैसे गरीब देश में, जहाँ पर लोगों को दोनो वक्त भरपेट भोजन भी नहीं मिलता, वहाँ टेलीविजन की आवश्यकता नहीं है। समाज का जो साधन-सम्पन्न वर्ग है, जो सबसे ऊँचा वर्ग है, धनी वर्ग है, टेलीविजन उनके भोग-विलास की वस्तु है, वही उसको रख सकते हैं और उसका लाभ उठा सकते हैं। साधारण जनता, नंगी-भूखी जनता टेलीविजन का कोई फायदा नहीं उठा सकती। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर टेलीविजन कर बीस वर्ष तक न बढ़ाया जाय, उस पर धन न लगाया जाय तो न तो देश का विकास हो सकता है, न उत्पादन घट सकता है, न देश में किसी प्रकार की कमी हो सकती है। जब घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था चल रही है, मुद्रास्फीति चल रही है इस तरह का जो अनुत्पादक व्यय है उसे बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यह विलास के लिए है। इस पर तस्वीरें देखा करिए, सरकार का प्रचार सुना करिए। इसके अलावा इस देश में टेलीविजन का कोई औचित्य नहीं है, न सरकार ने ही बताया है कि इसका औचित्य क्या है और क्यों यह लाभप्रद है।

(Time bell rings)

श्रीमन, मैं दो बातों की और ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। समाचार पत्रों के सिलसिले में

अखबारी कागज की कमी है, लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि इसके वितरण में सरकार पक्षपात कर रही है। जो समाचार पत्र सरकार के समर्थक हैं उन समाचार पत्रों को वह अधिक अखबारी कागज देती है। दूर जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। जितने अखबार छपते हैं उनके पृष्ठों को देखने में पता चल जाता है कि किस अखबार को आपने ज्यादा दिया है, किसको कम दिया है। मैं उन अखबारों का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन अखबारी कागज बांटने में सरकार पक्षपात करती है। इसमें छोटे अखबारों की विशेष अवहेलना होती है। इस मिलमिल में मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे बाराणसी में एक 'जनवार्ता' दैनिक अखबार निकलता है। मान्यवर, मुझे यह कहने में मकोच नहीं कि उसका जो अप्रलेख होता है हिन्दुस्तान की पत्रकारिता में वह आज भी महत्व का स्थान रखता है। वह लेख ऐसा है जैसा अप्रलेख पहले हिन्दी जगत में बालकवि लिखा करते थे। उस अखबार की सरकार ने घोर उपेक्षा करदी है। यह एम० टी०सी० है, यहाँ के आदमी उसको परेशान करने रहते हैं। ये परमिट नहीं देते उस अखबार को और कलकत्ता में दिल्ली उनकी आदमी दौड़ते रह जाते हैं तो हम चीज को आप दूर करें, इस प्रकार से उसके साथ पक्षपात न करें।

विज्ञापन की भी यही स्थिति हो गई। जो समाचार पत्र सरकार की चापलूसी करते हैं उनको विज्ञापन देने हैं। जो उनसे बहुत दूर हैं उनको विज्ञापन नहीं देने हैं। सर्वलाइट और प्रदीप पर जो हमला हुआ उसकी सर्वत निन्दा हुई, लेकिन सरकार का यह कर्तव्य है कि इसकी जाँच कराती कि कौन जिम्मेदार है। यह बात साफ तौर से साफ हो जाती है कि जिन लोगों के विरुद्ध उनकी बातें पड़ती थीं, जिनके विरुद्ध उनके अप्रलेख पड़ने थे वे ही लोग उस पर आक्रमण किये, वे ही उनके जिम्मेदार हैं। लेकिन चूँकि सरकार से उनकी दोस्ती है इस लिए सरकार उसकी छिपाता चाहती है, उनको प्रकट करना नहीं चाहती जब कि सर्वलाइट और प्रदीप ने स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि कौन है।

गुजराल जी ने जो बायदा किया, जैसा तबलकिशोर जी कह रहे थे कि उसको आपने विज्ञापन देना भी बन्द कर दिया, एक तो उसका प्रेस जला दिया जाये और दूसरी तरफ जो विज्ञापन दिये जाने हैं उसको भी बन्द कर दिया जाए तो इसका अर्थ है कि हर प्रकार से उसको बन्द करने की कोशिश की जा रही है।

अन्तिम बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि समाचार पत्रों के स्वामित्व को डिलिक करने और डिफ्यूजन करने की चर्चा चलती है, इसका मतलब यह होता है कि जो कुछ समाचार पत्र हैं वह सभी दोषी हैं। यह ठीक है कि कुछ में दोष हो सकते हैं, कुछ में दोष भी है लेकिन ऐसा है कि समाचार पत्र के लोग शहरी में रहते हैं, लिखने वाले लोग भी ऐसे सैक्शन के होते हैं जो गांव के गरीबों और किसानों की बातें लिखना पसन्द नहीं करते। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं होता कि उन समाचार पत्रों का एकाधिकार सरकार के हाथ में आजाए। डिलिक का यही मतलब समझ में आता है कि सरकार यह चाहती है कि कोई समाचार पत्र स्वतंत्र रूप से न चल सके और पूरे अधिकार जिस प्रकार आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन के सरकार के हाथ में हैं, उसी तरीके से देश के समाचार पत्र भी सरकार के हाथों में आ जायें। तब इस देश में समाचार पत्रों की स्वतंत्रता कैसे रह सकेगी? मिसाल केम्पनिस्ट देशों में जिनमें रेडियो और टेलीविजन तथा सारे समाचार पत्र सरकार के हाथ में होते हैं, किसी भी लोकतांत्रिक देश में इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था नहीं है। हम समझते हैं कि सरकार को इस बात पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए अन्यथा देश में फिर वही हिंसा का वातावरण रहेगा और लोग इससे ऊबेंगे और उस तरफ देश को आगे न बढ़ने दें, यह सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है।

**SHRI NABIN CHANDRA BURAGOHAIN (Assam):** Honourable Vice-Chairman, the country is facing a great catastrophe during its life since Independence. The country faces the agitated minds of the youths. The youths are too

much agitated whenever they find that their representatives in the democratic set up are not acting according to their expectation. They find rampant inefficiency and corruption in every field and on many occasions at the connivance of the ruling authorities. They see a dark and bleak future. Some doubts appear in their minds as to whether this process of democracy can be able to deliver goods for the achievement of their goal wedded with democratic socialism. Therefore the force of the youths in the country is not having balance now. They are losing faith in the leadership.

In such a situation of dilemma, on many occasions, Sir, the youth force is exploited by the reactionary forces in the country to achieve their ulterior objectives. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri reminded us of the arson committed in the office of "The Searchlight" and "The Pradeep". It is really a sorrowful affair that the people who have been running after democracy have been causing destruction to the media of democracy. Therefore, the main problem now is to see how to cool the minds of the agitated youth, how to bring back their lost faith in the present system of democracy and how to meet the challenge of the forces of destruction and violence trying to pull down the democratic structure of the society. At this catastrophic moment, there is a great need for reshaping the minds of the youth and for bringing back hopes to them for the success of democratic socialism and for convincing them that the present violent agitations will not and cannot lead them to democratic socialism. Therefore, in this particular critical moment, the responsibility for bringing back the agitated minds of the youth to a peaceful and normal state falls to a great extent on the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. The programmes for the youth, the "Yuva Vani", are thoughtful innovations to meet the needs of the youth and the present programmes are to be reoriented to include the talks of the national leaders, suitable dramas and

[Shri Nabin Chandra Buragohain.] proper other items which can create a good impact on the agitated young minds. The reoriented "Yuva Vani" programmes should cover all the radio stations, and should be in the regional languages also, apart from Delhi, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Jammu. I hope the Ministry will realise the gravity of the situation and take immediate steps in this respect.

As a great help to the development of the different cultures of the nation, the radio stations should be encouraged to give importance to projecting the different cultural aspects of life and also of religion. Now, Sir, the Gauhati radio station is not enough for the whole of Assam and the neighbouring regions. There should be a radio station at Jorhat which is regarded as the cultural capital of Assam. Majuli, which is the largest fresh water island and which is the religious capital of Assam and which is known for its shastriya dances and dramas stands at the door-step of the town of Jorhat and it deserves the attention of the Song & Drama Division of the Ministry. As a great help to the easy growth of the nation in all spheres, the radio stations are to be increased for giving opportunities in growth and exhibition of the different cultures of the nation. The personnel working in the Information & Broadcasting Ministry must have experience and knowledge of all the regions of India. Therefore, the personnel working in the State Information & Publicity Departments should be taken into the various offices of the Ministry on deputation and the officials of the Ministry might be deputed to the State Governments for the benefit of the regions, I respectfully differ from the opinion expressed by Shri Shyam Lal Yadav. He has rather not realised the necessity of the service of television in a backward country like India. Television is an audio-visual medium and influences the mind in a better manner. Therefore, the whole country should be covered by the television programmes as early as possible. The commissioning of the television centres at

Delhi, Bombay, Srinagar, Amritsar and Poona during the Fourth Plan period gives rise to the feeling that the rural masses and others who need the television services the most are neglected. Therefore, there should be arrangements for setting up television centres in all the rural areas whose benefits may reach unto the last.

Sir, the country is facing a newsprint crisis. Small regional newspapers have been experiencing great difficulties on account of this shortage. Therefore, such newspapers should have special aid and encouragement from the Ministry. The newsprint distribution should not only be based on the number of circulation of a newspaper, but also, I think, on the outlook of the paper concerned and this should also be taken into consideration.

I submit that the newspapers trying for the propagation of democratic socialism must get preference in respect of getting newsprint quota.

Lastly, Sir, my question is: Have the films shown in our cinema houses been contributing to the present uneasiness of the younger generation in the country? In this respect, I am one with our esteemed friend, Shri Nawal Kishore. My answer is: to a great extent—yes. Therefore, the Film Censor Board which has given green signal to a large number of unhealthy pictures, has done great disservice to the country. I am sure that these rotten films have created enough impact on the young generation. We must put a stop to exhibition of films which concentrate on sex appeal in the theme for earning money only. I hope that the hon. Minister in charge of Information and Broadcasting will realise the need of the time and take steps for constituting the Film Censor Board with persons who can appreciate Indian morality, culture, tradition, etc. best. Thanks.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal): Sir, the Report of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting states that "the country is in the throes of

a serious newsprint shortage. The shortage is not peculiar to India; it is a global phenomenon." Then it says, "India had planned to import a little over 2,00,000 tonnes this year against a demand of about 2,40,000 tonnes, which itself was based on restrained consumption. But contracts could be entered into only for about 1,26,700 tonnes. Availability from Nepa Mills was about 40,000 tonnes." Sir, I would like to know why the contracts could not be entered into up to the extent of the planned quantity of 200,000 tonnes. Why was this shortfall? Who was responsible for entering into these contracts?

Then the Report says, "To make matters worse, even the quantities contracted for have not been shipped according to schedule. As against 71,000 tonnes of newsprint that should have moved into the country by the end of 1973, actual shipments do not amount to more than 53,000 tonnes. With dwindling stocks at home and short supplies from abroad, an already difficult situation has become grave." Now, Sir, I would like to know who is responsible to arrange for the shipments? Did the contract have a penalty clause? If the foreign suppliers are at fault, then the Government could have taken certain steps. Nobody knows what the nature of these contracts was. Sir, I would like to know whether we were paying for the newsprint or, as usual, the Government of India was depending on foreign charities. It is very strange that the contracted shipments could not be delivered.

Sir, I would like to say that the details of these contracts should be laid before the Parliament so that people may know what kind of business acumen and activity the Government officers abroad are engaged in. It is also strange that India's requirements being only .02 per cent of the total world supply of newsprint, the supply could not be maintained. The quantity required by India being so small, why was it that the supply could not be maintained either by importing from the friendly countries like Bangladesh and other

East-European countries or by stepping up production well ahead in time? I am quite sure that the Government would not say today that it was ignorant of this so-called world-wide shortage of newsprint which was in the offing. I think, Sir, that this shortage was deliberately created by the Government with a particular political objective in view.

Sir, Government has imposed a 30 per cent cut in the newsprint quota. There is good reason to suppose that this has been done deliberately with the object of pressurising the press barons, the owners of the monopoly houses—who also control the big press in India—for the political objectives of the ruling party. Otherwise, Sir, the small newsprint requirement could be easily maintained.

Sir, the monopoly houses control big newspapers and the Government of India controls them by giving them very huge sums of money by way of advertisements and because of this policy the views of the opposition parties do not find any place in the newspapers of the big press. Only the activities of the ruling party and of Ministers are magnified in the press, in the big press, and opposition criticisms are all stifled as far as possible. Even Parliamentary debates get very little space in big press today.

Then, Sir, it is well-known that there are big newspapers in India whose actual circulation is much less than the newsprint quota allotted to them. This is a method by which Government blackmails the press into submission. Some pro-Syndicate papers over night became—I would not like to mention their name—to everybody's knowledge they became pro-ruling Congress because some of them were caught but later released on charges of selling newsprint in black-market. Obviously, they had newsprint in excess of their quota. If they cannot be blackmailed into submission then advertisements are stopped. If the stoppage of advertisements does not produce any results, Government has

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clearly given a hint that the papers will be burnt down outright as happened in the case of *Searchlight*—unless the big press broadly agrees to toe the Government line.

Then, Sir, I would like to mention about the All India Radio. This All India Radio has been made a party organ by the ruling Congress. Day in and day out all the speeches and sermons of the members of the ruling Congress and Ministers are given publicity by the All India Radio, whereas the opposition criticisms do not find any place. In fact, even the debates of the Rajya Sabha get very little coverage over the All India Radio. Two of our esteemed colleagues here, Mr. Niren Ghosh and Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti, wrote letters about 15 days back to the All India Radio complaining about this matter. But, their letters were not even acknowledged uptil now.

Sir, the utterances of Congress leaders of various levels, including those of the District level, are given publicity by the All India Radio even if these utterances are made in the course of their own party meetings. But the reports of big rallies and meetings organised by opposition parties are not given any publicity by the All India Radio, even if requests are made to that effect.

Sir, the very profound pronouncement of the Prime Minister as to the impropriety of attempting to dislodge an elected Ministry by agitational method is quoted by All India Radio daily as if they are reciting from scriptures. But, this All India Radio never mentions the comments of the opposition parties which are made every day that this very Prime Minister set the example, when she was the President of the Congress, as it was at her instance that the Congress Party by violent agitational methods dislodged the Nambudripad Ministry at Kerala in 1959 and this set the first example in this direction.

When there was the United Front Government in West Bengal the Labour Minister at that time, Mr. Subodh Banerjee, wanted to deliver a speech over the

Radio. The script was censored by the All India Radio and he was not allowed to speak because there were certain criticisms of the Congress policies but since 1972 every month the Chief Minister of West Bengal in a routine fashion goes on slandering the Opposition and the United Front Government for all the maladies of West Bengal from the Calcutta station of the All India Radio without any objection from any quarter. Sir, I would say that there is no norm nor any decency in the Administration of All India Radio. The recommendation of the Chanda Committee that the All India Radio should be converted into an autonomous body has been virtually rejected by the Government. I would say that if this Government wishes to keep up even a facade of democracy they should at least call a conference of the leaders of the opposition parties and agree to a code of conduct which the All India Radio should follow in broadcasting news and matters of political interest. But of course it is asking too much of them. I can anticipate that the hon. Minister will say that in the All India Radio the names of the Opposition Members of Parliament are mentioned many more times than the names of Congress Members. There are reasons for that but in any event the names do not matter. The view points which really matter are suppressed. Sir, I remember about two years back in a maiden meeting which was held at Calcutta—a public meeting addressed by the Prime Minister—a commentator described her as the Goddess Jagaddhadri mounting the rostrum. This is what goes on.

Now, Sir, I come to films. There have been serious charges of smuggling of Indian films abroad by no less a person than the ex-Chairman of the Indian Motion Pictures Export Corporation. Obviously the people who smuggle out Indian films which have a very wide market in foreign countries, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, make a lot of foreign exchange. Is it possible that this systematic business is going on without the connivance of certain high officials? Sir, the other day, I think

on the 29th March, the hon. Minister assured the Lok Sabha that he will refer the matter of the export of two prints of the film Bobby out of India. I hope by this time the matter has been referred and investigation has progressed. The results if any obtained by this time should be given by the hon. Minister to this House.

Sir, there was a promise by the Government about two years back that a legislation would be introduced for regulating the working condition of the workers in the film industry. Uptil now no appropriate steps have been taken in that direction. I would request the hon. Minister to kindly see that such a legislation is introduced without any delay so that the condition of the workers in the film industry particularly those in the cinema houses and the studios—the technicians there—are properly regulated.

Sir, certain smugglers have been trying to take over the management, control and ownership of the Metro Cinema in Calcutta. The hon. Minister was quite sympathetic about the viewpoint of the workers who had been resisting this for quite a long time. I would request him to take steps to see that Metro Cinema in Calcutta is quickly taken over by the Government or if it is not possible to find out some way so that the workers on a co-operative basis can run this cinema house with government assistance.

Then, Sir, I would say that the staff artists of All India Radio are very poorly paid, considering their talent. In the matter of selection of contract artists in various radio stations, particularly at Calcutta, there are a number of malpractices. Certain people are in charge of selecting artists who themselves run music schools and things like that and they give preference to their own nominees. This system should be changed. About the staff artists who are very lowly paid, insult is added to injury by the Government by inducting contract artists on much better emoluments than are paid to the staff artists. I would like the Minister to look

into this matter and do something which would redress the grievances of the staff artists.

Lastly, I would like to point out certain aspects of corruption in the Publications Division. In the 110th Report as well as in the 76th Report of the Public Accounts Committee, the PAC has expressed surprise at the dilatory tactics adopted by the Department in taking proper steps in respect of certain cases of theft, removal of files and destruction of documents. I will read from page 58 of the PAC's Report for 1973-74 :—

"The Committee are unhappy to note that certain publications of the Publications Division 'Picture Post Cards' and 'Hand Book of India' worth Rs. 80,581 were found short in the physical verification conducted in 1967. Copies of Picture Post Cards and certain other publications were later on found on sale with a private firm of Jaipur who were not the authorised agents."

On the 17th December, 1973 the Ministry informed the PAC that the CBI enquiry has confirmed the sale of the said publications and picture post cards to unauthorised agents in Jaipur. As suggested by them, further investigation to fix responsibility for pilferage and clandestine sale of the publications etc. was being processed in consultation with the Central Vigilance Commission. In this connection, the Committee has stated at page 9 :—

"The Committee had taken a serious view of the loss of files containing the physical verification reports relating to the years 1967 and 1969 and desired that a thorough investigation be made with a view to fixing responsibility. The files are still stated to be not traceable. The Committee would, therefore, like to reiterate that responsibility should be fixed for the loss under intimation to them."

This recommendation was also there in their previous Report. Year after year since 1966 the Ministry is sleeping over

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it. They are not yet able to trace the files or to fix responsibility. Somewhere it has been stated that two clerks were responsible primarily for this. I do not think that it is a mere question of two clerks being responsible. There must be certain officers who are also responsible for shielding whom all these dilatory tactics are being adopted. I would request the Minister himself to take all care to see that such a thing does not happen and in any event this particular incident may be investigated properly and dealt with firmly at the quickest possible time.

Thank you.

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत (राजस्थान) :** उपमहाध्याक्ष महोदय, आज जिम मिनिस्ट्री के ऊपर हम वाद-विवाद कर रहे हैं, मैं अपना ध्यान सबसे ज्यादा इस मिनिस्ट्री को देती हूँ और वह इसलिए देती हूँ कि माम-मोडिया के माधन जो इस मिनिस्ट्री के पाम है, जन-साधारण तक पहुँचने की शक्ति इस मिनिस्ट्री के पाम है और जिसके द्वारा जन-साधारण के विचारों में न जाने क्या-क्या परिवर्तन लाया जा सकता है। इस मिनिस्ट्री के द्वारा अगर यह मिनिस्ट्री चाहे तो हमारी जनता की विचार-धाराओं में एक बड़ा परिवर्तन लाया जा सकता है। निनेमा की हीरोइन का डायलोग, रेडियो पर आई हुई एक टाक, टेलीविजन पर आया हुआ एक सीन, अखबार के ऊपर आई हुई एक मुख्बी न जाने किनने लोगों को किस तरह के परिवर्तन में डालती है, उनके जीवन में न जाने एक भयंकर से भयंकर और उत्तम परिवर्तन ला सकती है। आपके विभाग में एक ताकत है। इसलिए मैं इसको बहुत ही महत्व देती हूँ। लेकिन उपमहापति महोदय, अभी जो वाद-विवाद इसके ऊपर हुआ, एक तरह का कटाक्ष किया गया, वह शायद इसलिए किया गया कि हमारे आल इंडिया रेडियो की जो ट्रेडिशन है वह पूरे के पूरे ब्रिटिश वक्त की है। उनका नजरिया सोचने का उसी वक्त का रहता है, उनके काम करने का तरीका भी उसी विरासन से आया है। आज हमें जरूरत है कि आज जब देश में टेलीविजन का एक नेट वर्क होने जा रहा है,

आज जबकि रेडियो कोने-कोने में पहुँच गया है तो हमें एक नये ढंग का अपना नजरिया बनाना होगा। आज यह चीज केवल गनिकेशन के लिए ही नहीं है। यह आज एजुकेशन का माध्यम है और यह जनता द्वारा देश को बनाने का एक साधन है। तो आज हमारा तरीका ऐसा होना चाहिए कि जो उन से अलग हो, जो पुराने व्योरोक्सेसी के जाल में फंसे हुए हैं, उनको उस जाल से बाहर निकाल दिया जाय। एक कलाकार को बंधनों में नहीं जकड़ना चाहिये। आप एक कलाकार को सीमाओं में बांध कर नहीं रख सकते। यदि कलाकार को जकड़ कर रखा जाता है तो उसमें एक घुटन आ जाती है और उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि चार मंजिल से कूद कर कलाकार मर जाता है। इस बारे में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूँगी कि आप इस रेडियो और टेलीविजन में एक इमैजिनेशन दीजिए और पुराने धिमे पिटे तरीको पर न चलिये। रेडियो और टेलीविजन को शहर के लोगों की संपदा न समझिये, इसको संपन्न लोगों की रिक्रि-एशन की चीज ही न समझिये। हम को इसको गांव-गांव में लगाना है ताकि यह गांव की झोपड़ियों में और पहाड़ों के कोनो तक पहुँच सके और हम वहाँ के लोगों को भी अपना संदेश दे सकें और ऐसा करके हम उनको नये हिन्दुस्तान की आत्मा की आवाज दे सकें, यह कोशिश हमको करनी है।

अभी इस पर विवाद करते हुए हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी ने कुछ बातें रखी। उनके बारे में मैं कुछ निवेदन करना चाहूँगी। प्रकाशवीर जी ने यह कहा, जैसा कि प्रायः उधर से कहा जाता है शायद उन्होंने इंदिरा रेडियो का शब्द तो उपयोग नहीं किया है, लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि सरकार जैसे चाहती है इसका उपयोग करती है, यह सरकार की आवाज है।

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** 'इंदिरा रेडियो' मैंने नहीं कहा।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत :** मैंने कहा कि आपने यह शब्द नहीं कहा।

**श्री राजनारायण :** यह शब्द मेरा है, मैंने हमेशा कहा है।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत :** मैंने कहा कि यह आपने आज नहीं कहा। उन्होंने कहा कि यह सरकार की आवाज है ..

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं आज इसको इंदिरा रेडियो ही कहता हूँ। मैंने इसी सदन में चार पांच साल पहले इसको आल इंदिरा रेडियो का नाम दिया था और आज भी मैं इसी पर दृढ़ हूँ कि यह आज भी आल इंदिरा रेडियो है। यदि आप मौका दीजिए तो मैं एक-एक कर बता दूंगा कि यह तानाशाही है, यह फैसिज्म है।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत :** माननीय सदस्य के बोलने की बारी आये तो वह अपनी बात कहे अभी मैं बोल रही हूँ। मेरी बात के बीच में आप दखल मत दें। तो उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा देश के दुर्भाग्य से मुझे आल इंडिया रेडियो में उसके विपरीत नजर आता है। जो हमारी घोषित नीतियां हैं, उनके विरुद्ध रेडियो में स्वर सुनाई देते हैं। उसमें से रिएक्शनरी आवाज आती है...

**श्री राजनारायण :** इंदिरा जी रिएक्शनरी है ही।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत :** ऐसे एक नहीं अनेक उदाहरण मैं दे सकती हूँ। टेलीविजन में एक टाक दी गयी जिसमें आल इंडिया फूड ग्रैन एसोशियेशन के एक सेक्रेटरी थे उनकी टाक थी और उन्होंने जिस ढंग से टेलीविजन पर बात चीन की उसे देख कर सुन कर दुःख होता है। उन्होंने कहा कि अनाज पर रेस्ट्रिक्शन लगाने से स्मगलिंग हुई है और उसे समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए। रेडियो और टेलीविजन पर जिन लोगों ने आज देश में मंहगाई करके स्मगलिंग कर के अन्न के लिए हमारे बच्चों को मोहताज कर दिया, उनको टाक देने के लिए बुलाया जाता है, उनको हमारी घोषित नीतियों के विरुद्ध बान करने के लिए मौका दिया जाता है। ऐसी टाक देख कर आम आदमी का खून खौलने लगता है। एक तो यह कि रेडियो किसी तरह की बातें प्रसारित करता है, दूसरे मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी ने जवाहर लाल नेहरू युनिवर्सिटी के मेम्बरो की एक लम्बी लिस्ट दी

इसके साथ-साथ उनकी नजर ऐसे लोगों की लिस्ट के ऊपर नहीं गई जो उनसे भी ज्यादा हैं जो बड़े-बड़े अखबारों में काम करने वाले हैं और जो हमेशा इजारेदारों के पक्ष में बोलने वाले हैं। उनकी लिस्ट इन लोगों की लिस्ट से भी लम्बी है, लेकिन अफसोस है कि आपकी नजर उस लिस्ट पर नहीं गई।

तीसरी बात उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहती हूँ श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी के एक शब्द के ऊपर एक सेटेन्स के ऊपर मुझे बड़ा मानसिक धक्का लगा। आपने जो 'नमस्ते' और 'नमस्कार' की डेफिनिशन दी उसे सुनकर मैं चकित रह गई। 'नमस्ते' और 'नमस्कार' को लेकर उन्होंने ब्राह्मण को ऊंचा बनाया और नान-ब्राह्मण को नीचा। इस प्रकार की कुछ बात आपने कही है। आल-इंडिया रेडियो में तो यह साजिश है या नहीं पर मुझे आज पता चला है कि हमारे कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टियों के लीडर ऐसे हैं, जिनके दिमाग में यह साजिश जरूर है। अभी तक तो मैं समझती थी कि इनके दिमाग में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम का झगड़ा है पर आज पता चला कि ब्राह्मण और अब्राह्मण तक का झगड़ा है। मंत्री जी आपका विभाग ठीक ढंग से होता तो आज ब्राह्मण अब्राह्मण की बात कहने की इस हाउम में हिम्मत नहीं होती...

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** मैं नहीं चाहता था कि इनके बीच में बाधा डालूँ, लेकिन जब इन्होंने मेरी बात को ठीक प्रकार से नहीं लिया है तो मैं स्पष्टीकरण देना उचित समझता हूँ। यह 'पुराण' में व्यवस्था है कि जब ब्राह्मण ब्राह्मण को मिले तो नमस्ते करे और जब ब्राह्मण अब्राह्मण को मिले तो नमस्कार करे। क्योंकि 'नमस्कार' का कोई अर्थ नहीं होता है और 'नमस्ते' का अर्थ है, मैं तुम्हारा अभिवादन करता हूँ। यह जो समाज में कुप्रथा चल रही है इसको मिटाना चाहिए। मैं नहीं समझता था कि रूलिंग पार्टी की तरफ से भी उसकी ऐसी बात उठेगी। हिमायत होगी।

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत :** सलाम, दुआ, राम-राम सब ठीक है।



[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चुंडावन]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगली बात जो प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी ने कही है कि 'आल इंडिया रेडियो' से विदेशी जो समाचार आते हैं, वे नहीं आने चाहिए। तो आप विदेशी समाचारों को रोक कर देश को बुर्के में ढक कर रखना चाहते हैं, वह नहीं चलेगा। हां, हमारी कोई स्वतंत्र इंटरनेशनल न्यूज एजेंसी नहीं है। हमें ब्रिटिश डिप्लोमेसी के राइटर, न्यूज एजेंसी के ऊपर मोहताज रहना पड़ता है। मैं निवेदन करूंगी कि आप अपनी इंटरनेशनल न्यूज एजेंसी कायम करें या दुनिया की जो दूसरी प्रोप्रीएटिव कंट्रीज हैं, उनके साथ मिल कर जो ठीक समझें, तय करें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं रेडियो के काम के बारे में दो-चार शब्द कहना चाहती हूं। आल इंडिया रेडियो से मेरा आज का नहीं पुराना सम्बन्ध है। सन् 1953 से मैं बराबर जयपुर रेडियो पर बोलती रही हूं। मुझे वहां कई दफा बोलने का मौका मिला। लेकिन एक बार मैं जरूर कहना चाहूंगी कि चाहे वह क्लासिकल म्यूजिक हो, चाहे सेमी क्लासिकल म्यूजिक हो इनका आर्काइव में जो संग्रह है वह संख्या में बहुत कम है। यानी जितना होना चाहिए, उतना आर्काइव में नहीं है।

मैं इतना जरूर कहूंगी कि फोक म्यूजिक को लेकर 'आल इंडिया रेडियो' ने कुछ काम किया है, लेकिन जो असल फोक म्यूजिक है उसको नहीं ले पा रहे हैं और जो स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट है उनके बनाए हुए अधिकतर लोक गीत पेश कर रहे हैं। मेरा कहना है कि जो ओरिजनल फोक म्यूजिक है उसकी तरफ ध्यान दे। राजस्थान इस तरह के म्यूजिक में चाहे वह क्लासिकल म्यूजिक हो या सेमी-क्लासिकल म्यूजिक हो, अपना एक विशेष स्थान रखता है, लेकिन उसका आर्काइव में टेप-रिकार्डिंग बहुत कम है। मैं इस बारे में जयपुर रेडियो के डायरेक्टर से, यहां के जनरल डायरेक्टर से कई बार मिल चुकी हूं कि वहां के सेमी क्लासिकल म्यूजिक के टेप उनके आर्काइव में बहुत कम हैं, उनकी संख्या को बढ़ाया जाए। उन्होंने तीन दफा वायदा किया, उन्होंने कहा हमारे पास बजट है, हम इस काम को करेंगे, लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि बार-

बार यह वायदा करते हुए भी जो हमारा पुराना म्यूजिक है, जिसके अच्छे-अच्छे गाने वाले आर्टिस्ट्स हैं, दिन-दिन उनकी संख्या गिरती जा रही है। उनकी आवाज का, उनके गीतों के बारे में लोगों को रिकार्ड करने में हम अभी तक असफल रहे हैं। मैं मंत्री जी से चाहूंगी, जो इस तरह के हमारे क्लासिकल म्यूजिक है उनका पूरे का पूरा टेप रिकार्डिंग करा कर आर्काइव में रख दिया जाए।

दूसरी बात मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगी—गुजराल साहब चले गए—मैं उन्हीं से कहना चाहती थी कि जब-जब आवश्यक होता है इस तरह के कागज मंत्री महोदय को रेडियो कार्यक्रम के बारे में लिख कर भेजा जाता है। उनके दो या तीन घंटे-घुंटाए, गढ़े गढ़ाए शब्दों का जवाब आ जाता है। द मैटर इज अंडर कंसिडरेशन, बी आर लुकिंग इंटू द मैटर, द मैटर इज अंडर कंसिडरेशन के अन्दर इन कागजातों के आने जाने से कुछ होता नहीं है। हम चाहते हैं सेक्शन ऑरियेंटेड हो। जो कुछ लिखा जाए उसके ऊपर काम किया जाए। इन कागजों घोंड़ों को दौड़ाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जो आपको फैमला करना है फैमला करे, वह काम उसी वक्त हो जाए।

(Time bell rings)

तीसरी बात मैं आपको अखबारों के बारे में कहना चाहती हूं कि न्यूजप्रिंट का जिस तरह से अकाल पड़ा हुआ है, न्यूजप्रिंट की दिक्कत है, उससे सब वाकिफ है। यह अखबार है इकानामिक टाइम्स। कितना लम्बा चौड़ा लिख कर उसमें दिया है, उसमें यहाँ तक कहा गया है:

"Bogus newsprint importers in approved list." Several journals and publications in the approved list of newsprint importers are fictitious.

उसमें यह बताया गया है कि जहाँ गए वहाँ से जवाब मिला इस तरह का कोई आर्डर ही नहीं है—नान् ट्रेसेबल। शायद लोक सभा में यह बात पेश हो चुकी है, इसलिए मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगी।

(Time bell rings)

मैं एक-दो मिनट और चाहूंगी। जिस तरह से आप अखबारों का कागज देते हैं उसका काला-बाजार

होता है। उस पर आप अंकुश क्यों नहीं लगाते? वे सर्कुलेशन ज्यादा दिखाते हैं, अखबार कम छापते हैं और बचा हुआ कागज काला बाजार में जाता है। यह बात नहीं है कि आप उससे वाकिफ नहीं हैं। मुझे अफसोस है, गुजराल माहव चने गण, मैने नाम लेकर कई बार कहा। होना क्या है इन्स्पेक्टर चले जाते हैं और करते कुछ नहीं। क्यों आप संप्राइज चेक नहीं करते हैं? क्यों आप एक ही जगह के इन्स्पेक्टर को भेजते हैं, किसी दूसरे व्यक्ति को भेज कर जाच नहीं करते ताकि पता चले काला बाजार में कितना जाना है। अभी आपने नीति कही थी कि कागज की कमी होने की वजह से नए अखबार नहीं निकलेंगे। लेकिन यह फाइनेशियल एक्सप्रेस कहा से आ गया? उसके वास्ते कागज कहाँ से आ गया? इधर देखिए, दैनिक पत्र निकल रहे हैं। कहाँ से कागज मंगा रहे हैं, खरीद रहे हैं। बहुत आवाज उठती है प्रेस फ्रीडम के ऊपर। बड़ा अफसोस होता है। अपने यहाँ कहा जाता है प्रेस फ्रीडम है। कहाँ है? जिन इजारादारों के अपने अपने अखबार चल रहे हैं क्या वे अपने अखबार वालों को फ्रीडम देते हैं, ऑपीनियन एक्सप्रेस करने के लिए। जिन इजारादारों के, मॉनोपोलिस्ट्स के अखबार चलते हैं, वे एकतरफा व्ह्यूज देते हैं। व्ह्यूज देने में मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं। वे अपने एडिटोरियल लिखें जिसमें उनके जो विचार हों, क्रिटिसिज्म हों, उनको खुल कर लिखें, लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते जो न्यूज है उनको तोड़ मरोड़ कर दिया जाए। उसका एग्जाम्पल पार्लियामेंट हाउस मैं देख लीजिए। इस पार्लियामेंट में मैं भी बोलूंगी, दूसरे भी बोलेंगे, लेकिन वह बात लिखी जाएगी जो उनको सूट करती है, जो उनके इजारादारों के हक में नहीं होगी उनको नहीं लिखेंगे, उसको दबा दिया जाएगा। इसलिए एकतरफा न्यूज आ रही है। इस तरह से न्यूज को डिस्टार्ट करना, छिपाना जनता को एकांगी चित्र दिखाना, वह देश के लिए अच्छा नहीं है। हमारा जो चित्र होता है पार्लियामेंट में, उसको स्पष्ट करके बयान करना चाहिए, यह नहीं कि एक पक्ष को अच्छा रख दिया और दूसरे पक्ष को उभाड़ कर रख दिया। तो ये कुछ बातों की तरफ ध्यान

दिला कर बैठ रही हूँ, क्योंकि घण्टी बज रही है।

SHRI HABIB TANVIR (Nominated). Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are living in a society predominantly ruled by middle classes. This is also very clear in the functioning of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. Information—what information? Broadcasting—for what? Communication—for whom? What communication? What mass media? Some of these fundamental questions have not yet really been answered by the I & B Ministry. The I&B Ministry, I feel, has had a past which is not very flattering. In the recent past, with all that one could observe with all one's effort, the progress is so slow that it seems to me to be nothing but spelling a great disaster. As in the case of every other Ministry it is the middle class which are ruling and their rule is of the worst order. The most mediocre, the most selfish, the most careerist, kind of middle class representatives are there; the monopolists, by and large, of your newspaper, also in the cinema, also in the radio, and some with the television. This, to me, is the state of affairs in the I&B Ministry. It has been coming under fire for some time. I am absolutely sure that for quite some time the I&B Ministry will be the one Ministry which will keep on coming under very intense fire. At least I hope so, so that it can be remedied. There is nothing which speaks of a kind of a programme which is geared to the cultures of this country. I am a man of culture. I am more concerned with that and I am going to speak on that. Now let me cite one personal example which is not so personal because that in itself will amount to generalizations. The honourable Minister, Mr. Gujral, asks me to his house to recite poetry. He knows me to be a poet worth asking to recite some poems, since 1944. It will be interesting to look up the records of All India Radio to find out how many times have they called me as a poet. I do not grudge it. My poetry, whatever it is worth, is my own, I have got my own kind of compositions; I have no complaint about it. I am satisfied with my own

[Shri Habib Tanvir.]

poetry for what it is worth. I am making only an example. But there are poets who have composed in a manner which is not suited to the conventional, absolute, kind; a rotten kind of art is being produced and it is being catered for. I was on the television and I was trained by a man who came from England; I was trained for one month, and I then produced a programme Bhukti which remained inside closed doors of the TV. It was never transmitted. Then I produced a play, *Sat Paise*, not a revolutionary earth-shaking play, but a very down-to-the-earth play about a railway workers who wanted a cake. That play was never shown. And this was some years ago. Then, I was connected with the IPTA, Bombay in the olden days. That was during the regime of Morarji Desai and his police and when I picked up that issue—at that time I think the I&B Minister was no less than Mrs. Indira Gandhi—nothing at all happened. Then I merely had to ring up when two or three police men came and I was charged that I am now working for the Soviet Information Department because I have no other better job to do. These two examples are there. And today I notice that there is a great deal of favouritism. No real concrete step is being taken to remove this state of affairs. The state of affairs in transmission in village has not changed. These mediocre, middle class, exploiters, they think in their own selfish, mediocre, way; they know nothing about aesthetic beauty of those songs; they project songs of their own type for the sake of pocketing a little money wherever they go, or whenever they go to a gramophone company and they try to project their own name. They sing some songs without learning anything of real folk songs.

Whom does it cater to? To the illiterate folk singer? Your mass media is not geared to meet the needs of the illiterate. Your newspapers report only those little, puny things done by your mediocre people who institutionalise culture and this institutionalised culture is flashed out in the front pages of your newspapers.

Take your Song and Drama Division. Is there anything which they have produced so far—something which has any kind of relation with the development of this country? For the last 25 years so many lakhs of rupees have been spent on this Division. I feel angry about it. If you cannot do anything, why not close it down? Why don't you close down this machinery which is called the Song and Drama Division. They have not evolved anything which can be infectious or contagious and which can induce people to involve themselves in the developmental activities of the country. Why don't you close it and go back? No, because there is trade unionism and there is nothing which the Government of India can do to retrace their steps. Why don't you allow them to have the so-called new prospects in the television network? They can easily be geared for this purpose. They can be sent to the villages. They can be geared to the folk art. Why is there no effort in this direction?

In the field of cinema, there is so much of scope for inter-regional exchange not only of information, but folk art which we are trying to do. My colleagues and I are trying and breaking our backs to achieve something in this field. I can assure you that there are very few people in the Government of India who can do this much as some of these people are doing. For instance, there is Kotari of Rajasthan and there are others too. But there is no recognition for their work, and for these folk artists. But in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry people who want to make a career of it and who want to have prestige and glory and a place in the hierarchy are being brought. There should have been mobile vans by this time. We have done work in this field and we have tested and found out that despite language barrier people like it. They are able to like it. People want some of these vital things of the villages. We have shown it to the Members of Parliament. We have shown it to some international delegates and we have shown it to people of sensitivity. They all like it.

It is only these little mediocre people whose interest is affected and for this reason they won't approve of it. The whole machinery is not geared to produce some massive programmes.

American satellites are coming in June 1975. What have you done. That is the target which we cannot postpone. What are the programmes that are being organised? Will they be conventional kind of programmes which are being done by the All India Radio for the last 25 years? I hope not. We have clusters in Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, North Bihar and Kerala. These are the six clusters. There will have to be low transmission centres. Or, are we once again going to impose upon them this middle class culture which is of the All India Radio? Or, shall we go to the villages and see that there are hundreds of people who have got art. They require 1,500 hours of programme in a year. It is not a great deal. But it is not so little also. The whole thing ought to be geared to their needs and this should go on for one year and the programme should be at the instructional level and at the level of supply of fertiliser and teaching them about hygiene and sanitation and at the same time it should be given them also entertainment.

They are to be reoriented and it is possible to do so and it is not an impossible thing. There are working plans for it and there are schemes already accepted by the Ministry. But they are dragging their feet for months over them before sanctioning them. After they sanction them, that is, between their sanctioning and their releasing the funds, there is the time-lag. Now, the satellite is coming in 1975 and it will take some more time. By June 1976 we should be in a position to take over this. But how are we going to do it? What are you going to do about it? Is there going to be a new way? Is there going to be a new path carved out for this? Are you going to carve out a new path for this new programme? If there is going to be one, then you have to

take into account the feelings of the people for whom I am the spokesman. I am only a spokesman of the artists and the intellectuals and all are becoming cynical and they have become so cynical that they have not even the slightest hope of seeing any bright future. You should start from the grass-roots level and you must root out corruption and you must punish the man who is responsible even for the slightest possible sloppiness or neglect of duty and you should concentrate on the programmes. Otherwise, it would not be possible to do anything. The present metropolitan-oriented television set-up is not going to help. Forgive me for saying this. In my opinion, this country requires very different type of technology, a very different type of science and a very different type of television and other mass media. Sir, for once I have been able to speak out a few things and I hope I will get time again to come here and talk about certain other things also. I can only hope that from Session to Session things will improve. Thank you, sir.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I want to use this opportunity to throw some light and express myself on the question of the Press reform in India.

Sir, our former Prime Minister, the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, had, on a number of occasions, pointed out the anomalous position of the Press in India. He so many times said that the unique thing in India was that the big business was controlling the newspapers and the big business was treating the Press also as an industry. Being very much aware of this thing and also its bad effects on our socio-political life, he had appointed a Press Commission in 1954 which consisted of very eminent people and the commission had made out a case for the diffusion of the Press ownership in India, amongst other things. But the recommendations of the commission seem to have remained on paper only. In the meantime, concentration of economic power in a few hands occurred and the newspapers became the mouthpieces of

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya.]

the vested interests and they have been able to buy up even the journalists and editors to write what they like. And, Sir, the dirty role of the monopoly Press was revealed to the nation when the Chinese committed aggression on India in 1962 and, later on, during the period between 1969 and 1971, when fierce battles took place in India between the forces of reaction on the one hand and the forces of progress on the other led by the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Now, Sir, they always talk of the freedom of the Press. But they have made a mockery of it. Our friends on the opposite side are very much perturbed. They write and speak anything they like and this is the funniest thing for them to say that freedom of expression is muffled. They have made a mockery of the freedom of the Press. We know how the Press is being controlled. In this connection, Sir, I would like to quote what the Minister of Information & Broadcasting, Shri Gujral, said in January this year somewhere in Bombay. He said like this :

"Freedom of the Press does not mean freedom from control, but freedom to write. How could society be indifferent to the influence of the private owners of the Press? It is the ownership pattern that is to be controlled and not the written word."

As the honourable Member, Shrimati Chundawat, pointed out, you cannot write anything you like and to prevent this the ownership of the newspapers has to be controlled. But a deliberate confusion has been created by talking about governmental interference and so on by some people.

Sir, after the Press Commission Report was published, no steps were taken. But, ultimately, in 1971, a draft Bill was prepared after consultations at the highest level.

5 P M.

Another Bill was prepared and that Bill has somehow not yet seen the light of the day. Perhaps, as our Minister pointed out

somewhere, a study in depth was needed. We hope that a study in depth is now over. The Minister has committed a number of times that the Government stands committed to the diffusion and delinking of press ownership. To begin with, I think that the governmental thinking was not to go in for the diffusion of ownership, but to delink the four monopoly papers, i.e. the Hindustan Times, the Times of India, the Statesman and the Indian Express, from the industrial owners. Here, I would like to say that if at all why only these 4 papers are being chosen from amongst the papers which should be included. Then, some time ago in March this year, the hon. Minister, Shri Gujral, committed in the Lok Sabha that a legislation for delinking would be introduced this year. We have continued to sleep over the matter. In the meantime, the press monopolies have gone on increasing. There is now a Cochin edition of Indian Express. The Economic Times of Bombay has come to Delhi. The Financial Express of Bombay has also come to Delhi. The Government unfortunately continues to favour the big papers and monopoly papers by giving them huge advertisements. In this connection, I would like to inform—I hope I won't be controverted—that on the advertisement distribution of the Central Government, a paper was laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on February 21, 1973, by Shri Dharam Bir Sinha in which small papers got 24.5% of the advertisements and the medium papers got about 25.69%. The big papers got about 50% advertisements. It has been pointed out by other speakers that the big papers continue to corner newsprint and they sell the newsprint into the black market. Any small journalist or any person running a small journal in Delhi will tell you how newsprint is being sold in the black market in Delhi.

Sir, one of the pillars of the right reaction in India is the monopoly press. It has been continually stirring opposition to all progressive socio-economic measures initiated by the government under the

dynamic leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

Sir, the press reform is an urgent necessity in our country. There have been too many committees, too many discussions and too many delays. Too many drafts of bills have come up. I hope the Minister will realise the importance of this thing and the urgency of this thing and come forward with a concrete measure. The press reform should become an integral part of our package of socio-economic reforms. If there are any constitutional difficulties in the way of undertaking press reform, the Government should not hesitate in amending Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution with a view to bifurcating the freedom of expression enjoyed by the editor from the freedom enjoyed by the proprietor to do business. It is time that the Government should also think in terms of using Article 31(c) of the Constitution to reduce the disparities in the growth of the monopoly press and independent papers of small and medium size.

Sir, the time is very short. I shall be running through my points. There is the question of the Third Wage Board for the journalists. I believe the last Wage Board was appointed in 1963 or 1964. I do not exactly remember. In October, 1973, after a lot of pressure in the Parliament, and from the working journalists the Government announced that a Third Wage Board was going to be appointed. But no appointment has been made. Seven months have now passed and no wage board opposing the appointment of such a board saying that newsprint prices have gone up, costs have gone up. But, they conveniently forget that they have earned in the same period fabulous profits and they have saved their money by reducing the number of pages. In the recent one or two months, as our Minister will point out to you, the newsprint situation has also improved. Therefore, I hope our Minister will take care to immediately appoint a wage board. In this connection, I insist that proper representation to the representatives of working journa-

lists is most important. The Indian Federation of Working Journalists, an organisation of great reputation, must find a place in this body. In the mean time I demand—as the working journalists have demanded—that an interim relief must be given till a final decision is taken. The interim relief should be 25 per cent of the wages subject to a minimum of Rs. 100 and a maximum of Rs. 200/-.

Sir, my another demand is to create a public corporation of news agencies. Well, I hope the Minister is seized of this demand and I shall skip over this point.

Well, about this press reform, we have nothing to worry about. The famous French newspaper, *Le Monde*—which is one of the widest circulated papers—has changed its ownership pattern. The Ceylon Government has introduced legislation and it has controlled the Lake House group of newspapers. I do not know why we should hesitate. (*Time bell rings*) Since the time is short, I am trying to skip over.

Sir, the latest tragedy of mismanagement or good management in A.I.R. is known to all of us. The good points and bad points have all been dealt with. I strongly endorse the criticism made by my hon. friend, Shri Habib Tanvir. But the latest thing is the suicide of Mr. Gaur. The suicide of Mr. Gaur reveals many things. Mr. Gaur was a balanced man. He was a good man. He was a good artist. Everybody has paid tributes to him. What was it that induced a man to leave his wife and child and jump out of the window and die? There is something very rotten in the Television Centre. Something absolutely rotten. And, I am sure, our vigilant Minister has been observing, has been seeing reports in the *National Herald*. All kinds of stories are being published. *National Herald* is a responsible newspaper. What has happened to about two lakh feet of T.V. films? What is happening to them? Somebody has been monkeying with them. Somebody has been selling them in the

[Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya]

black market. He has to find it out. The criminal has to be found out. Mr. Chawla, the Director of the Television Centre, should be checked out. The least that can be done is that he should be suspended till the the inquiry is completed.

I was shocked to hear one gentleman saying that T.V. and the All India Radio is being converted into Indira Radio. Now in the T.V. have heard people, I have heard an editor, speaking, justifying Diego Garcia, justifying the U.S. action. I do not want to take the name of the man justifying that Diego Garcia is quite all right.

AN HON. MEMBER : May we know the name ?

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA : No, I do not want to say the name. (*Interruptions*) (*Time bell rings*).

Then, there is the case of the staff artistes, of those announcers and readers, their grievances. I know them. I have been their friend. I have been a radio talker. Their grievances are too many. They are boiling and it is time that care is taken before things boil over.

There is the case of one Hindi announcer. He was speaking thrice a week. Then it was reduced to twice a week and as time advanced and instead of paying him more wages, his wages have been reduced. All these kinds of things are going on. Dictatorial people doing worse with the T.V. must be stopped from acting in the way in which they are acting.

Thank you very much.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I suppose most of us here will agree that this country is now approaching a very crucial stage in the development of our mass media. There is an air of expectancy. Many great changes are sure to take place in the coming months, and it makes one feel rather nervous and apprehensive when we consider that any decision taken now will have far-reaching consequences.

But, Sir, I am an optimist and my optimism comes from the knowledge that in this vast organisation that we call All India Radio and in its different departments, both sound and television, we have men and women of great talent and ability and also dedication it is headed by a Minister who is invariably described by the staff and those outside as 'dynamic', and for very good reason. I hope Mr. Habib Tanvir will agree with me that the middle classes can also produce talent, though I have no quarrel with the viewpoint that he expressed.

Sir, the Minister is faced with a tremendous job and it will need all his well-known skill, ability, intellect and sophistication to lift the AIR from its present sorry state. Mr. Gujral, I am sure, knows as well as anyone else, the short-comings of the AIR. But his problem is that he has on his hand an institution that has prematurely aged, whose arteries have hardened and which cannot even assimilate any nourishment that is given. This condition has come about through years of neglect, through a gradual narrowing of the vision of those who controlled its affairs. We now have a chance to revive this great organisation, an organisation, that can do great service in informing and educating our people and in accelerating the pace of progress in this country.

Therefore let us argue and discuss and find ways of knowing what is the true nature of the disease and to find the right medicine for this prematurely old man, the All India Radio, so that when we have made the correct diagnosis we shall be able to give him a few strong injections, not of adulterated glucose, but pure and truly effective drugs.

Sir, some of us in this House would like to see AIR converted into a Corporation. On the other hand the Minister was recently quoted as having a preference for the French type of organisation, the ORTF, which has a certain amount of internal autonomy, but owned by the Government. Personally I have been for a long time in

favour of a Corporation. But then I can also see the problems of having one. After witnessing some of the recent public debates on national affairs, it is difficult for me to assume that a group of so-called independent, so-called non-political or non-party men can have any greater wisdom or any more sense about what are the true needs of this country's population those who are elected by our democratic machinery and put in charge of our affairs. Therefore in fairness to the Government. I should say that they have a case when they maintain that in a developing country, with a vast population of illiterate people, it may be dangerous for the Government to give up its control entirely. Therefore for the present a Corporation will remain an ideal and as we make progress we may be able to achieve it in course of time.

But of one thing I am absolutely certain. The less interference there is from the Ministries the better for AIR. The worst thing that goes on at the AIR is the kind of day to day interference, interference with particular programmes—whether it is before it happens or afterwards—I mean interference of a petty nature, which is often so intimidating and so frustrating and heartbreaking for those who produce these programmes or take part in them. This kind of thing kills initiative. It makes the people choose the line of least resistance, to choose the obvious and the least controversial line. This is the kind of thing that removes the spark from AIR programmes, whether it is radio or television.

Therefore, I say : Whatever we do with AIR in terms of organisation, let us see to it that there is more controversy, more argument, more excitement, and, therefore, also more entertainment on our radio and television. What is the use of our leaders talking about the challenging times and the excitement of living in this age, when our major national communications medium is incapable of reflecting that challenge and that excitement? The majority of the programmes on our radio and TV cause about

as much excitement as if a piece of jelly falls to the ground. If anything kills our national effort, it will be boredom that will do it.

Sir, only some days ago we had the terrible tragedy of the death of Mr. Janaki Gaur. It was a personal loss to me. Apart from being the producer of my television programme, Personal View, he was a close friend. He was a dedicated man, thorough and meticulous in his work, and he worked hard. Now, Sir, some Members, including Mr. Malaviya, have spoken about this incident. I do not think it is fair to his memory to use his death as a peg on which to hang criticisms of the AIR or the Ministry. Suicide is an irrational act and it is never easy to determine what causes a man to commit suicide. Science has still not found a proper explanation for the phenomenon of suicide. I do not wish to discuss this sad event in terms of the working conditions at the AIR. God knows, there are many things wrong with AIR. But hard work is not the most serious problem. Gaur worked hard because he wanted to. A lot of others do not work so hard because they do not feel like it. They do not feel the same dedication, when they are badly paid, when their work is interfered with. It is not true to say, as far as I know, there are not enough staff to do all the work at the AIR. It is simply that the staff do not often put in their full share of work because of their frustration. Anyway, this is my reading of the situation. But even if all the frustrations are removed, television work will still be nerve-wracking work. A television producer has to organise and co-ordinate a large number of people to make a programme—much larger than required for a radio programme. TV is a much more complicated medium than radio. Therefore, I think it is fair to say that those who work on television ought to be paid better wages than those on radio. It is a much more difficult and specialised job. Gaur, after some 18 years in the organisation, was getting, as one of our outstanding



[Shri Abu Abraham]

producers and an assistant station director, a basic salary of Rs. 800. A TV cameraman starts on Rs. 600, when he can get several times that much, if he worked in films. Therefore, Sir, I say that one of the first things that need to be done is an all-round improvement in the salary Scales, both on radio and on television, but more so on television. This is also important for the independent functioning of AIR. As someone recently pointed out, when the Director-General of All India Radio gets a salary lower than that of a Deputy Secretary in a Ministry, it is difficult for him to exercise his independent authority in taking decisions within the organisation.

I feel a bit uneasy about the grand schemes we have for expansion of television. When the funds available are, of necessity, limited, I hope that the expansion of television will not be at the expense of radio or at the expense of traditional methods of instruction and education. For a long time to come radio will remain in India the most powerful and the most effective medium of public enlightenment. At this point of time it is far more important to strengthen our radio service, improve its quality, than to go in for big schemes in television, the usefulness of which, in the circumstances of our country, has yet to be tested.

I feel that there is in many people's minds an exaggerated idea of the impact that TV can have on our society. TV, of course, has certain advantages over radio, because of its visual impact, but on the other hand it has disadvantages too. Its area of reception is small, the sets are expensive—an important factor in our country—the transmission time is limited and it cannot be carried around with you. Also TV, by and large, is a medium for tired audiences. You watch TV after a day's hard work and you are not in a mood to take in much serious material. Even in the best of TV in the world, the mass of the programmes are entertainment programmes. The format of TV is like that

of a tabloid newspaper—90 per cent entertainment, 10 per cent instruction. This is a feature that is built into TV, and even if we increase the proportion of educational programmes, the result would be roughly the same. There is no way to making a tired person submit himself to education. He can always switch off.

Therefore, my personal view is that we should proceed cautiously and gradually, trying to evolve a system which is not based on other countries' experience but on our own. Let us give ourselves time to expand TV. In the meantime, let us devote more thought and more money to the existing instruments of public instruction and education. Let us bear in mind that TV cannot be a substitute for the traditional methods of education, but can only supplement it. Sometimes a blackboard and a piece of chalk can achieve greater results than a TV set costing Rs. 3000.

Thank you, Sir.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : राजनारायण जी, आप की पार्टी ने तो बहस में हिस्सा ले लिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : यह पार्लियामेन्टरी सिस्टम है कि अगर मंत्री जी...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : आप क्वेश्चन कर सकते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं क्वेश्चन ही पूछूंगा। श्रीमन्, मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जैसा कि श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चंडावत जी ने कहा कि इसका नाम इंदिरा रेडियो नहीं है, तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह मचमुच में आल इंदिरा रेडियो है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस को जनता रेडियो बनाया जाय। तो सरकार के हाथ से कब इसको मुक्ति मिलेगी और जनता की भावनाओं का, सामूहिक प्रचार का साधन यह कब बनेगा इसकी कोई श्रवधि है? क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री जी से पब्लिकली यह सवाल किया गया था और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि मैं अपने हाथ से रेडियो नहीं जाने

दूगी। रेडियो का सरकार के नियंत्रण में रखनी नाकि सरकारी नीतियों का अच्छे ढंग से प्रचार हो सके। तो एक प्रश्न तो यह है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यहाँ पर एक संसद् सदस्य है श्री एम० एम० वनर्जी, दूसरे संसद् सदस्य है श्री ए० एन० विद्यालकार और एक है श्री हीरेन मुर्जी। यह तीन संसद् सदस्य हैं और इन तीन ही को रेडियो पर बोलने के लिए बुलाया गया है। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इनके अतिरिक्त कोई अन्य संसद् सदस्य है जो किसी खाम विषय की जानकारी रखता हो, जो भूत की अनुभूति रखता हो, जो वर्तमान का ज्ञान रखता हो और जो भविष्य का सपना देखता हो उसको बुलाया गया हो? या केवल जो कम्युनिस्ट है वही जानी है और कम्युनिस्ट विचारधारा का प्रचार करना मात्र ही रेडियो का काम है, यह मेरा दूसरा प्रश्न है।

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री जी० बी० राजू) आप दो ही प्रश्न पूछिये।

श्री राजनारायण एक प्रश्न अब मैं अपने बारे में पूछना हूँ। मान लीजिए कि मैं पटना गया और पटना से मेरा निष्कासन हुआ। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि रेडियो बुलेटिन पर उसके बारे में क्या आया? हमारी राष्ट्रीय समिति की बैठक लखनऊ में हुई। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उसके बारे में रेडियो बुलेटिन में कोई समाचार क्यों नहीं आया। हमारी राष्ट्रीय समिति की बैठक इलाहाबाद में हुई, तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं मान लीजिए कि बनारस में पत्रकार सम्मेलन करता हूँ और जो पी० टी० आई० और यू० एन० आई० के प्रतिनिधि हैं, हिन्दुस्तान समाचार के प्रतिनिधि हैं वह देख रहे हैं और वह हमारी किसी खास खबर को भेजते हैं, मगर वह अखबार में गायब और रेडियो में भी गायब। तो मैं सूचना मंत्री जी से चाहता हूँ कि वह बताये कि यह बात सही है या नहीं कि मुझ को यह बताया गया है कि यह खास हिदायत है कि राजनारायण जी का जो पत्रकार सम्मेलन हो उसकी जो खबर आये उसको सीधे न दिया जाय। उसका एक सेसर होता है। वह सेसर विशेष

देखना है कि राजनारायण जी की बात किस तरह से दी जाय। तो मैं इस सम्बन्ध में जयशंकर प्रसाद जी की एक कविता सुना देना चाहता हूँ। अगर आप हिन्दी का रस लेना चाहते हैं तो ले लें और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसको देवी जी भी सुन लें।

‘अपने में सब कुछ भर कैसे व्यक्ति विकसित करेगा, यह एकांत स्वार्थ भीषण है, सब का नाश करेगा।’

यह श्री जयशंकर प्रसाद जी की कविता है। ‘देवी’ जी जानती होंगी और यह है कामायनी से। अगर श्री गुजराल या श्रीमती इंदिरा इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी अपने आप को ही सब कुछ समझेगी तो इस देश का नयानाश होकर रहेगा। इसको सब लोग मान ले कि नाश विश्व का होगा। यह जयशंकर प्रसाद जी की कविता में दिया हुआ है।

उप-समाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : आपके पांच प्वाइंट हो गए।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। मैंने यहाँ बैठे-बैठे एक लेख लिखा है जिसमें मैं कि इस देश में हिंसा, फासिज्म जनतंत्र और अहिंसा की बहम कुछ दिनों से चल रही है। मैंने इसमें केवल स्थूल हिंसा और व्यवहारिक अहिंसा को सामने रखा है। मैं चाहूँगा कि आप मेरा यह लेख रेडियो से प्रसारित करवा दें। मैं इसको भेजता हूँ। जो सही बात है, जनतंत्र की, तानाशाही की वह जनता तक पहुँचे।

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL) : Sir, I am grateful to hon'ble Members of this House for having shown so much interest in the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It does not happen very often that one gets the opportunity of discussing some of the basic concepts of communication which this country has chosen to follow.

Many hon'ble Members have given great deal of attention to the institution of press in this country, and rightly so, because I think one of the very important institutions that we have built over years in this

[Shri I. K. Gujral]

country is the press. Sir, before the freedom and after the freedom we have been having a national attitude towards the press as such and, therefore, when the Constitution was formulated, we the Indians gave to ourselves some fundamental rights. One of the rights which the founding Fathers of the Constitution gave to us was the freedom of expression. And it was not as if it was given as charity to a people. It was given by a people themselves to themselves because we felt during the struggle itself that there can be no democratic life and there can be no free society as such unless the press is free. And that is why it was not a question of policy with any one of us, it was a basic question of commitment particularly for those who had the honour of participating in the freedom struggle whether on this side of the House or on that side of the House. And in that process through whichever party they might have fought they were all committed to one thing in common, and that was that whenever the country becomes free one of the institutions which should be safeguarded with great deal of zeal and great deal of care was the freedom of expression itself. But, unfortunately, like all other institutions which underwent a change, one of the changes which our press suffered from was that as freedom came the press became capital-intensive. Those who were not near the freedom struggle somehow got hold of the press. The result of it has been that the major medium of communication in this country passed into those hands which did not have the basic sympathy for the people's aspirations. That is why, as time passed, they expanded very fast. They built many newspapers. They built many chains—from one to two, from two to twenty, from twenty to thirty and so on. The numbers went on increasing but the content was missing. The result of it was that the concept that we had given to ourselves that freedom of press basically means freedom to journalist, freedom to the editor, supremacy of the editor in the paper, that gradually gave way to dominance of the managerial side and the ownership side.

I think in this House, by and large, there is a common view on this thing that freedom of association, historically, does not only mean that there should be no interference from the Government, there should be no interference from the Government either directly or indirectly also. At the same time it is important that we must come to a stage when press as an institution is delivered from those who have dominated it simply because they have money. If they had only run it as business, to an extent perhaps we could have understood it. But they did not run it for business only. They have their own attitudes towards life and since they have a vested interest, their economic attitude, their property attitude, their social relationship attitude, their attitude towards the means of production, all these definitely decide their attitude towards public opinion as such. So every news item or every view that gets expressed, unfortunately always reflects that way of life and that way of thinking. For years now, particularly since the Press Commission in India, there has been a strong opinion that something should be done about it. Unfortunately sometimes we feel that that very Constitution which we thought, in this aspect particularly, would be a vehicle of delivery so far as freedom of expression is concerned, to an extent because of its interpretation became a shackle by itself. Time and again it was tested by some of these papers in the courts and the courts unfortunately held in a different way than we have been feeling about it. It is not only in India that it is happening. The world over, as I have said time and again, there is a struggle going on for the release of the press from the dominance of the money-bags, and I think our struggle here is part of that struggle, too. Sir, the communication movement today is an international movement and I think the communication movement is meant for all of us. I can only assure you of one thing, that is, when we talk of de-linking, when we conceive of de-linking, when we want to de-link the press from the big money, we are always trying to evolve an institutional set-up wherein the Government should have nothing to do

with it either directly or indirectly. I may be in the Government to-day, but I think as individuals we are committed to it and as people of this country, we feel that it will not be a good thing for the institution or for India if the Government has any interference in the Press as such. Therefore, I totally agree with my friends and I can make bold to make this statement that in any set up we conceive of for de-linking the Press from the big money, it will basically be conceived in such a way that the Government should have nothing to do with it. Therefore, my main point is that it is not a question of the governmental commitment only. I hope I represent, by and large, the view of the entire House in this matter that this de-linking must take place. My friend, Mr. Harsh Deo Malaviya rightly asked by when, because we have, I think, spent a considerable amount of time on this. You will recall that it has been tested in the courts three or four times in one form or another. For instance, the first case came when we talked in terms of the price-page schedule. It was struck down. Then it came in the form of the 24th, 25th and 26th amendments to the Constitution. Then it came in the form of 10 pages for newspapers. All the three judgments gave a different type of thinking . . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन्, हमारा प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है। मैं चाहता हूँ माननीय मंत्री जी इस बात को सफाई से कह दें डी-लिंकिंग का क्या मतलब है—डीलिंकिंग मींस एन्ट्रीथिंग इन्टू द हैड्स आफ गवर्नमेंट ? यदि यह इसका अर्थ है तो मैं इसका घोर विरोधी हूँ।

**श्री आई० के गुजराल :** मेरा ख्याल है वाइस चेयरमैन साहब मैं चूँकि अंगरेजी में बोल रहा था, राजनारायण जी को फौरन बात समझ में नहीं आई। मैं उनको हिंदी में एक बार फिर से समझा दूँ कि डीलिंकिंग से मेरी मुराद सिर्फ़ एक है कि वे जो अख़बार जिनके ऊपर पूंजीपतियों का असर है, उनको उस असर से अलग कर दिया जाए लेकिन एक बात का पूर्ण ध्यान रखा जाए कि कोई डाइरेक्टली या इन्डाइरेक्टली सरकार का कोई

दखल न हो। यह डीलिंकिंग से मेरी मुराद है। मैं हिंदी में, अंगरेजी में या भारत की किसी भाषा में यह कहने को तैयार हूँ जो भाषा राजनारायण जी को आती हो।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मुझे अपनी मातृभाषा आती है। मैं बदर की बोली में बोलना पसंद नहीं करना।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राज) :** आप बैठिए। आपके सवाल का जवाब आ चुका है।

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL :** That is why I was saying, Sir, that whenever we think in terms of de-linking, our views are very firm on this and our views are very clear. In this I am not representing only my views. I have the courage to say that I am representing the views of the Government and its leader, Mrs. Indira Gandhi because this is the type of set-up that she has been thinking of.

Sir, some points have been made regarding the role of the Editor and my friend, Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri, referred to a speech by Mr. Kushwant Singh. I do not know if Shastriji is aware, years ago. I had a public debate with Mr. Kushwant Singh in Bombay wherein I had said and I reiterate that unfortunately the power of control has gradually shifted in the big newspapers from the editorial room to the managerial room. Mr. Kushwant Singh at that time did not agree, but Mr. Kushwant Singh now realises that what I was saying was right although Mr. Kushwant Singh fortunately is working in a paper where because of the situation that the Board of Directors is a composite one, the old concept of the owners is not interfering with his freedom. But we know of other papers. I know of one paper and I have talked about it earlier as well that this one leading paper which comes out from Calcutta and Delhi in its memorandum and articles of association said that editorial responsibility is that of the Managing Director and not of the editor. If a paper has that much courage to say that, if it has the check to say that . . .

SHRI RABI RAY (Orissa) : Name that paper.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : . . . if it has that much courage to say that the responsibility does not rest in the editor, then I do not know what type of freedom of Press, what type of freedom of expression you are having there. In any new set-up delinking should be such that the editorial responsibility should be full and complete, in any new set-up evolved delinking should be such where journalistic expression is full and free, delinking should be such that neither directly or indirectly should there be any interference, not even benami interference, from the proprietor. And these are the basic parametres which . . . . .

श्री रबी राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक सवाल पूछना चाहता था। 'सर्चलाइट' को एडवर्टाइजमेंट देना बिना सरकार ने बंद कर दिया है, उसको डिलिस्ट कर दिया है। उनके बारे में आपका क्या कहना है ?

(*Interruption*)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am coming to the point . . .

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी०डी० राजू) : आप उसको बोलने दीजिए। कुछ कमी रह जाए, तो बाद में पूछ सकते हैं।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : If there is something left, you kindly ask me. My friends have also talked about newsprint. Unfortunately we have been facing very difficult times so far as newsprint is concerned, not because we had shortage in India, but world shortage is now a well-established fact. My friend, Mr. Ganguli, has mentioned about it in some detail and asked me questions which I had replied many a time. There had been contracts of the STC with outsiders. And to say that we have attached a very great deal of prestige to outside businessmen that once they make a contract, they do not back out of it, is not factually correct. They made irrevocable contracts but they backed out because of the price rise. Once the prices rose, the sacrosanctity of the agreement is not part of the capitalistic society. Therefore, what happened was that all the agree-

ments which were made, became useless and we had to enter into new agreements and since we are entering into new agreements, we paid more and we got less. And even today the quantity is being determined not by our wish or will. But the quantity available is so limited that we cannot get as much as we want. That is why last year unfortunately we had to put the allocation with 30 per cent cut. This year also the picture is not happy. Whatever we have been able to get up till now makes me feel rather uncomfortable; it makes me feel that perhaps it may be difficult for me even to keep up the present situation. We have been trying to wander the world over trying to enter into new agreements, trying to pay consider higher prices than we had paid last year. In spite of it, the newsprint shortage continues. We have taken steps to increase production here. NEPA has given a good account of itself. Although for the last two days NEPA too is in difficulty because of power shortage, I do hope they will be out of trouble soon. New factories are being set up, one in Kerala, another in Assam. And another private sector project is hoped to be coming up in Himachal Pradesh. These three or four projects are more or less coming up. NEPA is also sought to be doubled in its capacity. Then, one factory of my friend, Mr. A. G. Kulkarni, is also likely to come up. He has been promising us for quite a few years. I hope his co-operative society also will take more effective steps to see that their factory comes up very soon . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : Sir, since the Minister has mentioned my name, I only want to submit to you that I am after his Ministry for the last three or four years though manufacture of newsprint is not a joke particularly in a cooperative sector, from *begas* particularly, it requires some compensatory benefits from the Government. But what I find is there are only sympathies and Mr. Gujral desires that such a venture should take place. Unfortunately the entire Government machinery is not moving in that direction. That is the only thing I wanted to submit to you. If this really

is your interest, it can be done. Co-operators not only in Maharashtra, but in U.P. also are enthusiastic about it. It is not a mere possibility. It can be done. The only thing is your Minister has to supplement their efforts by other compensatory measures.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : My friend Shri A. G. Kulkarni is very right and he has all my sympathies. But he also knows where the power lies. In this context he does not want to fix responsibility on those who come from Maharashtra. He would rather fix responsibility on me although he knows where the sanction has to be obtained. So far we are concerned, *begas* has been one difficulty because it is used as fuel. With the present shortage of fuel, that is one handicap. That has also to be faced particularly when furnace oil is in shortage. The point is, we are trying to build up more production capacity in this country.

One thing which I would like to bring to the notice of the House is—it has come in the papers also in the last two days—black-marketing in newsprint. It was the subject-matter of Calling Attention in the other House. I say with great deal of pain that at a stage when you expect leadership from the newspapers, when you expect them to change our value system and when you expect them to tell us how to save institutions, they indulge in these unhealthy activities. I would not like to name the papers. But I know some papers are indulging in it. I only wish to say that Government do not live on wishes only. If the institution of Press does not correct itself, I think we should firmly move against those who are indulging in black-marketing and see that they are severely dealt with and I am sure I will have the support of this House in this. It is not only the question of black-marketing in newsprint, but it has a different dimension, namely, other black-marketing as well. So far as shipping shortage is concerned . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Here you have to . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : No, please.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, he has to explain to the House the recent scandal of 'Economic Times' and how his Ministry gave the permit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Let us not make it a dialogue.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I was in any way going to reply to it. I explained it in the other House this morning. What we have done is this. We have said that in the interests of freedom of expression, if anybody wants to start a new paper, we will give him four months entitlement to start with. When he applies for newsprint after the paper is registered, then we ask him to give us a bank guarantee of 75 per cent of the value of the newsprint. After four months, he must give a Chartered Accountant's certificate on performance. This is the procedure. Before this our policy was that for the first four months we did not give anything. Then complaints started coming saying : What should we do in the first four months without newsprint? The difficulty is both ways. If you do not give it, then we are trying to throttle the paper or the individual or the Party. If you give this is the situation. The situation has now come to a serious dimension. For instance, in India we are giving newsprint allocation to 760 daily papers. This year alone 263 news papers have been started. This is a very serious thing. That is why I have offered in the other House—I am offering the same in this House as well—that since a new policy of newsprint allocation has to be made in the next few days, I will be very much keen to discuss with my friends in the opposition as to what should be our attitude towards the newspapers. Should we go back to our original policy of giving newsprint after the paper is started? Or, should we continue the present policy and give them newsprint in the very beginning? The pitfalls are there both ways. Dangers are on either side. Therefore, we have to sit down and decide what

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is in the best interests of all. This is the main difficulty.

Sir, some reference was made to advertisements. I can only say one thing with a great deal of clarification. I can say with a great deal of pride that so far as the Government of India is concerned or DAVP is concerned, we have never used advertisement as an instrument of policy.

There is no paper in India, however opposed to the government policy it might have been, which was deprived of the newsprint. Sir, I have been in this Ministry off and on for about four years or five years and in this period, Sir, there has not been a single case where we have either encouraged or discouraged any paper on the basis of advertisements and we have not done anything to any paper, whatever its policy may be. To some paper we have not given. But these papers we have made public and we have given the reasons why we have not given to them. For instance, there are some papers which the Press Council called obscene and vulgar and whom the Press Council warned and held them as yellow papers and I think I will have the sympathy of this House on this that we should not give advertisements to such papers because such a trend should not be built up in the country. So far as our general policy on advertisements is concerned . . .

श्री राजनारायण : उस पेपर को यहाँ लाइये, देखा जाय ।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : . . . I feel that basically that advertisement is not given as a subsidy and advertisement should not be given as a financial support. Advertisement is an instrument for reaching the reader and even if I differ strongly with the editorial view of a newspaper, I have nothing against the readers of that newspapers and that is why when we give advertisements to a particular paper, we want to reach the widest possible area with our message, whatever may be the message. For instance, these days we are carrying

on a campaign against violence and, naturally, when we want to mobilise public opinion against violence, we would like every reader to read it and, therefore, I would not like to discriminate against any newspaper.

श्री राजनारायण : पहले यह तो तय कीजिए कि वायलेस क्या है ।

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मैं अंग्रेजी में नहीं कहना चाहता था लेकिन हिंदी में जरूर कहूँगा कि राजनारायण जी वायलेस के मुताबिक बहुत मासूम है और इतने इन्फोसेट है, इतने मासूम है कि गालिब ने कहा है कि :

‘कोई बतलाये कि हम बतलाये क्या, पृच्छते वह है कि गालिब कौन है ?’

राजनारायण जी हम में पृच्छते हैं कि वायलेस क्या है । तो मैं उनको क्या बतलाऊँ ।

Sir, a great deal of discussion has gone on about “The Searchlight” and rightly so.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, the honourable Minister has said that obscene papers are not given the advertisements. But what about a paper like “The Motherland”?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I think you have not seen the advertisement of the Government of India this morning only in “The Motherland”. You should have seen it this morning.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Sir, he does not see advertisements because he is not perhaps interested in them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Swamy, your question has been answered in your favour now.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : So far as “The Searchlight” is concerned, I have said about it in this House and I want again to share the anguish of the Members. It is very unfortunate that the newspapers were burnt by some hooligans. Often, Sir, it has been

said that there can be no democracy without a free Press. I think it is high time that our friends in the Press also realised that there can be no Press without democracy also and if some papers, in their innocence, start pleading for violence and asking the people to go out in the streets, the results can be very sad and they can be sometimes heart-breaking. If a paper is burnt, we are all very sorry. But, Sir, we are equally sorry when the Governor of a State is insulted, we are equally sorry when the Head of the State is insulted and we are equally sorry when the Members are insulted and we are equally sorry when the Members do not realise what impact their attitude in the House can have outside and I think we must realise that both democracy and the type of attitude we adopt towards democracy influence the youngsters outside and that is why we must try to save all the institutions together and I think we are all together in this. We must save democracy and the freedom of the Press . . .

श्री राजनारायण : विद्रोह धर्म है ।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am not saying anything wise and I do not claim to be saying something wise. I am saying only the obvious thing and the obvious thing is that we must realise this that it is both the cause and the effect and if some people, in their innocence, start saying that *vidroh*, is dharma, that *vidroh* becomes dharma, then the people outside become influenced by it . . .

श्री राजनारायण : इसान ने ही की है नक़्बत कभी कभी, फर्ज बन गयी है बगावत कभी कभी । हम समय बगावत करना हमारा धर्म है । बगावत दो तरीकों से होती है — शानि के तरीके से और अशानि के तरीके से । अहिंसक तरीके से और हिंसक तरीके से । हम अहिंसक बगावत के पक्ष में हैं । मैं जानता हूँ श्रीमन्, कि जब मंत्री महोदय ने मर्चलाइट का नाम लिया तो वह बताये कि वह कौन सा मर्चलाइट का लेख है, वह कौन सा उम का अग्रलेख है, वह कौन सा उम का समाचार है कि जो हिंसा को उभारता है ।

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मैं राजनारायण जी से अज्ञे करूँगा कि शायद राजनारायण जी अखबार कम पढ़ते हैं . .

श्री राजनारायण : मंत्री महोदय भ्रष्ट और गंदे अखबार पढ़ते हैं ।

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मुझे मालूम नहीं कि मही किस को कहा जाता है और उन के और मेरे कथनों में बुनियादी फर्क है, लेकिन एक बात मैं उन को कहूँ कि मुझे मर्चलाइट और प्रदीप को देख कर सख्त अफसोस होता है । अगर उन्होंने वह लेख नहीं पढ़े प्रदीप में तो अब पढ़ लें, उस में उन को कुछ ज्यादा गमझ आ जाएगी ।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, मैंने 'प्रदीप' पढ़ा है । मैं माननीय मंत्री से अदब के साथ अज्ञे करूँगा कि मंत्री जी कृपा करके वह समाचार बताएं . .

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : मैं बना रहा हूँ ।

श्री राजनारायण : आपने जयप्रकाश नारायण जी का स्टेटमेंट को गदा बनाकर छपवाने से इंकार कर दिया . .

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : अध्यक्ष जी, एक एप्लिकेशन उन्होंने लगाया है which I must straightaway deny. I have not mentioned the name of Jayaprakash Ji and I have not objected to the printing of Jayaprakash's statement. I have said about one editorial and I am drawing his attention to that.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : What is that ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : You can read that. Having said that, I would say that when Searchlight people approached me and my colleague, Mr. Sinha, not only did we extend our sympathy to them, but we also took specific steps. For instance, we have agreed to give them additional newsprint. We immediately agreed to give them licence for importing machinery. I have also sponsored their case to the Finance Ministry recommending that when they import the machinery, it should be



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duty free. These are the things that I have done. Sir, I have also taken steps to see that whatever advertisements they were getting from the Government of India, they continue to get. Is any more proof needed of our *bona fides*? I think it is not needed. I think it is more than clear that we are not only sorry, but we are keen to help as well.

(Interruptions)

श्री रवी राय मै गुजराल साहब से अज्ञ कच्चा कि उन्होंने अपनी बात को डिम-कटिन्यू करके दूसरी बातें ले ली हैं . . .

श्री आई० बी० गुजराल उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैंने अभी खत्म नहीं किया है मैं उसी बात पर आ रहा हूँ।

राजनारायण जी हमेशा इस बात का जिक्र किया करते हैं कि इनको यहाँ की समद की परम्पराओं का बहुत इल्म है शायद उनको यह भी इल्म होगा कि जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का सबजेक्ट है वह स्टेट की समद में ही डिस्कम किया जाता है और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की जो पालिसी होती है उनको डिस्कम करने की जगह भी यह नहीं है। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने अक्सर के सुनालिक क्या एटि-ट्यूड लिया है, क्या नहीं लिया है हमें कुछ मालूम नहीं है। हमसे उन्होंने कुछ नहीं पूछा इस लिए उनकी जिम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर नहीं आती।

श्री राजनारायण . स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को डिफेंस करने की जिम्मेदारी भी माननीय सभा की नहीं है हमें 'प्रदीप' और 'सर्चलाइट' से कोई विरोध मतलब नहीं है हम तो जो स्टेट की सरकार है उसको गन्दी हटाने की मांग करते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू): आप दूसरी बात पर जा रहे हैं।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Sir, I want to pass on to the next subject only by mentioning one thing. My friend, Shyamlal Ji, had talked about Jana Varta. I can take him into confidence and tell him that Jana

Varta's case was brought to my notice when I visited Varanasi by Shri Dwivedi and it received immediate attention. Newsprint for 1973-74 has already been allocated to them and they have already received their fourth instalment of newsprint. They are already on the approved list of D.A.V.P. and are receiving advertisements from the Government of India.

Therefore, it is not a question of Jan Varta not being . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: You have not given us the total allotment made to Jan Varta. (Interruptions)

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Allotment is not made on the basis of charity. Allotment is made on the basis of circulation of a paper. And whatever circulation has been checked and found correct on that basis allotment is made. If my friends in Jan Varta have any grievance against this there, are remedies for that. If they think that more newsprint should be given to them, you or Mr. Dwivedi can write to me and I will be very glad to look into this.

Sir, about advertisements I only want to say one word and finish. One thing this House may kindly keep in mind and that is that the total advertisement budget of the Government of India is very meagre. Our total advertisement in the Government of India, i.e., D.A.V.P., today, is of the order of Rs. 1.20 crores. The advertisement budget of the private sector in India is fantastically big. Four years ago we made an assessment and at that time the total advertisement budget of the private sector used to be approximately Rs. 30 crores. Last year again we made an assessment. It now touches Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 crores. Therefore, those people who want to make a case as if the Government of India's advertisement is very vital in deciding the policy of a paper, they are very sadly mistaken. Therefore, even when the Government of India has an instrument, even then it cannot be used by it because it is so small as compared to the vastness of the private sector.

Sir, radio, rightly again, has been discussed a great deal. The more controversial part of it, I will come towards the end. Let me first deal with lesser controversial aspects of the radio. In India, which is very vast and big, it is very important that we must have a communication media, which is very effective. Unfortunately, the print media as yet is very limited both in its reach and because of the illiteracy and because of its history, because it is still urban oriented. It is still read by few. It does not penetrate to the rural life. These are the limitations of the print media as such. Therefore, we have to a great extent make investment in audio-visual media. Radio has been there for about 40 years. Unfortunately, in spite of 40 years it has not yet spread to the extent that it should. We have made very meagre investment in it comparatively than what we should have keeping in view the size of this country. Today we say that it reaches about 85 to 86 per cent of the population. The 14 per cent which are left out are socially the most vulnerable sections of the society. Border areas are still not very adequately covered. Adivasi belt is still not very adequately covered. Socially deprived are not yet very adequately covered. And, even when a radio reaches there finally, then the radio sets are still not available.

In India today we have approximately a crore and thirty lakhs of licensed radio sets. Some time ago some private agency made a survey and came to a very startling analysis and that was that there were about a crore and thirty lakhs of licensed radio sets. One can say that there will be another 50 to 60 lakhs of radio sets which are not licensed and thus there may be a totality of about two crores of radio sets. Even if they are evenly spread and four or five people have the benefit of one radio set, you can cover only about 10 crores of people out of 54 crores. Sir, the startling revelation of that analysis was that out of these total radio sets only about 10 to 14 per cent had reached the village life. Rest of it is still urban and even in urban areas in a city like Bombay the

contact with radio in mill areas, for instance, is only to the 8 per cent of the population. The result of it unfortunately is that a media which is so well spread, even this media, has remained limited by and large to middle class urban elite. Therefore, I think a definite policy has to be evolved whereby you can make a communication media effective, possible and an instrument of cultural change. Cultural change in the first instance means that physically radio should be available and secondly in the programme there should be a great deal of investment. Unfortunately again, our income from radio is far in excess than our investment in it.

6 P.M.

Last year for instance the income from licences and commercials was approximately Rs. 29 crores and our Budget last year was of the order of about Rs. 17 crores. So the Radio is virtually earning Rs. 12 crores for the exchequer rather than making investment. I have been pleading to make it autonomous for many reasons but one of the main reasons is that as long as it is part of the governmental rules it suffers from a great deal of handicap and one of the handicaps is that whenever an economy cut is applied it is applied to the Radio. For instance, last year there was an economy cut of 10 per cent. What does that mean? It means you cannot reduce salaries; you cannot retrench people; the only thing that you can cut is that you can cut on the programmes and when once you cut on the programmes the quality of the programmes goes very steeply down. Some months ago my colleague, Mr. Dharam Bir Sinha undertook a survey of the Bombay station for instance and he came back with a startling result. He said that our average cost per programme has come to two annas per programme. Now, what type of programme can you offer except that you keep on repeating the programme that you have once taped? You are unable to involve new talent; you are unable to involve or create new research possibilities for programmes; you do not have new dimensions; you do not have training; you do not have

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adequate feedback. Fortunately this year we have been able to get some money to add something new to the programmes. For instance I am very keen to have a very effective feedback system. No radio system can be useful unless you have an effective feedback. And feedback does not only mean voluntary letters which people sometimes write but feedback means surveys in the various strata of society by which we keep on checking up the impact of the various programmes and unless that is scientific the media does not become successful. We are very keen that we should be able to build up a very good system firstly for training because unless you give them training not only at the entry point but also as they go along, the quality of the programmes will not improve. We are also keen for instance in music, to build up our own orchestra in various stations. We are also keen that we should encourage group singing movement. India badly needs it because unless we start singing in groups on national themes we would not feel nationally integrated. That is why we are starting this new group singing movement throughout the country in the various stations. Similarly we must create our own light music sections and make it more independent so that we do not have to rely on the film music so much as we are doing at present. These are the various aspects for which we must make investments. I agree with Mr. Habib Tanvir that institutionalised culture is not the way out. I agree with that but then culture cannot be wished in. If you want to have a cultural policy, not only you must have a new cultural policy but you must have adequate resources for ushering that in. If we want that our cultural attitude should be at one not only with our legacy, with our past, with our tradition, but must also represent the modern approach and the modern values then it is very important that our investment in the media should be very substantial. Our basic difficulty in India has been that we have been trying to usher in a cultural change through film and radio

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without making any investment. We have too much faith in our lectures; we feel perhaps through *bhashans* things can be changed. That is not possible.

My friends have also mentioned about the policy of the Radio regarding politics. I think the one thing that we must get away from is that politics has a limit beyond which it should not go. To the radio news is one of the very small activities.

श्री राजनारायण: क्या लिमिट है पोलिटिक्स की ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Where Rajnarain's limit ends our limit starts.

श्री राजनारायण: तब तो मंत्री महोदय का सत्यानाश ही है।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: The main point is they must understand for instance with regard to the news that we give that it goes not suit us to black out any news, not in the interests of Mr. Rajnarain or anybody but in the interests of the credibility of the media itself. And whatever Mr. Shyamlal may have said, in India today—I am very proud of the fact—the Radio has much more credibility than any other media.

श्री राजनारायण: बिल्कुल गलत। आज इंडिया रेडियो का कोई विश्वास ही नहीं है।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: The average Indian fully believes and has full faith in whatever the Radio says. Radio as a medium of propaganda, Mr. Rajnarain must by now have realised—he has contested elections again and again and he has been defeated again and every time he must have realised—has a strong and potent role.

#### (Interruptions)

श्री राजनारायण: श्रीमन्, कभी-कभी शैतान भी मत्स्य बोलता है। इनके रेडियो ने इनको चुनाव में जीतने में मदद की, यह बात मंत्री जी ने कुबूल कर ली। इसलिए मैंने कहा कि मत्स्य पर आओ, चुनाव कराओ, तब पता चलेगा।

श्री आई० के० गुजराल : आपने कह दिया, आपने अपना मतलब निकाल लिया, हमने अपना मतलब निकाल लिया। आप भी खुश है, हम भी खुश है।

श्री राजनारायण : हम खुश नहीं हैं।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : My regret is my friend, Shri Shyamlal Yadav, said that the BBC has more credibility in India than All India Radio.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : Why not ?

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : It was the BBC which said in 1965 and it was the same BBC which in 1969 that India was being defeated. Do you think that its credibility is more than the credibility of All India Radio ? I have nothing against the BBC.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Order, order please.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : Mr. Shyamlal Yadav may be sitting on that side of the House today, but he has a glorious past. He has participated in the national struggle. I think under no provocation should he let that go out of hand. Let us derive pride from our own institutions. We are proud of them. Let us share that pride. Even if we differ in the details, let us not give away that pride.

श्री राजनारायण : मुझे नफरत थी अंग्रेज की कौम व सूरत से,

मुझे जो भी नफरत थी वह थी अंदाजे हमकूत से, जो अपनों की हकूमत आज रहमत, हो नहीं सकती, तो अपनों की भी सूरत से मोहब्बत हो नहीं सकती।

एक माननीय सदस्य : शाबास।

श्री राजनारायण : हमको लगे शाबास कहने, पिढ़ी और पिढ़ी के शोरवे।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am glad that some friends have appreciated the Yuv Vani. We have been able to set up only four stations as yet. We are keen that

Yuv Vani should expand fast in the Fifth Plan and particularly I think Yuv Vani should go to every university town, so that youth can have a media of expression. Prakash Vir Shastriji pointed out two or three things. For instance, one is whether it is Westernised or not. I think one thing which my generation and Prakash Vir Shastriji's generation must realise it that with every generation the cultural values change. Today life is becoming universal more and more. Music is no more limited to the four walls of a country. Today Ravi Shankar is as much loved in England and America as he is loved in India. Sitar has become a universal instrument and whether we like it or not so is pop music. The question is not whether I like pop music or not. The question is whether the new generation likes it or not. It is not possible for us to inflict and impose our own value-systems on the new generation. The main reason why we started Yuv Vani is we should not try to impose the value-systems of the old generation, because it alienates them. One of the reasons why the new generation gets alienated from the old generation is because the media of expression tries to mould them. Today's generation, rightly or wrongly—I am no judge of it—revolts against that effort to regiment them. That is why we have thought as a policy that in the Yuv Vani we should give freedom of expression. It is freedom of expression not only in the sense of speech, but also in the sense of music. Whether it jars Prakash Vir Shastriji's ears or my ears, it is of no consequence. The fact is that the new generation likes loud music. Loud music has been born due to many reasons. I will not take the time of the House . . .

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मैं सिर्फ इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि 18 प्रतिशत जनता शहरों में रहती है तो 82 प्रतिशत भारत के गांवों में रहती हैं।

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL : I am coming to that.

The second thing is that we are trying to build up the Yuva Vani deliberately. We felt that if we generalised the Yuva

[Shri J. K. Gujral.]

Vani policy and took it to all sections of the Youth population, then the Yuva Vani will fail, because the general radio, the AIR, has A, B & C somewhere. But the Yuva Vani policy is that it must address itself to a limited section of the youth and for good reason, which is that we want them to feel that it is their own medium. And that is why the policy enunciation that I made when we started first the Yuva Vani was that this radio is being set up for that section of youth which is either in the process of education or is the product of education. We deliberately tried to keep it at low transmitters so that it remained local and it did not spread outside so that personal contacts became possible. If a boy wins a hockey match in the Delhi University or if a girl delivers a very good speech in Hindi at the Indraprastha College, then that should be something, their names should mean something to the community of the youth as such. Therefore, we have deliberately tried to follow this policy. We have deliberately tried to use the Yuva Vani for the urban youth. For the rural youth we are trying to build separate programmes in A, B & C. This is the policy we are experimenting with. I cannot claim that we will succeed. But the results so far show that we are succeeding even in dealing with that section of the society; youth living in the urban areas, youth which is in touch with education, youth which is now feeling the impact of our new approach, rightly or wrongly, positively or negatively. Let us try to have a line of communication with them because when one communication channel gets complete, then the second stage will come as to what I think is the best course to deal with them. Let the youth expose its own problems to us, and let them talk to each other. We should also go into their minds; we should know what the youth is feeling. Let us continue the experiment with them for some time more. Perhaps we will succeed. I am no prophet nor can anybody claim to be a prophet. One can succeed; one can change if one does not succeed.

My friend, to an extent, expressed a great deal of concern about this Spotlight. Now, I would not have taken time on it, but since it always comes up again and again, I would only like to say that we have definitely given a great deal of shift in choosing people who can come on the Spotlight Programme. I will only read out two or three lines for the records so that my friends know what policy we are following—

“During 1973, 11 specialists from the Jawaharlal Nehru University associated with the various social sciences disciplines were invited to broadcast in the programme on 21 occasions. Academicians participated on 92 occasions and they were drawn from 34 academic institutions all over the country. It is interesting to compare this wider academic participation in 1973 with participation of only 11 such institutions during 1972.”

The representation accorded to the Jawaharlal Nehru University is that during 1973 out of the 537 scripts which were broadcast on the Spotlight, only 11 came from the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Therefore, it is not correct for us to come to a conclusion that some institutions or some set of people are now getting prominence. What we have decided as a policy is that Spotlight is an all-India programme; speakers must come from all over India. And that is why we have considerably brought it down—I think even Delhi has come down to about 30 per cent and 70 per cent of the programme approximately comes from outside. Similarly, we are keen that specialists on the particular subjects should speak rather than only generalists should speak. That is how we have devised it. And I think that if from that critical angle my friends will look at it, they will come to a different conclusion.

It has been talked about elections, whether time should be given to the various parties or not. I, for one, feel that radio will become more relevant if all parties are given time about election on the radio. But it is not for me to decide how the

time should be distributed, the time should be distributed as the Election Commission might decide. That is why in 1967 when we were in touch with the Election Commission and in 1971 when we were in touch with the Election Commission I had said that as the Minister in charge of Information and Broadcasting I should not be called upon to decide what percentage of time should be given to each party. I think this is an area where political parties should get together either directly or through the Election Commission and decide . . . .

**श्री राजनारायण :** इलेक्शन कमिशन की पब्लिकली स्टेटमेंट है कि सरकार ने हमारे सुझाव को मानने से इंकार कर दिया . . .

**श्री आई. के. गुजराल :** क्या सुझाव है ?

**श्री राजनारायण :** आप इसे समझने में इतने मालूम बच्चे हैं क्या। इलेक्शन कमिशन ने यह कहा कि हर राजनीतिक दल को उनकी शक्ति के मुताबिक समय दिया जाए यह सरकार को इलेक्शन कमिशन का सुझाव था और इसे आपने मानने से इंकार कर दिया।

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL :** I did not receive any proposal from the Election Commission to this effect. The Election Commission asked us whether we would have any objection for political parties to use it, we said "Yes". Now it is for the Election Commission to decide how much time should be given to which party and how a formula should be evolved.

**SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV :** I should like to have one information from the hon'ble Minister. The Election came out in the Press but he said that no proposal has been received from the Election Commission.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** What more can he say ?

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL :** I did not receive a specific proposal as to how time should be given. I was asked whether the Information Ministry should be willing that radio should be used for election, I said

"Yes". The details were not given to me. It may have been sent to other Ministries but not to us. It is possible that the Election Commission may have been in touch with another Ministry but not with my Ministry. I do not know about it. But so far as I am concerned we were asked only in this limited aspect.

**श्री राजनारायण :** अभी माननीय मंत्री जी ने बताया है कि इलेक्शन कमिशन ने सरकार को कोई प्रपोजल नहीं दी। मैं कहता हूँ कि इलेक्शन कमिशन ने पब्लिकली जो स्टेटमेंट दी उसके अनुसार उन्होंने आपको प्रपोजल भेजी है।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** The Minister says he did not receive any proposal.

**SHRI RAJNARAIN :** Joint responsibility.

यह जवाब रिस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी है। मंत्री जी यह नहीं कह सकते कि सरकार की रिस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी नहीं है।

**SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV :** My point of order is that the Minister owes joint responsibility. He cannot say that he personally did not receive any proposal whereas others might have received. He should reply for the Government.

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL :** The Government replies in two forms. I think hon'ble friends know it better than I do. One is that an enquiry is addressed to me. When I am addressing, naturally, I can reply only within my knowledge. But if he wants that other Ministries should also be asked, he must come in the form of a question or motion. Then other Ministries will reply. So far as I. & B. is concerned. I have made my position very clear.

Sir, about Radio I would touch two more points and then finish about it. One is "Today in Parliament". My friends have complained that the Rajya Sabha does not get adequate coverage. From now on we are going to have separate coverage for the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha so that adequate satisfaction is available to both the Houses.

[Shri I. K. Gujral.]

I might clarify only one point, namely, that we are keen for the internal autonomy of the Radio and the T.V. This I must clarify because it is important for us to feel that the B.B.C.'s is not the only type of internal autonomy available. After all, every country develops its institutions. B.B.C. caters to a very small area where everything is done from one central point. We are dealing with a very big country where we are at the moment running approximately 70 stations. We are running more than a hundred transmitters. When the Fifth Plan commitments are over our number of stations will cross hundred. We have a cultural variety. We are also trying that the Radio should participate not only in the political life of the country but also in the social and cultural life of the country. And when you are trying to use the media for this social transformation, you have to tailor your institutions according to your own needs. Our needs are basically that the radio should be more decentralised, that the stations in the various regions should have more autonomy so that they can take decisions themselves, that the decentralisation should be maximum, that internal autonomy in the running of the radio and the TV should be maximum and they should have release from the governmental disciplines. That is the type of autonomy that we are trying to build. This is the type of autonomy some other countries have tried. No country can copy the media policy of another country because the media policy can be only tailored according to one's own needs. The broad principles may be common, but the approach in detail has to be different and that is why the new type of systems that we are trying to tailor for ourselves are totally different.

Sir, a very pertinent point was made about the TV, i.e. why TV? It has been raised not only here but elsewhere also. And this is one of the reasons why our communication policy in India has not succeeded. I have known and I remember the time when radio was thought to be a luxury. That is why in most of the States, even today you see that from the sales-tax

point of view, the radio is in the category of luxury items. Now, in a country where communication is considered a luxury, that country can have this policy only at its own peril. The TV is not a luxury at all. Any instrument of communication is not either a luxury or a necessity. The basic point remains, what is the input into that medium and how you use that medium? You can make it a luxury. You can make it an instrument for consumerism. You can also make it an instrument for social change. You can also make it an instrument for your cultural policy, for agricultural inputs, for your family planning movement, for your national integration. And our basic approach is that we want to use the audiovisual media for that purpose. That is why whatever investment we might make, we must make it in such a way that we use it fully for the people as a whole. That is why we have said in the Fifth Plan that we must not sanction any station where community sets are not sanctioned along with it, because only through community sets can you reach the people as a whole. Otherwise, if it remains confined to those who can buy TV sets, then the danger will be very serious. I agree with Mr. Habib Tanvir in one thing more and that is, when we go to the rural life, our cultural approach should not be alien. It should not be as if we are disturbing the internal equilibrium in cultural life and projecting into it some alien culture. The alien culture will always have an upsetting effect because we have very rich cultural traditions. That is why in the satellite programmes, we are trying to keep this in view. I think sometimes it succeeds and sometimes it does not give that degree of success. That is why I invite friends like Mr. Habib Tanvir to help us in this.

Sir, there has been a sad suicide in the TV centre and my friends have referred to it in this House and in the other House. I have said that I feel really pained that we lost in Mr. Gaur one of our very valued colleagues. His contribution to TV was very considerable and one does not like to lose colleagues like him. We have a great deal of sympathy for his family,

particularly because the loss of the head of the family like this is a very sad thing. The police report is not yet complete. I can assure this House that our next step will depend upon what the police report says. I would not like to anticipate the police report. And whatever is called for afterwards will be done. I would only take a few minutes more.

**SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA:** Would you agree to conduct an enquiry into the functioning of the TV station?

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** I will not make any comment till I get the police report.

**SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA:** I am asking about the general functioning of the TV centre.

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** I would also not like some people to take advantage of this suicide for their own purposes. Therefore, I would not like this to be a stick to make the Government move in a certain direction. You know very well that everything which is vocal is not always correct. Therefore, let us not be swept away by the vocality of certain people.

Sir, the film has also received a great deal of attention of the House today. I will not take your time at length because I have spoken on this subject when the Bill on censorship came. But I would only say one thing, that is, for the first time we are now having a comprehensive film policy. It covers censorship. It covers the Film Institute. It covers the Directorate of Film Festivals. It covers Film council; it covers setting up of a National Films Corporation; it covers setting up of art theatres; it covers film funds. Basically I believe that like radio and TV and newspapers, the film will not be an instrument of social use unless social investment is made into it. You cannot have a healthy film and unhealthy finance co-exist. If the film makers resort to money from sources from where they get now on that very interest, then the type of films available will be the same as we are now getting although in our Censor Board we have been very strict, we have

banned more films this year than ever before, we have made very serious cut this year than ever before. Even then the impact will never be felt; the impact will be felt only when film funds come into existence, when healthy finance is made available. That, I hope, supported by the various institutional set-up that I have indicated, will be in a position to usher in a new film scene in not a distant future. Sir, with this I hope I have met all the points...

**SHRI RAJ NARAIN:** No, no. पब्लिक कार्पोरेशन के अंदर रेडियो कब आ जायेगा ?

**श्री आई० के० गुजराल :** मैं ने जवाब दे दिया है, मैं फिर जवाब दे दूँ। पब्लिक कार्पोरेशन बनाने का हमारा कोई इरादा नहीं है। उस बो इटर्नल आटोनामी देने का इरादा जरूर है।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU):** I think now...

**श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :** पी० आई० बी० के बारे में मंत्री महोदय ने टच ही नहीं किया।

**SHRI I. K. GUJRAL:** I deliberately did not touch two or three activities because of shortage of time. I know I was testing the patience of my fellow-Members. But I can promise you one thing that all the points that have been raised here have been taken note of and whichever point I have not replied here will all be kept in mind. . . . (Interruptions)

#### **NOTIFICATION RE. ENHANCEMENT OF EXCISE DUTY ON KHANDSARI SUGAR**

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI):** Sir, with your permission I beg to lay on the Table a notification both in English and Hindi of the Ministry of Finance, Department of Revenue and Insurance Notification No 80/74-CE dated 30th April, 1974, together with an Explanatory Memorandum.