

big business and so on I hope my friend, Mr. Lokanath Misra, who has become my conscience-keeper in Parliament will rally to my support when I demand that the voice against monopoly, big money and reaction shall always prevail in this Parliament and in this voice both sides shall join together. That high tradition we shall always maintain.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: It will be maintained. Do not worry.

THE ARMS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1971

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Arms Act, 1959.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What about the papers I asked for?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In the afternoon, we are discussing the working of an important Ministry and a large number of Members will be participating in the debate. Therefore, we will have to adjourn till 2 P.M. only.

The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at half past one of the clock

The House reassembled, after lunch, at two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA) in the Chair.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

श्री लाल आइवाणी (दिल्ली) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि

आपने इस महत्वपूर्ण चर्चा को आरम्भ करने का मुझको अवसर दिया है। मैं उनका भी आभारी हूँ, जिन्होंने मुझे यह अवसर देने के लिए कुछ विलम्ब भी होने दिया। वैसे इस वर्ष जो हमने 4 मंत्रालय चुने विचार के लिए, उनमें से बाकी तीनों का सम्बन्ध देश की समृद्धि और सम्पन्नता से है, किन्तु यह जो मंत्रालय है, सूचना और प्रसारण का, उसका एक प्रकार से सम्बन्ध हमारे राजनैतिक ढाँचे से है। यह जरूर है कि देश की सम्पन्नता और समृद्धि में भी इसका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है और होना चाहिए। लेकिन बाकी तीनों मंत्रालय, जिनमें से 2 की चर्चा हम कर चुके हैं और एक की करने जा रहे हैं, उनका किसी भी राजनैतिक ढाँचे से सम्बन्ध नहीं। किसी भी प्रकार का देश हो, वह लोकतंत्रीय हो अथवा और किसी व्यवस्था को स्वीकार करता हो, वहाँ पर प्रायः उन सभी विषयों के बारे में एक ही दृष्टिकोण हो सकता है। किन्तु जब हम सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय के बारे में चर्चा करते हैं, उसकी आलोचना करते हैं, उसके कार्यकलापों का विश्लेषण करते हैं, तो हमने जो राजनीतिक ढाँचा स्वीकार किया है, जो राजनीतिक प्रणाली स्वीकार की है, उसका बहुत बड़ा महत्व है और उसमें अलिप्त हो कर, उसमें अलग ह कर हम सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय के बारे में नहीं सोच सकते हैं। यह सब से प्रमुख बात है, जो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको ध्यान करना चाहिये। किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से आज मंत्रालय का जिस प्रकार से काम चल रहा है, उससे लगता है कि इस बात को ध्यान में नहीं रखा जाता है कि भारत ने लोकतन्त्र को स्वीकार किया है और यह निर्णय किया है कि हम देश की उन्नति लोकतंत्रीय तरीकों से करेंगे।

वास्तव में सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय का जितना माग काम है, वह इस समय स्वभाविक रूप से सरकार के कार्यकलापों को, सरकार की उपलब्धियों को, जनता को

[श्री लाल अडवाणी]

इसके साथ-साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि जो लोकतन्त्र हमने स्वीकार किया है, उस लोकतन्त्र को मजबूत करने के लिए अनुकूल वातावरण बनायें। हमारी सबसे बड़ी शिकायत इस सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय से यह है कि वह इस दिशा में बिल्कुल ही प्रयत्नशील नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि जिस मार्ग पर वह चल रहा है, शनैः-शनैः देश के अन्दर लोकतन्त्र के लिए वातावरण टूटता जा रहा है। शायद यही कारण है कि जो तानाशाही देश थे, वे प्रायः उनके नोमनक्लेचर के अनुरूप जाते हैं और वे इसे इन्फार्मेशन ब्राडकास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री नहीं कहते। नाजी जर्मनी का तानाशाही हिटलर इसको मिनिस्ट्री आफ प्रोपेगण्डा कहा करता था और कभी-कभी यह लगता है कि हम भी यही मान कर चल रहे हैं कि सूचना मंत्रालय का प्रमुख काम प्रोपेगण्डा करना है, सरकारी नीतियों का प्रचार करना है और इस तरह से यह एक प्रचार मंत्रालय रह गया है। सरकारी प्रचार मंत्रालय रह गया है और सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय नहीं रह गया है।

एक काम जरूर है और मैं इसको इन्कार नहीं करता कि सरकार की जितनी सारी नीतियाँ हैं, सरकार के जितने सारे काम हैं, उनके बारे में जनता को जानकारी देना यह एक काम इस मंत्रालय का है। लेकिन यह प्रमुख काम नहीं है और आज प्रमुख ही नहीं बल्कि सबसे बड़ा काम यही एक काम रह गया है इस मंत्रालय का। मैं यह अनुभव करता हूँ कि अगर हमें हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतन्त्र को मजबूत करना है, तो इसमें सबसे बड़ा योगदान जो कर सकता है, वह यह मंत्रालय कर सकता है और सबसे बड़ा नुकसान भी यही मंत्रालय कर सकता है।

आज इस मंत्रालय द्वारा संचालित जो आल इंडिया रेडियो है वह इतने लोगों के पास पहुंचता है, जिनके पास अखबार नहीं पहुंचते हैं। अखबार तो केवल कम लोगों के पास

पहुंचते हैं और वे भी उन लोगों के पास पहुंचते हैं जो शिक्षित हैं, पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, उन तक ही अखबार पहुंचते हैं। इन पढ़े लिखे लोगों में से भी कितने अखबार पढ़ते हैं; क्योंकि अधिकांश जो हैड लाइन रीडर होते हैं, शीर्षक पढ़ लिया और पांच मिनट में सब काम खत्म हो गया। लेकिन जो आल इंडिया रेडियो है, आकाशवाणी है, उसकी आवाज गांव-गांव तक जाती है, शिक्षित, अशिक्षित सब तक जाती है और इस तरह से उसके द्वारा जो चीजें उन तक पहुंचनी, उससे एक भूमिका उन्हें बनेगी और उसके बारे में उनके मन में विकास होगा। आज यह जो भूमिका हम उन तक पहुंचा रहे हैं, उसके द्वारा हम उनके सोचने की शक्ति को कुंठित कर रहे हैं। यह सोचने के लिये उन्हें प्रेरित नहीं करते कि क्या पक्ष-विपक्ष हो सकता है किसी पहलू का, हम यही बताते हैं कि यह सरकारी पक्ष है, यही सही है और दूसरा बिल्कुल गलत है। एक समय था जब सरकारी पक्ष के लोग विपक्ष के लोगों के साथ सहमत थे कि आल इंडिया रेडियो को एक आटोनोमस इंडी बना दिया जाये, उसे एक स्वायत्त निगम का रूप दिया जाना चाहिये। सरकार ने कभी भी इस बात को खुले तौर पर स्पष्ट नहीं किया कि आखिर उसको आपत्ति क्या है, क्यों नहीं बनाना चाहिये। चन्दा कमेटी ने जो टिप्पणी दी वह बहुत प्रबल तर्क था और चन्दा कमेटी ने स्वयं पंडित नेहरू का उद्धरण दिया था, जिसमें पंडित नेहरू ने आरम्भ में आश्वासन दिया था कान्स्टीट्यूट असम्बली को कि हमारी कल्पना यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान में आल इंडिया रेडियो बी बी सी के मोडेल पर डेवलप किया जाये, लेकिन सब तर्कों के बावजूद सरकार से जब भी पूछा जाता है तो एक कंटेगोरिकल से टूक जवाब दे दिया जाता है कि हम करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, हम इस बात को नहीं करेंगे। क्यों नहीं करेंगे इसको समझाने की कोशिश नहीं की गई। मेरी शिकायत है कि जितनी अप्पनिब

[श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री]

जितने दोष चन्दा कमेटी ने आल इंडिया रेडियो में दिखाये थे, उन दोषों को बर्नाय रखने के उद्देश्य से इसको स्वायत्त निगम बनाने से सरकार इनकार कर रही है, क्योंकि अगर स्वायत्त निगम बना दिया जाये तो कई सारे महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा जो चन्दा कमेटी ने दिये थे, वे स्वीकार हो जायेंगे और कार्यान्वित हो जाएंगे। मुझे कभी-कभी आश्चर्य होता है कि सरकार ने जिन मुद्दों को स्वीकार किया है और कहा कि चन्दा कमेटी का भ्रमक मुद्दा हमको स्वीकार है, उसको भी वह कार्यान्वित नहीं करती। इस सदन में और इनफार्मेशन एंड ब्रॉडकास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री की कन्सल्टेटिव कमेटी है, उसमें भी मंत्री जी ने हमको यह जानकारी दी कि चन्दा कमेटी का जो मत था, मैं उसको उद्धृत करता हूँ—

"Confidence in the faithfulness of official information has to be generated. Suspicion of official information has deepened in India because of incorrect, even improper, use of the media, -for personalised publicity and an undue accent on achievement- it is necessary to correct this CujSortion and also to pose in proper perspective the many problems which confront the country without withholding adverse facts while at the same time stating convincingly how the remedy lies in the people's hands."

यह उनकी रिकमंडेशन थी, जिसका आधार पर सरकार ने जो टिप्पणी दी वह यह दी —

"The Recommendation is accepted and action is being taken."

प्रमुख रूप से इसमें यह कहा गया है कि पर्सनलाइज्ड पब्लिसिटी बहुत गलत है, यह देश लोकतंत्र है और इसमें व्यक्ति पूजा को बल देना किसी व्यक्ति के पर्सनलिटी कल्ट को डेवलप करना, वह आल इंडिया रेडियो करे या सूचना मंत्रालय के जो विभिन्न पब्लिसिटी मीडिया हैं, वे यह काम करें, यह बिल्कुल गलत है। मैं सदन के माननीय सदस्यों को यह स्मरण दिलाऊंगा कि यह बात तब कही गयी थी जब कि किसी एक प्रधान

931 R.S.—7.

मंत्री के खिलाफ या किसी एक मंत्री के खिलाफ यह चर्चा नहीं था और बावजूद इसके कि चन्दा कमेटी के लोग इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे थे कि आल इंडिया रेडियो पर्सनलाइज्ड पब्लिसिटी करता है अर्थात् कोई मंत्री भा गया, कोई मंत्री, इनफार्मेशन एंड ब्रॉडकास्टिंग मंत्री बन गया, वह अपनी पब्लिसिटी करता है या प्राइम मिनिस्टर की पब्लिसिटी होती है। मैं आपसे निवेदः करूंगा कि इस टिप्पणी के बाद पिछले तीन साल में जो घटनाचक्र चला है, जो राजनीतिक क्रम रहा है, उसमें इस पर्सनलिटी कल्ट का बड़ा विकास हुआ है। यह तब है जब सरकार ने कहा है कि हम इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं।

"The recommendation is accepted by the Government".

पर्सनलाइज्ड पब्लिसिटी नहीं होनी चाहिए, फिर भी रिकनेडेशन स्वीकार करने के बाद भी पर्सनलाइज्ड पब्लिसिटी हो रही है और आगे भी होती रहेगी; क्योंकि सरकार इस आल इंडिया रेडियो को अपना एक डिपार्टमेंट बनाने पर तल्ली हुई है। तो मैं चन्दा कमेटी का उद्धरण दे रहा था और मैं कह रहा था कि जितने उसके मुद्दा थे, उनमें से कुछ मुद्दा स्वीकार किये गये, यह बात अलग है, लेकिन कारपोरेशन बनाने के मुद्दा को स्पष्ट रूप से सरकार ने अस्वीकार किया। मैं यह भी निवेदन कर दूँ कि जिन मुद्दों को स्वीकार भी किया गया, उनको कार्यान्वित नहीं किया गया। इसी कारण पिछले 1971 के चुनाव में इस वोट का बहुत बड़ा दुरुपयोग हुआ। सब विरोधी दलों ने आपत्ति उठायी, लेकिन बावजूद उन आपत्तियों के उसको स्वीकार नहीं किया गया।

अभी पिछले दिनों में एक घटना घटी जिसकी कुछ चर्चा संसद की लाबीज में भी हुई और उस चर्चा के बारे में सब संसद सदस्य जानते हैं कि जब प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर की जगह खाली हुई, तो उसके स्थान पर कौन होना चाहिए, कौन नहीं होना

[श्री लाल बडवाणी]

चाहिए। इस पर सरकार में कुछ मतों का। कई विरोधी दल हैं जो सरकार की बहुत सी बातों से असहमत हैं और आलोचना भी करते हैं। लेकिन जब मैं "नेशनल हेराल्ड" सम्पादकीय को पढ़ा तो मुझे इस प्रकार की प्रेरणा हुई कि कुछ जानकारी का जो क्या मामला है। वास्तव में सामान्य रूप से किसी भी पद की निष्ठा होती है, कोई पद खाली होता है तो उस पर जो सीनियर ऑफिसर है वह नामिनेट होना चाहिए और विप्रेषण तब जब कि उस पद की प्रति यूनिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन की रिक्मेंडेशन पर होनी हो। यूनिजन पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन को रिक्मेंडेशन के बावजूद, किसी एक अधिकारी की सिफारिश के बावजूद जब दूसरे अधिकारी को उस पद पर नामिनेट किया जाता है, तो स्वभाविक रूप से लोगों के मन में शंका होती है। इसके पीछे जो पृष्ठभूमि है, उस पृष्ठभूमि का जो वर्णन सरकार का सदैव समर्थन करने वाले नेशनल हेराल्ड ने दिया उसको पढ़ कर मैं दंग रह गया। आज जब मैं यह बात कह रहा हूँ तब मैं यह साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जिस अधिकारी को आज प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर नियुक्त किया गया है, उसके विरुद्ध व्यक्तिगत रूप से कुछ नहीं जानता हूँ। व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैं उनके बारे में बहुत नहीं जानता हूँ। जितना थोड़ा बहुत मैं जानता हूँ, वह इतना ही जानता हूँ कि वे सज्जन हैं, योग्य हैं। लेकिन जो दूसरे अधिकारी थे, जिनकी सिफारिशों को एक तरफ रख कर डिप्टी सी. पी. प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर बनाया गया उसने बारे में नेशनल हेराल्ड ने दो बातें बहुत महत्व की कहीं हैं। नेशनल हेराल्ड कहता है कि क्या किसी का सबसे बड़ा अपराध यह है कि उसका नाम देसाई है। नेशनल हेराल्ड ने कहा है लगभग इन्हीं शब्दों में, व्यंग्यात्मक रूप से उसने कहा है कि:

"It is no use demanding instruments indiscriminately as belonging to the right or to the left" when there has been no evidence of leftism of any kind, and even left-Jism must inspire confidence and trust. It is also not right to con-

fuse names with namesakes, just as Cinna the poet was torn to pieces by the Roman mob thinking he was Cinna the conspirator, in spite of his protesting that he was Cinna the poet."

सिन्ना बेचारे कवि को उस वक्त रोमन्स ने ऐसा कह कर तोड़ फोड़ दिया, चीर फाड़ दिया कि यह सिन्ना कांस्पीरेटर है, सिन्ना पड़यंत्रकारी है। तो उन्होंने संज्ञित किया है कि जो देसाई साहब को सुनसरीड किया गया उसका प्रमुख कारण यही दिखाई देता है कि उनका नाम श्री. मोरार जी देसाई से मिलता है। यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है और इसके आगे उन्होंने यहाँ भी कहा है कि अगर कोई शराब नहीं पीता तो यह क्या कोई अपराध है प्रोहिबिशन की पालिसी जो सरकार की है क्या वह इस आधार पर बनाई गई है कि कौन सुनसरीड किया जाय और कौन प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर बनाया जाय। इसके आगे उन्होंने व्यंग्य करते हुए कहा है कि:

"Most pressmen are still impressed by credibility not by scotch."

मैं आपको जो इन्फार्मेशन दे रहा हूँ वह सही है और वह यह है कि वह स्काच कितनी पीता है, कितनी नहीं पीता है, यह एक प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर की योग्यता का मापदंड नहीं है।

नेशनल हेराल्ड जब ऐसी तीखी टिप्पणी कर सकता है (Interruption) दोनों बातें हैं। तो मैं यह बात इस संदर्भ में कह रहा था कि आल इंडिया रेडियो और उसके सदस्य सूचना मंत्रालय के जो नोटिफाई हैं, मोक्स आफ कम्प्युनिवेशन हैं, उनको सरकारी नीतियों के प्रोपेगंडा का साधन मात्र बनाने के दृष्टिकोण से यदि कार्य होगा तो उनके दुष्परिणाम स्वरूप यह विकृतियाँ आयेंगी। और फिर यह बात जरूर आयेगी कि मैं जहाँ वहाँ होने चाहिये, वे कमिटीड फ्रॉम वेल्स होने चाहिये और कमिटीड आफिसियल्स का मतलब यह है कि अगर किसी में कमिटीमेंट थोड़ा कम है, तो सारे नियमों की अवहेलना करते हुए, य. पी. सी. सी. की रिक्मेंडेशन्स की अवहेलना करते हुए जूनियर आदमी को सीनियर आदमी पर लाद दिया जाय, किसी भी जूनियर को प्रिंसिपल इन्फार्मेशन आफिसर बना दिया जाय।

यह इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि हम आल इंडिया रेडियो को या सूचना मंत्रालय के जो बाकी दूसरे मीडिया हैं, उनको हम क्या मानते हैं, अगर हम उनको इस बात का साधन मानते हैं कि वह सरकारी नीतियों का पालन करें और उनका प्रचार करें और उसमें जो जितना प्रचार कर सकेगा उसको उतनी ही ज्यादा तरकीबों मिलेगी तो निश्चित रूप से इस प्रकार के दुष्परिणाम आपके सामने आयेंगे। मैं चाहूंगा कि इन दुष्परिणामों को और उनके कारणों को दूर किया जाय।

इसी संदर्भ में मैं आल इंडिया रेडियो की चर्चा करते हुए उसके कुछ कर्मचारियों की भी चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। पिछले जो अपने मंत्री थे श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह, वह जब विदाई ले रहे थे तब उन्होंने एक घोषणा की थी और वह प्रेस इंफार्मेशन ब्यूरो की विज्ञप्ति में भी छपी थी, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट्स को भी बाकी गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज का दर्जा दिया जायेगा। आज स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट्स की बड़ी विचित्र स्थिति है, उन की बड़ी दयनीय दशा है। सचमुच में स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट शब्द जो है वह मिसनोमर है। साधारण शब्दों में स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट से मतलब लगाया जाता है कि उनमें कोई म्यूजिशियन होगा, कोई इंस्ट्रुमेंटलिस्ट होगा। उन की चर्चा है और उनको कुछ समय के लिए रखा जाता है। जब तक उनकी कला है, उनके पास कला कुशलता है, वह उनका साथ देती रहती है, वह सेवा करते रहते हैं, बाकी समय में सेवा नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट के इस शब्द में वहां क्लक्स भी आते हैं। सुन कर आपको आश्चर्य होगा कि उन में क्लक्स भी आते हैं, जर्नलिस्ट्स भी आते हैं और कितने ही प्रकार के लोग आते हैं। साधारणतया जो लोग पूरे समय आल इंडिया रेडियो में काम करते हैं उनका बाकी गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज की तरह का स्तर होना चाहिए, सुविधाएँ होनी चाहिए, सिक्वोरिटी होनी चाहिए, लेकिन वह सारी सुविधाएँ, वह सारे नियम केवल स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट होने के कारण उनको नहीं मिलती और उन

का कंट्रैक्ट इयरली रिन्यू होता है, किस कारण से कोई नाराज हो गया तो वह भी रिन्यू नहीं होता और इस प्रकार उन को बहुत परेशान किया जाता है और उसके परिणामस्वरूप स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट को हमेशा बेचैनी रहती है। मैं आज के इस अवसर पर राज्य मंत्री श्रीमती नन्दनी शतपथी से अपेक्षा करूंगा कि इस राज्य सभा की डिबेट में श्री सत्यनारायण सिंह ने जो घोषणा की थी, जो आश्वासन दिया था, उसको वह कब पूरा करने वाली हैं, इसकी वे स्पष्ट घोषणा करें, क्योंकि लोक सभा में जो बहस हुई थी उसमें मैंने उन का वक्तव्य पढ़ा, उनका भाषण पढ़ा। उसमें स्टाफ आर्टिस्ट के बारे में श्री सिंह द्वारा दिये गये आश्वासन को पूरा करने का कोई संकेत नहीं था। इसी प्रकार से जो जर्नलिस्ट्स वहां पर काम करते हैं, आल इंडिया रेडियो में करस्पोंडेंट्स हैं, मैं स्वयं एक पत्रकार हूँ और इस कारण से जानता हूँ कि उनकी कठिनाइयाँ कितनी हैं। वे कठिनाइयाँ बहुत विकट हैं। यह सोचना कि दूसरे सामान्य गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज जिस प्रकार के हैं और जैसे उन को टी० ए० और डी० ए० मिलता है, उसी प्रकार से उसी स्तर का उनको टी० ए० और डी० ए० देना है, तो मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब वे करस्पोंडेंट्स विभिन्न इवेंट्स को कवर करने के लिए जाते हैं और जब उनको अपने दूसरे अखबारों के साथियों के साथ बैठना पड़ता है, रहना पड़ता है तो उसमें उन्हें बड़ी कठिनाई होती है। यह मैंने देखा है। मेरा यहां पर सुझाव है कि उनको गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लाइज की किसी कटेगरी के समान नहीं माना जाना चाहिए, उनको जिस तरह से जर्नलिस्ट माने जाते हैं और जर्नलिस्ट के बारे में जो रिकमेंडेशन्स हैं उनके अनुरूप, उनके समकक्ष स्तर पर उनको माना जाना चाहिए और उसी तरह की सुविधाएँ, भत्ते और वेतन उनको दिये जाने चाहिए। यह मेरा एक आग्रह है।

आल इंडिया रेडियो के साथ साथ जो सूचना मंत्रालय का काम सबसे ज्यादा आता है वह आता है प्रेस से। समय बहुत ज्यादा

[श्री लाल आढाणी]

नहीं है मैं अपने को सीमित करूंगा। प्रेस की चर्चा के सम्बन्ध में पिछले दिनों में प्रेस कौंसिल ने ट्रिब्यून के बारे में जो वक्तव्य दिया है उसकी चर्चा करूंगा और उसी में से मैं दो निष्कर्ष निकालना चाहूंगा क्योंकि वह ट्रिब्यून का एक हिस्टारिक जजमेंट है।

सरकार से जब भी पूछा जाता है कि ट्रिब्यून के बारे में प्रेस कौंसिल के दिये गये वडिक्ट के सम्बन्ध में कहें तो सरकार का जवाब मैंने देखा है एक तरफ तो प्रेस कौंसिल ने जो वडिक्ट दिया है उसका वर्णन कर देती है और हरियाणा की सरकार क्या कहती है उसका वर्णन कर देती है जैसे कि स्वयं इसमें से हमारी कोई जवाबदारी उठती नहीं है। हमने जित्ने प्रेस कौंसिल का निर्माण किया और इस उद्देश्य से निर्माण किया कि प्रेस कौंसिल हिन्दुस्तान में प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता की एक गारंटी बन जाय, प्रहरी बन जाय, एक संरक्षक बन जाय तो हमारी कोई जवाबदारी नहीं। इस सदन की या इस सरकार की हम समझते हैं कि जवाबदारी है और इस जजमेंट में से, इस प्रेस कौंसिल के डिसेजन से दो जवाबदारी साफ निकलती हैं और वह जवाबदारी यह साफ निकलती है कि प्रेस कौंसिल अगर किसी सरकार के खिलाफ कोई निर्णय दे, तो उस निर्णय के पीछे कोई सेक्शन होना चाहिए, उसके बाद से उसका कोई कांसीक्वेंशल परिणाम निकलना चाहिये और उन परिणामों के परिणामस्वरूप कुछ करना चाहिए।

This Press Council Act must be provided with some teeth to decisions enforceable.

वह जो भी निर्णय करती है उसके पीछे सेंक्शन होना चाहिए, यह ठीक है कि निर्णय घोषित होता है तो उसका एक मारल प्रभाव होता है। आज हरियाणा की सरकार कंधरे में खड़ी हो कर अपराधी घोषित कर दी गई, इसका थोड़ा बहुत परिणाम हुआ, लेकिन हरियाणा की सरकार उसके बाद भी उसी प्रकार का आचरण करती रहे, उसी प्रकार का दुर्व्यव-

हार करती रहे, ट्रिब्यून का या ट्रिब्यून की तरह के जो अखबार उनकी नीतियों की टीका-टिप्पणी और आलोचना करते हैं, उनके खिलाफ किसी न किसी प्रकार का विडिक्टिव एक्शन लेती रहे, इस प्रकार की अनुमति नहीं दी जानी चाहिये और प्रेस कौंसिल एक्ट को इस प्रकार से संशोधित किया जाना चाहिये कि जो भी उसका निष्कर्ष है उन निष्कर्षों को कार्यान्वित किया जा सके। और दूसरी एक बात है जो कि पहली बात से निकलती है। मैं अपेक्षा करता हूं कि सरकार कहेगी कि उसका सम्बन्ध राज्य सरकारों से है और राज्य सरकारों का हम क्या कर सकते हैं, क्या नहीं कर सकते हैं, कई बातें वह कह सकती है। उसको एक तरफ रख भी दिया जाय तो एक दूसरी बात निकलती है, जिसका सम्बन्ध एडवर्टिजमेंट्स से है। वह बात भले ही प्रेस कौंसिल ने ट्रिब्यून के संदर्भ में कही है और हरियाणा सरकार के संदर्भ में कही है, लेकिन उसका भाव मैं समझता हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के लिए भी है। आज हर सरकार, केन्द्रीय सरकार सहित के सम्बन्ध में जब भी कभी एडवर्टिजमेंट्स के बारे में सवाल आता है और यह कहा जाता है कि आपने अमुक विज्ञापन अमुक अखबारों को क्यों नहीं दिया, अमुक अखबारों को क्यों अधिक विज्ञापन दिया, आपकी विज्ञापन देने की नीति एक प्रकार से पोलिटिकल कारणों से प्रेरित है, तो वह हमेशा उत्तर देती है कि यह हमारा अधिकार है और हम उसका कारण भी नहीं बतायेंगे, कितना-कितना किस-किस को देते हैं यह भी नहीं बतायेंगे, यह पब्लिक इंटरेस्ट में नहीं है, अर्थात् सब चीजें छिपा कर रखते हैं लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इसके बारे में प्रेस कमिशन का भी मत था कि विज्ञापन जो है वह एक प्रकार से अखबारों और प्रेस को कोअर्स करने का एक बहुत बड़ा साधन है और सरकार उसे कोअर्सन के रूप में उसका दुरुपयोग भी करती है। इसलिये मैं प्रेस कमिशन का एक उद्घरण देना चाहूंगा।

"We agree that advertisements cannot be claimed by newspapers as a matter of right. We also agree that the Government would be justified in withholding advertisements from papers which habitually indulge in journalism which is obscene or scurrilous, which gives incitement to violence or endanger the security of the State. Bearing this in mind, the Government should give advertisements having regard to the following considerations:

(i) Circulation of the paper and the rate charged by that paper, and

(ii) readership designed to be reached for the purpose of the particular advertisement."

और फिर इसी संदर्भ में उन्होंने कहा कि यहाँ जो कमीशियाँ होनी चाहियें, इसके अलावा कोई कसौटी लगे, कोई पोलिटिकल कंसी-डरेंस लगे तो वह सरासर अनुचित होगा और सरकार को ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिये। इस प्रेस कमिशन के उद्घरण को उद्धृत करते हुये, कोट करते हुये प्रेस काउंसिल ने यह ट्रिब्यून का फैसला दिया। मैं चाहूँगा कि सरकार इस फैसले में संदर्भ में अपनी एडवर्टाइजमेन्ट नीति और उसके बारे में अपने निर्णय को भी प्रेस काउंसिल के दायरे के अधीन ले आए।

This should be brought within the purview of the Press Council. If any paper is denied advertisements on political grounds, if any paper is subjected to vindictive action by the Government of India or any State Government through advertising.

मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रेस काउंसिल को उसका नोट ले कर, उसके मुताबिक काम करना चाहिए। मोटी तौर पर, अगर सरकार एडवर्टाइजमेन्ट पालिसी ले डाउन करने के छोटे-मोटे सिद्धांत प्रेस काउंसिल के सुपुर्दे कर दे और प्रेस काउंसिल को इसका चार्ज दे दे, तो मैं समझता हूँ इससे एक बड़ा लाभ होगा। (Time ball rings

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसी के साथ-साथ मैं प्रेस की चर्चा के साथ-साथ कुछ थोड़ा सा फिलम्स के बारे में चर्चा करूँगा, क्योंकि खोसला कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को अब दो साल से अधिक हो गया होगा और शायद सब स्टेट्स ने अपनी राय दे दी। इन दोनों सदनों में भी उसकी चर्चा हो गई और कई बार लगता है कि खोसला कमिशन के जो ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव थे, वे बाई-पास होकर और जो कम महत्व के सुझाव थे, उन्हीं पर ज्यादा चर्चा होती रही और लिबरल कितना होना चाहिए सेन्सरशिप और चुम्बन की अनुमति होनी चाहिए कि नहीं होनी चाहिए, प्रायः सारी चर्चा इसी पर केन्द्रित हो गई। लेकिन उसके जो महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव थे कि सेन्सरबोर्ड एक ही स्थान पर होना चाहिए, उसमें कुछ यूनी-फार्मिटी आनी चाहिए, डबल स्टैण्डर्ड के बारे में उन्होंने थोड़ी टिप्पणी की, मुझे लगता है उसके बारे में ज्यादा सोचने की जरूरत नहीं है जो अंग्रेजी फिल्म आते हैं और जो हिन्दी फिल्म आते हैं उन दोनों की सेन्सरशिप में डबल स्टैण्डर्ड्स विद्यमान हैं और डबल स्टैण्डर्ड को प्रतिष्ठित बताया जाता है, जस्टिफाइड बताया जाता है। दोनों के जो मार्ग स्तर हैं, जो मान बिंदु है वे अलग-अलग हैं, मूल्य अलग-अलग हैं, तो स्वाभाविक रूप से अलग-अलग स्टैण्डर्ड्स होंगे, कुछ अन्तर होना स्वाभाविक है, लेकिन खाई, जो बहुत बड़ी है, जिस प्रकार की और जिस ढंग की पिक्चर्स यहाँ आती हैं और उनको जितनी अनुमति मिलती है, जितनी छूट मिलती है, लाइसेन्स मिलता है, वह किसी प्रकार से उचित नहीं है। यह एक बड़ी खाई है और इसको कम करना चाहिए। पिछले दिनों में नाइट लाइफ सीरीज की कई फिल्में आईं। कोई कारण नहीं था उनको अनुमति देने का, उनको बैन किया जाना चाहिए था। और अभी पिछले दिनों में एक घोषणा की गई थी एल० एन० मिश्र द्वारा कि सारी विदेशी फिल्में जो आती हैं, उनको एस० टी० सी० के माध्यम से लाया जाए। इसके पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों हैं, मैं उस पक्ष

[श्री लाल भाइवाणी]

और विपक्ष में नहीं जाऊंगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि एस० टी० सी० सारा काम अपने ऊपर ले ले—यह इतना जरूरी नहीं है जितना कि खोसला कमीशन का जो इसके बारे में सुझाव है, उसको कार्यान्वित करना जरूरी है। आज फारेन फिल्म हमारे फारेन एक्सचेंज पर बहुत बड़ा डेन है, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। अनाप शनाप यहाँ पर पिक्चर्स आती हैं और उसके कारण हमारा बहुमूल्य फारेन एक्सचेंज वाहर चला जाता है। उसके बारे में खोसला कमीशन ने एक दूरगामी सुझाव दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारा अप्रोच बदलना चाहिए। तो यह एस० टी० सी० के हाथ में हो या प्राइवेट इम्पोर्टर्स के हाथ में हो, यह इतना महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है।

"With regard to the import of the main body of feature films we suggest a complete change of attitude which is at present commerce and politics oriented to an attitude which should be conditioned by considerations of cultural aesthetic and artistic values only. We have to conserve our foreign exchange. In all other fields of activity we permit the import of only those commodities which are absolutely essential. We have placed an embargo on all type of luxuries because we cannot afford to import those articles and also because we are anxious to encourage their manufacture in our own country. We feel that the same rule should be applied to films and only those foreign films be allowed to be displayed which have outstanding cultural, social, scientific, aesthetic or educational value."

मैं समझता हूँ इस सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिए फिल्म के क्षेत्र में।

घर में मैं एक बात कहूँ कि पिछले 10 दिनों में हमारे पड़ोसी पाकिस्तान के नेता जनरल याह्या खान ने दो बार हमको युद्ध की धमकी दी है। तो आल इंडिया रेडियो और इनफार्मेशन एन्ड

ब्राडकास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री के जितने सारे माध्यम हैं, उनको एक दम गीयर अप कर देना चाहिए, अपने को और यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि ये धमकियाँ जो हैं, वे धमकियाँ शायद कार्यान्वित की जायें और स्थिति धीरे-धीरे खड़ी हो रही है, जिस आधार पर हम कह सकते हैं कि शायद युद्ध दूर नहीं है। तो युद्ध का खयाल रख कर जितने हमारे सारे मंडिया हैं, वे गीयर अप कर दी जायें, देश के अंदर एकता का वातावरण निर्माण किया जाए। इसका कोई अर्थ नहीं कि चूंकि आपकी पार्टी की कोई नीति है, तो आप दूसरी पार्टी की निन्दा करें। आज बंगला देश के बारे में बहुत बड़ी चर्चा चल रही है, डिबेट चल रही है कि बंगला देश को मान्यता दी जानी चाहिए कि नहीं दी जानी चाहिए।

मैं समझता हूँ कि आल इंडिया रेडियो का यह प्रथम कर्तव्य है, परम कर्तव्य है कि इस डिबेट के बारे में पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों की बातें जनता के समाने रखें। कल रात्रि को "स्टाट लाइट" में लगातार हमारे दल—दल का नाम नहीं बतलाया गया—क्योंकि हम यहाँ पर आन्दोलन चला रहे हैं, जंगला देश को मान्यता देने के सम्बन्ध में सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं, तो सत्याग्रह के सम्बन्ध में दुनिया भर की गालियाँ दी जा रही थीं। क्या एक देश के अंदर डिबेट करने का तरीका यही होता है ?

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश के सामने जो संकट खड़ा है, उस संकट का मुकाबला करने के लिए एकता पैदा की जाय, राष्ट्रीय एकता पैदा की जाय, देश भाँति की भावना जगाई जाय और इस कार्य को करने के लिए सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय एक योग्य रूप में भूमिका निभायेगी। इसी आशा में मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूँ।

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am indeed glad and profoundly glad to take part in this debate on tlw

Report on the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I should have certainly felt considerable enthusiasm and elation to offer my very respectful compliments to the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, but I must confess to a sense of utter disappointment when I read over the Report that has been submitted to us by the Ministry. It seems to me and I may be pardoned that this Report is more in the nature of a catalogue of attempts than a chronicle of achievements. I must confess that there have been certain difficulties and certain hurdles in the path of the Ministry for realising some of the objectives, some of the ideals—why—some of the important decisions that the Ministry and the Government had taken to be realised, but I should like to say that this Ministry has been rather very lethargic in regard to the implementation of some of the guide-lines and some of the developments that are inherent in the successful working of this Ministry. I would say that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting must combine a very specialised means of both. I think you will pardon me and the House also will pardon me when I say that in this Ministry the information is not broadcast and the broadcasting does not contain information. Now, Sir, I should have thought that a very purposeful Ministry like the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting must be such that the information must certainly have not only content, not only context, not only compass, but much more so, the information that the Government is supplying to the vast millions of our people must nearly be very educative and very rarely interpretative. Whenever there is a broadcasting effort it must be packed with such volume, weight and value of information that people will not only have the entertainment aspect of broadcasting, but also the educative effect of such a broadcast. My first submission, therefore, on the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is that it has failed in both information and broadcasting. I feel that there have been certain attempts and very notable attempts that this Ministry

has undertaken and I will be failing in my duty and untrue to my tradition if I do not make a reference to some of the very important innovations that this Ministry has made. In the first place, I am very much impressed with the effort at State-Centre coordination in regard to the functioning of this Ministry, in channels of information and in broadcasting. Sir, I recall to myself that this Ministry has appointed a Committee for the purpose of evolving institutional framework and functional coordination in respect of all the broadcasting services both by the Centre and the State. I recall that it was some time back, and I understand, Sir, that the Committee has not met and I do not know why that Committee has not met. Or may I know when that Committee will meet? Sir, is it not surprising for this Ministry to be very silent and indifferent to evolving very definite patterns of Centre-State coordination in the matter of information and broadcasting? I have a sense of feeling that in the present context of public debate on the possible relations and the evolution of a pattern of such relations between the Centre and the State, this aspect of information and broadcasting cannot be overlooked. I therefore plead very earnestly with the Minister that early steps should be taken in order to make that Committee function and that Committee should go into all chords of involvement both of the Centre and the State in regard to information and broadcasting. There are very many vulnerable points in the relationship between the Centre and the State in the field of broadcasting. There has been an attempt—and I do not blame any particular State but that is the general tendency—on the part of the State services of broadcasting—to more and more concentrate and overwhelmingly pinpoint the State's efforts and the State's incidents rather than those of a national character. And on some occasions the feeble attempt on the part of the Central broadcasting at giving and projecting the State's attempts and achievements also give a sense of frustration. Therefore I plead very earnestly with the hon. Minister that they would make a

[Shri T. Chandalvaroyan] very early attempt to convene this Committee on Centre-State coordination in the matter of information and broadcasting.

Sir, I am also pleased with the effort of this Ministry in regard to the way in which one of the most fundamental aspects of our national endeavour and life, namely, with regard to implementing fostering the forces of national integration, has been handled. Sir, there cannot be any argument on this question that if there is any powerful medium for the purpose of binding all the chords of our national life and all sections of our people into one indissoluble and indestructible bond of national fellowship and fraternity, I submit that it is the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. There cannot be a greater bond, and there cannot be a greater fellowship. Therefore this certainly evolves from the question as to what are the guidelines along with which this Ministry of Information and Broadcasting can play its role for the purpose of augmenting the forces of national integration. Sir, one aspect suggested some time earlier was that a multimedia publicity scheme ought to be considered by the Ministry. But I am sorry to state that no effort has been made or even attempted to be made with regard to how to implement that multimedia publicity scheme. It is one of the important considerations that the National Integration Council had suggested. And at that time the Minister of Information and Broadcasting had taken rather seriously to the suggestion of the National Integration Council. And there was even some feeble attempt at inaugurating such a multi-media publicity scheme. But I do not find in this Report, voluminous as it is, any references to the inauguration and much less the implementation of the multi-media publicity scheme. Apart from that, Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I very respectfully suggest to the Ministry that in the matter of improving and integrating: some of the very great forces and very valuable forces of national integration of our country,

they must introduce certain really emotional aspects in regard to their method of broadcasting and information? I must confess, Sir, that there has not been that tinge of emotionalism which is the bed-rock of our national integration for our listeners to be told that our country is united in history, that our country is united in geography, that it is united in progress, united in everything that is glorious and great in our national life. I feel, Sir, that there is some lack of that emotional touch in the way of implementing the grand concept of the multi-media publicity scheme that the Ministry has been entrusted with. I hope and trust that sooner perhaps than we wish they will undertake a very serious attempt in trying to inaugurate this emotional mass multimedia publicity scheme.

Sir, the next point that rather impress me very much about the working of this Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is with regard to its service for the youth. I must very humbly and respectfully offer my congratulations to my esteemed friend, Mr. Gujral, when he was in charge of the Ministry for having inaugurate the Youth Services in the Information and Broadcasting Ministry particularly, in the All India Radio.

Sir, I have listened just for the purpose of understanding what is the scope of this Youth Service as a concept. It is laudable as a scheme. But the way it has been implemented rather disappoints me. There has always been, Mr. Vice-Chairman, an attempt to broadcast to the youth but not a broadcast by the youth. I hope there is this difference between an attempt to broadcast to the youth and a broadcast by the youth.

Sir, our country today, particularly the young India, is pulsating with new impulse, with new ideas and new aspirations, and new visions and new effort, and unless we are able to galvanise them and channelise them into proper, purposeful expression of their

own emotion and ideas, I am afraid, Sir, the great renaissance of the youth movement in our country will be completely without a direction and without guidance. I appeal to the Minister for his kind consideration that the Youth Services programme of the All India Radio should not be merely broadcast to the youth but it must be broadcast by the youth so that some of us who have grown old or who are growing old will have the supreme satisfaction that there are generations yet coming behind us who will take up the reins of the progress and we can close our eyes with the supreme faith that after us and behind us there are very good persons to take care of our country. I hope, Sir, that this very fine appeal of mine will not be ignored, and I am sure we shall very soon hear the broadcast by the youth, not so much as broadcast to the youth.

Sir, with regard to the Youth Services, I may also make a very respectful suggestion, particularly with regard to broadcasting to the college students. Sir, I have had very intimate contact with college and University students in my State. I have been asking them as to how they receive these broadcasts and they say with a certain amount of indignation that it is an extended class-room lecture which they do not relish. We know how our students relish their class-room lectures. If the broadcast also is by the same lecturer who lectures in the class-room, the student will not listen to it. I, therefore, request the Minister to consider a suitable modification of the programme: effort of broadcasting to the college students in such a way that it will really serve the purpose for which such broadcasting is done.

I have here to say a word about broadcasting to the University students. I think there must be some defect in drawing up the programme. There is "no use, Mr. Vice-Chairman, to have the same subjects that are taught in the class. The college students must have some extra-curricular knowledge. They must know what the world is. They must know what

India is now. Therefore, that has to be a real programmatic effort with regard to broadcasting to the college students. With regard to broadcasting to the college students, I am sure this suggestion, most respectfully made, will be kindly taken into account.

Sir, I come next to the children's programme. I am amazed, Sir, that I recall my childhood days because in my childhood days there was no radio and broadcasting, but I am amazed to find that it is totally irrelevant in the context of children's psychology and children's life. I have asked my granddaughter to go and listen to the radio when the children's programme is there, and my granddaughter told me that there was no use in listening to the children's programme as there was neither a programme nor a programme for children. Sir, this is the judgement of my granddaughter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): But did she ask the grandfather to go and listen?

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: If she has asked me, I would have requested the Minister to have a programme for grandfathers including my good friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is not even a father. How can he be a grandfather?

SHRI MOHAN DHARIA: This is a very serious charge against Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am a long way off to catch up with him.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has many children, the children of the soil.

So, so far as the children's programme is concerned, it should be more psychologically adjusted to the children. I do not know what the experts feel in this matter. But children's psychology has to be understood before a programme is given to them. I hope the broadcasting system in the country will certainly take into consi-

[Shri T. Chandalvarayan]

deration this very important aspect of children's psychology and draw up programmes suitably.

There is another aspect which I must refer to and that is with reference to the external publicity. Sir, in this House and elsewhere, we have had always a feeling that our publicity abroad is rather not adequate and it is not equal to the publicity, the tone and the tenor and the twist that other nations give for their respective countries. We have had occasions the debate on foreign affairs to mention this remorseful lack of sufficient foreign publicity. Sir, unfortunately this question of foreign publicity is between two Ministries, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the Ministry of External Affairs. Before we can attempt any co-ordination elsewhere, may not these two Ministries co-ordinate in this field of external publicity? The radio broadcasts to other nations must be of such vibrant and manly overtones that every nation must feel that India really speaks. But what do we find? The way in which the programme is drafted, the way in which the draft is put up, I feel, Sir, that we cannot at all catch the great momentum which other countries have got in their broadcasts for external consumption. I am sure, Sir, that we have enough material, and our country can project most proudly and most truly and most wholly what all we have done and what all we are doing. But I am afraid that we have not yet risen high to the occasion. I am sure it is not yet late for the Ministry to revise its standard and try to reorient its effort in the field of external publicity.

Sir, there is another aspect that strikes me as very important and that is the question of the press under this Ministry. The press should not be pressed too much by this Ministry. I have a feeling, Sir, that there is a growing intensity both in volume and weight; there seems to be a sign of an attempt to strangle the free press of our country. Sir, if ever we value

anything—we value many things in our democracy and freedom—we value the freedom of the press so much and so fully that we will be very much loathe to countenance any attempt at strangulation of the press.

My very good friend, Mr. Advani, was speaking on the question of advertisements. I know there is a lot of patronage behind advertisements. I also know there is a lot of patronage in the distribution of newsprint. Sir, the press in India is the noblest, press in the world. The press in India has discharged not only during the gruesome period of our struggle for freedom, but even afterwards it has played the most notable part and a historic role in our country. Even after we have won freedom the press in our country is so laudable, so powerful and so objective that everyone of us must feel that we are the guardians of the press. Therefore, I would appeal to the Ministry concerned, in the matter of treatment of the press let the Press Council's decisions prevail. It is not for nothing that we have instituted the Press Council. The Press Council is an autonomous body trying to regulate the conduct and the concept of the press in our country, and Government's interference seems to be very much in regard to the working of the Press Council. I should very respectfully submit that the Press Council's decisions must be allowed to run, the Press Council's writ must be allowed to run without any interference on the part of the Government. One word more and I have done. And that is rather analogous or corollary to my submission with regard to the treatment of the press. There is this question of the Press Trust of India and there has been an attempt some time back, very early, ten or fifteen years back, that this Press Trust of India must be made into a corporation. That was at that time and in that context when there was some connection or partnership with a foreign news agency. But that cry, if I may say so with great respect, of making the Press Trust of India into a corporation, an autonomous cor-

poration, has become irrelevant and totally out of context in the present time...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why?

SHRI T. CHENG ALVAROY AN:., for this reason that we wanted the Press Trust of India to be a corporation at that time because there was a foreign connection and collaboration and there v/ere certain guidelines how the Press Trust of India should be con. stituted, how it should function, and so on...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): The honourable Member would please try to conclude now.

SHRI T. CHENGALVARYAN. Therefore, I will very respectfully plead that this question of the Press Trust of India being made into a corporation may be again referred, if necessary, to the Press Council and its suggestions obtained and they will be of gTeat help.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): Please wind up now.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: I am winding up very quickly and very briefly. I have just one submission and that is there has been a very longstanding debate and discussion in his country that All-India Radio must very soon become a statutory corporation. I am not going to raise a controversial question. But I should add my respectful weight and support to the view that it is high tim_e that AU.India Radio was made a satutory corporation under Parliamentary control for the very simple reason that the Government must be above all reproach and in the expanding momentum of new dispensation of constitutional advance and progress let there be no apprehension or misapprehension in any quarter that this is a part and limb of the bureaucracy. It must be a legacy of the entire people.

With these words I am mak'ng my submission that on the whole the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has done a pretty good job.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): I have got a long list of Members who would like to participate in the debate. Therefore, I w'ould request honourable Members to confine their remarks to fifteen minutes each. Now Mr. Krishan Kant.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Or ssa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think it would be better if you will kindly give chance to Members party-wise rather tha_n make a long list of Members; otherwise, no purpose will be served.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): I have got a long list of Members. What I will do now is I will call two from the Opposition and then from the Congress side. "Now I have already called two from the Opposition, so I am calling from the Congress side.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Sir, Mr. Lokanath Misra does not want m_e to speak suppose.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: No,- no. I want you to speak. Let there be a purposeful debate. Let there not be any hustling.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There should be a purposeful debate. And the purpose will be injected when my friend, Mr. Lokanath Misra, speaks.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Sir, I am glad that today I am speaking v you are in the Chair as Vice-Chaii for the first time. (Interrupt makes a befitting personally.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN RAJENDRA PRATAP S"NHA you.

1 P.M.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, today we are debating a very important issue. I am glad that Shri Chengalvaroyan has paid tributes

[Shri Krishan Kantj to the working of the Ministry. While paying tributes he said certain things with which I may not agree. But I would like to bring to the notice of this House that when we are discussing this question of mass media, we must realise that this mass media is the product of the growth of science and technology the world over. Though it is as a result of growth of science and technology, it is a process in itself which grows with the growth of science and technology and it is a process which changes when social changes come about. It is not merely industrial change, not merely agricultural change, but the structural change in the society. When the process grows itself, it grows along with the social structure, the industrial structure and the agricultural sector. That is why it is very important today. When we discuss it, we have to discuss it in the context of its overall impact and not in any laissez-faire way in which we think in a feudal society or a capitalist society. We cannot afford to think in that manner. This should affect the thinking of the people, their way of life, the social structure. When we discuss it—either All India Radio or press media—we must discuss it and find out whether it has fulfilled the objectives or not. Before saying whether it fulfils the objectives or not, we should know what are the objectives. Unless we are clear of our objectives, we will not be able to fulfil the objectives.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am reminded of the time when Banaras Hindu University was established. Dr. Bhagwan Das was there. Some English man' came and stayed with him. Dr. Bhagwan Das asked him: "We are in the course of a great discussion for a number of days on the curricula, system, this study, that study, etc. What is your opinion about it?" The English, man told Dr. Bhagwan Das: "It is very simple". "Why?" Dr. Bhagwan Das asked. Then the English man told him: "First You must decide what type of citizens you want to produce." When we are clear about the citizens we want to have then the type of

syllabus, media, courses and classes can be prescribed. The basic question, therefore, is: Are we clear about the objectives? If we are clear, then different things can be thought of. In this country, many people are not clear of the objectives and at the same time they go on criticising the government and making suggestions as if they are clear of the objectives. When we have decided about the social objective we want to achieve, these various media have to fall in line with that objective. They say that All India Radio and information services are educational me'dia. Education for what? I hope government will say that it is for creating a socialist society in this country. If it is for creating a socialist society, I hope all the programmes we have either in the All India Radio or Television or press media should dovetail to that basic objective. My complaint against the government is that the department is still run at the lower levels by some of the bureaucrats. I do not have any complaint against the retiring Director-General. I think he has done a good job. But the basic approach still continues to be bureaucratic. Some change has to take place in the press, in the information media and in the All India Radio.

Shri Advani referred to an article by Shri Chalapathi Rao. I think it needs careful and deep consideration. He has written some other things all of which require careful and deeper consideration. It is time that the information policy is properly projected in terms of socialist ideals to which the nation and our Party are committed. The ICS and the IAS officers may not be able to run this, because it is not running the administration, but it represents the changing and emerging minds of India, the minds of the people. At the same time, they must know the methods. Mr. Chengalvarayan referred to the Youth Programme. I discussed this question with a number of youths who are participating in the All-India Radio and the television programmes. I discussed this with

them. There are brilliant youths and they produce good things, they produce good literature. But I find that they represent the effervescence, they represent the shortcomings of the present society, they represent the frustration and the dissatisfaction of the present society. It is not very clear how they are to mobilise the people and along with the present dissatisfaction, frustration and the effervescence, the direction must be clear and if the direction is clear, all these frustration, dissatisfactions, and the effervescence, can be directed to certain channels to achieve their objectives.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, about the All-India Radio, I would say that you must decentralise it and you must reorganise it and give more powers and bring in new talents so that they can project the emerging India, the India that is coming up, so that a new India can be born.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after saying that, now I would like to say that the Press Information Bureau, the All-India Radio, etc. must have a new look to project the new India. This is growing, that is coming up. My friend, Shri Advani, said so many things. I have complained about the All-India Radio, as I said, is very much obsessed with the criticisms of the Opposition.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No.

SHRI KRISHNATKANT: Let me say that. You have a different thinking on that. It does not project the way the wind is blowing. See how it was projecting the mid-term election. It was not doing it properly. I learnt from many of the bulletins that Mr. K. K. Birla was winning. But I found that he lost. What I mean to say is that neither the Press nor the All-India Radio nor the television was in touch with the growing and emerging things.

Sir, Mr. Chengalvaroyan paid a great tribute to the Indian Press saying that it is objective and is laudable and that it took part in the freedom struggle. I do agree that in the freedom struggle they also took part. But,

may I also say that what Lala Lajpat Rai said during the days of the freedom struggle? He said that after independence the Marwaris are likely to capture the Press and use it for their economic struggle.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Hear, hear.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: That is what he said in 1925 or 1926 and that is what is exactly happening after independence.

श्री निरञ्जन बर्मन : (मध्य प्रदेश) :

एक ही अच्छी बात याद रखो जबकि उनकी बहुत सी बातें याद रखने लायक हैं ।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT:

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would say that they were seers at that time and they knew how India was growing, because Lajpat Rai was himself on the Board of Trustees of the "Hindustan Times" and he knew how things were going and how the British Raj changed during the last period of his life. A letter to Shri Birla was written by Lajpat Rai. I know much more about Lala Lajpat Rai than he knows.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Even before independence, the Birlas made the freedom struggle a thriving business for their family.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Now, Sir, I come to another point. The Press media, the Press in India, they have to play a different role. Mr. Chengalvaroyan said that it is very objective. If it was objective, how all its predictions, how its analyses, during the time of the mid-term elections failed? It is not objective and it looks like that through coloured glasses, the coloured glasses of the businessmen, the coloured glasses of the big business houses, which control the Press and that is where it is necessary to see that the Government acts. They are not paying any attention to the recommendation of the Press Commission on the PTI. It has not been implemented. Now fifteen years have passed. Why

[Shri Krishan Kant] have they not implemented? May I know whether the Government ever implemented it. Fifteen years have passed and something should be done. I feel sorry, May I hope that the Minister, while replying, will say that the recommendation of the Press Commission on the PTI will be accepted immediately? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is what Mahalanobis Committee said in 1964:

"Economic power is exercised not only through control, over production, investment, employment, purchases, sales and prices but also through control over mass media of communication. Of these, newspapers are the most important and constitute a powerful ancillary to sectional and group interests. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that there is so much interlinking between newspapers and big business in this country, with newspapers controlled to a substantial extent by selected industrial houses directly through ownership as well as indirectly through membership of their board of directors. In addition, of course, there is the indirect control exercised through expenditure on advertisements which has been growing space during the plan period.

"In a study of concentration of economic power in India, one must take into account this link between industry and newspapers which exists in our country to a much larger extent than is found in any of the other democratic countries in the world."

Even one of "the American business told that American newspapers are the cultural arms of American Industry. Are we prepared to have in India the newspapers as the cultural arm of big business? If remain the cultural arm of big business, we cannot create a socialist society. The ownership of the press in India must be diffused and those who run free newspapers must be the owners so that it reflects the changing

heart of India, the upsurge in India. My friend said so many things.

It has been said by the Monopolies Inquiry Committee:

"It has been said that connection of big business with the Press has an unhealthy influence on society inasmuch as it obstructs the free information of public opinion and moulds people's mind in a manner unduly favourable to the selfish interests of "business-men.

"We find it to be true that an appreciable section of the press is either owned or controlled by persons or corporations who are themselves big business, or closely connected with big business."

That is what the Monopolies Inquiry Committee recommended. I do not know whether it has got the power, the competence, to do it because of the cost structure. I do not know whether the Company Law is looking into it.

Many people say that there is no monopoly in the press. As Mr. Man-kekar said, "The Press is independent, but not free". This is what I am saying that the Press is not free. It is in the hands of the big business. I think that is correct. I do not know what the Government has decided for abolishing monopoly. How will monopolies go unless the Government takes some action?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the last two years some economic steps have been taken in this country against the growth of monopoly, though I am not satisfied with that. Bureaucrats are still functioning through it and are trying to sabotage the whole functioning. When the Congress and the Parliament is going to pass legislation for the economic reform, may I know why is the Government not coming forward up till now for amendment of Article 19? It has been made very much clear that when you are attacking monopoly in the economic sphere, why are you

not trying to attack monopoly in the area of the Press? In our Constitution, the freedom of the Press is not mentioned there; it is freedom of expression. Because of that the Supreme Court—Mr. Subba Rao—said that it has become a property.

Sir, in the morning a question was asked whether the Minister will see that the Government; is going to bring forward a new Constitution (Amendment) Bill, which will become Constitution (Amendment) Bill No. 2fi, so that Article 19 is amended and the freedom of the Press is retained.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA); May

I request you to wind up now?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Just a few minutes more, Sir.

May I request the hon. Minister to let me know whether they have considered this question and when the Government is going to bring the whole question about it?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, these people talk of free competition. How can there be free competition when there is economic inequality? When there is economic inequality, there cannot be free competition. We want economic equality, we want equality in dissemination of ideas, dissemination of expression, and that cannot be there as long as there are weak papers and strong papers. This was recommended by the Press Commission. This was recommended...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN' (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): I think the Member of the Ruling Party has set an example. I hope you will now conclude.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Sir, you gave half an hour to both of them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): No, no. This is not fair. You must conclude now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yei give him a little more time so that he can also say something. You have not said about P.T.I.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA); He has already said about it.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I want to mention two more points. The one is about the All India Radio and the present situation which is prevailing in our country. I know it has done good work, but in order to meet the new challenge of advertisement, like that of America and China, we must have powerful transmitters in the areas which could affect the South-East Asia. There should be a powerful transmitter in Andaman and Ladakh so that the propaganda of both America and China can be met. Secondly, I would like the hon. Minister to say something on the following. The television shown in Lahore is visible in Amritsar, Jullundur and in other cities of Punjab. I would like to know whether our Government will take immediate steps to see that the propaganda by Pakistan is immediately met by installing and extending Delhi television to the areas of Punjab and Haryana. These are two points. I will make one more point and then I will sit down. We have done good work about Bangla Desh but there should be massive propaganda, forceful propaganda, there should be wall posters etc. which should tell the people of India as to what is the stage, what is the Bangla Desh fight, what we should do. I think the Government has lacked in this thing. May I request the hon. Minister to do something for mass* massive visual propaganda by producing documentaries.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): Now, please conclude. Mr. Sardesai.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, among the mass media, I would like to refer mainly to what is called the Indian newspaper industry, our daily press

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and the news agencies. I think certain very basic facts or aspects must be borne in mind if this question is to be frontally tackled.

The first thing that I would like to state is that the Ruling Party of our country and not only the Ruling Party but by a Resolution, the Parliament itself is committed to the achievement of socialism in this country. In every election, the largest number of voters vote for parties which claim to be socialist or ar.. actually for socialism. The second thing I would like to state is that as early as in 1954 our Press Commission, an official Commission, a very high-powered Commission, warned the Government and the country against the growing power of private monopoly in the Indian press and made strong recommendations for taking action agains? it and for controlling it.

The third thing, and that in a sense is more important, is that these recommendations of the Press Commission were made 17 years ago. Dispite them, during this period the private monopoly in the Indian pres_s has developed into an octopus which strangulates—rather absolutely vitiates and poisons—the press. This has become a great danger and has narned the democratic education of our people. The press is a very powerful nedium. To-day I understand that jf a total circulation of daily newspapers of 78 lakhs, 70 per cent, or 55 lakhs are accounted for by chain papers and group papers which are dominatly controlled or owned by some of the biggest industrialists in this country. Everybody knows who these industrialists ar_e, the Goenkas, the Birlas, the Tatas, the Jains and others, though I should also add to this the control of the Statesman, the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, the Hindu and a few others. I am stating these at the very outset because unless this shocking reality, and I would go further, a very ,eprehensivi_e reality is absolutely and frontally posed and" is boldly faced, any talk of a democratic

press in India, much less of a socialis-tically oriented press "Is either moonshine or sheer hypocrisy. Now what is the consequence of this state of affairs? First and foremost, the consequence is the casualty of truth itself for which the press ought to stand. Year after year, decade after decade, all of us know that the productivity of the Indian worker is growing, the prices are growing, the cost of living is rising, the real wages are falling and yet whenever our worker gets up and raises the question of wages, "this dominant monopolist press always raise_s, the howl about: the price spiral bogey, danger of inflation, etc. It is the same owners who are carrying on all the profiteering in this country and the moment the worker raises this question, the danger of inflation is raised. This *is* the kind of reporting or comment which We have. About land reforms everybody talks of it. Whenever irr this country the peasantry organised a movement for putting ceiling on land for rent control, for all these kinds of things, absolutely the bogey of red ruin is raised. Only last year when proposals for bank nationalisation and the abolition of Privy Purses and the Privileges of the Princes came forth, almost the entire monopoly press ran them down and when the Prime Minister put forward these proposals, immediately a campaign was started agains her and what is more reprehensible, even provocative cartoons, not showing elementary respect to women, which is our tradition, came out, trampling all our values under the foot. Another instance is there. We have not only a tirade, it is a slander campaign of falsehood again_s the Soviet Union and against the Socialist countries which have all these years, helped u_s to build up our strategic industries, our basic industries, our armament industries, etc. There is a constant slander campaign against these countries which is going o_n while ther_a i_s a panegeric sychopantic attitude to towards the dollar, towards the yen and towards the Pound, the owners"

of which have always tried to strangle our independent economic development. They are always praised to the skies. I was very much surprised about a press writing on the recent approach between President Nixon and China. Even on a move like this which is obviously directed against Bangladesh, obviously directed against India, I can point out any number of articles saying that it is India's fault that Nixon and China are coming together, that somehow or the other India must make up with Nixon and China. It is a patriotic press or a free press or a democratic press or an independent press when our enemies are coming together to attack us on such an occasion to say: 'Make up with them and it is India's fault that these countries are going against us'. These revolting kinds of things are taking place.

I can give a small instance also, i.e. The Takru Commission is going on about the oil scandals in this country and the PTI does not even give a coverage. What is the news agency for? Why does it not cover it? This is what is happening. Some of the new agencies, like the Samachar Bharati and Hindustan Samachar I very often see because they report about us and I would say that they are worse. They do not even accept the elementary secular ideals of our Secular State and become agents of Hindu or some other kind of communalism. This is the meaning of private monopoly press. Unless we pose this question all talk of democracy and independence, leaving aside socialism, is absurd and has no meaning. I want also to refer to the attitude of these press barons to the workers, to the working journalists and press employees. Why? It is from the point of view of the fact that the workers are workers, they must have a decent wage and proper working conditions and also from another point of view that I want to refer to it. The entire monopolist press and '931 U.S.—8.

it owners are utterly hostile to the trade union movement in the press industry and I think they are hostile as much for political reasons as for economic reasons. And what is the position? Our Young journalists, the Working Journalists Federation, these Young men are the real patriots. They want the proper news to be reported, they want proper comments to be reported in the press and whenever they attempt to do that, the press barons invariably try to victimise them and throw them out of work. Strikes are taking place and serious cases of victimisation have come to light, victimisation of Vats and Padmanabhan. Anyone who knows anything about the press industry will know about the harassment and victimisation of these people. I want to repeat here that the victimisation is not because of the economic demands that they put forward but it is because these working journalists are true patriots and they want to go forward towards socialism. They want to use the press for this purpose and the monopolists do not want that. That is why they are being victimised. I think the whole House should pay a tribute to the working journalists for the glorious battle they are fighting. It is they who are really fighting for the freedom of the press and carrying forward the ideas which we preach. I also want to point out something else that is happening. Some of our biggest press barons are being prosecuted on criminal charges. Criminal prosecution is going on against Mr. Goenka; criminal prosecution is going on against Mr. Jain the owner of Bennett Coleman & Co. What is happening in the Times of India? Ever since the days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru this question of Times of India has been there. It is true they have attempted to do something; I do not deny that. To a certain extent what has been attempted is to take out the control of the Times of India from the Jains and hand it over to people who will run it properly. But even today what is the position? The Chairman of the Board of Directors appointed by

[Shri S. G. Sardesai]

the High Court was formerly a Legal Adviser of the Jains. He did not inform the High Court that he was the legal Adviser to them. The court did not know that. The General Manager of the Times of India who has consistently stood firmly against all the blackmailing and bullying of the Jains is being bounded out. I know him personally and I know what has been happening. They want to throw him out because he can give the best evidence to the Government against the Jains on the question of misappropriation. That is why they wanted to throw him out before the case is actually taken at by court of law. The President of the Indian Press Employees' Association has written to the Prime Minister about these matters and I would like to know what the Government is doing about it.

Coming to the PTI we all know that an enquiry has been going on against the General Manager for misappropriation of funds and all that. I do not claim to know the details but from what I have been told by very responsible workers in the PTI I feel this kind of enquiry will be hushed up by the bureaucrats. That is why they say that the CBI must take up this enquiry particularly because lakhs and lakhs are involved. Nobody knows where the sum of Rs. 50 to Rs. 55 lakhs set apart for housing construction has gone. There is no account for some Rs. 40 to Rs. 50,000]. Where is the money gone? This kind of things are happening and very firm action has to be taken. The Press Council is supposed to control all these things and look into all these matters. Even there what is the position? The Chairman of the Press Council is a former Judge and when he was a Supreme Court Judge it was he who struck down. I am told, the price-page schedule. This is what happens, to the freedom of the press which is guaranteed to us by the Constitution. He is the Chairman of the Press Council. And worst of all, if my I

facts are true, I understand the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Chairman of our House and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court have..

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They form the Committee that makes the appointment.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: _____ resigned because they do not want to undertake this responsibility. Things have come to such a stage and you can understand how shocking the state of affairs must be.

I would be asked what should be done and must be done. I will not go into the details. Firstly, I would say that in the case of the majority of our newspapers and news agencies their share-capital is not much. They take tremendous amounts from Government. They get advertisements from Government. They get money from the Government for the news which they supply. They get loans from the Government's credit institutions. Unless and until they carry out the firm recommendations of the Press Commission, the Government must not give them a pie, neither advertisements, nor any other thing. Then, there is the question of turning the PTI into a public corporation. Here I want to say that we do not want a public corporation which is once again bossed over by the monopolisms. I must make this point clear. First and foremost, the majority of the shares must be thrown open to the press employees and the working journalists. After all, the capital is not much and I sure the press employees can purchase a great majority of the shares. Secondly, the Federation of Working Journalists as representing the working journalists must be given power-full representation on the Board of Directors. Also, press employees. Give them representation. Give representation to journalists as workers, not merely as shareholders and then let Parliament appoint a few

more persons. Then, we can say we have a press free from monopolists and of which we can be proud, a press which will strengthen our democracy and carry us forward towards socialism.

The last thing I would like to say very briefly is this. All this time I have been criticising the press barons and the monopoly press. I would like to see how much of this criticism appears tomorrow morning in the monopoly press and that is the test of it. Let them publish it. I have mentioned specific instances. I have mentioned cases. Let them publish it tomorrow morning saying he said this and let them give a reply. If they do not publish it, we know how free our press is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINGH): Mr. Lokanath Misra.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: A good suggestion has been made. Tomorrow the creed from the teleprinter of PTI should be made available and put in the Library so that Members can see how much of it PTI has circulated.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Humbug does not go into the press.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let all his speech appear. I do not object. I suppose let a television be put in here. Let it be televised also.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It is 3.35 now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): It is 3.34 now.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Let there be no interruptions. Otherwise, you will have to give me time for the interruptions. Let me put in first whatever I wish to speak. Everybody has certain guiding principles in life and the most eminent of persons in India, Mahatma Gandhi, had these guiding principles.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But everybody has not got the PTI management's brief as he has.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I will explain my position. Now, I will not go into this controversy. As I said, everybody has certain guiding principles and Mahatma Gandhi, the most eminent of personalities of this century, had it depicted on the bodies of three monkeys, viz., see no evil, speak no evil and hear no evil. I think the Information and Broadcasting Ministry has invented a parody of these three sayings.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): They are Gandhian monkeys.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: They are the sayings of Gandhiji. I do not know whether they are monkeys or not. It is for Mr. Chatterjee to give his interpretation. Now, the guidelines or rather the guiding principles of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting are: We will hear nothing but the Ministers' speeches; we will speak nothing but the achievements of the Government; and we will see nothing which is not Congi-quoted. It must be the quoting of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's party or of the Congi. (*Interruptions*). Hon. Members will be taking away my time and I will be in trouble.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): The Congress and CPI are together on this.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, Shall I repeat it? But time will be taken.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: The whole questio'n is, when the twin will meet?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: It is a railway line They will never meet. One will go one way and the other, another way.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The functioning of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry is known to almost everybody in this country, un-

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

less he is either a Cong-I or Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's followers. The impression is, what is proper is not being done. I will give examples of how it is not being properly done. I come to the Press because the honourable speaker before me was waxing eloquent about what a Press should be. If I refer him to countries which have adopted the ideology to which he belongs..

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: You speak about our newspapers in India. We are running quite a few. I am not responsible for any papers except those which my party runs. My constituency is here in India. My constituency is not outside. I was elected by the Maharashtra Legislature.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: If Mr. Sardesai publishes a paper which is in line with what is published in Soviet Russia, it will go only into the waste paper basket. Nobody would look at it.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: It has got more circulation than your paper.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I will come to it.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Speak about our papers.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am speaking of paper which is there but which might not belong to India. That is what I am speaking about. Sir, there are so many interruptions that I go off the track very often. When he was indicating about the monopoly Press, it is a bogey. The monopoly Press has been a slogan and it would go on as a slogan. There is an all-out attempt now to demoralise the Press in India. I would throw a challenge to Mr. Sardesai and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta whether it is not a fact that 80 per cent of Parliamentary coverage either goes to their party or to the Congress-I, which hold on to one and the same ideology so far as the economic problems and the social problems of the country are concern-

ed, and even they are politically together?

SHRI BUPESH GUPTA: This is not true. Everybody knows how Shrimati Tarkeshwari was featured there with photographs also.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: They have put forth their point of view. They should allow me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, why] did he mention it?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, I have no difficulty in replying, if you give 20 or 15 minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): No arguments, no interruptions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not mention me.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I might be mentioning him. He might mention me in his speech. I know the subject and the agenda probably much more than Mr. Sardesai has know. Mr. Sardesai has a brief prepared as to the suspension of one or two employees here and there and therefore he made a big issue of it saying that the entire PTI should be brought to book, and other monopolies also I should be brought to book, and I am going to disprove whatever he has I said.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: Do not talk for the monopolies.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am not speaking for the monopolies. I throw a challenge to you.

The Press in India has been doing a marvellous job so far as objectivity is concerned. If it is not objective, probably it is leaning on the other side. I would accuse it of leaning on the other side, on the so-called pseudo-socialists because 80 per cent of the coverage of Parliament is taken away by the pseudo-socialists in this country. If you see the day-to-day coverage of Parliament in the different

newspapers by the so-called monopoly newspapers, they cover 80 per cent of their space with speeches, with all humbugs, by the pseudo-socialists. But all the same they are still demoralised because they want to go on demoralising them. That is the Communists' tactics, as I said, at demoralising them and getting whatever is possible put of it. Sir, they call Indian papers as "monopolies" when their circulations is hardly 50,000. Even the highest circulated paper must have a circulation of 50,000. What would you call "The Daily Mirror" of England, which has a population of about SJ crores, with a circulation of 50 lakhs? Even with 5 million copies nobody calls it a monopoly paper.

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: It is.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The Daily Mirror would not care a fig for what Mr. Sardesai calls a "monopoly" in India. I have not come across anybody in Great Britain who calls it monopoly unless it is some feeble voice from Assam's Gauhati or the Maharashtra's C.P.I. Headquarters. Nobody calls it monopoly to demoralise it.

Sir, the way things go on in India is something unique. There is a particular section in the country which tries to demoralise everybody by shouting certain slogans, and if somebody becomes a prey, then only God save him. There have been many victims of these scandalous attacks. Now, probaly, the P.T.L is going to be one of them. I would come to that later.

Sir, India is a free country. We have a free society. And in this free society what is the acceptability of the Communist Party? Now the Congi ideology, which speaks of a massive mandate, if they have majority support, why can they not start their own newspapers and take away the entire readership in the country? Do they have that courage? Patriot started with Russian money and with Russian machinery. Has it proved success? No, because people do not accept it.

It is only the wrong system of voting in this country that has given the Congress (R) a massive mandate. They got 380 seats in the iast elections. This is all because the election system is a distorted one and, therefore, they can claim that they have 380 Members in the Lok Sabha. It is distorted and that is the reason why with 380 Membership, they claim only 42 per cent, voting.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam). That means you have faith in the Election Commission.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I will speak about it on another occasion. But I have faith in my own party. I do not move on from seat to seat nearer the Treasury Benches like my hon'ble friend. At least I have that conviction.

श्री राजनारायण : बहुत बड़ी बात कह दी इन्होंने ।

श्री लोकनाथ मिश्र : जो काम हुआ होगा वही तो बोलेंगे ।

As I said, if somebody is propagating a popular issue the readership must pick it up. Why does it not pick up? In case of these socialist papers there must be something wrong about it. Why do they not compete with the other papers which are so-called monopolist, papers in the country? There must be some defect. Let them search out their own defect rather than go on attacking everybody. Becase of jealousy they cannot tolerate the other groups.

So far as the policy of the Government towards newspapers is concerned, that is another malaise. So far as the Press Information Bureau is concerned they are doing the greatest injustice to the small newspapers. The people who talk so loudly about newspaper monopolies, I was shocked, never uttered a word about these small newspapers.

The PIB ignores the small news-i papers so far as two things are con-1 cerned. When delegations are sent

[Shri Lokanath Misra]
 abroad along with VVIPs. the small papers are not included. Secondly, even for the official briefing, the language newspaper representatives are never invited. Why is it so; Does the Government feel that only seven newspapers in the country would convey their message to the entire population of more than 50 crores? They should include the smaller newspapers and the language newspapers when the PIB briefing is done. If they do that hereafter, they would be probably doing a great justice to the people of India because the people of India would be receiving the news which is meant for them.

Sir, the other thing that I wanted to mention is about the PTI. The PTI has been made a target of attack. There are some people here who feel that like "Tass" in the USSR, we must have only one agency fully controlled by the Government so that no thing but what they say goes into the press. As I said, if this is the guide line

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It will be a corporation. You can also be a member in that.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: That is what is in the back of their mind. Now they are not claiming that the entire distance should be covered. They only want to go half way and make it a corporation. Thereafter, they would again agitate and make it a Government corporation. Why should they have this Rs. 55 lakhs at the back of it? After the nationalisation of banks, if anybody has to get money in this country, where would he apply for it? Would he go and apply to Nagarwala to get Rs. 55 lakhs? Is that what is meant by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Sardesai? They will have to go and approach some legal institutions in the country to get some money. Therefore, the PTI thought that what they sets- they

are possessing, they could get a loan, because their construction would, be much more than Rs. 55 lakhs—their entire construction has cost them probably rupees one crore and 35 lakhs or 86 lakhs or something like that. And who were in charge of this construction? Two eminent persons, one was Mr. Uma Shanker Dikshit and the other was probably an ex-Chief Justice or an ex-High Court Judge. If these were the people who were in charge of the construction....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I think my friend should have carefully read the typescript brief that the PTI management has prepared. I have read it carefully. I can correct him.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore): You have also been briefed?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, I only saw it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Therefore, Sir, since there are eminent persons responsible for the transaction and for the construction of this building, no aspersion should be cast on the PTI. And if any aspersion is cast, it would be cast on Mr. Uma Shanker Dikshit and the ex-judge. Therefore, this loan of Rs. 55 lakhs should not be made an instrument or lever in order to pressurise the Government to bring the PTI into the fold of the Government to make it another Tass".

SHRI S. G. SARDESAI: The enquiry committee is there already.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I shall now come to All India Radio. I hope Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would agree with me on many things regarding All India Radio.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I request through you that the PTI management slips may be passed on to me.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, I congratulate the hon. Minister on one thing. She is otherwise a sister to me.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, politically I do not feel the way Mr. Bhupesh Gupta feels towards them. I believe in freedom of expression.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: You mean a lady is usually softer?

the very next day. Therefore, some amount of protection must be given to their services. The Government talks so loudly about socialism, about the downtrodden, about everything. It talks so loudly when it is a matter of other employers and all these words are flung at them. But when it comes to the Government itself as an employer, it is stingy about it as the Russian rulers. Therefore, I would plead, through you, Sir, that the honouable Minister would please look into this particular aspect of the thing. Let there be some protection given to those who are now completely, what should I say, casual

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I need only five minutes. There are so many interruptions.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh):
You want a crisis like that?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENRA PRATAP SINHA): Do not get distracted, Mr. Lokanath Misra.

I Vani programme has been started.
I There also the standard must go up.

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

You cannot pick anybody because he belongs to the Congress (R) party. In order to give a music broadcast he must have some efficiency in the art. Therefore, there must also be something of that kind, something which would be pleasant to the ear, which would be in tune. It should not be anything or by anybody whom you come across. The producers are the main plank in the matter of maintaining standards in the All India Radio. But producer after producer is retiring and their places are not filled up. ing and their places are not filled up. people who know about the job. There are so many professional musicians in this country and their services are not fully utilised by the All India Radio. I am very unhappy about it. Previously there used to be durbars where the musicians used to get patronage. Now they are not getting patronage. On the other hand, Patriot is getting patronage. Yesterday there were two persons who broadcast probably in the Topic of Today programme. One was Shri Ganesh Shukla. He is an ex-Communist and is probably Shri Bhupesh Gupta's contribution to the Congress (R).

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is no longer in the Patriot. I know him.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Then he must have rejoined the Communist Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is a very able journalist and selection of such people is good and useful.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It is these people.... (Interruption). I do not know whether Shri Joachim Alva intends to continue in this House as a nominated Member.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: You stand in any constituency. I will beat you down.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I have stood in a constituency. Shri Alva has taken a great favour from the Prime Minister in getting himself nominated to this House. . .

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: I will throw a challenge. You and I stand in any constituency and I will beat you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I do not have to take a challenge from somebody who does not have anything.

श्री राजनारायण : लोकनाथ जी, छोड़िये
इन्को, आप बोलिये ।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is a person who does not know how to behave and therefore he has to be told on his face whatever he has to be told.

There was another Shri O. P. Sabarwal, IPA-----

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: All in the same coterie.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He also broadcast yesterday and they all belong to the same Communist group. They are getting a lot of favour from the information and broadcasting Minister. I do not know for what? They want committed men, they say. If these people are the only committed people, I do not know. Are Communists alone committed men in this country? Then what I said in the beginning comes to be true....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): You please wind up.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Only-two more sentences. One is that there are two recommendations by two committees both of which were set up by the present Prime Minister, Shrimati Gandhi when she was the Broadcasting Minister. One was the Chanda Committee which recommended that All India Radio should be converted into a Corporation. I am lending support to it. I am giving my emphatic support to it. The other was the Khosla Committee of which I was also a member. We have recommended certain things. The government probably has not gone through this committee's report. I

wish that something is done in regard to this report. Otherwise, it would not be worthwhile for members to sit in committees and waste their time and money.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate you on being in occupation of the Chair. ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, this is flattery.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The only reward I will get is two more minutes.

The press in this country is day by day becoming more and more monopolistic, though the government is committed to curbing the growth of monopoly.

It appears, the more the Government gets committed, the more is the growth of monopoly. The re-4 P.M. suit is that newspapers like

"The Indian Express" and "The Times of India" are increasing not only their circulation, but also their editions. Sir, the Government has repeatedly declared that it will not give newsprint for new editions of chain newspapers and newspaper groups.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): No. They have decided not to give to small newspapers. They will accommodate any amount of chain papers.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: But somehow, Sir, they continue to grow. The newspapers, "The Indian Express", brought an unauthorised edition from Madurai.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: It was regularised.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: It was later regularised. You do something unauthorised and, instead of being sent to prison, you later get the thing authorised and regularised....

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: And the Government rewards it also.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Yes, then reward it with newsprint quota. Similarly, Sir, the "Indian Express" and the "Times of India" went to Ahme-dabad in an unauthorised, irregular* manner and the Government said in this House that no newsprint will be given to these papers for their Ahme-dabad edition.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, -----

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Your two minutes have gone now.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, I was last year in Ahmedabad and I had to buy the Ahmedabad editions of these papers and, surely, Sir, they were printed on newsprint. Either the Government has regularised them and rewards them with newsprint or the Government connives at their diversion of newsprint meant for other papers which means that for the other editions, these two papers make exaggerated claims, the Government accepts them, gives them the newsprint on that basis and the result is that the newsprint is diverted to Ahmedabad.

Sir, I particularly mentioned Ahmedabad, because before the advent of these two newspapers in Ahmedabad, Gujarat was a little free from the grip of the monopoly Press. It was gripped, of course, by the textile magnates.

Similarly, Sir, these newspapers are helped by the Government in another manner. The advertisements given to them are on the increase. The Government is committed to helping the small newspapers. But, Sir, look at the Statement of Accounts of the Government. More and more money is being given to the monopoly Press every year though the space that the Government gets in these monopoly papers is being reduced every year and they pay more per inch than they used to, the result is that the monopoly Press is getting strengthened.

Lbhri Arjun Arora]

Sir, the Government controls the Supply of newsprint. It may not be able to enforce the Price Page Schedule. But it can certainly control the flow of newsprint. Sir, from the latest figures available to me, the small newspapers in the country get about 15,810 tonnes of newsprint every year. The medium ones get 51,332 tonnes in a year; whereas the big newspapers get 1,14,538 tonnes of newsprint every year.....

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: That goes into black market.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That goes into black market, according to Mr. Alva. And, of course, all of it goes into polluting the minds of our people and preaching the doctrine of the capitalist order.

There is one very interesting thing about all these newspapers. There is a similarity in news and views. All progressive news is curtailed. If in this House something is said by Mr. Krishan Kant against Mr. Ram Nath Goenka, it will be blacked out by all the big newspapers. And if on the same occasion Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, for example, says something in praise of Mr. Ram Nath Goenka, the thing will appear in headlines.....

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not Mohta?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: There is a similarity of views and also similarity in making false claims as was demonstrated during the days when election results were yet to come. Whether it was The Hindu of Madras, the Statesman of Calcutta, the Indian Express of Delhi or the Times of India of Bombay ----- every-where all fore cast the downfall of the Congress led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: As a matter of fact, one of the papers, which is somehow considered very responsible said that Kamraj had to choose bet- i

ween being the Chief Minister of Madras and continuing as a Member of Parliament.....

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Or Prime Minister of India.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Or the Prime Minister of India. Now, Sir, we find him occasionally sipping coffee in the Central Hall. They said that he had a very difficult choice to make, fortunately, the electorate spared him the trouble.

Sir, the curb on monopoly press is not a Communist suggestion, not even a Socialist idea. The character of newspaper monopolies in this country is different from other countries. In Britain, for example, you have Press Lords. There is Lord Thompson: He is a Press baron; he is a TV baron; he is a radio baron. But he is not a jute baron. He does not run cotton mills. In this country, it is the jute barons, the cotton magnates, the steel plant owners and the like or the cement manufacturers and the like who have captured the press and they use it for their own advantage. The need to curb the monopoly press in this country is much greater than in other capitalist countries. In France and Japan the curbs have been applied. In France, Sir, it was done in 1954 and the law provided that no person could be head of more than one daily newspaper, and a person would be the Chairman or Managing Director of a newspaper only if he held major part of the capital. That is not very satisfactory but somewhat better than what prevails in this country. In Japan, of course, things are even better and that is how Japan has a very developed press. Shares in 75 out of 80 newspaper companies in Japan are held either by the original promoters or by the employees. In this country, for example, Hindustan Times was promoted by Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Laipat Rai, but it is now being controlled by Mr. B. M. Birla and Mr. K. K. Birla. The original promoters, the original mie-

sionaries are h'o more there. And, of course, employees owning a newspaper is something unknown in this country. In Japan, in 33 important newspapers, employees and other people connected with the paper_s hold 88 per cent of the shares with the result that although some of the newspapers have a circulation of 60 lakhs, they have not passed into the hands of wealthy businessmen unconnected with the press. Here, though the Government in season and out of season talks of curbing monopolies, partbularly the press monopoly, the Government helps the monopolies. Take the case of the 'Hindustan Times' It js building a skyscraper 'on Bara-khamb_a Road or Curzon Road.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Curzon Road.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Kasturba Gandhi Road is th_e latest name. Th_y are building a skyscraper there. The LIC, obviously with the approval of the Ministry of Finance made it an advance of Rs. 50 lakhs. How much of that building is to be used by the Hindustan Times and how much by the Birla Group of Companies who are running away from Calcutta? And there again the Government is obliging them; the so-called Industries House owned by the Birlas has been bought by the Ministry of Defence for Rs. 2 crores. It is a fabulous sum.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: They have obliged the Government.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, no review of the press in India will be complete, or even half complete, unless one refers to the PTI. As everyone knows, th_e Press Commission recommended that the PTI be converted into a statutory corporation. The recommendation was given by Mr. Mani and others 16 or 17 years ago, and even during this session the Minister for Information and Broadcasting has told this House that the matter is under active consideration. Too much consideration! "Government is seized of it" as if the Government is seized with cholera! The Press Commission made a definite recommendation that

unless the PTI converts' itself into a corporation, no loans should be given, but the Government of India gave it a loan of Rs. 55 lakhs for building a huge mansion and the LIC advanced Rs. 25 lakhs, obviously with the approval of the Government. With regard to PTI I expect the Minister to explain why this sum of Rs. 55 lakhs wa_s given t'o the PTI in defiance of the recommendation of the Press Commission. Secondly, when was the first instalment of repayment due? Was it received on schedule or has the PTI asked for an additional loan on the plea that the building costs have go. ie up?

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN: My friend may als_o ask whether the Government has taken a portion of that building for their own use.

SHRP A. D. MANI: 40,000 sq. feet.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I want to tell the Member that I know that the CBI wanted to rent a portion of that building to be near the source of corruption in public life of this country. The CBI will be repeatedly called upon to investigate the affairs of the PTI. So the CBI wanted to rent a portion of that building and the PTI did not oblige. It decided to keep the CBI away. It is not only the CBI which has been denied space in that building. Several newspaper organisations in the country wanted to rent portions of that huge building built mainly with Government money but they were also denied accommodation. Instead, Banks and commercial houses are being given rented accommodation in that building. Apart from these Rs. 80 lakhs, the Government gives the PTI about Rs. 40 lakhs as subsidy every year.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Subsidy for what?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Subsidy for underplaying good news. The PTI undertook certain obligations regarding, stationing of its correspondents in foreign countries. There again-

[Shri Arjun Arora]

it has failed the Government. The PTI is not fair to its employees. The Board of Directors has some big names but the difficulty with big names is that they are busy bodies and they have no time to look into the working of the companies whose Board of directors they oblige by taking the Director's fees.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: And being absent-minded.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Most of them are beyond 70 and you cannot expect them to apply their mind to the problems but the active trade unionists who are in the employment of the PTI are being victimised everyday. There is the case of the General Secretary of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists who has been so harassed for months together that he had to go on leave without pay.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why did not the Minister intervene to stop the victimisation?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. Gupta is still a Member of the House and he can ask the Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They given so much money and cannot they even do this?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: One word about the TV. The growth of TV in this country.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You appeared in the TV.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Only once but Mr. Mani appears every week. The growth of TV in this country is very slow. We in this country have only one TV station which is rather half-hearted having only one or two channels having a very limited programme. This very useful mass media must be utilised to the full particularly because of the prevailing illiteracy in this country. The Govern-

ment make plans and changes them. Mr. K. K. Shah, when he was the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, went to Kanpur and declared that there will be a TV station at Kanpur during the Fourth Plan or so. Soon thereafter Mr. Gujral went to Kanpur; he also declared that there will be a TV station at Kanpur during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Land was selected, buildings were nearly hired; they were at least offered in my presence. Somehow that plan was changed in spite of declarations by two Ministers, once a Cabinet Minister and the other a Minister of State. I know the present Minister is not responsible for the change but some bureaucrat who owns a house at Lucknow and has plans to live at Lucknow, if and when he retires, changed it so that the TV station will now be at Lucknow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is he?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. K. K. Das. He was the Chief Secretary of U.P. Government during Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani's regime which was the worst regime that U.P. has ever had,

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Where is he now?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Arjun Arora. You continue please.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He is somewhere not far from Broadcasting House. He was the Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and he changed the Ministers' orders. The Ministers' declarations were ignored, Sir, the 1.3 million people of Kanpur are very much aggrieved at this change. I hope the present Minister of State will have the courage to revert to the original decision of giving Kanpur a TV station.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we are in a particular kind of society in which we find the tragic fact that though there is written in the Constitution that we must leave freedom of speech and expression the tragedy is that the means of mass media and communications are either in the hands of the monopolists or in the hands of the ruling party and they are so managed or mismanaged that the people's voice never gets through and the facts of life are always distorted in the interests of certain monopolists and certain other vested interests. Mr. Deputy Chairman, as a matter of fact. I belong to a party which has been the particular victim of scandal in the press and as far as Calcutta is concerned, there perhaps you do not have a monopoly of the press so much as a happy marriage of the Congress big bosses and the finances of the big press. Who does not know, for example, that Mr. Prafulla Kanti Ghosh, the great Congress leader of West Bengal? I do not know whether he is now in brightness or in shade because nowadays the Congress leaders and Congressmen sometimes go into shade and sometimes again they come back to brightness. Sometimes we hear about this man or this lady but then we find that the things that we have heard is not quite correct.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): The same is the case with CPI and CPM.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: In any event we find that as far as Mr. Prafulla Kanti Ghosh is concerned, he wields a very big press in Calcutta and he is a big man in the Congress also. Now what about the scandals that appear against us, not only against us but against the workers, against the working intelligentsia, against the peasants who start movements in West Bengal for the purpose of achieving their demands? What is happening and what is the remedy?

These papers are headed by some persons who pay lip sympathy to socialism, and these papers practise scandals against others. But then, Sir, the Only thing is this. As far as this Government is concerned the Central

Government is concerned, it only consists of two halves. The first half is slogan and the other half is bogus. With these two halves, this Government is going on and this Government is trying to mystify people, bluff people and confuse people by means of all kinds of wrong, false and distorted statements. These wrong, false and distorted statements they give to the monopoly press which they help. It is their own press which is guided, controlled, led and owned by their own men. I have given the example of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, which is guided, owned and controlled by one of their own men. As far as the monopoly press is concerned, you have heard just now Mr. Arjun Arora and others saying that the Hindustan Times are building a skyscraper in Kasturba Gandhi Road. As far as the skyscraper is concerned, the finances are being given by the LIC. If a poor man, if a middle-class mangoes to the LIC for getting some

building loan, he is harassed like anything, but then when big people go to the LIC for such loans, when big monopolists go to the LIC and other financial institutions for such loans, there is no difficulty at all and advances are given. Not merely that. After the advances are given big floors containing many rooms are rented out and advance rents are collected from the Government organisations, from the very financial corporations which grant the loans. In this way the monopolists are nursed, the monopolists are supported and are encouraged.

I was referring to the press scandal against us in a Calcutta paper, Mr. Prafulla Kanti Ghosh's paper. You know that. When the tragic death of Shri Hemant Kumar Basu occurred in Calcutta, what did we see? The

¹ Jugantar, on the very day when the
¹ murder of Shri Hemant Kumar Basu

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee]

took place, issued a special edition of the paper in which they said that it was the CPIM which had murdered Shri Hem-ant Kumar Basu.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Why did you not report it to the Press Council?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: That is what I am saying. What is this Press Council doing? Does it not look into the affairs of the press? Is it a matter to be written about? Is it not a matter which should be within the knowledge of the Press Council? Is it meant that the Press Council must be a sleeping thing and it must be awakened once upon a while by the proddings of certain Members or proddings of certain individuals? Is not the Press Council meant to keep a watchful eye on the press in India? Is it not their duty to see that the press carries on its activities in an honest atmosphere, in an atmosphere free of calumny and slander? But they will not do it, because after all we heard just now that the Chairman of this House and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha have resigned from the Press Council.

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : There is no question of their resigning.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: This was a statement made in the House. I do not know whether it is correct or not. Anyway, the Press Council is not doing its duty at all. For example, the other day what did their Council do when the particular editor of the Statesman—everybody knows his name—was sacked? He was sacked from the Statesman because he had the temerity to write some good words about the first United Front Government of West Bengal. Because he had the temerity and the hardihood to write that, he was dismissed. What did this Government do? Has it stopped the advertisements in the Statesman? Has it done anything by way of curtailing the activities of the Statesman? The Statesman is a paper of which the Prime Minister, that great socialist of the world, so to say,

I will not say she thinks herself to be so, but her flatterers and admirers need not be proud. That great socialist also has nothing to be proud of as far as the Statesman is concerned. The Statesman also writes articles and gives its news in such a j fashion which is far from flattering to her either. What steps has Mrs. Gandhi's Government taken in order to see that the Statesman is put in its place? Nothing. After all whatever they may say, they cannot touch the monopolists, they cannot touch the vested interests. They have no courage to do it. They will not do it and they cannot do it. It has become so contrary to the interests of the people.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Would it not be against the principle of the freedom of the Press, to interfere?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I do not now what Mr. Tyagi calls the freedom of the Press. Freedom of the Press is a thing which cannot function, which cannot flourish, in an atmosphere of monopoly, in an atmosphere of vested interests, in an atmosphere where the Government will be giving nursing milk, so to say, to these monopolists so that they may expand, they may flourish. Freedom of the Press can flourish only in an atmosphere where the people must have their say, where the people's movements would be properly quoted and pictured, where the people's movements and parties will not be slandered. That is the atmosphere in which it can flourish and function. Now, Sir, what about the portrayal of the strikes, what about the portrayal of the movements and the struggles of the working people in the Press? Sir, the other day, the centre of Indian trade unions, a trade union organisation, called a strike against the repressive policy of the Government of India, almost a colonial measure, in West Bengal. We called a strike against the wave of repression which has been let loose one after another there and that strike was called for the 11th August. The

Prime Minister said that it was anti-national and all the Press joined in chorus with her and said that it was anti-national a workers' strike. She calls herself a socialist; she poses herself to be a socialist. A workers' strike is being called by the Prime-Minister of India as anti-national. Will she now call as anti-national the strike which is being called by all the trade unions on the 25th August this year? The eleventh August strike was called anti-national by her and all the Press joined in the chorus of the jackals. They joined in the chorus and said that it was anti-national. I ask the Prime Minister: Is the INTUC -anti-national? They are also joining the strike on the 25th August. I am giving this example only to show the attitude of the monopoly Press. The reactionary Press is always against the Government. But when the Government utters anti-national words, anti-working class phrases, when the Prime Minister indulges in anti-working class strategy and tactics, this press never hesitates, it supports her. I have seen it. That is the position. During the UF Government, well, we were told so many hair-raising stories of gheraos and we were given a very juicy story by the Ananda Bazar Patrika one day in / 1967 when the United Front Government was going on. What was the juicy story that was given out? It was that some lady of some big boss tinkling her golden bangles was looking out with wistful eyes from the balcony of her posh bungalow in a posh locality because her husband was gheraoed by some workers. Very good, Sir. We shed our gallons of tears. A lady tinkling her golden bangles must not be allowed to look wistfully out from the balcony of her ' posh bungalow in a posh locality. Very wrong very bad. But then, Sir, has the Ananda Bazar Patrika ever written about the hungry eyes of that j wife of a dismissed worker, discharged worker. The worker goes to the factory finds the factory locked out, finds himself dismissed. The worker comes perhaps with an empty ration

bag and tells his wife and his children, "I could not bring my ration because I am dismissed today The Factory is locked out, it is closed down." Has this monopoly Press in India given out any news of that nature? But then this is the kind of Press which we will have to put up with. Therefore, the Press in India is going on in a fashion, both the monopolist Press and also that kind of Press which has links with the Congress They are putting out pictures in such a fashion that the working class struggles are curbed and repressed, that peasant struggles may not progress. This is the kind of Press and I accuse the Government. I accuse the Government because the Government wants that state of affairs to continue. It is the Government which gives encouragement to all these things. It is the Government which is behind all these things.

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYA-STHA (Assam): They also brought out that cartoon.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I shall come to that cartoon later on. Now look at the All India Radio. Even the Chanda Committee has said that the All India Radio has become an attached office of the Government of India. And what does it do? It is always propagating in favour of certain Ministers only.

Sir, the other day about Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee—Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukerjee will have patience when I was explaining for Delhi from Calcutta, I heard the rumour that he had died in the hospital. But he is not dead, though politically he is dead, not physically. Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, in the Democratic Coalition Ministry, put out a slander against us. Then Mr. Promod Das Gupta, Secretary of our Party, and Mr. Jyoti Basu, issued a statement countering that slander. And what happened? Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee's statement had been broadcast on the Radio while Mr. Promod Das Gupta and Mr. Jyoti Basu's statement was blacked out by the All India Radio.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee was the Chief Minister and not Mr. Promod Das Gupta.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Yes, a Chief Minister with a backing of only five persons. Anyway, when Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Promod Das Gupta telephoned the Director of the All India Radio, Calcutta station, they were told by him that the instructions were to black out all the news which came from the C.P.I. (M). This is what Mr. Jyoti Basu was told over the phone by the Director of the Calcutta station of All India. That fact was mentioned to the Prime Minister in Delhi. And, of course, the Prime Minister, as usual denied it. How can she admit it? After all, she is a clever Prime Minister, a clever lady and an intelligent politician. She cannot be expected to admit it. How can she confess a crime or an offence? Naturally, she did not. (Time Bell rings.) This has been put on record by letters written to the Prime Minister. This is the position.

And, Sir, what does this All India Radio do? Whenever there is complete strike, the All India Radio will always say, "Trains are running normally. Buses are running. In the factories and workshops 80 per cent. of people have joined." I remember an incident. Once there was complete strike in West Bengal. But the All India Radio gave the news every half an hour that the trains etc. were all running to schedule. Then a gentleman telephoned the Director, All India Radio, Calcutta station, and enquired as to when such and such a train would leave. The Director of the All India Radio pretended surprised. He said, "It is not the Railway Station". But the gentleman said, "You ought to know because I went to the Railway Station and nobody could say that the trains were running while the All India Radio gives out the news that the trains are running. When you say that the trains

are running, you must be knowing better."

Then, Sir, look at the way the election broadcasts were made. I will give you one instance. About a hundred times the All India Radio said that Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray was leading and winning. This was one constituency where perhaps he was leading whereas in hundred such constituencies where the C.P.M. candidates were leading. That news was not given again and again. This is the position. The position is that this All India Radio has become a clique, so to say, of certain Ministers at Delhi, at the Centre. Therefore, we are supporting this stand that it must be converted into a public corporation. After all the Chanda Committee was their creation. Why is it that the Ministry is not accepting the recommendations of the Chanda Committee? They were given long ago. The Chanda Committee said that if All India Radio is to function properly, if it is to discharge its duties impartially, then it must be converted into a public corporation. We cannot allow it to be converted into an "Indira praising megaphone". We cannot allow it to function as a megaphone for praising any particular minister or Ministers. (Time-bell) Sir, I will take a few minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken 20 minutes.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I am finishing.

Therefore, in order that All India Radio functions properly, it must be converted into a public corporation. Who does not know the scandal that when one of our Ministers in the United Front Government, Mr. Subodh Banerjee, wanted to give a speech through All India Radio, Calcutta Station, he was countermanded by a petty officer of the Calcutta Station of All India Radio on the ground that he thought that the speech would not be in the interest of the country. Who is he to decide it? If it was not in

the interest of the country, Mr. Sobutih Banerjee could have been defeated on the floor of the House by a vote of no-confidence. It was not the job of that petty officer. After that, what happened? There was a committee which it was said would settle a code of conduct. But that committee also is not functioning. I do not know what the latest position is, but in the book issued by the Ministry on the subject, it is said (hat the committee cannot function because the States are not agreed upon their representation on the committee. And in the meantime what will happen? Ministers when they go to speak through All India Radio at these stations will be countermanded by petty officers on the ground that it is not in public interest.

Finally, Mr. Arjun Arora has spoken about television and about films, also, somebody has spoken. We find that those films are being encouraged and are being okayed and passed by the Government—particularly I am talking about films about Calcutta—which are highly critical and scandalous about the people of West Bengal. Who does not know the West German film which was produced in collaboration with the Indian Government, "Tabla Calcutta"? I raised the question on the floor of the House. It is as bad as Louis Malle's film on Calcutta on which there was a furor?. But then that film has been passed by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. In these two films, Calcutta has been shown in a very horrid light and the people of Bengal have been shown in a very disparaging light. And what is the result? The result is that West Bengal is* being deserted by everybody. Even in the tourist pamphlet Calcutta is not mentioned, West Bengal is not mentioned. West Bengal and Culcutta are being denigrated by this Central Government in a planned way and this denigration of Culcutta and West Bengal is being done not only through the help of mass media and media of communications which are under the authority

and control of the Central Government but also by the monopoly press which is being encouraged and helped by the Government.

Lastly, coming to the question of the Press Trust of India, I will not say much because many people have spoken about it already. But I do not understand how this Government, which is so much against monopolists, can give Rs. 55 lakhs to a company which it was said would not be given any loan unless it agreed to be transformed into a public corporation. Sir I will only refer to the statement of Shrimati Nandini Satpathy in Lok Sabha on July 8, 1971. When this question was raised, she said: "It is undoubtedly a recommendation, but it was a recommendation which the Press Commission expected would be voluntarily accepted by the PTI. The Press Commission, however, further suggested that a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs could be advanced to the PTI on the pre-condition of this loan should be the acceptance by the PTI or the proposal to convert it into a corporation." Now a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs has not been advanced. But a larger sum of Rs. 55 lakhs has been given to the Press Trust of India. What I am submitting is this. This is the way in which the Government is curbing monopolists. Why don't you say I hate you are for monopolists? Why actually go about creating this confusion? Perhaps it is in your interests to create confusions. But I tell you, all people cannot be fooled for all time. Some people can be fooled for all time. All people can be fooled for some time. But all people cannot be fooled for all time. This PTI is headed by a particular General Manager who has got two houses, one in Delhi and another in Bombay. And he is an expert in transferring, in terminating the services of the employees, in victimising the employees, who are engaged in trade union activities, perhaps with the blessings of the Government. This is the way in which the Information and Broadcasting Ministry is conducting its functions.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Within the fifteen minutes available to me I would like to deal with three points which have been raised in the debate:

(1) regarding the Press Trust of India; (2) regarding the diffusion of ownership of newspapers; and (3) the question of the entry of foreign films into India. I hope, Sir, you would allow me, if I exceed my time by one or two minutes. I hope you would not mind it because I happen to be a member of the Press Commission which recommended that the Press Trust of India should be converted into a statutory corporation. I was also a director of the Press Trust of India for fifteen years and was its chairman and I know quite a lot about its working. I am glad that the Leader of the House is here because he too was chairman of the Press Trust of India and was a director for many years. Now, an atmosphere of suspicion has been created about the Press Trust of India which is not fair. My honourable friend, Mr. Arora, is always a generous person. If I point out to him he will admit it, I may tell him here and I may tell the House that the Press Trust of India's directors do not get any director's fees. We used to get only—and this is the practice even now—an airconditioned first class fare or airfare and we are asked to look after hotel accommodation ourselves. When the Press Commission recommended that the PTI should be converted into a corporation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Mani, is it a fact that the General Manager of the PTI has built a residential house in Journalists' quarters which costs Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 lakhs and yet he lives in a Birla flat and the airconditioning apparatus that he has fixed in his hotel in Delhi costs about Rs. 1,400 per month if it is run full time?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Whose flat?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am very glad that this has been raised because I happen to know the General Manager,

Mr. Ramachandran, for many, many, years.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: About Subramanian.

SHRI A. D. MANI: No, I am not talking of Subramanian. I am talking of Ramachandran. He was one of those who had taken part in the civil disobedience movement. Mr. Ramachandran has not accumulated any wealth. He does not say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about Subramanian?

SHRI A. D. MANI: We do not know where he stayed. About Mr. Ramachandran, we cannot condemn him like that. We have not become Soviet Union yet as to investigate into where he stays or. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated): I am sorry, according to one of the fourteen clauses in the Soviet Union everybody can have a house and I have seen that.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now I want to mention the background of the Press Commission's recommendation.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. Mani, does Mr. Ramachandran whom you know very well—I also know him a little—stay in a Birla flat when he has his own house in Delhi and does he pay any rent for it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: For that he charges Rs. 70 daily from the PTI.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You are going too much into the details of the working of the PTI.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why Sir, the honourable Member started with a pretension that he knows everything.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I want to deal with the question of the recommendation of the Press Commission regarding conversion of the PTI into a corporation. The matter was before the meeting of the shareholders at that time and I was on the Board of Directors.

Broadcasting

tor_s and I attended that meeting of the shareholders. The shareholders did not accept the recommendation. When We discussed the matter, the point of view was borne in mind that nobody can be compelled to convert himself as part of a statutory corporation and it is for that reason the recommendation was not accepted.

After that many things happened Four outsiders were taken on the PTI Board. One of them was Shri Chintaman Deshmukh. Shri Gajen-dragadkar was the colleague of the Leader of the House when he was in the Board of Directors and then Shri A. K. Roy was there. The question was raised about the building. I do not feel that the hon. Minister of State was fair to the PTI because when referring to this matter in the other House she said that the Press Commission recommended that Rs. 10 lakhs should be given, but they gave Rs. 55 lakhs. If she goes through the records of the government, she will see that it was Shri Krishnamachari who was responsible for telling the PTI Board at that time in 1962 that we should not approach private parties like the Punjab National Bank, the United Commercial Bank, etc. for loans and that we should take the Money from the government. They have not given it for nothing to the PTI. They collect 6 per cent rate of interest and they have taken 40,000 sq. ft. at the rate of 75 paise per sq. ft. whereas the market rate is Rs. 3 per sq. ft. They cannot use this as lever to twist the tail of the PTI. This is not fair.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you know that the contractor for the PTI is one Shri C. B. Lall against whom CBI inquiry was pending for corruption and misuse of funds? Has it been inquired into?

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Tamil Nadu): If there is any graft charge, the Auditor General should say that there is something wrong in the accounting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. Shri Mani should

share his knowledge impartially with us.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I will do that. The tenders were examined by a committee consisting of Shri Uma-shankar Dikshit and Shri A. K. Roy. What better and more impartial body than this can any board set up to examine the tenders? I do not know about the CBI inquiry. But I understand that Shri Lall & Co. was responsible for setting up the fertiliser plant in Gorakhpur. It may not be a qualification. These are all matters which were gone into, not by newspaper people, but by eminent men like Shri Umashankar Dikshit and Shri A. K. Roy.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Persons against whom CBI inquiry is pending are being encouraged by the government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shri A. K. Roy has become Director in 18 companies and this has become a public scandal.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am afraid, sir, that my time is being taken up by others. The question is this. Government has not done any favour to the PTI by giving Rs. 55 lakhs because it collects interest at the rate of 6i per cent and it has got the benefit of 40,000 sq. ft. of space which has been given to them. It is a straightforward commercial transaction.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is talking like a building editor, not a newspaper editor. He speaks in terms in terms of 40,000 sq. ft. rent, and so on.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I know there is lot of feeling on the question of the independence of PTI.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Charging 6i- per cent interest is a big favour because no bank will give Shri A. D. Mani any money at this interest.

that question.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY: But SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA- If I were
40,000 sq. ft. of space has been given to them in a paper, I would have sacked you
at the rate of 75 paise sq. ft. because you are a building contractor-SHRI A.

SHRI RJUN ARORA. Sir, it is a well D. MANI: Sir, I know that there is an increasing
established convention in the House that when public demand that there should be some form of
one speaks, he should speak from his seat. public control over the PTI:
Shri Parthasarathy is not speaking from his
seat.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. D. MANI; Sir, I would like to
mention one thing and it is a very relevant
point. The loan was taken in the early sixties
at that time the Bank rate was much
lower than what it is today and we have taken
into consideration the 40,000 sq. ft. which has
been given at concessional rates because it is
a package deal. We said, "You give us this
and we will give you 6% per cent. In any case,
I realise the depth of feelings on this
question.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, public control need
not be always in the form of a statutory
corporation.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Why not?

SHRI A. D. MANI: It need not always be so.
It is only one form of ownership and I am
suggesting another form.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, he
claims to be a

Sir, the Press Commission recommended the
trust form of ownership for the newspapers. I
am prepared to suggest to the Minister—I
discussed it about this with her privately—that
she may consider the setting up of a trust for
controlling the PTI.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do
not interrupt.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala):
Trust of the monopolists⁹

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA- Sir, he claims
to be a Member of the Press Commission and
yet he does not have a feeling against the
victimisation of Mr. Vats, a Journalist of 22
years' standing and 15 years of service and 6
years in foreign countries in tries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA- Did you make
the suggestion as a Member of the Press
Commission?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I realise the
strength of his feelings

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am suggesting
it to her now.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do
not interrupt.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Mr-Mani.
how many journalists have you sacked?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Mr. i
Mani, you have got very little time. So
please conclude now

SHRI A. D. MANI: I have not sacked
any.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Sir, I think he
has read a book that the monopoly should be
made into trust and all that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIAM MENON
(Kerala): You have sacked many people from
the "Hitavada" and also the Secretary of the
Union.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do
not interrupt.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I would like to
mention another point of mine.

Sir, you can think of the trust form j of control and the editorial policies j and the independence of the PTI and also regarding the business matters. Sir, Mr. Dikshit will bear me out when I say that art the meetings of the PTI no directions are given to the editorial staff. For 15 years I was the Director and I can say, not one of the editorial policies } was discussed. . . .
 .(Interruptions).

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Damage is done at the General Manager's level.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now, Sir, I will come to the other point on which Shri Bhupesh Gupta would like to have my views, that is, on the diffusion of ownership.

Sir, we had discussed the matter at | the Press Commission at length and many of us felt that the ownership of the newspapers should be broad-based and I can tell you, Sir, that one of the newspapers which attempted a particular form of ownership was the Bennett Coleman and Co. during the British days. They gave their shares to their employees and quite a number of them made substantial money by selling their shares to Mr. Dalmia when he purchased "The Times of India" and it was a straightforward business transaction. They sold their shares. And, Sir, we had all these points of view in mind and I feel, in the present mood. . . .

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Sir, excuse me for the interruption. There were three crores of rupees and that money was taken over by Dalmia and "The Times of India" was purchased. That was a fraud, Sir. Excuse me for saying that.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Alva, I am not talking about the Dalmias.....
 (Interruptions). . . .Please listen to me. I am not talking about the Dalmias.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He is not talking about the Dalmias.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am talking about the employees who sold their

shares. Benett Coleman and Co. was giving the shares to its employees in those days, Sir. I feel, Sir, sensing the crisis that we are having in the country, there should be a broad based form of ownership and I would like the shares to be distributed to the workers in the industry. 5 P.M.

But, Sir, one of the points that has got to be borne in mind is that we have to take into consideration that there are Party organs like the "Motherland" or like the "Organizer" which are party organs. . . .

(Interruptions).

There is a certain ideology which they represent and to interfere in the ownership of such papers, by distributing shares to people you would destroy the freedom of expression of those papers, which have been brought out for some specific purpose for putting forward a certain point of view.

The hon. Member, Shri Krishan Kant, referred to Mr. Chalapathy Rao's notes on concentration of monopolies. I have gone through that note. We are all concerned with the question of unfair competition between big and small newspapers. Some steps have got to be taken to give protection to small newspapers. Sir, I feel that the Government in this matter should consult the Press Council. I am sorry to say that the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting has not so far referred the matter to the Press Council. The Press Council has been set up as a result of the recommendations maae by a committee of both Houses of Parliament. We must respect this Council. . . .

(Interruptions) Our hon. friend, Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha is a member of the Press Council. The Press Council must have an opportunity to discuss this matter and it is a very reasonable suggestion to make, because the Government cannot proceed unilaterally without taking the opinion of the Press Council.

My third and final point is about the import of foreign films. Sir, I do not admire some of the American films that are imported into India. Many of them glorify sex, glorify murder, glorify assault....

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: But you see them all.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Not all. But I do not want the State Trading Corporation to be brought into the picture in this matter. The State Trading Corporation cannot determine what picture I should see. If they do it, this will more or less lead to a censorship of the mind and consorship of art and literature. Sir, we can set up a committee consisting of Members of Parliament, members representing culture and art and persons from Universities to go into the matter. But then also I do not feel that we should put the question of import of foreign films on the basis of import or export of shoes. Sir, this is not a commodity. It is a matter regarding the mind. Films are also for entertainment of the mind. There is something of artistic and cultural value in them. I feel that the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting should take a firm stand in this matter. She cannot allow the Minister of Foreign Trade to deal with this matter. What is going to happen, Sir, unfortunately, is that if American films are banned, our own film producers would be deprived of their plots.... (Interruptions). Sir, that will be a very retrograde step.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After you speak, I feel like sending you to participate in 'Mickey Mouse'.

SHRI A. D. MANI: But 'Mickey Mouse' looks to Soviet people, not American people. In any case, I feel that this should not stop because this is a thing which affects the mind and entertainment. I feel that the step that the Government has taken in stopping the import of foreign films will impede the flow of ideas.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I am not in favour of S.T.C. but there should be restrictions on the foreign films.

SHRI A. D. MANI: We do not want murder, we do not want violence to be glorified. We want academic films to be shown here. We want Academy Award films to be shown and I do not want that we should shut the doors because it is an American films. The films which have won the Academy Award must be shown here.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, he has misrepresented the Ministry of Foreign Trade. There is a monopoly that the Americans enjoyed by importing films to this country. That monopoly is being broken by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and now we will see, apart from some good American films, some films manufactured and produced in various other countries also.

SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I must first answer Mr. Mani. The other day, he asked me to listen to his speech and again he has referred to the same matter today, as if he feels that he has not gone home. Now, so far no one can say that the import of foreign films has been restricted. I do not know what will come in future but up to the present time the types of films that have been imported from the United States and are liberally shown in all cinema houses are only the films which do not serve any purpose of education but are the films which portray sex and crime and which are spoiling the mind of the youth and are likely to have very adverse and sinister influence on the minds of our younger generation. On this basis, however, no one can say that films are like 'bhoots' but once a film ceases to be accelerating, if it does not give an intellectual excitement which one is looking for, or if it does not ease or give the mental relief or the noble feeling, then it is as well worth not importing either and better we rely on our own talents and our own genius to develop a film. There is no dearth of talents here.

Now coming to the subject, Sir, at the moment you would have noticed a general concern in the House about *the* distortion or the suppression of truth. That might occur in any form in India or abroad. Particularly, people may have felt absolutely distressed when the most gruesome and telling facts of life, as are happening in Bangia Desh, are not being portrayed outside and are not receiving either effective publicity or proper and correct influence is not reaching those quarters at all. Naturally, the whole nation feels disturbed. Similarly, on the same pattern is the treatment being given to the news in India. Whatever medium might have been adopted for this purpose, suggestions have been made relating to the results achieved by the functioning of the monopoly press and the manner in which the monopoly press is functioning. You will have noticed that repeatedly concern has been shown and protest made from the journalists that the manner in which the monopoly is functioning at the moment is not very conducive to the dissemination of the truth or the fact or the information which is necessary for the proper education of our people or the information about the political developments and it is said that the difficulty is that when you guarantee the freedom of speech in your Constitution and give a corresponding protection in the shape of putting reasonable restriction to the freedom of speech, then all that you could do was to protect the honour of a person by providing for libel. You could protect the court by providing for contempt of court. You could provide for the security of the nation by providing for public order for the security of the State but the problem of the small paper as such competing with bigger monopolies and the manner in which their voices are muzzled or not heard at all, that aspect needed to be looked into and that could be done only by an amendment of the Constitution, by enlarging the scope of article 19(2) or making a separate declaration about the freedom of speech of the press in article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution and

making a corresponding restriction in the shape of reasonable restriction either in the framework of the Constitution it will be provided or an additional right may be created for freedom of speech and information and then put corresponding restrictions. This is how the agitation has been going on and it is sought to be highlighted. Then various attempts have been made in the shape of price page schedule to bring about the desired result and give the smaller papers a certain amount of relief. That unfortunately was struck down by the Supreme Court that law must operate equally—that is what they found—and we have read in Mr. Chalapathy Rao's paper that the decision of the Supreme Court is a charter for the monopoly press to operate and now it is no longer possible to get the correct picture, compete with them in the market with their larger resources, large money they have, the various agencies for information they have and the various institutions they can employ for the purpose of getting information. This is the problem that has to be tackled to achieve that particular result but apart from that, there are other problems which you must have noticed. Those are the problems of Government patronage in various cases. Of course after all advertisements have to be given. The various papers are bound to receive them but the criticism that comes very often is that the patrons or recipients of those favours, if they subsequently start misbehaving or if they are not producing the results or carry on their business in a manner which was within the contemplation of the parties, what are we to do? I have the instance of one news agency—INFA. This is a feature agency.

Now one of the very peculiar features of this agency was during the election campaign it competed with the monopoly press in its presentation as well as forecasts it put out in its different services. In a latest letter from New Delhi INFA has put out an utterly libellous story of pure

[Shri D. P. Singh] concoction. I would not like to read it because it is so dirty. That story tries to implicate the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister's family, and it is calculated to undermine the prestige of the Prime Minister. This has been put out in order to malign the whole family and the whole stuff is calculated to undermine the prestige and honour of the Prime Minister and to create an insidious influence in the minds of the reading public. This has to be looked into and I suggest that positive steps may be taken in this regard.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend who is a lawyer of great eminence but I went to ask this question. The answer to all that sort of propaganda was given by the electorate which gave a very big majority to the Prime Minister.

SHRI JOACHIN ALVA: But what about the lies?

SHRI A. D. MANI: That is what I said. The Lies have been nailed to the wall; why do you want to suppress, it?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The lies must be suppressed.

SHRI B. P. SINGH: This is not connected with the election; this is connected with the day to day working and the integrity of the person and naturally that has a far-reaching effect. Three or four things have to be said in this connection. This INFA has been running down our foreign policy but the External Affairs Ministry buys this service for Rs. 26,000 a year. Seven of our Missions abroad buy them separately. The Defence Ministry pays nearly Rs. 18,000 a year and the Chief of Staff wrote a special circular to all Army units to buy this service. INFA specially caters to foreign embassies, particularly those of the USA, UK and West Germany. It issues special backgrounders to foreign embassies on Indian defence and makes a lot of money. Besides, several State Governments are paying amounts varying from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 18,000-

Sir, in the light of these two articles, details of which I will furnish. I request that the matter may be looked into and examined thoroughly because if they go on giving out news which is basically incorrect and calculated to undermine prestige and honour then it is a case for which the severest action must be taken.

Apart from this, one would like to say that there is general satisfaction about the working of the All India Radio. There are however two or three things which may be given some attention. As far as the youth is concerned, one more aspect needs to be looked into. Now their education, their entertainment, etc. is being looked into but I suggest that some attention needs to be paid to the aspect of their employment also. As far as their employment opportunities are concerned, what is being done by other agencies could be profitably done here also.

In the educational programmes 3 special emphasis should be given to the scientific aspect of it so that the schools in the interior, schools in the remote villages, which do not have the facility of good science teachers, could benefit by it and scientific education may be available to them. There is also scope for improvement in regard to scientific news, news about research and so on. Political news has predominance and sports news also does find a place. This is a case where they can look into.

श्री इशाम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश)
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि रेडियो और समाचार पत्र जनतंत्र के लिए अत्यन्त लाभकारी और प्रभावकारी साधन हैं और इनका प्रभाव जनतंत्र को चलाने में सर्वाधिक है और आज हमारे सामने यह दोनों जो प्रचार के साधन हैं उन पर या तो सरकार का नियंत्रण है या जो पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था है उसका नियंत्रण है। मैं पहले रेडियो को लेना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मान्यवर, इस देश में शिक्षा नगण्य है। खास कर जो ऐसी

भाषाओं के पत्र छपते हैं उनका प्रचार तगर्थ है और रेडियो का प्रचार धीरे-धीरे इतना अधिक बढ़ता जा रहा है कि जो अनपढ़ लोग हैं, जो दूर गांवों में बसे हुए हैं, उनकी भी प्रभावित करने का एक अच्छा साधन यह रेडियो हो गया है। बार-बार कहा गया और आज भी सदन में कई सदस्यों ने कहा, सदस्यों द्वारा ही नहीं, विभिन्न कमीशनों ने भी यह सुझाव दिया कि रेडियो के लिए एक कारपोरेशन बना दिया जाये। विभिन्न देशों में भी आज जो रेडियो की स्थिति है उस के ऊपर भी अगर हम ध्यान दें तो अधिकांश जनताविक देशों में रेडियो एक पब्लिक एंडरटैकिंग के तौर पर, कारपोरेशन के तौर पर संचालित हो रहा है। कहीं कहीं पर उस में प्राइवेट संस्थाएँ भी काम करती हैं और कहीं पर सरकार द्वारा बनाये गये अधिनियमों के अंतर्गत रेडियो कारपोरेशन हैं और उनके अंतर्गत रेडियो से प्रचार होता है। हमारे यहां जो चन्दा कमीशन बना उस ने भी यह सुझाव दिया था कि ब्रिटिश कारपोरेशन की भांति यहां पर भी आल इंडिया रेडियो का एक कारपोरेशन बनाया जाये, लेकिन इस प्रतिवेदन को पेश किए हुए कितने वर्ष बीत गये और आज तक उस पर कोई विचार सरकार की तरफ से नहीं हुआ। मान्यवर, एलेक्शन कमीशन ने भी जो विचार देश के सामने रखा उसको भी नहीं माना गया और सत्तारूढ़ दल एक प्रकार से रेडियो के साधन का उपयोग अपने हित में ही करना चाहता है। जब कभी देश के विभिन्न राज्यों में ऐसी सरकार कायम हुई जो केन्द्र की सरकार, यानी जो पहले की सरकार थी, उसके विरुद्ध विचारधारा की थी, तो वहां के मंत्रियों तक को रेडियो के माध्यम से अपनी पूरी बात कहने का अवसर नहीं मिला, उन की बातों को काटा छांटा गया और कितने ही ऐसे मंत्रियों ने रेडियो का बहिष्कार किया, बंगाल में यह हुआ और कितनी और जगहों पर हुआ कि जहां मंत्रियों ने कहा कि हम रेडियो पर भाषण नहीं करेंगे। तो प्रचार

में जहां और बाने आती है उसमें जहां तक समाचार के प्रसारण का संबंध उसमें जो पोलिटिकल पब्लिसिटी होती है, उस पर सत्तारूढ़ दल का एकाधिकार है। अगर उसको आप देखेंगे, खास कर एलेक्शन के समय में जिस प्रकार से रेडियो ने कार्य किया तो वह इस बात को स्पष्ट करता है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल इसलिए रेडियो को एक पब्लिक कारपोरेशन के अंतर्गत नहीं देना चाहता क्योंकि वह अगर एक डिपार्टमेंट की तरह से एक मिनिस्टर के अधीन कार्य करता है तो उसका कार्य मिनिस्टर की मर्जी के अनुसार होगा और सरकार अपने अनुसार पब्लिसिटी कराती रहेगी और रेडियो के जरिये सत्तारूढ़ दल का ही केवल प्रचार किया जाता है। आल इंडिया पार्टीज जो हैं उनको थोड़ा बहुत समय और स्थान अवश्य मिल जाता है लेकिन जो रीजनल पार्टीज हैं उन को बहुत कम स्थान रेडियो में मिल पाता है और बहुत कम समय उनको मिलता है और उनके जो रिपोर्टें हैं वह दो प्रकार से समाचार संग्रह करते हैं। एक तो एजेंसी के जरिये समाचार संग्रह करते हैं और दूसरे प्रमुख स्थानों पर वे अपने रिपोर्टें भी रखते हैं। जो समाचार आते हैं उनको काट-छांट कर इस प्रकार से वे तैयार करते हैं कि हर समाचार में जो भी देश के सम्मुख विशेष परिस्थिति है, जो प्रश्न पेश है या जो देश के सामने और दूसरे नवालात पैदा होते हैं उन पर विभिन्न पार्टियों को जो विचारधारा है उसको नीचा या कम से कम स्थान देकर सत्तारूढ़ दल को अधिक से अधिक प्रमुखता दी जाती है और उसका प्रचार करना ही रेडियो का एक मात्र कार्य इस देश में रह गया है।

और इस लाभ को जो सत्तारूढ़ दल है वह नहीं छोड़ना चाहता। जब पहले श्री मोरारजी भाई गवर्नमेंट में थे तब उनके, सामने प्रेस कमिशन की रिपोर्ट आ गई थी, वह तब मंत्रिमंडल में थे और तब कितना भी कहा गया लेकिन उस कमिशन की रिपोर्ट

[श्री श्यामलाल यादव]

को लागू नहीं किया, जब विरोध में बैठे तब उन्होंने इस बात का जिक्र किया कि इस पर विचार हो लेकिन सरकार ने उसको स्वीकार नहीं किया और अब पता चला कि कमिशन को इस सिफारिश को स्वीकार नहीं किया गया और मोरारजी भाई भी जब सरकार में थे तब स्वीकार नहीं किया। जो भी दल सरकार में होता है वह इस लोभ को संवरण नहीं कर सकता कि आल इंडिया रेडियो, जो कि प्रचार का साधन है, उसका किसी प्रकार का पब्लिक कारपोरेशन बना दिया जाये और जो लाभ सत्तारूढ़ दल को मिल रहा है वह उसके अतिरिक्त और किसी दूसरे दल को भी मिलने लग जाय और उनके दल को, उनकी नीतियों को प्रधानता और प्रमुखता न मिले, उनके नेताओं को उस प्रचार का लाभ न मिल सके जो कि अभी मिलता है। अभी हमारे मित्र ने कहा कि किसी एजेंसी ने समाचार भेजा जिसमें प्रधान मंत्री का क्लिपिंग था। प्रधान मंत्री की इमेज को बनाये रखने की उन्हें चिन्ता है, लेकिन जो विरोधी दल के नेता हैं उन पर जो असत्य आरोप दिन ब दिन लगाये जाते हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान देने की उन्हें कोई चिन्ता नहीं। इस देश में जनतंत्र को कायम रखने के लिये यह उचित नहीं है कि सिर्फ एक दल के नेता के जीवन और व्यक्तित्व की प्रशंसा की जाये और उसके ऊपर यदि कोई आरोप लगे तो उसको दबाया जाये लेकिन दूसरी तरफ अगर विरोधी दलों के नेताओं के ऊपर अखबार गलत आरोप लगाते हैं तो उनकी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाय। यह बात मुनासिब नहीं है। जब दूसरों पर आरोप लगते हैं तो उसकी वाह-वाही करते हैं। एक अखबार बम्बई से निकलता है, मैं देखता हूँ कि उसमें ऐसी अनर्गल, असत्य, बात बिना सिर-पैर की बातें छपती हैं। एक बार छपा कि मिर्जापुर में एक जगह यह कोशिश है कि वहाँ पर प्राइम मिनिस्टर को खत्म करने के लिये एक ब्र यज्ञ, महामत्पूज्य यज्ञ, किया जाये।

संयोग से मेरा घर भी उसके पास है और मुझे पता था कि कहीं कोई ऐसा यज्ञ नहीं है। मैंने उसके कंसेप्ट से कहा कि इस यज्ञ की जानकारी तुमको कैसे प्राप्त हुई, हमें तो कोई ऐसे यज्ञ की जानकारी नहीं है, इसकी तो यहां कोई चर्चा नहीं है और यह खबर सीधे बम्बई में कैसे पहुंच गई। तो इतनी असत्य बातें इस अखबार में छपती हैं। ठीक है, उसकी चर्चा आप करना नहीं चाहते क्योंकि वह आपकी पार्टी की नीतियों का समर्थन करता है, प्रशंसा करता है और विरोधियों की निंदा करता है। जब तक विरोधियों की निंदा करता है तब तक उसकी चिन्ता नहीं करते।

मान्यवर, मैं इस बात को दुहराना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को वह कार्य करना चाहिये कि अगर यह दल शासन में न रहे तो भी उसको कोई डर न हो। अगर यह दल शासन में न रहे तो क्या यह व्यवहार उसके साथ चलेगा रेडियो के द्वारा। क्या नन्दिनी शतपथी जी, जो कि आज इस विभाग की इन्चार्ज हैं। इस बात को नहीं सोचती कि कभी भी वह इस पद से बाहर हो सकती हैं जैसे कि कुछ मिनिस्टर आपके दल में हैं लेकिन आज मंत्री नहीं हैं। तो जिस प्रकार से रेडियो उनके समाचारों का प्रसारण करता है और विरोधी दल के लोगों का करता है वही व्यवहार आपके साथ हो तो क्या आपकी यही भावनाएँ होंगी जो कि आज हैं या इससे भिन्न होंगी? मैं समझता हूँ कि आपकी भावना इससे बिल्कुल विपरीत होगी। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि रेडियो और टेलिविजन के लिए एक कार्पोरेशन बना कर उसके अधीन यह कर दिया जाये और उसमें विलम्ब नहीं होना चाहिये।

अब एक दूसरा प्रश्न है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज प्रेस पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में है, अधिकांश बड़े-बड़े प्रेस उनके पास हैं लेकिन ये सभी सरकार की दया पर निर्भर करते हैं और जो कि देशी भाषाओं के पत्र हैं वह तो जो चीफ मिनिस्टर होते हैं, जो सचिव

के मंत्री होते हैं, केन्द्र के या प्रान्त के मंत्री होते हैं उनकी इच्छा पर, उनकी मर्जी पर ही चलते हैं। हमारे प्रदेश से हिन्दी के अखबार निकलते हैं। मेरे प्रदेश में कानपुर से भी निकलते हैं, लखनऊ से भी निकलते हैं लेकिन जैसी सरकार हो, जो चीफ मिनिस्टर हो उसका गुणगान करना ही उन समाचारपत्रों का कर्म है, उन समाचार पत्रों का कार्य है और इस वास्ते सरकार के मंत्री, मुख्य मंत्री, उसके प्रमुख नेताओं की एक-एक बात का विवरण छापना ही वह अखबार अपना कर्तव्य समझते हैं और उसमें ही इसकी इतिश्री समझते हैं और जब कभी कोई उसका सम्पादक कहता है कि इस तरह की बात को नहीं छाप सकते तो उसको तुरन्त निकाल कर बाहर कर दिया जाता है और उसकी कोई सुनाई नहीं है। और यह भी है कि जो प्रोप्राइटर है वही एडिटर भी बन गया है। यह भी एक अच्छी परम्परा चली है कि जो प्रोप्राइटर है चाहे वह एक लाइन भी लिख नहीं सकता हो, चहे वह पत्रकारिता का, जर्नलिज्म का एक अक्षर भी नहीं समझ सकता हो, लेकिन समाचारपत्रों के सम्पादक भी वही हैं। और वह सरकार की मर्जी पर हैं क्योंकि उसके द्वारा रुपया जो मिलता है, लोन का जो बैंक से मिलता है और जो सरकारी एडवर्टाइजमेंट से मिलता है, उसके ऊपर अखबार निर्भर हैं, खास कर जो प्रतिष्ठित देशी भाषाओं के अखबार हैं, इसलिए वे सरकार के खिलाफ जा नहीं सकते और आज भी दिन-रात उनका 9/10 हिस्सा प्रचार सरकार का होता है और 1/10 हिस्से में विरोधी पार्टियों का नाम आता है और उनके बयानात तक नहीं छपते, उनकी सही बात तक नहीं छपती। तो इसलिए, मान्यवर, अगर यह हो कि जो आज एजेंसियां हैं उनको भी सरकार हाथ में ले तो मुनासिब नहीं होगा। अगर उनका कारपोरेशन बनता है तब तो दूसरी बात है, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कारपोरेशन में केवल सरकारी नियंत्रण हो जाने से उन एजेंसीज के माध्यम से निष्पक्षता से समाचार नहीं दिये जा सकत,

सरकारी पार्टी के समाचार पी० टी० आई० से आया करते हैं, या यू० एन० आई० से आया करते हैं, क्योंकि सरकारी पक्ष के समाचार प्रकाशित करना उनका एकमात्र कर्तव्य है। अगर देखा जाए कितने बड्स पी० टी० आई० भेजता है, कितने बड्स यू० एन० आई० भेजता है तो मैं समझता हूं तीन-चौथाई मंत्रियों के उल्टे-सीधे बयान छापते हैं और एक चौथाई में दूसरे दलों की बातों को छापते हैं। यही नहीं, सरकारी पक्ष की खबरों का प्रचार करके और विरोधी दलों के खिलाफ आरोप लगा कर ये समाचार एजेंसियां न्यूज भेजती रहती हैं, इसलिए उनकी निष्पक्षता पर खास कर विरोधी दलों को बहुत एतराज रहता है क्योंकि वह भी सरकार के एक अंग बन गये हैं और उसी का प्रचार करते रहते हैं। जो पी० टी० आई० है उसमें भी सरकार के आदमी बैठे हुए हैं। इन एजेंसीज के जरिए निष्पक्ष तरीके से समाचार नहीं भेजे जाते।

इसमें सब से बड़ी बात यह है, मान्यवर, कि आज समाचार पत्रों में, खास कर जो देशीय भाषा के समाचार पत्र हैं, उनके समाचारों को आप देखें तो उनमें जातीयता की भावना को, साम्प्रदायिक भावना को उभाड़ा जाता है। ऐसे समाचार पत्रों की कमी नहीं है और मैं समझता हूं ऐसी न्यूज देने वाले अखबार अधिकांश में हैं, जो इस तरह का प्रचार करते हैं कि जिसमें देश के गरीब और पिछड़े हुए लोगों के खिलाफ बातें लिखी जाती हैं। कहने को तो हम कहते हैं कि प्रेस के जो रिपोर्टर्स हैं वे इन्डिपेन्डेन्ट्स हैं लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि वे भी उसी वर्ग का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं जिस वर्ग से आते हैं, जो सामाजिक तरीके से आगे बढ़ा हुआ वर्ग है, जिसका समाज में, सोशल आर्डर में ऊंचा स्थान है, वे लोग आज उन अखबारों के जरिए समाज की भावनाओं को प्रतिबिम्बित करने की कोशिश करते हैं। मेरा यह अनुरोध है कि जहां अखबारों के जरिए साम्प्रदायिकता को उभाड़ना बुरा है वहां जातीयता को उभाड़ना

(श्री श्यामलाल यादव)

भो उतना ही बुरा है और प्रेस काउंसिल के जरिए इस तरह का प्रावधान होना चाहिए कि अखबारों में जो भी समाचार छपते हैं जातीयता का कतई उसमें स्थान नहीं दिया जाए। यह आम तौर से देखा जाता है कि जहां दो आदमियों का झगड़ा होता है और दस, बीस आदमियों को चोटें आती हैं तो उसमें जातियों का नाम आ जाता है सम्प्रदाय का नाम आ जाता है। नेशनल इंटीग्रेशन काउंसिल में इस बात को रिकमेंडेशन हो चुकी है कि सम्प्रदाय का नाम नहीं छपे, कि कितने हिन्दू मारे गये कितने मुसलमान मारे गये इस तरह से यह भो जरूरी है कि अखबारों में जातीयता के बारे में खबर नहीं आनी चाहिए, अगर जनतन्त्र को सफल बनाना है तो।

श्री उपसभापति : अब खतम कीजिए।

श्री श्याम लाल यादव : मान्यवर, अखिरी बात यह कहना चाहता हूं कि समाचारपत्रों पर नियंत्रण करने की जो प्रबल लालसा खास कर बामपंथी लोगों की है वह बात समझ में आती है क्योंकि जिन देशों का वह गुणगान करते हैं उन देशों में कोई फ्रीडम ऑफ़ स्पीच नहीं है, किसी व्यक्ति को स्वतन्त्र रूप से बोलने की इजाजत नहीं, वहां पर सरकार जो चाहती है वहीं अखबार में छप जाता है, रेडियो पर आ जाता है, टेलिविजन पर आ जाता है। मैं समझता हूं, इस देश में जहां जनतन्त्र है, हमने जो जनतन्त्र का तरीका अख्तियार किया है उसमें, यह सम्भावना नहीं है कि सरकार ही सारे प्रचार के साधनों पर एकमात्र कब्जा कर ले और दूसरे को कुछ कहने का अधिकार न हो न लिखने का न पढ़ने का। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो वह दिन बहुत बुरा होगा, और शायद वह तानाशाही का दिन होगा।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Umashanker Joshi.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How long do we continue.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Till we finish all the speakers, may be 7-30.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: How long do we sit?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Till we finish, roughly till 7-30 Mr. Bhupesh will take about half-an-hour, and the hon. Minister will take about half-an-hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am glad you have given me half-an-hour.

SHRI UMASHANKER JUSHI (Nominated): I hope I will be given 15 minutes.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, after the din and fury which is inevitable in the speeches of party members, perhaps the hon. House would be interested in listening to a non-party voice.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have a feeling that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has been relegated to a minor place in the ministerial hierarchy ever since the dawn of independence. The Information and Broadcasting Ministry as well as the Education Ministry sometimes have the look of a "noman's land". And these are the Ministries which will contribute, and do contribute in other countries, to the shaping of the younger generation.

I want to be brief and I will come out with some concrete suggestions.

The Information and Broadcasting Ministry has a Publications Division. It is a sprawling Ministry and it is difficult to dovetail the various functions of the Ministry. I do not know whether we can be proud of our Publications Division even after 24 years of independence. If you look at the list of the publications in the various Indian languages, the production is meagre, if not next to nil, in the case of quite a number of languages. And the books produced in English are not always such as would add much to our credit. The usual argument advanced is that it is not possible to produce books in the various languages as there is difficulty in getting the services of the printing presses.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (Shri A. D. MANI) in the chair].

There are linguistic States now and it should be possible for the Information and Broadcasting Ministry to have a liaison or some understanding with the State Information Departments and see to the quick production of books in various Indian languages. About the distribution of the few books that are being produced, the less said the better. You have only to walk into a shop of Her Majesty's Stationery Department and pick up books without much difficulty. In India there are dumped on us books, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, from foreign agencies and it takes the life out of one to get a book published by our own publication Division, for it a tall order to arrange for the sale of the books produced by the Publications Division at least in the State capitals ?

As far as broadcasting is concerned, I will concentrate on the quality of voices. If you hear the voices and see the way a particular Indian language is pronounced and articulated on the radio, you will have an uncanny feeling that there are so many ways of murdering that great Indian language. Sir, you will recall at the time of the Chinese invasion we were hard put to finding out who was broadcasting in Hindi. The lady announcer, we thought, was an Indian renegade. But ultimately it was found out that it was nobody else but a Chinese—born up man. I., it not possible to find or train people who have perfect articulation in the various Indian languages ? When shall we have a De-Mello for every Indian language? The announcer sets the tone, sets the standard, for articulating a particular language. So many people learn from the radio. It is said we do not get men for the salaries we offer in New Delhi. May I make a suggestion in all humility ? If it is time that we looked at this problem from a very different angle. The salary you pay to an English announcer or a Hindi announcer in Delhi may be adequate for him

or her. But if you want to have the services of an expert Malayalam announcer in Delhi you may have to pay more to him or her because otherwise he or she may not be tempted to leave his or her home and come and settle down in Delhi. Delhi can provide with English announcer and Hindi announcers. But for the other Indian language you will have to provide for higher salaries.

Now, some of us will recall that in the days of the first Prime Minister of our country when the Ministry had the late Mr. M. Lady as its Secretary, writers and artistes of the various languages were associated.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : He was a great patriot.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: That is why I referred to him in all reference. He saw to it that writers and artistes of the various Indian languages were associated with the running of this Ministry.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : He was the first ICS man who used to go in dhoti to the Secretariat.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: He made great sacrifices. He refused the offer of appointment as Chief Justice of Rajasthan and stuck to this post as a patriot. Patriots are not found only in Parliament and Ministerial offices. They are there in the Secretariat also. It was he who provided channels through which the creative energy of the nation could freely flow. Are the writers and artistes of today on talking terms with All India Radio, our great medium of nation-building ?

This tempts me to refer to something to which a reference was made by a couple of honourable Members, I mean an article, a leader in the 'National Herald' by no less a journalist than Shri Chalapathi Rao. A man of Shri Chalapathi Rao's journalistic standing and stature writes only when he must. He writes when some principles are involved. I should not like to refer to the UPSC. The UPSC selects can-

[Shri Umashanker Joshi.]

didates. A man may be thrown out if he is found to be undesirable or if he is found to be wanting. I do know that the Government have every right, they would be justified, in making their own selection because they have to run the administration, but in that case they will have to give some reasons. All that I am concerned with is this, if the intellectual elite of the country feels that it is slighted, it will be a great disservice to the country. If the rights of the intellectuals and academicians, who have opted for Governmental service, of men who have shown ability, loyalty, character, integrity, are overridden, perhaps it would create conditions which are not desirable for the running of a Government. Before I close, I should like to refer to the loud talk about the freedom of the press. The press requires big money. It can come either from big business or from the State. If the State has sole monopoly of doling out truth, that is also not a very ideal situation. I am personally not enamoured of the condition of the press in our country. But if the State takes upon itself to be the sole monopolist of truth, you have to ask yourself whether you want one standard lie or a variety of lies. Perhaps it would be easier for truth to break through if there is a variety of lies. However, what I would like to suggest is that instead of caring for the big business and the press they own and strangle there should be some still small voices in the country which would be listened to by all. For instance, Shri Rama-nand Chatterjee's *Modern Review* was read by all who cared for the country. Even the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi waited on the first of every month for the fresh issue of *Modern Review*.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: So also *Indian Review*.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI: Yes, so also *Indian Review* and Social Reformer edited by the great patriot, Natarajan. Let there be no glib talk about free press. While we want to set things right, we should not undermine what is called the freedom of the press

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Shri Joachim Alva.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप ने कहा कि रूलिंग पर्टी का बोल चुका है।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): He is a journalist.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: Why do you grudge me? You speak for the whole day and when I speak once in a way, you grudge. Sir, in the first and foremost place, I would like to pay my tribute to my esteemed friend, the last Minister for Information and Broadcasting, for having done a few good things indeed. The first work Shri Gujral did was, as was pointed out by my esteemed friend Shri Chenchalvaroyan, that he brought the Youth Services Programme in the All India Radio. Whenever we had any grievances of anything to say, he listened to them and did something about them quickly.

Secondly, he turned the All India Muslim Newspaper Editors' Conference into the Urdu Newspaper Editors' Conference and I was very happy to see our present Minister, Shrimati Nan-dihi Satpathy, going to the gathering. I am glad that Urdu press is also getting as much money as the Marathi or Malayalam press gets for advertisement. I have got figures with me, but I have no time to quote them. Out of 1,000 readers for dailies, Malayalam language readers has got about 40. Next comes Gujarati, All others are much down below including Bengali. Urdu papers get as much money from the government by way of advertisements, as the Malayalam press and the Gujarati press get. Since my time is up, I will not quote the figures. I have got them here. But I shall come to the point a little later. But I would like to welcome the new Minister. We have got a new Minister who has had a very dynamic political career and we welcome her. But she may not be welcomed by everybody because some people are obsessed with certain ideas. I am sure she will do justice to the job. As one of my

friends here put it—I have forgotten his name—she has introduced a higher pay for the artistes. Sir, charity begins at home and I am glad that she has started it at home and I hope she will do many more things.

Sir, I regret that though the hon. Prime Minister is enjoying the position of the Minister of Information, I would like this Ministry to be a full-fledged Ministry of Information in the sense that the hon. Prime Minister may find time for other things. It is a pity that Shri Gujral was not made a full-time Minister, a Cabinet Minister, for Information. But I hope the young lady will get what he did not get and I wish her good luck.

Sir, my favourite point is about the films and I have put in a lot of resolutions and questions in regard to the indecent and obscene films, some of them have not come up. This is one thing which is getting into my head. I am old and I am 65 now. But when I see my grand-children going to see the films, films of sex and murder, my blood boils. I do not say that all the pictures are bad. As a school and college boy taught by Italian Jesuits in Mangalore, bad, objectionable, sexy books were banned with an iron hand. We then grew up drinking pure milk and today we cannot touch impure milk. I do not see nor enjoy any indecent pictures which many do—because they never had the kind of training, morally which the Italian Jesuits gave us on Mangalore or the good old Jesuits and Nuns elsewhere. But I am not sure of my own children or grand children in the future. If they have had no such training, they will enjoy sexual, degrading films—and thus the Nation will be demand like American youths wherein illegitimate children are born in universities. I do not want the indecent films to be shown. We are accustomed to seeing the American films. But we are horrified at the abominable American films that are coming. Some are good pictures like Halleluia, My Fair Lady etc. There is one excellent picture being shown in Plaza this week and I would like all of you to go and see that picture, called The Secret of San Vittoria. I

went there last night. It is a good picture. I think it is an Italian background. It shows how old women and others resisted the Nazis after Mussolini was out. I would like everyone to see this film because it serves as a source of inspiration and I would like all the MPs. and others, every citizen, to see that picture. It is not produced by the Americans; may be American money is there behind that. But I am aghast when I see people seeing the big thrillers, the films of sex and murder, being shown in India. We do not want filthy films, because they corrupt our youth. Our boys are going round and seeing such films. Sir, I am indebted to my friend, Shri M. V. Kamath, who is an exceptionally able journalist and who is in New York, who has stated in the "Times of India", at page 6, of the 16th July, 1971 that there are 21 opium refineries of various sizes and capacity in Burma, Thailand and Laos and these produce about 700 tons of opium. Sir, the conditions in which these countries, Laos, Burma and some other countries, are living, we do not have. But our boys and girls are ready to take to them. Our boys and girls are not going to fight for Their motherland. But they want the 'Chick, Chick' dance and all that. If they do all these things, they cannot fight for their motherland and even at the end of the century we will not be able to do that. It is because for the last thirty years we have been brought up by the American films so as to submerge our morality. Sometimes they produce some good films on the Bible. Of course, there are certain producers here who will not make good pictures from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I must confess that I have seen the drama on Ramayana in Kannada when I was less than ten and I have been so much influenced by it that the Ramayana is a part of my life and I have read it ten times or twenty times and I have been so much influenced by that I have named my grandson as Anjaneya, a figure from the Ramayana.

Sir, I will not talk about myself and my personal things. But I want

[Shri Joachim Alva.] to say that the Indian producers are a worthless class—though Shantaram and Satyajit Ray have produced good films. I want the hon. Minister, young as she is, to see that these indecent American films go back. We shall have only good films. So many sex and murder films of America are there and how are you going to put up with these? I want the hon. Minister, Shri-mati Satpathy, to take interest in this problem and I want her to lead a legion of woman against bad films. The Catholics have done in America. The Catholic Legion in America for Decent Films have done this in America by which they substantially stopped the rotten pictures and I would like the hon. Minister to form a league of women by which she will tell the Indian women to take the leadership in this field and see that nobody goes to see bad films. My friends are obsessed about the Soviet Union. What wonderful picture the Soviet Union produces! There is no rotten book stall in the Soviet Union. My friend, Mr. U. M. Nair, a prominent Communist M.P. in that Lok Sabha in the fifties, now out, reminded me after I saw him since many years that I delivered a strong speech in the fifties, being the only Congress Member under Nehru to support his motion that Communist literature not to be kept out of our Railway book stalls. Mr. Prem Bhatia, then Special Correspondent of the *Statesman* now our High Commissioner in Singapore commented that though my speech was only of five minutes, it was the best speech I delivered as an M.P. till then. Yet Mr. Bhatia had condemned my maiden speech in the Lok Sabha in 1950 as laughable in *Statesman*. This came out of his pro-British bias. I have never delivered a laughable speech in my career! In USA, near UN on 42nd Street there are rotten book stalls on the one side and obscene films on the other. We are imitating the Americans. I must say that there is no sex film shown in the Soviet Union or in China or any other Communist countries. They produce massive pictures, great stories of love,

mother's love, and real love, and not the disgustingly, Sexy boys' and girls love stories as shown in our films. I would urge upon the Minister to be serious about it. We do not want obscene scenes to be shown for two or three minutes at a time, with open sexual scenes between men and women, with body ready for sexual acts and unashamedly doing it before our very eyes! All this is allowed by the Censors. If we are shown such obscene films more and more, forget your grandchildren; they will not be the bearers and guardians of freedom in this land. It will be a loss for ever.

We see the Americans chewing gums and not standing in battle in Vietnam, Little boys and girls from Vietnam stand up and fire with anti-aircraft guns at the American planes. They have given such a fierce battle to the Americans that they are now forced to Quit Vietnam.

Sir, I will talk about one thing more and finish. These film producers never allow good pictures to be seen by us, and the?ia exhibitors, never allow foreign films—good films—to come here.

Now, Sir, coming to documentaries, I want to pay a tribute to the documentaries. My friend said that American documentaries are first-class documentaries. I would say that we have also produced very good documentaries. I would like that more such documentaries are produced in our country on good manners and good habits. Some of our Ministers—I am sorry to say—chew 'paans' in this House. I would like them to exhibit through these documentaries on good manners so that we can make ourselves a great nation.

Now, coming to small newspapers, I may say that I am going to close down my paper the Forum at the end of this year". I did not ask for any Government money or press for more advertisements. I did not ask them to help my paper with any—aid except advertisements. The Indian Advertising Agencies are lacking in patriotism. They are now getting all Government

advertisements—some of them through girls. I want to be very frank with you. That's why I want the public sector advertisements to be taken and to be run by themselves. Hindustan Machine Tools should run their own machinery; Hindustan Steel should have their own machinery, and not give them to the advertising agents. The Indian Advertising agents call themselves very, very busy. They have no time to talk to you on the phone; they are very busy. Mr. Raghunathan, when telephoned of India Oil as I complained would not talk to me; six times I rang him up when I was not an M.P. How do you expect the country to go forward with unjust, unbalanced and immoral kind of patriots in our advertising. We are dragging it into American lines.

Now I want this new Minister to see that the public sector handles its own advertisements, not in the rotten way but in the real way as some good companies like HAL, and others and not to give them to these fellows who suck you. By the end of the century advertising will be a fabulous business and unless we control these people, we cannot set our country right. My wife and I were pioneer M.P.s. who fought and compelled Government to advertise through Indian Advertising agencies, cent per cent only. Please read those debates of the fifties and sixties in this House.

I thought my friend, Mr. Joshi, forgot about Gandhiji—he is a Gandhian to the marrow of his bone. Gandhiji was the greatest journalist of this land. What English he used to write in *Young India*! I am proud that I had a paragraph there when I had put up a fight on behalf of a man, a Muslim, who was hung up on a tree, and beaten Gandhi's. His successor was Valji Govind Desai, whose son, Cambridge man, is in the PIB Department of the Government of India; and Valji Govind Desai was a great man; he was my Nasik jail companion, after I was punished in jail for reporting the assault also. I said it long ago,—I am not afraid of anyone—the monopolists have heaped money for the last 25

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years this way, that way, on this one and on that one, and they are running papers. Take the monopoly of the papers away from their hands by any law.

Now, the AH India Newspapers Editors Conference—I was a member there—they passed a resolution that they were worried; Mr. Verghese was worried; the Hindustan Times was worried. Mr. Verghese now the Editor of *Hindustan Times* was worried about the Constitution Bill forgetting the ideology he shared with P.M. when he had the honour to work with her.

We, three Members of Parliament—Mrs. Mukul Banerjee, Mr. Prem Varma and myself—opposed this resolution opposing Constitution Bill. If the Russians can have one house for everyone, what about our people? Mr. Birla has got a house in every part of the world; and the common people have not got any houses to lay their hands on. It is very important. Now these things have to be stopped. No monopoly newspaper should be allowed to have more than one extra edition; no; it is sinful to give it to them. Mr. Goenka did it that way. I fought with Mr. Morarji Desai, the then Deputy Prime Minister. I asked him 'How did you allow these two papers Indian Express and Times of India to go to Ahmedabad? You have killed the poor Gujarati "newspaper people." The Gujaratis stand highest in the country amongst readers for dailies—not even Marathi journalism though Marathi journalism is great. The Gujaratis stand second highest after Malayalam, in the matter of reading daily papers. What about the *Deccan Herald* in Bangalore? Mr. Nijalingappa gave *baksheesh* to Mr. Birla and Mr. Goenka together. Mr. Goenka has got a big building near the Sachivalaya there; he squeezes the local papers, both English and Kannada. What is the use of journalism in such a situation? This must be stopped in this year 1971. The Prime Minister has got a massive mandate; she will go slowly; she will handle all these things with care.

The next point is about news agencies. The PTI has to be a corporation.

[Shri Joachim Alva.]

It is time that we stopped these big, big people. It is time that, the PTI expands all over the world. My wife and I saw their office; then Mr. Vats was running it well there in Moscow. I would like to put their offices all over the world. The PTI man in New York Raghavan is doing a very good job- in Balu and Wilfred; they ran it well also. In other places also they are all doing a good job. They must, be able to build up in such a way that the word of the Indian newspaper agency is always respected. And the rich man's representatives should not be there in the Board because they put in their money and then they become directors. What is this idea? The PTI and the UNI should be made into two corporations. And we shall not permit anybody to run them; let us run the corporations ourselves because in the news what you say or I say should be truly reported, not the monopolistic view anyway. This is a very big hegemony of monopoly in the newspapers. In regard the INFA I think I have not said enough about it. All kinds of privilege have been given to it. Now INFA had the cheek to defame the Prime Minister through a Hindi paper. Durgadas forecast a poor majority for PM; yet he had the cheek to ask the Defence Ministry to subscribe to a large number of copies and get as much money as possible from our Missions abroad. It is something which we cannot put up with. I told you that I have got asked any thing from the Government except that thing to which I am entitled and which I do not get advertisements. I want to close my paper at the end of the year because I am not physically strong and my children are not interested and they say: "Do not ask money from the rich people!" What about this. How do you allow this thing, the retired people to run papers, give them very substantial money and then to attack the Prime Minister? There are the things you have to stop.

As regards the AIR I would like to say that I wrote a long letter to Dr. Keskar. I have not a Secretary and so

I cannot find it now—wherein I said: 'You do not take any interest about the Harijans. But hundreds of Harijan M.Ps. to speak by turn on the AIR'. What is being done in the AIR? We talk of science and technology. Is it not our business to bring the lowest people to our level—it is not 1970— about housing conditions and other things. Nothing is done. There was a very competent AIR News Editor, Mr. Shivaram. When he was there, M.Ps. got full coverage. It is true that in the feature A Day in Parliament they cover us but I do not know why many are left off, because somewhere the coverage goes elsewhere. I have seen all the 15 directives issued by the Minister in regard to News, and I must say from Rules 7 to 10 the news is well written on. From 7 to 10 they are well-ful-filled. I would like many more things to be done. Though I have nothing against the present editor but I say this news coverage should be completely changed for the better and to make it much more interesting than what it is. I do not know whether I will be covered today.

As regards external publicity, Members go to foreign lands. I want to know how many times the External Affairs Ministry has ever asked the Members to speak. Miss Masani I put her up as a speaker for the first time in her life at Bombay's Elphinstone College in 1930 during the Salt Satyagraha. She never asked me any time to speak on the Radio. Foreign radios have asked me but not in my own country for a long time I was asked late. Why do they not ask the present Members who go out to speak, and let those speeches be passed on to the External Affairs Ministry? It will be making a better use of their visits. The Members who have chance to go out should be asked to speak. I do not want to go out any more, I am not anxious to go as I have seen most of the world, but those who are going in the future should also get a chance to speak on the radio.

As regards music, I must say that when I ceased to be a Member I wrote notes about the AIR daily. I have a long manuscript. My friend, Mr. Gujral, asked for it but I did not give it. Then it was asked by the *Sunday Standard* but I did not give it to them. I have got it. I must pay a Tribute to Dr. Karan Singh because his was the best voice amongst Ministers on the radio. I must say that Marathi music which I hear from 6 to 7-30 is lovely. So also Bengali music of which I hear so little. I also hear so many other things but Delhi does not give good music, I am sorry to say. I found Malayalam music very good indeed. Kannada I cannot say about it much. South Indian music is good and attract but I must say Marathi stands first. But the same singers are put up. There is a good singer, I forget the name but she and her sister are put up nearly or over four times a day. We would like them to be changed. We want variety of voices and unless you put up that, music cannot have charm in it. When you give chances to others, things will be better. One more point about the AIR. Our national biography should be put up for 50 weeks. Nobody knows and one does not know who is Chittaranjan Das. Why cannot every week there be a national biography put up for the land? It can be there for 50 weeks so that the new generation can know about all our leaders. In every language and also in English and translations it can be heard by the youngsters. Now, I must say that the Spotlight is fairly good, in many of the talks are very very interesting no doubt but some of them not really up to the mark. I do not know why we cannot have a mixture. I would like my journalist friends to give them. I want them to make some money; I want that they should hear their own voice; just as we like to hear our own voices over the radio but there are some talks which are not put up to the mark. I keep a close watch on the Radio at all stations wherever I go. "Wherever I go I put it on to hear every language and to know what it is like. I would like these spotlight programmes to be mixed up so that some

of these worthless talks are not put on the air. (Time bell rings).

So I am ending my speech; there are many more things I would like to have said. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is very important for us. You know how power is seized anywhere. First they seize the Army and the next thing they do is to seize the Radio. So you see how important it is. There is a woman in charge who knows how to take action in times of trouble.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: Sir, I would like to appeal to the Minister that she should not allow his paper, Forum....

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): You cannot put a question now.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: I am only appealing to the Minister not to allow his paper to close down.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You appeal privately; not now.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, समय काफी हो चुका है, इसलिए मैं मुख्य-मुख्य पॉइंट रखना चाहूंगा। मुझे अफसोस है कि एक तो लोकनाथ मिश्र जी चले गये, जिन्होंने पी.टी.आई. की बड़ी वकालत की और दूसरे हमारे मित्र कृष्णकान्त चले गये, जो समाजवाद और जनतंत्र की रट लगाते हैं, लेकिन जानते नहीं कि समाजवाद और जनतंत्र का स्वरूप क्या है। ये दोनों बिचित्र ढंग से इस सदन में बोल गये। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कृष्णकान्त की इस बात में थोड़ा दम है कि सरकार के पास एक सपना होना चाहिए कि वह आगे आने वाले जमाने को किस ढंग का बनाना चाहती है। गांधी जी कहा करते थे कि हम जैसा समाज बनाना चाहते हैं, उसके निर्माण के लिए बाल्यपन में लोगों को शिक्षा देनी चाहिए, यह नहीं कि बूढ़ा हो जाय तब दी जाय, जिसके अन्दर अक्ल न हो और जो पुरानी रट लगाये रहे। तो आज इस सरकार को अगर कोई जनतंत्री या समाजवादी कहे तो उसको मैं बिल्कुल सफाई के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह बुद्धि-विरोधी-व्यूह की

[श्री राजनारायण]

रचना में लगा हुआ है, उसने बुद्धि को ताक पर रख दिया है। इस सरकार को समाजवाद और जनतंत्र से मतलब क्या है। यह केवल प्रयोग करना चाहती है 'समाजवाद' और 'जनतंत्र' शब्दों का और काम करना चाहती है पूँजीवाद और तानाशाही के ढंग का। इसलिए हम ने पहले ही कह दिया था कि इस गवर्नमेंट को आपकी डेमोक्रेसी की सरकार नहीं कहना चाहिए। यह सरकार शुद्धतः मोनोक्रेसी है, यह सरकार प्लूटोक्रेसी है, यह एकतंत्री सरकार है और बड़े-बड़े धनपतियों से समर्थित सरकार है। इस सरकार को जनतंत्री और समाजवादी वही कह सकता है, जिसके पास जनतंत्र और समाजवाद का निषेध हो।

मैं आज समाचारपत्रों के बारे में थोड़े में ही अपना निवेदन करूँगा। कितने ही समाचारपत्र वाले हमें मिले और उन्होंने बताया कि इस सरकार की यह मौखिक हिदायत है कि राजनारायण की मीटिंगों का समाचार न दिया जाय, राजनारायण के भाषणों को प्रसारित न किया जाय। जब मैं पूछता हूँ तो जो प्रतिनिधि उनका रहता है, जिलों में वह कहता है कि हमने यह रिपोर्ट भेज दी है, अब वह न निकले तो मैं क्या करूँ, चाहे वह पटना हो, लखनऊ हो, कहीं भी हो। करीब-करीब रोज हमारी दिल्ली में सभा हो रही है संघला-देश-मान्यता-दो-सम्मेलन की और से, यह निर्दलीय है, इसमें इंडीवीजुअल शामिल है, बहुत से इंडीवीजुअल किसी न किसी दल में सजे हुए हैं, मगर कहीं भी समाचार पत्रों में आपने इसके बारे में पढ़ा? नहीं पढ़ा। कहीं रेडियो पर सुना? नहीं सुना। कारण क्या है, हम ने एक खत लिखा—वह कहीं चला—जो मंत्री महोदय यहां पर बैठी हुई हैं, उनकी चिट्ठी भी हम को मिली कि मामले की जांच कराई जा रही है, लेकिन मामले की जांच करके उन्होंने क्या किया, वह मुझे मालूम नहीं।

लखनऊ रेडियो स्टेशन पर एक बांचू है, काश्मिरी अपने को कहता है। जो काश्मीर से आये हैं वे सब समझ गये हैं कि हम इन्दिरा जी के गुलाम हैं। मैं समझ नहीं सकता कि उसके दिमाग में कहाँ से यह साफत आ गई कि जहाँ संसोपा का नाम आये, जहाँ राजनारायण का नाम आये, वह ऐसी बात रेडियो से प्रसारित करेगा, जिसे संसोपा में फूट मालूम हो और जो संसोपा की मेन स्ट्रिम है, जो संसोपा की मुख्य धारा है, जो संसोपा का मुख्य दफ्तर है, उसके विरुद्ध जा-जा कर लोगों से बयान लिखवाता है और उन बयानों का रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट करता है। यह नित्य प्रति उसका काम है। इसका कोई खोफिया जा कर देख सकता है। इसी तरह से पी०टी०आई० में इनका रेप्रिजेंटेटिव है जो खुले में लोगों को माली देता है। जिस समय श्री चरण सिंह और श्रीमती इन्दिरा का मेल था, तब वह श्री चरण सिंह को रूपोर्ट करता था और जब श्री चरण सिंह और श्रीमती इन्दिरा का अन्तर्मेला हो गया तो श्री चरण सिंह भी उसके दुश्मन हो गये। वह अपने को सरकारी प्रतिनिधि मानता है। पी०टी०आई० में वह यह समझता है कि जिस समय जिसकी सरकार हो, उस समय उसी की खिदमत करना सही पत्रकारिता है। यह देश की स्थिति आज होती चली जा रही है। 'नव-जीवन' और 'नेशनल हेराल्ड' के सम्बन्ध में अगर कोई सही, स्वतंत्र और ईमानदार पत्रकारिता को समझता है तो मैं उससे पूछना चाहूँगा कि 'नेशनल हेराल्ड' के शेयर्स कहाँ से आये, 'नेशनल हेराल्ड' का ट्रस्ट कैसे बना और उसके पास पैसा कहाँ से आया। हमने श्रीमन्, यहाँ पर बताया था कि कौन सी जनप्रतिनिधि सभा उसका संचालन करती आ रही है। खाली जनतंत्र का नाम ले लेने से ही सब कुछ नहीं हो जाता है।

चुनाव के मौके पर हम लोगों ने यह कहा था कि हर पार्टी को समूचित, उसकी ताकत के मुताबिक रेडियो से प्रसारण करने की इजाजत दी जाय। उसको सरकारी पक्ष के

नहीं माना। सरकारी पक्ष चुनाव में केवल अपना ही प्रचार करता रहा या जो सरकारी पक्ष के साथ लगे हुए लोग थे, उनका प्रचार करता रहा। क्या इसको आप कहेंगे कि यह जनतंत्र है? क्या इसको आप कहेंगे कि यह स्वतंत्रता है? न यह जनतंत्र है और न यह स्वतंत्रता है।

श्रीमन्, इसी के साथ-साथ मैं आपको बताऊँ कि आज लोक सभा में जो संविधान में संशोधन करने का विधेयक प्रस्तुत है उसके लिए गोलक नाथ के केस को बहाना बना लिया गया है। गोलक नाथ के केस को बहाना बना कर के हमारी सारी लिबर्टी, हमारी सारी फ्रीडम, आज समाप्त करने का अधिकार सरकार अपने हाथ में ले रही है। यदि सरकार सही माने में ईमानदार है, तो वह सम्पत्ति खत्म करने का डेफिनिट विधेयक लाये, ठोस विधेयक लाये। मैं यहां तक कहना चाहता हूँ कि डेढ़ दो हजार रुपया महीना से ज्यादा जिसकी आमदनी है, उसे डेढ़ दो हजार रुपया महीने से ऊपर की आमदनी एक न एक प्रकार से ले ली जाय, चाहे हूवी टैक्सेशन कर के ले ली जाय, चाहे किसी और ढंग से ले ली जाय। मगर इस सरकार की इतनी हिम्मत नहीं है कि यह कोई ऐसा फैसला कर सके कि जिस की जितनी आमदनी डेढ़ दो हजार रुपया महीने ऊपर है, चाहे वह सरकारी आदमी हो, चाहे गैर-सरकारी आदमी हो, उससे वह ले ली जायगी। हमारे गरीब भारतवासियों में एक व्यक्ति की औसत आमदनी सवा तीन सौ रुपया साल है। फिर भी हमारे यहां किसी की आमदनी दो लाख है, किसी की तीन लाख है, किसी की पता नहीं कितने लाख है। इतना ही नहीं जिस प्रधान मंत्री पर 30 हजार रुपया महीना खर्च हो, क्या वह किसी जनतंत्र की प्रधान मंत्री हो सकती है। भूपेश जी ने पता नहीं इसको पढ़ा है या नहीं पढ़ा है। यह केवल गोलक नाथ केस में नहीं है। इसमें कहा गया है :

“इस संविधान में किसी बात के होते हुए भी, संसद् अपनी संविधायी शक्ति

का प्रयोग करते हुए इस संविधान के किसी उपबन्ध का संशोधन परिवर्धन, फेरफार अथवा निरसन के रूप में इस अनुच्छेद में अधिकथित प्रक्रिया के अनुसार कर सकेगी।”

निरसन, निरस्त, रिपील/कांस्टीट्यूशन अमेंडमेंट में इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को रिपील करने का अधिकार दिया गया है। रिपील का मतलब होता है डेड। उसमें इस संविधान की हत्या करने का अधिकार दिया गया है। इस संविधान को कत्ल करने का अधिकार लिया जा रहा है। यह जनतंत्र की सरकार है? इसको जर्म नहीं आती है जो इतनी बड़ी पावर इसमें लेने को तैयार हो रही है कि हम इस संविधान की हत्या कर रहे हैं, वह हम को फ्रंडम देगी। अगर इस सरकार को केवल प्राप्ति से संबंध है तो प्राप्ति का तो क्लोज भी नहीं है। प्राप्ति का क्लोज नहीं आया है। आप तो फंडामेंटल राइट्स तमाम डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स को समाप्त कर के बैठ जायेंगे, इन्दिरा गांधी बैठ जायेंगी तो क्या होगा। यहां पर हिटलर और मुसोलिनी का नाम मान लिया गया होता तो मुझ को कहना नहीं पड़ता। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिटलर का उदय कैसे हुआ? चार साल के लिए सारा कांस्टीट्यूशन ठप्प कर दिया गया। हिटलर का उदय हुआ संवैधानिक तरीके से। आज अगर इन्दिरा रानी आयें और कहें कि नाव आई सस्पेंड दि होल कांस्टीट्यूशन तो कोई उनको रोक सकता है? इस निरसन में, इस रिपील में, जो रिपील की ताकत ली जा रही है, उसमें क्या कोई उनको रोक सकता है? कोई नहीं रोक सकता। तो मैं यह समझना चाहता हूँ कि यह जनतंत्र के पुजारी, यह जो अपने को जनतंत्र का बच्चा समझते हैं, कहते हैं, जो अपने को जनतंत्र की ओलाद कहते हैं आज वह अपनी जनतंत्र रूपी माता की कोख में क्या छुरा नहीं भोंक रहे हैं? उनको जर्म आनी चाहिए। मैं जानता हूँ गोलक नाथ केस में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो फैसला दिया; वह

[श्री राजनारायण]

गलत है, वह अनुचित है, उसमें दिक्कत है, मगर उस दिक्कत का सुधार होता चाहिए कैसे ? कैसे सुधार होगा यह मैं देख रहा था और इसलिए मैं थोड़ा मा-इड खोल देना चाहता हूँ, इसलिए आप पबराइये मत ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I would like to listen to all your arguments. But I want you to speak on the various issues which have been raised today.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं उसी ईश्वर पर आ रहा हूँ कि रोज नित्य प्रति इस संविधान की हत्या करने का अधिकार पार्लियामेंट को है, यह रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट हो रहा है । वह जो गुलाम है, जिनको बुद्धि पैने से खरोदी जा चुका है, ऐसे-ऐसे लोगों से रेडियो पर ब्राडकास्ट कराया जाता है । बंगला देश के बारे में जो लोग यह कहते हैं, जो अपने को जुरिस्ट और अपने को एडवोकेट कहते हैं, अपने को कहते हैं विश्व के कानूनों का जानकार, उनका रेडियो ब्राडकास्ट कराया जाता है कि बंगला देश को मान्यता देने का अधिकार सरकार के ऊपर छोड़ दिया जाय, रिकग्निशन होना जरूरी नहीं है । हम लोगों का ब्राडकास्ट नहीं कराया गया । हम भी कांस्टीट्यूशन को जानते हैं और समझते हैं । हम लोग जब ब्राडकास्ट करते हैं तो पहले से लिखा कर लेते हैं और उसके बाद भी हम को नहीं कहा गया कि इस विषय पर राजनारायण जी, आप भी रेडियो पर बोलिये । तो उसके लिए हमारा प्रसारण नहीं हो रहा है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ इस मंत्री से कि यह कालिमा जो जनतंत्र के मस्तक पर लगायी जा रही है, इस इन्दिरा की सरकार के द्वारा वह कालिमा कैसे धुसेगी, उसको कौन धोयेगा ? श्रीमन्, कल हमारे सुप्रीम कोर्ट के बहुत से दोस्त हमारे पास आये, हमने उनको अपना दिमाग दे दिया कि इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को किसने दिया ? जिसने इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को दिया, वही इस कांस्टीट्यूशन

को ले सकता है जो गिविंग अथॉरिटी है वही टेकिंग अथॉरिटी हो सकती है । जिसने दिया वह ले सकता है । तो किसने दिया है, इसमें है कि 'हम, भारत के लोग, ... दृढ़ संकल्प हो कर अपनी इस संविधान सभा में आज तारीख 26 नवम्बर, 1949 ई० (मिति मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ला सप्तमी, संवत् दो हजार छः विंशती) को एतद् द्वारा इस संविधान को अंगीकृत, अधिनियमित और आत्मापित करने हैं । कांस्टीट्यूशन असेम्बली बने । संविधान निर्मात्री परिषद् ने संविधान दिया, भारत के लोगों ने दिया । उसके द्वारा संविधान निर्मात्री परिषद् के द्वारा ही यह लिया जा सकता है, लेकिन उस संविधान निर्मात्री परिषद् का कहीं विचार नहीं है, उसकी कहीं चर्चा नहीं है तो और पार्लियामेंट इस संविधान को कैसे ले सकती है ? इस संविधान के अन्दर पार्लियामेंट है ।

पार्लियामेंट इस संविधान के ऊपर नहीं है, पार्लियामेंट इस संविधान के तहत चल रही है इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि अगर जनतंत्र में तनिक भी आस्था हो इस प्रधान मंत्री को तो फौरन लोक सभा का विवाद बन्द कराये, कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली बनावे, रेफरेंडम ले, पि-पीपुल्स के पास जाय । वह हमारे मित्र श्री डी० पी० सिंह हैं, वह अच्छे मित्र हैं, सप्रीम कोर्ट से रूलिंग पार्टी में आगये ।

श्री अरम मेहता : यह ग्राउंड बना रहे हो उसको अपोज करने का । अब समझा कि क्या बात है ।

श्री राजनारायण :—कल वह हमको कहने लगे कि राजनारायण जी गोलकनाथ के केस का प्रतिकार कैसे होगा क्योंकि संविधान में कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली बनाने की बात नहीं है । मगर संविधान में कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली बनाने की बात है । कांस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली ने इस कांस्टीट्यूशन को दिया है और कांस्टीट्यूट

असेम्बली ही अधिकृत है इस कास्टीट्यूशन का तो कस्टीट्यूट असेम्बली बनावो, उसको फारमलेट करो और इसको पास करावो कि फंडामेंटल राइट के अन्दर हगिज हगिज प्रापर्टी राइट नहीं होगा। हम आपके साथी हैं। सेठ दामोदर स्वरूप प्रापर्टी राइट को फंडामेंटल राइट में रखने के बड़े विरोधी रहे हैं। कास्टीट्यूट असेम्बली की डिबेट को पढ़ा जाय, उन्होंने नोट आफ डिसेट दिया है। मगर एक होटवा खड़ा कर दिया। हमने यह सब कहा लेकिन अखबार के लोगो ने हमारी बात को छपा नहीं वह हमारी बात को छापते नहीं। अखबारों को मैंने बहुत ज़ोरों में यह सब बताया है। कहीं यह चीज हमारी नहीं आ रही है क्योंकि उधर से ठुक्क है। कुछ पत्रकार हैं जिन को मैं जानता हूँ, ऐसे 2 पत्रकार हैं जो कि हमारे यहां रपट करने आते हैं। मैं जानता हूँ। श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर संसोधन के चेयरमैन हैं, वह दो बार कहेंगे कि देखिये समाचार ऐसे देना, यह हमारी राय है, यह हमारी नीति है, यह हमारा फैसला है लेकिन जब सबेरे अखबार में पढ़ा जायगा तो बिल्कुल उल्टा। तो कहां हैं हम लोग। हम स्ताव पास करेंगे कुछ और वह दे देगे कुछ। एक नहीं अनेक उदाहरण हम दे सकते हैं सारी फाइल ला कर के, मगर उन उदाहरणों में जाने की हमें जरूरत नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज सरकार के लोग कुछ पत्रकारों को पैसे के बल पर खरीदकर उनसे प्रचार करा रहे हैं, उनसे एक हम इमेज बनवा रहे हैं हर जगह चाहे लखनऊ हो, चाहे दिल्ली हो, चाहे पटना हो, चाहे कलकत्ता हो, चाहे बम्बई हो। तो इसकी रेमेडी क्या है। इसका उपाय क्या हो। इसका उपाय कोई कायदा कानून बना कर के नहीं हो सकता इसका उपाय तो यह है कि जब तक कि हम इतने सदाचारी न हों, सचरिख न हों, आदर्शवादी न हों कि देश को बनाना है, देश के अन्दर विचारधाराओं को ठीक से रखना है इसलिये अपनी कलम को और अपने दिमाग को किसी के पैरों पर बहने नहीं देंगे, जब तक यह भावना पत्रकारों में न हो, दूसरे लोगों में न हो

तब तक जनतन्त्र कैसे चलेगा, जनतन्त्र का चलना नामुमकिन हो जायगा।

श्रीमन्, हमने यहां पर सुझाव दिया राज्य सभा की कार्यवाही के बारे में। चाहे कोई कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का फैलों ट्रेवलर चला जायगा ब्राडकास्ट करने के लिये, चाहे कोई इन्दिरा कांग्रेस का चला जायगा। कभी कुछ भले भी जाते हैं और जब भले जाते हैं तो उस दिन का रेडियो सुनिये, राज्य सभा की कार्यवाही ठीक से निकाली मगर जहां कमिटेड लोग जाते हैं तो बहुतो यह गिनाने के लिये कि राजनायण का भी नाम लिया गया ऐसे इन्सिगनिफिकेंट विषय पर हमारा नाम ले लेंगे कि उससे कुछ अर्थ निकलता नहीं, देश की जनता जानती नहीं कि राज्य सभा में राजनायण की भी इसके बारे में क्या राय थी। और इस लिये हमने पहले भी सुझाव दिया और मैं आज भी जोर दे कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रतिदिन सिनापसिस निकलती है, राज्य सभा का सचिवालय सिनापसिस देता है, वहीं सिनापसिस क्या नहीं रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट हो। राज्य सभा में हम शाम को जाते हैं और हम लोगों को मिल जाती है, तो वह सिनापसिस रेडियो से ब्राडकास्ट हो, क्यों दूसरे लोगों को पैसा खिलाया जाय, क्या उन लोगों से गलत तरीके से झूठी, अनगैल, असत्य अधूरी खबरों को प्रसारित कराया जाय। तो सरकार ने यह तरीका बना लिया है कि एक की ठीक इमेज बना सकें। इमेज बनाते-बनाते डा० केसकर चले गये, इमेज बनाते-बनाते श्री के० के० शाह चले गये, इमेज बनाते-बनाते श्री आई० के० गुजराल चले गये और अब यह नंदिनी शतपथी जी हैं, देखिये यह कितने दिनों की मेहमान हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shri-mati Nandini Satpathy herself i.3 an image.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please go on, Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये, यह कितने दिन की मेहमान है।

श्रीमती नन्दिनी शतपथी : कौन यहां परमानेंटली रहता है।

श्री राजनारायण : यह जानती हैं कि इनको परमानेंटली नहीं रहना है फिर भी क्या वह अपने पथ को छोड़कर के सिर्फ चापलूसी में जाती है। श्रीमन्, मैं इसीलिए कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने कल गोलकनाथ के केम को बता दिया था, हम चाहते हैं कि इसको समझे और अभी जाकर प्रधान मंत्री को कहें कि उस विधेयक को वापस लें। गोलकनाथ के केम में ही तमाम जजों ने कहा है कि हम यह नहीं कहते कि यह संविधान परिवर्तित नहीं हो सकता। उन्होंने परमानेंट और इटर्नल दो शब्दों की व्याख्या की है और कहा है कि कांस्टिट्यूशन परमानेंट है मगर इटर्नल नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा है, कि पीपुल्स रेफरेंड हो, एक कांस्टिट्यूशन असेम्बली बने, जो कांस्टिट्यूट असेम्बली इस संविधान को देने वाली है, वह इस संविधान को ले सकती है।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा नवहन और परिवहन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री श्रीमत् मेहता): पी० एस० पी० जिसके साथ आप मिलने जा रहे हैं उसका क्या विचार है?

श्री राजनारायण : यह छोटी बात नहीं किया करते कि हम इन्दिरा गांधी के साथ मिलने जा रहे हैं। तुम को पता यह फन्डामेंटल चीजें हैं, यह जनतंत्रीय पद्धति से, जनतंत्र प्रणाली से संबंधित विषय है, यह किसी छूटे से बंधी चीज नहीं है। जनतंत्र का भाष्य संविधान का भाष्य है—समझ गये? जब नाथ पाई का विधेयक भ्रष्टाचार लोका सभा में तो डा० लोहिया ने सफाई के साथ कहा था कि वह जब

हमारे यहां आएगा, हम बतायेंगे। कांस्टी-ट्यूशन को चेन्ज किया हिटलर ने कैसे? हिटलर सर्वेसर्वा बन गया, कैसे? तो जो स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानी रहे हैं जो जनतंत्र के समाजवाद में आस्था रखते हैं, वे सरकारी पक्ष के हों चाहे विरोधी पक्ष के हों, चाहे भूपेश गुप्त के पक्ष के हों या गंगा बाबू के पक्ष के हों, मैं सभी से हाथ जोड़ कर विनती कर रहा हूँ कि भावावेश न आकर काम मत करना। दूध का जला हुआ मठा भी फूंक-फूंक कर पीता है। तो दुनिया के और मुलकों में जब-जब तानाशाही आई है, उस तानाशाही इति-हास को भी हृदयगम रखो और भारत में उसकी पुनरावृत्ति मत होने दो। राष्ट्र-पति का क्यों चुनाव हुआ? राष्ट्रपति तमाम विधान सभाओं से चुना गया है, संसद के सदस्यों से चुना गया है। कहते हैं, जो कानून यह पार्लियामेंट बनाए उसको तो राष्ट्रपति को अपनी एसेन्ट देनी ही होगी। यह बेवकूफी का काम है, इससे बढ़ कर तुफान बदलमोजो का और क्या विधेयक हो सकता है। राष्ट्रपति को क्यों रखे हुए हैं। क्यों राष्ट्रपति के वेतन पर 10,000 ६० खर्च किया जाता है? मजाक बना रखा है राष्ट्रपति का विधान मंडलों और संसद के सदस्यों द्वारा चुने गये हैं राष्ट्र-पति—क्यों वह इन्दिरा गांधी का गुलाम हो गया? जो इन्दिरा रानी कह दे राष्ट्रपति को करना होगा। फिर राष्ट्र-पति की क्या आवश्यकता रह गई? राष्ट्र-पति का चुनाव खत्म कर दो, राष्ट्रपति को खत्म कर दो, मैं चाहता हूँ भूपेश गुप्त, जनतंत्र के साथ खिलवाड़ न करो—तुम भी मारे जाओगे, हम भी मारे जाएंगे, हो सकता है हम तो गोली खा कर मारे जाएंगे, हो सकता है, उससे पहले तुम जेल में बंद कर दिए जाओ, क्योंकि हिटलर ने ऐसा ही किया।

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: He will be better there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shudder to think that after six years here, we have to be in jail also together.

श्री राजनारायण: तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, आज यह सबसे बड़ा खतरा है प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता पर। यह खतरा सरकारी है, शुद्धतः। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यह सरकार सम्पूर्ण समाचारपत्रों को अपने काबू में रखना चाहती है, अपने कब्जे में रखना चाहती है और उसके लिए तमाम दुष्कर्म किया करती है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार का एडवर्टाइजमेंट देने का तरीका क्या है? हमारे अखबार जन और मैनकाइन्ड को एक विज्ञापन नहीं मिला आज तक, मगर आल्ता साहब के क्षेत्र से दूसरे दैनिक, पाक्षिक, मासिक पत्र हैं, उनको सरकार जो विज्ञापन देती है, उनके बारे में क्या सरकार सफाई के साथ कहेगी कि विज्ञापन दे दे कर समाचारपत्रों को दबाव में नहीं रखा जाता? मैं चाहता हूँ, पार्लियामेंट की एक कमेटी बने जो कि सरकार के द्वारा समाचारपत्रों को विज्ञापन देने की पद्धति पर विचार करे और वह कमेटी यह तय करे कि किसको विज्ञापन देना है, किसको नहीं देना है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्रेस काउंसिल अधिकृत हो, सलाह दे कि किस समाचारपत्र को विज्ञापन दें, किस को नहीं दें, ताकि सरकार पर अंकुश तो रहे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री ए० डी० मणि): आपके 25 मिनट हो चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण: इसी तरह से कागज का हाल है। हमारे जन और मैनकाइन्ड की कागज की कमी से मासिक पत्रिकाएँ नहीं निकली; क्योंकि जो अखबार निकालता है, उसने कहा चुनाव में बेतहाशा कागज खर्च कर दिया कुर्सी कांग्रेस ने और अब कागज पर कन्ट्रोल है, आप विशेष प्रयत्न से कागज ले आओ तो पत्रिका निकाल देंगे। एक हमारी मासिक पत्रिका निकलती है जन और

मैनकाइन्ड। आपकी सरकार में वह दम है कि "जन एन्ड मैनकाइन्ड" को कागज दिलवाये ताकि जितना अखबार निकलता है वह ठीक समय पर निकले। नहीं। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ श्रीमन्, फारेन मनी किसी देश की स्वतंत्रता को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रख सकती है और इसीलिए विदेशी धन का इस देश में आना रोकना नितान्त आवश्यक है। क्या आज श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी यहां पर कह सकती हैं कि विदेशी धन की मदद से यहां पर कुछ अखबार नहीं निकलते हैं? मैंने यहां पर लिंक का नाम लिया है, यहां पर पैट्रियट का नाम लिया है और मैंने यहां पर ब्लिट्ज का नाम लिया है। यह तो मेन स्ट्रीम है, उन्मुक्त धारा है और कलम तथा जवान पर किसी तरह की रोक नहीं लगाई जा सकती है, जो चाहो लिख दो और जो चाहो बोल दो। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन अखबारों के पास इतनी बड़ी निधियां कहां से आई? मैं यहां पर नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ और अगर जोर दोगे तो नाम ले लूंगा, लेकिन मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर किसी का नाम लूँ।

जो लोग विदेशों में जाते हैं, वे काला धन बनाते हैं। एक पाँड पाते हैं और तीन पाँड बनाते हैं। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह के लोगों के ऊपर कोई रोक है, क्योंकि वे इसी धन को अखबार चलाने में भी लगाते हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह का जो विदेशी धन का स्रोत है जिसके जरिये कुछ अखबार चलाये जा रहे हैं, उस पर भी पाबन्दी लगाई जानी चाहिये, क्योंकि हम स्वतंत्रता के प्रेमी हैं और देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा चाहते हैं। यह चीज हम ही नहीं चाहते हैं, बल्कि सभी लोग चाहते होंगे।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया की डेमोक्रेसी में कोई ऐसा नजीर है जहां पर रेडियो सरकारी नियंत्रण में हो? कहीं भी रेडियो सरकारों के नियंत्रण

में नहीं है, बल्कि इसके लिए रेडियो का कार-पोरेशन बना हुआ है। विदेशों में तो व्यक्ति भी अपना रेडियो चलाते हैं। आप अमरीका का सेंट्रल देख लीजिये, इंग्लैंड का सेंट्रल देख लीजिये, तो फिर यह सरकार इतनी लालायित क्यों है? रेडियो का संचालन करने के लिए जैसा कि हमारे मित्र कहते हैं कि यह मास मीडिया है, मास मीडिया है, तो वह मास मीडिया नहीं है, बल्कि सास मीडिया है।

श्री कृष्ण कान्त : किसकी सास।

श्री राजनारायण : तुम्हारी सास। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस मास मीडिया का ज्यादा से ज्यादा दुरुपयोग हो रहा है और सत्ताधारी कुर्सी पार्टी के हितों की रक्षा हो रही है। आज जनतंत्र के साथ बलात्कार हो रहा है और देश की स्वतंत्रता के साथ पक्षाघात किया जा रहा है। इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि रेडियो के लिए एक कारपोरेशन बनाया जाना चाहिये। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है तो रेडियो का संचालन पार्लियामेंट के हाथों में आना चाहिये और पार्लियामेंट का हर दल इसमें हो जो सारे बुलैटिनों को देखें कि किस तरह से प्रसारित होते हैं और क्या-क्या होता है। वहां पर किस विषय के बारे में प्रचार किया जाता है, कौन लोग आते हैं और उनको कितना रुपया मिलता है। आज रुपया देकर सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजों और एडवोकेटों को खरीदा जाता है, उनको करप्ट किया जाता है, तो फिर ऐसी हालत में यह देश कैसे चलेगा। कमिटेड जुडीशियरी के तो आप प्रचारक हैं। आप वहां पर बैठ गये हैं, लेकिन इन्सान तो हैं। पहिले सब इन्सान हैं और इन्सान के बाद दूसरे बनते हैं, कोई चेयरमैन बनता है, कोई डिप्टी चेयरमैन बनता है, कोई वाइस चेयरमैन बनता है, . . .

श्री ओम् मेहता : कोई राजनारायण बनता है।

श्री राजनारायण : राजनारायण तो एक अकिंचन दरिद्र भिखारी है। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तथ्य की खोज की जाय कि ये तमाम गड़बड़ियाँ कैसे हो रही हैं। इसलिए हमारा कहना है कि सभी राज्य सरकारों को अपने राज्य में रेडियो संचालन का अधिकार होना चाहिये। उनको यह अधिकार मिलना चाहिए कि वे अपने राज्यों में अपना रेडियो लगाएं, जो उनके नियंत्रण में चले, उनकी कमेटियों के नियंत्रण में चले और यहां आप संसद के सदस्यों के सहयोग से रेडियो चलाइए, तभी यह काम हो सकता है, वरना यह तरीका जनतंत्र और समाजवाद की हत्या करेगा।

आप यह कह सकते हैं कि शायद हमने कुछ अप्रासंगिक बातें कहीं, हमने अप्रासंगिक बातें नहीं कहीं, हमने प्रासंगिक बातें ही कहीं। इस रेडियो पर क्यों बात हो, अखबारों की स्वतंत्रता पर क्यों बात हो जबकि हमारे सभी मानवीय अधिकारों, हमारे सभी मानवीय मूल्यों को निरस्त करने के लिए संविधान में संशोधन का विधेयक लाया जा रहा है। अगर इस तरह का संशोधन पास हो जाता है, तो आप समझ लीजिए कि इस देश के लिए तानाशाही व्यवस्था के स्तंभन का मार्ग खुलता है, जनतंत्र और समाजवादी व्यवस्था का मार्ग अवरुद्ध होता है। जो कुछ भी अच्छाइयां थीं, उनकी हत्या हो रही और जो बुराइयां हैं वे तो अपनी जगह पर बटेगी, फलें फूलेंगी। तो मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ मंत्री महोदया से, उनका नाम मैं भूल गया . . .

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्रीमती नन्दिनी शतपथी) : बहुत अच्छा है।

श्री राजनारायण : वह खुद कहती हैं कि जो मैं कहती हूँ वह प्रधान मंत्री मान लेती हैं—भुवनेश्वर मैं यही प्रचार है—तो मैं

[श्री राजनारायण]

चाहता हूँ कि आप (Interruptions). हमारी बात को उनसे कहें कि अगर प्रधान मंत्री को सम्पत्ति को हटाने की चिन्ता है, तो हमारे सुझाव के मुताबिक चले, हमारे सुझाव को मान, सम्पत्ति पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाएं, उसकी एक सीलिंग तय करें, उस सीलिंग को किस ढंग से कार्यान्वित करें, यह हमसे सीखें। डेमोगोगी और डेमोक्रेसी का जो फर्क है उसको जाकर सम्मानित मंत्री महोदया उनको बता दें और उनको जाकर समझा दें कि राजनारायण कहते हैं कि समता और सम्पन्नता का समाज बनाने के लिए सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण होना चाहिए, सत्ता का केन्द्रीयकरण नहीं होना चाहिए, चाहे वह आर्थिक सत्ता हो, चाहे वह राजनीतिक सत्ता हो। जब तक राजनीतिक और आर्थिक सत्ता का विकेंद्रीकरण नहीं होगा, उन सत्ताओं को कायम रखने के जितने अवयव हैं, वे सभी अंग धराशायी नहीं होंगे, तब तक समता, समृद्धि, समाजवाद, जनतंत्र असम्भव है। इसलिए रानी जी को हमारा यह सन्देश सुनाइए कि वे जरा सद्बुद्धि से चलें।

मैं आज फिर अपील करना चाहता हूँ आपके द्वारा भूपेश गुप्त से और उनके द्वारा प्रधान मंत्री से, हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी यह बात रेडियो से अच्छी तरह से प्रसारित कर दी जाय कि हम लोग बिल्कुल निर्दलीय आधार पर सारे देश के नागरिकों की ओर से, किसी दल विशेष की ओर से नहीं, यहां पर सभा करने जा रहा रहे हैं। तारीख को, सभी लोग उसमें शामिल हों, भूपेश जी उसमें शामिल हों, डी० संजीवैया उसमें शामिल हों। हमने संजीवैया जी को कई पत्र लिखे, कई बार टेलीफोन किया कि संजीवैया जी आइए, इसमें शामिल होइए, नहीं। फिर भूपेश जी बार-बार कहते हैं मगर मालूम नहीं क्यों संजीवैया जी आते राजनारायण जी राष्ट्रीय यूनिटी को खतरे

में नहीं आने देना चाहिए। तो भूपेश जी राष्ट्रीय यूनिटी को कायम रखने के लिए हमारे साथ आओ, यह बंगला-देश-मान्यता-दो सम्मेलन निर्दलीय है, किसी दल विशेष का नहीं, सिंगिल पॉइन्ट है, एकलक्षीय प्रोग्राम है कि बंगला देश को मान्यता दो और हर प्रकार की सहायता दो। रोज मैं चिल्लाता हूँ, अगर कभी आपने रेडियो में सुना? रोज मैं चिल्लाता हूँ, कभी आपने किसी अखबार में पढ़ा?

(Time bell rings)

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : असल में वजह यह है कि आप बेमौके चिल्लाते हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अब मौके से चिल्लाने वाले हमारे मित्र आ गए, अब मैं बैठता हूँ समय को देखते हुए, समय को उतना न देखते हुए जितना आपकी व्याकुलता और आतुरता को देखते हुए। आपकी आतुरता और व्याकुलता को देखते हुए मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि मुझे बैठ जाना चाहिए, यह कहते हुए कि जनतंत्र, समाजवाद, राष्ट्रीयता, आन्तिकारिता का अगर कोई प्रश्न है, तो वह भारत की संसका है, जो श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी के नेतृत्व में चल रही है और इसलिए अगर पत्रकारों की स्वतंत्रता कायम रखनी है, तो इस सरकार से स्वतंत्र हो।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Before Shri Bhupesh Gupta speaks, I wish to mention one thing. There are two speakers who have been sitting right through the debate and I would like Shri Bhupesh Gupta to bear in mind that his party has already got the chance and so he must confine his remarks within reasonable limits.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, we are very glad that we have an opportunity to discuss the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. This is an important Ministry

and it occupies a very important place in our public life. If things will go well with this Ministry, things will be better elsewhere and, if things go wrong with this Ministry, much will be lost and it is definite.

Now, Sir, this is a vast subject and it is not possible to discuss the various aspects of this matter. I should, however, like to deal with some of the important points or propositions or problems that have been brought to the notice of the House in the course of the earlier speeches. Of course, my friend, Shri Rajnarain, spoke on Shrimati Indira Gandhi and the Golak Nath case and he wanted an image to be built. I would appeal to Shrimati Nandini Satpathy that if she wants to be a good artist, she may think of building the image of Shri Rajnarain.

Having said that, Sir, let me know come to the problems that we are facing in the world of Press.

Sir, since the Press Commission made its recommendation some 17 years ago—and at the time I participated in the very first debate on the Press Commission's recommendations, { remember—what has happened in the country is not the diffusion of ownership, but further concentration of ownership in the newspaper world so much so that a few families today control a whole chain of papers and, what is more, they have established their dominion or domination, whatever you may call, in the newspaper world, from the point of view of circulation, from the point of view of ownership and in every respect. And, Sir, this has been one of the contributions of the present Congress Government that is to say, violation of the recommendations of the Press Commission. If the recommendations of the Press Commission had been faithfully implemented in toto, which we demanded here some 16 years ago, perhaps the situation would now have been what it is today.

Sir, figures have been given about the monopoly ownership and I need not go into them. Actually, you can

easily identify them. Six or seven papers, the "Times of India" group, the "Indian Express" group, the "Hindustan Times" the 'Statesmen', the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and the "Jugantar", and the "Anand Bazar Patrika" and the "Hindustan", are by and large the Press barons and they are the tycoons in the industry. Their number being small, it should be easy for the Government to identify them, check them and see that they behave properly in consonance with the recommendations of the Press Commission, if not the Directive Principles of the Constitution or other high ideals we have proclaimed in the world. To this list, Sir, we must add the PTI which virtually occupies a monopoly position and that again is the hand-maid of these families, the Birla family, the Tata family, the Dalmia-Jain families the Goenka family, the Mafatlal family, etc. and these are the firms which really control the PTI and they have their own newspapers which are supposed to be the members of the PTI. Now, that is how it is happening. Behind the sign-board of the PTI, there are people who sit there and act and they are actually the big monopolists, the same people who are controlling the many sectors of our national economy, industry, finance, banking and even the criminal underworld of economy, that is speculation hoarding and profiteering.

Now Sir, let me take the question of ownership.

The first thing, Sir, is to do away with the monopoly ownership of the press. This can be done in many ways. There were recommendations in the Press Commission Report which could have been implemented. Now you can amend the Company Law in order to make it impossible for any of the tycoons, industrial speculators, magnets, gentleman of the Black market trade and so on to become either directors, shareholders or owners of the press. It is possible to do so by amending the Company Law, if you like. The Company Law has such provisions as to who can be

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

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directors and who cannot be directors. By way of amendment you can say in some provisions of the Company Law that in the case of a company which conducts newspapers such are the categories which shall not be eligible for holding any share in such *concerns*. It is quite possible to do so. If necessary, you amend the Constitution—certain relevant provisions of it—in order to ensure this. Or find out other ways of doing it. So I think the Government should concentrate on this specific subject of diffusion of ownership with singleness of mind, with determination, and ways and means could be found. Sir, we are amending the Constitution or we propose to amend the concept of 'compensation' or we propose to delete it from the Fundamental Rights chapter, of the Constitution which we shall again be in a position to amend. Why, can't we do this simple thing? I can't understand at all. If we are not doing it it is because the Government has no mind to do so. Government has no mind to do so because the Press barons exert influence in some ways, or elements within the ruling party do so. Anyhow, they are in a position to blackmail men in authority, men in position. That's why this is not being done. I do not think the Prime Minister or many members of the Government liked the way the Press behaved at the time of the General Election or when the nation was fighting against the menace of right reaction or the scurrilous articles written against the Prime Minister. It is difficult for me to believe that the Prime Minister had any liking for these kind of elements. After all, she is a human being.

Now, what are the reasons then? Certain other considerations come in which had a tremendous power and pull on the Government exerted through the bureaucrats, some elements in the Congress party and perhaps even in the Council of Ministers. Otherwise, Sir, we can certainly take care of this monopoly press. The important thing is to deal with this thing. And it is a vital national ne-

cessity today. It is useless: (0 talk about the freedom of the Press, sanctity of the Press, dignity of the Press, honour of the Press. The black-marketeers the speculators are controlling it. Their treacheries have been revealed from time to time. Why can't we do something here? Must we go after monopolies in all other spheres, and should not check the monopoly at this vital sector of our national life, which can corrupt it, which can pollute it, which can distort our national vision and which certainly and clearly is against the working people and the ideals that we have declared for taking the country forward to a bright and joyous future? These are the enemies of the people today. How are we taking about growth with social justice? We declare before the world that we are for the common man and we are doing away with the privileges of the Princes, and yet we allow this corruption, degeneration and degradation of our public life. Why can't you take action? Are we so helpless? No, we are not so helpless once we make up our mind to take action. Therefore, I would urge upon the Government not to bother about other considerations. Take them, make up your mind that we shall at least start with these papers, i.e. Times of India, Indian Express, Hindustan Times, Hindu, Statesman, Amrita Bazar and Ananda Bazar group of papers. It is possible to do so. Start with it. Strike there and the rest will follow gradually. Sir, this is my suggestion with regard to that.

been an enquiry as to wherefrom the money came and I am told that the house is fitted with an air-conditioning apparatus which if you run in your house costs about Rs. 1,400. Is not so rich? How did he become so rich? This should be found out.

Again, you see in the P.T.I., that on the one hand there is victimisation of the workers and employees, journalists and eminent persons like Mr. V. R. Vats, on the other hand, the management who control the press barons and tycoons, sell themselves in order to amass wealth and live in wealth and luxury. Sir, I am told that the present Manager also finances an agency and is not honestly discharging his duties. The General Manager stays in Delhi for 15 to 20 days in a month. He saves everything in a year. He stays in a flat of Birla and does not even pay rent of Rs. 35. He charges daily allowance of Rs. 70 and uses the office car even for his family, buys the vegetables in the office car and this has been the permanent charge on the P.T.I. Enquire into it. Is it the standard? This is the standard of Mr. Goenka. He indulges in the blackmarketing and makes badla and phatka transactions in Calcutta, uses the money over Indian Express and uses that Company with a view to carrying on his business of share cornering, profiteering and blackmarketing with the result that these press barons have launched a criminal case against him in Calcutta. The P.T.I. is circulating notes to the Members of Parliament. I have seen one of the notes. What about this mismanagement that is "going on? We find over Rs. 80 lakhs have come from the Government and yet is there any check on how the money is going to be used? Somebody says, interest is paid. If so, are you going to pay money to the Birlas, the Tatas and others because they are paying? the interest? Money is the lifeblood of the community. Money in the L.I.C. or the State Bank of India is the savings of the community. What business you have got to give this money to these people to be spent where there is so much mismanagement in this manner or for fattening

some small section of people who are controlling the P.T.I., that remains to be explained. The mismanagement is going on. Sir, there is a contractor, an employee of Messrs. C. Lyall and Company. He has been employed as a Supervisor of Journalist colony in New Delhi by Mr. K. Subramanian, the ex-General Manager of the P.T.I., and Shri K. Subramanian is the Chairman of the Journalist colony. This is what is happening. Find it out. This is how the P.T.I. is behaving. References have been made with regard to the P.T.I. It does not write against Birla. The members of the staff, I am told, are pressurised to write nothing that should reflect against any big monopolist in India. How can the General Manager proclaim that the P.T.I. is an independent organisation based

on the principles of objectivity 7 P.M. It has sold itself to the Birlas. What is the remedy? How to save the Indian press from the big press agencies, from the Clutches of monopoly capital? It should be gone into by the Government. Reference was made to the case of Mr. Vats. The matter should be taken a little seriously. It is not just a question of an individual journalist being persecuted. I am surprised that when you were speaking, you did not refer to this, though he belonged to your profession. You are a brother journalist but forgot. You spoke for the PTI, about the PTI building, about the PTI land and about the PTI management but you forgot to speak for a working journalist although you are one and you had been a working journalist but perhaps even editors are sometimes what shall I say, I would not say in your case corrupted, but misguided. You -I may have been misguided I do not know or perhaps it was a lapse on your part. Mr. Vats is not just a journalist. I know him personally and I do not hide this fact. He is a fine man, excellent man as a human being. I have seen him here, I had seen him in Moscow when he was correspondent of the PTI and doing an excellent job from the point of view of our national interest and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.)

never did I hear any complaint against him from the PTI Authorities, with whom also I had occasion to discuss the case of Mr. Vats. Never did I hear of any complaint. Here he sat for 16 years and every Member who has come in touch with him would confirm when I say that he is an excellent man, an honest man, a sincere man imbued with very high ideals, besides being a good journalist. Today he has been transferred to Shillong. Why? It is because he was carrying on trade union activities. To-day he is the General Secretary of the Working Journalists' Federation. He was also a prominent trade unionist in the PTI. For that he is victimised. I have here some paper—
■Current—which once reported that the General Manager, Mr. Ramachandran, when he went to Bombay, told that he had been indulging in communist and other activities—the phrase used by the people who believe in MacCarthyism and witch-hunting, the cowards who do not dare to own up their own crimes and want to pass off everything in the name of communists being there, and so on. After that, when it was published in the Current, he sent a contradiction to the Current—this General Manager, Mr. Ramachandran. Do you know what comment the editor made after publishing the contradiction? He said: 'Second thoughts, or maybe the drone of the aeroplane engine made our correspondent mishear what you said, Editor.' Even the current editor who is by no means friendly to Mr. Vats and certainly would not be friendly if he thinks like Mr. Ramachandran that Mr. Vats is a communist or pro-communist and even this gentleman had to make such comments about the remarks of Mr. Ramachandran who is supposed to have made a statement as an after thought. This was the reply given by the paper, his friendly paper, with whom he had a friendly chat. That was a slap on his face. That shows the reputation and moral character of the man.

sun: A. K. CHATTERJEE: di a

point or order. The debate may be continued tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Mr. Gupta, deal with the PTI and finish.

SHRI A. D. MANI: What shocked and distressed me was, many of us took up the case of Mr. Vats with the Government and with Shrimati Sat-pathy and personally I took it up. Personally I took it up not because I have got any personal affiliation with Mr. Vats but in public interest I took it up, in the interests of journalism, in the interests of the trade union movement, in the interests above of all of decency in public life. What happened? They have done nothing. Am I to understand that you cannot do anything when 35 per cent of the revenue of the PTI comes from the Central Government? Do I have to believe that strong words from you would not make Mr. Ramachandran and the Management behave in a better way instead of persecuting and victimising Mr. Vats and sending him to Shillong? Now he has not got his salary for seven months; the matter is pending in some court of law or something like that. Such is the harassment. I am mentioning this thing to show this is typical of the attitude of the big business in all spheres which has been imported here also.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: What about subsistence allowance to him?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Can you believe they can behave properly? It is a question of norms. In the journalist world they are bringing in this kind of attitude which is displayed by these tycoons in other industries. Are we to tolerate it? ■Government has pleaded helplessness; am I to believe that if a strong word had gone from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as an advice, as the strong desire of the Ministry headed by the Prime Minister of the country, Mr. Ramachand-

ran would have dared to ignore and to defy it? I am not saying anything more than that. Either he had defied it or the sentiment has not been expressed by them. I had an impression while talking to Shrimati Nandini Satpathy and others that they were sympathetic to the case of Mr. Vats but they unnecessarily felt helpless about it. We would like to hear her on this subject, what she thinks about it. This is an important question, and I have told this because of that reason.

Now, Sir, PTI has become an institution of scandal. Virtues are not to be trusted there in the Press Trust of India. It has become an institution of scandal thanks to the mismanagement of the Management and defalcation and grabbing of funds by them. Therefore PTI should be made into a Corporation. Sir, while you were speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I was speaking as Mr. Mani from there.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Mani in the Chair is certainly better than Mr. Mani as speaker in the House but I do not know whether he is better as Editor also but I have my doubts. What Mr. Mani said while speaking was that the Press Commission never recommended the diffusion of ownership and that it should go to the shareholders and all that kind of thing. You said that PTI should be converted . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Not you; he.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes; he said. Our contention was that the recommendation of the Press Commission was that no loans etc. should be given unless the PTI transforms itself into a Corporation. You said it was a question of shareholders and . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Not you; Mr. Mani.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The recommendation was quite clear and I am surprised that you have begun

to forget things. I do not know whether you are under the spell of the press barons, Mr. Goenka or Mr. Birla or Mr. Jain. I do not know; but I do not suggest anything but when I see you forget things I start, getting doubts. It was a clear recommendation and I want to know why that recommendation was not implemented. Let us not go into the past; implement it now. What prevents you from doing that? A Presidential order can also be given to compel the PTI when you are paying them money on the ground that they keep some foreign correspondents in some other places, some two or three places. Most of them do nothing and we do not get any benefit. In fact, we should have our own national foreign service which will publish news from our point of view. Surely, Sir, the PTI cannot ignore a firm stand by the Government. It is too much tied with the Government, too much under obligations to the Government, and the Government can certainly make it fall in line with it. And I demand that victimisation of Mr. Vats to begin with must end and justice must be done to him. Make it a point of honour. Everybody here has expressed such sentiments and we would like to see where they stand. I am interested to find here again how the diffusion of ownership will take place. You have referred to the Press Council again and again. I was a Member of the Select Committee or the Committee which went into the management of the Press Council. There is a strong provision for going into the question of monopoly concentration and suggesting measures. Under that particular section I am told that Mr. Ayyanagar has appointed a Sub-Committee to look into monopoly concentration. Whom do you think he has appointed? According to my information, it seems Mr. Durga Das, the great democrat in the newspaper world is a member of the committee, an angel of the freedom of the press. Mr. Durga Das is to be an adornment on this committee. Another is Mr. Kuldip Nayar, who was a today of Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri, now in the Statesman, a

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] scurilous writer, a professional Her in some respects, because in one of his books he has written lies. He is another member of the committee. The third one, I am told, is. . .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: On a point of order, this is not proper. The person is not here to defend himself . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does not matter. He writes in his books lies. . .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: We cannot allow these things to be said here. He is a colleague of mine.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All right. He tells lies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): You may convey your meaning without these expressions.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am a man of the working-class.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Why not try to be a parliamentarian?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are the editor of the *Hitavada*, a sophisticated paper. I am only the editor of a working-class paper. The working-class does not mince matters, does not believe in sophistry. It uses blunt language and speaks from the heart and I am speaking from my heart. I submit to your ruling. He tells lies, call him a falsifier or some such thing. These are the people to look into the question. It is just like appointing Mr. Dalmia to look into the Birla affairs. Perhaps something will come out of it because of their mutual jealousies. Mr. Mundhra would be appointed to go into the affairs of Mr. Mundhra's son. This is an abomination. Ban that committee. I am surprised that Mr. Raja-gopala Ayyangar, supposed to be the Chairman of the Press Council, while briefing the press on the committee has said that there is no existence of monopoly in the press in our country. Wonderful man.

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SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: May I say that Mr. Durga Das when he was a great columnist of the *Hindustan Times* used often write that the Communist Party should be banned?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am finishing. This is what Mr. Raja-gopala Ayyangar said. The same gentleman, when he was sitting on the Bench, struck down the price-page schedule. It was a recommendation of the Press Commission which we all welcomed. I should like to know why this man was chosen. I do not make any reflection on anybody but those who chose him, and I am surprised to find such a man. At the same time, the Indian Federation of Working Journalists do not have any representation. Some technical ground has been found to keep them out of it, and yet in the Committee when we discussed it, it was again and again stressed that they should find proper representation on it. Nobody is there. Therefore, I suggest that we disown the Press Council or reconstitute it. How can there be a Press Council without having any representative of the working journalists or the Federation of Working Journalists which is a well-established and respected body of journalists in our country and which commands confidence amongst a large number of journalists in the whole land and in every State? This is also another aspect of the matter.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please conclude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am concluding. I think I have said enough. Now, these are matters to be gone into. Finally, Sir, before I sit down, I do not know what my friend, Shrimati Nandini Satpathy, is going to say. This is a matter which should be seriously considered. Why? Firstly, we are discussing it after the election. Secondly, the Minister in charge is a person who is not ^{only}

the Prime Minister of the country but also one who made the solemn pledges of taking action against such people or against such arrangements. Here a_s Minister directly in charge, she should set an example in her Ministry by taking action, by carrying out the diffusion of ownership, at least in these few papers which I have named and by seeing that the PTI is converted into a corporation immediately. It is quite possible. That should be done. All the country will support her. The entire journalists will support you. And particularly, the newspaper readers, all of them, will support you. S^cPs should be taken towards that.

Now, Sir, with regard to the other matters, I do not wish to say anything. Small papers and others should be helped. The small papers and other medium papers especially, they suffer. Advertisements and other things are going to the rich papers and most of the rich papers really are the product of the Congress regime. Every single rich paper in the country, the monopoly Press, is the product of the Congress. They are the brain child of the Congress rule, if I may say so. Therefore today reverse that course. I am not asking the State to take over the newspapers. But let the freedom of the Press be established. Along with living reality, that freedom must exist, whereby the journalists with a clear conscience and independence of thought can work and use that forum undeterred by monopoly dictation, without fear of victimisation and other kinds of pressures from high quarters. And one of the ways to ensure such a thing is to see that the concentration of ownership is disbanded once and for all and that ownership is shared by all the Pressmen themselves. This should be done.

With regard to the other things, I demand a thorough inquiry into the PTI affairs.

Finally, before I sit down, with regard to the All India Radio and other things, I would say one or two words. Otherwise, you will complain that

Bhupesh Gupta did not say anything about the All India Radio. We are not satisfied with the manner in which the All India Radio is functioning. It must be given proper direction, a clear purpose and a mission to serve. They must also make up their minds. You cannot mark time. The All India Radio should either help the process of change and radicalisation of our public life and popular forces, elevating culture and other activities of life to a higher level or it must stagnate and ultimately go down. I understand that there are too many groupings in the All India Radio. That should stop. With respect to my friend, too many RSS people are in the All India Radio working, especially in the Hindi section. One of the Hindi news agencies is virtually an RSS news agency. What are you going to do about it? The two news agencies in Hindi should be amalgamated, you make them one; see that they are also democratised and properly run. Help them to do so. Similarly, the AIR artists and others in the various States should be utilised properly. Corruption is there at many of the centres of the All India Radio and the result is that artists who are honest and genuine, they suffer. Such a thing should not happen and steps should be taken towards this end. All India Radio's coverage of mass actions and mass movements should be given in a better way, and the coverage should be good, neat and objective. The struggles of the masses against monopoly capital, against land lords, against the enemies of society and social justice whether they are the PTI barons or other Press barons and other things, all these should be given publicity. Do I understand that if I make a condemnatory statement against the PTI management for having victimised Mr. Vats it would be properly publicised, it would be properly broadcast by the All India Radio? I should like to know. These things should be gone into. Mi'SK and other forms of art also should be mobilised. All India Radio requires much more attention and I am sure

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

Shrimati Nandini Satpathy does not lack goodwill. But she must also see that things are done and done with a new outlook. You must change the entire way of things having been done in the past. We want a break from the past. Therefore, appoint advisory bodies, utilise the journalists, artistes, writers, men of culture, men of literature and public men who are imbued with some high ideals, who are given proper direction and who are qualified to do so instead of holding on to the rotten stuff that is there. I am not meaning here the secretarial staff, people who are there around the All India Radio centres at different places.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Finally, about television. I do not want to say very much about television. We cannot afford television.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the audience is melting away.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are hearing. That is enough.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: He is forced to hear.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. Gupta, if television is expanded and its production is increased the economy of high-scale production will affect the producer and they will be halved.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Please do not interrupt.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not going into this question. We find television installed in the Central Jail to show the Davis Cup matches. I have no objection. I am not a tennis player. I played only in jail and always my score was the lowest.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): All right.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Do not bother. They will send you to jail again.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My point is this. Activise the democratic masses on the television; the workers must appear. Employees must appear. The peasants must appear, not only in certain production activities but also when they are carrying on struggle against the vested interest. This thing also should be shown. I will, therefore, suggest that when there is demonstration—(Time Bell rings)—by peasants, workers, unemployed and others. There should be arrangement to show that demonstration on the television. Demonstrations of the working people should be televised so that Members of Parliament can also see that. This is one of the suggestions. I do not wish to take much of your time. I do hope the Government will now see that due weight is given to the suggestions that we have made with regard to the P.T.I. Suggestions about the monopoly press are practical suggestions and can be implemented here and now, if necessary, with the some minor changes in the existing law, and certainly, they should be accepted by the Government. I do hope that the Prime Minister of the country, who happens to be the Minister-in-charge, will set an example by adopting these measures in her own Ministry, making the Ministry an instrument of democratization of the press and taking the press out of the fangs of the vicious monopoly octopus. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to the honourable Members who have participated in the discussion in this Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: And for making the people sit late.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Of course, for sitting, on till late. I am

particularly grateful to those hon'ble Members who have stayed till late hour.

Sir, quite a few suggestions were made by the hon'ble Members. Some of these suggestions are those on which we have already started action. But I would like to assure the House that some of the suggestions made by hon'ble Members will definitely get out consideration and we will try to see how best we can implement them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Which Members?

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I do not know whether it will be possible for me to go to all the points that have been mentioned by the hon'ble Members. But I will try to cover as many points as possible. Sir, one of the most important problems and one which has received a good deal of attention both in the House today and earlier also outside, is the ownership and control of newspapers. Just now, the hon. Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, said so much about the diffusion of ownership and about making freedom of the press a living reality. I fully agree with him that if at all there is freedom, then we should see that freedom of the press must be a living reality. Sir, while on the one hand, there has been a reference to the monopolistic tendencies in the press, on the other hand, some of the hon. Members here have made this point and have argued also that there is no accepted definition of the term 'monopoly' and have asked whether the press can be accused of displaying that sort of tendency. Sir, I shall not enter into a legal discussion as to what constitutes a 'monopoly'. The fact, however, remains that several of the leading newspapers in the country are controlled by large business houses whose interests and points of view these newspapers reflect more than the views of the masses of the people. A second feature flowing from this fact is that some of these leading newspapers have resources behind them which actually enable them to enter into unfair competition with the small

and medium newspapers. Sir, this latter feature was noticed by the Press Commission and the Press Commission made some suggestions to broaden the ownership of newspapers and to eliminate unfair competition. Some of the hon. Members have referred to these recommendations of the Press Commission. I need not go into the details of that, but I would like to mention here that many of these suggestions, by and large, were addressed to the press rather than to the Government. These suggestions, however, have not been implemented by those who actually own the press and control the newspapers. Therefore, I feel that the Government has to see how the problem can be dealt with and how the press can be made more responsive to the views and the hopes and aspirations of the large masses of the people in our country. This matter is receiving the earnest consideration of the Government at this moment and I would like to assure the House that in consultation with the Department of Company Affairs, the Government proposes to introduce suitable legislation for this purpose shortly. In the meantime, however, even apart from the structure of the press, the Government is examining further how its accepted policy of canalising advertisements more and more to the small and medium newspapers can be made more effective. Sir, some of the hon. Members have spoken about the small and medium newspapers and have also suggested how these small and medium newspapers can be helped. To help these small and medium newspapers, the Government had also expressed its intention earlier to set up a newspaper finance corporation. If the hon. Members remember, this newspaper finance corporation Bill was introduced in the last Parliament session and with the dissolution of the Lok Sabha, that Bill lapsed and it has to be re-introduced. I would like to tell the hon. House that we are going to re-introduce it. Some of the honourable Members, including Shri Bhupesh I Gupta, have spoken about news agen-

[Shrimati Nandini Satpathy.]
cies. I would like to say that the problem of news agencies is allied with that of the press though the functions which the news agencies perform are distinct from those of the newspapers. The problem of ownership and control, however, is much the same as for some newspapers. There is, however, an added need for news agencies. There is need in our country to develop an Indian international news agency which will be able to interpret the news and views of the world objectively to our country and to project the image of India in the true perspective abroad. Such a news agency is at present lacking and we continue to see the world through the eyes of foreign news agencies. Our image abroad is "also projected not so much by us but by others who are in their own way interested in interpreting our views to the world. Here I would like to mention about the point which has been raised by the honourable Shri Bhupesh Gupta and also by some other Members and that is regarding the PTI. Not only during the last discussion in Lok Sabha, but many a time while replying to a number of questions we were saying that this recommendation of the Press Commission to turn the PTI into a statutory corporation is being considered, it is being examined by the Government and now I would like to repeat . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Repeat it, repeat it.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: It is under active consideration of the Government.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY* Yes, Mr. Krishan Kant says it is under active consideration of the Government. Of course, it is under active consideration of the Government. I would like to tell honourable Members that . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope only yours and Shrimati Indira Gandhi's activity in this field will not be the same as that of your predecessors.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: . . . at this moment it is not possible for me to say anything further about the PTI. But I would like to mention one thing which has been mentioned by the honourable Shri Bhupesh Gupta and that is regarding the journalist working in the PTI. He mentioned about Mr. Vats. I would like to say personally I know his case and I hope the people concerned will look into it and do something which will solve this problem. Most of the points raised by honourable Members are absolutely common. First I will deal with the important points.

One point mentioned by different Members was regarding the constitution of the Press Council. I would like to mention here that after the constitution of the Press Council a new and important stage in the development of the press in this country has come. The idea was to make the press function more and more in a self-regulatory manner. Recently, however, there have been criticisms both about the functions of the Press Council and about its constitution. The points raised have been taken note of by the Government. The Government, however, continues to be of the view that the freedom of the press can be best assured by the members of the press taking upon themselves, to the extent possible, the responsibility to ensure objectivity, fairness and responsiveness of the press in a developing society, and that sort of responsibility can best be entrusted to a body representative of all the elements which constitute the press.

Then I would like to come to the film industry. Mr. Alva and some other honourable Members mentioned about the censor in films, and also about foreign films. You yourself Mr. Vice-Chairman, also spoke about the import of American films I would like to say that no such decision has been taken to stop the import of American films. But what the Minister for

Foreign Trade has said earlier in the Lok Sabha is that the agreement that the Government of India had entered with a group of American film association people has not yet been renewed. It expired on 30th June and how we should proceed about the matter is yet to be considered. I would like to assure my hon. Mend Shri Joachim Alva that we are keeping a constant watch over the censorship and it will be much easier for us after the recommendations of the Khosla Committee are implemented ...

SHRI BHUPESH-GUPTA: Initially why was not the film on Lenin and others released? Now, of course, it was released.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): You put a question on that.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I appreciate the concern expressed by Shri Alva about foreign films and censorship. Once Khosla Committee's recommendations are implemented, it is easier for us to attend to this problem and see that we get cleaner and healthier films.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): A point was made about AIR being converted into a corporation.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Yes, sir. This is about the information side of the Ministry. I would like to mention one point here. Shri Advani in his speech mentioned about the appointment of PiO and there he quoted one editorial or something from the National Herald and said that there was difference in the government and certain unfair means were adopted while appointing the PIO. I would like to say that no unfair means ever were adopted and I would like to tell the hon. Member and the House that this was done according to the recommendation of the UPSC. It was decided by a committee headed by the Chairman of the UPSC and government accepted the recom-

mendation of the UPSC. So, there was no question of doing anything in an unfair way.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: A senior officer was superseded.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: This happens many times. When the names go to the UPSC, they decide about somebody and that is accepted by the government. In this case also this was the only thing done by the government. Why they did not consider the senior officer, I cannot say. But this much I can tell the House that nothing unfair has been done in this case.

I would now like to touch upon some of the points in the broadcasting side of the Ministry. As the hon. House is aware, we are trying to cover as much area and population as possible during the Fourth Plan by our medium wave transmitter and we hope by the end of the Fourth Plan 89 per cent of the country's population will be served by All India Radio stations. In regard to our external services, while our objective is to make the voice of India heard in as many countries abroad is possible, we naturally want to attach greater importance to our neighbouring countries. Sir, Mr. Krishan Kant has mentioned, during his speech, about the superpower transmitters and also pleaded for high-power transmitters in Ladakh and the Andamans. I would like to say, Sir, that a medium-wave station has already been established in Ladakh at Leh and a more powerful transmitter cannot be established at this stage there because of inadequacy of power supply. We are, therefore, setting up a high-power medium-wave transmitter at Srinagar where power supply is available.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Very good. We have been compensated for sitting late.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Later on, when power supply improves, we will think of having a high-power transmitter there. Sir, the

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question of setting up a powerful station in the Andamans has been examined. A super-power transmitter will not reach the whole of Indonesia and Malaysia. It will cover these countries only partially. We shall, therefore, consider whether, having regard to our resources and priorities, a scheme for establishing a powerful transmitter in the Andamans for broadcasting our External Services should be included in the Fifth Plan.

Sir, he has also mentioned about the super-power transmitter. We have, as the hon. House is aware, two superpower transmitters, one at Calcutta and other at Rajkot and they are catering to the countries outside. Sir, hitherto our External Services were broadcast on short wave. Now it has become possible to supplement these short-wave broadcasts with medium-wave broadcasts to the neighbouring countries. Shri L. N. Misra is not here. He mentioned about the Chanda Committee Report and some other Members, Mr. Advani, as far as I remember, also mentioned about the Chanda Committee and turning the ' All-India Radio into a corporation.

Sir, I have already mentioned and I want to say now that the question of reorganisation of the All-India Radio has been given a good deal of attention after the Chanda Committee submitted its Report. Sir, as the House is aware, the Chanda Committee had recommended that the AIR should be made an autonomous corporation. While the Government agrees that an organisation like the All-India Radio cannot function without a great deal of administrative and financial autonomy and they are in favour of reorganising the AIR on that basis, Government are unable to accept the view that an autonomous corporation controlling the broadcasting policy would be better able to reflect the needs, aspirations and views of this country than an organisation controlled by the elected representatives of

the people. While, therefore, the Government are considering reorganisation of the AIR to delegate the required measure of administrative autonomy to the organisation, Government have been unable to agree with the recommendation of the Chanda Committee that it should be made an autonomous corporation.

Sir, one of the hon. Members said something about the expansion of television. I think, Mr. Arjun Arora mentioned about it. I would like to mention here that television is in a very preliminary stage in our country now and it is, as you are aware, only in Delhi. But we have plans for the development of the Delhi Centre and we hope that by relaying, Delhi television to a station at Mussouie, the Delhi Centre will serve a much wider area than it does at present in Haryana and West U.P. In addition, from 1972, we hope to be able to start television at Bombay and Srinagar, Bombay with a relay station at Poona, and three other television projects are under active implementation and it is our hope that by the end of the Fourth Plan, in addition to Delhi, Bombay and Srinagar television centres will be functioning and also the Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow ones.

Now I come to the point that the hon. Member Shri Arjun Arora made. We propose to have a television station at Lucknow with a relay centre at Kanpur. He mentioned in his speech that it was decided to have a television centre at Kanpur in the beginning, and some promise was made by some ex-Ministers, Mr. K. K. Shah or Mr. Satyanarain Sinha or Mr. Gujral about it and that now there is a shift in the policy. The assurances given by the Ministers are not observed, he said. But I would like to say here that there was no such assurance and no such firm decision was taken to locate it at Kanpur.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Does she mean to say that Ministers in the Government make public declarations without taking a firm decision? I hope that is not so.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): This is a matter of argument. She is replying on factual basis. Don't interrupt the proceedings.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I want only to state the fact that no firm decision was ever taken in this matter. It may be that any of them might have stated that they would examine the question. . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: No, no. They made an unequivocal statement.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: We found that one transmitter located between Kanpur and Lucknow could not serve both the cities. It became necessary to have two transmitters; one of them will be located at Lucknow and the other at Kanpur.

Next question is the location of studio for production of programmes. The Government felt that Lucknow was a more suitable location. This studio will be fed with both the transmitters at Lucknow and at Kanpur.

So far as the development of TV network in the country is concerned, as I have already told the House, we shall not establish more than one studio centre in a State. TV programmes production is a very expensive thing, as the hon. Members know. The programmes from the studio will be relayed over the TV Transmitters that may be set up in the State or the region. Lucknow in this case is meant for the whole State. Lucknow is also the capital of the U.P. State . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Kanpur will have at least four times TV receiving sets than Lucknow.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I would like to say that once it is established at Lucknow it will serve the whole State.

Here I would like to say one thing that it is very unfortunate that the hon. Member has thought it fit to read motive in this decision. It is not fair to bring in officers' names or anybody's name in this context. It is not a good practice, because the decision was taken absolutely on professional considerations.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: What about making some arrangement, whether at Amritsar or at Jullundur, which are covered by Lahore television. . . .

SHRI OM MEHTA: Why does not he talk about Haryana?

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: That is the point which has drawn the attention of the Government, and we are quite aware of the situation there and we have already sent a proposal. If we can have a TV station during this Plan in Punjab, it will be able to solve this problem.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: What about Calcutta?

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: You know the position about Calcutta.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): Do not cross-examine her.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: The land position was difficult. Now they have decided to give the land and as soon as we secure the land we will start the work there.

Mr. Advani has mentioned about the AIR staff artistes. The position is that staff artistes already enjoy most of the benefits which are available to Government servants. They are employed on long-term contract. He said that anybody can be thrown out at any time if they do not satisfy their immediate bosses, or something like that in Hindi. I would like to say that these staff artistes are employed on long-term contract.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: What is the objection about bringing them on a par with the other Government servants?

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I am coming to that; I will tell you what the difficulty is. This point has been discussed with them but they are not unanimous on this question. Some want to be made Government servants but others do not agree with this. Unless this question is decided it is very difficult for the Government to take any action in the matter.

As I have said, they are given most of the facilities that are enjoyed by the Government servants. Leave and other concessions given to them are also the same as those applicable to the Government servants. One point of difference is that they do not get pension but are entitled to contributory provident fund. We are at present considering certain proposals for revision of their fee structure as has been very kindly mentioned by one of the hon. Members. We hope to issue final orders in the near future. This will achieve rationalisation of the fee structure of the staff artistes and establish a correspondence between fee-scaled and salary-scaled person, doing work of a similar nature. Further changes in the staff artistes system will be considered after this revision of the fee structure has become effective and also, when some other reorganisation measures are taken up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am told some of these people who broadcast in English had left AIR and now they have taken up jobs in various concerns and some of them now like to come back as part-timers for broadcasting. I do not know what this thing is. That has been brought to my notice.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I have no idea. Except those who are invited to All India Radio for occasional talks I do not know whether anybody who was appointed has taken up any job outside. At this moment I have no information.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is Roshan Menon or somebody. She had left it and joined some Sita Travels, and I was told that she is now trying to come as a part-timer. She is a

good broadcaster; I have no objection. But what about juniors?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: She was a very good broadcaster. She should be brought back as a part-timer.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: She left for a bigger job for money. Now, when you bring such people back as part-timer? the juniors naturally will have a grievance. You should train up the cadre.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MAND): The Minister will take note of the point.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA: We want our women announcers to pronounce like Indians—as the Prime Minister does, as the hon. Minister does—or as the Pakistanis or Ceylonese women announcers. They have all got one Asian accent. Our men announcers I've always been excellent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This question should be looked into.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MAIS 1): You will take note of it. An hon. Member mentioned about the Yuv Vani programme. While appreciating the programme he said that this should be done by the youth and for the youth. I would like to say that the Yuv Vani programme is actually done by the youth and for the youth. The whole thing is managed by them. Then a point was raised about the AIR that there is personalised publicity there and the PM and other Ministers were bought in. I would like to say that the AIR as the matter of policy deliberately deofficialised news. Even when policy statements are made by Ministers they take enough precaution not to take the name of the Ministers unless it is absolutely necessary.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I cannot catch you. That is to say, if they refer to you, they would just say 'Minister for I. & B.'

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: If it is absolutely necessary, they can't say I. & B. Minister but otherwise the policy is being stated.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: There is no point in omitting the name. The objection is to the programme of Spotlight.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I have the facts about it. If the House is willing. I shall give them. I will read out the names of the gentlemen who have participated in the Spotlight programmes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): This question has been asked in the House and answered. She can proceed with the points and try to conclude the proceedings. It is about 8 o'clock.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I would mention that he has said that some of the people who are invited for this Spotlight programme are biased or they belong to some particular group or my Party. I would mention it and I will read the few names of people who have participated at different times in different programmes:

Shri Pran Chopra

Shri B. P. Dutt

Shri Aniruddha Gupta

Shri Ranjit Roy of Hindustan Standard.

Shri Barim Haider

Shri Abdul Husain

Shri Dilip Mukherjee of Times of India and so on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Most of them are not youngmen.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: I do not disagree but he says that belong to a particular group.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): The question has been answered. Arising from the debate if

you feel more information is required table a question and seek more information,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is there is any policy and whether there is any criterion for selection of a person? They cannot put a man to broadcast, who is a communalist. The country is secular.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Put Mr. j Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Mr. Gupta does not want if.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): I will inform the Minister • not to answer arguments but to proceed.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY; So all these criticisms that have been made about the AIR that it is having a personalised publicity and is trying to build up—and Shri Raiaarain said they are trying to build up the image of the Prime Minister—are not correct.

I think it is not necessary for the AIR anybody else to build up the image of the PM of this country. The image has already been made and the people of the country know about it and I do not think the AIR has anything to do with the building up of further image of the PM.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE; Please do not further it.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: We will never do that. Mr. Chatterjee, by his speech, by his attack, is trying to build up the image of the PM more and more and that is why we thank him very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Syndicate, the Jan Sangh and the J Swatantra alliance has been the greatest image builder in this country.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: With this I would like to wind up the discussion. It has been mentioned again and again that the AIR is only putting up the views of the Government or the Ruling Party and so on and so forth but some of the Members from my Party have already complained that the time that my Party

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Members get is much less than the time the Members of the Opposition get and I think to some extent this allegation is correct.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Correct this. 8 P.M.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: So there is no question of AIR having any sort of partial outlook as it has been suggested by some of the Members. On the other hand, it is too liberal and is trying to project the true democratic attitude of the country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is not correct that her party Members do not get time because some of us here make news. Sir, suppose you marry it is not news but the moment you divorce it is news.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): We are not going into a general discussion. The Minister may proceed with the other points please.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Mr. Krishan Kant has said about publicity regarding Bangla D[<]?uh. You know, Sir, and the hon. House is also aware that whatever is possible about this the All India Radio and the Ministry through the other media are trying to do. He has mentioned about displaying posters and other things. We are already doing it, not only the All India Radio but the other media also.

Sir, Mr. Alva made one point. Besides censorship of the films, he has said that there should be a national biography series on the All India Radio. I would like to say that it is a good suggestion and W3 will take note of it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope there won't be political discrimination in it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): No, no. Let her continue please.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Sir, I think I have covered almost all the points made by hon. Members and the suggestions made by hon. Members will be borne in mind.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What interest we have in your Ministry; it is 8 o'clock and we are sitting.

SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY: Thank you very much for that.

SHRI LAL ADVANI: Sir.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): No, no.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: The right of reply?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): There is no right of reply. Considering that we have sat . . .

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I cannot claim it as a right but, Sir, it has been the practice of this House . . . (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI A. D. MANI): No, no. There is no question of any reply. The matter ends now.

The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 4th August, 1971.