

TURE (SHRI D. R. CHAVAN) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a statement regarding the wheat supply position consequent on the strike of long shoremen in the Ports of the United States. [Placed in Library. See No. LT/65].

**THE PRESS AND REGISTRATION OF BOOKS (AMENDMENT) BILL 1964—**  
*Continued*

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Bill before us is a non-controversial and a simple measure. The only object of this measure is to extend the operation of the Press and Registration of Books Act to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In view of the closer contact and integration, I think it is necessary, subject to compliance with the provisions of the Constitution, to extend such useful measures to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The necessary concurrence and approval of the State Government has been obtained and after complying with all those conditions, this Bill has been submitted here for the approval of this House. Just after the introduction of the republican Constitution, it was felt necessary, in order to see that democracy functions properly, to look to the proper functioning of the Press. With that object in view a very high-powered Press Commission was appointed. Several recommendations made by that body were considered, some had already been implemented and some are in the course of being implemented. This House is fully aware that a Bill for the establishment of a Press Council was entrusted to a Joint Committee of the Houses. That Joint Committee has already submitted its Report. So, that important recommendation of the Press Commission will also receive the approval of Parliament. There was another suggestion by the Commission that a Registrar for newspapers should be appointed. Accordingly, in 1956 a Registrar was appointed to collect information about all the newspapers to have copies of all publications as well as books, in short, a complete record. I am sure that since then we have got a very good record and we also know how the Press in the country is functioning. As it is now being

<sup>1</sup> extended to Jammu and Kashmir, I have no doubt that the things there and the standard of the newspapers will improve. Mr. Mani who is a journalist and, I understand, has been recently to Kashmir, has

suggested certain things. All those which are necessary and are helpful to give a certain lift and facility to the Press should be done but I do not agree with his suggestion that the Government should establish a printing press there and give all the newspapers the facility of having their newspapers printed and published from there. Whichever may be the Government, if the newspapers have to depend upon the Government for printing the newspapers—and if they cannot get this thing done except through the Government press—I am sure the independence of the Press that we desire will receive a set-back. I think on further consideration Mr. Mani himself will feel that this suggestion is not in the best interests of the high standard that we all so much desire. As regards his suggestions for the training of journalists and the facilities to be provided for the Urdu language, I am one with him. Apart from certain journals, I think the standard of Urdu journalism has been quite high and it should not be difficult to get good journalists from other parts of India if necessary facilities are provided to them in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

I feel that there has been no comment from any side which could be met and answered from our side.

With these few observations, I commend this Bill for the acceptance of this august House.

**श्री ओम मेहता (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :**  
वाइस चैयरमैन, सर, श्री-अर्जी जो यह अमेंडमेंट आनरेबल मिनिस्टर इस हाउस में लाये हैं, मैं इसका स्वागत करना हूँ और हुकूमत को मुबारकवाद देता हूँ कि इन्होंने आखिर में यह सोचा कि वह दौबारे जो कि जम्मू और कश्मीर के रहने वाले लोगों और हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के दमियान थीं, उनको गिरा दिया गया।

जब हम :the Press and Registration  
of Books Act, 1867.

**[श्री ओम मेहता]**

1867 को पढ़ते हैं तो हम देखते हैं कि वहां पर जो इंडिया की, हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख दी गई है उसमें यह लिखा है : 'India means the territory of India excluding the State of Jammu and Kashmir' जम्मू और काश्मीर स्टेट में रहते हैं, जब हम इसको पढ़ते हैं तो साइकालोजिकली हम पर एक असर होता है। हम लोग, जिन्होंने सन् 1947 में ऐक्सीड किया हिन्दुस्तान के साथ और जो कि अपने आपको एक हिस्सा समझते हैं इस मुल्क का, वाशिंग्टन, समझते हैं इस मुल्क का, उनके दमियान एक दीवार हाथल कर दी जाती है, जब कि हम यह अल्फाज पढ़ते हैं कि इंडिया का मतलब यह है कि जम्मू और काश्मीर स्टेट के बगैर। इसलिये मैं समझता हूं कि ऐसा बिल लाकर के हम वह जो दीवारें हैं, जो कि हमारे दमियान और यहां के दूसरे रहने वाले व्यक्तियों के दमियान खड़ी थीं, उनको दूर कर रहे हैं।

हाल ही में भारत की सरकार ने कुछ और ऐसी चीजें कीं, जिनसे काफी हम लोग नज़दीक हो गये हैं इस मुल्क के जो मंत्रिधान के आर्टिकल 356 और 357 लागू किये गये हमारी जम्मू और काश्मीर स्टेट पर, उससे भी जो बहुत से मसाले थे वे हल हो गये और मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि ऐसी ही और बहुत-सी चीजें की जायेंगी जिससे कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के और ज्यादा नज़दीक हो सकें और यह अल्फाज जो कि इन बिल में और जो कि इस आगस्ट हाउस के सामने कभी कभी आते हैं, "इक्सेप्ट जम्मू एंड काश्मीर स्टेट", यह आगे के लिये हम न देख पायेंगे। इससे साइकालोजिकल और इमोशनल इंटिग्रेशन के रास्ते में अगर कोई दिक्कत है, वह दूर हो जायगी और वहां के लोग जाँ हैं, वे उसी तरह से इस भारत के वाशिंग्टन होंगे, जिस तरह से कि यहां के लोग हैं।

जैसा कि अभी-अभी मेरे दोस्त जनाब मणि

साहव ने कहा कि वहां पर महाज और फंड ये दो अखबारों में—जिनकी कार्पीज यहां पर भी मिल रही है हमारे आनरेबिल मेम्बरान को एक्स्प्लायट कर रहे हैं—आज एंटी-नेशनल प्रोपेगैंडा और दूसरी किस्म की चीजें निकल रही हैं और खुले तौर पर लोगों को, वहां के रहने वाले व्यक्तियों को, जिन्होंने 17 वर्षों से अपने आपको हिन्दुस्तानी समझा, यहां का वाशिंग्टन समझा उनको उभारा जा रहा है। और उनको कहा जा रहा है कि वह आज वहां पर प्लेबिसाइट और दूसरी चीजों के लिए उठें। तो इस किस्म की जो रिपोर्ट्स हैं वे वहां पबलिश की जा रही हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि ज्यों ही प्रेस रजिस्ट्रार का ज्युरिसडिक्शन जम्मू और काश्मीर पर हो जाएगा त्यों ही हमारी हुकूमत बहुत हद तक यह कोशिश करेगी कि जो चीजें बैड हैं, जिनके लिए यहां पर भारत-वर्ष में पाबन्दी है और जिनको यहां एक जुर्म समझा जाता है उन चीजों को काश्मीर में भी जुर्म समझा जायगा, उनको पेनालाइज किया जायगा और इतनी खुली आजादी नहीं दी जायगी कि भारतवर्ष के खिलाफ, इस मुल्क की आजादी के खिलाफ, इस मुल्क के खिलाफ इस किस्म की चीजें पबलिश की जाएं जिससे कि किसी भी समय हमारी स्वतन्त्रता को खतरा पहुंच सकता है।

जैसा कि इस आगस्ट हाउस के मेम्बरान जानते हैं इस वक्त भी वहां पर इस तरह चीन की फौजें हैं, और दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान की फौजें खड़ी हैं और हमारी स्टेट का कुछ हिस्सा उनके हाथ में है। हमारी यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि वह हिस्सा जिस पर कि उन्होंने इस वक्त कब्जा किया हुआ है उन लोगों से वापस लिया जाय ताकि सालम का सालम जम्मू और काश्मीर इस भारत का एक अंग हो और उसमें किसी किस्म का शक न हो।

इसके साथ ही मैं यह भी कह देना चाहता हूं कि हमारी मौजूदा हुकूमत ने इस बात की

रिक्वेस्ट की कि वहांपर यह प्रेस एंड रजिस्ट्रेशन आफ बुक्स एक्ट को एक्सटेंड किया जाय तो इसके साथ क्या होगा कि वहां पर जो 50 के करीब अखबारात और जर्नल्स छप रहे हैं वे यहां पर आ जाएंगे और उनके मुताल्लिक जो स्टैटिस्टिक्स हैं वे हमको हासिल हो जायेंगे, हमें मालूम हो सकेगा कि उनका पबलिकेशन क्या है, उसे कितने लोग पढ़ते हैं और इस वक्त जो प्रोपो-गैंडा वह कर रहे हैं उसमें कहां तक सदाकत है क्योंकि कई अखबार हैं, जैसे कि "फ्रंट" है उसको थ्रानगर में ढूढ़ना चाहें तो नहीं मिलेगा लेकिन दिल्ली में मिल जायगा। दिल्ली में आकर उसकी चन्द कापियां छपवा कर लोगों में बांट दी जाती हैं और उससे मालूम होता है कि उसका बड़ा प्रोपोगैंडा है। तो इससे वहां के अखबारात के मुताल्लिक सही स्टैटिस्टिक्स हासिल हो जायेंगे और उससे हमें यह पता लगेगा कि वहां पर किस किस के अखबारात हैं और जो वहां पबलिश हो रहे हैं वे क्या हैं।

लेकिन मैं सिर्फ यह चाहता हूं कि नये सेक्शंस 5 ए (1) और (2) में जो टाइम-लिमिट रखा है उसके बारे में आनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब मेरी इस तजवीज को कंसीडर करें कि जो टाइम-लिमिट है वह बहुत कम है क्योंकि जम्मू और काश्मीर स्टेट का काफी हिस्सा बर्फानी है और वहां पर खबर इतनी जल्दी नहीं पहुंच सकती है, खास कर के इस मौसम में वहां पर डाक और तार का इंतजाम अच्छा नहीं होता है। इसलिए मैं यह कहूंगा कि इसका टाइम-लिमिट जो दो माह का है उसे दो मास से बढ़ा कर चार माह तक कर दिया जाय ताकि किसी को यह शिकायत न रहे कि मुझको जो डिक्लेयरेशन देना था वह इन-टाइम नहीं दे सका। मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि आनरेबल मिनिस्टर मेरे इस अमेंडमेंट को—जो कि मैं इन-टाइम नहीं दे सका—मानेंगे और इसको दो माह के बजाय चार माह कर देंगे।

श्री ए० डी० मणि ने कहा कि वहां पर मैं अभी गया था और वहां पर इसकी जरूरत है कि गवर्नमेंट एक ऐसा प्रेस बनाए जिसमें कि लोग वहां अपने अखबारात छपा सकें और सरकुलेट कर सकें। आनरेबल अकबर अली खां ने उसके खिलाफ कहा कि मैं नहीं समझता कि ऐसा प्रेस वहां पर बनाया जाय। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि वहां के लोग बहुत बैकवर्ड हैं और वहां पर दोनों बड़े शहरों में कोई भी ऐसा प्राइवेट प्रेस नहीं है जहां पर कि सस्ते तौर पर अखबार छप जाय। अगर गवर्नमेंट वहां पर किसी को सहायता दे कर या और किसी तरह से कोई प्रेस लगा दे तो जम्मूरियत में जो प्रेस की आजादी है वह कायम रहेगी और लोगों को जो मुसीबत प्रेस की है उसमें बहुत हद तक आसानी होगी, इससे वहां चीप अखबारात, सस्ते अखबारात होंगे और वे हर आदमी तक जा सकेंगे और उनको मिल सकेंगे। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं....

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Co-operative Press.

SHRI OM MEHTA : It may be a co-operative Press. कोआपरेटिव प्रेस हो, या गवर्नमेंट का हो लेकिन एक बड़ा प्रेस का होना निहायत लाजमी है क्योंकि उर्दू के लिए वहां पर कोई प्रेस नहीं है और वहां की जो आफिशियल लैंग्वेज है वह उर्दू है, वहां पर ज्यादातर लोग उर्दू पढ़ते हैं, समझते हैं और बोलते हैं। इसलिए उसमें एक बड़े प्रेस का होना निहायत सख्त जरूरी है, खाह वह कोआपरेटिव बेसिस पर हो या गवर्नमेंट खुद बनाए लेकिन किस-न-किसी तौर पर वहां पर एक प्रेस जरूर बनाया जाय।

दूसरी बात जो मणि साहब ने कही वह यह थी कि वहां पर आडिटर को भेजा जाय और देखा जाय कि इस वक्त अखबारों को जो कोटा न्यूजप्रिंट का मिल रहा है वह काफी है या नहीं है। वहां के जो न्यूजपेपरमैन

**[श्री ओम मेहता]**

हैं और वहां के जो लोग हैं वे मुझ से मिले और कहा कि इस वक्त हमें इतना कम कोटा दिया जाता है जबकि हमारा सरकुलेशन उससे कई गुना ज्यादा है और हमें केयरली ट्रीट नहीं किया जाता। तो मैं यह भी कहूंगा कि इसको देखा जाय और अगर उनका सरकुलेशन ज्यादा है तो उनको ज्यादा कागज दिया जाय ताकि उस इलाके में जहां कि प्रोपो-गैंडा कि सख्त, अजहद, ज्यादा जरूरत है वहां पर इस किस्म की चीजों की जा सकें।

और ज्यादा कहे वगैर मैं फिर गवर्नमेंट को मुबारकवाद देता हूं कि वह कोशिश कर रही है कि हमारे दमियान जो इस किस्म की दीवारें हैं उनको दूर किया जाय और एक तरह से रास्ते को साफ किया जाय, हमवार किया जाय।

**श्री जगत नारायण (पंजाब) :** माननीय वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, मैं इस बिल का स्वागत करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। मुझे खुशी है कि हिन्दू सरकार ने काफी असें के बाद काश्मीर के मामले में एक सही कदम उठाया है और उन्होंने यह प्रेस एंड रजिस्ट्रेशन आफ बुक्स बिल को काश्मीर पर लागू किया है।

मुझे अच्छी तरह याद है कि जब शेख अब्दुल्ला का राज्य था—वाइस चेयरमैन महोदय, आपको मालूम ही होगा कि पंजाब में सब से ज्यादा उर्दू के अखबार छपते हैं—तो जब कभी उनके खिलाफ किसी अखबार में छपता था तो वह उस अखबार को अपनी रियासत में आना बन्द कर देते थे। खुशी है कि सादिक सरकार ने वह तमाम बन्दिशें खत्म कर दी हैं और अब पंजाब के किसी अखबार पर काश्मीर में जाने पर बन्दिश नहीं है। लेकिन जो बात मैं कहने लगा हूं वह यह है कि मैं श्री ओम मेहता के साथ मुत्तफिक हूं कि काश्मीर और हिन्दुस्तान के दमियान जो दीवारें हायल हैं वे वाकई

खत्म होनी चाहिए और जहां आर्टिकल 256 और 257 के बारे में किया है वहां मैं बड़े अदब से कहूंगा कि आर्टिकल 370 को भी खत्म करना चाहिए ताकि कोई दीवार जम्मू-काश्मीर और हिन्दुस्तान के दमियान हायल न हो।

मैं सिर्फ दो तीन सजेरेंस देना चाहता हूं। श्री मणि ने निहायत अच्छी तरह से अपना केस इस हाउस के सामने रखा है और मैं समझता हूं कि इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान के अखबार जो दिक्कत महसूस करते हैं उसको भी हाउस में कह दूं। एक तो यह है कि अंग्रेज के राज्य में डिक्लेयरेशन देने के लिए कोई दिक्कत नहीं होती थी, अखबार का डिक्लेयरेशन होना होता था तो हम डी० सी० के दफ्तर में जाते थे, डिक्लेयरेशन भरते थे और फिर शाम को हमें डिक्लेयरेशन मिल जाता था। लेकिन आज दिक्कत यह है कि एक नया अखबार निकालना है, एक नया डिक्लेयरेशन देना है, तो हम डी० सी० के दफ्तर में जाते हैं, वहां एक फार्म मिलता है, इस फार्म की दो कापियां पुर कर के हम देते हैं तो वह कहते हैं कि एक कापी हम दिल्ली में रजिस्ट्रार को भेजेंगे और वहां से जब मंजूरी आयेगी तो उसके बाद हम डिक्लेयरेशन देने की कोशिश करेंगे और इसका असर क्या होता है? एक अखबार का डिक्लेयरेशन लेने के लिए तीन तीन महीने, चार चार महीने, पांच पांच महीने तक दर-दर की खाक छाननी पड़ती है। मैंने पहले भी इस बात को कहा और उनका एक नुमाइंदा जालंधर में आया भी था जिसने प्रेस वालों से मुलाकात की थी, उन्होंने कहा कि आपने हाउस में यह क्या कहा था तो मैंने उनको बताया कि जो दो कापी हम डी० सी० के दफ्तर में देते हैं उसकी एक कापी पंजाब गवर्नमेंट को भेजी जाती है और फिर पंजाब गवर्नमेंट सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट को भेजती है और फिर वह रजिस्ट्रार के पास आती है और उसके बाद रजिस्ट्रार सारी बातों को देख करके अपनी मंजूरी भेजता है और

इसमें चार, पांच महीने लग जाते हैं जब कि होना यह चाहिए कि जो डिक्लेयरेशन देना चाहें वह एक कापी सीधे रजिस्ट्रार को भेज दें और एक कापी डी० सी० के दफ्तर में दें और उसी वक्त जल्दी से जल्दी उसका फैसला हो जाये कि आया यह डिक्लेयरेशन इस नाम पर मिल सकता है या नहीं।

तो जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक अखबार वालों को कोई सहुलियत नहीं मिलेगी और अगर यही हाल जम्मू और काश्मीर में भी डिक्लेयरेशन लेने वालों का हुआ तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि वे कितनी दिक्कत महसूस करेंगे। इस दिक्कत को दूर करना चाहिये।

दूसरी दिक्कत यह है कि जो मुसद्क अखबारात हैं उनको तो कोटा मिलता नहीं है और जो गैर मुसद्क हैं उनको ज्यादा कोटा मिलता है और वे इस ढंग से सरकार को सेटिसफाई करने की कोशिश करते हैं कि सरकार उनके कोटा को बढ़ाते चली जाती है। अब नए अखबार चालू करना है तो सरकार की पालिसी है कि किसी को 2,000 का कोटा देते हैं, किसी को 5,000 का कोटा देते हैं, किसी को 10,000 का कोटा देते हैं। एक यूनीफार्म पालिसी सरकार की होनी चाहिए कि एक अखबार को कितना कागज का कोटा देना है ताकि वह अखबार चला सके, यह नहीं कि उनकी मर्जी पर हो। आज होता यह है कि एक अखबार वाला जो 10,000 छाप सकता है उसको 2,000 का कोटा मिलता है, जो 2 लाख छापता है उसको 20,000 का मिलता है और नतीजा यह होता है कि वह ब्लैक में जाकर पूरा करता है। यह पालिसी सरकार को रिव्वाइज करनी चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ जब आपने एक बड़ा अच्छा और नेक कदम उठाया है तो कुछ जो खामियां हमारे यहां हैं उनको दूर करने की कोशिश करें और इस बात को देखें कि वह खामी जम्मू और काश्मीर में महसूस न हों ताकि जो

आपने एक अच्छी चीज पेश की है उसमें जो बंदिशें हैं वे दूर हो जानी चाहियें।

इसके साथ मैं यह अर्ज करता चाहता हूँ कि अखबारों के बारे में पालिसी काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट के पास जानी है और उस पर अमल काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट करेगी मगर यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि जो प्रो-पाकिस्तान या प्रो-पेकिंग आदमी हैं वे यहां आकर, मिल बनाकर, फायदा ले जायें।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह चीज ही न लाई जाय। भूपेश गुप्त नाराज हो जायेंगे।

श्री जगत नारायण : मैंने तो सजेशन दी है कि यह भी गवर्नमेंट को मद्देनजर रखनी चाहिए।

ये दो तीन सजेशन्स मैं आपकी बसाकत से वजीर साहब की सेवा में पेश करना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI KRISHAN DUTT (Jammn and Kashmir) : MT. Vice-Chairman, I welcome this measure and I feel happy that from now on newspapers and books printed in the Slate of Jammu and Kashmir will fall under the jurisdiction of the Press Registrar of India and the statistics which, so far, were not available in the report of the Press Registrar of India will now be available in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir also. I support the suggestion made by the hon. Mr. Mani that journalists from other parts of the country should give guidance and try to lift the standard of journalism in our State. The suggestion with regard to the setting up of a Government press to give facilities to newspapers for printing there, I think, is a good one and the press in the State being still in its infancy is entitled to such patronage and help. I do not think the apprehensions felt by Mr. Akbar Ali Khan that the independence of the press in the State would suffer are there. Rather the publication of newspapers will be facilitated.

[Shri Krishan Dutt]

Possibly the rate which the Government press would charge would be lower than the rates charged by other presses and this will be an encouragement to journalism in the State.

With regard to newsprint issued to the newspapers in the Jammu and Kashmir State, I support the suggestion of Mr. Mani that an audit team from Delhi should visit the State, examine the circulation figures and see how far they represent the circulation, which they enjoy in fact, and what is it that they claim for themselves. In this way, if the issue of newsprint quota is regulated with the factual position of the circulation figures of the newspapers, I think many malpractices committed with regard to newsprint will be checked.

I feel happy that Mr. Om Mehta has rightly expressed that the people of Jammu and Kashmir by this measure will feel closer to their countrymen in other parts of the country and the factors or the things which still continue to create a sense of separatism will disappear gradually with such measures if they are continuously brought forward with the concurrence of the State Government and I pay a tribute to my State Government also for extending co-operation in inviting such measures for application to that State.

I give my whole-hearted support to this measure. There is a plea for extension of the period of two months for giving fresh declarations under the new Act by the newspapers in the State. I do not know why two months are considered to be such a short period that they will find any difficulty in giving fresh declarations. I do not think there is any necessity for increasing the period.

With these words I again extend my support to the Bill and commend it for the acceptance of this august House.

Thank you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman. generally I would

have no objection to supporting a measure of this kind because it attracts the principle, shall we say, of integration, complete integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of the country. Therefore, we can have no objection to it, but then, we are taking this Government to the State of Jammu and Kashmir in regard to certain functions which previously belonged to the State Government. Now, we are told in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the Registrar has to collect and compile facts and figures relating to newspapers in the country. Naturally we have to judge how they are functioning where they are already in the field. As far as we know, this particular department is not properly functioning and is being hoodwinked by some of the newspapers in the country. Time and again I have brought it to the notice of the House as to how one paper called "Jana-sevak" in West Bengal, a daily paper, is bluffing this great Government. That daily paper claims to have a circulation of 22,000 copies, but unfortunately it is not to be seen anywhere in the streets of Calcutta. Where that Bengali paper is read, we do not know, may be in the bathrooms of Congress politicians. We do not see it, but it is one of the wonders in the world that a paper published from Calcutta and claiming a circulation of 22,000 is not to be seen anywhere in any of the streets of Calcutta where the Bengali-speaking people reside. Yet, month after month and year after year they are getting their quota and favours from the Government. We were told that the matter would be investigated, but I do not know how far the investigation has progressed. I understand the difficulty of the Government because Shri Atulya Ghosh, M.P. happens to be the Chairman of the editorial board of that unread paper.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa) : You have spoken about it half a dozen times at least.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That shows your intellect. Even after being reminded of that truth half a dozen times you do not accept it. Now, this is the reality. I will give new examples also, but I should remind you of the old story because you

need a little bit of reminding. Now, we were told recently that an investigation was ordered and it was found out—according to our information—from the investigation that it was not consuming the quantity which it should consume, if 22,000 impressions were taken. If you look into that aspect of working of the press you will find that there is no support to the claim that the paper as such has a sizeable circulation. Nothing can be done..

3 P.M.

I tell my friend of Jammu and Kashmir that when they are welcoming this Government to look into this matter, they must also know what type of Government and authorities they are inviting.

Another example I shall give you. Another newspaper, a well-known paper called the Ananda Bazar Patrika, has a good circulation, there is no doubt about it. But the newsprint quota that is given to it is much larger than it is entitled to, and for some years it is common knowledge in Calcutta that the newsprint from that source was going to the blackmarket. An investigation had been ordered, questions had been asked in this and the other House and answers half-heartedly had been given, but nothing so far had been done for restraining effectively that particular newspaper institution called the Ananda Bazar Patrika Limited. That is example number two. Then example number three. In Tripura we have got three little Ministers. One of them is called Mr. Sen Gupta, supposed to be the Development Minister. He brings out a paper called Ganaraj, a daily paper of this size, four pages of this size. It is coming out every day in the evening in a small town like Tripura which announces on the front page almost every day as a matter of routine that this paper is patronised by the great Minister, Mr. Sukhamoy Sen Gupta of Tripura. Nobody knows how much circulation this paper has got but it is getting its quota. Perhaps by a coincidence of many things that are happening in the country, and we find that this paper is backing up the Minister and the Minister is also gaining a lot out of it. I do not know how. Recently I was there twice

last month in Tripura and I made again enquiries and nobody could tell me anything. That paper is giving open incitement to violence against the Communists, open incitement. When the Press Council Bill comes up, I shall bring that paper here and read out to you what kind of paper it is. Ganaraj that paper is called, you understand, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It is called Ganaraj. That paper has got a flamboyant style and name. It has nothing to do with Gana but it has certainly got something to do with the corrupt Congress raj. They call it Ganaraj. You find that the Ministers are now interested in bringing out papers because there are too many factions within the Congress Party. There may be Rs. 98 lakhs coming from the joint stock companies as it was revealed by Mr. Krishna-machari yesterday but that does not seem to have put the house in order. Many of them are bringing out papers against each other. This is an interesting new feature of our democracy. I would not mention anything about the departed Congressman in a certain State in Northern India who brought out papers to deal with political rivals, but there are living ones also. I wish them long life, who are bringing out such papers in order to run down their political opponents in the Congress Party and push their points of view. Somehow or other they are also getting good newsprint quota irrespective of their circulation.

Now, as you know, the Congress is now divided; you may be knowing, Sir, in another capacity, not in this particular capacity, they are in division very much today. They have got the syndicate; some day it will be senate. The syndicate is already there. Mr. Atulya Ghosh is an august member of the syndicate. If you read that paper, you will find that he is a protagonist of the syndicate politics. Syndicate means we are told Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, Mr. S. K. Patil. Ministers of the Government, and Shri Atulya Ghosh. If you look up that paper, you will find how these three gentlemen are being boosted in that particular paper.

[Tin: DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the *Chair*].  
Other are not boosted so much. I am not blaming the paper for that. But

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] we are interested in that part of the story. Similarly other papers are also coming in. They are getting quotas and so on. May I ask as to why the Press Registrar and the Government should not go into this thing? Shall we have to raid the Jana Sevak office to find out what is happening? Then we shall be accused of committing violence, and someone will call us pro-Peking. Whenever the Government is in a tight corner, they call us names and they try to create prejudice against their political opponents. But I think something should be done. Here I can give you very many examples of that type. We should like the Press Registrar to tell us with how many papers the Congress Ministers are connected, just as Mr. Krishnamachari yesterday gave a statement telling us as to how much fund the Congress Party got from the joint stock companies between 1961 and 1964. We would like to know, it is an interesting research, I believe, for the sake of democracy, and it should be undertaken by the Government. Therefore, this one point needs to be borne in mind. My fear is this. In Kashmir politics this sort of thing may happen. They have fallen out with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. They were very friendly with him. Now they have fallen out with him, put him in jail, then got him out and sent the Director of Public Health to look after his health. We are not given any such thing when we are in jail. You understand Madam, that there is even discrimination when we are imprisoned. If a former Chief Ministers goes to jail after having been framed up for corrupt practices and malpractices and if he has flu, he is looked after by the Director of Public Health. If humble people like us go to jail and suffer from tuberculosis . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh) : It would be more correct to say that they are put under preventive detention. I have a horror of preventive detention.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have. But unfortunately you belong to a wrong Party. I know you are, as any decent man should be, opposed to preventive detention, but this Government today which you are supporting, Dr. Sapru—this is a mishap in your political and personal career

thai a man of your stature and ability and integrity should have found no other place than the Congress Party to support it when these people are playing ducks and drakes with the liberties of the people and carrying on a kind tyrannical administration under the Defence of India Rules. But I do not blame you for it. Accidents in personal careers do happen. Therefore, as you know, this kind of thing goes on. I was mentioning this interesting fact. What wonderful treatment. He was running the paper there also and allegations were there that all kinds of things were going on even under that administration. I told you that he went to jail and how he had been looked after. If I were to suffer from tuberculosis or from some very serious disease almost with one foot in the grave, I will have a compounder to look after me, a bare compounder at best. But here when this gentleman went—and this is called the patriotism of the Congress—and after he came out, all the Ministers went to receive him including the Sadachar Minister. We have a Sadachar Minister here called the Home Minister.

SHRI N. PATRA : Today you were crying for pro-Peking Communists.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What my friend from this side, sitting on the wrong side but belonging to that side, says is quite amusing, quite interesting. I am speaking for some good thing in public life. The Sadachar Minister does it. Now, this Sadachar Minister should investigate into the corrupt practices that are going on in the name of this paper quota and so on, and I am sure he will land in very high quarters. But they are God's chosen children, they cannot be touched and they enjoy a kind of immunity. Who can touch Mr. Atulya Ghosh? He is thinking of becoming the Congress President, if not the Prime Minister of the country.

Therefore, I know that difficulties are there but then you have an institution. When we in the Opposition bring forward allegations against any paper, we do so with responsibility. Let there be an investigation, let the CBI take it up, let the evidence of the workers of that particular



concern 'The Jana Sevak' and others printers and so on, be taken and let the results be known to this Parliament. Why are you not doing it ? Well, Madam Deputy Chairman, that is how they behave.

As far as Kashmir is concerned, I would advise my friends from Kashmir to keep an eye on the Government of India. I am in favour of deletion of article 370. I stand for the deletion of this particular article. But at the same time I would not like the Government of India with all its corrupt practices in the administration to muscle into the administration of Kashmir. That is what I am afraid of. That is why some Advisory Board or something like it should be there locally in order to advise the Press Registrar so that some amount of responsibility attaches to that. I have nothing to say for or against the Government of Kashmir at this moment. I feel that the Government of India cannot be trusted. This Government comes out with White Papers and other things and expects you to believe them. How many times this Government has lied before the country. I think there never has been such a collective body of men in the country which has lied on so many occasions as the Government of India has done. We have got that experience so many times. Therefore, I say, do not trust it. The Advisory Board should be there, and as far as the paper quota is concerned, it should be very discreetly given. We are running short of our requirements of newsprint and we should not allow the newsprint to be utilised for all kinds of doubtful purposes. It might be said, the Communist Party also runs papers. Yes. But how difficult it is for us to get newsprint, we know and you can see. Take the quota and judge it in terms of the circulation that we have. If you think that we are doing a bad thing. Well, deal with us harshly if you like, even more harshly than you would be dealing with your men. We are prepared for it. But today I think the Press Registrar should be a little vigilant.

I am not blaming the Registrar himself. What can the poor Registrar do when men, in high authority and in high places indulge in such things ? The administrative officials are handicapped by the powerful

influences that they come up against. That is my submission. And what can the Press Registrar do ? About Shri Atulya Ghosh, Chairman of the Editorial Board of 'The Jana Sevak', you can understand his difficulty in this matter. I sympathise with those people, the Press Registrar and so on, but still I would tell them, they need not be afraid of such people. We in the Opposition are here to protect them, we are in favour of protecting every honest official, every aspect of honest administration. Whatever may be our differences with the Government, we want the officials to function fearlessly and more especially when they have to deal with such things as I have mentioned.

AN HON. MEMBER : Question.

SHR[ BHUPESH GUPTA : Therefore, they will get all protection from Parliament and also from many Members opposite they will get protection. But what we expect of them is to function fearlessly in such matters and not to be influenced by the people who control big chains of papers and so on and get undue advantages.

Well, everybody knows about Mr. Goenka. It is a matter which brooks some investigation as to how much newsprint he gets and what is the circulation. A big circulation he has undoubtedly got for his chain paper but it is also necessary to examine as to how the quota is distributed to the different papers at the different establishments under him. It is essential to find out that also. In Kerala also we find that the Congress is doing the same sort of thing. I hope that these things will not be extended, together with the extension of this measure, to Jammu and Kashmir. We should give them a clean thing. Please remember, one of the reasons why we could not win the sentiments of the people easily in Kashmir, or a section of them, is because the Central Government gave all kinds of indulgences to the then Bakshi Ministry. This should not be done. And if we run a proper and efficient administration and do not encourage this type of corruption that I have mentioned; probably people will see that the extension of the

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

powers and the authority of the Indian Government or the Republic of India does not mean subversion of values in life and the standards of public behaviour. That is very, very important for us to remember, more especially in Kashmir, when there are all kinds of agitations going on. Now, what can we do with Sheikh Abdulla? I am not in favour of putting him in jail without trial, although an extremely harmful agitation is carried on there through his newspaper. Certainly, we can tell him, if this kind of agitation is carried on by this newspaper, then probably we have to consider whether the quota should be given to it. Now, I am not in favour of suppressing any opinion but here, as you know, he has a particular type of propaganda to advance in the State of Jammu and Kashmir through the newspaper—and it has been mentioned here also in this House—and this could be checked persuasively and, if necessary, also by certain administrative measures. Even so, I would not ask for detention without trial. Madam Deputy Chairman, if any of us had said what Sheikh Abdullah has said, the Prime Minister would not have come to receive us, the present Home Minister—or the Sada-char Minister—would not have called on us. If we had said the kind of thing that he has said, we would have been shot by the Sadachar Minister. What is he saying? He is saying, Kashmir should go, Kashmir has not acceded to India. Imagine a Communist saying it. Whatever you call us—you would have found it difficult to call us pro-Pakistan because ideological argument would not have been very helpful. You would have dealt with us harshly; not merely put us in prison under the Preventive Detention Act or the Defence—of India Rules, but you would have done worse things to us, because you know that the Communist Party of India is one of the challenges that you are facing. Naturally, you will deal with the Communist Party and would have taken advantage of such a thing. But when Sheikh Abdulla is saying things like that which amount to a denial of the fact that Kashmir is a part of India, politically, constitutionally and otherwise, when some of the suggestions amount to a proposal for bartering away Kashmir in the name of Indo-Pak

friendship, you not only give him all facilities to carry on this propaganda but you bestow all favours upon him and show all courtesies to him. Well, show courtesy to everybody, even to your enemy if you like. But then there is double standard. That is what I say. Here, Members of Parliament, Shri Niren Ghosh, Shri Ramamurti and Shri Basavapunnaiiah, have been put in prison. They have been here in this Parliament—Shri Basavapunnaiiah since 1952 and others for several years. Not a syllable of the type of thing that Sheikh Abdullah has been saying has any of them uttered here. But Sheikh Abdullah is received by the highest of the high; when he comes. Ministers view with each other in receiving him.

SHRI G. H. VALIMOHMED MOMIN  
(Gujarat) : Old story.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is the position. Naturally the papers which are brought out there have to be examined as to how they behave. I make it clear again that we would not like such a propaganda in the country which stands for bartering away any part of our country.

Territorial integrity is a fundamental thing and nobody should say anything which compromises with the principle. I agree with you. But you cannot do so because you are mightily afraid of Sheikh Abdullah. You know the Communists are peace-loving and you can do whatever you like with the Communists. One thousand Communists you have put in prison.

SHRI ABID ALI (Maharashtra) : More ought to have been put behind the bars.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You will not find a single Communist making statements that Sheikh Abdullah is making every day, and still I am not asking for his detention. Please make no mistake. But then you are mightily afraid of him. Why is it that you have not won the support of all sections of the people although they want to be in India? But they hate your rotten administration. That is why Sheikh Abdullah is in a position to publish newspapers and exploit the sentiments of the people who are frustrated by your policies and actions.

this House. Therefore, our esteemed friend, Mr. Abid Ali, can have the assurance that we Communists are democrats.

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Madras): That is because you are living in India. If it were Russia or China, you would not have the privilege to do so.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Wonderful discovery. We are not discussing Russia or China here. We are having some discussion here. Let us have it without interruption. Let us not go into it because I do not think this is a relevant matter. Do not emulate China; otherwise I will call you pro-Peking. Therefore, do not go into that. Since we have accepted the principle of discussion here, let us do it freely and frankly. But how can we discuss ? You do not allow people to come and participate, people who have been elected, to sit here and participate in the discussion. You allow corrupt Ministers to become Chief Ministers. Even till this afternoon you have not received the report of the C.B.I. with regard to Orissa but you are allowing the election of the Leader and the Chief Minister to take place.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is all right. These are the points that I had to make. We are anxiously looking forward to a very thoughtful and stimulating speech from our friend, Mr. Abid Ali, since he has been provoked into wisdom and thought.

As far as Kashmir is concerned, I wish them all well. But with regard to this measure what should be done ? Instead of bringing forward this type of measure every session. I think you should now do away with article 370. Then it will not be necessary to bring in such things every time. Why are you doing it ? It looks as if you have some reservations. On the one hand you say that Kashmir is an integral part of India as much a part of India as any other constituent State is a State of the Indian Union. On the other hand you have to have special legislation to extend even these small measures to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: It has a special status. It has framed its own Constitution which no other State did. Therefore, it has a special status.

SHRI OM MEHTA: We do not want a special status.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I will have no complaint against you if you allow him not only to speak but do something more in

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The people of Jammu and Kashmir . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : They want a special status.

SHRI OM MEHTA : We do not.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I agree with him. Therefore, I say do not force something down their throat. I say that we should have mutual consultations with them, with the Kashmir Government. I find the Kashmir Government leaders are joining the Congress Party. In fact, they are campaigning for the membership of the Congress. I hope the Congress Government will not have an amending Bill to extend the jurisdiction of the Congress Party there in this manner. I think the time has come for abrogation of article 370. That is the crux of the matter. I entirely support the opinion which has been expressed. But why is this mighty Government is afraid ? Is it because they are opposed to it ? Which Member of Parliament, in this House or the other House, will be opposed to the abrogation of article 370 ? None. Then why are they afraid ?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : It is for the people of Kashmir to decide.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me explain why they are afraid of abrogating the article in question. They are afraid of the Western powers, let there be no mistake about it. They are not afraid of the people or any such thing. They have the fullest backing of the country in this matter. And I should think if ever was there an issue on which there has existed complete unanimity in Parliament, it is on this particular question, and yet this Government does not have the courage to bring forward a Bill in order to abrogate article 370. They know that once this is done, their American dollar will be affected. Once they do such a thing, Harold Wilson, or even the Labour leaders may not like it because the pro-imperialists do not want that sort of thing; they may become angry. They are afraid that once this is done, Pakistan without fear would be in a posi-

tion to rouse certain Western circles against India and take up the matter, as they do, from time to time, in the Security Council and in the United Nations Organisations. But I tell you, Madam, and I tell these Ministers and the Government that there need not be any such fear because the composition of the United Nations has undergone a change. Today I am sure the majority of the countries will not support Pakistan in this matter if Pakistan were to come up before the United Nations forum with criticisms or attack the Government of India on account of the abrogation of article 370. We have also our friends there, and they are numerous. Secondly, we can ignore the frowns of the United States of America and Great Britain. We need not have any apprehensions about them. They are getting more and more isolated, and today if they raise their voice against us over this Kashmir issue, they will get even more isolated than what they are today. Therefore, what is the fear ? The only thing that need to be considered is how the Kashmir Government and the people there will view it. I take it that they will be in its favour provided the Government of India is courteous enough to take the requisite initiative in order to bring about abrogation of article 370. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, we must understand. My friends here from Kashmir will understand that the fear of the Americans that they might become angry and harm us is unfounded. But our Government is mightily afraid of them, afraid of the people who sit in the Pentagon or the Whitehall or Washington. That is why they are refusing to accept the suggestion that we all have been making from year to year in this House for the abrogation of article 370. Once again I say let this chapter be closed, the chapter of the extension of Indian legislation or this kind of special Parliamentary Act to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Let Us take the decision about abrogation of article 370, that in regard to Constitutional and legal matters Kashmir is on the same footing as any other State in India and there is no discriminatory treatment either for or against. If anything, give Kashmir love and affection in abundance, material and other assistance plentiful, I am not quarrelling with it. But let us not perpetuate a thing which is to the advantage of

Sheikh Abdullah or to the advantage of others who want to compromise India's position in the eyes of the world people. And I think if we have felt that Kashmir is a part of India, we owe it to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, owe it to our Constitution that Jammu and Kashmir be made a part of India in every respect. It is eminent in this connection that the abrogation of article 370 is called for and the Parliament's time may be saved in considering such measures and we can discuss other more important measures especially in order to improve the functioning of an inefficient and corrupt government.

SHRI ABID ALI: Kashmir is part of India as Bengal or Maharashtra. It is an undisputed position and all the enactments should be fully and immediately made applicable to Kashmir also but unfortunately our halting policy and our incorrect way of dealing with this matter—not in these few years but from the very beginning—has brought a lot of trouble for us. Let us hope that our Government realises the necessity of immediate action with regard to these few items and act accordingly.

With regard to the particular Bill, of course, I also whole-heartedly support it but what the hon. gentleman who just preceded me mentioned ....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Hon Member.

SHRI ABID ALI: Hon. friend or hon. Members as you want it, was not understandable. Firstly, these had no relation with this particular item under discussion and secondly, I do not know from where he brings all these stories. When my friend Mr. Anandan said something being pro-Peking, he said : 'Do not mention Peking; otherwise you will be called pro-China'. We have been seeing these ideas in bazaars. When a particular person commits a theft, he runs and shouts 'thief, thief, thief' so that people may not feel : 'Here is a thief who is running'. So far as the Government is concerned, it is not possible to understand why even today advertisements are being given to pro-Pek-  
L2RS/65

ing and other Communist journals, newspapers and publications. You have arrested traitors, put them in jail but there are many more going and I wish everyone of these traitors in this country should have been arrested.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think you need not use that word.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Not traitors. The Government has never said 'traitors'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You may not use that word. I think you can use any other word and that is what the Chair wishes.

SHRI ABID ALI: All right, any other equivalent word I will use.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : Is it right for the hon. Member to say that he will use an equivalent word ?

SHRI ABID ALI: All right, unequivocal if that will satisfy the hon. Member. I will say what I mean in different words. What I was submitting was that the statement placed on the Table of the House this morning has clearly mentioned that the persons belonging to the Communist Party have been making agitations and organising matters on such lines and telling people 'Within four months Communists China will be ruling over India' and

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : We cannot accept that as Gospel truth.

SHRI ABID ALI: But it is mentioned in the Government statement. What is the objection to that ?

SHRI A. D. MANI: On a point of order. We have not had an opportunity of discussing the statement placed on the Table. If the Government had felt that the

[Shri A. D. Mani.] charges were justified, they should have put up these persons before a tribunal as was done in the case of the Meerut Conspiracy case. He cannot proceed on the assumption that these charges have been proved and go on speaking about this Bill in a context which is thoroughly irrelevant.

SHRI ABID ALI: It has become part of the record and I refer to that record. What I was submitting was that persons who organised on such lines, what else can they be called, hon. Member Shri Sapru may educate me, not now but sometime afterwards. But what I was mentioning was that not only these thousand persons who have been arrested for the act of treason or whatever he may like to call but there are many more . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : In the whole country ?

SHRI ABID ALI: In the whole country there are many more of course in every part but more so on the borders of the State from which he comes and they are more dangerous than the friends in the South. They are organising on the lines of saying: "Here is our army of liberation coming led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose". Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who was called 'तोजोर ककुर' when he was coming with the Indian National Army. He was called 'तोजोर ककुर' by the Communists. It meant 'dog or Tojo'. Now he is coming with the army of liberation and they say that the Communists will never attack. They say: 'The Communists are your brothers and they are coming to liberate you'. That is what is happening on the border, not to-day but for the last 27 years and even earlier than that. We have been telling the Government: 'You are still in the dark, be careful, the situation is very serious, take appropriate action'. It took such a long time to realise that there were such large numbers of anti-national people in the country. They have been arrested. Our request is that the Government should realise the seriousness of this situation particularly on the borders and act with promptitude.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: All this is very interesting but what I would like to know is, what has all this to do with this Bill which has got a limited scope ?

SHRI ABID ALI: I wish the hon. Member should have been a little more alert when his pet was speaking.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. I am his pet because he had been somebody's pet. He said that I am Dr. Sapru's pet. If I have his affection

SHRI ABID ALI: What is the point of order ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I allowed you. There cannot be any discrimination. I do not want to go to any matinee show. All entertainments must be welcome.

SHRI ABID ALI: All right, I will say his friend and amend it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am your friend also.

SHRI ABID ALI: But may God save me from such friends.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh) : The Chair has allowed the speech of Mr. Gupta who was going far a field so far as the Bill is concerned. There is no necessity for curbing Mr. Abid Ali.

SHRI ABID ALI: I had requested you earlier and said: 'Kindly realise that when I will be speaking, there will be so many points of orders raised and I should be allowed'. My request is that advertisements and newspaper quota should be stopped for all newspapers and journals—I mean advertisements also—for anti-national, antisocial, communal newspapers and news journals and other publications. No quota and no advertisement should be given to them. I do not know what comes in the way of the Government from stopping its advertisements in such papers and in stopping the quota for such journals.

It goes to such an extent that even the journal of the hon. Member himself receives big advertisements, advertisements for Ashoka Hotel. I do not know how many of the readers of his paper will be going to the Ashoka Hotel, how they are invited to go to the Ashoka Hotel. His paper is supposed to be meant for the proletariat, supposed to be an organ of the poor, and such a paper gets advertisements even for the Ashoka Hotel. So I call upon the Government to kindly pay a little more serious attention . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, on a point of personal explanation, because

SHRI ABID ALI: I thought it was a point of order; otherwise I am not yielding and if I yielded it will bring in a lot of. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You know from where we get advertisements.

SHRI ABID ALI: Please do not take my time in this manner.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: If he wants to, let him explain how he gets the advertisements for the Ashoka Hotel.

श्री आबिद अली : श्री अकबर अली खां साहब आप को क्या हो गया है ? क्या आप को भी सप्ताह की हवा लग गई है जबकि ज़ेदो साहब आपके बीच में हैं ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of personal explanation.

SHRI ABID ALI: So that is one thing. {Interruptions} Then there are some communist papers which, although the publication is within a couple of thousand copies, get a quota disproportionate to . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Which paper ?

SHRI ABID ALI : But they get a quota for zero plus ....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Name them.

SHRI ABID ALI: I do not want to.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So you do not know.

SHRI ABID ALI: Is it proper ? Do you tolerate this. Madam ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : She should because you are not naming the paper.

SHRI ABID ALI: In Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which paper ?

SHRI ABID ALI: In Bengal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Name the paper.

SHRI ABID ALI: I have named the paper and much has been discussed during the Question Hour. It is not one paper. Is it one that I should mention it? A large number of them. Mr. Manubhai Shah has made reference to this several times and I have been requesting him always and asking him, "why are you issuing a newsprint quota for 20,000 copies whereas their publication is below 2,000 ?" and Mr. Manubhai Shah has been referring to this matter. If it is one, I should mention. But it is a long list. Most of such newspapers are not having a circulation to the extent of even one-fourth of the number they are claiming.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which paper ?

SHRI ABID ALI : Whether communist or non-communist, in respect of every such newspaper my request to Government is "Kindly scrutinise its circulation and then give the quota." There is a press, Madam, which is owned by a daily newspaper and it is a morning newspaper. Now, the press that it owns cannot print more than 3,000 copies, but it is getting a quota for 11,000 copies. It is a fact that it is not printed at any other place: it is printed

[Shri Abid Ali.]  
at that very place and by any stretch of  
circulation not more than 3,000 copies can  
be produced by that printing machine. I  
do not know why much solicitude .....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Which paper ?

SHRI ABID ALI : I do not know why the  
Government is tolerating so much the anti-  
national elements in the country, the anti-  
social elements and the pro-communal  
elements and is giving them help. Otherwise  
most of these newspapers will be closed  
within a week, if Government stops giving  
them advertisements. Because it is not done  
Government is charged with feeding  
communalism, with helping anti-national  
elements. So I request that at least now they  
will realise that they have some duty to  
perform in this matter as well.

About Atulya Babu I do not know how his  
name was brought in and how relevant it was.  
My friend, Mr. Sapru, who is very alert did  
not question the relevance then. No doubt Mr.  
Atulya Ghosh is an honourable, decent and  
first-class leader, but why his name should be  
brought in the debate concerning this Bill, I  
cannot understand. Certainly he is not  
responsible for anything that the hon. Member  
...

SHRI P. N. SAPRU : On a point of personal  
explanation; I never said one word for or  
against Mr. Atulya Ghosh.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He wanted  
you to say.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: I did not say.

SHRI ABID ALI: But Mr. Sapru stood up to  
say that what I said was not relevant to the  
Bill whereas the other hon. Member was  
saying all irrelevant things. Why was the  
name of Mr. Atulya Ghosh mentioned here ?  
Why did you not stand up and say that it was  
irrelevant ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is Chairman  
of the Editorial Board of the paper.

SHRI ABID ALI: I repudiate every word  
that he mentioned here with regard to that  
respectable gentleman, Mr. Atulya Ghosh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not  
said anything about him; about his paper I  
said.

SHRI ABID ALI : About his paper ? Why  
? the paper is very good paper.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have  
read it ?

SHRI ABID ALI : It is a well circulated  
paper. It is one that is loved by the people;  
they read it, and that is the grievance of the  
hon. Member. He does not want that other  
papers should be read by people. He wants  
that only his paper ; should be read. He will  
get the quota and sell the newsprint, save on  
the quota and have more funds for abusing the  
Congress.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is the  
name of that paper ?  
I

SHRI ABID ALI : I said that they are j very  
many; it is on record here. Why do | you  
want me to quote one or two ? There are  
several of them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You referred  
to Atulya Babu's paper. What is the name  
of that paper ?

SHRI ABID ALI : You mentioned some-  
thing about Atulya Babu. I have not  
mentioned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But you are  
supposed to know everything.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You do  
not yield to the interruptions; you continue.

SHRI ABID ALI : So my request to the  
hon. Member and to his patrons is that,  
whenever matters are discussed, let them be  
discussed on merits, relevantly and



impersonally, not bringing in people who are not connected with the subject-matter, who are not present in this House, and when a reply is attempted to be given to such irrelevant references, then they should welcome it, listen to it and correct themselves.

Thank you very much, Madam.

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful to the hon. Members for welcoming the Bill. The Bill, if I may say so, has been welcomed from all quarters and so I need not take more time of the House. It is a very simple Bill and I commend it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Bill further to amend the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up the clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill. Clause 3—  
Insertion of new section 5 A.*

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: Madam, I move :

3. "That at page 2,—

(i) in line 9 for the figure '1964' the figure '1965' be substituted;

(ii) in line 18, for the figure '1964' the figure '1965' be substituted."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That clause 3, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 3, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

*Clause 4 was added to the Bill.*

*Clause 1—Short title and commencement*

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN : Madam, I move :

2. 'That at page 1, line 4, for the figure '1964' the figure '1965' be substituted."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

"That clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 1, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

*Enacting Formula*

SHRI C. R. PATTABHI RAMAN: Madam, I move :

1. "That at page 1, line for the word 'Fifteenth' the word 'Sixteenth' be substituted."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the Enacting Formula, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

*The Enacting Formula, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

*The Title was added to the Bill.*