

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : इसलिये मैं यह कह रहा था कि प्रोफेसर साहब को भी समय के मुताबिक चलना चाहिये। वह पढ़े-लिखे हैं, विद्वान हैं और उन्हें देश की भलाई को देखना है, पंचवर्षीय योजना को देखना है, देश की सुरक्षा को देखना है। जब डिफेंस की बात होती है तो प्रोफेसर साहब कहते हैं कि डिफेंस में कमजोरी है लेकिन फिर उसके लिये रुपया कहाँ से आयेगा ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You can continue tomorrow, Mr. Yajee.

3 P.M.

#### MOTION RE -THE REPORT OF THE REGISTRAR OF NEWSPAPERS FOR INDIA

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Mani. You will have only 20 minutes because we have got a number of speakers.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : As the initiator of the motion, please make it twenty-five.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I would have given it to you . . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: I know. I would like others to take part in this discussion. Please make it twenty-five.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : If you want to take so much time . . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : And the Minister will have to reply. There are the amendments also.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Annual Report (1962) of the Registrar of Newspapers for India, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 7th September, 1962, be taken into consideration."

159 RS—5.

I was informed that the Report for the year 1963 was almost ready and would have been laid on the Table of the House by now or would be laid in the next few days. If we had had an opportunity of studying that Report, it would have been more welcome than the discussion of the Report for the year 1962. However, as discussion on this motion is being initiated, I should like to mention that the Report draws attention again to the fact that the leading newspapers of the chains account for a substantial part of the circulation of newspapers in India. It is a matter of great concern to us that those big business houses which run newspapers have strengthened their position, but there is no remedy under the law excepting by way of an amendment of article 19 of the Constitution. This matter was considered by us in the Press Commission and we came to the conclusion that it was dangerous to amend article 19 of the Constitution to impose any form of standardised ownership of newspapers. We thought that the best way of helping the newspapers to meet this competition was to encourage the (trust form of ownership of newspapers. Unfortunately, while this has been the accepted policy of the Government of India in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the Ministry of Finance took a different view. Newspapers were gradually being converted into trusts till last year when the Income-tax Act withdrew the exemption from income-tax to newspapers of trusts. I believe that this has retarded the gradual transformation of the big dailies into trusts and I hope that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting would use his influence with the Minister of Finance to see that trust newspapers get the exemption which they ought to get and which they get under the English law.

I would like to raise some fundamental points regarding the office of the Press Registrar. When I was a member of the Press Commission, I found that there was a serious discrepancy in the matter of information,

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about the newspapers published in the various States. For example, we asked a number of State Governments to produce a list of newspapers and when we examined the Chief Secretaries of those Governments, they were not in a position to say whether they were newspapers in existence or they had gone out. It was to get accurate information about the newspapers that we suggested the creation of the office of the Press Registrar. I must confess that I am astonished, I am startled, at the manner in which this office of the Press Registrar has developed. And the Press Registrar today has the power to determine the quantum of newsprint which a newspaper should consume. He has got the power to enter a newspaper office at any time of the day and night to check the circulation figures of the newspapers. And the Estimates Committee has recommended that the Press Registrar should keep in close touch with the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity.

Sir, the office of the Press Registrar has led to a controversy in the foreign press and there is an impression abroad that the press in India is being regimented in the form of the office of the Press Registrar. It is certainly a wrong impression, and I know that the office of the Press Registrar and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have been trying to meet the reasonable demands of the press. But on a point of principle, I would not like these extraordinary powers to be vested in the Press Registrar. When some of the representatives . . .

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL (Andhra Pradesh): The extraordinary powers are meant for the Press Registrar to pursue the activities that have been mentioned in the law.

SHRI A. D. MANI: We did not recommend these functions to him. The office of the Press Registrar was created as a result of the recommenda-

tions of the Press Commission. But we did not have these functions in view when we suggested . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : You did not have the last word.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Naturally . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What functions did you have in view?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You address me, Mr. Mani. If you go on exchanging words ...

SHRI A. D. MANI: The idea of the Press Commission was that the Press Registrar should collect statistical information about the newspapers, should verify the registers of the newspapers and maintain a record of newspapers in existence. As a whole-time newspaperman in this country, I have come to feel that there should be an amendment of the Constitution making the Press Registrar and his office responsible only to the President like the Attorney-General or the Auditor-General. I do not want these immense powers of verification, of right of entry into newspaper offices and of determining the newsprint, to be in the hands of any Government. I know that Dr. Gopala Reddi will use all his powers wisely. But we do not know what kind of Government will be in existence ten years hence. We would like, therefore, that the office of the Press . . .

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: For many years to come, the same type of Government will continue and you will continue in the Opposition.

SHRI A. D. MANI: But then we are thinking in terms of 2000 A.D.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Provided you give him your surplus votes.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL: Mr. Mani will forgive me . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am not yielding.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL: If he does not go into the figures to check up . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am not yielding, Madam, the right of a person to continue his speech because my time is limited. I am not yielding to interruption. I know. As an aid parliamentarian, I know how to deal with people.

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT (Delhi): You interrupt other people and now you should stand the interruptions yourself.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am not yielding to you either » \* \* \*

AN HON. MEMBER: Why do you interrupt?

KUMARI SHANTA VASISHT: You always interrupt and waste our time.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam, Deputy Chairman. I would like . . .

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): When he is pleading for the freedom of the press, he must give us also some freedom to interrupt him.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I will give you that freedom but I want half an hour.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If everyone goes on interrupting, I do not think many will get the chance to speak. Mr. Mani, please finish within your time-limit.

SHRI A. D. MANI: My suggestion is that there should be an amendment of the Constitution to make the Press Registrar an officer working under the President.

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! The third suggestion that I would like to make is this. The only way in which we can meet this big mono-

"♦Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

poly competition is to create a newspaper finance corporation contributed by public funds. I would suggest that a percentage of the profits of the Reserve Bank of India should be made available to this newspaper finance corporation which should consist of . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who should get the loan?

SHRI A. D. MANI: ... a nominee of the Chief Justice of India, the President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants and an officer of the Reserve Bank. They should examine the applications of all the newspapers started by co-operative societies, by trusts and by individuals who want to represent their points of view, which are not being represented now. We even considered the suggestion in the Press Council but could not come to any conclusion. The only way to meet the competition of the big press is in this fashion. Now, I hope that Government would give some attention to this matter.

Madam, the Report will show that the circulation of newspapers is very evenly divided between newspapers published in the English language and the newspapers published in the Hindi language. They are almost running equal. It means that after 1965, this country will have to be considered as a bilingual country. We cannot think in terms of dropping out the English language altogether in 1965 because the only vehicle for the communication of ideas . . .

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL: 1975.

SHRI A. D. MANI: In 1965 when the official language comes into force. And I do hope that in 1965 there would be no discrimination between the English language press and the provincial language press in favour of the Hindi language press. All newspapers should be treated on a footing of equality in respect of distribution

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of advertisements. I would like the  
Minister . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The rates should also be equal. The English papers are getting a major share of the advertisements at the expense of the Government.

SHRI A. D. MANI: The rates should be rationalised. I do not like the word . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: They should be made equal, language papers and English papers.

SHRI A. D. MANI: They should be rationalised because the word 'rationalisation' means dictation based upon many other factors. The bulk of the advertisements should not go to one language press but should be spread among the English language press, the provincial language press and the Indian language press. (*Interruptions.*) I do hope that Government will give attention to this aspect of the matter.

Madam, the Press Registrar has referred in his Report to newspaper rotary presses in the country. It is -unfortunate that while we have been having very prosperous expansion of steel plants, we are not in a position to make our own printing equipment. Our printing equipment excepting for cylinder machines, which are manufactured by Kirloskar Brothers, and some other industries near about Delhi, have got to be imported from abroad.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Can you manufacture printing machines without steel? Do you know some trick?

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am only saying that the steel plants have come into operation, that we should utilise the technique of the steel plants and the engineering ingenuity which exists in the country for the manufacture of printing machines in India, and I want this matter to be considered by a study team, considered not only by the government of India—by the con-

cerned Ministries—but also by ah those connected with the management of papers, particularly the printing line.

Further I would suggest that Government might go into the question of script reform, of what you call mechanical composition of press types. For example, if Hindi is to be put in mechanical type, they say that there should be some kind of script reform. in order to facilitate easy and more speedy composition of the Hindi language. I want these matters also to be considered.

Madam, I would like to ask the Minister for Information and Broadcasting what the position of the Press Registrar is in regard to the State of Kashmir. There was a question here asked by my good friend, Mr. Tariq, some time ago. It was Starred Question, No. 262, to which the Minister replied: —

"All licences for newsprint are issued to newspapers subject to the condition that the newsprint acquired against the licences should be utilised for the purpose for which the newsprint quota has been given. With every application for newsprint for a further period the newspapers are required to furnish particulars of consumption. The newsprint quota is so determined—'this is important—'on 'the basis of the data regarding circulation, etc. obtained from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir".

In the case of other newspapers in India, the newspapers send their own returns and their quota is determined on the basis of the statements made by the newspapers. But in the case of Kashmir a different method has been followed; the Government has been recognised as the agent for giving information about newspapers. This is wholly wrong. To no Government, whatever the Government may be, would I give that power; I would not give that power to the Government of India, to give on account of

what my circulation is. The circulation should be stated by the newspaper concerned. And in the case of Kashmir, in view of the fact that the politics of the State are passing through a controversial stage, it is necessary that the Press Registrar's jurisdiction should extend to Kashmir. I should like to ask the Minister for Information and Broadcasting whether it is so.

Madam, I would like also to raise the question of the price-page schedule to which I made a reference in my intervention on the Finance Bill. When the Press Commission discussed this matter, we thought that this was the only safeguard for the small provincial and regional newspapers. The Members of the Press Commission at that time were Dr. Zakir Husain, who is not in a position to speak today as the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha; Mr. T. N. Singh, who is a Member of the Planning Commission; Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who is also a Member of the Planning Commission; but there are two journalists available to speak about the price-page schedule, and they are my old veteran friends, Mr. Chalapathi Rau, the foremost journalist in this country, and Mr. A. R. Bhatt, President of the Indian Language Newspapers Association.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: And what about the third journalist?

SHRI A. D. MANI: The third journalist ceased to be a journalist. He has become a friend of Mr. Arora, and that completely washed out journalism from him, on that account. (*Interruptions.*)

Madam, we thought that price-page schedule was the only way in which we could protect the small newspaper. Price-page schedule has been struck down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional, but surprisingly, the report of the Press Registrar itself mentions somewhere that there is some rough price-page classification; although the price-page schedule is

not in existence, there is some rough price-page classification. The idea of price-page schedule arose because a small newspaper cannot afford to spend on 12 pages a day and sell it at a low price, or even 8 pages a day and sell it at a low price. It has got to charge a fairly economic price for its product when a big newspaper, with financial interests and resources behind it, is in a position to enter into competition with it.

Now, a good deal of controversy has been raised about the price-page schedule, and my views, such as they were and as stated by me in the Finance Bill debate, have been replied to by the "Patriot", which does not follow the price-page schedule. Since it is a critic of the price-page schedule, it is relevant that we should examine its arguments here. Madam, as a journalist of about thirty years' standing I may say that I have never indulged in personal controversies. I think personal controversies degrade public debate and offend the dignity of public discussion.

AN HON. MEMBER: Very well.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: You are a bourgeois journalist.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Yes, yes, I have been a journalist more than you have ever really been.

Now the "Patriot" unfortunately has indulged in personal abuse on the position I had taken up. (*Interruptions.*) Personal abuse does not hurt anybody; it only lowers the prestige of the person who indulges in the abuse.

AN HON. MEMBER: Definitely.

SHRI A. D. MANI: And I do not want to deal with the matter on the personal basis. My objection to the allocation of a quota for 25,000 copies of the new "Patriot" was based on two grounds: one, on the nature of the capital structure of the "Patriot" and the second one on the question of the price-page schedule. These were

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the arguments. Now, the "Patriot" says that Mr. Mani is interested in the balance-sheets. But unfortunately it was the "Patriot" which started the balance-sheet business. It started talking about the jute press. What does a jute press mean? It means, you mean to say that the jute kings run it. If one paper says that some newspapers are run by big business houses, is it not open for us here to say, "Who runs you? Who contributes your capital?" "his question is asked because the "PaUiot" asked the same question about other papers.

Further, in the Press Commission we had an income-tax officer accompanying us right through the tour. He was recruited from the Central Board of Revenue. He taught us what to do with this price structure. I mean, we went about examining the capital structure of all newspapers. We examined Shri Ramkrishna Dalmia; we examined Shri G. D. Birla; we examined all other big newspaper-own-erg in this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And you examined Shri Dalmia also.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Now, why should I raise this question of capital structure? Ownership, as the Royal Commission on the Press in the U.K. has pointed out, has got a great effect on the presentation of news and views. As the "Patriot" tries to be, claims to be a socialist paper, and it is recognised by my good friend, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting as a new venture in journalism, as a paper for the common man, I may be justified in asking who is the common man behind this paper. Is it the shoe-shine boy in Connaught Place? Is it the scavenger of the Delhi Municipal Corporation who is behind this socialist paper? Is it the ordinary people in the country who are behind it? I make this charge because it has happened in England that Big Business has got many ways of manifesting itself. It may manifest itself in the regular way, in the way of the "Times

of India", in the way of the "Indian Express". It may also express itself in a covert way, in the way of the "Patriot". We know who is behind the "Times of India". It is Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain; we know who is behind the "Indian Express"; it is Mr. Ram-nath Goenka. But who is behind the "Patriot"? The other day my good friend, Mr. Frank Moraes, mentioned that there is one Dr. Banerjee, who has contributed Rs. 2 lakhs to the "Patriot". Who is this Dr. Banerjee?

AN HON. MEMBER: He is a benctm-dar.

SHRI A. D. MANI: When was he a socialist? When was the sttdh ceremony performed? When did he become the new "Patriot"? I would like to ask these questions..

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Madam, on a point of order, is it proper for the hon. Member to attack one Mr. Banerjee personally in spite of the fact that he is not present in the House and he cannot be present in the House? It is a common practice that we do not attack people who are not in the House. I do not know who Mr. Banerjee is but I do feel that the hon. Member is contravening the rules of the House.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam, I am very conscious of the rules of this House. I have stated not a word about Dr. Banerjee. It is yet to be held unparliamentary if one question is asked: Who is Dr. Banerjee? I am asking this question: Who is Dr. Banerjee? We know Mr. S. P. Jain. We know Mr. G. D. Birla. We know all these. We know Mr. Ramnath Goenka.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He is obviously not rich enough to be known to Mr. A. D. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI: But he is rich enough to contribute Rs. 2 lakhs to the paper. Madam, I ask this question because of the very approach of the Press Commission about the capital structure at ^newspapers. It wanted

only such newspapers to come into existence which have diffused power of ownership. I stand for trust type of newspapers. We are all signatories to those recommendations. Madam, I raised this question because I am sorry the Minister of Information failed to ask for details about the capital structure of this newspaper. His own report makes a mention about this capital structure. Why do you not ask this question? Suppose somebody comes and starts a chain of newspapers, would not the Minister ask: "Who is behind you?" My charge is: Big Business wants to utilise socialism as a means of getting licences, and this venture is as much identified with Big Business as the other newspapers. The "Patriot" has not published a list of its shareholders. I would like to see whether in its articles of association the "Patriot" has got anybody to work on behalf of its shareholders. Mr. Banerjee is as much a henchman of Big Business as the Editors of the "Hindustan Times" and the "Indian Express." That is my contention. Madam. I do not want to go further into the matter.

I would like to say about the one charge. The charge made here was that black-market capital was being ploughed into the "Patriot." The "Patriot" has not denied the charge. I would not like to say that it has accepted the charge. It only says it is not concerned with its shareholders and that it is only concerned with its editorial independence.

Madam, there is one more point about the price-page schedule. We are not bothered about the killing of small newspapers. I have been in touch with officials to find out whether the "Patriot" has affected the small regional newspapers, and I am glad to inform the House that the "Patriot", a Government-backed newspaper which indulges in tendentious reports about Parliamentary proceedings and in unfair presentation of news, has not been accepted by the people. People have not liked the paper. Therefore, there is no danger . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Being an independent journalist, as he claims to be, Mr. Mani is not saying anything against the Big Business press.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I say that the Big Business press can be countered only by a newspaper finance corporation. I want public assistance, I want assistance without strings. This has been my main recommendation. This was my stand before the Press Commission.

Madam, I have only one request to make to the hon. Minister because I am an unstinted believer in the price-page schedule. I was a signatory to that recommendation. It is not a question of voting the press to the people, which is the only way of protecting this small industry, but when the time for the expiry of the newsprint quota comes, please judge the performance of this press, whether it is an independent paper, whether it is a fair paper, whether it has presented the news accurately without slanting and who the people are who are supporting it. If they are satisfied that these conditions are fulfilled, please ask the newspaper to become a member of a co-operative society. And help papers owned by a co-operative society.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (DR. B. GOPALA REDDI) : Suppose it is a co-operative paper and indulges in anti-national activities. It is a co-operative venture but it indulges in anti-national activities.

SHRI A. D. MANI: To deal with such papers you have got the Defence of India Rules.

SHRI M. H. SAMUEL: It is a matter of opinion whether it is anti-national.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Suppression of news may be anti-people. It is another way of looking at it. In any case I do hope that the Government, while it may not bring forward a price-page schedule, would at least

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support toe spirit of the price-page schedule. With these words I move:

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Madam, I move:

1. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that it is regrettable that Government have failed to ensure the freedom of the editors of newspapers and working journalists to write and report objectively."

2. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken by Government to break the monopoly of press ownership which has resulted in regimentation of the press and tendentious onesided reporting, thus nullifying freedom of the press and undermining the system of parliamentary democracy."

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Madam, I move:

"3. That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that Government should take necessary steps to put a stop to the monopolistic tendencies growing in the Indian Press."

*The Questions were proposed.*

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Madam Deputy Chairman, it is admitted on all hands that there is almost a fantastic concentration of newspaper industry in a certain few hands. Out of 19 chains, almost three chains control the circulation of more than 15 lakhs. This is known to everybody and is admitted on all hands. Only the other day

the Prime Minister referred to this evil phenomenon,—that it corrupts the society and what not. In strong terms he referred to it. So, what is happening in our country and what is the most dangerous feature in this is this. It is not that a certain Big Business in the newspaper industry has developed but it is this Big Business, this corporate sector which has come to control it and which has come to dominate the newspaper industry as a whole.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): What is the circulation of "Swadhi-nata," the Communist paper?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Twelve thousand.

Madam, this powerful mass media is now being controlled by a few hands. It has now come to such a pass that it is now a regimented press. If three or nineteen persons can dictate what the people of India will read, what the people of India will know and how they will form their opinion, then these nineteen persons are dictating. What else is it if it is not regimentation of ideas? That is the position we have come to.

Things have come to such a pass that the "Hindustan Times," owned by Birlas, some few months back, ran a campaign to pull down Mr. Nehru and remove him. Obviously, the House ought to remember that Big Business, who control the newspaper industry, are closely linked with foreign imperialist interests, financially, economically. And obviously, inference can be drawn that the "Hindustan Times" ran this campaign to remove Mr. Nehru under foreign inspiration. It seems as if they think that they are the masters and if any leader does not implicitly obey their dictates, his idol must be brought down from its pedestal. That is how they behave. Now, the question arises: Why have no steps so far been taken to break this monopoly? That is the pertinent question.



Madam, Mr. Mani referred to the price-page schedule. The Supreme Court has nullified it. But the Government should have found its way by this time by amending the Constitution or by any other process so that this could be implemented and enforced. But it has not been done so far. Therefore, this question arises. Obviously a democracy cannot flourish or grow under these conditions when this powerful mass media is in their hands. At any time with the help of this powerful mass media they can vitiate the whole atmosphere. They can try to mould the conscience of the people in an anti-national way, in an anti-people way and subvert democracy. They control it. They control the levers of economy, they control the levers of finances. They control the levers of bank capital, and they control the powerful media as well. They are all powerful in India.

So the question arises why the Government has not done anything so far to break this monopoly. Is it because that the Government is more or less under the thumb of Big Business? This question pertinently arises. The Government has to allay the suspicion in the public mind that the Government does not 'want to take any steps that may hurt the Big Business in any way and that is why these are not implemented. Otherwise, why public trusts are not formed and made to run newspapers? That is a pertinent question as to when everybody, even the Prime Minister, many a time refers to this evil phenomenon, not a single practical step is taken to curb or break this monopoly. This is a dangerous sinister phenomenon in our national life. So the Government has to answer this question, whether they serve the Big Business or whether they are under the thumb of Big Business and that is why they do not take this step. That is the question which they have to answer.

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): What steps do you suggest?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: They should enact laws so that newspapers should

only be run by public trusts and it should be ensured that no Big Business interest can dominate that press. It is easy to do. Take the P.T.I. Time and again the employees of the P.T.I. raised the question that it should be turned into a public corporation. It is still not done. It is the most important single news agency and they have also demanded that they should be represented on the Board of Directors. It is almost ; . e news agency which gives news to all the papers, so it is very relevant. Even in England—as in most other countries—the B.B.C. is a public corporation and so why should not the P.T.I. be made a public corporation and the employees found a place on the Board of Directors? But this is not done.

Another thing is, it is time and again said that the newspaper editors are not free agents, that the working journalists are not free agents, that they cannot report or write according to their convictions. Anybody can see the daily newspapers and see how they give tendentious, one-sided, subjective news and not objective reports of the news.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Do they do it in the "New Age"?  
(Interruptions)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: We definitely concede that it is a political paper but even there we display all the national news or whatever we come across . . . (Interruptions). So I say there is generally no objective reporting and you find one-sided reporting and a tendentious, particular intent or a particular slant is given to the reports in the papers. Mr. Vivekananda Mukerji was the most renowned editor in West Bengal. He built up "Jugantar." Twentyfive years of service he gave to it and he was sacked because there were certain differences with the owners regarding how editorials are to be written or how to give this news or that. Even when he was appointed as the Chief Editor by "Basumati" . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Chief or cheap?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Chief Editor. After he was sacked by "Jugantar", pressure was brought to bear so that he might not be employed. The working journalists have time and again said «bout various news: 'If we write this in our paper, the next day our services will be cut.' That is how the working journalists feel. If you ask them, 'Why this important news is not given in your paper?', they say, 'It cannot be given because the press magnates do not want it and if we give, our services will be terminated the next day' That happens even if it is a matter of prime importance. That is how things are happening in regard to the newspaper industry. If you are really serious and if you wish that our system of parliamentary democracy should be continued, then I would request the Minister to at least do this. Let the newspaper industry be run by public trusts and let the P.T.I. be turned into a public corporation.

One quarrel with the Press Registrar is that he does not fully utilise his power. It is known that the big newspapers give a certain number of circulation and on that basis they get import licences for newsprint but there is black-marketing of newsprint worth lakhs and lakhs. It is for the Press Registrar to verify and check it and stop the black-marketing. My grievance is that the Press Registrar is not doing this; and for what reasons? By whom the strings are pulled, I do not know, but it is for the Minister to see that it is properly done. Several instances have come to the notice of even the Parliament. So my final submission is that the Government will have to answer to the Parliament and the public whether they want parliamentary democracy to be safeguarded, national interests to be safeguarded; and if they want it, in order to do that, whether they will really take steps to break this press monopoly to see that objective, all-sided reporting is done and the editors and the work-

ing journalists can work and report freely and objectively.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are 12 Members who would like to speak on this motion. Therefore time must be restricted. If each could keep to 6 or 7 minutes, we could give a chance to everyone. Mr. Dixit.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT (Uttar Pradesh): Madiam Deputy Chairman, there are certain very important issues involved in this question that has been raised today. During the last few years, I have had the opportunity of close observation of the manner in which the press in India has been functioning and the policies of the Government have had their impact on the press. I sometimes get a feeling that there is inadequacy of perspective, of policy, of well-laid principles in the actions of Government. It is not really the Ministry of I and B alone that go to make up the total of the policy. So far as the newspapers are concerned, there is the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, there is the Ministry of Finance, there are other policy-making Ministries but the fact remains that there is no well-known, clear-cut policy according to which newspapers can expect fair and proper treatment and object when fair and proper treatment is not given.

The Government of India, in my opinion, tried to acquire a proper policy for themselves by appointing the Press Commission. I do not say that all the recommendations of the Press Commission are in the natur\* of something saoro-sanct but I do believe and I can say without fear of contradiction that the Press Commission produced a very monumental document. They produced remedies for most of the problems from which the press in India has been suffering. And out of the recommendations of the Press Commission, a policy in my opinion did take shape. I do not know for certain, but newspaper reports of that time showed paper reports of that time showed

that the Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Press Commission, I am open to correction if that is not so. Unfortunately, the implementation of the recommendations of the Press Commission has not been in any measure satisfactory or adequate. It is possible that in the process of subsequent experience of the newspapers in India, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, or the Government of India as a whole, have come to the conclusion that the recommendations of the Press Commission do not bear scrutiny or can not really be supported or implemented. In that case, my suggestion would be that they should re-examine the matter again and another commission or committee or a body of responsible persons who can be trusted on matters of public policy and who have experience, unbiassed experience of newspapers and their functioning, may be entrusted with this task of re-examining the whole issue. If it is not so, and if the Government of India still feel that the recommendations of the Press Commission are justifiable, that they are implementable and correct, then I think the only proper course for the Government is to take up those recommendations one by one, examine them and try to implement them honestly and vigorously.

There are some four or five important recommendations in the Report of the Press Commission. One was that the distribution of advertisement should be on a rational, reasonable and fair basis. There was also the recommendation for the telescopic rates of advertisement. Then there was the recommendation regarding the supply of newsprint and the manufacture of adequate newsprint in India and its supply. Then there was the recommendation about the institution of the Press Council. Of course, there was also the recommendation to which Mr. A. D. Mani made a reference, namely the recommendation for a price-page schedule. All these are important matters and it is necessary for the Government to take

its own decisions seriously. I personally believe that if these recommendations are adhered to and implemented, most, of the problems with which the press in India is at present handicapped, would be solved satisfactorily.

Take for instance, the case of the price-page schedule. It is true that the Supreme Court rejected the principle. Personally I am of the opinion that the case was not fully and adequately pursued before the Supreme court. Individual parties who were interested in the case took greater care than, I am afraid, did the Government representative. I then felt and still feel that the price-page schedule has a very strong case. This contention about the restraint on individual freedom to carry on a profession, or that of discrimination, does not really hold water. But in any case, if there is no other way of solving the newsprint problem than having this price-page schedule, then in my opinion, it is necessary for the Government, in realisation of their responsibility, to come to Parliament and ask for an amendment of the Constitution. On so many matters Parliament has agreed to a change in the Constitution and I have no doubt that in a matter of such supreme importance, namely, the press, Parliament will certainly agree to any reasonable amendment.

Now, about the recent order issued by the Government the effect of which is to make newspapers remove their magazine sections, that is to say, the additional four pages or so issued on Sundays in which they give a lot of interesting and good reading matter. I know about the paper with which I am connected, namely, the "National Herald". I do not want to speak about it. I would only say that it has a magazine section which gives serious reading matter which not only in India, but elsewhere also, is regularly looked forward to from week to week. And yet the "National Herald" will be compelled to close down its four-page magazine in accordance with the provisions of this order.

[Shri Umashankar Dikshit.]

I do not know what wisdom has made this order necessary or desirable. The only reason I can think of is the financial reason, but I do not agree with the Government's assessment of the situation. It may be that there is shortage of foreign exchange, because you want to import defence material and you want to lay the foundations for basic industries in this country, more particularly because of the emergency created by the Chinese aggression. I agree; but do you consider the running of newspapers, free and properly conducted newspapers, a matter of indifference? I personally believe that guns are less important than newspapers. Newsprint is more important than such items and I would suggest that they import less of guns in their next programme. Maybe they will have a few hundred men less in their barracks. But you must have the vehicles of information and presentation of news and these vehicles should have a little more of facilities. I personally think, whoever may be responsible for this, whether it is the Ministry of Finance or any other Ministry of the Government of India, this matter should be reconsidered.

(Time bell rings.)

I will conclude very quickly, if you would permit me a couple of minutes more. I understand that it is a matter of only Rs. 1 crore or 30. I have the information that the newsprint manufacturers in other countries, in Canada and elsewhere, would be easily willing to meet the shortage of newsprint to the extent necessary. If it is only a matter of Rs. 1 crore—I do not know whether my information is correct—but if it is true, I would appeal to the Government of India to reconsider this matter with all seriousness.

There is only one more point I would like to refer to. There seems to be a certain amount of misunderstanding on the question of the quota of newsprint allotted for the publication of

"Patriot", the new daily which is coming out from Delhi. There seems to be the misconception that this newsprint quota for 25,000 copies per day would be given to them whether or not it is utilised. That is not so. The rule has been—and I presume it is so even now—that for a preliminary period of three months or so, an *ad* quota is given. Within the limit of *ad hoc* quota the new newspaper publishes as many copies as it can sell. Besides sale, a number of copies have to be distributed free, for otherwise it is not possible for the paper to reach the people. On the first day nobody will know of such a paper. Therefore, quite a substantial number of free copies have to be distributed in order that the newspaper gets to be known. Therefore, in the case of this publication, a certain percentage, say, 10 per cent, or 20 per cent, or 30 per cent, must have been allotted for this purpose. After that initial period of three months is over, the paper will have to give a certificate from a chartered Accountant to say what is the actual number of daily copies printed and published. On that basis alone would further quota be allowed, it is not as if, whether or not that quota is utilised, the quota would be given and the paper would be allowed to misuse that newsprint. That is not so,

SHRI A. D. MANI: Usually copies are printed but nobody is buying them.

SHRI N. M. ANWAR (Madras): It is very unfair.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: I beg to differ because only fully paid for copies are included in the certified circulation and no Chartered Accountant worth the name can put his signature to any certificate like that.

Thank you, Madam

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, I would like to confine my remarks

to some of the issues that have come before us since some time past. I would like to refer to the tendency of monopoly, the policy of the Government and the distribution of governmental patronage to newspapers. Before I do that, I would like to make one general observation. The Press Commission was constituted some time ago by the Government and it had made various recommendations which were partly accepted and partly not but today the situation has changed considerably. In the Report every year you find new trends developing in the Indian press and new forces coming into play. I feel the situation has changed considerably now since the first Press Commission was constituted and I would suggest that there should be a second Press Commission to make a thorough enquiry about the various problems confronting the Indian press. Madam, I feel that that is a necessary step to be taken in view of the fact that many of the recommendations made by the Press Commission have really become outdated and some of them have not been accepted by the Government of India. Therefore, it is very essential that we should have another Press Commission to enquire about the Indian press.

Now, I would deal with some of the points which I referred to earlier namely, the tendencies of monopoly in the Indian press. "When one goes through the pages of the Report of the Registrar of Newspapers one cannot escape the conclusion that tendencies of monopoly have been increasing day by day. I might read out a few sentences so that we might be able to understand the dangerous trend that is prevalent so far as monopoly is concerned. The Registrar of Newspapers says in Chapter V that there is a further concentration of newspapers, under common ownership as represented by chains, groups and multiple units and a rise in the circulation commanded by them. He goes on to say that although the number of newspapers controlled by chains, groups and multiple units remain more or less the same as in the previous year.

together they control 33-2 per cent, of the overall circulation of newspapers and periodicals in 1961 as against 30-1 in the previous year and among the dailies, he says, as much as 72-1 per cent, of the total circulation in the country is controlled by 145 dailies owned by chains, groups and multiple units. Madam, I would like to know whether we should not cry a halt to this growth of monopoly in the press. The question is how to do it, how to bring about diffusion in paper ownership. May I suggest that one of the ways to bring about diffusion in the matter of ownership is to put a limit on the ownership of papers by a group or a chain. We should now consider whether a certain amount of limit, reasonable and statutory even, should not be contemplated in so far as ownership of newspapers is concerned. Otherwise, I feel that this tendency for monopoly will grow still further and you will be confronted year after year with the same old problems in a more intense form. Madam, I sincerely believe that freedom of the press will no longer remain and there cannot be any freedom at all unless these monopolistic tendencies or concentrations of ownership are controlled or are limited. Therefore, I would suggest to the Minister that some sort of limit may be placed on the ownership of the papers in India in the future.

Now, I would refer to one or two other aspects, about the policy of the Government itself in regard to certain matters. Madam after the emergency was declared I thought that the patriotic press of India would react to the needs of emergency and I must say, whatever may be the position or the capital structure of the press, whatever may be the monopolistic trends in the Indian press, in the beginning, though the press was comparatively free to publish anything it liked, it exercised restraint and showed a sense of responsibility but later on I find that Government interfered with the functioning of the various papers and even directed

[Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy.] suggested that certain things should not be published at all and a sort of veiled threat was issued by the Home Ministry to various papers that they should not publish certain things which are critical of Government. If that is true, I feel that it is very rude and unwarranted interference with the freedom of the press. As we condemn monopoly in the press we likewise condemn rude interference by Government in the working of the press. Therefore, if that is true, I feel that it is very reprehensible and it has to be criticised and even now I feel that the heavy hand of Government is not removed.

4 P.M.

Secondly, I refer to a matter which was discussed already and that is, the patronage of the Government in dealing with various papers. Madam Deputy Chairman, you are aware that the patronage of Government is not extended uniformly to all papers. It is very unfortunate indeed. I hope there would not be undue patronage or undue favouritism by Government but if certain favours have to be given, they have to be given to all papers uniformly. There should be equal treatment to all. But I do not find that the Government is exercising the hand of patronage uniformly and giving equal treatment to all. For instance, there are certain transactions connected with "link". As you are aware one Ministry took some space on a rental basis in the link building and paid nearly Rs. 3½ to 4 lakhs as advance rent and it was justified on the ground that this space was necessary because there was no other space available. It was also said that the advance would be adjusted towards loans and even a rebate would be allowed in course of time which will cover up the interest on this huge amount. May I point out that I do not find fault with the deal at all? I take it that the agreement is honourable, is good and reasonable; I do not find fault with that at all. But I would like to know whether the very act of giving Rs. 4 lakhs

for the construction of the link building in advance is itself a matter of favouritism, is itself an act of favouritism, I would like to know whether this kind of favouritism has been extended to others or will be extended to all others.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: It has been in force in the case of the "Indian Express" for the last several years. The State Trading Corporation pays the "Indian Express" Rs. 9 lakhs as rent every year and it is amazing that neither Mr. Gurupada Swamy nor Mr. A. D. Mani sees anything wrong in it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But has it been paid in advance?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Mr. Arora misses my point. My point is whether any amount is paid in advance to any building in such circumstances.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: In the case of that building which houses "link" every single tenant has paid advance rent for five years, and Indian Refineries Ltd. are no exception.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Again Mr. Arora misses the point.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I give you the facts.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I know the facts. You must pardon me; I also know the facts. The fact is that Rs. 4 lakhs or something near-about that amount was paid to "link" and in advance, even before construction. The advances paid by other governmental agencies in the link and other buildings are paid after the completion of the buildings, not before. And this sum of Rs. 4 lakhs was utilised for the construction of the building.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Again your information is wrong. It was not paid for construction.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: It was not mentioned of course.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I do not know whether Mr. Gurupada Swamy is aware that the Estimates Committee thoroughly disapproved of this transaction of the Indian Oil Refineries Ltd.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: You want to brief him?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I do not want any brief; I know it thoroughly. My second point is this. Mr. Mani referred to the question of allotment of newsprint to the "Patriot". Is it because...

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: The "Patriot" Is patriotic.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: . . . that the "Patriot" is ultra-patriotic as my friend put it? Does the patriotism of the "Patriot" warrant such a big favour, such an enormous favour? I do not know. Anyway, the paper, "Patriot", was allotted newsprint for 25,000 copies. This point was raised again and again In the House but one point was not made clear at all by the Minister as to whether in the past such a huge quantity of newsprint was allotted to a newspaper.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Yes; two newspapers.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken much time. Please wind up.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: Is it not contrary to the normal rules and regulations? (Interruptions).

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: May I tell my friend that in the case of two other newspapers . . .

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: My time is up. I am not yielding.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will be speaking Mr. Arora and then you can deal with it.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I would also be speaking, Madam.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADA SWAMY: I would also like to know whether some other papers which applied for newsprint have been allotted newsprint without delay. I am told there is enormous delay in the allotment of newsprint for those papers and till today they have not been able to acquire even the minimum quota that is available under the rules and regulations. I point out this instance just to show that the favouritism of the Government is distributive in such a most unjust, unpardonable manner in favour of a few papers whose political complexion is rather doubtful. They parade under the guise of patriotism, they parade under the guise of socialism. I do not know where socialism is, where patriotism is, by reading these papers. (Interruptions). May I ask whether it is justifiable, whether it is reasonable, to show such favouritism to such papers when others are denied?

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : مقدم

ذہنی چورمیں - میں آپ کا شکور  
ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے پانچ ملٹ  
علامت کئے ہیں میں اپنی چھوٹی  
سی باٹ پانچ ملٹ میں ہی بھان  
کر دوں گا - جہاں تک ہندوستان کے  
اخباروں کا تعلق ہے ہم لن کا احترام  
کرتے ہیں اس لئے کہ اخبار کے معنی  
یہ ہیں کہ ملک کو ملک کے حالات  
سے اور بھرونی دنیا سے آگاہ رکھے -  
اخبار کی حیثیت وہی ہے جو کسی  
یونیورسٹی کی ہے کسی انسٹی ٹیوشن  
کی ہے یا کسی اچھے استاد کی ہے -  
اخبار کی حیثیت ایک استاد کی  
حیثیت ہوتی ہے لیکن اس کے ساتھ  
ہی ہمیں یہ بھی دیکھنا ہوگا کہ  
اسی حیثیت کو یہ کسی غلط طریقہ

[ شری اے - ایم - طارق ]

بے استعمال نہ کریں جس سے ملک  
پر خطرہ بڑھنے کا خطرہ ہو -

میں کسی اخبار کو دجوت  
پریس، یا دجوت پریس، کہہ کر آپ  
کا وقت ضائع کرنا نہیں چاہتا -  
مسٹر منی بہتر سمجھتے ہیں کہ  
دجوت پریس، کونسا ہے اور دجوت  
پریس، کونسا ہے لیکن اگر ان کا  
مطلب یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کے رہنے  
والے جو رائے دیتے ہیں کسی ایک  
خاص اخبار کی طرف تو اس رائے  
میں میں بھی شامل ہوں - میں  
دہنیشل ہیرلڈ، کو دجوت پریس،  
نہیں کہتا میں مسٹر منی کے اخبار  
کو بھی دجوت پریس، نہیں کہتا -  
میں دہنیشل ہیرلڈ، کو بھی  
دجوت پریس، نہیں کہتا ہوں - کہوں کہ  
یہ تیلوں اخبار ایسے ہیں جن کی  
قلم کی گرفت سے ہم لوگ نہیں  
بچتے ہیں - جہاں تک کہ نکتہ  
چیمپی کا تعلق ہے ہماری حکومت  
کی پالیسی پر ہمارے ملک کے حالات  
پر، دہنیشل ہیرلڈ، بھی فکرتہ چھلی  
کرتا ہے، دہت وان، بھی کرتا ہے -  
دہنیشل ہیرلڈ، بھی تصویریں بنا  
کر کرتا ہے لیکن ہم ان اخباروں کو  
دجوت پریس، نہیں کہتے - دجوت  
پریس، ہم ان کو کہتے ہیں جو  
اپنی طاقت کو بڑھانے کے لئے اپنی  
دولت کے پیسوں کے لئے اور اس پیسوں

سے اس ملک کی حکومت کی  
پالیسی پر اپنا قبضہ کرنے کے لئے کام  
کرنا چاہتے ہیں - یقیناً وہ پریس  
دجوت پریس، ہیں کیوں کہ اصل  
میں یہ لوگ اس ملک میں پیدا  
ہوئے تھے پمپسن کی تجارت کرنے کے  
لئے - انہوں نے اپنی بزنس شروع  
کی تھی پمپسن کی تجارت سے اور  
پمپسن کی تجارت سے آہستہ  
آہستہ انہوں نے سمجھا کہ یہ بھی  
ایک چھڑ ہے اور اس پر بھی قبضہ  
کیا جائے - ہم ان کے بھی خلاف نہیں  
ہیں لیکن ہم اس بات کے سخت  
خلاف ہیں کہ یہ اخبار والے اپنے  
اخبار کو اس ملک کو غلط راستے پر  
خالدی کے لئے استعمال کریں -

اس سلسلہ میں وزیر صاحب کی  
توجہ اس طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ  
وہ خاص طور پر دہنیشل ہیرلڈ، کا  
رویہ دیکھیں - میں ایجوکیشن کے  
ممبران سے بھی درخواست کروں گا کہ  
وہ اس مسئلہ کو اس طرح پر  
سرچین کہ اگر آج، ہیری، ارچن اور  
کی یا مسٹر منی کی یا کسی اور  
شخص کی یہ اخبار والے اپنے مقصد  
کے لئے تذلیل کرتے ہیں، تحقیق کرتے  
ہیں، تو ایجوکیشن کے ممبروں کو بھی  
اس بات کے لئے تیار رہنا چاہئے کہ  
کل یہ ہتھیار ان کے خلاف بھی  
استعمال ہو سکتا ہے -



میرے دوست نے فیورٹزم کی بات کہی۔ قکشنری میں فیورٹزم کے معنی یہی ہیں کہ جس شخص کو آپ چاہتے ہیں اس کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک کریں۔ فیورٹزم کے معنی یہ نہیں ہیں کہ اگر آپ اس ملک میں ایک اور اسکول آف تہات پیدا کرنا چاہیں اور اس کے لئے اس ملک میں اخبار نویسوں کے بارے میں اخبار بینی کے بارے میں کچھ نئے راستے پیدا کرتے ہیں تو حکومت کا فرض ہے کہ وہ ایسے اخبار کی دلی جوئی کرے۔ اس کو پوری مدد دے۔ اس سے مطلب نہیں ہے کہ وہ نیا راستہ کس نے نکالا ہے۔ اگر یہی نیا راستہ مستقر مئی نکالیں، مسٹر گرو پد سوامی نکالیں تو بھی میں حکومت کو مجبور کروں گا ایڑ لے سمیر آف پارلیمنٹ جو بھی میرا تھوڑا بہت اثر ہے اس کی بنا پر مجبور کروں گا کہ ان کے لئے بھی وہی طریقہ اختیار کرے جو ان کے لئے کرتی ہے۔

اس ملک میں جو لوگ ایک نیا اسکول آف تہات بنانا چاہتے ہیں ان کی دلی جوئی کرنا ہمارا مقصد ہے۔ یہی مقصد ہمارا انڈسٹریز کے بارے میں رہا اور ہم نے بڑی بڑی انڈسٹریز کے علاوہ اس سال اسکول انڈسٹریز شروع کیں۔ تو وہاں ہمارا نظریہ یہی تھا کہ بڑی بڑی انڈسٹریز کا مقابلہ چپ کرنا ہے تو چھوٹے لوگوں

کو جن میں کام کرنے کی طاقت ہے، جن میں سمجھ ہے، جن میں ہمت ہے ان کو پوری اسدک دیں تو یہی صورت حکومت کو یہاں پیدا کرنی ہے۔ میں کسی خاص اخبار کا یہاں نمائندہ نہیں ہوں، میں تمام اخبارات پڑھتا ہوں لیکن میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ حکومت کا یہ فرض ہوتا ہے کہ ہر نئی چیز کی نئے آرٹ کی، نئے تہات کی وہ دلی جوئی کرے۔

آئی شیل بھڑ یا جی (بیہار) : نیا  
घाट क्या होता है ?

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : نیا  
खवाल -

آئی شیل بھڑ یا جی : نیا  
खवाल क्या है ? आप गोल गोल बात करते हैं ।

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : میں  
بازار صاف بات کرتا ہوں۔ نیا  
خवाल میری نظر میں یہ ہے کہ جو  
کوئی اخبار اس ملک میں سوشلزم  
کے صحیح اصولوں کو بتاتا ہے، جو  
اس ملک میں سوشلزم کو لانے کے لئے  
لوگوں میں صحیح خवाल پیدا کرنا  
چاہتا ہے، جو لوگوں میں صحیح  
خवाल، صحیح سمجھ فارن پالیسی  
کے بارے میں، انڈسٹری کے بارے میں،  
شہریت کے بارے میں، وطن پرستی  
کے بارے میں، قومی خدمات کے بارے  
میں پیدا کرنا چاہتا ہے حکومت کا

[شوی اے۔ ایم۔ طارق]  
 اولین فرض ہے کہ وہ اس کی مدد  
 کرے۔ چاہے وہ اخبار انگریزی میں  
 ہو، اردو میں ہو، ہندی میں ہو یا  
 وہ کسی شخص کا ہو اس کی مدد  
 کرنا ضروری اور ہمیں یہ نظریہ  
 تمام اخباروں کے بارے میں لہذا ہے۔  
 لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی ہماری حکومت  
 سے یہ درخواست بھی ہے کہ صرف  
 کاغذ دہلے سے ہی ہم ملک میں  
 اخبار نویسی کے ارتقا کو اخبار پبلی  
 کے معیار کو بلند نہیں کر سکتے ہیں۔  
 آپ ایک بچہ کو دس ملائی دیں،  
 لکھ دیں، پورے دیں تو اس سے آپ  
 اس بچہ کے بدن کو موتا کر سکتے  
 ہیں لیکن اس کے ذہن کو صاف  
 نہیں کر سکتے۔ ذہن کی صفائی کرنے  
 کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ آپ اس کی  
 اچھی تربیت کریں۔ جب ایک بار  
 وہ غلطی کرے تو اس کو پیار سے  
 سمجھا دیں، جب دوبارہ غلطی کرے  
 تو کان کھینچ دیں اور جب تیسری  
 بار غلطی کرے تو آہستہ سے طمانچہ  
 مار دیں۔ اس طرح سے اس بچہ  
 کی سوجھ بوجھ اس کا فیوچر اس کا  
 کیریئر بن سکتا ہے۔ میں "وزیر  
 صاحب سے یہ التجا کروں گا کہ وقت  
 آیا ہے جب کہ ہم ان لوگوں کو جو  
 کہ اس ملک کو بہتر بنانا چاہتے  
 ہیں مدد دیں۔ ہم لوگوں کی غلطیاں  
 چھوٹی غلطیاں ہیں، ہماری غلطی  
 چار پانچ آدمیوں تک پہنچ سکتی

ہے لیکن اخبار نویسی کا حلقہ ایک  
 انٹر نیشنل حلقہ ہے، ایک گارنٹری  
 لے کر پورے شہر تک اور ایک پورے شہر  
 سے دوسرے شہر تک پہنچتا ہے۔ تو  
 ان کے ساتھ برابر انصاف ہونا چاہئے۔  
 جہاں تک کاغذ دہلے کے کام کا  
 تعلق ہے اس میں کوئی بھی رعایت  
 نہیں ہونی چاہئے اس میں یہ  
 دیکھنا چاہئے کہ واقعی یہ اتنا کاغذ  
 چھپتا ہے یا نہیں۔ اتنا اخبار  
 چھپتا ہے یا نہیں اور اس کی طرف  
 حکومت کو توجہ دینی چاہئے۔ میں  
 خاص طور پر آپ کی توجہ اس طرف  
 دلاتا ہوں۔ جیسا کہ میں نے کہا  
 میں ان لوگوں میں سے ہوں جنہوں  
 یہ یقین ہے کہ "دھندوستان ٹائمز"  
 ہے۔ "نیشنل ہیرالڈ" بھی یقینی  
 ہے کہ "نیشنل ہیرالڈ" "نیشنل ہیرالڈ"  
 نہیں ہے "وہ سوشلسٹ پریس نہیں ہے"  
 تو حکومت سے میں درخواست کروں گا  
 کہ ان دونوں اخباروں میں اسے فرق  
 کرنا چاہئے۔ میں یہ پوچھنا چاہتا  
 ہوں کہ جو حرکت پچھلے چھہ  
 سات آٹھ مہینوں سے دھندوستان ٹائمز  
 لے اس ملک میں کی ہے اس بارے  
 میں حکومت نے کونسا ایکشن لیا ہے۔

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Between the  
 "National Herald" and the "Patriot", which  
 is more socialist?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: One is really socialist  
 and the other is trying to become socialist.  
 Let us give it a chance to become socialist.  
 That is my point of view about it.

تر میں یہ درخواست کروں گا کہ  
توجہ صاحب اس چیز کی طرف  
وزیر دیں۔

اس کے علاوہ اس ملک میں  
بہت چھوٹے چھوٹے اخبار ہیں جو کہ  
ریلی مہتر کرتے ہیں جو کہ زبان کے  
میں—مندی زبان کے ہیں، اردو  
زبان کے ہیں بلتالی زبان کے ہیں یا  
سرائتی زبان کے ہیں۔

बी शील भद्र याजी : छोटे प्रखबार हैं ।

شری اے۔ ایم۔ طارق : مہر  
مطلب ہے کہ چھوٹے چھوٹے اخبار  
دیہاتوں میں چھپتے ہیں ان کی  
طرف بھی توجہ کرنی چاہئے۔ ان  
اخباروں کو بڑھانے میں، ان کی  
حالت کو بہتر کرنے میں حکومت  
مدد دے سکتی ہے۔

جہاں تک پریس رجسٹرار کی  
رہورت کا تعلق ہے اس میں مجھے  
ایک بات کہہ سکتی ہے اور اس کے بارے  
میں میں نے پہلے بھی درخواست  
کی ہے کہ ریاست کشمیر میں۔  
ریاست جموں و کشمیر میں۔ جو  
اخبار چھپتے ہیں ان کو بغیر کسی  
قاعدے کا لحاظ رکھتے ہوئے کالڈ دیا  
جاتا ہے۔ تمام قوانین جو ہندوستان  
کے اور صوبوں پر حاوی ہیں ان کا  
لحاظ رکھے بغیر ان کو کالڈ دیا جاتا  
ہے۔ کالڈ ان کو بے شک دیجئے اور  
اچھا کالڈ دیجئے اس لیکن بارے میں

تحقیقات تو کیجئے۔ اگر وہاں کا  
کوئی اخبار لکھتا ہے کہ ہماری اشاعت  
۱۰ ہزار ہے تو یہ آپ کا اخلاقی فرض  
ہے کہ آپ اس بات کی تحقیقات  
کریں کہ ریاست جموں و کشمیر میں  
کوئی ایسا پریس بھی ہے جہاں ۲ ہزار  
پرچے بھی روز چھپ سکتے ہوں اور  
اگر کوئی پرنٹنگ پریس ایسا نہیں  
ہے کہ جو ۲ ہزار چھاپتا ہے تو یہ  
۱۰ ہزار کے لئے کسے کالڈ دیتے ہیں؟  
اور اگر ۱۰ ہزار چھپتا ہے تو سرکار کو  
اس حساب سے انکم ٹیکس بھی دیتا  
ہے یا نہیں۔ تو میں سمجھتا ہوں  
سرکار اس طرف بھی مہربانی کر کے  
فور فرمائے گی۔ پریس رجسٹرار کالڈ  
دیتا ہے لیکن پریس رجسٹرار کہہ  
سکتا ہے کہ جموں و کشمیر ہمارے  
اخبار سے باہر ہے تو میں اس بات  
کو ماننے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہوں۔  
ریاست جموں و کشمیر کے لئے بھی  
وہی قوانین ہونے چاہئیں جو کہ  
یہاں کے لئے ہیں۔ چونکہ وقت  
نہیں ہے میں نے پانچ منٹ کا وعدہ  
کیا تھا اور سات منٹ ہو گئے ہیں  
اس لئے میں وزیر صاحب سے اتنی  
ہی درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ چھوٹے  
اخباروں کی طرف توجہ دیں اور جو  
اس ملک کی سیاسی حالت کو خراب  
کرنا چاہتے ہیں ان کا تھوڑا سا کان  
کھینچنے کا وقت آ گیا ہے۔ ان  
شریموں کو شریفانہ اشارہ کھینچے اور

[شری اے - ایم - طارق]  
اگر کہیں ہو سکے تو ملی صاحب کو  
اسی یہ اشارہ کیجئے -

†[श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं आपका मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे पांच मिनट इनायत किये हैं। मैं अपनी छोटी सी बात पांच मिनट में ही बयान करूंगा। जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान के अखबारों का ताल्लुक है हम उनका एहताराम करते हैं, इसलिये कि अखबार के मायने यह हैं कि मुल्क को मुल्क के हालात से और बेरूनी दुनिया से आगाह रखें। अखबार की हैसियत वही है जो किसी यूनिवर्सिटी की है, किसी इन्स्टीट्यूशन की है या किसी अच्छे उस्ताद की है। अखबार की हैसियत एक उस्ताद की हैसियत होती है, लेकिन इसके साथ ही हमें यह भी देखना होगा कि इस हैसियत को यह किसी गलत तरीके से इस्तेमाल न करें जिससे मुल्क पर खतरा बढ़ने का खतरा हो।

मैं किसी अखबार को 'जूट प्रेस' या 'झूट प्रेस' कह कर आपका वक्त जाया करना नहीं चाहता। मिस्टर मणि बहुत समझते हैं कि 'जूट प्रेस' कौन सा है और 'झूट प्रेस' कौन सा है। लेकिन अगर उनका मतलब यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वाले जो राय रखते हैं किसी एक खास अखबार की तरफ तो इस राय में मैं भी शामिल हूँ। मैं नेशनल हैरल्ड को 'जूट प्रेस' नहीं कहता, मैं मिस्टर मणि के अखबार को भी 'जूट प्रेस' नहीं कहता, मैं 'शंकर्स वीकली' को भी 'जूट प्रेस' नहीं कहता हूँ, क्योंकि यह तीनों अखबार ऐसे हैं जिनकी कलम की गिरफ्त से हम लोग नहीं बचते हैं। जहाँ तक कि नुक्ता चीनी का ताल्लुक है, हमारी हुकूमत की पालिसी पर, हमारे मुल्क के हालात पर "नेशनल हैरल्ड" भी नुक्ता चीनी

करता है, "हितवाद" भी करता है, "शंकर्स वीकली" भी तसवीरें बना कर करता है, लेकिन हम इन अखबारों को "जूट प्रेस" नहीं कहते। 'जूट प्रेस' हम उनको कहते हैं जो अपनी ताकत को बढ़ाने के लिये, अपनी दौलत के फैलाव के लिये और इस फैलाव से इस मुल्क की हुकूमत की पालिसी पर अपना कब्जा करने के लिये काम करना चाहते हैं। यकीनन वह प्रेस 'जूट प्रेस' है। क्योंकि असल में यह लोग इस मुल्क में पैदा हुए थे पटसन की तिजारत करने के लिये, इन्होंने अपनी बिजनेस शुरू की थी पटसन की तिजारत से और आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता इन्होंने समझा कि यह भी एक चीज है और इस पर भी कब्जा किया जाये। हम इनके भी खिलाफ नहीं हैं लेकिन हम इस बात के सख्त खिलाफ हैं कि यह अखबार वाले अपने अखबार को इस मुल्क को गलत रास्ते पर डालने के लिये इस्तेमाल करें।

इस सिलसिले में मैं वजीर साहब की तबज्जो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह खास तौर पर "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" का रबैया देखें। मैं अपोजीशन के मेम्बरों से भी दरखवास्त करूंगा कि वह इस मसले को इस तरीके पर सोचें कि अगर आज मेरी, अर्जुन अरोड़ा की या मिस्टर मणि की या किसी और शख्स की यह अखबार वाले अपने मकसद के लिये तज्जलील करते हैं, तहकीर करते हैं, तो अपोजीशन के मेम्बरों को भी इस बात के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये कि कल यह हथियार उनके खिलाफ भी इस्तेमाल हो सकता है।

मेरे दोस्त ने फेवरटिज्म की बात कही। डिक्शनरी में फेवरटिज्म के मायने यही हैं कि जिस शख्स को आप चाहते हैं उसके साथ अच्छा सलूक करें। फेवरटिज्म की मायने यह नहीं है कि अगर आप इस मुल्क में एक और स्कूल आफ थाट पैदा करना

चाहें और इसके लिये इस मुल्क में अखबार-नवीसी के बारे में, अखबारबीनी के बारे में कुछ नये रास्ते पैदा करते हैं तो हुकूमत का फर्ज है कि वह ऐसे अखबार की दिलजोई करे, इसको पूरी मदद दे। इससे मतलब नहीं है कि वह नया रास्ता किसने निकाला है। अगर यही नया रास्ता मिस्टर मणि निवालें, मिस्टर गुरुदादा स्वामी निकालें तो भी मैं हुकूमत को मजबूर करूंगा, ऐज ए मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट जो भी मेरा थोड़ा बहुत असर है, उसकी बिना पर मजबूर करूंगा कि उनके लिये भी वह वही तरीका अख्तियार करे जो इनके लिये करती है।

इस मुल्क में जो लोग एक नया स्कूल आफ थाट बनाना चाहते हैं, उनकी दिलजोई करना हमारा मकसद है। यही मकसद हमारा इण्डस्ट्रीज के बारे में रहा और हमने बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज के अलावा स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्रीज शुरू की। तो वहां हमारा नजरिया यही था कि बड़ी-बड़ी इण्डस्ट्रीज का मुकाबला जब करना है, तो छोटे लोगों को, जिनमें काम करने की ताकत है, जिनमें समझ है, जिनमें हिम्मत है, उनको पूरी इमदाद दें, तो यही सूरत हुकूमत को यहां पैदा करनी है। मैं किसी खास अखबार का यहां नुमाइन्दा नहीं हूँ। मैं तमाम अखबारात पढ़ता हूँ, लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूँ कि हुकूमत का यह फर्ज होता है कि हर नई चीज की, नये आर्ट की, नये थाट की वह दिलजोई करे।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : "नया थाट" क्या होता है ?

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : नया खयाल जो है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : नया खयाल क्या है ? आप गोल-मोल बात करते हैं।

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मैं बिल्कुल साफ बात करता हूँ। नया खयाल मेरी नजर में यह

है कि जो कोई अखबार इस मुल्क में सोशलिज्म के सही असूलों को बताता है, जो इस मुल्क में सोशलिज्म को लाने के लिये लोगों में सही खयाल पैदा करना चाहता है, जो लोगों में सही खयाल, सही-समझ फ़ारेन पालिसी के बारे में, इण्डस्ट्री के बारे में, शहरीयत के बारे में, वतन-परस्ती के बारे में, क़ौमी ख़िदमात के बारे में पैदा करना चाहता है, हुकूमत का अख़्तियार फ़र्ज है कि वह उसकी मदद करे। चाहे वह अखबार अंग्रेजी में हो, उर्दू में हो, हिन्दी में हो या वह किसी शख्स का हो, उसकी मदद करना जरूरी है; और हमें यह नजरिया तमाम अखबारों के बारे में लेना है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही हमारी हुकूमत से यह दरख्वास्त भी है कि सिर्फ कागज देने से ही हम मुल्क में अखबारनवीसी के इतका को, अखबारबीनी के मयार को बुलन्द नहीं कर सकते हैं। आप एक बच्चे को रस मलाई दें, लड्डू दें, पेड़े दें, तो इससे आप उस बच्चे के बदन को मोटा कर सकते हैं, लेकिन उसके जहन को साफ नहीं कर सकते। जहन की सफाई करने के लिये जरूरी है कि आप उसकी अच्छी तबीयत करें। जब एक बार वह गलती करे तो उसको प्यार से समझा दें, जब दोबारा गलती करे, तो कान खींच दें और जब तीसरी बार गलती करे, तो आहिस्ता से तमाचा मार दें। इस तरह से इस बच्चे की समझ, इसका फ्यूचर, इसका कैरेक्टर बन सकता है।

मैं वज़ीर साहब से यह इल्तजा करूंगा कि वक्त आया है जब कि हम इन लोगों को, जो कि इस मुल्क को बेहतर बनाना चाहते हैं, मदद दें। हम लोगों की गलतियाँ, छोटी गलतियाँ हैं, हमारी गलती चार-पाँच आदमियों तक पहुँच सकती है, लेकिन अखबारनवीसी का हलका एक इण्टरनेशनल हलका है, एक गांव से लेकर बड़े शहर तक और एक बड़े शहर से दूसरे शहर तक पहुँचता है। तो इनके साथ बराबर ईसाफ़ होना चाहिये। जहाँ तक कागज देने के काम का ताल्लुक है इसमें कोई भी रियायत नहीं होनी चाहिये। इसमें यह

[ श्री ए० एम० तारिक ]

देखना चाहिये कि वाकई यह इतना कागज छापता है या नहीं। इतना अखबार छपता है या नहीं। और इसकी तरफ हुकूमत को तबज्जह देनी चाहिये। मैं खास तौर पर आपकी तबज्जह इस तरफ दिलाता हूँ। जैसा कि मैं ने कहा मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जिन्हें यह यकीन है कि "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" जूट प्रेस है। मेरा यह भी यकीन है कि "नेशनल हेराल्ड" 'जूट प्रेस' नहीं है, वह सोशलिस्ट पेपर है। तो हुकूमत से मैं दरखास्त करूंगा कि इन दोनों अखबारों में इसे फर्क करना चाहिये। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो हरकत पिछले छः-सात-आठ महीनों से "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" ने इस मुल्क में की है, इस बारे में हुकूमत ने कौन सा एक्शन लिया है।

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Between the "National Herald" and the "Patriot", which is more socialist?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: One is really socialist and the other is trying to become socialist. Let us give it a chance to become socialist. This is my point of view about it.

तो मैं यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि वजीर साहब इस चीज की तरफ तबज्जह दें। इसके अलावा इस मुल्क में बहुत छोटे-छोटे अखबार हैं जो कि रिएली मीटर करते हैं, जो कि ज़बान के हैं—हिन्दी ज़बान के हैं, उर्दू ज़बान के हैं, बंगाली ज़बान के हैं, या मराठी ज़बान के हैं।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी : छोटे अखबार हैं ?

श्री ए० एम० तारिक : मेरा मतलब है कि जो छोटे-छोटे अखबार देहातों में छपते हैं उनकी तरफ भी तबज्जह करनी चाहिये। इन अखबारों को बढ़ाने में, इनकी हालत को बेहतर करने में हुकूमत मदद दे सकती है।

जहां तक प्रेस रजिस्ट्रार की रिपोर्ट का ताल्लुक है इसमें मुझे एक बात खटकती है और इसके बारे में मैंने पहले भी दरखास्त की है कि रियासत काश्मीर में, रियासत

जम्मू व काश्मीर में, जो अखबार छपते हैं उनको बगैर किसी कायदे का लिहाज रखते हुए कागज दिया जाता है, तमाम क्वानीन जो हिन्दुस्तान के और सूबों पर हावी हैं उनका लिहाज किये बगैर उनको कागज दिया जाता है। कागज उनको बेशक दीजिये और अच्छा कागज दीजिये, लेकिन इस बारे में तहकीकात तो कीजिये। अगर वहां का कोई अखबार यह लिखता है कि हमारी अशाअत १० हजार है तो यह आपका इखलाक़ी फ़र्ज है कि आप इस बात की तहकीकात करें कि रियासत जम्मू व काश्मीर में कोई ऐसा प्रेस भी है जहां २ हजार पच्चे भी रोज छप सकते हों, और अगर कोई प्रिंटिंग प्रेस ऐसा नहीं है कि जो २ हजार छापता है तो फिर १० हजार के लिये कैसे कागज देते हैं ? और अगर १० हजार छपता है तो सरकार को इस हिसाब से इन्कमटैक्स भी देता है या नहीं ? तो मैं समझता हूँ सरकार इस तरफ भी मेहरबानी करके ग़ौर फ़रमायेगी। प्रेस रजिस्ट्रार कागज देता है, लेकिन प्रेस रजिस्ट्रार कह सकता है कि जम्मू और काश्मीर हमारे अख्तियार से बाहर है तो मैं इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। रियासत जम्मू व काश्मीर के लिये भी वही क्वानीन होने चाहियें जो कि यहां के लिये हैं। चूँकि वक्त नहीं है, मैंने पांच मिनट का वायदा किया था और सात मिनट हो गये हैं, इसलिये मैं वजीर साहब से इतनी ही दरखास्त करूंगा कि वह छोटे अखबारों की तरफ तबज्जह दें और जो इस मुल्क की सियासी हालत को खराब करना चाहते हैं उनका थोड़ा सा कान खींचने का वक्त आ गया है। इन शरीफ़ों को शरीफ़ाना इशारा कीजिये और अगर कभी हो सके तो मणि साहब को भी यह इशारा कीजिये। ]

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, when we consider the Annual Report, the present monopolistic position of the press oligarchs







than a dozen such instances. Now, I do not know what I shall call this kind of discrepancy or this kind of inadequacy. The press Registrar was not able to get at the circulations of a number of papers. The Report says, not available. If a newspaper exists and if its circulation is not available, then I do not see what can be available and what cannot be available for such a newspaper. Therefore, in that case also I think some machinery will have to be brought into existence by which it could be seen that no paper which exists fails in supplying the circulation figures.

Then two more things which may be usefully added to such reports are, I think, information about the news agencies in the country and also information about newspaper societies in the country. They are so very intimately connected with the press of the country that I think this information should also be furnished, in such a document as this. Supposing the Act as it exists does not contain any provision for this purpose, I would suggest most humbly that such a provision be made so that the Press Registrar's report, annually published, may be able to contain a very exhaustive account and information about the news agencies and newspaper societies in the country.

Now, as regards the increase in total circulation that is shown, 4-8 per cent, or something like that I think it is the general increase shown, but I should say that a study of this kind of increase by percentage does not mean anything; because we have so many languages in so many States, in different stages of development in literature, race and literature. Therefore, I would suggest that this increase should always be studied in the perspective of population increase, increase in literacy, increase in the democratic institutions in villages and increase in the people's interest in public affairs. Then only it is possible to draw some useful inferences from either an increase or decrease in circulations.

There is one more significant fact which has been mentioned here and that is that "434 newspapers have died during the year. Now, I think if we consider the increase of newspapers and increase in circulations reaching vast numbers, in this great country, then it is necessary to study this aspect also as to why so many newspapers die while new papers come up well, I think, almost in the same proportion, because the overall increase is not very appreciable. I think that matter also should be considered carefully.

Then I think that much is made of the trends of the ownership of papers. Of course, it has been pointed out that 33 per cent, of circulation now belongs to chain newspapers, groups and so on. But there is likely to be a fallacy in our own minds while bundling together all these 33 per cent, of papers as monopolist, because what happens is this. In these monopolies if there are two or three schools of thought involved and they oppose each other, we cannot say that they in any way harm the position on the whole. Suppose, for instance, there is one paper belonging to one school of thought and it is a chain. Suppose there is another chain which represents the opposing school of thought.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have got examples in our country.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: I think your party is balancing it to a certain extent. The Communist Party . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Take the "Times of India" and The "Hindustan Times". One like, the Vivian Bose Commission's Report and the other like the Ruby Insurance Report.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: I am not speaking in those terms. I am speaking in terms of the schools of thought. If there are two different schools of thought opposing each other—one might be Congress, one might be P.S.P., one might be Communist . . .

[Shri R. R. Diwakar.]

something like that—then in that case we shall be thinking wrongly that all of them belong to what is called 'a' monopoly. It is not a single monopoly or group. (.Interruption). So, we have to take into consideration that fact when we are thinking of these matters.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They are like different tigers in the jungle, different schools of thought indeed.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: If we are lambs, the tigers will really succeed. But we are not lambs.

Then, I have to say something in this regard. We must have something as a balancing force against this monopolistic tendency, especially when these monopolies are owned by people other than those who are genuinely interested in journalism. For instance, we cannot by any stretch of imagination say that "The Hindu" is a monopolistic paper because, though it is big, though it commands a big circulation, nobody thinks about it in terms of saying that it is a monopolistic paper simply because it has a very big circulation. Only when interests other than newspaper interests make this as a side industry does the question of monopoly arise. Now, I think that as a set-off against this kind of tendency, there should be an attempt and possibility of increasing the number of paper of the type of "The Hindu", so that while the circulation and prosperity will be on a par with certain other monopolistic big papers, they will not have what is called a monopolistic tendency. It is worth while examining this question also as to why it is that there should not be more papers of the type of "The Hindu" which are not monopolistic but which at the same time are prosperous enough, big enough to stand in competition with those papers which are backed by money bags.

Another set-off against such a tendency are papers which are run

by trusts. Now, I think that so far as papers run by trusts are concerned, they have at least no financial interest in the gains and profits of the trusts and therefore, to that extent, I think the encouragement given to papers run by trusts would be helpful to set off against the tendency towards monopolistic newspapers.

While speaking before you about these aspects, I would like to support very strongly what Mr. Umashankar Dikshit said here in this House as regards the role of the Government in the matter of the newspaper industry. I would plead with the Government that the newspaper industry is not merely an industry, it is something far more than that. It is called the Fourth Estate, it is the fourth leg 'on which the whole State and the Government and the people and the Republic stand. Therefore, it is from that point of view that we have to look at this industry. And I think that unless that is done and unless a planned development of the newspaper industry is visualised, we shall fail in this field very miserably. Just at present we are living from hand to mouth. Whatever newsprint is available, it is sought to be distributed. It is ilke a mother with many children. She is just waiting for the father to come. He brings in a few crumbs of bread which are not sufficient for all the children. There the poor lady sits and thinks as to what she could do. Her heart is broken. Then, at the same time the whole responsibility is on the Registrar, one single individual. Even that is a very anomalous position.

These are the few points that I would place before you and I would certainly plead again that the newspaper industry should be a matter of planning by the Planning Commission itself, and I am sure that the Minister for Information and Broadcasting would take up this question at that high level and see

that this industry develops on an organised and planned basis in proportion to the literacy, etc. of the country. ^

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Madam Deputy Chairman, the growth of concentration of ownership in our press is a serious development. In August and September last year I had the occasion to draw the attention of this House to that growth.

Then it appeared that the hon. Minister for Information and Broadcasting was not fully aware of the growing monopolistic trends of ownership of the press in the country, and he tried to minimise the danger. "What has happened during the last six months has amply demonstrated the dangers involved in the growth of concentration of ownership of the press. At the I.P.I. Seminar held in Delhi recently, the Prime Minister himself drew the country's attention to this danger, and I hope by now the Information Minister has changed his view. The newspapers run by monopolistic capital, whether it is the jute press or any other, are converted into a profit-making industry, and we find, for example, the "Times of India" getting a huge quota of newsprint, and if you go through it, you find that 60-70 per cent, of its space is covered by advertisements, which means that with valuable foreign exchange spent on newsprint, the newsprint quota given to the "Times of India" is being utilised not to educate people, and to inform people, but to advertise goods of dubious quality.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Advertisement means also further information.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: At least 60-70 per cent, of foreign exchange, involved in the newsprint given to the "Times of India", is thus a total waste. Then we have the "Hindustan Times", for example, which specialises in matrimonial advertisements.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is a good thing.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Young people want advertisements of attractive girls. Mr. Mani is too old for them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Such matrimonial alliances may make them ultimately happy.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: I feel that the newsprint involved in this sort of news is a waste, and the Information Minister should be able to cut down the newsprint quota of these papers.

Then the important thing about this sort of press is the character of the owners. In the case of Bennett Coleman & Co., the character of the owners is obvious. Even Mr. Mani will not dare defend them. In the case of the "Hindustan Times" it is obvious that those who own it have political ambitions of a very dangerous kind, and the growth of this sort of press should be checked. The role of the "Hindustan Times" during the period of emergency has been one which deserved firm action on the part of the Home Minister. But we find that too much latitude has been shown to them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He will be given Padma Bhushan—not the owner but . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: We have this afternoon heard so much about newsprint. For the information of some of the Members who, though interested in the press, and particularly newsprint, seek to suppress facts. I might mention that the "Patriot" is not the only daily which has been given newsprint for more than 10,000 copies per day. The "Maharashtra Times", a paper owned by Shri Santi Prasad Jain and his associates, was given a newsprint quota for 35,000 or 40,000 copies only last year.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: That was done before the latest Newsprint Control Order had placed the ceiling at 10,000.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: That is a very sad story and Mr. Diwakar has only given me the opportunity to make it public. The Order was kept in abeyance for some time merely to suit the convenience of this paper. And that is not the 'only paper for which the Dalmia-Jains, made more famous by the Vivian Bose Commission, have been given newsprint quota.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: If the Order had been kept in abeyance, it is the Government which is responsible.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Yes, we are criticising the Government; I am criticising the Government for, placing valuable newsprint and valuable media in the hands of people whom the Vivian Bose Commission has aptly described. And that is not the only paper. There is another paper called the "Economic Times". That paper, Madam, was brought out merely because Bennett Coleman & Co. felt that they were making too much money paying too much incometax, some of which may be suffered as a loss on this venture, and that paper "Economic Times", which nobody reads, was given newsprint for 35,000 copies per day, and the Government does not favour only one capitalist. When it favours capitalists, it always makes sure that there are two of the same class in the field. Then, the "Financial Express", a paper of the Goenkas . . .

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Who is this Goenka?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Goenka is the person who is the father of the jute press. The "Financial Express" was also given newsprint quota for 35,000 copies per day. So it is

wrong, maliciously wrong for my hon. friend, Mr. Mani, to make a swan sting of the newsprint quota of the "Patriot" and repeat it every day in the House. I think he has repeated it for the last time this morning. Of course, it is a matter of great pity that worthless papers like the "Economic Times" and "Financial Express" are being given so much newsprint quota in spite of the fact that they mislead people, and smaller newspapers in the country, which go to the villages, to the rural areas, are denied newsprint. I have, for example, the case of the Hindi daily, the "Aj" from Varanasi, which goes to every village in the impoverished eastern U.P. It has to cut down the number of its pages because of shortage of newsprint quota.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You should surrender a portion of the "Patriot" quota and give it to this.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: So I should ask the Information Minister to curtail the newsprint quota of the "Economic Times" and the "Financial Express" and give it to the language newspapers which go to the rural areas.

*(Interruptions).*

Madam, my friend, Mr. Mani, quoted Mr. Frank Moraes as a very leading journalist, whom Mr. Mani likes too much, whom Mr. Mani likes to worship.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Definitely not.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Madam, I think he should speak from his seat.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you should not speak like that from a wrong seat. Please wind up, Mr. Arora.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. Mani praised Mr. Frank Moraes very much.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): No, nt>.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA . . . because Mr. Frank Moraes, who was till some time back the Editor of the "Indian Express", has today accepted a subordinate position, and a Printing Superintendent imported from abroad has been made the Chief Editor of that paper.

If Mr. Frank Moraes was an hon'ourable journalist, he should have resigned from the "Indian Express" the day the jute bosses brought a foreigner and imposed him upon Mr. Frank Moraes to act as the Chief Editor. The very fact that a Printing Superintendent from London is imported and made the Chief Editor shows that Mr. Frank Moraes is a journalist of very poor quality and Mr. Mani should give up all respect for him.

شری عبدالغنی (پنجاب) :

میں نے دیکھا ہے کہ پریس - پریس دنیا میں نیکی اور بدی کا سامنا ہے۔ پریس کی طاقت دنیا میں اس وقت سب سے زیادہ ہے۔ اس لئے اس کی نیکی اور بدی پر جو رپورٹ ہمارے سامنے آئی ہے اس کے ہر پہلو پر وچار کرنا اس ہاؤس کا حق ہے۔ مجھے افسوس ہے کہ بعض مسرہ صاحبان نے ہندوستان ٹائمز کے خلاف بہت کچھ کہا ہے۔ جب ہم

\*\* "Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

جنگ آزادی لڑ رہے تھے اس وقت ہندوستان ٹائمز ہندوستان کا وہ شان دار پرچہ تھا جس نے انگریزوں کے خلاف ہمیں ہر طرح کی مدد کی۔ جس نے نہ صرف اخلاقی بلکہ سیاسی مدد بھی ہمیں دی۔ تو اس وقت اس کے مالک کون تھے اور آج کون ہیں؟ اس طرح کی بحث کرنا بہت اچھا نہیں لگتا ہے۔ اردو جی نے بڑے زوروں سے کہا ہے کہ ہندوستان ٹائمز ایسا نکما پرچہ ہے جس نے کہ پچھلے دنوں ہمارے محبوب نیتا پرانم منسٹر کے خلاف ایک جدوجہد کی۔ میں حیران ہوتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ہاؤس میں یہ بات آتی ہے۔ وہ کیوں بھول جاتے ہیں کہ اگر پرانم منسٹر کو یہ حق حاصل ہے کہ جب ہندوستان بھر کے تمام لوگوں نے کہا— چاہے وہ سماج وادی ہوں؟ یونچی وادی ہوں یا گاندھی وادی ہوں یا نہرو وادی ہوں تمام پریس نے بغیر کسی ایکسیپشن کے کہا چاہے وہ اردو صاحب کو پسند ہو یا طارق صاحب کو پسند ہو ہو یا کسی اور بھائی کو پسند ہو سب نے یہ کہا— کہ ہائی کورٹ اور سپریم کورٹ کے جھگڑے کے بعد گریوال کیس کی جو صورت سامنے آئی ہے اس کی وجہ سے چیف منسٹر کی پوری پر اس شخص کو

[شری عبدالغنی]

نہیں دھنا چاہیئے تو پلڈت جی نے سب کو ٹھکرا دیا۔ پلڈت جی کو یہ حق حاصل ہو کہ وہ سارے پریسوں کی بات کو ٹھکرا دیں تو کہا ان کو یہ حق حاصل نہیں ہے تو کہا پریس کو یہ حق حاصل نہیں ہے ہندوستان تائز کو یہ حق حاصل نہیں ہے کہ وہ پلڈت جی کی ان غلط پالیسیوں پر، ان خامیوں پر جن کی وجہ سے اس وقت دیہش کی ذلت ہوئی ان پر وہ ٹھکا تھلی کرے۔

قیمت کے بارے میں ملی صاحب نے کہا ہے۔ دہ پریسوں میں فروبیوں میں جا سکے تمام جلتا میں جا سکے اس وجہ سے اس نے قیمت کم رکھی ہے۔ لیکن اس کے شیر ہولڈرس کون ہیں۔ اگر ارجن اوڑا صاحب کی نگاہ اس پر گئی ہوتی تو وہ متحسوس کرتے کہ کہا سراج الدین فرم کے ساتھی اس کے شیر ہولڈرس نہیں ہیں۔

آئی آر جی ن سرورڈا : نہیں ہے ۔

[شری عبدالغنی] - اس کو چلانے

والے کون کون شہر ہولڈرس ہیں اس پر ان کی نگاہ جائے تو ان کو صاف نظر آئے گا کہ وہ ذمہ دار لوگ

چیلنوں نے ملک کی ذلت کی اور جن کو ملک کی آواز پر پلڈت نہرو کو نکالنا پڑا وہی لوگ ہیں جو کہ ایوزیشن میں ہیں۔ اور وہی لوگ انڈین ایکسپریس کو اس وجہ سے سچو ٹاچ کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ کانگریس کی سرکار کی نکمی، غلط پالیسی کے خلاف اس کی آواز ہوئی۔ تو آج وہ اس کو سپرٹاچ کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اگر کوئی سوال اٹھتا ہے تو کہتے ہیں کہ منی صاحب فلاں کو ریپریزنت کرتے ہیں اور فلاں آدمی فلاں کو ریپریزنت کرتا ہے۔

آئی آر جی ن سرورڈا : آپ پرتاپ سینگہ کتوں کو ریپریزنت کرتے ہیں ؟

[شری عبدالغنی] - آپ کو ان

سے پتہ ہے تو ہوا کرے لیکن یہ حقیقت ہے کہ پرائم منسٹر جواب نہیں دے پائے۔ جس پر کریشن کا الزام تھا، جس پر تمام رولز، ریگولیشنس کو برباد کرنے کا الزام تھا اسی کو انہوں نے جج مان لیا اور اس نے جو لکھ دیا وہی خدا کا حکم ہوا۔ میں ایسا نہیں مانتا ہوں۔ تو پریس میں ایسی طاقت آئی چاہیئے کہ پرائم منسٹر ہوں، ہوم منسٹر ہوں، کوئی بھی ہو اگو کوئی کریٹ ہے تو اس کے خلاف وہ آواز اٹھائے۔ جب تک آپ اس کو دہاتے رہیں گے تب تک وہ آواز نہیں اٹھا سکے گا اور اگر کوئی آواز اٹھاتا بھی

ہے تو پھر ان لوگوں کی نگاہ اس پر  
اوپر کس طرح سے ہوتی ہے -

اب یہ کہا گیا کہ ٹائمز آف  
انڈیا میں بڑے ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹ آئے  
ہوں - تو ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹ دینے والا اس  
کو دیکھا جس کا سرکولیشن زیادہ  
ہوگا - لیکن اس رپورٹ میں سرکار  
کی توجہ اس طرف بھی دلائی گئی  
ہے کہ وہ اپنیوں کو ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹس  
دیتی ہے اور ان کو فہم کرتی ہے  
اسے سیکڑوں تکے اخبار ہیں جن  
کا کوئی سرکولیشن نہیں ہے لیکن ان  
کو سرکاری ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹ جاتا ہے - آپ  
اس بات کو دیکھ لہجے کے ہماری  
منگول سرکار اور ہماری چھوٹی  
سرکاریوں کس طرح سے ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹ  
دیتی ہیں - جن میں ان کا روز  
فوٹو چھپتا ہے، منسٹر کا، قبطی  
منسٹر کا فوٹو چھپتا ہے - میں  
اورا صاحب کو نہیں کہا کہونکہ  
وہ سچے لہجہ میں، فریبوں کے لہجہ  
میں اس لئے ان کو نہیں کہتا -  
لیکن جس کے یہاں منسٹروں کا  
فوٹو چھپتا ہے ان کے یہاں سرکار سے  
ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹس جاتے ہیں -

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do you  
like this morning's "Hindustan Times"?  
Photo of Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr.  
Daphtry in half a page.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You do not like Mr.  
Morarji Desai. That is why you are  
objecting.

شری عہد العہدی : منہم ڈپٹی  
چیرمین - میں ایڈیٹورٹائزمنٹ کے  
بارے میں کہہ رہا تھا اب میں  
دوسری بات پر آتا ہوں - جن  
اخباروں کی پروجائنا پالیسی تھی  
وہ فوج میں جاتے تھے - انہیں حملہ  
ہوا ہے لیکن اس سے پہلے وہ فوج  
میں جاتے تھے -

उपसभापति : अब आप वाइड अप  
कीजिये ।

شری عہد العہدی : جب آپ حکم  
دیتی ہیں تو میں فوراً مان لیتا  
ہوں - میں ان کی توجہ صرف  
اس طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جنوں  
میں ایک اخبار ہے وہ خدمت کا  
جو کہ نیشنل کانگریس کا ہے اس  
کو ہم ۱۰۰۰۰ تک دیتے ہیں اور  
جنوں میں ہی ایک دوسرا اخبار  
۱۰۰۰۰ دے سکتے ہیں - اس کو ۳۰۰۰  
تک دیتے ہیں - لیکن یہ تو اپنی  
اپنی نگاہ ہے، اپنی اپنی پسند ہے،  
کوئی دینے والی سرکار ہے تو اورا  
صاحب کو سرکار سے لونا چاہئے -  
سرکار کوئی دیتی ہے -

(Time bell rings.)

لیکن اس طرح سے کہنا کہ  
ہندوستان ٹائمز کی آواز دب جائے  
کہونکہ اس کا بڑا صاحب سے تعلق ہے -  
تھپک نہیں ہے - کسی کے ساتھ تعلق  
ہو لیکن ہندوستان ٹائمز کی ایک  
چھتری ہے اور میرے دوست انرہیل

[شری عبدالغنی]  
 مسبران اور بوی میں وہ اس بات کو  
 سمجھ لیں کہ اس کا شکوہ ادا کرنے  
 کی بجائے اثر وہ اس پر اس طرح سے  
 برسینگے کیونکہ وہ محبوب نہتا کی  
 تصویر نہیں چاہتا تو یہ کوئی اچھی  
 بات نہیں ہے -

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी (पंजाब) : मैडम  
 डिप्टी चेरमैन, प्रेस दुनिया में नेकी और  
 बदी का जामिन है। प्रेस की ताकत दुनिया में  
 इस वक्त सबसे ज्यादा है। इसलिये इसकी  
 नेकी और बदी पर जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने  
 आई है उसके हर पहलू पर विचार करना  
 इस हाउस का हक है। मुझे अफसोस है कि  
 बाज्र मेम्बर साहबान ने "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स"  
 के खिलाफ बहुत कुछ कहा है। जब हम जंगे  
 आजादी नइ रहे थे उस वक्त "हिन्दुस्तान  
 टाइम्स" हिन्दुस्तान का वह शानदार पर्चा था  
 जिसने अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ हमें हर तरह की  
 मदद की, जिसने ना सिर्फ इज्जत की बल्कि  
 सिवासी मदद भी हमें दी। तो उस वक्त इसके  
 मालिक कौन थे और आज कौन हैं ? इस तरह  
 की बहस करना बहुत अच्छा नहीं लगता है।  
 अरोड़ा जी ने बड़े जोरों से कहा कि "हिन्दुस्तान  
 टाइम्स" ऐसा निकम्मा पर्चा है जिसने कि  
 पिछले दिनों हमारे महबूब नेता प्राइम मिनि-  
 स्ट्र के खिलाफ एक जद्दोअहद की। मैं हैरान  
 होता हूँ कि हमारे हाउस में यह बात आई है।  
 वह क्यों भूल जाते हैं कि अगर प्राइम मिनिस्टर  
 को यह हक हासिल है कि जब हिन्दुस्तान  
 भर के तमाम लोगों ने कहा—चाहे वह  
 समाजवादी हों, पूंजीवादी हों, या गांधीवादी  
 हों या नेहरूवादी हों तमाम प्रेस ने बगैर किसी  
 एक्सप्लेन के कहा; चाहे वह अरोड़ा साहब  
 को पसन्द हो या तारिक साहब को पसन्द हो  
 या किसी और भाई को पसन्द हो सबने यही  
 कहा—कि हाईकोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के  
 जजमेन्ट के बाद ग्रेवाल केस की जो सुरत

सामने आई है उसकी वजह से चोफ मिनिस्टर  
 की पदवी पर इस शकस को नहीं रहना चाहिये  
 तो पंडित जी ने सबको ठुकरा दिया; पंडितजी  
 को यह हक हासिल हो कि वह सारे प्रेसों  
 की बात को ठुकरा दे तो क्या उनको यह हक  
 हासिल नहीं है, तो क्या प्रेस को यह हक  
 हासिल नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स को यह  
 हक हासिल नहीं है कि वह पंडित जी की उन  
 गलत पालिसियों पर, उन खामियों पर जिन  
 की वजह से इस वक्त देश की जिल्लत हुई,  
 उन पर वह टीका-टिप्पणी करें ?

कीमत के बारे में मणि साहब ने कहा है  
 "पेट्रियाट" गरीबों में जा सके, तमाम जनता  
 में जा सके, इस वजह से उसने कीमत कम  
 रखी है। लेकिन उसके शेयर-होल्डर कौन हैं ?  
 अगर अर्जुन अरोड़ा साहब की निगाह इस पर  
 गई होती तो वह महसूस करते कि क्या  
 सिराजुद्दीन फर्म के साथी इसके शेयर होल्डरस  
 नहीं हैं।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : नहीं है।

श्री अब्दुल गनी : इसको चलाने वाले  
 कौन-कौन शेयर होल्डर्स हैं उस पर उनकी  
 निगाह जाये तो उनको साफ नजर आयेगा कि  
 वह जिम्मेदार लोग जिन्होंने मुल्क की जिल्लत  
 की और जिनको मुल्क को आबाज पर पंडित  
 नेहरू को निकालना पड़ा वही लोग हैं जो कि  
 अफोजीशन में हैं और वही लोग "इण्डियन  
 एक्सप्रेस" को इस वजह से सेबोटाज करना  
 चाहते हैं कि कांग्रेस की सरकार को निकम्मी  
 गलत पालिसी के खिलाफ उसकी आबाज हुई  
 तो आज वह उसको सेबोटाज करना चाहते हैं।  
 अगर कोई सवाल उठता है तो कहते हैं कि  
 मणि साहब फलों को रिप्रेजेन्ट करते हैं और  
 फलों आदमी फलों को रिप्रेजेन्ट करता है।

श्री अर्जुन अरोड़ा : आप प्रताप सिंह  
 कैरो को रिप्रेजेन्ट करते हैं।

श्री अब्दुल गनी : आपको उनसे प्यार है  
 तो हुआ करे लेकिन यह हकीकत है कि प्राइम



मिनिस्टर जवाब नहीं दे पाये। जिस पर करप्शन का इल्जाम था, जिस पर तमाश रुल्स, रेगुलेशन को बरबाद करने का इल्जाम था, उसी को उन्होंने जज मान लिया और उसने जो लिख दिया वही खुदा का हुक्म हुआ। मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता हूँ। तो प्रेस में ऐसी ताकत आनी चाहिये कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर हों, होम मिनिस्टर हों, कोई भी हों, अगर कोई करप्ट है तो उसके खिलाफ वह आवाज उठाये। जब तक आप उसको दबाते रहेंगे तब तक वह आवाज नहीं उठा सकेगा, और अगर कोई आवाज उठाता भी है तो फिर उन लोगों की निगाह उसके ऊपर किस तरह से होती है ?

अब यह कहा गया कि "टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया" में बड़े एडवर्टाइजमेंट आते हैं। तो एडवर्टाइजमेंट देने वाला उसी को देगा जिसका सरकुलेशन ज्यादा होगा। लेकिन इस रिपोर्ट में सरकार की तबज्जो इस तरफ भी दिखाई गई है कि वह अपनी को एडवर्टाइजमेंट देती है और उनको फीड करती है, ऐसे सैंकड़ों निकम्मे अखबार हैं जिनका कोई सरकुलेशन नहीं है लेकिन उनको सरकारी एडवर्टाइजमेंट जाता है। आप इस बात को देख लीजिये कि हमारी सेण्ट्रल सरकार और हमारी छोटी सरकारें किस तरह से एडवर्टाइजमेंट देती हैं। जिनमें इनका रोज़ फोटो छपता है, मिनिस्टर का, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर का फोटो छपता है—मैं अरोड़ा साहब को नहीं कहता क्योंकि वह सच्चे लीडर है, गरीबों के लीडर है, इसलिये उनको नहीं कहता—जिनके यहां मिनिस्टरों का फोटो छपता है उनके यहां सरकार से एडवर्टाइजमेंट आते हैं।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How d'o you like this morning's "Hindustan Times"? Photo of Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Daphtry in half a page.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You do not like Mr. Morarji Desai. That is why you are objecting.

159 RS—7.

श्री अब्दुल सनी: मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं एडवर्टाइजमेंट के बारे में कह रहा था, अब मैं दूसरी बात पर आता हूँ। जिन अखबारों को प्रो० चाइना पालिसी थी वह फौज में जाते थे। अभी हमला हुआ है लेकिन इस से पहले वह फौज में जाते थे।

उपसभापति : अब आप वाइण्ड-अप कीजिये।

श्री अब्दुल सनी: जब आप हुक्म देती हैं तो मैं फौरन मान लेता हूँ। मैं उनकी तबज्जो सिर्फ इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जम्मू में एक अखबार है "खिदमत" जो कि नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस का है, उसको हम १० टन कागज देते हैं और जम्मू में ही एक दूसरा अखबार "सन्देश" है उसको ४० टन कागज देते हैं। लेकिन यह तो अपनी-अपनी निगाह है अपनी-अपनी पसन्द है कोटा देने वाली सरकार है तो अरोड़ा साहब को सरकार से लड़ना चाहिये। सरकार कोटा देती है (Time bell rings) लेकिन इस तरह से कहना कि "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" की आवाज दब जाये क्योंकि उसका विड़ला साहब से ताल्लुक है ठीक नहीं है। किसी के साथ ताल्लुक हो लेकिन "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" की एक हिस्टरी है और मेरे दोस्त आनरेबल मेम्बरान जो भी हैं वह इस बात को समझ लें कि इसका शुक्रिया अदा करने की बजाय अगर वह इस पर इस तरह से बरसेंगे क्योंकि वह महबूब नेता की तस्वीर नहीं छापता तो यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है।]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yajee. You will have just five minutes.

श्री शीलभद्र याजी: माननीय डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदया, प्रेस रेजिस्ट्रार की जो रिपोर्ट है और जिस पर अभी बहस हो रही है उसके लिये मैं उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने बहुत अच्छी रिपोर्ट रखी है। •

[श्री शीलभद्र याजी]

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair]

उसमें बहुत जानकारी की बात है और खास कर उन्होंने इशारा किया है कि हमारे प्रेस कुछ लोगों के हाथ में जा कर मनोपोली की दिशा में जा रहे हैं। उसका भी उन्होंने संकेत किया है।

इस रिपोर्ट में अखबारों की संख्या दी है हिन्दुस्तान में ५,२४२ न्यूजपेपर्स निकलते हैं यद्यपि उनमें सबसे ज्यादा अंग्रेजी के हैं जो कि लगभग १६६८ हैं। इसके बाद हिन्दी के, १५७५ हैं। हिन्दी दैनिक समाचार पत्रों की संख्या १२३ प्लस उर्दू के ६६ मिलाकर १८९ हैं। जो सबसे ज्यादा बोली जाने वाली भाषा है और जो हमारी एक तरह से आफिशियल लैंग्वेज होने वाली है उसकी ओर भी उन्होंने इशारा किया है। सबसे ज्यादा डेलीज इसमें निकलते हैं और उसके बाद अंग्रेजी की संख्या आती है जो ४५ है। तो जिस तरह से उन्होंने बताया कि ४७ की हमारी वृद्धि हुई है, तो यह एक शुभ लक्षण नहीं है। जिस तरह से हमारी जनसंख्या बढ़ रही है, यदि हम दूसरे देशों से मिलान करते हैं तो अखबार पढ़ने या अखबार निकालने की जो अभिरुचि जनता की होनी चाहिये अभी उतनी नहीं है।

इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस के दौरान में बहुत सी बातें आयी और हमारे साथी मेम्बरों ने अमेन्डमेन्ट भी रखा है। जहां तक पहला अमेन्डमेन्ट नीरेन घोष जी का है मैं उसकी सख्त मुखालिफत करता हूँ। उन्होंने यह बताया कि प्रेस को फ्रीडम नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में प्रेस को जितनी फ्रीडम है उतनी दुनिया में कहीं नहीं है। जो बकवास करो और लिखो। इन्डीविजुअल कहीं हो सकता है कि फ्रीडम न हो जहां कोई पूंजीपति प्रेस का मालिक है और वह अपने एडिटर और सब एडिटर को कभी कभी

दबाता है। लेकिन प्रेस की स्वतंत्रता हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत है, ये अपोजिशन के लोग बैठे हैं, ये जो चाहते हैं लिखते हैं। यहां बोलने की आजादी है। अखबारों में न जाने क्या क्या लिखते हैं। अभी उन्होंने कुछ अखबारों के नाम लिये। तो जो उनका पहला अमेन्डमेन्ट है कि सरकार से वह खेद प्रकट करते हैं आजादी नहीं है, तो उसके बारे में हमारी शिकायत यह है कि यहां जितनी ज्यादा आजादी आपने दे रखी है उससे कभी कभी यह डिमोक्रेसी नहीं होकर मोबोक्रेसी के रूप में परिणत हो जाती है। इसलिये सरकार द्वारा मोनोपोली पर अंकुश रखने की जहां तक बात है तो देश में एक स्वस्थ वायुमंडल समाजवाद की तरफ बनना चाहिये जिसमें कम्यूनलिज्म न हो, प्रान्तीयता न हो। सब हटे। इसके लिये अंकुश रखने की जरूरत है। इसके लिये स्वतंत्रता देने की जरूरत नहीं है कि जो चाहे लिखते रहें।

मानोपोली की तरफ एक इशारा दिवाकर जी ने किया कि यह सर्वोदय की परिभाषा है। तो हम लोगों की परिभाषा में मानोपोली पूंजीवाद होता है, उनकी मानोपोली की परिभाषा में कांग्रेस पार्टी। ये जो अखबार कैपिटलिस्ट निकालते हैं ये सर्वोदय की परिभाषा में नहीं है, क्योंकि सर्वोदय का मतलब टाटा का, बिड़ला का, किसान का, मजदूर का, सबका उदय है। इसलिए उन्होंने मानोपोली की परिभाषा अजीब कर दी है। मानोपोली का मतलब साफ साफ है कि पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में अखबार जा रहे हैं और यह अच्छा नहीं है, शुभ लक्षण नहीं है। इसलिये इस हाउस में और हाउस के बाहर भी हम सरकार से बराबर मांग करते हैं कि अखबारी क्षेत्र में जो बिजनेस लाइन पर मुनाफा करते हैं, शोषण करते हैं, उत्पीड़न करते हैं, उन सब का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिये। मैं नहीं कहता कि राजनैतिक पार्टियों के मुख्य पत्रों का राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिए।

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN); Mr. Lokanath हमारी समाजवाद की पालिसी और हमारी नान एलाइनमेन्ट की पालिसी जिसकी आज ज़रूरत है सरकार को खुले आम उसकी मदद करनी चाहिये और जो हमारी पालिसी के खिलाफ है, जो कम्युनिज्म का प्रचार करता है, प्रान्तीयता का प्रचार करता है उस अखबार पर अंकुश रखना चाहिये और पूंजीपतियों के प्रेस को ले लेना चाहिये। यही सरकार से मेरी दर्खवास्त है।

Misra, three minutes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mr. Vice-chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me even three minutes to take part in the debate. I find that there is a section of people in the Congress who appear in the garb of socialists and attack concentration in the field of newspapers. I agree with them that there should be no concentration of capital in the newspapers but at the same time I would point out that this concentration has now taken a new shape. It has taken the form of Socialists' camouflage and under it the same concentration is being continued. I shall point out to you from facts.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Please do not interrupt.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The concentration has now gone from the surface to underground. That is the difference. It was naked above the surface and now it has gone underground because our friends, the so-called socialists, know the tactics of keeping it underground.

For the information of the House I shall read out from some of the newspapers. Those who complain about concentration will find that here is something which is much more serious and which must immediately be gone into. I would request the Minister to go into it with all the seriousness it deserves. A journal, the "Indian Ob-

server", gives a front-page news: "Karanja suspected of having fabulous account in the Bank of China and evading Income-tax." If newspapers go into the grip of foreign capital, it is serious. If there is concentration here in India, we can somehow manage with it, but if our newspapers go cut into the hands of foreigners, that is a very serious matter which must be immediately gone into by the hon. Minister.

Secondly, I shall give you figures about the so-called socialists' newspaper the "Patriot" and its sister newspaper the "Link". They call themselves socialists out and out and they give the other press the name of 'Jute press'. But this press may be called very reasonably the 'Benami press'. It goes in the name of others. Who are the people who are behind it that invested the money? There is a particular investor in this "Patriot", who has taken shares of Rs. 2 lakhs and who does not seem to have that much of resources at his command. Naturally, the money has come from some other source. Since he is an aide of Mr. Serajuddin, we can infer from this that there must be some hand behind this, pulling the wires. The other day I mentioned that some members of the Central Cabinet are involved in the Serajuddin case and since I find the names of so many mine-owners, naturally I infer that the same hand works here also. In the case of the "Link" there are also so many mine-owners and one of them is our reputed Chief Minister of Orissa and the Kalinga industry, his concern. Then there is Valabhdas Mathurdas & Co. who are also mine-owners. Then there is Mr. Durgaprasad Saraf who is also a mine-owner. So many mine-owners who have the majority of shares definitely control the newspaper while apparently it looks from the list that is published in the newspaper itself that it has the names of about 100 others who must be holding one share each, which only swells up the number. So I have brought it to the notice of the House and through the

[Shri Lokanath Misra] House I would like this to be communicated to the entire country so that the people would know the real things that occur behind the scene. Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I would like to say that I am completely opposed to all regimentation of thought processes of the community. A liberal State or a democratic State stands for a frank and free expression of views and that is the difference between it and the totalitarian States. I am therefore prepared to give to my Communist friends full freedom to express their views freely and I am also prepared to give, for that reason, my anti-Communist friends full freedom to express their views freely.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Will you allow the Communists to preach murdering people in their newspapers?

(Interruptions)

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: If I were to go into ideological discussions, you would find that I am very near the anarchists' position in some of my thinking in this matter. I do not know how long this emergency will last but I do hope that this emergency will not last very long and that no one will be penalised for his opinion and that there will be an opportunity given to every one to express his thoughts freely. I would like to pay a compliment to the Indian press. It has a very fine tradition. It had some very great journalists in the past. There were men like Subramania Ayyar, Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Motilal Ghosh, C. Y. Chintamani and A. Rangaswamy Ayyangar. These men used to look upon journalism as a vocation, not as a profession. Persons like Massingham, Gardiner Spender and Kingsley Martin among the living, they looked upon journalism as a vocation and not as a profession and I would like the same tradition to be followed by our Indian journalists. I would also like the State to give encouragement to

newspapers, newspapers not of a particular set of views, but to all the small newspapers, and to newspapers of a literary and cultural type. I would also like a better distribution of advertisements from the Government so far as the newspapers are concerned.

I would also like something like the price-page schedule to be there. I am sorry that a particular view was taken by the Supreme Court. It may be justified in law, but we regret that they took it. I would like serious thinking to be done by the Department of Law and the Department of Information, as to how some sort of a price-page schedule can be effected, because it is necessary to give some sense of security to the smaller newspapers. If we are able to have a price-page schedule and if there is a fair distribution of advertisements, then the problem of monopoly which is a problem that we have not only in this country but in other democratic countries also, will solve itself. Thank you for giving me these three minutes to enable me to give my views briefly.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Sir, I really welcome this discussion on the Report of the Registrar of Newspapers, for I find that the Rajya Sabha never had an opportunity of discussing this Report in previous years. In the other House also only in November 1959 or so, this Report was discussed and subsequently there was no time in the other House also to discuss this Report. So, when I heard that the Rajya Sabha was likely to discuss this Report I certainly welcomed it and therefore, I am really happy. But this Report pertains to the calendar year 1961 and just today the Registrar has submitted his Report for the year 1962. Of course, I wish we had the latest Report made available to hon. Members so that we could have seen what the trends are after the emergency and things like that and then perhaps the discussion would have been more fruitful and more useful. But as it is, the **Report**

was placed in the House in September and we are now discussing it. I am very happy that the latest Report will be made available to hon. Members very soon and I am trying my best to get them printed.

Various hon. Members have spoken about newspapers and some individual names were brought in and the names of individual persons were also brought in which was rather unfortunate. Some of them are not in a position to defend themselves. Some of them extolled them and some hon. Members decried them. Whatever it is, we could have discussed the Report on its merits, discussed the general trends, and the general policies which the Government is trying to adopt, or the policies which the newspapers generally adopt, instead of bringing in individual names and the names of individual persons.

Be that as it may, our policy is to encourage newspapers generally, instead of going into their philosophies or their capital structure and things like that, which may lead us to any number of embarrassments. So, we would like to generally support newspapers. We want them to be objective in their presentation of news, in their editorial comments, and we want them to serve the social purpose of reaching the four corners of the country, more especially the tehsils and the villages.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are you supporting the recommendations?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: I am coming to the points. After all, the newspapers are yet to make progress in our country. The newspaper-reading public in our country is still limited. The entire circulation does not run to large figures. I would certainly welcome a stage when newspapers in our country have a large circulation. Even in places like Egypt, it seems—I am told by the Prime Minister—they have a large circulation of newspapers and I do not see why in India also we

do not have a large circulation of newspapers, not necessarily in English or in any particular language, but the entire country must be covered.

SHRI A. D. Mani insisted that we must go into the capital structure of the newspaper whenever we allot news print quota to them. I do not know whether that is a happy thing. At least from my position I am not very happy. I must encourage newspapers generally. I cannot be putting them unnecessary questions and going into their capital structure, or asking them who are their shareholders, how many shares so and so has got, whether he is an Indian or a foreigner, whether he is a mine-owner and so on and so forth. All these questions are not relevant as far as my work is concerned, or so far as the Registrar's work is concerned. A man starting a newspaper goes to the magistrate and he takes the necessary licence or whatever it is, and he comes up for the newsprint quota. He gives information about the area he serves, the language he serves, the number of copies likely to be in circulation and things like that. And then we try to help him as far as it lies in our power. Therefore, it is not desirable that I should go into the capital structure of any newspaper. Otherwise I would have to be rather hard on newspapers, it may be on their capital structure, it may be their political philosophy, it may be the line they take on certain communal matters and so on. If I go into all these matters, I will land myself in great difficulty. Therefore, I will have to steer clear of these and I see that they generally follow a national policy, a policy which does not endanger our defence preparedness, that the papers do not undermine the morale of our people and the armed forces and so on. Otherwise I must allow them the utmost latitude to express their views. I belong to a political party and I may not like the views or opinions expressed by a certain party. Similarly, some others may not like my views or the views expressed by other newspapers. But that is no reason why we should put

[Shri A. D. Mani] any hindrance or difficulties in the way of those newspapers. We want all newspapers to thrive. Let them express their views, to whatever political parties they may belong. There may be so many political philosophies in newspapers also. Therefore, as long as they serve the national purpose, so long as they do not affect the independence of the country and the integrity of the country, we should not put any obstacles in the way of their freedom of expression.

Then, again, we want to help newspapers and I have been telling my friends also in the journalistic field, that I would like to help the smaller newspapers. Whether it is a new newspaper or one that has been struggling for some time, a little encouragement must be given to them so that they may compete successfully with well-established newspapers in the locality. If I had done anything for the "Patriot", it was not because I follow their political philosophy or anything of that sort. But here is a paper which has to compete in the capital city with all the established papers of the city. Unless we<sup>a</sup> show that little favour in giving it newsprint for 25,000 copies or whatever it is, we will be putting a great handicap against that paper and it will be as good as asking them to wind up their business the day they started. They have to fight well established papers here with large resources, and therefore, a little consideration to a paper like that, perhaps cannot mean that my discretion has been used wrongly and things like that. I may tell my hon. friends opposite that it is not merely the "Maharashtra Times", but I know of a Maharashtrian daily newly started, where they have started with 35,000 copies. And I know of other cases also, in Assam and other places, where because of so many factors, we had to give them extra quota of newsprint. Therefore, I do not want the impression to continue. It was there already and I do not want it to be said that we have gone out of our way to a\*—favouritism or any-

thing of that sort to the newspaper "Patriot". Whatever political philosophy it has, it does not matter to me, whether it is Communist or Socialist or anything else. Here is a paper which is going to be published in the city, a cheap newspaper which will be available to the common man and perhaps it may champion the cause of the common man. Therefore, I thought we must give a little handicap in its favour. We have done nothing wrong about this matter.

In regard to the other matters also we must have a little discretion in these matters. I get letters from all sorts of places. A man from Erna-kulam might write to me saying that he is running a Hindi paper and wanting a little more of newsprint so that he can increase his circulation to 2,000 or 2,500 from his present level of 1100 or 1200. Shall I say that because other papers are also not getting any consideration, he should also deny himself this privilege? When they are confident of increasing their circulation if only they could be given the extra newsprint, shall I give it or not?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Regional newspapers deserve your encouragement.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDY: Whether it is regional or provincial or metropolitan, it has to be considered on merits and some latitude must be given to the Government and to the Registrar to consider matters, whether it is a language paper or a small paper or it may be a paper to be started in an area where there is no paper at all—in all these matters I must go out of my way to give some encouragement. There are factors and factors and we cannot have any rigid rules for all times to come, for all occasions and for all newspapers. At that rate, an Upper Division Clerk in the Registrar's office can administer the policy of the Government. After all, some little discretion must be vested in the Government and in the Registrar. When we do something wrong or erroneous, certainly Parliament can take us to

task and ask us questions about the genuineness or otherwise but here I want the Government to be supported by Parliament. Therefore, Sir, the question of going into the capital structure is rather difficult and we do not want to do it. It is not proper for us to do that. The same applies to the political philosophy of the paper. We should not go into the matter of the Party affiliations of the paper. It is enough for us that they serve the general purpose. It may hold a different political view. Then, that must also be encouraged. All of them have a right to live in this country.

With regard to monopolies, I have to say this. We have had discussions on a number of occasions about this very subject. We are all aware that the tendency is there, that there is an increase in that tendency since the Report was published. The latest Report of the Registrar also shows that the tendency is in that direction but we are yet to find a suitable remedy which will stand the test of the Supreme Court or the High Court. We have to do it in a constitutional manner. We cannot take autocratic power and tell the monopolists that they will be smashed.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I cannot do that. They have ample remedies under the Constitution and I will not want to do anything which is illegal or unconstitutional. While we deplore the tendency towards monopoly, how is it that we are going to destroy this tendency? Here again, Madam, I came to the conclusion that I must accept the recommendations of the Press Commission and constitute the Press Council as early as possible.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now that the Minister has come to this point, I want to know this. Every time this point is raised, the answer is "as early as possible". Could he give us some idea of the time?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: For the last thirteen months . . . ,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not you, but your predecessor. Can you give us some idea of the time?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: I have already announced, Madam, that perhaps in the next session 'of Parliament this Bill will be introduced. It was withdrawn in 1956 after the Rajya Sabha had given its approval. I do not want to go into the history of that but anyway I am anxious to introduce the Bill in the next session of Parliament. Let the Press Council be constituted and let them go into the question of monopolistic trends and I am anxiously awaiting what they are likely to recommend.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I make a suggestion? Since the Bill will be introduced, kindly bear it in mind that along with the Bill, you should propose also the names, after consultation with all concerned, so that we can discuss every name here. That should be passed by a resolution, the names of the members of the Press Council.

SHRI A. D. MANI: That was not contemplated even by the Press Commission.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: That is a very wrong procedure. The Bill will only contain provision for the constitution of the Press Council and the members will be appointed not by the Government but by the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chief Justice of India. Government will not appoint the members. We do not take that . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How are we to get an opportunity to discuss the names? Along with the Bill, I think, a resolution should be moved recommending the names of those persons who should be appointed to the Press Council. They should be appointed on the basis of resolutions passed by both Houses of Parliament. If they are appointed otherwise, you will not bring it before Parliament for discussion of the personnel of the Press Council.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: The Government is not likely to take the power to appoint the members of the Press Council. The personnel will be decided by three eminent people, the Chief Justice of India, the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. Government will not be in the picture at all. It is also not desirable to bring in the names before Parliament so that anybody will say, "Oh, this man is a blackguard, humbug, hoax" and so on. I do not want the names to be discussed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA.- Madam Deputy Chairman, we have precedents for this. Certain names are given for the Joint Select Committee and I can also speak on any name that is mentioned here. If I find anybody a blackguard amongst us, I shall certainly say so.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: At that rate no man will be willing to serve on the Press Council if the names are going to be discussed and somebody is going to harangue him.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Nobody will serve.

*(Interruptions)*

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Anyway, Government is not going to appoint the members of the Press Council. You can be assured that we are not going to appoint anybody and say that this is a working journalist or this is an editor and so on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Where do we get a chance to express our opinion? Suppose you nominate Mr. Mani. I have heard him and I would think twice before agreeing.

*(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please go on, Mr. Reddi.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: The Press Council will go into this question and let us see how they tackle this vexed question of monopolies, I do want to anticipate them,

With regard to the price-page schedule, some have said that the smaller newspapers are being overpowered by the bigger newspapers which sell cheap. My own fear is that if we do anything now, it would only mean putting more money into the hands of the bigger papers. For instance, the "Times of India" is selling at 16 nP, the "Hindustan Times" at 16 nP, the "Statesman" at 16 nP and so on. Do you want the readers to pay something more to these papers?

SHRI A. D. MANI: They need pay only 16 nP.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: All the bigger papers are excluded from the price-page schedule. How are you going to help the smaller papers?

SHRI A. D. MANI: If the Minister would yield for a minute, I will say that we should fix a maximum ceiling in the present emergency. Nobody need bring in 25 pages or 48 pages carrying advertisements. Bring in a correct price-page schedule in consultation with the members of the profession. This is the only protection you can give to the smaller papers.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Anyhow, this matter has been discussed and the Supreme Court has held that it is unconstitutional for the Government to do anything of this sort; without amending the Constitution perhaps we cannot do it. I do not know whether it is going to help the smaller newspapers very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But can't we have regulatory policies? Suppose you say you would shape your advertising policy in a particular way or newsprint quota in a particular way so that you keep them under check, that would not be *ultra vires* the Constitution.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Let us see. With regard to the circulation claims, after all the Registrar must have powers. Some people have objected to the powers being used by the Registrar to *eo* and check these newspaper offices and some people say that he



[Dr. B. Gopala Reddi.]

does not exercise his powers fully, that he does not exercise his authority well. After all, it is a very difficult thing. Newspapers claim larger circulation generally because their advertisement tariff is dependent upon the circulation. We must have some machinery—though we do not have it now adequately—some powers to check the circulation claims of the various newspapers. Anyway we have to see whether their claim is correct or not. We will have to take . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are withdrawing cases against them. You instituted an enquiry against the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" Ltd. about blackmarketing of newsprint and after that you dropped the case.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let the Minister complete now. It is 5-30.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Now regarding papers being tendentious, tendentious papers can be from any quarter. A monopolist press can be tendentious; a proprietary concern can be tendentious; a co-operative paper can be tendentious; a trust paper can be tendentious. You are not guaranteeing against their becoming tendentious by merely creating trusts. You cannot say, create a trust and everything will be all right. If you create a trust the profit motive of a particular shareholder might be mitigated to that extent but it does not ensure that the newspaper is going to be an independent paper or an objective paper. After all it all depends upon the editor who is there. Whether he is serving a monopolist paper or whether he is serving a co-operative paper, it does not matter. It all depends upon the personality of the editor and the integrity of the editor.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: The editor is not very often a free agent at all.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: By merely creating trusts I do not think that newspapers are going to be better in our country. I am not convinced of the argument that if the newspapers

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are owned by co-operative societies things will be much better.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why are you not convinced?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: Because we have experience of papers owned by co-operatives and we have seen how they are behaving. After all, it is no guarantee. There are papers of proprietary concerns. As Mr. Diwakar said, "The Hindu" I think, is an objective paper. Somebody else may think it is not an objective paper but I think it is an objective paper. It all depends upon how I view it. I would like a paper when it conforms to my own political philosophy. When it does not I may say it is a bad paper while somebody else may say it is a good paper. Each paper can be judged according to one's own predilections and one's own inclinations. No newspaper can be said to be objective by everybody. One may be hostile to some paper and friendly to another,

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why bring in ideology here? The question was the breaking up of concentration of ownership, not ideology. It is quite possible that when you break up the ownership those with different ideologies will share out themselves.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: There again there will be one main man, the Editor-in-Chief or the General Manager. Even if it is a co-operative society the President of the Co-operative Society is the dominating personality and he impresses his personality on the policy of the paper. It is not as though there will be 500 shareholders and all the 500 shareholders are going to exercise control over the newspaper. So, the diffusion of ownership does not ensure anything at all.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does ensure that a particular business house will not control 30 per cent of the circulation. It does ensure that 5 papers will not control 33 per cent. of the circulation. It is not a question of party.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: After all the profit motive may not be there. A person is not merely the editor of a paper or a managing editor of a paper merely because he gets some salary or honorarium. He wants to exercise some authority. It is a coveted place. He is there to get political power or to spread his own ideas among the public. It is not merely a matter of remuneration for him.

SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR: May I request the Minister to say something about the future planning of the newspaper industry by the Planning Commission?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: It is better we don't now . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The time limit is over.

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: These are all matters which can certainly be considered by the Press Council which is going to be constituted and let us see how we fare after its constitution.

Thank you, Madam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do I get the assurance that at the next session of Parliament we are going to have the Bill for the constitution of the Press Council?

DR. B. GOPALA REDDI: We are trying our level best.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam, I would only take about three minutes in winding up this debate. I am much obliged to all the Members who participated in the debate and to the Minister who has given a considered reply on the many problems affecting the newspaper profession. I am very glad that he has given an idea of the kind of Press Council which will be created on the advice not of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta but of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and other outside authorities.

Whatever might be the differences of view on the composition of the Council, any Press Council nominated by these persons will be acceptable to the country and to the profession. I say this as an old-time newspaperman of this country.

Madam, I would like to mention that references were made to Mr. Frank Moraes by our good friend, Mr. Arjun Arora. Mr. Arora and I have had many wrangles in the House but I have always valued whatever he did because he has got a keen sense of sportsmanship. I did not say a word about Mr. Frank Moraes excepting to quote him in one connection and many remarks were made about him when he is not here in this Chamber to defend himself. We might have our own views about Mr. Frank Moraes but he is a person who is internationally known. He is internationally known as a highly valued journalist of this country and I would not like an impression to go abroad that this House holds him in contempt or lack of esteem. I thought I should say this in my concluding reply because we have got a special duty to protect the reputation of these people who are not here in this Chamber to defend themselves. I have always borne this in my mind whenever I made a statement about body and I have never made a statement which anyone may call unparliamentary. Whatever might be my faults. I never make unparliamentary statements and heated remarks of the kind of my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I take up the amendments I refer to the remarks that Mr. Mani has drawn our attention to. I think those remarks are derogatory and should be expunged.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order, you can expunge it but . . .

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: On a point of order. Madam. I want those remarks to be deleted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given my ruling and . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Certainly, I can make a submission under the rules.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If I have given my ruling, I do not think any Member can question it. (Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would like to know under what rule.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Why should you give a ruling without hearing us?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Under which rule?

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): Can we challenge the Chair's ruling?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Certainly, j Madam, under the rules we can ask you to reconsider your ruling. But when you have given it, tell us under which rule you have given the ruling. Then we might ask you to reconsider and if you don't reconsider, it stands. That is the position. There are certain definite rules for expunction from the proceedings and I would like to know under which rule you have done it.

THE D3PUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given my ruling and I go to the amendments.

The question is:

1. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, i this House i<sub>s</sub> of opinion that it is j regrettable that Government have

failed to ensure the freedom of the editors of newspapers and working journalists to write and report objectively.' "

*The motion was negatived.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

2. "That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely: —

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that im. mediate steps should be taken by Government to break the monopoly of press ownership which has resulted in regimentation of the press and tendentious one-sided reporting thus nullifying freedom of the press and undermining the system of parliamentary democracy.' "

*The motion was negatived.*

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY: Madam, in view of the Minister's statement that he is taking every step to control the monopolistic tendencies and since he is promising a Press Council to be brought into existence which may take up this problem, I am withdrawing my amendment.

\* Amendment Wo. 3 urns, *by leave, withdrawn.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11-00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 1st May 1963.

\*For text of amendment, See col. 1453 *supra*.