

am asking you whether there is a sabotage or any such thing.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Minister has nothing more to add to the statement. He has given some information. About more information, he shall see what he can do.

16.27 hrs.

*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS 1978-79—
contd.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND
BROADCASTING

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, we shall take up the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) :
What is the total time allotted ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : The total time allotted for your party is 30 minutes. If you want to take full time or half of the allotted time.....

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN
(Badagara) : But you can extend it by an hour or so.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : At least two Members should speak from the party.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

“That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1979, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 62 to 64 relating to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.”

Demands for Grants, 1978-79 in respect of the Ministry of information and Broadcasting submitted to vote of Lok Sabha.

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by the House on 16-3-1978		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3		4	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING					
62	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting	13,89,000	..	79,46,000	..
63	Information and Publicity	3,17,74,000	27,29,000	15,88,68,000	1,36,47,000
64	Broadcasting	11,52,66,000	3,00,64,000	57,63,31,000	15,03,20,000

*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Cut motion may also moved.

SHRI PURNA SINHA (Tezpur) : I beg to move

“That the demand under the head Information and Publicity be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Imposition of tax on advertising in small and language newspapers(1)]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Mr. Unnikrishnan, you can start.

SHRI K.P. UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara) : Madam Chairman, a few months ago when the House debated on the White Paper on the misuse of mass media during the Emergency, I had invited the attention of the House to what I described as a continuing and disturbing trend of the temptation to misuse the mass media for partisan ends. I had thought that this party which came to power, primarily on the question of a right to dissent and also on the question of freedom including intellectual freedom, would have learnt its lesson. But it is amazing that they behave like Bourbons who never learnt anything nor forgot anything. And what is more ? This trend to which I drew the attention of the House last year has become more pronounced during the last weeks and months. I allege that there is a continuing misuse of All India Radio, interference with the freedom of the press, with the correspondents and trying to twist the arms of the media. Now, I shall first begin with All India Radio.

Now, the Minister, when he took over—when this Government came in—sat down for himself and for the world in general that he shall avoid what happened during the Emergency and he framed the guidelines. He said :

- “(a) Coersive and one-sided naked propaganda should be avoided ;
- (b) A.I.R. should present divergent and opposing points of view including criticism of Government's policies and programmes.

Now, besides cursorily inviting the leader of the Opposition to have an occasional talk for a few minutes, I would like to know how he has achieved these objectives. He has stated that those guidelines shall apply not only in relation to coverage of Parliament but it shall also apply to news bulletins and everything. In page 11 of this report, they say :

“With the end of the emergency, the complexion of news bulletins changed. AIR started giving

its listeners a fair and objective account of events and views depending in its coverage and news value. Between June and October 1977, out of the time devoted to different political parties in the major news bulletins, the Janata party including Akali Dal got less than half and the opposition parties 51.6 per cent.”

I should like to know how this computation was arrived at. Facts are at variance with claims and in a brief while I shall show you how this ministry is misusing its power and trying to convert All India Radio which used to be once called All Indira Radio into Advani Radio and RSS Radio. Recently over 100 Members of Parliament including Mr. Ramamurthy and Bhupesh Gupta and many Janata members including Shri Amrit Nahata wrote a letter to the Prime Minister on what is known as the Rs. 22 crore polyester yarn import scandal. This was widely publicised in the daily Press but to AIR instructions were given that it should not be covered. But then six members of the Janata Party write a letter to the Prime Minister demanding change of the party chairman Chandrasekhar ; that is broadcast by Mr. Advani's radio.

There was another interesting Political event. Bala Saheb Deoras who is the leader of the cultural organisation called the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh visits Delhi and he has a private conclave what is known as RSS members, former Jan Sangh members, a constituent of the Janata Party. The entire press is full of these things. I should say as a journalist that it is an important news but even Samachar was asked not to cover this things, not to cover this story. I come to the coverage of Parliament. Last Friday in this House there was a private member's resolution, moved by the leader of the A.D.M.K., Mr. Somasundaram seeking continuance of English as an additional link language. You can see the records of this House; all those who participated, except for two members, all members on this side as well as some on that side demanded that English should be continued. But in its Hindi version at 8.45 A.I.R gives a different version; that version is beamed to the Hindi speaking areas and it said that the majority of Members who participated in debate said that English should be dethroned. This is not the ministry of information; it is the ministry of misinformation.

I can go on and on and give you any number of examples of call attention motions and other things, walk outs, questions and other things. The other day there was a question on Harijan atrocities which was not allowed to be

[Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan]
covered. Broadcasting misinformation has become a persistent trend.

I do not want to go into the question of Verghese Committee's recommendations right now because it will come up before the House. This House will, I am sure, have opportunities to discuss this at length. But it was surprising—I have the greatest of regard and respect for Mr. Verghese as a great journalist and as a man who stands for certain values—but it was surprising that the Ministry could not find anybody with any broadcasting experience to be included in this Committee.

Madam, now the whole question is, as I said the thrust of the Government policy with regard to Press, All India Radio and films and other limbs of the media. I have welcomed the announcement made by the Minister for another Press Commission. But what is more important and what I would like to know is where he stands in relation to the recommendations of the First Press Commission itself, which contained eminent people like Dr. Ramaswamy Iyer, Acharya Narendra Deo, Chalapathy Rao and so on and so forth, and many working journalists and they produced a first-rate report. They had also introduced certain concepts which are still valid today and I would contend that. They have made some important recommendations in regard to the control of newspaper industry, the necessity of delinking it from the industry and from the clutches of jute barons, the diffusion of ownership—where does this Minister and the Ministry stand in relation to this concept? Why is he silent over it? So, what is important is not that we appoint another Commission, but what the policies are. It must be spelt out. Now I would also like the hon. Minister—it is not for want of data, we had Diwaker Committee's Report on small newspapers, we have had Bhabatosh Dutta Committee on Newspaper Economics—to come out and say, where he stands in relation to the recommendations contained in these reports.

Madam, Mr. Advani who spoke a few weeks ago at the International Press Institute in Delhi, made an astounding statement. I was surprised because, I have considerable respect for this Minister. He said, I quote: "The Press in India is not an adversary of Government, but an ally of the Government". This is a new thesis—an ally of the Government. I have—the hon. Minister will forgive me if I say—never heard anything more preposterous. This is what, I am sorry to say, came out in the end during Mrs. Gandhi's regime, during the Emergency days—not an adversary, not a critic, but you convert them into allies and pliable tools. That is why the Minister

remarked earlier during the year that when they were asked to bend, they crawled. Why does he want to do it again? Is he doing it again? That is what we are concerned right now. Now I will tell you how he is attempting to do it. Without questioning his integrity, I would say, not only in regard to the appointments in the newspaper, but I will refer to a special thing. There is a small evening Hindi Daily in Delhi called (*Jaaaruchi*). It was only the other day, this daily which was criticising the RSS, was telephoned by the alter ego of this Minister, Mr. Baleshwar Agarwal and asked to face the consequences—mind you, face the consequences—if he persisted in criticism of RSS. That is what I am saying. This disturbing continuing misuse of mass media is growing and as reached alarming proportions.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : Who is Mr. Baleshwar Agarwal? Is he Secretary?

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : Well, you ought to know better. I suppose you know who he is.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : I do not know.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN: I am really surprised. There was a question of the break-up of *Samachar*. I had taken a personal stand and even at that time I had made it clear that the earlier it is broken up the better. I am still of that opinion which has been misunderstood by many of my colleagues. They do not share because it is an important requirement for survival of democracy in this country that there shall be plurality of communications. If this country is to remain, this plurality has to be defended in all institutions and the monopoly of the media whether it belongs to communication, whether it belongs to jute press or news agencies or any kind of monopoly has to be ended. It is also the business of the Government to strengthen the sinews of free flow of communication. But its financial viability has also to be ensured and that is the duty of the Government. This applies not only to PTI and UNI, but also to other agencies to which I shall come later—*Samachar Bharati* and *Hindustan Samachar*. Is this Government really interested in the viability of news agencies and newspapers? I would like to know. Because of what they have been doing and what they continue to do, I have grave doubts.

The viability of the smaller newspapers about which they cry hoarse has been seriously affected by the proposed disallowance on expenditure announced by the Union Finance Minister in the new

Finance Bill. Instead of having an expenditure tax, he has sought a short cut. He has got hold of these newspapers. The revival of the expenditure tax would have been welcome if they had imposed the old TTK's tax which has necessary. But instead of that, he has started this disallowance. I do not know what Mr. Advani's view are on this. Its result would be, I would like to tell the House, that the small and medium newspapers will suffer most. Its cut-backs would range from 50 per cent to total deletion. Many of the small newspapers from the districts and regional language newspapers will close down and many of them will suffer. Not only that. Even the revenue, about Rs. 7 crores or so which the commercial broadcasting gets, will be seriously affected and impaired. But small and medium newspapers, whose circulation is up to 50000, represent 7356 publications out of 7,459 reported by the Press Registrar and this is Mr. Patel-Advani gift to them—this disallowance. And there will be cut backs in the total advertisement budget, also of the DAVP. I would like to know the details of how much DAVP will be affected—to the tune of Rs. 70 crores to the press. Several companies are going to cut it. While on the one hand concessions are given to the newspaper barons and chains, duty drawbacks, on the other hand you introduce another disallowance by which, in effect small newspapers are going to be affected.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already taken 15 minutes.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN : I will take a little more time. How they are tampering—these jute barons ? One jute baron who claimed the credit for bringing the Janata Party to power has claimed, I am told, Emergency damage to the tune of Rs. 60 lakhs and this Ministry has recommended to the Ministry of Law that this amount be paid. But what happens to other newspapers ? Even as a paper like *The Patriot* in the Capital, like many other journals who suffered during the Emergency, is he going to pay any compensation ? I would like to know where does he stand in relation to this demand for compensation. On the one hand, there is encouragement for monopoly press and its varons and on the other hand there is attack on smaller newspapers. This seems to be the emerging contours of the emerging policy.

Madam, as I referred to earlier, if the smaller newspapers, the growing newspapers, are affected indirectly, it affects the finance of the news agencies. On the one hand, you break up as many agencies as you want and on the other hand you try to take away money from them so that

indirectly the health of news agencies is affected. Now, there is another aspect to which I would like to draw the attention of the House, i.e. about the Hindustan Samachar Agency, which is controlled by the RSS and its nominee, Mr. Baleshwar Agarwal, about whom my friend Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta has never heard, surprisingly. According to him, Mr. Gupta, Chairman of the PTI is almost two-thirds of the Government. Mr. Gupta wisely decided to accommodate Hindustan Samachar in the PTI building, and also promised to give it PTI's news files. It is very strange. I have never heard such a thing, viz. passing one of news files of one agency, to another rival agency. I also charge the Minister; earlier he tried to force one Hindi agency, viz. Samachar Bharati to merge with Hindustan Samachar, and not with PTI. When Samachar Bharati wanted to merge with PTI, Mr. Gupta, the Chairman of of the board said, "This would be done over my dead body." I want to know whether the Hindustan Samachar will continue to occupy the PTI premises, and whether any promise has been made to pass all the PTI's files to Hindustan Samachar.

The attitude of Mr. Gupta towards Samachar Bharati at the instance of the Minister, is obnoxious. I demand Mr. Gupta's resignation and the reconstitution of the Board of the PTI and also the inclusion of representatives of the employees and of the working journalits in it.

There is another interesting aspect indicating the step-motherly treatment, being given by the Ministry of I&B. They had given just over Rs. 8 lakhs to these agencies; and an additional amount of Rs. 3-1/2 lakhs of the tax-payer's money to Hindustan Samachar. And how much did they give to Samachar Bharati ? An amount of Rs. 38,000/- i.e. Rs. 11-1/2 lakhs for the RSS-run agency and an additional amount of Rs. 38,000/- for an agency run by professional people. This is a naked act of destroying the viability of another agency, so that the first agency will be able to grow; and it is very vital in terms of its coverage of Hindi-speaking regions.

This Ministry's attitude to the struggle of the working journalists is no better, not only this Ministry's, but the entire Government's. The Third Wage Board resulted in a dead-lock and the Prime Minister, for whom I have personal respect, tells the working journalists that he understand and appreciates the point of view of the newspaper barons, but that he cannot understand why the working journalists should be paid an interim relief. And he also warned them, on 31st

[Shri K.P. Unnikrishnan]

December 1977, that he will crush the strike. This is also the language of his predecessor. She said the same thing in 1974. If this is going to be the attitude towards working journalists and newspaper employees, who had no pay revision for the last 12 years, I wonder what the Minister's policy is. He should declare it. Instead of improving the economy of newspapers, so that they can go up, as I said earlier, they are trying to sabotage things, so that only certain newspapers are brought up.

I come to the most important point about the structure of the Central Information Service. It is seething with discontent over an attempt being made by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, to bring in outsiders. In August 1976—i.e. during Emergency—this was done to which attention of this House was drawn, during the debate on mass media. Now an I.F.S. officer working as an Ambassador in a neighbouring country, who is personally a very dear friend of mine, is being sought to be implanted on this agency as its chief, when there are highly competent people in the Service.

I do not want to indulge in names. There are men right at the top, many competent people, whose competence and integrity cannot be questioned by anyone. But suddenly you find that an Ambassador, who has not finished three years in that station, is being posted as PIO. Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Charan Singh tell us that they do not want the officers to remain in their posts for less than or more than three years. But here is a person who was in his post only for one year and he is being called back, because the Minister wants no one else in the Central Information Service. I understand that the Central Information Service has protested against this treatment being given to it. It is unfortunate that this person has been brought in as PIO. I have nothing against him. As I said, the person in question is a dear personal friend of mine; but I do not want that to come in when there is a discussion on a matter of public policy. This has to be ended. If it is not mended, it will be ended. This is going on.

Even in terms of a small case, particular people belonging to a particular organisation are preferred. A junior official of a media department was recently transferred on grounds of alleged corrupt practices. Then somebody telephones the Minister, and the Minister says he shall be posted back in Delhi, because he belongs to a particular organisation, whose name I need not repeat.

Then there is the question of the new Press Council and its jurisdiction. Whether the State Governments and the Central Government will also be brought in is very a relevant question. The minister, would recall that he himself signed a representation, along with some of us in this House, when the Haryana Government under the then mini-dictator of Haryana challenged the competence of the Press Council.

So, these are disturbing trends, I would repeat, because the challenge of authoritarianism continues. The challenge of authoritarianism is almost graver today than it was a few months ago, and if this policy is persisted in another authoritarianism emerges out of the ruling party, then the nation will have to prepare for another and longer struggle. I hope Shri Advani will look into these things.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Pali):
Madam Chairman. I also welcome the decision of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry to set up another Press Commission. One of primary terms of reference of this Commission should be how to safeguard and strengthen the freedom of the press, because freedom of the press does not depend only on the presence or absence of censorship.

It is true that the Janata Party Government has fulfilled its pledge, given to the people, of withdrawing the press censorship. But that does not mean that the Indian press is free. I entirely agree with Shri Unnikrishnan when he says that some of the recommendations of the earlier Press Commission are valid and relevant even today, and they could be implemented, specially the recommendations about de-linking of the Press from the big business houses, diffusion of ownership and participation of the employees in the management. Now that the Government has decided to set up another Press Commission, I hope that one of the terms of reference is to strengthen the freedom of the press, where this Press Commission will definitely reiterate the recommendations of the earlier Press Commission.

Though I would not subscribe to the view expressed by Shri Unnikrishnan that new trends of authoritarianism are emerging, I would be dishonest to myself if I did not ventilate the general feeling and the general grievance in the circles of journalists, other media men, artistes of T. V. and Radio, a feeling that some subtle pressure are definitely being exercised on these media. I know that most of these fears are unfounded, I now that most of these feelings are not based on facts, but the fact remains

that there are such feelings and such apprehensions among the media people, that indirectly, through subtle methods, pressures are being exercised and that people of a particular political disposition are being placed at strategic positions. The hon. Minister's commitment to freedom, his commitment to the independence of the media, is known, and I am personally convinced of his commitment, but in public life it is not enough to be fair, one should also appear to be fair. And I am sure that Shri Advani would take pains to project an image of fairness and impartiality, an image of a person who does not exercise any pressures, subtle, latent or patent, on the media.

I entirely disagree with the view expressed by Shri Unnikrishnan about the non-allowance of advertisement expenditure. There is a contradiction. On the one hand we have been saying that advertisements only promote the sales of non-essentials, that expenditure on advertisements is non-productive, that these advertisements are an instrument of the multi-nationals, that these advertisements increase the cost of production, that these advertisements encourage variety which is again wasteful in the entire economic set-up. Once we agree to all these principles, any attempt to discourage expenditure on advertisements should be welcomed. Whether it affects big newspapers or small newspapers is a secondary and unimportant matter. And it should be understood clearly that advertisements should not be the source of primary revenue for a newspaper. Even Government advertisements should not be treated as a patronage, should not be treated as a means of encouraging the smaller or the bigger or the regional or the English newspapers. Advertisements should be minimised. Legally perhaps it is not possible, but by some mutual agreement and understanding, the press could be made to agree not to devote more than 40 per cent of its space for advertisements. And above all, the DAVP's functioning and structure should be gone into more thoroughly. I will not speak on this particular subject in detail because the Estimates Committee is now studying this, and being a Member of the Estimates Committee, I would not like to dilate on it.

I welcome the recommendations of the Verghese Committee. In essence, the report is a most welcome document. The Constitution of Akash Bharati, an autonomous, independent corporation

that would control both the Radio and T. V. is a very belated recommendation. We should have done it long back. I hope, the Minister would bring a separate resolution or statement for discussing that Report on the floor of this House. There may be some difference of opinion about the details, about the constitution, about the character and composition of the trustees of the board; there could be difference of opinion about the source of financing the corporation; there could be difference of opinion about how many permanent trustees should be there and how many part-time trustees should be there but in essential the principles laid down in this Report and the basic framework of this Report are welcome and they should be implemented as soon as possible.

17 hrs.

Incidentally, there is one recommendation of Verghese Committee which I could not swallow. Radio sets that we have in our houses are legally still known as wireless transmitters under the old connotation coined by the Britishers and still in vogue.

There is licence fee on them. Every year, we have to deposit a licence fee for owning a radio set. Now, we are passing through an age of transistor revolution. Now, in every village, in every hamlet, people own transistors because now, even if there is no electricity, people can have some entertainment. People in remote villages every year have to come to deposit to the tehsil headquarter a fee of Rs. 15 or Rs. 25/-. He has to travel long distance and many a time, people forget to deposit that fee with the result that 50 to 60 per cent of radio sets and transistors in our country are illegal in the sense that the owners do not deposit the licence fee. About motor cars, I can understand. There are not very many road vehicles. They have to pay road tax. But a radio transistor or a radio set is owned by thousands and thousands of people and we should have a target that in our country, every home should have a radio. It is not only a means of entertainment but it is a medium of communication, information and education. You can put higher sales tax; you can put excise duty. Do it and do it once and for all. When a person goes to purchase a radio set or transistor let him pay Rs. 5/- or Rs. 10/- or Rs. 50/- more. This will bring greater amount of revenue to the Government than this recurring collection of licence fee, half of which is never collected and deposited.

I would like to say something about films. It is not correct that films are medium of entertainment or recreation.

[Shri Amrit Nahata]

Films are a very powerful social weapon. And this most powerful social weapon has been left in the hands of smugglers, speculators, get-rich-quick adventurers with the result that what is being exhibited on our screens all over the country today is nothing but dirt and filth. I do not, therefore, suggest that this important creative field of films should be nationalised. No. Because the moment it is nationalised, it will become another field of Government propaganda and all creativity would be smothered. But what is to be done? Film industry is not an industry, it is a show business. The most chaotic and anarchic conditions prevail in this show-business world. The star system is the bane of it. There is one film star today who is contracted to act in 80 films. He goes to a film studio; he stays there for half an hour or an hour, acts in a film and rushes to another studio and acts in another film. He has to act in four or five films daily. He does not know in what film he is acting. His secretary tells him, "You are acting in such and such a film." This is what is happening.

Then, there are the distributors. Most of the films are sold before or while they are being produced. It is the distributor who finances the film. He is the villain of the whole piece. He demands all sorts of cabaret, crime scenes, war scenes, scuffles, sometimes swash buckling and sometimes fist-fighting. All that is demanded by the distributor. Recently, you must have read in the newspapers that Mr. Satyajit Ray, one of the greatest film directors of the world, for the first time made a film in Hindi based on the world-famous short story by Prem Chand entitled "*Satranj Ke Khilare*". Every distributor thought that Mr. Satyajit Ray is a big name; that he is making a Hindi film and that it will be a box-office hit. But when the film was completed and shown to the distributors, they all backed out, they refused to release that film because they thought it had no box-office potential. They thought it was a non-commercial film or an art film or a new-wave film about which all the film distributors are derisive. They want commercial films by which they mean that there should be crude sex, violence, horror and crime; that they should pander to the baser instincts of the audience; they should de-humanise and brutalised and convert our younger generation into a generation of culturally expatriated Westernised models.

These distributors are the main culprits in the film industry. There is no dearth of talent in our country. We have best of actors and actresses; we have the best of technicians, photographers and

sound engineers and best of directors. But they are all cogs in the wheel of the commercialists. The entire film industry has been commercialised to such an extent that no brave film makers who do want to make good films, experimental films, decent films, can make such films and; if they are courageous enough to make some good films, these films never see the light of the day because no distributor touches those films. no distributor buys those films.

My suggestion is to expedite the setting up of an institution of the Film Council of India which would regulate the functioning of the film industry. Self-regulation of films is just not possible. The Film Council of India will regulate the functioning of the film-making; it will regulate the process of film production so that star system could be curbed, so that junior artistes could be assured of a fair remuneration so that the technicians can be assured of a fair remuneration, so that a certain code of conduct is established during the process of film-making and, once a film is completed, some regulation could also be made about its distribution.

Then, some special effort has got to be made to liberate our film people, the technicians and the artistes from the clutches of the grip of private finance. The private commercial grip has to be loosened. Only then, shall our talented people be able to give their best to this country. Only then shall we have decent films, healthy films, good and beautiful films. That could be done without nationalising the film industry. That could be done by simply taking over the distribution of films.

The Film Finance Corporation has failed. Initially, it did succeed in encouraging a spate of new-wave films; it did create a limited audience; it did inculcate a new film culture among a limited urban sections of population. But it cannot succeed where the entire film is dominated by private commerce. Therefore, the entire film distribution should be taken over by the Government. All films that are made could be taken over by this agency indiscriminately and exhibited to the audiences. It could collect a certain amount of commission on its own and the remainder be returned to the producer. This small measure by itself will do away with many of the evils that are prevalent in the film industry right from black money to star system, to the dictation by the present distributors and to the dictation by the theatre owners. The

theatres themselves are very few in this country. We want many more theatres and the existing ones to be municipalised. But these are ailments. They will all be regulated once film distribution is taken over and an independent corporation which will distribute all the films throughout the country is set up.

Lastly, I come to the censorship. Now the guidelines are too vague. I know that censorship is a matter of taste, of education, of discipline, of opinions and it is very difficult. But two things could be done. The Censor Board should be reconstituted. The members on the panel and the member of the Board are the same people, who sometimes take an extreme view of permissiveness and on the other occasion another extreme view of puritanism. Let us save our art world and the world of culture from these two extremes, one of utter permissiveness and the other of utter Puritanism.

People having some aesthetics, people having some cultural understanding, people who have some sensitivity and who are known to be art critics and film critics, should be put on the Censor Board and the only guidelines given to the Censor Board should be the restrictions that are imposed within our Constitution on the freedom of expression. Film is a medium of expression and no other restriction should be placed on this medium except those that are laid down in the Constitution. The basic consideration should be whether a film is good or bad. Now that cannot be delineated in terms of guidelines; that could be left to the judgment of the right type of people; and that is why, a reconstitution of the Film Censor Board is utterly necessary. There was a proposal and it was a correct proposal that whole time members should be appointed on the Censor Board who would be enjoying the status of High Court Judges, and who would be men of aesthetic and cultural reputation.

(Interruptions)

All right, let it be of the status of Supreme Court Judge. Anyway, there should be independent whole time members of the Censor Board guided only by the Constitution with a duty to encourage good films. That policy of censorship will, I am sure, encourage good films in the country.

SHRI GIRIDHAR GOMANGO (Koraput): Madam Chairman, I would like to contribute some suggestions. In politics, we contradict each other. I have heard the view, points of those Members who have already participated in the debate and put forth their view points. So I would only confine myself

to a few suggestions. I support the freedom of press. As far as press is concerned, they should not express any untruth; they should express the truth.

17.15 hrs.

[SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO
in the Chair]

I think the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has an important role to play. That is why, they should point out to the nation, what is wrong and what is right. Sir, there was a lot of discussion regarding the suppression of press in the House. Which is the suppression, which is the expression and which is the imposition has to be guided by the correct assessment of the situation. The freedom of press is necessary not only for us but for the people also. But is the press free to-day? Not only the press, but nobody is free; everybody is with some interest, if not vested interest. By blaming each other and by shifting the responsibility to each other, we are only taking an attitude of escapism. Nobody can control the mind of the people. You can control the man, but you cannot control the mind. So, when the information is being given through the radio or press or TV, that should be assessed whether the quality of the information is meant for the guidance of the people—not only of the present generation but of the future generation also.

The papers which are called the 'national press' cover only issues of national importance, and the regional papers cover only the local news. In fact, most of the papers cover only their regions. The small newspapers, as my friend said, are not able to survive not because of the importance being given or not being given to these papers but they find it difficult to have their existence. The advertisement policy of the Government only enables the press or papers which are meant for the rural areas, to survive. Why I am telling these things is because I come from the rural area. There is no paper at all in the rural areas. If the national papers go to the rural areas and publish in English or Hindi or any other language—leave alone the four VIPs, the very intelligent persons, the very intellectual persons the very important persons and the very illiterate persons—can the innocent and illiterate persons read the papers? For the illiterate persons, the only medium is the radio by which they can hear; and understand the situation in the country.

[Shri Giridhar Gomango]

I am not going into details, But I will quote the press sins, the seven deadly press sins according to Max Lerner who has said:

- (1) Concentrated power of the big press.
- (2) Passing of competition and giving of monopoly.
- (3) Governmental control of the press
- (4) Timidity, especially in the face of group and corporate pressures.
- (5) Big business mentality.
- (6) Glannishness among the newspaper publishers that has prevented them from criticising each other.
- (7) Social blindness."

These are the seven sins of the press according to him. I want to ask whether the present Government will look into these sins. They should not use 'Information' as an instrument to build up their own image.]

This is the only medium by which one can publicise and make a leader; this is the only medium where, if truth is suppressed, the persons concerned will get demoralised.

Now, I come to a few suggestions. Only the cities are covered by this Ministry—not the rural areas. So, my humble submission is that they should look into the rural areas, particularly the tribal areas, because they are far away from the cities, from the educational facilities. The only medium that can be introduced in the tribal areas is by the Song and Drama Division, by opening more theatre halls, by introducing the new system of communication link between man and man. What is lacking is communication between man and man. What should be the media for this? The only media are the Radio and the T.V., wherever it is available. These are the only media by which information can be given to the people, and it should not be only about the nation or about politics or about social conditions etc. There are a number of themes to be propagated in the rural area. They will have to introduce themes about exploitation of the tribals by making documentary films or by expressing it through the Song & Drama Division or whatever it may be. They should introduce the eradication of untouchability in the theme.

I would humbly like to submit that they have agreed that Government will open a new radio station in Orissa in the Sixth Plan and if the funds can be made avail-

able it will be considered. So, the Ministry should consider this. There should also be a satellite programme to cover the rural areas and there should be a relay station in between Delhi, Calcutta and Madras so that the programmes can be sent to rural India.

— My last point is that regional language films, especially in Oriya, should be given importance by the Government and they should provide money by the Films Development Corporation because the Films Development Corporation set up by the Government of Orissa is not doing well for financing the films.

My final submission before the Ministry is that documentaries covering the themes of tribal exploitation and tribal traditions should be shown before them because, only after seeing these films they would be able to understand what exploitation is. They do not know either English or Hindi; they know only the tribal language. So, this is the only way by which you can give information to these people. Films are the only media through which you can eradicate social evils and give them education and consciousness.

Lastly, the Government should see that the information media are not misused. They should not only say they are not doing it, but by action they should prove it. They should be used not only for the good of their Party or other Parties but for the education of the nation. So, their misuse should be avoided.

With these words I conclude.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर)
सभापति महोदय, मैंने अभी श्री ऊनीकृष्णन
का भाषण सुना, उन्होंने इस बात की शिकायत
की कि ग्राम इंडिया रेडियो में हस्तक्षेप
होता है। उन्होंने यह कहा कि

there are complaints of arm-twisting by the Minister. I have known the Minister for the last 30 years: he is incapable of arm-twisting. He can do anything but he does not know how to twist arms. Even where we should twist, even there he cannot twist.

My friend was complaining about interference. I may say that he is twisting facts. He wants to try to find out a black cat in a dark room in which it does not exist. He is unnecessarily blaming the Government.

वह भूल गए एमर्जेंसी के दिन जब एक घंटा भाषण होने के बाद यह कहा जाता था कि—

'Mr. Unnikrishnan also spoke'

मेरे साथी, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह कांग्रेस (आई) के सदस्य हैं, उन्होंने भी शिकायत की कि पोलिटिकल यजुइस नहीं होना चाहिए, एक पार्टी के लिए इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 18 महीने का जो काला इतिहास है जिसको यह देश ही नहीं, दुनिया का कोई भी प्रजातांत्रिक देश भूल नहीं सकता, आज उसके लोग आकर यह कहें कि मि० अडवाणी या जनता पार्टी की सरकार पक्षपात करती है रेडियो में तो यह आश्चर्य और दुःख की बात है। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ, वे चले गए, क्या यह पहला मौका नहीं है जब चुनाव के दिनों में सभी पार्टीज को कहा गया कि आप आइये और अपनी बात कहिए। अभी जब जनता पार्टी का एक साल पूरा हो गया, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने रिक्ले किया और देश को आह्वान किया कि हमने क्या क्या किया है तो मुझे मालूम है, उस समय उन्होंने सरकार की तरफ से, जो लीडर आफ दि अपोजीशन हैं मि० चव्हाण उनको भी आफर दी थी कि एक साल सरकार का पूरा हो गया, आप आइये और आपको जो कुछ कहना है कहिए, आप पर किसी प्रकार की पाबंदी नहीं होगी। उनको एक बार कहा गया, दो बार कहा गया और तीन, चार, पांच बार याद दिलाने के बाद आखिर में उन्होंने कहा कि मैं कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता हूँ मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ—अभी यहां पर थोड़े लोग ही रह गए हैं—आपने तीस साल तक सरकार चलाई है, मैं हमेशा विरोध पक्ष में रहा, आज सौभाग्य है कि मैं सरकार की तरफ से बोल रहा हूँ, क्या तीस साल

में एक बार भी किसी विरोध पक्ष के नेता को आपने आह्वान किया कि प्रधान मंत्री का भाषण हुआ है आप भी रेडियों पर बोलें। अगर चव्हाण साहब नहीं आये तो उसमें हमारा कुसूर नहीं है। लेकिन आप पूछ लीजिए कि लीडर आफ दि अपोजीशन की हैसियत से उन्हें बुलाया गया या नहीं? यह किस बात का चिन्ह है? यह इस बात की निशानी है कि आज देश में रेडियों, टेलीविजन और अखबार स्वतंत्र हैं। नेशनल हेरल्ड बन्द नहीं हो गया। किसने लाइफ दी नेशनल हेरल्ड को?

It was this Government which forced the management to open it. Is it not a fact? What is the policy of National Herald? I wanted to ask both of my friends, but it seems they have gone.

नेशनल हेरल्ड की क्या पालिसी है?

What is the policy of Patriot? Did they get advertisement during Emergency? Are we not providing advertisements to all the newspapers including National Herald and Patriot? And still, you accuse the Government that it is partisan. I think, one can understand if you twist the facts to some extent; but not to this extent which is completely untrue. I would not say false, because that is unparliamentary.

सभापति महोदय, हमारी सरकार के बारे में हमारी भी फीलिंग है कि जितना अच्छा पर्फॉरमेंस उसका होना चाहिए था वह नहीं है। उसमें एम्प्रुवमेंट की गुंजायश है। लेकिन यह डिपार्टमेंट ऐसा है जिससे मुझे भी शिकायत है कि आज भी उसमें इन्दिरा गांधी के दलाल बैठे हैं। बाकी जगहों पर अगर पर्फॉरमेंस पूरी नहीं है तो वह एनएफ़ीशिएंसी की वजह से होगी लेकिन रेडियो टीवी अखबार और समाचार में जब इन्दिरा गांधी की मैजिस्ट्रेट ने छोड़ दिया तो क्या यह सही नहीं है, उसका ढील पीटा गया? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि टी वी में बेनिफिट्स आफ

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

इमर्जेन्सी को दिखाया गया ? क्या यह सही नहीं है कि अभी दो तीन रोज पहले कांग्रेस (भाई) का जो सिम्बल है हाथ उसको बड़ी देर तक टी वी में दिखाया गया ? मैं अडवाणी जी से कहना चाहता हूँ

You should twist the arms; you have to twist the arms of all those who were responsible during that dark period. You have failed to do that. I am sorry it is my charge against my friend.

सभापति महोदय, क्या यह सही नहीं है कि जनता पार्टी के 6-7 एम पीज ने कहा कि चन्द्र शेखर को रेजाइन करना चाहिए तो किसी नेशनल खबर में उसकी खबर नहीं आई लेकिन रेडियो ने इस खबर को खूब जोरों से उछाला ? उस के बाद भी आप को शिकायत है कि यह पार्टीजन है, आम-स्विस्टिंग है । आप के नेशनल हेरल्ड को लाइफ देने वाली, आप को गडवर्टोजमेंट देने वाली यह सरकार क्या फिर भी पार्टीजन है, जब कि आल इंडिया रेडियो रात-दिन चौबीसों घंटे आज भी इंदिरा गांधी, इन्दिरा गांधी रटता है ।

Mr. Lakkappa, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Indira Gandhi रटता है I do not know why.

श्री उपसेन (देवरिया) : उन में साठे भी है ।

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Mr. Sathe is one of them. I have written dozens of letters to the Minister complaining about this but to no effect. The officers in the All India Radio and particularly the Doordarshan has neither the capacity nor have the desire to do justice to the Members of Parliament. We have a complaint about it.

You have in your report said that 51.6% to the Opposition and 49.4% to the ruling Party. Did it ever happen before in the last 30 years? Can I ask this question?

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : Never.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: You have to say that. I think he has no option.

This mass media—All India Radio, Television, the news paper, the *Samacher* — all these mass media were utilised for what? For the advertisement of one person and her son, not even the Congress but to develop that personality cult. That was the only intention of this media.

I am sorry to say—my friend, Mr. Unnikrishnan, has now come. Was there any independence of the Press? Was there any independence of even pictures? Who was that singer? Kishore Kumar.

एक वह मशहूर गाने वाले हैं—श्री किशोर कुमार—एमर्जेन्सी के जमाने में उन के गाने आल इण्डिया रेडियों पर इस लिये बन्द कर दिये गये कि वे यहां पर गाने के लिये नहीं आये । एक फिल्म थी—आंधी—उस को इस लिये रोक दिया गया कि उस में जो काम करने वाली थीं, उन की तस्वीर इन्दिरा गांधी से मिलती थी । क्या यह कोई ट्रेड-मार्क है कि इन्दिरा गांधी की शकल की अगर कोई औरत एक्टिंग करती है, तो उस फिल्म को चलने नहीं दिया जायगा । इस तरह के डार्क-डेज हिन्दुस्तान के माथे पर एक बदनुमा घब्बा थे और मुझे खुशी है कि जनता पार्टी ने आने के बाद उस बदनुमा घब्बे को धो दिया ।

सभापति महोदय, अभी मेरे साथी साठे साहब के बारे में कह रहे थे—आज अगर साठे साहब बोलते हैं तो रेडियो पर आता है—

“Mr. Sathe criticised the Information & Broadcasting Ministry.”

लेकिन पहले क्या आता था—

“Mr. Sathe also spoke.” Only the speeches of the Minister will be covered and about the Members nothing. At the same time, she used to say ‘Parliament is supreme.’ Parliament was only the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi and all other Members were dummies. So, ‘They also spoke.’ That was the independence. Even this Parliament was adversely affected and you have now the full coverage to say anything. Every day you find Mr. Lakkappa, Mr. Unnikrishnan and Mr. Sathe get due coverage.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: ‘Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta also spoke.’

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्ता : इतना ही नहीं—सभापति महोदय, प्रीवेन्शन आफ पब्लिकेशन आफ आब्जैक्शनल मैटर्स एक्ट को रिपील किया। उस के बाद फीरोज गांधी साहब का जो एक्ट था—किस तरह से पार्लियामेंट की प्रीसीडिंग्ज को कवर किया जाय—उस को लाया गया और उस के बाद प्रैस कान्सिल बिल को लाया गया। हमारे जितने कारस्पोंडेन्ट्स थे, जिन को एक्स्ट्रैडिट कर दिया गया था, जिन के मकान छीन लिये गये थे, उनके एक्स्ट्रैडिशन को खत्म किया गया, उन को मकान दिये गये : एडवर्टिजमेंट पालिसी को बदला गया, आज सब को एडवर्टिजमेंट मिलता है—चाहे वह जनता पार्टी के हक में लिखे या किसी के हक में लिखे

श्री वसंत साठे : यह गलत है।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्ता : एक बात मैं सेन्सर के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। अंग्रेजी के समय से यह रूल चला आया है कि इस्ट-व्लिशमेंट के खिलाफ कोई भी फिल्म नहीं बननी चाहिये। अगर कोई किसी मिनिस्टर को करप्ट कह दे या किसी अफसर को करप्ट बतला दे, तो वह भी सेन्सर हो जाती थी। यह अंग्रेजों की पालिसी थी, क्योंकि अंग्रेज वहाँ इस्टेब्लिश्ड थे। आप लोगों ने सत्ता में आने के बाद या तो इस पर विचार नहीं किया या आप ने उस को बदलना नहीं चाहा। लेकिन जनता सरकार ने इस के बारे में गाइड-लाइन ईशू की है। अगर कोई मिनिस्टर के बारे में कुछ कहे या किसी अफसर के बारे में कुछ कहे या उस में कुछ भी हो, उस के लिये बिल्कुल क्लियर गाइड-लाइन्ज दी गई हैं। इस के लिये मैं मंत्री महोदय को बधाई देता हूँ।

सभापति महोदय, मैं “ग्रांधी” पिक्चर का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता और न ही “किस्सा कुर्सी का” जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ लेकिन यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि इन्होंने All the Presidents Met जो एक विशेषी

पिक्चर थी, उस को भी बैन कर दिया क्योंकि उस में निक्सन के भ्रष्टाचार की सारी कहानी थी। इन का पाप अंदर से बोलता था। इसलिए उस को इन्होंने बैन कर दिया। इतना ही नहीं इन्होंने Day of the Jackal जिस में डेगाल के एसेसीनेशन की कहानी थी, उस को भी बैन कर दिया क्योंकि इन को यह डर था कि कहीं हमारा भी हाल ऐसा न हो जाए : इसलिये ये चाहते थे कि लोगों को ऐसी फिल्में नहीं देखनी चाहिए।

अब मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मंत्री जी ने सेंसरशिप को बहुत लिबरेलाइज कर दिया : अखबारों में मैंने यह भी पढ़ा है कि इन्होंने किसिंग को भी एलाऊ कर दिया है।

I do not know whether it is a kissing of the lip or somewhere else or both, I do not know. But why has he allowed kissing, I cannot understand I know him for the last 25 years, he is not a romantic man. But I fail to understand it.

सभापति महोदय : अब आप खत्म कीजिए। 15 मिनट हो गये हैं।

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA :
Do not twist my arms and let me speak.

मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने कई वेजीटेरियन को देखा है कि वे गोभी की गांठ को ऐसा बनाते हैं कि उस को हड्डी की तरह चूसते हैं और वे कहते हैं कि इसमें हड्डी का मजा आता आता है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से भी कहूंगा कि क्या वे पिक्चर को देखकर ही, केवल उस के देखने से ही वह सारा मजा लेते हैं। किसिंग के बारे में आप ने ऐसा क्यों किया है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया है। इस का कारण क्या है? हमारे देश में आज जो फिल्में बन रही हैं और जिस तरीके से वे बन रही हैं, उन में अगर इस तरह की चीज आज रखेंगे

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

तो उस क्या प्रभाव लोगों पर पड़ेगा। फिल्मों का जो रोल है, वह एक बहुत बड़ा रोल है और करीब 6 करोड़ लोग एक सप्ताह में फिल्में देखते हैं। 70 मिलियन आदमी एक सप्ताह में फिल्में देखते हैं और उन के पास कोई और दूसरा मोर्स आफ एन्टरटेनमेंट नहीं है। इतना बड़ा जो ग्रुप है, उसके बारे में सरकार किस तरह की पालीसी बनाना चाहती है। नेशनल इनटेग्रेशन, नेशनलकरेक्टर और भी जो हमारे देश में चीजें हैं, उन के बारे में हमारे बच्चों पर, हमारे युवकों पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है, इस के लिए भी मंत्री महोदय को सोचना चाहिए और मंत्री जी को इस तरह के रोमांस की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं देना चाहिए।

श्री उपसैन : आप भी अपनी एक फिल्म बनाइए।

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : मैं तो फिल्में नहीं देखता हूँ : दो तीन वर्षों से मैंने फिल्म नहीं देखी है।

श्री उपसैन : जो आज के विचार हैं उन पर एक फिल्म आप बनाइए :

मभापति महोदय : आप इस तरह से टाइम खराब न करिये। अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो फिर आप को बोलने के लिए टाइम नहीं मिल पाएगा। जब आप की बारी आए, तब आप बोलिये।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : मभापति महोदय, अभी जो चार एजेन्सियां बनाने की बात है, उस की भी शिकायत करते हैं। अभी तक समाचार की मोनोपली थी। 'समाचार' का मतलब था कि एक पार्टी और एक व्यक्ति के लिए वह मारी एजेन्सी होती थी। अब चार एजेन्सियां होंगी, तो उन में कम्पीटीशन होगा और जो मोनोपली पहले थी, वह खत्म हो जाएगी और ऐसा होने से सभी सदस्यों

के और देश के कोने कोने से सब समाचार जनता के सामने आएंगे। इसलिए मैं इस का स्वागत करना चाहता हूँ।

मभापति महोदय, कुलदीप नायर की रिपोर्ट के बारे में मुझे एक बात कहनी है—

They should be identified. My pointed question to the Minister is whether he has identified those journalists or not? May I expect a reply from him?

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि अभी तक किसी को भी आईडेंटिफाई नहीं किया गया है। अभी भी रेडियों में और टेलीविजन में वही लोग कपड़े बदल कर आते हैं। उन्हीं लोगों का प्रभाव अब भी रेडियों और टेलीविजन में है।

मभापति महोदय, एक चीज मुझे यह कहनी है—जैसा कि श्री उन्नीकृष्णन् जी ने कहा कि किसी आई०एफ०एम० आफिसर को पी०आई०ओ० बना कर नहीं लाना चाहिए था। मैं मानता हूँ कि इन्फर्मेशनज सर्विस का ही कोई आदमी इस पद पर नियुक्त किया जाना चाहिए था। यही ज्यादा अच्छा होता। लेकिन सरकार को यह भी देखना होता है कि जो भी अफसर ऐसे पदों पर आये वह कम्पीटेंट हो और गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी को ठीक से प्रोजेक्ट करे। मैंने मुना है कि सरकार ने तीन अफसरों को इस पद के लिए कहा था : उनमें से दो तो वे थे जिन्होंने एमर्जेंसी के दौरान श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और श्री मंजय गांधी के लिए ही काम किया था और तीसरे सज्जन वे हैं जिन्होंने स्वयं इस पद को स्वीकार नहीं किया। इसके लिए मैं सरकार को दोष नहीं दे सकता। इस पद पर वही व्यक्ति होना चाहिए जो सरकार की पालिसी को अच्छी तरह से प्रोजेक्ट कर सके।

मभापति महोदय, एक चीज में प्रेस कमीशन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं इससे सहमत हूँ कि प्रेस पर सरकार का जो

कंट्रोल था वह तो हटा दिया गया है लेकिन अभी भी इसका कंट्रोल कुछ हाथों में है। उस और भी आपको ध्यान देना होगा। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप जल्दी से जल्दी कोई कमीशन बिठायें और बिठा कर के उम पर विचार करें कि किस तरह से प्रेस को उन लोगों के हाथों से भी आजादी मिले। यह मेरी सरकार से मांग है।

सभापति महोदय, एक बात में वर्गीज कमेटी के बारे में अर्ज करूंगा। बहुत लोगों ने उसकी रिपोर्ट के बारे में कहा है। उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि जो ट्रस्ट बनेगा उसका नाम आकाश भारती होगा और सुप्रीम कोर्ट का चीफ जस्टिस उसका पैनल तैयार करेगा। उसके लिए लोकपाल भी होगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हर जगह हम सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस को ही क्यों रख देते हैं? एक जस्टिस थोरे भी थे जिन्होंने एमजैसे के दौरान फैमला दिया था कि किसी को जिन्दा रहने का भी हक नहीं है। मैं तो उसका सफर हूँ। यह फैसला उस समय के चीफ जस्टिस ने किया था। एमजैसे के दौरान सुप्रीम कोर्ट हेज मिजरेबली फेल्ड इन इट्स फंक्शनिंग मेग यह एमजैसे का अनुभव है। क्या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस ही ज्यादा क्रेडिटेबल हैं, और लोग नहीं हैं? इस तरह से आप सारा काम सुप्रीम कोर्ट के चीफ जस्टिस पर ही डालते जा रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा मंत्री महोदय इस रिपोर्ट पर अमल करने में जल्दबाजी न करें। वे यह न सोचें कि यह काम पहली जनवरी, 1979 से शुरू हो जाए। पहले वे रिपोर्ट सदन में लाएं। उसके बाद उसे सेलेक्ट कमेटी को भेज कर उस पर विचार किया जाए और लोगों की उस पर राय जानी जाए। उसके बाद इस पर अमल होना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस रिपोर्ट की सिफारिशों पर अमेंडमेंट करने की जरूरत हो तो वह भी की जाए क्योंकि

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इस बाडी को ज्यादा इण्डीपेंडेंस देने का नतीजा अच्छा भी नहीं हो सकता है। प्रोग्राम ठीक नहीं होंगे, कमशियल एंगल ज्यादा बढ़ जाएगा क्योंकि हर जगह पैसा चाहिये। इस चीज को भी आपको एवायड करना पड़ेगा। एक ब्राड पालिसी इसके बारे में सरकार बनाए।

जहां तक एक्टर्ज और एट्रेसिस का सवाल है, नहाटा जी को ज्यादा मालूम होगा, वे एक एक सौ फिल्मों में एक साथ काम करते हैं। उनकी एक तरह से मीनोपोली है। यह मल्टीपल जॉ वर्क है, इसको तोड़ा जाना चाहिये। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो नए आर्टिस्ट हैं, जो एमेच्योर आर्टिस्ट हैं जो बहुत अच्छा अपने आपको दिखा सकते हैं, उनको मौका नहीं मिलता है। इस और सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये और देखना चाहिये कि किस तरह से इस चीज को ठीक किया जा सकता है। मल्टीपल वर्क को किसी न किसी तरह से कम करने की सरकार की कोशिश होनी चाहिये।

फिल्मों का स्टैंडर्ड भी ठीक किया जाना चाहिये। अभी तो वल्गर, क्रिमिनल तरह की चीजें फिल्मों में ज्यादा होती हैं। मुझे खुशी है कि साउथ की जो फिल्में हैं आहिस्ता आहिस्ता उनका स्टैंडर्ड ऊंचा होता जाता है। लेकिन जो हिन्दी की हैं उनका धीरे धीरे डिटीरियोरेंट होता जा रहा है।

जहां तक ओवरसीज सर्विस की बात है, उसके बारे में जो हमारी नीति है उसका भी रिब्यू होना चाहिये। थोड़ी थोड़ी अलग अलग लैंगुएज में आप बात करते हैं जिस का कोई इम्पैक्ट नहीं होता है। इसको भी आपको ठीक करना चाहिये।

जो हमारे ब्राडकास्टिंग स्टेशन हैं वे ज्यादा स्ट्रांग होने चाहिये। हमारे जो पड़ोसी हैं चीन पाकिस्तान रूस आदि उनके ट्रांसमिटर स्ट्रांग है। रात को नौ दस बजे

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

अगर आप उनको लगाएँ तो उनको जल्दी कैद किया जा सकता है। हमारे उतनी जल्दी नहीं करते हैं। वे काम नहीं करते हैं। यह भी आपको देखना चाहिये। यह गंभीर मामला है। आज हमारे संबंध सब के साथ ठीक है। कल को अगर ठीक न रहे उनका प्रचार हमारे देश में ज्यादा होगा। हमारा नहीं होगा। आज भी हमारे देश का दसवाँ हिस्सा ऐसा है जहाँ पर किसी भी स्टेशन को लगाया जाए, मुना नहीं जा सकता है। इसके बारे में भी आपको ध्यान देना होगा। अपने देश के वन टैथ पार्ट को अभी तक रेडियो कवर नहीं कर सका है। यह भी आपको देखना चाहिये और उसको आपको कवर करना चाहिये।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको बधाई देता हूँ। आपने देश को, प्रेस को स्वतंत्र कराया है, रेडियों को, टी वी को कराया है और इस पर जनता पार्टी गर्व कर सकती है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इन मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Somnath Chatterjee. Now, you have got only 9 minutes.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): I have found that our body has committed excess here, an innocuous excess of exceeding the time limit.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, you can start.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Mr. Chairman, Sir, this Ministry under the leadership of Mr. Advani was given a very important task of removing the aberrations of Emergency that had been designedly and in a ruthless manner introduced into the functioning of the mass medias in this country during the Emergency. Sir, the mass media had been used as tools in the hands of a dictatorial regime which had concentrated all its efforts to prop up a power hungry executive in this country who were not only trying to foist on the country against all canons of decency and political morality but also trying to bolster up her own progeny as her successor in

the political life of this country. We found that tentacles had been spread in every sphere of mass media in this country, starting from censorship of the newspapers, then Radio, Television, Films, etc. All were strangulated. The tentacles have been spread and they have been spread to comprehensively that even after one year—I believe I can call it under his able stewardship—Mr. Advani has not been able to free it altogether. This is the position and I hope that a good friend of mine, Mr. Unnikrishnan, when he expressed his present feeling about the functioning of the Ministry, would have realised what we had experienced during those 19 months when many of us had been victimised.

Today I find that Mr. Stephen and Mr. Sathé are the leading luminaries of the Congress that has as a profixed the name of an individual and they should have taken part in this debate; they have kept themselves away from participation in this debate; they can hardly say anything. That was the darkest period in the history of India and in that darkest period a calculated attempt was made to mislead the people and to suppress the truth and to feed untruth. That was the object of the mass media during that time. This ministry has to do the vital task of feeding people with truth and suppressing untruth. Therefore, I am happy that Mr. Advani has by and large redeemed the pledge of the Janata Party at least in this respect. In various fields we have many things to say. You have given the opportunity to the opposition parties to use the radio. Press censorship has been withdrawn. Press Council is going to be restored. The Publication of Objectionable Material Act has been repealed; Feroze Gandhi Act had been restored. The lady had paid homage to him by repealing that Act; now you have repealed the repealing Act. What is necessary is to bring back credibility into the functioning of the All India Radio. In an address to the conference of station directors of the All India Radio on 9th September, 1975 the ex-Prime Minister says; about credibility:

“Quite honestly, I don't know what it means. Who has credibility? The newspapers who had day in and day out printed falsehood? Whose every prediction has turned out to be false? Now, if you say that the people keep on believing those things, well all I can say is that they are free to do so, well it is not going to help them much in getting information or having any knowledge of what is happening in the country.”

She goes on to say:

"...while anybody is in Government service, they are bound to obey the orders of Government. If they feel that the Government policy is not right, they are unable to obey, they have some other views which they want to express, nobody is stopping them from resigning and joining any organisation where they will have that freedom. But while a person is a government servant, the rules enjoin upon him to obey, to follow the government line."

In other words, the clear instructions are: whether something is true or false, you must prop it up at whatever cost it may be. We found a torrent of untruth; we found there was deliberate suppression of the urges and aspirations of the people of this country; they did not find any place during those 19 months, dark days of those months. People had to fight against the authoritarian regime of the worst type but it did not find any mention in the Press or in other mass media. When people were denied their freedom and democratic rights in this country, it did not find any place in any mass media. The most important task after the new independence of this country was given to Mr. Advani, namely, to restore credibility to the All India Radio and other mass media and by and large I hope he has been able to do it successfully. The apprehensions and reservations which were mentioned by the hon. Members about the functioning of the organisation, about the news items of the All India Radio require his close attention. So far as the various wrongs that were found upon the enquiry of Das Committee and which were contained in the White Paper on the misuse of mass media is concerned, I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what steps he has taken to see that the persons guilty of these are suitably dealt with. This is a matter on which I would only say that the Minister should not make any compromise. It is not a question of taking a soft line here. The persons who have been responsible for these must be seriously dealt with. I will request the hon. Minister to tell us what he is proposing to do so that in future such a thing never happens. We have to ensure that for the posterity in this country, the mass media do not ever become the hand-maid of the dictators and the ruthless politicians and they do not become the *modus-operandi* of keeping people ignorant. Instead of being media for educating the people, it become media for the purpose of miseducating, if I may use that expression, the people.

So far as the break-up of *Samachar* is concerned, we had supported it. But there have been various apprehen-

sions of the employees of these organisation and I would request the Minister to see that these apprehensions are removed and their service conditions are protected and they have a better future in their services. The same thing about the working journalists, a little more sympathetic attitude has to be taken towards them.

SHRI K. P. UNNIKRISHNAN :
Wage Board.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :
And the Wage Board also, as Mr. Unnikrishnan has rightly pointed out. I would request the hon. Minister to see that an attitude of indifference is not taken towards their legitimate demands and the attitude that these are people who have no role to play in the country should be given up. I am sorry that I do not find any mention of two very important things in the Annual Report, as to the steps taken for the diffusion of ownership and delinking of the press from the big business and monopoly houses. This is a very important matter. Merely withdrawing press censorship does not make the press free in this country. It is an unhappy fact and unfortunate reality that the press is in the control of a few people, who are not only controlling the press, but who are controlling at the same time, the means of production, they are controlling the jute mills, they are controlling the wherewithals in this country. On this question there have been various discussions in the past. We have been fed up with the assurances given by the earlier Government. Mr. Gujral, as a ritual used to promise every year in the last House that the Government was exercising itself on it and that some policy would be decided upon and that everybody had accepted in principle that there has to be diffusion of ownership and delinking of the press; but it remained mere shibboleths during the last Government's regime. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is the policy of the Janta Government on this very important question. If they are in support of this, then something must be done urgently and if they are not, then they will be creating conditions under which the press freedom can be compromised in future, if there is another occasion. So far as the advertising policy is concerned....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :
So far as the advertising policy is concerned, there is an apprehension that it has not been equally distributed. I have not got the material on this, but various

[Shri Som nath Chatterjee]

newspapers circulating in districts have been expressing concern—it is much better now, no doubt about it. The smaller papers are getting the benefit at least in the cities and urban areas, but whether the benefit is going to the newspapers circulating in the district, on that I have not got any information, but apprehensions have been expressed with regard to that.

18 hrs.

So far as the future reorganisation of the TV and the radio is concerned, I agree with my hon. friends, let us hope we shall get a separate opportunity to discuss this, but certainly we approve of the approach that an attempt is made to convert it into an autonomous corporation. If the attitude is of the Government like the one we had in the past, *viz*, the newspapers and the news media are only to express the viewpoint of the Government and that although it is a democracy, the Opposition has no role to play, that the Opposition's viewpoint will have no expression either in the mass media or newspapers, then such an attitude we cannot accept and we must

protest, and we have protested, against it. We request the hon. Minister to see that this is translated into action and that we do have an autonomous corporation. Subject to various reservations on some matters with regard to the Report, we shall get an opportunity to express our views.

Before I take my seat, I would request the hon. Members here and specially my friends from the break-away Congress or the Indira Congress, to realise that a situation had been created in the country under the stewardship of Mrs. Indira Gandhi which had put back this country by a number of years or decades because the advance of democracy was throttled, it was impeded and the cancer had gone so deep that it violated all norms of decency and morality in public life. Let us hope that those days would never come back.

श्री उपसेन (देवरिया) : सभापति महोदय, -

सभापति महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण कल जारी रखें ।

18.03 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, April 4, 1978; Chaitra 14, 1900 (Saka)