

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Idukki): I just wanted to get an information. You would remember, Sir, there was a demand from this House for a discussion on the discussions with Mr. Kosygin. Finally, you made an announcement that if somebody writes, then Government will be requested to do something like that. I wrote to you about 3 or 4 days back.

MR. SPEAKER: I have passed it on.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: I would like to know from the Government at least this, "The documents are with them, it is for them to make only a statement—whether they are going to make a statement and when they are going to make a statement. This is a matter which came up in the House. It was closed by a decision by you. Therefore, I would like to get some information as to whether and when the Prime Minister will make a statement.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA): Sir, the communication, as you said, has been received by the Prime Minister, and a statement will be made on Monday.

MR. SPEAKER: Now Calling Attention, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. You have not given any notice. I will not allow it. You must give notice. We must go according to the rules.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: I won't allow anything. Don't record anything.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot have different rules for different persons. Now, Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta. He is not here, Mr. Harikesh Bahadur.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Yesterday, Sir, in obedience to the Chair, I sat down.

MR. SPEAKER: In obedience to the Chair, again sit down please.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. Don't record.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: I have given full opportunity. On Monday, there will be the adjournment motion. Mr. Harikesh Bahadur.

(Interruptions)**

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप सोमवार को इस पर बात करिए

MR. SPEAKER: Don't record.

(Interruptions)**

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order, please. Please go on, Mr. Harikesh Bahadur.

12.15 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

REPORTED BLACK-LISTING OF CERTAIN COMMENTATORS, WRITERS, JOURNALISTS AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT BY A.I.R. AND DOORDA'SHAN

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर (गोरखपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अखिलभारतीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री का ध्यान दिनाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे इस के ऊपर एक बयान दें :

"आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन द्वारा कुछ सजीवकों, लेखकों, पत्रकारों तथा सत्य सत्त्वों के बहिष्कार के समाचार।"

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI L. K. ADVANI): On assumption of office on an anti-Emergency mandate, the new Government's first task was to restore the credibility of the media which was severely eroded during the Emergency period due to the misuse of media for party ends. It was noted that there were speakers, who had overnight changed their views with the change in Government. It was, therefore, felt that due care was necessary to be taken while inviting speakers on All India Radio and Doordarshan. The media were advised that such of the speakers as had come out enthusiastically in support of the Emergency should ordinarily not be invited by Akashvani and Doordarshan for programmes of political nature. These people, however, could be booked for programmes which were of a non-political nature. It would thus be seen that the policy of this Government has been to build up the credibility of Akashvani and Doordarshan by adoption an impartial and balanced approach. There has been no black-listing as such of any person for AIR and Doordarshan programmes.

Copies of three communications sent to Akashvani and Doordarshan in this regard are placed on the Table of the House.

Communications

- (i) Guidelines approved in a meeting with MIB on 13th April, 1977 and circulated *vide* Ministry of I. & B. U.O. No. 1/5/77-IP&MC, dated 18th April, 1977

POLICY GUIDELINES FOR GOVERNMENT MEDIA

1. Official Media should not build up image of any individual, howsoever important he or she may be in public life.

2. There will be no aggressive one-sided naked propagandist approach, as in the past, in discharging their duties in propagating Government policies.

3 Media should adopt subtle and sophisticated approach. Opposite points of view including criticism of Government policies and programmes and their implementation should find place in their programmes and releases. This was necessary to restore credibility of the media.

4 News coverage should be diversified and names of individuals need be brought in if they have the news value and are specifically related to the news. Coverage should be balanced and should project Government's policies, programmes and achievements in an objective and balanced manner. Events and developments rather than personalities should be the main focus.

5 Conscious efforts should be made to make news and programmes relating to developmental programmes more interesting and they should not be dull and insipid as now. Media Heads should devise ways and means to make them interesting and lively to the listeners, viewers, and audiences.

6 All sides should be presented by including discussions of shortcomings in the implementation of Government's policy by participants and beneficiaries.

7. All slogans, slides, documentary films, INRs etc associated with Emergency and 20 plus 5 points programme should be withdrawn immediately if not already done. However, motivational and informational publicity would continue to be done by Government Media, including slogans, hoardings and slides.

8 An immediate exercise should be undertaken to review the existing hoardings, slogans and slides and new slogans prepared keeping in view the directions of Government.

9. While effecting a change in the style of publicity, it should be ensured that there is no let-up in publicity efforts. Media Units were free to act and should have no hesitation in respect of publicising Government policies and programmes.

[Shri L. K. Advani]

They should, however, guard against projecting policies as such and also what would amount to counter productive publicity.

10. Akashvani and Doordarshan should organise discussions on the subject of projection of news and programmes in its news and non-officials and experts in the subject should be associated.

11. As regards speakers on the Akashvani and Doordarshan, there were many turn-coats who have changed their views with the change of Government. Such of the speakers as had come out enthusiastically for supporting the Emergency and associated programmes during that period, should not be engaged by Akashvani and Doordarshan.

12. As regards the family planning, the Minister made it clear that the present Government is not against family planning as such. In fact, it has already declared that it is in favour of a national population policy. It is, however totally against coercion or compulsion. Family Welfare has to be completely voluntary. Publicity for family welfare should be done although in a low key, in consultation with the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

13. Concratsation of Government policies and programmes in various fields would take place only by the next Parliment Session. In the meanwhile, Media Units were advised to go ahead on the basis of the President's Address to the Parliament as well as the programmes and policies announced by the Janata Party on the basis of which it has been voted to power.

14. MIB stated that restoration of democracy in the country had generated an immense fund of goodwill abroad. Efforts should, therefore, be made to cash in on it in consultation with the EXP Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. Media Heads con-

cerned should devise a strategy towards this direction and put up their suggestions for consideration.

- (ii) Copy of confidential u.o. note No. 12/215/77-B(P), dated 29th June, 1978 from the Ministry of I&B to DG, AIR, DG, Doordarshan and Director of News Services.

SUBJECT—Review of the policy with regard to broadcast by persons who had also vociferous advocate of Emergency.

It may be recalled that recently a meeting was held under the Chairmanship of JS(B). Some decisions were taken on the desirability of broadcast by vociferous advocate of Emergency both in AIR and Doordarshan. Extracts of the noting in this regard as reproduced below are sent herewith for information and guidance.

It was pointed out by DNS that notable among those who figured frequently in Akashvani and Doordarshan programmes during the Emergency period and who were clearly identified as strong supporters of Emergency are the following:—

1. Dr. V. P. Dutt
2. Dr. A. M. Khusro
3. Dr. P. K. Tripathi
4. Shri Vishwabandhu Gupta
5. Shrimati Shyamla Pappu
6. Dr. Charanjeet Chanana
7. Shri A. K. Jain
8. Shri Rashid Talib (Hindustan Times).
9. Shri Girish Mathur (New Wave).
10. Shri D. R. Goyal (Secular Democracy).
11. Shri Shrikant Verma
12. Shri K. K. Mishra (Navjivan, Lucknow).

13. Shri Vinod Mishra (Hindustan)
14. Shri R. D. Kwatra, Political Commentator.
15. Shri V. D. Chopra (Patriot)
16. Shri B. K. Joshi (National Herald); and
17. Shri Vishnu Dutt (National Herald).

3. It was ensured both by DG, AIR as well as DG, Doordarshan, that these persons, who were vociferous advocates of Emergency, are not being invited to their programmes, to maintain credibility of these media.

4. There were quite a few who were active in presentation of programmes in justification of Emergency or in support of the 25-points of the former Prime Minister and 5-points of Shri Sanjay Gandhi. While they cannot be described as vociferous advocates of Emergency, their association with such programmes would require that should not be booked too frequently and certainly out for political discussions and commentaries. They can, however, be booked for such programmes of Akashvani and Doordarshan which are of cultural nature.

The receipt of the u.o. note may be acknowledged.

- (iii) Copy of the Confidential d.o. letter No. 12/215/77-B(P), dated 7-11-78 from Joint Secretary (Broadcasting) addressed to Director General, Akashvani and Doordarshan and Director of News Services, A.I.R., New Delhi.

I am desired to invite attention to this Ministry's u.o. No. 12/215/77-B(P), dated 29th June, 1978 which a copy of the record of the discussions held in the room of former JS(B) in regard to the policy of allowing broadcasts by persons who had been vociferous advocates of Emergency. The operative portion of the minutes is contained in paragraph 4 which states that persons who were active in the

presentation of programmes in justification of Emergency or in support of 20-Point Programme of the former Prime Minister and 5-Point Programme of Shri Sanjay Gandhi should not be booked too frequently and in any case not for political discussions and commentaries. The minutes further clarified that they should be booked for such programmes of Akashvani and Doordarshan which are of cultural nature.

2. Government have been informed that the circulation of these minutes has created an impression that Government had blacklisted a few persons from participation in the programmes of AIR and T.V. I am desired to clarify that the policy in this regard have been repeatedly stated by the Minister for Information and Broadcasting both in Parliament and outside. Briefly stated the policy is that in order to restore to the media the credibility lost by them during Emergency it is imperative that vociferous advocates of the Emergency be kept out from political discussions and commentaries. It has been clarified that they could, however, be booked for programmes which were of a non-political nature. I am to further clarify that this policy would equally apply to the seventeen persons listed in Paragraph 2 of the u.o. referred to above.

3. The above policy may kindly be kept in view in inviting people for programmes on AIR and Doordarshan.

4. This letter disposes of DG AIR's d.o. No. 21/24/78-PI dt. the 16th October, 1978.

With regard,

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर: मान्यवर, माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपन वक्तव्य में यह कहा है कि आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन की विश्वसनीयता बनाने के लिए सरकार निष्पक्ष और संतुलित दृष्टिकोण अपना रही है और आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन के कार्यक्रमों के लिए किसी व्यक्ति को काली सूची में नहीं रखा गया है—यह आकर मुझे प्रसन्नता हुई है।

[श्री हरिकेश बहादुर]

इमरजेसी के दौरान तमाम लोगों ने इतने कुकर्म किए हैं और कभी भी उन्होंने इस बात को नहीं सोचा कि पत्रकारिता का जो उद्देश्य है, उस का जो सन्ध है उस का किम नीयत के साथ पूरा करना चाहिए। खुले धाम तरीके से बहुत बड़े लोगों ने इमरजेन्सी के कुकर्मों को तारीफ की है, उन को सराहना की। कुछ लोग ऐसे भी रहे जो कि राजनीतिक लोग रहे हैं मैं पत्रकारों की बात धरती नहीं करता—जो कि स्वच्छन्द विचारों को व्यक्त करने के लिए जीवन भर किसी प्रकार के विशेष व्यवस्था में नहीं रहे, ऐसे लोगों ने खास तरीके से, बड़ी नाममती और बेसर्मी के साथ सभी वर्गों का समर्थन किया। इमरजेन्सी के जमाने में लोगों ने अपनी धनराशि को ताक पर रख दिया था, धनराशि की धाराज को कभी सुनने की कोशिश नहीं की थी। इन लोगों ने हर हालत में उस सरकार के सभी प्रकार के कुकर्मों का समर्थन करने का बीड़ा उठाया था। रेडियो व टेलीविजन के माध्यम से इस कार्य का किया। यह बड़ी शर्मनाक बात थी, हम उस का कड़े से कड़ा विरोध करते हैं।

लेकिन एक बात मैं जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिन लोगों ने ऐसे कार्यों को किया है उन से बदला लेने की भावना के साथ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होनी चाहिए। हमें उदारता का परिचय देना चाहिये। क्योंकि हम ने उस समय देश से यह भी कहा था कि हम जो तरीका अपनाया चाहते हैं उस में किसी भी प्रकार का डिसिम्प्लिनेशन या पक्षपात नहीं करेंगे। यह खुशी की बात है कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने इस विषय में काफी अच्छे कार्य किए हैं लेकिन उस के साथ साथ यह बात भी ध्यान लोगों के मन में बैठती जा रही है कि कुछ विशेष तरह के लोगों को बुलाने की जो परम्परा पहले चलती थी आज भी वहीं चल रही है। मैं ममसता हूँ इस बात का ख़ास तौर पर निराकरण होना चाहिए और यह तभी हो सकता है जब कि सरकार इस विषय में बहुत महत्वपूर्ण तरीके से सोचें और कदम उठाएँ। नौकरवाही जो है वह आज भी उसी तरह से काम कर रही है जैसे कि इमरजेन्सी के जमाने में करती थी। माननीय मंत्री जी ने तमाम ऐसे निर्देश दिए हैं जिन पर नौकरवाही को सही ढंग से व्यवहार करना चाहिये लेकिन वह नहीं कर रही है। मंत्री जी को बूझ करने के लिये या जनता पार्टी को बूझ करने के लिये मैं अपने पुराने तरीके पर ही चल रहा हूँ क्योंकि नौकरवाही के पास कोई धनराशि नहीं होगी है। वे अपनी नौकरी को बचाने के लिये देश के साथ गहरी कर सकते हैं, जनता के साथ गहरी कर सकते हैं। आज रेडियो व टेलीविजन की यह स्थिति बननी जा रही है कि छोटे छोटे उस की विश्वसनीयता खत्म हो रही है। यदि यही स्थिति रही और रेडियो की विश्वसनीयता खत्म हो गई तो आज रेडियो और टेलीविजन भी उसी प्रकार से हो जायेगा जिस प्रकार से इमरजेन्सी के दिनों में रेडियो और टेलीविजन बने हुए थे।

आन्ध्र, मैं यही कहना चाहूँगा कि राजनीतिक विचार के आधार पर किसी भी प्रकार की लिस्ट नहीं बनानी चाहिए। अगर अधिकारीगत इस प्रकार का कार्य कर रहे हैं तो मैं चाहूँगा कि माननीय मंत्री जी स्वयं इस चीज को देखें। केवल समर्थकों की या केवल विरोधियों की इस प्रकार की कोई लिस्ट अधिकारियों के बनवाने से इससे न केवल माननीय मंत्री जी,

बल्कि जनता सरकार और जनता पार्टी की भी बदनामी होगी। हमें माननीय मंत्री जी या सरकार की नीयत पर कोई शक नहीं है, लेकिन फिर भी इस और ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये तथा जो नई पीढ़ी के लोग हैं उन को अधिक से अधिक इन कार्यक्रमों में भाग लेने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिये।

मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ—जिन 17 व्यक्तियों की लिस्ट बनाने की बात कही गयी है, उससे रेडियो और टेलीविजन दोनों की विश्वसनीयता पर प्रभाव पड़ा है, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस विश्वसनीयता को बढ़ाने के लिये सरकार क्या कदम उठा रही है तथा नई पीढ़ी के पत्रकारों का ध्यान देने के लिये क्या कदम उठा रहे हैं? लोगों को बुलाने के लिए सरकार न क्या तरीका अपनाया है तथा वह कौन सी मशीनरी है जो लोगों को बुलाने का कार्य करती है?

श्री साहू कृष्ण ब्राह्मण अध्यक्ष जी, मैं माननीय सदस्य के इस बचन से पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ कि धाकाबाना और दूरदर्शन में लोगों को आमन्त्रित करने समय किसी भी प्रकार के प्रतिपाद की भावना का स्थान नहीं होना चाहिये। सचमुच में जो यह निर्देश दिया गया है, वह निर्देश हम उद्देश्य से किया गया है कि धाकाबाना और दूरदर्शन की विश्वसनीयता स्थापित हो उस विश्वसनीयता के स्थापित करने की दिशा में यह कदम उठाया गया है। शायद कुछ माननीय सदस्य कह सकते हैं कि इस में केवल 17 नामों को लिया गया है, जब कि एमरजेन्सी का समर्थन करने वालों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है।

यह बात सही है, लेकिन जब 17 नाम मीडिया के लोगों ने बैठ कर छाटे तो उन में केवल उन लोगों को ही निकायने की कोशिश की गई जो बहुत ज्यादा धाइटिकाईड हो गए थे और वे भी पार्टिसिपेंट्स थे जो बार बार इमरजेन्सी में छाते रहे थे।

वे यह भी कहना चाहूँगा—इमरजेन्सी के बाव के दो सालों में जितनी मात्रा में विपक्ष के सदस्यों को, विपक्ष के प्रतिनिधियों को स्थान मिला है, उसनी मात्रा में पहले किसी भी नहीं मिला। मेरे सामने फाइलें हैं—पिछले 4 मासों में, 1973 से 1977 तक कुल विचारण एक ही विपक्ष के सदस्य को बुलाया गया और वह बावब भी एस0 एम0 बनजी थे। लेकिन 1977 के बाद अपने विपक्ष के सदस्यों को दूरदर्शन पर आमन्त्रित किया गया और इसी प्रकार की बात रेडियो के लिये भी कही जा सकती है। लेकिन मैं यह बात जरूर कहना चाहूँगा कि पहली मीटिंग का जो मिनिट सजुबेट हुआ, जो सदन के टेबिल पर रखा गया और जिस में वे 17 नाम थे उस के सजुबेशन से कुछ गलतफहमी जरूर पैदा हुई—इस बात की मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ और उसी गलतफहमी की दूर करने के लिए ही, जो बीछर। सजुबेशन सभा सदन पर रखा है, वह जारी किया गया उस के एक सेलेबेट ऑफ की हैं वहाँ उईत करना चाहूँगा—

"Government has been informed that the circulation of these minutes has created an impression that Government has black-listed a few persons from participation in the programme of AIR and TV. I am desirous to clarify that the policy in this regard has been repeatedly stated by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in Parliament and outside. As briefly stated, the policy is that in order to restore to the media the credibility lost during the Emergency, it is imperative that vociferous advocates of the Emergency be kept out from political discussions and commentaries. It has been clarified that they could, however, be booked for programmes which were of a non-political character."

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola): Sir, if the contention of the Government is that whatever was done during the Emergency and because certain people were invited repeatedly on TV and Radio who spoke in favour of Emergency and, therefore, after the Emergency is over, and the so-called normalcy restored. . .

AN. HON. MEMBER: Why so-called?

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Because his behaviour of selecting and black-listing a few persons is a proof of your attitude of vendetta; your attitude of selecting a few and not allowing dissent or different views is all vendetta. You yourself decide who the guilty are. If you say that this media must be a free media, have you blacklisted Shri Balasaheb Deoras, your god-father? Have you blacklisted him? (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Unless he uses unparliamentary language, he has a right to say what he wants to say.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Is the word "god-father" unparliamentary? I can't understand this. (Interruptions).

MR. SPEAKER: Unless a member uses unparliamentary expression, he

has a right to say what he wants to say.

SHRI YADVENDRA DUTT: Will you permit him to drag the name of a person who is not a member of the House? (Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The names of persons who have been blacklisted, are they Members of Parliament? But their names have been quoted here. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Let him proceed. This should not be the behaviour of Parliament. You must have some norms in Parliament.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Dr. A. M. Khuro, the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University has been blacklisted. This very Government considers him honourable and respectable enough to be a member of the National Integration Committee of which the Prime Minister is the head. So, he is honourable; he is good; he is impartial otherwise. But for T. V. and Radio, the hon. Minister considers him to be a partial man and he is black-listed.

Let me quote the *Times of India*. In its editorial, this is what it says:

"The Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University who has only recently been nominated to the National Integration Committee on which the Prime Minister himself presides and the guide-lines make "association". . .

What are the guide-lines? The guide-lines have been circulated. The guide-lines which have been circulated and read themselves show, what is the offence. The offence is, association with Mrs. Gandhi's 20-Point Economic Programme, not only Emergency. According to the guide-lines, even though who were vociferous associated of the 20-Point Economic Programme were also to be blacklisted and considered taboo.

This is what the *Times of India* says:

[Shri Vasant Sathe]

"And the guidelines make 'association' with Mrs. Gandhi's 20-Point Programme which the RSS Chief, Mr. Deoras, praised, among others, in one of his letters to her during the Emergency, a ground for boycott by the media."

So, you are talking in two voices. You are not honest even to yourself. Your contention here is this.

This is what he says while giving the list:

"It was ensured both by DG, AIR, as well as DG, Doordarshan, that these persons, who were vociferous advocates of Emergency, are not being invited to their programmes, to maintain credibility of these media."

So, your credibility, at the very root, in the very statement, is destroyed by the very fact that, whereas you have picked and chosen, you have selected a few well-known persons in their own fields for being blacklisted, your own great man—the name has been quoted, no less a person than Sara Sangh Chalak, in whose parade Mr. Advani himself went wearing half-pant; I do not know whether Dr. Subramaniam Swamy wore half-pant or not. . . (Interruptions)—has not been. If Mr. Deoras who supported the 20-point programme can be considered honourable and respectable, then by what stretch of imagination do you consider these 17 persons otherwise? That is my question. What are the criteria that you have applied? That is what I would like to know.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: The hon. Member has asked no question. . . (Interruptions)

SHRI VASANT SATHE: What are the criteria that you have applied for this?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: If all supporters of the Emergency were to be named, the list would run into hundreds. Therefore, it consists of only those who had been participating in

the AIR and TV programmes during the Emergency and who had been fully identified with all that went on in the Emergency, whether it was in the name of 20-point programme or whether it was in the name of forced sterilisation or whether it was in the name of MISA and other measures. Perhaps, Hitler's regime is known also for its 25-point programme. He used to have a 25-point programme. Very many of the measures included in the 25-point programme, individually, by themselves, had been alright, but the 25-point programme as such became identified with the Third Reich and, therefore, it had an obnoxious odour. Therefore, all the persons who were identified with that obnoxious odour, I think, the Radio and the Doordarshan did well in deciding to blacklist them.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: He has not answered my question. What about Mr. Balasaheb Deoras? (Interruptions)

SHRI A. C. GEORGE (Mukandapuram): Even earlier I had a doubt, I had a suspicion, that our brilliant Minister for Information and Broadcasting had made some indepth study of the Hitler regime. Now he has really come out with that because he told us some details about Hitler's regime. Sir, our Information and Broadcasting Minister is a very sophisticated, very suave and slippery Minister which is proved just the same minute. In fact, it may come under the purview of a privilege issue. Look how slippery he is.

In the statement which he expects the Members to ordinarily read, he has said one thing. It is a very important issue. He said, "The Media were advised that such of the speakers as had come out enthusiastically in support of the emergency should ordinarily not be invited by Akashvani and Doordarshan for programmes of a political nature." Here he is adding the word 'ordinarily' which may indicate extra-ordinarily they may also be

invited for political discussion. Now, come to the third circular. It is a very interesting thing. The same Department, the same Minister—perhaps he has himself dictated it: I know he is a dictator. This is what the third circular says, 'It is imperative that the vociferous advocates of emergency be kept out from political discussions and commentaries.' Here, there is no word 'ordinarily'. Here, for the purpose of consumption of the Members, there is one thing in the first page and another in the fourth page. He thought after all we are illiterate men and may not go to the fourth page. In the first page he puts a very innocent word 'ordinarily'. He is even called a very innocent politician by the *Times of India* in a very sarcastic manner in their Editorial of the 20th. In the first page, he is saying 'ordinarily' they may not be invited which gives the feeling that after all he is such a literate gentleman and ordinarily may not be invited but extra-ordinarily he may be invited. But in the detailed instructions he is saying 'No'.

Sir, in the corridors of his Ministry and I think in knowledgeable circles, many people say L. K. Advani is a smiling Shukla. We have heard, Sir, about smiling Buddha, now people are saying he is a smiling Shukla, the same in a different form.

One thing, Sir. I was going through the debates in the Rajya Sabha as well as his performance here. . . I am not quoting. He is very cleverly avoiding certain words. He has got an inhibition against the word 'blacklist'. We know, the word over knows and I, with a limited knowledge of English, also know what 'blacklisting' means. Sir, a 'blacklist' is not printed on a black paper. It is printed on a white paper only but it is called blacklist when you are preventing somebody and you keep them out.

One thing, Sir. In the Parliamentary Consultative Committee meeting, Mr. Advani is reported to have said, 'There is no list like this.' But last Monday, i.e. on the 19th, he has come out and

openly admitted that he has a list of 16 people. I have no particular brief for some of them but some of them are really brilliant people. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: For example.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: You read it.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE: He said there is no blacklist. But, Sir, the general impression in the Ministry and among the knowledgeable people is that there are four lists. One is the black-list under which one may not ordinarily be invited but extraordinarily be invited. . .

SHRI SURATH BAHADUR SHAH (Kheri): Sir, is he putting questions or is he making a speech?.. (Interruptions)

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI Go to Bombay.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE. I am coming to my question, Sir.

Political commentators, political writers—they are not to be invited but they can be invited to other programmes. Is it for a discussion on poultry farming and bee keeping the political writers and commentators are to be invited? Are they to be invited for a discussion on needle-work?

AN HON. MEMBER: For a discussion on Shivambu.

SHRI A. C. GEORGE: One is the blacklist and the persons on the list may not be ordinarily invited. Then there is the grey list—where there is a umbra and a penumbra, a bit of shade, keep them on probation and if they perform well, they will be admitted. Then, there is a red list where they ordinarily or extra-ordinarily or under any circumstances will not be invited. But, over and above this, there is a very important list. That is the white and khaki list. . . (Interruptions) a particular colour which has a great resemblance—he must be knowing, he was wearing it even, Sir.

[Shri A. G. George]

Sir, his performance about saying first 'no' and then saying 'yes' whether it is black or whether it is white and all these discriminations he makes shows that he has the great capacity to turn black into white and turn white into black. He has invited some of the responsible leaders and commentators in this country, to say, the minimum, that is utterly disgraceful.

Further, the comment is that his performance cannot convince any fair minded person. Of course he is called an innocent politician. Sir, this black list, grey list, the white list, this khaki list all have to go if the credibility is to be established. What is the credibility there? Some of his senior ministers here who have never seen the turbans for the last forty years took turbans on loan or rent and were wearing in some of the meetings in the Boat Club here. T.V. was booming on that. But on 20th when the real agricultural workers, in lakhs and lakhs gathered over here, wearing borrowed turbans—they are the real wearers of the turbans—nothing is seen. This is the credibility. I suggest that the existence of the black list, grey list, red list and the khaki list should go.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Sir, there is no question. He has said this out of emotion. I would like to say that when I use the word 'ordinarily' in the statement, I mean that that is the advice that I have been giving to the media and that is the advice that they had been following also. This is of course factually correct that 17 names had been identified being among the people in the 'list'. Out of this, I notice that Dr. A. N. Khusro, Shrimati Shyamala Pappu, A. K. Jain, D. R. Goyal, K. K. Misra, Vishun Dutt all of them had been invited during this period. If it had not been 'ordinarily', then, perhaps, I would have pulled them up. Thus the instruction and advice given to the media that they should ordinarily not be invited had been followed. (Interruptions) My reference to Hitler made the hon. Member say that. I have obviously studied Hit-

ler's regime. I no doubt have. I have taken pains to study it particularly during the period of my detention. I have actually written a little piece 'A Tale of two Emergencies'. How parallel it is to compare what happened to that era and what has happened in Germany!

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Sudheeran:

(Interruption)**

MR. SPEAKER: Don't record. Nothing will be recorded.

SHRI V. M. SUDHEERAN (Alleppey): Sir, it is widely complained even by the leading Janata stalwarts like Shri Madhu Limaye that under the guidelines of the Minister, the media not only is misused but it is being monopolised by R.S.S. It is in the statement made by the General Secretary of the Janata Party.

Sir, blacklisting is a clear warning to the political commentators, singers and academicians that if they do not toe the line of R.S.S., they will have to invite the anger of some of the Ministers including the Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

May I know from the Minister what is the subtle difference you draw between the censorship of the previous caucus and the blacklisting of the present caucus? There is a caucus even in the I&B Ministry under the leadership and chairmanship of Mr. Advani. Sir, the attitude of the present Minister and the former Minister shows that they are both sides of the same coin—no difference. Sir, in view of the admission of the Minister himself that he made a political interference to delete the names of a few political figures with whom he does not agree, is it not amply clear that to establish credibility of the media the whole set-up has to be brought under an autonomous corporation? What is the attitude of the present government regarding the implementation of the Verghese Committee in setting up an autonomous corporation and the media to be brought under this corporation?

**Not recorded.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: The question posed is about the Verghese Committee's recommendations and as the hon'ble Members are aware this House discussed that matter only in the last Session. Since then the government is busy processing the whole report and the deliberations and the views-points of the Members. (Inter-ruptions)

I hope it will be possible for the government to introduce a bill for the conversion of A.I.R. into an autonomous corporation in this Budget Session.

12.45 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

TWENTIETH REPORT AND MINUTES

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I beg to present the Twentieth Report (Hindi and English versions) of the Committee on Public Undertakings (1978-79) on Structure of Boards of Management of Public Undertakings and other Allied Matters and Minutes (Hindi and English versions) of the sitting of the Committee relating thereto.

12.46 hrs.

MATTERS UNDER RULE 377

(1) REPORTED ATR C TIES ON HARIJANS IN BIHAR.

जी राज बिहार पातबान (हाजीपुर) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन का ध्यान प्रसादन द्वारा हरिजनों की हत्या की और भीषण आहवा है। विगत 17 दिसम्बर को पटना के एक पुलिस अधिकाारी द्वारा तीन हरिजनों को इतनी बेरहमी से पीटा गया कि ठकेला होम की लकाल हिपत में ही मृत्यु हो गई तथा उस के साथी किसी तरह से जीवित हैं। बाद में उक्त अधिकाारी ने हरिजन की लाश को पटना मैडिकल प्रस्पताल भेज दिया। 19 दिसम्बर को जब हरिजन विधायियों को ठकेला की हत्या का पता चला, तो वे दौड़े दौड़े स्वर्गीय ठकेला के घर पहुंचे। वहाँ जाने पर पता चला कि लाश को उक्त अधिकाारी लापब करता आहते हैं। 20

तारीख को छात्रों ने हत्याकांड के विरोध में जुलूस निकाला, जिस में राजधानी के हरिजन, मजदूर, महिलाये, बच्चे सभी तबके के लोग थे। वे लोग लाश की मुख्य मर्गी के पास से जाना चाहते थे। रास्ते में उक्त अधिकाारी के प्रभाव के बल पर सी० धार० पी० एच उपस्थित अधिकाारियों ने छात्रों को दूरी तरह बाधन कर दिया, लेकिन अतः लोग मुख्य मर्गी के पास पहुंच गये। मुख्य मर्गी ने स्वयं जा कर लाश का निरीक्षण किया तथा अपने हाथों उस का मुचाविन किया। उन के कार्यवाही के धारवासन के बाव भी अभी तक उक्त अधिकाारी के 'बलाक किसी तरह की कार्यवाही नहीं की गई।

एक तरह बरकार कहती है कि वहाँ कहीं हरिजनों पर जुल्म होगा, उस के लिये उस जिले के जिलाधकारी तथा एस० पी० को दोषी माना जायेगा। लेकिन दूसरी ओर जब एस० पी० स्वयं निर्दोष हरिजन की हत्या करता है तो सरकार तथा प्रशासन उसको बचा लेते हैं। मैं ने इस सम्बन्ध में माननीय प्रधान मंत्री तथा बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री को भी बहुत पहिले लिखित रूप में सूचित किया, लेकिन अभी तक उक्त पदाधिकाारी को निम्नलिखित नहीं किया गया क्योंकि सरकार के मंत्री से लेकर प्रशासन तक उक्त पदाधिकाारी का बोलबाला है।

इसी तरह 11-3-79 के साप्ताहिक रविवार में स्वर्गीय श्री राधाकान्त घोषी (हरिजन), राम पञ्चबारी, जिला सिवान (बिहार) की हत्या की खबर छपी है। पञ्चबारी अचल कार्यालय के बड़ा बाबू के जिम्मे राधा हरिजन की दुलाई की मजदूरी के बारह रूये थे, जिस को देने से वह इन्कार करता था। जब बाद में बिगड़ कर राधा हरिजन ने मजदूरी मागी, तो उस को उक्त बड़ा बाबू ने सबक सिखाने की चेतावनी दी। दो दिनों बाद अचल कार्यालय के एक लिपिक के घर में चोरी हुई। इस चोरी की घटना से बड़ा बाबू को राधा से बदला लेने का सुनहरा मौका मिल गया। बड़ा बाबू गवाह बने और उन्होंने पुलिस को बताया कि राधा और उस के सबबी ने चोरी की है। बाद में रात्रि में पुलिस ठाण राधा और उस के भतीजे को गिरफ्तार कर अचल कार्यालय लाया गया। अचल कार्यालय के मैदान में दोनों को बांध कर दो दिनों तक पिटाई चलती रही। इतना ही नहीं, उसकी उपलियों को मोहने की छत्र से कुचला गया, कोमबली से जवाया गया और पाखाने के रास्ते से पेट में मिर्ची का बोल डला गया। राधा के चिकित्सा चिकित्सा कर प्रार्थना की कि उसे गोली से मार दे, लेकिन इस तरह कष्ट से कर न मारें। निर्दयतापूर्वक राधा की हत्या कर दी गई। राधा के कल के इस्त्राम से बच्चे के लिये पुलिस ने अपने धनुकूल पोस्टमार्टम रिपोर्ट लिखवाई और रात्रि में ही लाश को जला दिया। सिवान नगरपालिका कर्मचारी युनियन तथा महिला सभाज द्वारा पुलिस के खिलाफ प्रदर्शन किया गया, लेकिन अभी तक किसी तरह की कार्रवाही नहीं की गई।

हालांकि मैडिकल कासेज के एक हरिजन छात्र राम प्रसाद को प्रधानाचार्य तथा वैमोतोजी विद्याय के अध्यक्ष के व्यवहार से तंग आ कर अलग हत्या पर विचार होगा वहाँ। राम प्रसाद हमेशा प्रथम स्थान