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**Media
Special-1**



श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी
प्रधानमंत्री



मध्यप्रदेश सरकार

उन्नत सिंचाई सुविधाओं से आत्मनिर्भर बनते किसान



श्री शिवराज सिंह चौहान
मुख्यमंत्री

○○○

मध्यप्रदेश ने सिंचाई सुविधाओं के विस्तार में अभूतपूर्व उपलब्धियाँ हासिल की हैं। बेहतर प्रबंधन एवं स्मार्ट तरीके से सिंचाई परियोजनाओं को जमीन पर उतारने का परिणाम है कि प्रदेश में अधिका-से अधिक क्षेत्र में सिंचाई के लिए पानी की उपलब्धता सुनिश्चित हो रही है। मध्यप्रदेश सरकार द्वारा सिंचाई की उन्नत सुविधाओं के निर्माण से कृषि उत्पादन में बढ़ोतरी कर किसानों की आय बढ़ाने के इत्सम प्रयास सुनिश्चित किये जा रहे हैं।

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“ उन्नत सिंचाई सुविधाओं का विकास सुनिश्चित करने में मध्यप्रदेश तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है। कृषि उत्पादन को बढ़ाकर किसानों की आय में वृद्धि के लिए हर क्षेत्र को सिंचित बनाना हमारी सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकताओं में है। ”

- शिवराज सिंह चौहान



उपलब्धियाँ अब तक

- वर्ष 2020 तक कुल 40.27 लाख हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में सिंचाई सुविधाएँ विकसित।
- प्रदेश में 19 वृहद, 97 मध्यम एवं 5344 लघु सिंचाई योजनाओं का कार्य पूर्ण।
- 27 वृहद, 47 मध्यम एवं 287 लघु सिंचाई योजनाएँ निर्माणाधीन।
- अगले 5 सालों में 65 लाख हेक्टेयर में सिंचाई सुविधा उपलब्ध कराने का लक्ष्य।

प्रधानमंत्री कृषि सिंचाई योजना
में मंडला, डिंडोरी, राहडोल, उमरिया एवं सिंगदोली जिलों में ₹ 1707 करोड़ की लागत से 24,364 मू-जल संरचनाओं के निर्माण से सीमांत एवं लघु किसानों की 62,133 हेक्टेयर भूमि में सिंचाई



आत्मनिर्भर मध्यप्रदेश रोडमैप के लक्ष्य

- आगामी तीन वर्षों में नर्मदा जल का पूर्ण उपयोजन सुनिश्चित करने के लिए टालि ह ₹ 15,000 करोड़ की व्यवस्था।
- अगले एक वर्ष में प्राथमिकता के आधार पर तीन नर्मदा नदी परियोजनाओं को पूर्ण करने के लिए ह 4000 करोड़ की अग्रिम टालि की व्यवस्था।
- आगामी एक वर्ष में ह 30,000 करोड़ की टालि के कार्यों को प्रारंभ करना।

निर्माणाधीन प्रमुख वृहद परियोजनाएं

- **मोहनपुरा परियोजना-** राजगढ़ जिले के 1,45,661 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 800 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 3066.34 करोड़
- **बागसागर परियोजना-** रीवा, सीपी, राहडोल, मरवा जिलों के 2,91,820 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 2695 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 3858.73 करोड़
- **कुण्डलिया परियोजना-** राजगढ़ जिले के 1,38,598 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 800 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 3448 करोड़
- **वीना संयुक्त सिंचाई एवं बहुदेशीय परियोजना-** सागर एवं विदिशा जिले के 90,000 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 306 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 3295.31 करोड़
- **बण्डा परियोजना-** सागर जिले के 80,000 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 332 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 2610.64 करोड़
- **पैठ व्यपवर्तन परियोजना-** सिवनी, डिंडोवाड़ा जिले के 1,26,400 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 410 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 2544.57 करोड़
- **लोअर और परियोजना-** सिवपुरी जिले के 1,19,535 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 222 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 2208.03 करोड़
- **फादली वृहद परियोजना-** राजगढ़, सीहोर और भोपाल जिलों के 48,000 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 157 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 1815.54 करोड़
- **बागसुनार परियोजना-** टोंकमगढ़ जिले के 75,000 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 183 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 1768.50 करोड़
- **राजगढ़ सुवासरा कुलम सिंचाई परियोजना-** मंडला जिले के 85,117 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 326 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 1662.47 करोड़
- **कुण्डलिया सिंचाई परियोजना -** राजगढ़ जिले के 40,800 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 220 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 1375.24 करोड़
- **मंडौल कुलम सिंचाई परियोजना-** मंडला जिले के 2,14,00 हेक्टेयर क्षेत्र में होगी सिंचाई, 62 गांव होने लाभाश्वित।
लागत- ₹ 340.20 करोड़

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On Republic Day
Media Special-1

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Contributors' profile

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Ashok Kumar Tandon is a veteran journalist, columnist, and political commentator with nearly 50 years experience in journalism, media relations and media academics. A post-graduate in Political Science from Delhi University he has worked in various positions including PTI Bureau Chief in London and later as Diplomatic Editor. Besides being a professor in the Makhanlal Chaturvedi National University of Journalism and Communication he had been a member at Press Council, Editors' Guild of India, Press Association and India International Centre. Currently he is a member at Prasar Bharati Board. Contact: ashokkumar.tandon@gmail.com

Jawaharlal Kaul Padmshree Awardee. Started journalism in 1964 from Hindusthan Samachar. Retired from the post of Senior Assistant Editor from Jansatta. Written a book titled *Hindi Patrakarita ka Bazarbhav* under Birla Fellowship. Chairman of the Jammu-Kashmir Study Centre.
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Isht Deo Sankrityaayan Senior journalist and author, associated with the Research and Development Foundation for Integral Humanism, writing and translation of several books goes to his credit. Contact: idsankrityaayan@gmail.com

Kumud Sharma Teaching in Delhi University. She has been honoured with many awards for her literary contribution. Some of her major works are *Hindi ke nirmata*, *Streeghosh*, *Vigyapan ki Duniya*, *Gaon ke Man se Ru-ba-ru*, *Nai Kavita me Rashtriya Chetna*, *Amritputra*. Regularly writing articles in national newspapers and magazines. Contributed from 1996 to 2004 as a Joint Editor for reputed literary magazine *Sahitya Amrit*. Contact: sharma.kumud9@yahoo.com

Prof Arun Kumar Bhagat has worked as a professor for 14 years in Noida campus of Makhanlal Chaturvedi National University of Journalism and Communication, and had received Atal Bihari Vajpayee Fellowship at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Currently he is the Head and Dean of the Department of Media Studies in Mahatma Gandhi Central University, Motihari. He is credited for penning and editing of 24 books. He is also at the panel of many news channels and regularly participates in the discussions; and had been honoured with the Rashtradharm Gaurav Samman and Bhasha Mitra Samman for his contribution.
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Vijay Kranti is a senior Indian journalist, a Tibetologist and an accomplished photographer. Over past nearly five decades, he has worked on the staff of prominent Indian and international media groups. His 47 year long photography of exile Tibetan community and life inside Chinese occupied Tibet is considered to be the largest one man photo work on Tibet. Contact: v.kranti@gmail.com

Siddharth Zarabi is a well-known media executive with over two decades of experience as a results-oriented decisive leader with a successful track record in content creation and innovation in Indian and global media firms. An ardent believer in the power of technology and its impact on content creation and consumption, he has a deep rooted understanding of India, its politics, its economy and has fingers on the real pulse of Bharat. Contact: szarabi@gmail.com

Vijay Dutt Shridhar is an Indian journalist, writer and the founder of Madhav Sapre Museum of Newspapers and Research Institute. He was honored by the Government of India, in 2012, with the Padma Shri. He is a former director of Makhanlal Chaturvedi National University of Journalism and Communication and has served as the editor of Navbharat Times. He has authored four books, *Bhartiya Patrakarita Kosh*, a 2 volume chronicle of the history of journalism in the Indian subcontinent from 1780 till 1947, *Shabd Satta* a historical narrative of 150 years of journalism in Madhya Pradesh, and the third one, *Choutha Padav*, the history of Bhopal covering 1000 years. Shridhar received the Bhartendu Harishchandra Award for his work, *Pehla Sampadakiya*. Contact: editor.anchalikpatrakar@gmail.com

Dr. Santosh Kumar Tewari is a retired Professor of Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi. Before joining CUJ, he worked as HOD and Dean at Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. Prior to this, he was Professor and founder Head of the Department of Mass Communication and founder Dean of the School of Information Sciences at the Assam Central University. He worked for about two decades in different newspapers and magazines. He is recipient of three foreign scholarships. His book *A Study of Free Speech vs. Hate Speech*, was published by IASE Deemed University, Rajasthan. Contact: santoshtewari2@gmail.com

Umesh Chaturvedi, a media consultant in the News section of All India Radio, has long experience of working in newspapers, television, radio and internet. He has authored two books *Bazarvad ke Daur mein Media* and *Dinman ka Monograph*. Umesh is a visiting faculty in many institutes including IIMC. Contact: uchaturvedi@gmail.com

Manish Chandra Shukla is an Assistant Professor in Laxmibai College of the University of Delhi. He is credited for an important research-work entitled as *Sting Operation and Morality in Journalism*. His articles have been published in many reputed newspapers and magazines.
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Editorial

Every issue of *Manthan* is in a way a special issue as it is focused on a particular topic. You all liked the Women Power Special issue and I am thankful to you all.



Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma

This first issue of the New Year 2021- the January-March issue- is a special issue on the Media. Media has extended the reach of journalism and has also expanded the definition of news so much that these words now seem inadequate to convey the scope of the media. And so, this issue of *Manthan* is the Media Special issue. Indian languages have also now accepted the term *media* in the same way.

The origin of the media is in journalism. So, it has its history along with some generalised assumptions. In history, perhaps, democracy and media opened their eyes together. Newspapers got established as the fourth pillar of the state on their own. The Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary are statutorily the three pillars of the democratic-state. Media is the self-styled fourth pillar also as accepted by society. As it is the fourth pillar, it is very important. But it is free of statutory restrictions. It struggles between autonomy and anarchy. On the one hand, it is expected of such an important pillar to be free and autonomous; on the other hand it becomes dangerous for a democracy if it becomes anarchist. So, what shall be done?

It is important that we understand the story from 'journalism' to 'media'. We must know about that journey full of ups and downs, which has changed its form and character. Sociologists all over the world are struggling with this issue. This constant struggle gives birth to a proper discourse. When there is a discourse then there is naturally dispute. But, dispute in itself is not an objective; the goal is always dialogue and discourse.

This special issue of *Manthan* starts that very discourse. We are fortunate to have as guest editor of this issue, honourable Shri Achyutanand Mishra. His entire life has been in the service of journalism. His experienced guidance has enriched this issue. Due to him only, we could reach to able writers.

Many learned experts and journalists are associated with Research and Development Foundation for Integral Humanism. The names of respected Shri Ram Bahadur Rai, Shri Ashok Tandon and Shri Jawahar Lal Kaul are worth mentioning here. By the active support, and guidance of all of them, this special issue has been framed-up in two parts, of which the first part is in your hands.

Research oriented writing is a practice-based skill. Formally it is not used in journalism. Journalistic writing is not with a long life whereas long life is inherent in research-based writing. Most of the writers of this issue are journalists. I have perhaps troubled the writers to make the writing research-oriented. And, I beg their pardon for that. But it was necessary for such editing of *Manthan* considering its genre. My heartfelt wishes are with you for the New Year and for the Republic Day.

Both the parts of this special issue will tell their own story. The editor is just a medium. Keep giving us your affection.

Shubham!

mahesh.chandra.sharma@live.com

Respected Mahesh ji

Affectionate Greetings

I was very happy reading the article of Ranga Hari ji in the Women Power Special of *Manthan*. It is a well-researched article. Besides being Malayalam speaker he has an excellent command over Hindi.

Rasmani is mentioned. It would have been nice to have a little emotive impression of the struggle she had to wage for construction of the temple. When wealthy landlords heard that Rasmani was buying land for the temple, they ganged up against her and did not let her buy the land. It is the western bank of the Ganges that has been considered to be spiritually superior. Finally, she had to buy land on the eastern bank from a Christian. Incurring the maximum expenditure, it became the grandest temple of that period. Despite this, she couldn't find a priest. Eventually, a priest was found through the efforts of a person from the family of Paramahansa. Later, factions emerged over the attempt to ensure that no one should visit the temple. Finally, the priest had to quit the temple. Rasmani too passed away amid all these sorrows. Afterwards, there were differences of opinion in Rasmani's family as well. The matter went to the court and a hundred years later the matter was freed of legal wrangles. Rasmani's personality was amazing. She asked Thakur to recite hymns inside the temple. While singing, Thakur found that Rasmani was focused on the case. He administered a slap on her. It was an insult in the presence of so many of her employees, but Rasmani ordered everyone to remain calm. She said that Thakur has punished me for my fault. She was a brave woman. When British soldiers entered her house after consuming liquor, she came out to fight them.

Madam Cama made great efforts in Europe for India's independence despite being a foreigner. She fought hard to save Savarkar, who had jumped off a ship, on French Territory. I have not read anywhere about any slanderous material against women in the *Panchatantra*. It is heartening to see the mention of Buddha and his followers, and Jain women monks. The Tibet issue of *Manthan* was also very excellent.

Laxmi Niwas Jhunjhunwala

Shraddheya Shri Mahesh Chandra Sharma ji

I had the privilege of reading the Trivishtap Special issue 1 of the *Manthan*. Some sweetmeat lovers grab sweets included in *prasad* as soon as they get an opportunity. Sometimes they also obtain delectable sweets in the offerings made to God. In the same way, readers like me get highly eclectic books as offerings of God. I have obtained the same *prasad* of the Almighty through *Manthan*.

It would be no exaggeration if I call the *Manthan* a brainstorming project. I have read many issues of this project, like Kashmir, Gandhāra and the first issue of Trivishtap. After reading each issue of *Manthan*, one realises how the worthy efforts of the *Manthan* family are making it beneficial by publishing the heritage of Aryavarta in the language of general public. There is no option other than preserving this journal. The generation of such research material is possible only by highly intense endeavour. You have presented a veritable research institution for those with reading interest in journals right in their homes. It is a challenge to bring together the contexts of both languages, Tibetan and Sanskrit, in Devanāgarī, in accordance with their world view. From the beginning to the end, scholarly articles that have deep insight into the subject of the article, the attempt to compile it in common language and enlivened presentation of historical events are verily like drops of nectar. Through the medium of *Manthan*, these have been presented for readers.

Congratulations once again to you and the *Manthan* family for publishing such a journal. The distorted history written by the secularists, communists and Muslim rulers has been served to the present generation for the last 40 years needs a lot of improvement. My suggestion for the future issues of *Manthan* to be published would be for newly discovered archeological and heritage objects in India or abroad to be integrated with a scientific basis. *Manthan* would be performing a great task when it does so.

Brijnath Pandit
Gulshan Vivant, Noida 137



Ashok Kumar Tandon

Democracy and Media in India

“

Freedom of conscience, of education, of speech, of assembly are among the very fundamentals of democracy and all of them would be nullified should freedom of the press ever be successfully challenged
~Franklin D. Roosevelt

”

All of the systems for regulation of media are of the old ages, when all modes of media were in their infancy. However, now mediums of communication and the flow of content, both are in a volatile stage. Regulating it under the old system is near impossible. An overview of the scopes under new system

The *Organiser* weekly has the distinction of being one of the first publications in independent India to successfully uphold the fundamental right of the freedom of speech and express enshrined in Article 19 (1) (a) of the Indian constitution.¹

The RSS mouthpiece was restrained to publish its weekly edition on March 2, 1950, without a prior scrutiny of its contents by the authorities under an order issued by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi invoking East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949.

In its landmark judgment in the famous Brij Bhushan (then printer & publisher of the *Organiser* weekly when K. R. Malkani was the editor) v/s the Union of India, the Supreme Court declared the order of Delhi Chief Commissioner as null and void on the grounds that the publication had not violated any provisions of the Article 19(2) of the constitution which puts certain restrictions on freedom of speech & expression.²

The judgment in the case of *Organiser* weekly and another landmark judgment, also in 1950, in Romesh Thapar (printer, publisher and editor of the Communist Party of India mouthpiece “Cross Roads”) v/s. State of Madras triggered a constitutional crisis.³

Prime Minister Nehru was so furious with the Supreme Court interpretation of Article 19(2) that he told the Law Minister B.R. Ambedkar that the government is having problems with the judiciary over the fundamental rights and that provisions of Article 19(2) will have to be amended.

Home Minister Sardar Patel also wrote to Nehru that these two verdicts “had knocked the bottom out of “most of our penal laws for the control and regulation of the Press. My own feeling is that very soon we shall have to sit down and consider constitutional amendments.”

In Feb 1951, Nehru formed a cabinet committee to examine the proposed amendment.

The draft amendment was introduced by Ambedkar without the word reasonable on 12th May 1951. Nehru defended the amendment.

Dr. Mookerjee and H.N.

Kunzru vehemently criticised the proposed amendment forcing Nehru to relent and agree to add the word 'reasonable' before the word "restrictions" on freedom of speech and

expression under article 19(2) of the constitution without altering article 19(1)a.

In June 1951, India's provisional unicameral Parliament passed the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, incorporating "Public order" and "friendly relations with foreign States" as part of the reasonable restrictions in Article 19(2) of the constitution.

According to Abhinav Chandrachud, an advocate at the Bombay High Court, Nehru was so rattled that he wrote to Patel accusing Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Calcutta Press as the "chief culprit" against the smooth working of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact..

Abhinav says the "friendly relations with foreign States" restriction seems to have been targeted at Mookerjee.

In a speech in Parliament, Nehru said: "If an individual does something which might result in war, it is a very serious matter. No State, in the name of freedom, can submit to actions which may result in wholesale war and destruction."

On the other hand, Dr. Mookerjee, in his speech in Parliament against the First Amendment, said that Partition was a mistake and that it should be undone someday, even by force.

Dr. Mookerjee said he did not know whether the "friendly relations with foreign States" exception related to "the demand which is being made in certain quarters about a possible reunion of India and Pakistan".

The correspondence exchanged between Nehru and Patel in 1950 makes it clear that

India the Mother of Democratic Institutions

Western historians remain sceptical about the fact that democratic institutions flourished in India way back in the early sixth century B.C.

Indian claims to be the mother of all democracies would have remained unsubstantiated but for documented historical evidence available in the writings of a Greek historian Diodorus.

Giving an account of the political landscape in the Indian peninsula about two centuries after Alexander's invasion of India, Diodorus wrote that "Independent Democratic Republics", then known as "Sangh" and "Gan", existed in India in the sixth century B.C.

Modern scholars, including some in India, refuse to reconcile to India being the cradle of democratic institutions more than 2500 years ago. The argument they advance is that how could democratic republics "Sangh" and "Gan", even if they did exist, have no documented historical evidence except in the writings of the Greek historians. Manuscripts of the glory of golden era of ancient Indian would have provided the documented evidence had the invaders not destroyed and burnt down the libraries of great seats of learning like the "Takshshila" and "Nalanda" universities.

Therefore, the western world believes Athens to be the place of origin of democracy and quote the Athenian Literature "The Republic of Plato" and "Politics of Aristotle" and lectures of Machiavelli to buttress their assertions.

They have successfully convinced the world that ancient Greeks and Romans were the founders of democratic experiments.

Great Britain, however, has been consistently challenging these claims asserting that Magna Carta, (a Latin word) "Great Charter of Freedoms" or "Royal Charter of Rights", adopted at Runnymede, near Windsor Castle, England, on June 15, 1215, was the beginning of the process of democratisation.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher always claimed Britain to be the oldest parliamentary democracy in the modern world and house of Westminster "The mother of Parliaments".

“friendly relations with foreign States” were added in view of Dr. Mookerjee’s calls for the forcible reunification of India and Pakistan.³

Origin & Growth of Press in India

Western historians claim that foundation of the Press in India was laid during the British rule.

But there was no independence and press was gagged by draconian colonial laws.

Veteran freedom fighters were persecuted and jailed for writing

A Controversial Law in Russia

As freedom of press continues to suffer worldwide making journalists’ job more difficult by the day, Russian President Vladimir Putin has signed a controversial law allowing independent journalists and bloggers to be labelled as “foreign agents.” DECEMBER 3, 2019

Russian legislation passed in 2012 already gave authorities the power to brand media organisations and NGOs as foreign agents, a term that has Soviet-era overtones. The new law, which now extends to individuals, will come into effect immediately, according to a document published on the Russian government website.

Foreign agents, defined as involved in politics and receiving money from abroad, must register with the justice ministry, label publications with the tag and submit detailed paperwork or face fines.

Nine human rights NGOs, including Amnesty International and Reporters Without Borders (RSF), have expressed concern that the amendments may be aimed not only at journalists but also at bloggers and internet users who benefit from scholarships, funding or revenues from a relevant media outlet.

The RSF’s 2019 Press Freedom Ranking, Russia ranks 149 out of 180 countries. RSF’s recent report on Russia’s “sovereign internet law”, adopted in May, says that “the country takes internet censorship in Russia to a new level” as the government is attempting to gain control over the infrastructure of the web.

“It is seeking to block content even more effectively, surveil communication completely and, if necessary, be able to cut the Russian internet off from the worldwide web. In the spring, thousands of people protested against this law and for the freedom of the internet. In the summer, tens of thousands took to the streets for a greater voice in politics. Hundreds of demonstrators were arrested and quite a few were sentenced to prison.”

“At the same time, independent online media and civil society organisations’ information portals that resist the Kremlin’s dictates experienced an unimagined wave of support,” said the report.

NGOs said in a joint statement last month the law was “a further step to restrict free and independent media” and “a strong tool to silence opposition voices.” Authors of the bill have said it is intended to “perfect” existing legislation on “foreign agents” that already covers NGOs and media organisations. Russia says it wants the law as a tit-for-tat mechanism if its journalists are defined as foreign agents in the West.

Russia first passed legislation allowing media organisations to be slapped with the label in 2017, after Kremlin-funded RT television was declared a foreign agent in the United States.

Russian opposition politician Alexi Navalny’s organisation has been branded a foreign agent, as has US-financed media outlet Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. The term foreign agent was used negatively during the Stalinist era in the 1970s and 1980s for opponents accused of being paid by the West.



श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री



मध्यप्रदेश शासन



श्री शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री

विकास के प्रतिबद्ध प्रयास

- ❖ मुख्यमंत्री किसान कल्याण योजना में प्रधानमंत्री सम्मान मिथि के हितग्राहियों को 4000 रुपये की अतिरिक्त राशि राज्य सरकार की ओर से।
- ❖ किसानों को ब्याजमुक्त ऋण के लिए बैंकों और समितिवाँ को 800 करोड़ रुपये जारी।
- ❖ आदिवासी वनाधिकार पत्रों का वितरण- 2 लाख 70 हजार से अधिक व्यक्तिगत और 39 हजार 996 से अधिक सामुदायिक वनाधिकार पत्रों का वितरण।
- ❖ चम्बल प्रोसेस वे- भिण्ड, मुरैना और शवोपुर होते हुए राजस्थान सीमा तक कुल 316 कि.मी. लम्बा।
- ❖ रीवा सौर परियोजना- विश्व की सबसे बड़ी परियोजनाओं में से एक। 4000 करोड़ रुपये की लागत से निर्मित परियोजना में 750 मेगावॉट बिजली का उत्पादन।
- ❖ वर्ष 2018-19 के खरीफ एवं रबी फसलों के लिए 16 लाख किसानों को 3100 करोड़ रुपये की फसल बीमा राशि का भुगतान।
- ❖ विभिन्न योजनाओं में आर्थिक सहायता- जरूरतमंदों के खातों में 24 विभागों की विभिन्न योजनाओं के अंतर्गत 40 हजार 500 करोड़ रुपये से अधिक की राशि अंतरित।
- ❖ प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना - उद्यानिकी फसलों को भी रबी 2020-21 से रबी 2022-23 के लिए सम्मिलित करते हुए क्रियान्वयन।
- ❖ प्रदेश के इतिहास में पहली बार महिला स्व-सहायता समूहों को 479.44 करोड़ रुपये के ऋण स्वीकृत और 343 करोड़ रुपये के ऋण वितरित।
- ❖ संबल योजना- 6 माह में 25 हजार से अधिक हितग्राहियों को 268 करोड़ रुपये की सहायता।
- ❖ राष्ट्रीय जल जीवन मिशन- 3 हजार करोड़ रुपये से अधिक की योजनाएं स्वीकृत। ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के 26 लाख से अधिक घरों में जल कनेक्शन का लक्ष्य।
- ❖ प्रधानमंत्री आवास योजना (शहरी) के 8 हजार 241 हितग्राहियों को 82 करोड़ 41 लाख रुपये की राशि सिंगल ब्लॉक के माध्यम से उनके खातों में अंतरित।
- ❖ प्रधानमंत्री आवास योजना (ग्रामीण) के एक लाख 78 हजार 417 हितग्राहियों को कुल 451 करोड़ रुपये की राशि सिंगल ब्लॉक के माध्यम से अंतरित।
- ❖ बिजली बिलों में राहत- 97 लाख से अधिक बिजली उपभोक्ताओं को बिजली बिलों में 623 करोड़ रुपये से अधिक की राहत।



सरकार के फैसले हैं मददगार
आत्मनिर्भरता का सपना होगा साकार



दो गज की दूरी, मास्क है जरूरी

खुशहाली के बीज

57 वर्षों से भारतीय किसानों की सेवा में

भारत में अनाज, तिलहन और दलहन के सबसे बड़े बीज उत्पादक के रूप में राष्ट्रीय बीज निगम 1963 से गुणवत्ता वाले बीजों के भरोसेमंद आपूर्तिकर्ता के रूप में अपनी प्रतिष्ठा को कायम रखे हुए है और देशभर में ऐसे बीजों के जरिए संपन्नता फैला रहा है, जो कि :-

- ▶ राष्ट्रीय बीज निगम के फार्मों और 12500 से अधिक पंजीकृत बीज उत्पादकों द्वारा आदर्श कृषि जलवायु परिस्थितियों में उपजाए जाते हैं;
- ▶ व्यापक श्रेणी में उपलब्ध हैं, जिनमें खद्यान्न, तिलहन, दलहन, चारा और रेग्रे तथा सब्जियों सहित 60 से अधिक फसलों की लगभग 600 प्रजाति/संकर किस्में शामिल हैं;
- ▶ स्वतंत्र बीज प्रमाणीकरण एजेंसियों द्वारा प्रमाणित हैं और
- ▶ देशभर में 11 क्षेत्रीय कार्यालयों, 8 फार्म, 48 प्रक्षेत्र तथा 107 विपणन केन्द्र के विभिन्न जिला क्षेत्रों में कार्यालयों/उप इकाइयों के अंतर्गत लगभग 3200 डीलर/वितरक हैं।



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राष्ट्रीय बीज निगम लिमिटेड

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against the British imperialism.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, founder of *Kesari* and *Mahratta*., G. Subramania Iyer, founder of *The Hindu* and *Swadesamitran*. and Malayalam journalist Ramakrishna Pillai, were among the veteran editors who suffered during the Raj.

During the British rule, the local media covered major events in newspapers and magazines. The regional language newspapers wrote on numerous subjects such as speeches of Gandhi, freedom activists, leaders, including the speeches of Indian National Congress and the trial of Bhagat Singh were the main topics among others. Major newspapers and magazines were banned following the Quit India Movement, Purna Swaraj and Salt March. When Shivaram Rajguru and Bhagat Singh threw a pamphlet and bomb on the Parliament House, the *Hindustan Times* wrote extensively on the subject, which became the main reason for the government to ban publishing photographs of Bhagat Singh and Rajguru in the media.

The Press Act 1910 impacted almost all newspapers. It is believed around 1,000 publications were prosecuted under the Act, and government collected ₹500,000 of securities and forfeitures from the papers

during the period of first five years the Act was enacted. Several journalists and publications, including the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* were charged under sedition law for publishing anti-government articles. In the later period, the Press Emergency Act 1931 was actively exercised amid Satyagraha, a nonviolent resistance or press advocacy (rally the masses) against the British rule.

The editors later raised concerns regarding the freedom of expression and safeguard of the press. The *All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference* also emerged during the period. It demanded the government to lift the restrictions on the press. In 1941, Mahatma Gandhi criticised the authorities for restricting media, citing "In the name of the war effort, all expression of opinion is effectively suppressed". Despite varieties of criticism, the government continued to prohibit the press. The government subsequently asked *The Hitavada* newspaper to reveal the name of its reporter. The authorities also conducted investigations at the office of *Hindustan Times*. It restricted the press and rebellion activities under the Defence of India Act 1915 from making announcements to the masses. It also extended imprisonment to five years, while the Official

Secrets Act was passed to provide death sentence to those involved in anti-government editorials.

In 1942 following the Quit India Movement, the press was instructed not cover any news about political parties. *The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference* subsequently compiled the government order stating the newspapers will observe caution and refrain from publishing on Quit India Movement.

Press in Post-independence India

During the post independence era the press was given constitutional freedom of speech and expression. The pride of place it received in the civil society made it a partner in the socio-economic transformation of the society.

But for the dark chapter of emergency imposed by the then prime minister Indira Gandhi in 1975 when democracy was derailed and all fundamental rights suspended, the Indian media by and large has enjoyed complete freedom of expression.

According to justice G.N. Ray, former chairman Press Council of India, "the press has not only mirrored the march of this journey of democracy but gave valuable insights and suggestions at every step. The media scenario of India in the last 62 years has undergone sea change. The change can be broadly divided into two categories, i.e. the positive achievements of the media and negative trends in the media".

Undoubtedly, over the last seven decades since independence media has played a crucial role in promoting democratic and social values, waging crusade against

The Press Act 1910 impacted almost all newspapers. It is believed around 1,000 publications were prosecuted under the Act, and government collected ₹500,000 of securities and forfeitures from the papers during the period of first five years the Act was enacted. Several journalists and publications, including the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* were charged under sedition law for publishing anti-government articles

Magna Carta in America

Founding fathers of the American constitution accepted Magna Carta “Great Charter of Freedoms” or “Royal Charter of Rights”, adopted in England, on June 15, 1215, as the supreme law of the land and took inspiration from it.

And the United States Bill of Rights incorporated in the US Constitution in 1786 specifically guaranteed personal freedoms and Rights to the people, The First Amendment to the US constitution permits information, ideas and opinions without interference, constraint or prosecution by the government. It was adopted on December 15, 1791, as one of the ten amendments that constitute the Bill of Rights.

It may sound strange, but it is true that before the Americans declared independence from British imperialism, the British government attempted to censor the American media by prohibiting newspapers from publishing unfavourable information and opinions.

One of the first court cases involving freedom of the press in America took place in 1734. British governor William Cosby brought a libel case against the publisher of The New York Weekly Journal, John Peter Zenger, for publishing commentary critical of Cosby’s government. Zenger was acquitted by the judiciary.

The USA has always taken pride in the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment to the American Constitution which says “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

All Americans believe Press Freedom as “one of the great bulwarks of liberty.”

But the US authorities faced severe criticism for placing undue limits on investigative reporting in the name of national security when in 1971; United States military analyst Daniel Ellsberg gave copies of classified documents to The New York Times. The documents, which would become known as the Pentagon Papers, detailed a top-secret Department of Defence study of U.S. political and military involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967.

In the meantime, new technologies have created new challenges to press freedom in the US. The United States ranked 37 of 199 countries and territories for press freedom in 2017.

In 2018, the U.S. ranked 45th in the Reporters without Borders, Press Freedom Index. This is an overall measure of freedom available to the press, including a range of factors including government censorship, control over journalistic access, and whistleblower protections. The U.S.'s ranking fell from 20th in 2010 to 49th in 2015, before recovering to 41st in 2016.

According to Reporters Without Borders the United States ranks behind most other Western nations for press freedom, but ahead of most Asian, African and South American countries.

Freedom House, a US-based independent watchdog organization, ranked the United States 30th out of 197 countries in press freedom in 2014. Its report praised the constitutional protections given American journalists and Freedom House gives countries a score out of 100, with 0 the most free and 100 the least free. The score is broken down into three separately-weighted categories: legal (out of 30), political (out of 40) and economic (out of 30). The United States scored 6, 10, and 5, respectively, that year for a cumulative score of 21.

aberrations and imperfections in the polity and strengthening the edifice of democracy ensuring

good governance.

The constitution as well as the civil society empowered

the media to serve the people with news, views, comments and information on matters of

public interest in a fair, accurate, unbiased, sober and decent manner.

But today media is facing an unprecedented crisis of credibility. Its exponential growth with diminishing accountability has underlined the urgent need to draw up an agenda in the current scenario for media to fulfil its constitutional obligations.

But the moot question in today's context is who will define the "public interest" and whether the media can be goaded to follow any selective interpretation of this phrase.

The government and the regulatory mechanisms like the Press Council of India (PCI) think it imperative that media learn to differentiate between matters of "interest to the public" and "those in public interest", remaining unbiased not only in covering latest developments in political, social and economic fields but also in highlighting the real issues agitating the masses such as economic disparities, social discrimination, gender inequalities, child abuse, sanitation, environment, poverty, unemployment, education and health care rather than thriving on non-issues.

But this "imperative" too, can't be enforced either by law or through an executive order.

Media has every right to promote its own interests within the reasonable restrictions, especially in this era of liberalization. Several professional bodies, including the Editors' Guild of India, are seriously concerned about the behaviour of a section of the media and the inevitable fall out of all this is that "others" now seek to regulate.

The media industry, too, is

not oblivious of the tremendous pressures to self regulate and to set its house in order.

The NDA government has been adopting a very cautious approach in dealing with the highly sensitive Indian media.

So far it appears to favour persuasion rather than imposition of statutory regulation in any form.

Even the previous UPA government was unhappy over "free-for-all" in the name of free media. The India media has often drawn flak from various quarters for "sensationalism" and "trivialisation".

Intemperate language used by some politicians and social activists reflecting their gender and community bias has invariably underlined the need for the media to scrupulously avoid devoting precious time

and space to "non issues" which may be of interest to certain segment of the society but were not serving the public interest.

Several professional media bodies for long have been pressing for the setting up of a Media Commission on the lines of the First Press Commission and the Second Press Commission for an extensive review of the entire media industry. The proposed Media Commission may recommend, among other things, the setting up of a Media Council of India, replacing the existing Press Council which has the mandate to regulate only the print media. The jurisdiction of the proposed Media Council may include all types of media- print, electronic and the internet/social media.

But the idea has failed to take off in the face of stiff resistance

from the industry.

The News Broadcasters Association (NBA), a private association of different current affairs and news television broadcasters in India and the Indian Newspapers Society (INS), representing the print media industry, for long have enjoyed considerable clout in the corridors of power. Together they have been lobbying hard against setting up of a Media Commission which may review the functioning of all segments of the media and address other important issues including cross-media ownership, paid news syndrome, press-politician relationship, the monopolistic TV rating points, concentration of advertisement and the wage structure for employees in the media industry etc.

The first Press Commission set up by the Nehru government in 1952 looked into the control, management and ownership, the financial structure as well as other aspects of the newspaper industry. It recommended appointment of Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI), setting up of a Press Council of India and enactment of the Working Journalists' Act, besides other things.

The Second Press Commission was set up by the Janata Party government headed by Morarji Desai in 1978. The Commission in its report wanted the media to play a responsible role in the development process. The Press Council of India was reconstituted as per recommendations of the Second Press Commission.

The media industry, both electronic and print, would like us to believe that the question as to how the media can and should focus its enormous strength and

reach on developmental reporting and positive news interests could be addressed only through self regulation.

The Indian Broadcasting Foundation (IBF) is India's apex organization of television broadcasters. It promotes the interests of the Indian television industry, and provides a meeting ground to ensure that its members work in consensus to achieve common goals, and have a common platform to air grievances and arrive at solutions.

The IBF has adopted a programme code. It has empowered the Broadcasting Content Complaints Council (BCCC) to impose fine on TV channels found violating the programme code.

A few channels have already been imposed financial penalty for screening obscene content and were directed to tender on-screen apology for violating the programme code. The BCCC has been regularly issuing advisories to TV channels cautioning them about their content, particularly depicting victims of the incidents of rape and acid attacks on women and girls, stereotyping of women in general and portrayal of minority communities etc.

But all these measures on self-regulation appear "clumsy" and the paradigm of self-regulation needs to be strengthened by reviewing this model.

It is a catch-22 situation. Self-regulation without a statutory binding to enforce it among all the players of the game will be a half-hearted attempt to make the TV channels accountable to the people. And any legal framework would be rejected by the industry as violating the right to freedom

The Modi government recently has taken some significant initiatives to combat fake news. All complaints of fake news on various social media platforms including Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram will be severely dealt with. Suo moto cognizance will also be taken by the authorised Fact Check Units of all fake news circulating on social media platforms in the form of text, audio clips, video clips or an image

of speech and expression. A way out has to be found for effective and smooth functioning of the media as a potent weapon to strengthen Indian democracy.

And then there is phenomenal growth of the unregulated social media with the potential to breach privacy, create social disorder and threat to national security.

An answer perhaps lies in the setting up of a Media Commission (another Press Commission) for a fresh look at the whole gamut of media functioning in India. It is the need of the hour. It may be headed by a sitting or retired judge of the Supreme Court of India and its findings binding on all the stakeholders.

The proposed Media Commission may recommend a truly representative statutory Media Council in place of the existing Press Council. The proposed Media Council may encompass the media in all its dimensions with adequate provisions to enforce strict vigilance and discipline.

It may be possible sooner than later. What is required is a powerful public opinion in its favour and a strong political will on the part of our law makers.

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including Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram will be severely dealt with. Suo moto cognizance will also be taken by the authorised Fact Check Units of all fake news circulating on social media platforms in the form of text, audio clips, video clips or an image. The Ministry of information and broadcasting has mooted several legislative and regulatory reforms in the recent past.

Registration of Books Act, 1867 is proposed to be repealed and a new statute Registration of Press and Periodicals Bill, 2020 has been formulated after obtaining views from various stakeholders and undertaking inter-ministerial consultation the recent past.

The Cable Television Network Act, 1995, is also proposed to be amended. The proposed amendments to the act were placed in public domain in January 2020 for eliciting opinion and views of various stakeholders.

Films and audio-visual programmes have been made available by online content providers and news and current affairs content on line platforms.

In the light of these initiatives the Modi government is holding stakeholders' consultations for developing a consensus for having an appropriate regulatory regime for content on digital/online media. ●

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Press In Britain

Winston Churchill: Democracy is a very bad form of government-but all the others are so much worse
Margaret Thatcher: We are perhaps the oldest democracy and the freest.

I was London correspondent of the Press Trust of India (1988-1995) when the then Indian High Commissioner Dr. L. M. Singhvi, a renowned constitutional expert, visited the Magna Carta Memorial, and paid glowing tributes to the historic instrument which inspired founding fathers of our constitution to incorporate a chapter on Fundamental Rights in the statute book.

Magna Carta ,(a Latin word) “Great Charter of Freedoms” or “Royal Charter of Rights”, adopted at Runnymede , near Windsor Castle , England, on June 15, 1215, is still considered part of the unwritten British Constitution.

The Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales, Lord Woolf, described Magna Carta as the "first of a series of instruments that now are recognised as having a special constitutional status" in the United Kingdom.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher Britain claims itself to be the oldest parliamentary democracy in the modern world and because of the adoption of the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy by many countries of the former British Empire, including India, its house of Westminster “The mother of Parliaments”.

Upholding the spirit of Magna Carta, Fundamental Rights of the citizens including Freedom of speech and express and by virtue of that press freedom are honoured and guaranteed in the United Kingdom as a matter of centuries old conventions.

Over the period of time the British media has reached a level well described by Lord Denning, a British judge, in his famous book “Road to Justice”, “press is the watchdog and that even the watchdog may sometimes break loose and has to be punished for misbehaviour.

In the wake of the infamous Phone Hacking Scandal the British Prime Minister David Cameron had to set up a public inquiry headed by Lord Justice Leveson.

The Lord Justice Leveson public inquiry was asked to look into phone hacking and police bribery involed in the scandal and also consider the culture, practices and ethics of the wider British media.

The Rupert Murdoch-owned tabloid News of the World was found involved in the phone hacking scandal which rocked the British government and jolted the public opinion across the world. Several high-profile heads rolled when the story behind the scandal unfolded.

The Lord Justice Leveson Inquiry recommended a statutory independent regulatory mechanism with powers to enforce its decisions on the media in all its manifestations. The report castigated the British media for its behaviour which it said often “wreaked havoc” in the lives of innocent people. ●



Achyutanand Mishra



Manish Chandra Shukla

Journalism, in the modern sense, commenced in India during the British period. The freedom fighters had very soon realised the power of press and they stepped forward to use it as an instrument. An overview

The British Empire and Indian Journalism

“

Freedom of the press is a precious privilege that no country can forego.

~Mahatma Gandhi

”

The period of British imperial rule in India has been accepted to be of 190 years. The coming of European races to India had begun as early as 1498. However, the victory achieved through deceit by Robert Clive on June 23, 1757 in the Battle of Plassey in Bengal laid the foundation for the rule of the East India Company in India which lasted for the next hundred years. The Indian rebellion of 1857 is recorded in history as the First War of Independence against the British rulers. The most authentic account of the history of British rule and particularly the tenure of the East India Company and British atrocities committed on Indians is The Indian War of Independence by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who declared the 1857 war to be the first Indian war for freedom.

In 1858, Empress Victoria issued her famous proclamation wherein she dissolved the reign of the East India Company and established the rule of the British Crown. Many indescribable episodes of the atrocities heaped by the East India

Company rulers have been written by several British writers and historians. Pandit Sundarlal in his famous book *Bharat Mein Angreji Raj*, quoting the works of British scholars Herbert Spencer, Dr. Russel and others has written: “The Indian reign of the East India Company had been tainted by many sins from the very outset. For many generations in a row, from the highest ranking civilian and military officials to its lowest staff, the Company’s servants had one great aim and purpose and that was to extract as much wealth from this country in the quickest time possible. A defeated populace discovered that the biggest excesses of the worst of its native rulers were not as debilitating as even the smallest crimes of the Company were¹”. There was no newspaper to stand against the Company’s atrocities, loot, murderousness and repression. British newspapers, like the prominent *London Times* were openly supportive of the atrocities of the Company and its officials. Even in Britain’s Parliament, many parliamentarians levied

serious accusations against the Company's governors but after the first war of independence, it was the British government that directly took over the reins of power. This was the first phase of the British Empire.

"It was in this background that the advent of journalism in India happened. The initial newspapers were published by the dissatisfied employees of the East India Company. They had turned to publishing newspapers as they wished to give vent to their frustrations. The Company's officials not only amassed wealth through their personal business activities, but also sought to oppress the junior employees so that their own undesirable doings would remain concealed. These early English journalists not only had to become the target of the Company's ire but also became

victims of mental anguish².

The East India Company was not as afraid of what would happen to them when Indians learnt of their malevolent doings through these publications, as they feared the evaporating of their dreams and being recalled if any news of their doings in India reached England. In Martin Walker's words, "Newspapers are the history of a nation's daily life". The East India Company was less afraid of what would happen if the people of India came to know its evils through these publications, as it feared that if this news reached England then all their dreams would evaporate and they would be recalled. In Martin Walker's words, "Newspapers are the history of the daily life of a nation." In other words, without actually writing history, newspapers do the work

of chronicling it and record the situation of the times. The letters that emerged from the discontent of some employees of the East India Company really served as the historical foundations of Indian journalism, laying the groundwork for it. One proof of this is that William Bolts made the first attempt to publish a newspaper from Calcutta in 1768, leaving his East India Company job. However, Bolts soon had to suffer the consequences of his move. But this beginning by Bolts and the initiative of other disgruntled employees of the East India Company had laid the ground for many seeds of journalism to sprout. The publishing of newspapers brought them to a position of fulfilling their dream of conveying the state of governance or the country to the common man. It was a consequence of this that on January 29, 1780, James Augustus Hickey published the *Bengal Gazette and Calcutta General Advertiser*. Hickey in these publications would mainly bare the private lives of East India Company officials. However, these personal attacks too began seeming proper according to public or journalistic principles when that targeted individual was corrupt or immoral from some angle. Apart from this, newspapers of this era also used to carry parliamentary news, editorial articles, etc. Their style too was such as to be readable to the British. In a way, it was a serious attempt to develop a style of writing of the publication to suit the tastes of the class of readers. The published news also prominently featured news from Latin America, China, etc., besides events in England and the



Courtesy: <https://rajboardexam.in/samvad-setu-hindi-class-12/>

activities of soldiers and news of Indian rulers. The tradition of publishing letters from readers, social news and descriptions of fashion too began in this era”³.

Despite disagreeing with Hickey's journalism, it can be said that Hickey made the initial sacrifice in India in order to make journalism synonymous with resistance. At the same time, it is also to be noted that not all employees or officials of the British Empire can be tarred with the same brush. Peter Reed and B. Menzies began publication of the weekly *Indian Gazette* on 18 November 1780 to counter Hickey's journalism. After some time the ownership of this publication came in the hands of Dwarkanath Tagore and it changed from a weekly to a daily. The British government's intent was not to strengthen or guide Indian journalism, but to destroy the germination of any tree that stood against them. The thinking of the British Empire can be gauged by the example of the biography of the English official Metcalf:

“It was our policy in those days that the people of India should be kept in barbarism and darkness as far as possible...and any attempt to spread knowledge among the native people was strongly opposed in those days... Capt. Sydenham, in order to fulfill a desire of the Nizam that he could see some experiments of modern science, offered some things; among them an air pump, a printing press and a model of a modern warrior. When the Captain in his letters sent to the Chief Secretary mentioned this, he was accused of placing a ‘dangerous thing’ like a printing press in the hands of a native



Courtesy: <https://rajboardexam.in/samvad-setu-hindi-class-12/>

ruler”⁴.

There is a well known couplet of the famous poet Akbar Allahabadi, “Do not draw the sword, nor pull you bow; bring out a newspaper when your cannons are laid low.” It was Lord Hastings who performed the task of dousing the flames of these blazing verbal bullets issuing from the mouths of cannons in the form of newspapers and keep things running smoothly. In view of these strong laws made by the British Empire, Lord Hastings enacted some new laws related to the press: “1) No such news should be published, which would violate the public functioning or reputation of the Court of Directors, officials of the British Government, members of the

Council, judges of the Supreme Court and the high clergy of Calcutta. 2) Do not publish news which hurt anyone's religious beliefs and feelings and create terror among Indian subjects. 3) News which causes damage to anyone's personal conduct should not be published. 4) No news must be republished by quoting things from any foreign publication which may cause discontent”⁵.

Shielded by all these laws, the British Empire wanted to further strengthen its establishment. It set about destroying whoever and whatever would become an obstacle in the strengthening of its colonial rule. Krishnabihari Mishra writes, “Before discussing the opening chapter of Hindi journalism, it is necessary to

talk about the social and political conditions of the country amid which Indian journalism has come into being....There was no kind of affinity in the minds of the British towards the land of India or Indianness, and so it was natural that they would plunder this fertile land with total ruthlessness. History bears evidence that the British exerted their full power in plundering India. They thus obtained inexhaustible wealth, which later served as enormous capital for them and on the basis of which England was able to make steam engines and establish its industrial dominance in the world in the 19th century”⁶.

Both the journalism introduced in India by British journalists and the restrictions placed on journalism by the British Empire raised certain issues. The British came to understand that journalism is an important medium for understanding the Indian people. The business policy of the East India Company had turned into plunder. The immediate position of the British rulers could be brought to the fore through journalism. The British Empire is not in favour of India and the Indian people; these questions stirred the minds of the erstwhile intellectuals of India. Therefore, the idea arose in the mind of these intellectuals of India that if journalism were to be initiated through Indian

languages, the issues mentioned above could be resolved so that not only Indians but other countries too could know the reality of the British Empire. The deformities of the British Empire served to ignite the fire that was buried in the hearts of Indians. Where earlier opposition to the British Empire was indirect, it now took on a direct form. 1857, i.e., the first war of independence proved to be the outcome of all this. Indian journalism played a major role in setting up this first war. Krishnabihari Mishra, who has held a conscious gaze on Indian journalism writes, “In 1857, the first Indian freedom struggle began in Meerut. The failure of the said movement and the ensuing despondence will be briefly discussed in the following context. All that needs to be mentioned here is that it was under these political and social conditions that the initial chapter of Indian journalism had been written. Hindi journalism has also emerged amid this cultural transition”⁷.

The British government enacted new laws related to newspapers and printing. Under these laws, it was mandatory to obtain a license from the Government of India before publishing a newspaper. This process was not as easy as it looked.

Wounds in the heart, their soles are a picture of blister;

It is because of them that this world enjoys glitter.

Underscoring the spirit of these lines, Pt. Kishore Shukla on 30 May 1826 said in the entry of the *Udant Martand*, “This paper has been published for the benefit of Indians” and proved that despite many persecutions, Indian journalism and freedom are not going to halt. Instead of criticizing any particular individual, *Udant Martand* opposes anti-national practices while preserving the moral values of journalism. It stood not against British imperialism but in resistance to the distorted objectives of the East India Company. It stood against the corruption of the Company. Wherever freedom, equality and fraternity of the common people is adversely affected, journalism will stand up for them. It is this voice of resistance that is the essence of journalism.

The aim of Lord Macaulay’s education policy was to create self-abnegation in the minds of Indians by erasing their language, any pride in their own culture, and the greatness of their civilization. He therefore, insisted on English being the medium of instruction and accorded Indian languages a secondary place. As a result of this process of culturalization, people like Raja Rammohan Roy, Ramanand Chatterjee, Keshab Chandra Sen and Dadabhai Naoroji became the symbols of British progressiveness. On the one hand, these English-educated scholars were supporters of the policies of the British Empire while on the other hand the feeling of Indianness was no less. “English education generated the expectation of change in the entire cultural environment

Both the journalism introduced in India by British journalists and the restrictions placed on journalism by the British Empire raised certain issues. The British came to understand that journalism is an important medium for understanding the Indian people. The business policy of the East India Company had turned into plunder

of the country. There were two classes of Indians expecting such changes. They had two kinds of free outlook. One adopted modernism as a fashion and coloured in British hues, began to look upon Indianness as alien thing. The second category aspired to enlighten the country through the knowledge of the European world—its education, politics, economics and science. The torch-bearers of the Indian Renaissance belonged to this class. They did not hanker after the British way of life, but wanted to impart it a new meaning to enable their traditions to become respected in the modern context. For this, it was necessary to integrate itself with Western education and culture. The senior most representative of this class was Raja Rammohan Roy. A healthy tradition emerged with him that bequeathed not only modern India but the entire human race”.⁸

Important publications like the *Samvad Kaumudi*, *Miratul Akhbar*, *Bangdoot* and *Tatvabodhini Sabha* were published through the inspiration of Raja Rammohan Roy. Being a symbol of British progressiveness, he raised his voice against the distortions of society through these publications. At the same time, he raised his voice against the immoralities of the British Empire too and also made efforts to protect religion and culture.

“In those days, Indian society was identified as one suffering from illiteracy, ignorance, superstition, disease, starvation, misdeeds, maladministration, hypocrisy, etc. The hold of the East India Company was tightening the morale of Indians had been laid low owing to the

curse of slavery. The savagery of Hindu widows being thrown alive on their husbands' funeral pyres in the name of sati must surely be considered to be the nadir of the mental decline of Indian society, although it was not established as a practice. Such an incident would take place in one out of a million of cases. However, Raja Rammohan Roy's *Samvad Kaumudi* waged a war against the inhuman sati system”.⁹ Similarly, through the *Tatvabodhini Patrika* Roy talks about the preservation of Indian society, dharma and culture and reveals the exploitation of Indians by the British. An example of how the British government discriminated against Indians is mentioned: “An Englishman working in a particular post is paid a thousand rupees as salary, but an Indian working in the same position gets only Rs 100-150. We are thus selling our freedom at a low price”. The publication also highlighted the problems of agricultural labourers and workers. It campaigned for social

reform and ending evil practices. It published the writings of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar on the issue of widow marriage and turned society towards new thinking”.¹⁰

Apart from Hindi, the role of journalism of other states has also been important in Indian language magazines. The first Marathi journalist Balgangadhar Shastri Jambhekar published the *Darpan* in 1832. The very motto of this publication was, “The country must become prosperous and the tendency to think freely and openly for the welfare of the people should increase.” Similarly, the Tamil newspapers *Swadesh Mitran*, *Deshahitaishi* or the Malayalam newspaper *Malayalam Manorama* performed the important task of awakening the Indian public. These publications played an important role in building the Swadeshi movement in India. In October 1882, *Deshahitaishi* published a pamphlet: “Everything needed in the defence, nutrition and functioning of this body should be made of the country itself.



Courtesy: <https://twitter.com/aparanjape/status/1213524502883131392>

One should bear in mind that even cotton made from other countries should not be present in our clothes. The second son should be trained in every kind of craftsmanship by teaching each of them the skills of one's own trade in the local or foreign workshops".¹¹ Apart from these, magazines and newspapers were published from other states as well. The aim of all of these was to raise their voice against the immoralities of the East India Company and to safeguard the rights of the Indian people. These publications in Indian languages, while talking about social consciousness, gave rise to a wave of freedom struggle. As a result, in 1857 the trumpet of the first freedom struggle was sounded. In a way, this was the first but concrete step in the resistance of the British Empire, to awaken the consciousness for a freedom movement. This saga of letters and words created a spark in the mind of the Indian people. A living example of this was the Indian journalism of that period. There is one more thing to note. All publications originating in the India of that period did not oppose the East India Company or support the independence movement; in fact, even under those circumstances they remained hangers-on of the British. *The Times of India*, *the Statesman*, *Pioneer*, etc., were such publications. These publications were not only in favor of colonial rule, but also sang the praises of its policies.

The story of Indian journalism is the story of Indian cultural, social, political and national progress. Along with journalism, these too underwent growth; Indian journalism too grew

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan indirectly supported the British. It is true that he founded the Aligarh University in 1905-06 and wanted to bring Muslims into the progressive realm in order to give them a progressive English education.

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along with them. Journalism has played a major role in providing the impetus to the first war for independence of 1857. It played a big role in maintaining the solidarity and togetherness of the people, although in that period, resources were quite limited and people too were divided among themselves.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan indirectly supported the British. It is true that he founded the Aligarh University in 1905-06 and wanted to bring Muslims into the progressive realm in order to give them a progressive English education. The British did the work of widening the gulf between Muslims and Hindus through Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. In such a situation, the very objective of journalism as a whole was opposition to the policy of the British, whose aim was to make every effort to destroy Indian culture, civilization and traditions; the British spared no effort in this. Together with achieving independence, another objective of journalism was to also eliminate social malpractices. In such a milieu, leaders like Keshab Chandra Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Maharshi Aurobindo, etc., performed the task of awakening cultural consciousness and the national spirit and worked for public awakening by making journalism a weapon of the freedom movement. Along with

interpretation of the Vedas and the propagation of Hindi, Swami Dayanand Saraswati denounced the British Empire. Dayanand believed, "No matter how good foreign rule is, it cannot be better in any way than indigenous rule". When Keshab Chandra Sen met Dayanand, he asked the latter about giving a discourse in Hindi. Sen himself in his weekly paper *Sulabh Samachar* raised the issue of national language to establish India's national unity and spoke in favour of the wide reach of Hindi. National leaders such as Swami Dayanand and Keshab Chandra Sen knew that Hindi is a great medium to bring out the reality of the British Empire and to germinate the seed of freedom in the Indian people. With the promotion of Hindi, not only was the mother tongue being promoted, both cultural consciousness and national sentiment began emerging among the people. These leaders of that period were acting as a bridge between cultural and political exchanges. Along with social progress and national integration, scholars like Swami Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Aurobindo played a huge role in the development of new journalism. Vivekananda had realized that nationalism and national integration could stand only in a different way from the European way, in the Indian perspective. He therefore,

considered having knowledge of English along with Sanskrit and Hindi as proper. Vivekananda writes, “The first condition of advancement is freedom. Just as a man should acquire freedom in thought and speech, he should obtain freedom in every aspect of food, living, marriage, etc.—as long as he does not harm others”.¹²

In that period of the British Empire, the leaders of social movements were waging a struggle on many fronts. Through their discourses, they made Indian journalism a weapon to nurture the energies of the national spirit in order to fight hidebound, social conventions and superstitions, and propagate India’s freedom as well as promote the cause of education. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar laid more emphasis on education related and women education. He was a Sanskrit scholar, but also had an incisive grasp of the widespread deformities in the society. Vidyasagar had a huge role in the promotion of widow marriage and the activation of the movement for remarriage. His persona too stood out distinctively to suit his scholarliness. This social contribution of Vidyasagar has been praised by Ramakrishna Paramahansa himself. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar is renowned for his knowledge of

society and also as an educationist. Along with this, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee comes across as a great litterateur as well as a sagely national awakener. Agitated by the first partition of Bengal (1905) also known as “Bang-Bhang”, newspapers like the *Vande Mataram*, *Sandhya*, *Navashakti* and *Yugantar* came into publication. These journals played an important role in providing a boost to national consciousness, propagation and the freedom movement. Aurobindo Ghosh wrote in the English daily *Vande Mataram*: “We have to be organized not only as a central authority, and to take hold of all aspects of national life, but also have to fight the resistance of the bureaucracy and to end its control over ourselves; if not immediately, we have to organize protective resistance one by one. Our immediate problem as a nation is not how to be enlightened and well-informed or how to be prosperous and enterprising, but also how to emerge from imminent national depression, how to establish and live ourselves. Let us take action against the law or the executive by following a peaceful path and accept the legal consequences with patience”.¹³

The modern genre of journalism was adopted by Indians mainly from British

journalists, but the campaign to awaken folk consciousness and use it as a strong weapon of resistance in the freedom struggle was absolutely unique. The politicians-intellectuals who were invited at the time of the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 included many editors and publishers or their representatives. Prominent among those who were present at this event were Narendranath Sen, editor of the *Indian Mirror*, G. Subrahmanya Iyer, editor of *The Hindu*, representatives of the *Maratha* and *Kesari* Shri Amte and G.K. Agarkar and representative of the *Spectator* B.N. Malvari. Apart from them, the editors of the *Tribune*, *Hindustan*, *Indian Union* and *Crescent* were also present. After the birth of the Congress, rapid growth in the circulation of Indian newspapers and the power of speech began. The greatest spurt in both Indian nationalism and Indian journalism began in the first decade of the 20th century. While the revolutionary movement intensified and activity by the Congress gained traction, a new phase of Indian journalism also began in this period. The main phase of this is believed to have started from the movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905. There was sharp reaction in Bengal and later in the whole country regarding the Bang-Bhang movement. Journalism played a major role in infusing energy and consciousness in the spread of Indian nationalism. The contribution of newspapers and editors in improving the conditions in education and culture along with propagating political independence and economic revival places them in

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the category of nation-builders. Indian journalism was doing its utmost to carry forward this dual struggle of social reform movement and national independence. Along with these pioneers of social movements, political awakening too emerged in India. Differences arose very soon with respect to the aims with which the foundation of the Congress had been laid. The issue of the development of the country and nationality receded and priority began to be given to individual ideas. This was the reason that the Congress split into the two factions of Moderates and Extremists in 1907. Despite this, the objective of these people was to bring about awareness among the public through general awakening and for this they made journalism a weapon.

Gandhi had said, "Even if the Congress has done nothing, it has at least done this much as to have found its destination and has taken the thoughts and tendencies of the nation to the same point".¹⁴

National forces used the role of the press as a tool of political struggle and consciousness in the freedom struggle. Gradually, the demand for freedom began gaining force in contemporary newspapers. In this situation, where the British government was against independence, they also tried to impose a ban on newspapers. "The British had two shades of opinion on the issue of freedom of the press; in the 19th century Wellesley, Minto, Adam, Canning and Lytton were against the freedom of the press; but Higgins, Metcalf, Macaulay and Ripon supported the idea of an independent press. Liberal British leaders such as Sir Thomas Munro

Aurobindo Ghosh began writing political articles in the *Indu Prakash* newspaper being published from Bombay. The sharpness of the voice of nationalism and disillusionment with the Congress were underscored quite sharply in this writer. Lala Lajpat Rai, Balgangadhar Tilak, Bipinchandra Pal, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malaviya emerged quickly from among the freedom fighters

and Lord Elphinstone supported stringent restrictions on the Indian press. They argued that it would be difficult to maintain foreign rule upon a backward country. If freedom of the press is granted, it can also have a bad effect on the discipline of the armed forces".¹⁵

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Surat Congress, which resulted in the spread of *swadeshi* movement to all quarters. Tilak also had to bear the consequences of this fearlessness of his. When the number of copies of the *Kesari* increased to 25,000, and the roar of victory of *swaraj* began reaching the majority of Indians through it, Tilak was sentenced to exile in a sedition case. Even while in jail, Tilak maintained his concern for the country and kept trying to publish his newspapers. Even while in the Mandalay jail, he was worried about his newspapers. He sent advice to his editors, "It is your duty to remain within the ambit of the law, howsoever harsh it may be. Whatever freedom is there should be fully utilized. You should function according to the situation, and must not assume that you will obtain justice in the High Court against the actions of the government. Don't be under such an illusion".¹⁶

After the first war of independence, the British rulers started imposing tough legal restrictions on journalism. The aim was to suppress the struggle of the people and their expression and defeat the spirit of journalists. *Swaraj* was one such Urdu newspaper whose eight editors had suffered the harshness of jail terms. Perhaps no other

newspaper had to pay such a huge price for the sake of free expression of views. Similarly, the *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, *Chhattisgarh Mitra*, *Modern Review*, *Abhyudaya*, *Hindi Kesari*, *Narsingh*, the *Andhra Patrika* in Telugu journalism, the Marathi daily *Rashtramata*, *Karmayogi*, and magazines like *Maryada*, *Indu*, *Karmaveer*, etc., contributed significantly to the attainment of independence.

Bharatendu Harishchandra, the pioneer and doyen of Hindi journalism, had to face many challenges. When the direct rule of the British Crown was implemented, it did two things simultaneously and at a rapid pace. One, it began effecting reforms in the so-called social evils in order to generate sympathy in the minds of the people for the British Crown in tandem with imperialism. Secondly, it also intensified the cycle of repression. An atmosphere of fear and terror was unleashed on the one hand and blandishments were held out on the other. Journalism had to survive in such a discordant situation. It was a task that called for courage and was fraught with risk. That is why litterateurs of that period functioned in a manner so that the snake would perish but the stick wouldn't be broken. They would also write under pseudonyms. People like Bharatendu Harishchandra would advocate taking two steps ahead and taking one step back. His couplets like "Puri ami ki katoriya si, chir jion sada Victoria Rani / Angrej raj sukh saaj saje sab par bhari/pai dhan videsh chali jaat ihai sab khwaari" were subtle but hard hitting. The freedom movement of the Hindi regions was associated with Bharatendu's

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journalism. This reveals the direction and vision of the freedom movement. Both 1857 and women's education were discussed in the publications that came out during Bharatendu's time. The *Balabodhini* magazine was based on the issue of education of women. The purpose of the magazine *Kavivachan Sudha* was also to bring the freedom movement to the forefront. Balkrishna Bhatt's *Hindi Pradeep* is the first newspaper that had to cease its publication for not paying a bail of Rs 3,000 because of publishing a nationalist poem. Two laws of government repression on Indian journalism were extremely infamous. One was the Indian Language Press Act of 1878 (Vernacular Press Act) and the other was the Indian Press Act of 1908. Under both these laws, the government was empowered to demand bail from newspapers it deemed objectionable. Those newspapers had to shut down if the bail amount was not paid. Balkrishna Bhatt endured both these laws for running the *Hindi Pradeep*. Due to the second law, this publication, which Bhatt had nurtured with 31 years of penance, had to be shut down".¹⁷ Along with the *Hindi Pradeep*, many publications of India had to face the ire of these British laws. In contrast, lack of newsprint, financial problems, dwindling

readership, etc., too hindered the progress of Indian journalism from time to time. Referring to *Bharat Mitra*, Pt. Ambika Prasad Vajpayee wrote, "In those days Hindi readers were very few, so people would become patrons, but could not read the publications. This problem was solved in a novel way. Pandit Durgaprasad used to go and read *Bharat Mitra* in many seats".¹⁸ This is a testimony of the loyalty and sense of duty of the journalists of that era towards the country and journalism. Despite government repression, the national spirit was not diminished in the publications of this era.

While the tone of Bharatendu era journalism advocated taking two steps forward and one step behind, the journalism of Dwivedi era was one of a parallel movement. Dreams of freedom began emanating in the minds of people in the Dwivedi era. There is no other magazine like *Saraswati* published by Dr. Shyamsundar Das, which was edited by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi in 1903, in Indian languages. There was no such subject of general knowledge or science that was not included in the *Saraswati*. This magazine corrected the spelling of Hindi writing and corrected the language in accordance with the rules of grammar. The journalism of that era was also raising its

voice in opposition to political discordance brought about by the British government. Balmukund, through *Bharat Mitra* under the column “Shivshambhu’s Letters” with his sharp satirical articles, lashed out at the accounts of the improper actions of the British government. One can gauge from this part of the column “Shivshambhu’s Letters” how language’s hard hitting power and sharp arrows in the form of satire were making journalism both incisive and popular. Through “Shivshambhu’s Letters”, Balmukund Gupta registered his journalistic resistance to not only Lord Curzon but the entire unethical British system. Balamukund wrote his sharp sarcasm-filled words against Lord Curzon in “Shivshambhu’s Letters” for maintaining a situation that his journalism ought to continue and at the same time, also be a standard resistance to what was unjust.

The conditions for India’s independence and the growth of journalism can be termed as complementary to each other. Politicians have contributed as much in the fulfillment of this complementarity as have litterateur journalists. It is essential to clarify one thing here that the thread by which they were related to each other was

the freedom of India. Along with these political leaders, litterateurs or social reformers, there also would be journalists in this cause. Gandhi considered journalism a strong medium of ideological and revolutionary change. He maintained the tradition of discourse through publications like the *Indian Opinion* in South Africa and *Young India*, *Harijan* and *Navajivan* in India. That is the reason Gandhi’s personality attracted people. In that period, people like Motilal Nehru, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Chittaranjan Das, Harisingh Gaur, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, etc., had a great deal of legal practice, but left their vocations for the sake of national interest. Along with this, many intellectuals and litterateurs like Pandit Makhanlal Chaturvedi Maithilisharan Gupt, Madhavrao Sapre, Jainendra and Premchand were influenced by Gandhi; many writers went to jail as well. In the inaugural issue of the magazine *Hans*, Premchand, considering Mahatma Gandhi as the helmsman of the nation, wrote, “Freedom is only an instinct of the mind. It is the awakening of this instinct that is truly becoming independent. This idea had not taken birth until now. Our consciousness had become so dim, tranquil and lifeless that

such an imagination could not have emerged in it, but Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of India, gave rise to this idea.....we will be victorious in this struggle too one day. Whether that day will come sooner or later depends on our valour, wisdom and courage. Yes, it is our dharma to do penance to bring about that day as soon as possible. This will be the goal of *Hans* and it will have a policy along with this goal”.¹⁹

In those days, various newspapers like *Aaj*, *Pratap*, *Karmaveer*, *Sainik*, *Matwala*, *Vishal Bharat*, *Chand*, *Madhuri*, *Hans*, *Sudha*, *Maya*, *Lokmat*, *Ganga*, *Vanar* and *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *Anand Bazar Patrika*, *Hindu*, *National Herald*, etc., were published, whose goal was to liberate the country from slavery. Many editors had to endure action by the British regime for this. Several editors went to jail. All their newspapers too were confiscated by the British. Prafullakumar Sarkar, founder-editor of *Anand Bazar Patrika*, was sentenced to prison for printing a fiery article. Similarly, the “Phaansi” (noose) issue of the magazine *Chand* was confiscated by the government because there was much content in this issue of a nature as could arouse the spirit of revolution in the minds of Indians, which all British feared. Chatursen Shastri, editor of the Phaansi special issue of the *Chand* magazine, wrote: “Near is that day. Let a few months and years pass—the storm of a great uprising is approaching, which will not let India light Diwali lamps for the next fifty years, but the ones that will be lit after that will not be the ordinary earthen lamps with flickering wicks and light—they will be bright

The conditions for India’s independence and the growth of journalism can be termed as complementary to each other. Politicians have contributed as much in the fulfillment of this complementarity as have litterateur journalists. It is essential to clarify one thing here that the thread by which they were related to each other was the freedom of India. Along with these political leaders, litterateurs or social reformers, there also would be journalists in this cause

red lamps, and the Lakshmi, the Goddess of Prosperity will light them with her own hands".²⁰

Pre-Independence Indian journalism worked to awaken a consciousness in the minds of the people. It posed the question: why teach your children? It advocated sending girls to school so that they would gain knowledge. The journalism of that period spoke of the necessity to connect children with knowledge, science and technology, how to connect with the knowledge of the country and the world, how to enhance the future of children, what the systems we are governed by are, what our role can be in such an environment, etc. In a manner of speaking, the task of training the common person became the main objective of journalism. This was the reason that during the freedom struggle, intellectuals from across the country were associated with the inspiration provided by Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. Ideologies might have differed, but the aim was to attain independence and bring about indigenous education and the elimination of social evils. These people not only imbibed

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journalistic values in their conduct but also discharged the role of teachers of the people by awakening consciousness towards journalistic values among the general public.

Finally, it can be said Indian journalism played as important a role in India's independence after the Second World War, which was given by the British, as the 1942 (Quit India) movement, the Indian National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose and Britain's declining power in the world did. In particular, the contribution of those editors, writers, who under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, were raising the nation by working for public awakening in the political and

social institutions of that time is significant. They were warriors dedicated to the freedom struggle in the real sense. This was a unique experiment throughout the world, because the thoughts, conduct, morality and nationalism of all the great warriors of the freedom movement were pure and pious. Therefore, both the journalism and leadership of India's freedom movement have a unique place in history. These journalists, on the one hand, worked to end the immoral basis of British rule in India by revealing the exploitative character of British imperialism; on the other hand, they also worked for intellectual nourishment of the national movement and created a hunger for freedom. ●

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नरेन्द्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री

राष्ट्रीय
स्वास्थ्य सुरक्षा
की लूची में
37 लाख
नये हितग्राही जुड़े



शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री

जखरतमंदों के साथ हर कदम पर है सरकार

- प्रदेश के 25 जिलों के पात्र लगभग 37 लाख हितग्राही जिनके पास राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य सुरक्षा अधिनियम की पात्रता पूर्ण नहीं है, उन्हें पात्रता पूर्ण ज़ादी कर निःशुल्क स्वास्थ्य प्रदाय किये जाने का अभियान प्रारंभ किया गया है।
- एक मीटरम्बर से प्रदेश के ऐसे सभी गरीबों को जिनमें अभी तक उचित मूल्य रक्षण नहीं मिल रहा था, अब उन्हें 1 रुपये प्रति किलो में 5 किलो गेहूँ, चावल एवं एक किलो नमक का पैकेट प्रतिमाह प्रदान किया जा रहा है।



- कोरोना संक्रमण के दौरान गरीब परिवारों को अतिरिक्त स्वास्थ्य उपलब्ध कराने के उद्देश्य से अगस्त माह से दिया जाने वाला निःशुल्क राशन अब नवंबर माह तक प्रदाय किया जाएगा।
- प्रधानमंत्री गरीब कल्याण अन्न योजना के अंतर्गत सम्मिलित पात्र हितग्राहियों को अतिरिक्त रूप से अगस्त 2020 से 5 किलो प्रति हितग्राही निःशुल्क स्वास्थ्य और प्रति परिवार 01 किलो दाल दी जा रही है।

हर हितग्राही को स्वाद्यान्न देने के लिए प्रतिबद्ध
मध्यप्रदेश सरकार

प्रधानमंत्री स्ट्रीट वेंडर आत्मनिर्भर निधि योजना

ज़हरी पथ विक्रेता अण्ड

योजना के अंतर्गत माई, चांस की डलिया, कवाड़ी वाला, लोहार, पनवाड़ी, मोची, चाय की दुकान, सब्जी भाजी, फूल विक्रेता, चरख विक्रेता, हथकरघा और आईसक्रीम पार्लर सहित 35 व्यवसायों को सम्मिलित किया गया है।

मध्यप्रदेशी इकोम पथ विक्रेता अण्ड

- इकोम अण्ड के तहत योजना अंतर्गत करने वाला पहला राज्य बना मध्यप्रदेश।
- 8 लाख 56 हजार इकोम पथ विक्रेताओं ने करण इस योजना में संलग्न।
- 4 लाख 7 हजार 707 प्रकल्प संचालित।
- 3 लाख 52 हजार 656 प्रकल्प संचालित।
- 1 लाख 84 हजार 384 प्रकल्प बैंक को अर्पित।
- 22 हजार 287 हितग्राहियों को अण्ड अर्पित।

ग्रामीण पथ विक्रेता अण्ड

योजना के अंतर्गत केस शिल्प, हाथसेता चामक, साइकिल रिक्शा चालक, बुगहार, साइकिल एवं मोटर साइकिल मैकेनिक, बर्डी, इकोम शिल्पी, बुनकर, धोबी, टेलर और कमीकर मजदूर को संश्लेषित करणकार अण्ड में संलग्न।

देश में
मध्यप्रदेश
नंबर 1



आइये हम सब मिलकर
आत्मनिर्भर मध्यप्रदेश बनायें





हरियाणा सरकार



श्री मनोहर लाल, मुख्यमंत्री, हरियाणा

पारदर्शी प्रशासन से सुशासन

गांववासियों को उनकी सम्पत्ति का मालिकाना हक देने के लिए
'लाल डोरा मुक्त योजना' शुरू
जिसे अब 'स्वामित्व योजना' के रूप में पूरे देश ने अपनाया
अब खरीद-फरोख्त व ऋण लेने का अधिकार मिला



**कोरोना काल में भी है कामकाज जरूरी
चलो बढ़ाये कदम, बनाकर दो गज की दूरी**



Jawaharlal Kaul

The Soul of News must be Safeguarded

“

In Czechoslovakia there is no such thing as freedom of the press. In the United States there is no such thing as freedom from the press.

~Martina Navratilova, former Wimbledon Champion

”

The duty of the fourth pillar, which is media, is to safeguard the freedom of the people, but after independence a lot of reasons evolved that are affecting it. An overview of the circumstances

Independent media is considered to be among the strengths of an empowered democracy. In those countries that bind the media, all fundamental rights of the people, along with that of freedom of expression are limited as well. This is the reason for including the media among the fundamental pillars of democracy. The relationship between the four pillars evolved gradually over the last two hundred years. These relations have established a smooth synergy between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Although at times there are situations of unease or conflict in these relationships, the three institutions have attained a degree of flexibility so that differences do not reach the extent of serious confrontation. But the same claim cannot be made about the fourth pillar. The relationship of the media with any of these democratic institutions is not an easygoing one. One of the reasons for this is that it is believed that the media is the voice of the people and its job is to keep an eye on the remaining three pillars and safeguard people's freedoms. But over time, other factors affecting

the media have also come into being, which also raise questions about the media's claim to be the watchdog of democracy. One is that while the legislature, executive and judiciary work within the scope of their respective boundaries, the media has not yet developed any such boundary nor has the legislature, which has regulated the rights and duties of important institutions of democratic governance, taken any significant initiative in this matter.

The recent elections in the United States, the country with a freer media, brought about open enmity between the (incumbent) President and the media, a phenomenon that will continue to come about in the future too. Most media institutions and many electronic channels generally assumed that Joe Biden would easily win the election. What we here term a wave was flowing against Donald Trump, according to most American newspapers and television channels. But seeing no such wind in the elections, it was only natural for the media to be astounded. Trump might have lost, but only by a small margin. In many countries including our

country, the assessment of the press continues to be wrong. But such a mistake in a Presidential election can shake the American media's throne, sitting on which it has acquired the right to make prior proclamations about the election of the President of America.

How and why does the media announce the outcome of the election of the President in America? For decades, a news agency in the US¹ has been the first to announce who has become the next President. All other agencies follow its lead. This is because there is no nationwide federal body to conduct the national elections in that country of 52 states. The matter would have been over had President Trump not taken the adamant stand he has. The election results too were out on November 3, but outgoing President Trump continued to claim that the elections had been rigged extensively and that "my victory has been stolen from me." In the absence of an Election Commission, it is the local courts that look into complaints

regarding even national election issues. Since November 3, Trump and his colleagues have been knocking on the doors of every court, and despite courting disappointment in a dozen cases, have not settled for a closure. To the extent possible, he kept putting obstacles in the way of the new President. Trump kept raising the same issues he had raised in the beginning. Along with these issues, the media's bias was also a big reason. Given the stance of the courts, President Trump was supposed to vacate the White House by the due date. What then is the benefit of bringing unnecessary disgrace to himself and the country?

Before becoming the United States, America was a group of many colonies with their own ways and laws. There was no idea of a single nation. Even when the need was felt to form a country under a single union government, there was serious confrontation between many states and the central government. Many states agreed to come together on the condition of allowing the

minimum authority to the federal government. The election of the President of the country was one such issue on which a consensus could be reached only with much difficulty. It was decided that while the states would elect their governments on their own, they would also elect the head of the union in their own way, and not under the supervision of any federal institution. Regardless of how slowly the presidential race progressed in the country, the press would be more concerned about its own race, and often used to inform the public, even before the officials did, as to how the candidate or party was faring. Governments too must have felt that if the newspapers were doing what they (i.e., the governments) were supposed to be doing, there was no issue; let the press continue with what it did. Since around 1848, this system has been in vogue². It is a state of affairs that has been going on for about two hundred years. Apparently, then there must have been a strong feeling behind a system in which such a large country does not need any federal governing body for nationwide elections and the public does not doubt the fair role of media in national elections. This was the spirit of 'one America', which had to fight fierce civil war between its southern and northern states to stand on a firm basis. But during the presidential election in November 2020 and after the elections have been held, this single American nation is beginning to look somewhat divided at an emotional level. Did anything linger on, in spite of the American Revolution³ and the American Civil War, the outcome of which is now coming to the



Courtesy: <https://starofmysore.com/is-there-honesty-in-journalism/>

fore? The American Constitution was ratified in 1788 and came into force in 1789. Since then, the question has arisen whether America is a democratic country and an indivisible nation. Tussle over the post of the President, which lends the nation its realization of being a united, is the result of its four-year civil war. In that period, the need to create a universal, equal, transparent and fair election system to conduct the entire election process, including the election of a President, did not arise for the American people, even though the credibility of the President would be questioned at times. Trump is deepening that very distrust in the country's election system. This distrust is not so much the US federal-state relationship as it is directed against an institution which, after the judiciary, also brings about the realization of being a 'united nation' in the United States because of its extensiveness and extraordinary influence throughout the country. This institution is the American media. Can the media be trusted to be fair? No, says Trump. Under the cover of targeting the media, he is questioning the American electoral system itself. Knowingly or unknowingly, the American media itself is becoming a matter of debate in the American electoral process. Trump has been accusing the entire media of creating and nurturing fake news, whereas not only during this election, but in the 2016 election too, Trump's campaigners themselves have been accused of openly using fake news.

The question is, where does the American media figure in any debate on the conduct and ethics

The nature of the market we see before us has come from America. The relationship between the media and market too began from there. Technology too is a product of the West. The distortions generated by these in our milieu have come from there, so what happened there earlier was bound to happen here one day

of media in independent India. We learnt journalism from the British, to whom we were subservient. We kept trying to justify our journalism in accordance with those very standards. The world had changed by the time we became independent. The United States and Soviet Union were the two leaders in the world. The Soviet Union, though not a new country as Russia was its forebear, nevertheless was in an avatar that was a different role than before. Even though our prominent leaders were overawed by the Soviet Union and tried to steer the country on the socialist path, the Indian media actually followed the high way of America. By the end of the twentieth century our press had come to believe that the media has a life-and-death relationship with the market. That is, our mainstream media had become the nurturer of the market philosophy. Technology gave the media the expansion no institution has acquired, except the market. Therefore, today the debate whether the media is an integral part of the market or not would be fruitless. This development has already taken place; there is neither a firm resolve nor suitable means among the people to reverse it. We can only so much so that the media does not completely fall under the sway of the market. The malignant tendencies that trouble

us today and often complain about were all inherent in our media even at the beginning of the current century, some in the form of seeds and some as its flowered sprouts. The nature of the market we see before us has come from America. The relationship between the media and market too began from there. Technology too is a product of the West. The distortions generated by these in our milieu have come from there, so what happened there earlier was bound to happen here one day.

Ever since the debate on the role of media commenced, people developed certain assumptions about it, like the media would be an institution of fairness and social concern. Those who had hoped for neutrality on the part of the media were wrong in the last century and are still wrong. Fairness in the context of media does not have the same meaning as it does in a court of law. A newspaper, group or channel may have its own side, which it presents openly. Magazines and channels are often divided in accordance with prevailing trends towards political parties, regions and sects. And those who are called fair also have their side, which one can call the majority. Commitment to the market ideology is an important aspect in the context of the media. Fairness regarding the media can only mean honesty about facts.

Facts were considered sacred in an era when journalism was a mission, which also had a social commitment. When one casts a glance at the history of the last two hundred years of journalism of a major country, one sees that neither the American media nor its Indian counterpart have upheld only one side on national issues, whether during the American Revolution or the Indian independence movement. Regional movements which ran parallel during our independence movement, in which the media played an important role, also had all kinds and bright colours, including regional, communal and colonial hues. At an ideological level, this variation is not wrong, provided facts are kept sacrosanct. Therefore, if there has to be any significant concern about the media in the twenty-first century, it has to be regarding the relationship between media and facts. We have to ponder on how to keep the media intact, undistorted and undamaged.

When the media was accepted as democracy's fourth pillar, it was seen as an independent, powerful tool to safeguard democracy from autocracy and prevent disregard of public opinion. The media did play that role for a considerable span of time. But in the long run, it began transforming its role as it turned into a supportive tool of

the market. The basic purpose of giving information to the public remained in place as a matter of practice, but the dimensions of information dissemination began changing. The meaning of information or news is not only to convey general and prevalent information; it is also the duty of the media to bring the issues hidden inside the information to the readers, that is, to uncover the truth. Actually, reaching the news that is hidden or embedded is considered to be the media's efficiency. Another situation too came about along with this. The difference between a news reporter gathering news to bring it to the reader and an informer conveying information in exchange for compensation has reduced to an alarming degree. The desire to unearth secrets and an unrestrained market became a dangerous mix. When the media has become an important part of the market, the ability to be abreast of the secrets of business and political world becomes a significant force by itself. One result of the realization of this power was that the media began to harbour the belief that it alone could fix the other three pillars and keep democracy healthy. But in the toxic world of politics and wealth, how long can the media keep its moral credo alive, especially when morality for media is no longer a

commitment? In this connection, it is not unnatural for the media to be directly or indirectly involved in the myriad economic scandals in our country.

In recent elections in democratic countries, the strength of their variations was felt very strongly along with news itself. Can the media influence a candidate's prospects of winning or losing? According to election observers, some candidates can be kept virtually invisible throughout election campaigns as they do not attract media attention. Regina Lawrence, who has served as director of many media learning centres says that everyone does not know how to attract media. People are already divided into parties for several reasons and it is the media which has been doing the work of fuelling this trend. The already divided populace does not in the least want to listen to the other side. In this kind of polarization, it is particularly the third party that gets badly beaten; its message is lost as a cry in the wilderness.

The distortion of news has become a matter of grave concern in the twenty-first century—fake news and paid news, i.e., false news and buying and selling of news. But before understanding these important aspects, it would be appropriate to discuss such a distortion. The Radia tape scandal was a very well known development⁴. There are three major factors in this story. One individual, Nira Radia played the role of a middleman to procure governmental favours for big business organizations. Two political parties and their governments, the Congress and the DMK, were trying to outsmart each other in pursuit

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of their immediate interests, and many prominent journalists were working as informants and fixers for them. The incident unfolded in such a way that the celebrities of the media were exposed as playing the role of Radia's agents. The case was the 2G spectrum scam. Central intelligence agencies obtained information that some industrialists were trying to pressurize the media to influence government policies to acquire 2G spectrum. This pressure was being created through Nira Radia. Radia had access to some senior journalists who had ties to serving officials and ministers in the government. Between 2007 and 2009, the Intelligence Bureau had secretly listened to the phone conversations of several bureaucrats, business agents and journalists and made hundreds of confidential tapes. It was not a coincidence that 140 of these conversations were published by a magazine called 'X Tapes'. It was natural that this caused a huge sensation across the country, as these conversations astonished their readers by baring the role of eminent journalists working in the country's prestigious newspapers and newspaper groups. Barkha Dutt, one of the journalists featuring in these tapes argued, "I was eager for news. I gathered news from wherever I could; it was my wrong decision". But no one bought these arguments. A senior journalist, Dilip Padgaonkar asked in a seminar, "When does the natural curiosity of a journalist turn into a middleman's job?" We now know through intelligence reports that journalists and political leaders have been using each other for a long time. This is called "off the record". A politician deliberately



Courtesy: <https://mumbaimirror.indiatimes.com/opinion/columnists/dushyant/securing-good-journalism/articleshow/78942959.cms>

lets out a sensation-causing piece of information to a reporter, but with a request that "it should not be published". This request is not heeded for long, and soon the news is published in some form or the other. But it is argued in its favour that the politician who lets out that confidential information also aims to get the information published; only, he does not want to risk getting involved in a dispute at that moment. He wants the source of the news not be revealed to him.

A prominent incident of Britain was where media mogul Rupert Murdoch's 168-year-old newspaper *News of the World* had to shut shop. In a case of sensation-mongering, several journalists associated with that publication were accused of listening to confidential phone conversations of VIPs and publishing them in the press. Although the exposure of the Nira Radia case and the demise of *News of the World* are two distinct incidents, they bring to the fore a particular weakness

of the media. These are examples of the changing roles of media publishers and journalists themselves. In both, the journalists do not merely deliver news to the reader, but seek to further their own or their publisher's interest in surreptitiously obtaining confidential information and either publishing or concealing the same, which is called blackmail. It may be that the actions of journalists in the Radia case, as in the Murdoch case, might not have been directly criminal, but on a moral level, both have no relation to the role of the media in which it was considered the watchdog of public interest. At the same time, we also see the seeds of the two deformations of the twentieth century having sprouted, regarding which that section of society which still wants to believe the media to be the watchdog of democracy is concerned. What on earth were the journalists trapped in this scam doing? In promoting the interests of a capitalist, upon the urging of

his agent, they wanted to create a scenario before the two political parties in which the latter ought to suitably tailor its policies. In other words, they were doing exactly what journalists spreading fake news do. They were crafting the access of large business houses to political parties. These journalists were not employees working on low wages; yet, if they were ready to do such tasks, their management was aware of it or was also involved in these dealings. Which means, this was also a clear example of paid news. It is not that the Radia tape scandal is the first instance of journalists becoming victims of political and capitalist greed. Owing to the inexperience of Nira Radia or her journalist friends, competing business organizations got those tapes published in the media beforehand and spoiled the game. Another eminent journalist, G. Sampat rightly said, “The blacking out of the Nira Radia tapes story by the entire television media and most big English newspapers presents a truer picture of corruption in the country”.

Spreading false news is not new to human society because if humans can lie, they can also spread false news. In the context of media, fake information has also been a part of diplomacy. The influence of newspapers in India began to increase from the beginning of the last century. The circulation of English journals and magazines had begun before the revolution of 1857. Newspapers played an important role against the British. Some newspapers were distributed in Delhi, which used to have only twenty-three copies because the printing press could not

be organized on a commercial basis in that period. But things had changed by the twentieth century. If we begin digging further, many events would come up in which fake news or information has been causing many changes in the politics of the respective periods of those events. They were not called false or fake news then, but were only considered to be rumours. While these rumors caused many communal disputes to intensify, several misconceptions began to flourish in society. However, their commercial aspect emerged from the West. Fake news has been spreading its footprint in Western countries for the past several decades. Its influence in elections continued to increase rapidly. Fake news had played a big role in the 2016 US presidential elections. Many sociologists were alarmed at the dominance of pseudo news during those elections. They apprehended that such false accounts of happenings could have a profound effect on the public, which in the end would be detrimental to both means and ends. Fifteen scholars wrote articles on various dimensions in which the role of fake news was analyzed⁵.

The following interpretation of pseudo-news came to the fore—artificially fabricated news that mimics the news of the

general media but not its purpose. According to sociologist Steven Sloman, given the speed with which technology is proliferating and is changing today, any individual can be a source of news anywhere. You should only have the ability to attract attention, so that you can become “viral”⁶.

The flow of information is so rapid that no one has time to distinguish between real and pseudo news. Even those whose task is to investigate do not have time to make such a distinction. Any news goes viral before it can be ascertained. People have innumerable media tools, many channels, newspaper magazines, and social media available whereby every person gets what he wants to read, listen to or watch. Do people believe and follow fake news? The question of following it arises only when people accept the news as true. The striking feature of fake news is that it does not look fake. It is important to note that the role of rumour, which was prevalent long before fake news acquired the wings of technology, even today can bring about an explosive environment coupled with fake news. It has often been seen that people do not even pause for a moment before spreading news on social media. That is, the biggest role in making fake news viral is that of the reader and viewer. It is that fake news which meshes with

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the contemporary or conservative beliefs of the people and whose seeds are already scattered in the society, which spreads rapidly. And therefore that fake news which people start talking about a lot is the news that proliferates rapidly. In other words, the problem is cultural in its origin. The only difference between fake news and rumor is that fake news becomes widespread in minutes while rumour remains confined to its small circles.

If we have assumed that news is a commodity and journalism is a commercial business, then one has to assume that like other businesses, all commercial rules and requirements like profit, loss, capital investment etc., will also operate in it. There is no place for Gandhi's trusteeship in the market system. The circumstances under which we considered the media to be the fourth pillar of democracy are no longer in existence, because the media's own interests and the personal interests of the journalists working in it dominate the character of the media. It is pertinent to enquire who has invested capital in newspaper groups or channels. Why should there be any surprise if they are foreign business houses or corporations? Is there no foreign investment in other trades? Is there no non-American capital in the American media? The intervention of technology in economic activity is not merely in making it more efficient or dynamic; technology also gives it direction and sets its goals.

Should we therefore let our media remain as it is, and is there no need to worry about its state of affairs and where it is headed? The media actually is the conduct of the word. Even though it has

The media actually is the conduct of the word. Even though it has now become a business, we have been treating words as sacrosanct. The word is akin to *Brahma* or the Ultimate One, and it is our duty to protect it— our very dharma. It is the word that is the carrier of knowledge

now become a business, we have been treating words as sacrosanct. The word is akin to *Brahma* or the Ultimate One, and it is our duty to protect it— our very dharma. It is the word that is the carrier of knowledge. News or information is synonymous with knowledge. Our words, information and knowledge are our heritage and culture. We are committed to protecting it. If at all we have to safeguard or improve something, it is to the fact or truth contained in the news. No one should have the right to distort, fragment or suppress facts. If news is untrue, then it is a crime to publicize it; irrespective of whether it has harmed any citizen or not, such an act is liable to be punished. Most news in so-called social media comes from elsewhere, not from the company or corporation through which it is broadcast. They are the carriers who spread the disease. But the fact that they have merely obtained information from some other source does not make absolve them of guilt. The carriers of viruses of epidemics are no less dangerous. If we accept news to be a commodity that can be purchased and sold as other goods are, we shall have to abandon the claim of being the watchdog of democracy has. Rights in all dimensions of democracy depend on certain duties. Owing to its pristine function of being the voice of the people, keeping an eye on the other components of

the state system cannot be a one-sided task. Till now, the media has been arguing that any discipline imposed from outside on it will destroy its freedom. If at all discipline is necessary, it should be self-discipline. Gandhi's views are put forth in favour of this argument, according to which journalism should not be like an uncontrolled flow of water that destroys surrounding villages and cities. But according to him, this discipline should not be imposed from outside as it would make the environment even more toxic. But on what basis will the media exercise any self-discipline, when it itself is not independent and for whom it has become impossible to operate without the revenue of advertisements? Be it a newspaper or a TV channel, the media is not just any other business. It does promote advertising but also blandishes the temptation of providing news and other entertaining content for almost free.

The ownership of the media, its selling price, the relationship between the journalist and the management, its advertising policies and the manner of building discourse do not let it be trusted. We cannot alter the relationship between the market and media as long as we follow the mantra of the market from politics to economy. There is also no significant improvement in the market philosophy as it is

controlled by globalization, and globalization runs on the basis of technology. It is now being claimed that technology is not under human control, and will build its own political republic⁶. In such a situation, we can try to safeguard facts. In order to do this, every attempt to present fact as fake news or merchandise and exchangeable goods will have to be included in the category of crime. There is a need strictly monitor all attempts to make the information contained in the news

a means of threat or a weapon and keep a close watch over all confidential measures of obtaining information. Although most of our media houses may say that all is well in their operations, recently, the editor of the American edition of the *Guardian* has appealed to his readers in a manner that says little but contains a potent message in what is unsaid. Editor John Mulholland writes: “In this chaotic, horrifying era there is a great need for an independent, truth-finding *Guardian*-like

institution. The *Guardian* has no stakeholder or owner billionaire; that is, there is no pressure on our journalism and no vested interest. That is why we are different from others. It is interesting to look into how journalists who trade news in capitalist countries like Britain and America will fight the influence of billionaires, market investments and capital. Whether they are different or not, we know that journalism in a large number of news institutions is governed by pressures and interests”.

References:

1. Associated Press and American Cable News, in keeping with convention, declared Joe Biden's victory in the US presidential elections.
2. *What They Fought For*—McPherson James M., 1997
3. Nira Radia working for the Tata group used to get her company's work done by reaching out to government departments and ministries for business expansion. In the US, there are legitimate officials for such tasks because lobbying is a legal profession there. This is placed in the category of confidential business in India. There were more parties involved in the Radia case, who published the tapes beforehand and stymied Radia's plans.
4. A workshop was conducted by David Lazar and Matthew Baum, in a joint endeavour by North Western University and Harvard University. In this workshop, fake news was analyzed in detail so that it could be somehow controlled.
5. Professor Steven Sloman, Psychiatry at Brown University, and experts in other disciplines.
6. *Republic of Technology* – Daniel Burston; Pulitzer Prize winner and a renowned American historian.

Form IV

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I, Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

1 Mar, 2021

Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma
Publisher



Isht Deo Sankrityaayan

Social Media No Horse Left Unchallenged

“

Arguing that you don't care about the right to privacy because you have nothing to hide is no different than saying you don't care about free speech because you have nothing to say.

~Edward Snowden

”

Social media has empowered us with regard to our freedom of speech, but has also become a tool for anti-social elements. There are laws to safeguard it from malice, but these are not adequate. An overview

Social media today has become both a tool as well as a matter of pride for all those who were assumed to be voiceless just two decades ago, who had not had the luxury of conveying their approval and grief or even projecting their abilities to society. They can now raise their voice, make known their pleasure and disaffection, can obtain accolades for their achievements and also solace for failures. It has afforded an opportunity to everyone to feel noteworthy. It also has turned a number of people into celebrities at times, who otherwise were hardly known even in their own vicinity. Also, it has bridled those tongues which were earlier wagging in a licentious way. Those political and religious leaders, celebrities and intellectuals, who could attract the masses by their antics, would earlier take this adulation of the lay folk as their privilege and unscrupulously use it as a weapon against all those whom they considered their enemies. They were able to do all this without an iota of care for facts and truth.

This was the prevailing state of affairs, because the other side did not have any say in the mainstream media and could therefore not influence the masses despite being on the right side.

This monopoly had turned those benefiting from belonging to the privileged class into Caesarian beings and made the entire discourse one-sided. The privileged would roam all over the world like the horse of the Ashwamedha yajna of yore, whom no one dared bridle. If someone dared to do so, he would be projected before the masses as a psychopath rather than a visionary; a villain, an exact opposite of his actual role. It was because the mainstream media was immensely influenced by the capital that the power and the intellect of the ruling class and the intellectuals aligned with it; whereas the 'others' were simply being used by the media in ways that suited its interests. It had even coined proverbs against historical facts; and history itself is a witness to the fact how a number of civilizations had

been vanquished by invading barbarians through use of the fake narratives as a powerful weapon. Even today, the media is being used in the same way. It is the most powerful tool for the powers that are working behind it. That is why Jim Willis raises the question, “After all, aren’t the media mostly made up of liberals? Why should I trust these liberal journalists to represent conservative viewpoints accurately?”¹ Willis’ viewpoint cannot be termed as wrong. But now thanks to social media, no horse is left unchallenged. No narrative can now run across the world unchecked or uncontested. This is because everyone now is in a position to enjoy the freedom of speech to its fullest extent. However, one issue is still a matter of grave concern and needs sincere contemplation. That is, is social media really free of the influence of the powerful? Do the downtrodden really enjoy their share of the freedom of expression?

On the other hand, this freedom too is crossing limits and has many times proven harmful to society. We shall have to be watchful lest a tyrannical freedom of speech adversely affects the people, society and the interests and security of humanity. These questions are to be answered particularly in the wake of the incidents like the Cambridge Analytica data Scandal. Also, one has to bear in mind the fact that there are countries which trade globally, but have not allowed the global social media to penetrate their populace. This is despite the fact that some departments of their own government use social media to influence the masses

How fatal can unbridled freedom given to social media be to democratic countries in this era of global economic war, when the number of countries under the democratic setup can be counted on one’s fingers? We have just witnessed a sordid instance of economic expansionism at the very outset of the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic when China started fishing in troubled waters

of other countries. How fatal can unbridled freedom given to social media be to democratic countries in this era of global economic war, when the number of countries under the democratic setup can be counted on one’s fingers? We have just witnessed a sordid instance of economic expansionism at the very outset of the prevailing COVID-19 pandemic when China started fishing in troubled waters. At that very hour, when most countries of the world were busy in safeguarding the lives of their citizens through lockdown, and thus went into a slowdown, the dragon began taking hold of many companies through the stock market. When India checked its design through legislation, the Chinese termed it discriminatory². They of course have no answer to the question, though, as to how safeguarding one’s own economy is discriminatory. Yet, many of their compatriots in different countries—including India—began voicing their ‘concern’, in tune with their masters and mostly used social media for their purpose.

Before we strive to search for the answers to these questions we shall have to know the meaning, reach and expanse of social media. We have to bear in mind that this is an idea and a construct of that very West where

journalism is not even rooted in any sense of mission. The media is just a business there and social media is a part of the same construct. The ultimate goal of any business is to make profit. In the wake of this fact we would have to know about those powers that control and affect it. No one can even imagine how harmful it can be for humanity, if it is used by evil powers. Unfortunately, we do not have any way to ascertain such facts before they actually happen. What then do we need to do in such a case?

Interaction between the Users

Let us first understand social media. If we talk in a general sense about today’s young generation, no one is innocent and unaware of social media. They might be interested in it, or otherwise. It has become an inevitable part of life. As Varinder Taprial and Priya Kanwar explain, “Social media is the media that allows one to be *social*, or become social online by sharing content, news, photos, etc., with other people.” At the same time, they also opine that “there are hundreds of definitions for the term *social media* and new ones are added daily as the concepts keep changing and evolving with time. However, they do offer some definitions in the book.

According to the *Merriam-*

Webster Dictionary online, social media is defined as “forms of electronic communication (as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (as videos).”

According to Wikinvest, “Social media describes websites that allow users to share content, media etc. Common examples are the popular social networking sites like Friendster, Facebook, MySpace, etc. Social media also includes YouTube, Photobucket, Flickr and other sites aimed at photo and video sharing. News aggregation and online reference sources, examples of which are Digg and Wikipedia, are also counted in the social media bucket. Microblogging sites such as Twitter can also be included as social media.”

The Web dictionary defines social media (noun) simply as, “websites and applications used for social networking.”

Finally they conclude, “All web based applications which allow for creation/exchange of user generated content and enable interaction between the users can be classified as social media. These could be in form of social networking sites (Facebook, Friendster, Google Plus), Blogs, Internet Forums, Bookmarking sites, online community sites and Q&A sites etc.”³

Internet and Smartphone still a Luxury

Since all content on social media is generated by the users, there has been a constant debate regarding ownership of the content. As this user generated content is hosted

by the company, the security of information is indeed a matter of concern which can be leaked to the third parties with economic interests in the platform or to parasites who comb the data for their own database. The Facebook-Cambridge Analytica data Scandal case is an example of such cases. In this case, millions of Facebook users’ personal data was acquired without the individuals’ consent by Cambridge Analytica, a British political consulting firm, to be used predominantly for political advertising. The UK Information Commissioner’s office had levied a fine for exposing the data of its users at a serious risk of harm.⁴ It is a well known fact that Facebook has the biggest reach among social media platforms. Almost one fifth of the world’s population uses Facebook. Its user base is as big as 1.4 billion users around the world and it keeps on increasing day by day.⁵ How dangerous it can be for the society, if such huge platform of social media starts misusing the data of its

users!

Apart from Facebook there are a large number of big or small platforms that make the perspective of social media. Among those most efficient are WhatsApp, Instagram, twitter and LinkedIn etc. WhatsApp is proverbially said to be the lifeline of Indians. This app was launched in 2010 and it managed to have a user base of above 250 million users from India alone. A lot of people now totally depend on WhatsApp for being connected to the world. Another social network that became popular in a short span is Instagram. It has become a haven for influencers and also businesses. One can make an account of anything and everything on Instagram. It allows users to share a wide range of content such as photos, videos, stories, and live videos. Twitter is the best platform for those who know how to portray the message in a short and a crisp way. It allows only 280 characters in a tweet (140 for Japanese, Korean and Chinese), though the other social media



Courtesy: <https://soffront.com/blog/know-7-best-strategies-build-brand-social-media-marketing/>

sites have a much higher limit. Every little news item becomes super-viral and the view count increases tremendously on Twitter. Authorities too have started receiving information from individuals about their convenience or problems through Twitter. In India, ministers like Piyush Goyal and the late Mrs. Sushma Swaraj became very popular for their actions concerning the problems of citizens, of which they obtained information through Twitter. This is why Twitter is most popular social networking site among fans of news, entertainment, sports, and politics, besides all those who love to debate. Social media is not only a tool for discussion and expression; it also has a role in professional field. For those who are in search of a job or a change in their position LinkedIn is the best networking site. Youtube and Spotify are best places for those who like to watch movies, serials and even learn or teach an art or technique. There are also some new social media platforms that are growing at a fast pace and these are different from the likes of Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Most popular among these are Houseparty, Trell, Helo, Vero, etc. Everyday a new venture enters this fray and every new venture has some new features that attract the youngest masses.

In the same way, the number of social media users is also witnessing a rapid increase in India. The number of social media users in India stood at 326.1 million in 2018. In 2015, it was 142.23 million and is expected to touch almost 448 million in 2023.⁶ Although

As social media is web based, it can make its reach only to those who have access to the internet. We are aware that internet is still a luxury in India. Despite many efforts by the government it could not make its reach to everyone. It also needs a computer or smartphone, which again is a luxury confined to a limited number of people

this is a huge number and able to wield influence, it cannot be said to be all pervasive in a hugely populated country like India. As social media is web based, it can make its reach only to those who have access to the internet. We are aware that internet is still a luxury in India. Despite many efforts by the government it could not make its reach to everyone. It also needs a computer or smartphone, which again is a luxury confined to a limited number of people. In India, only 26% of mobile phone users were using smartphones in 2018. It was predicted that by 2022, over 36 per cent of mobile users in the country would use a smartphone.⁷ Obviously, the number of social media users cannot be higher than this. Even in developed countries like UK, US, Germany and France, smartphones are not accessible to the entire populace. According to the Newzoo's 2019 Global Mobile market report, smartphone penetration in UK is 82.9%. ext to this 79.9% people in Germany, 79.1% people in US and 77.5% people in France use smartphones. In China, smartphone penetration is only 59.9%, in India 36.7% and in Pakistan, it is only 15.9%.⁸ If we take the data regarding computers in India, it is much less than smartphones. Personal computers (per 100 people) in India were reported at 3.1271

in 2007, according to the World Bank collection of development indicators, compiled from officially recognized sources. India—Personal computers (per 100 people)—actual values, historical data, forecasts and projections were sourced from the World Bank on December of 2020.⁹

Influence: Traditional vs Social Media

There are people who raise questions, using this data, over influence of social media. They ask how a media, which cannot extend its reach to even the 50% of the population, can affect a society or its governance. Most of them are those who are in favour of the earlier generation of media. But we would have to look into its reach too. According to World Press Trends Report prepared by the World Association of Newspapers, only 2.5 billion people were reading newspapers (in print form) in 2012.¹⁰ In India, the circulation of newspapers has always been a matter of doubt. In the same way if we look at the data of television sets in India, we find its availability at 83.51 per 1,000 people in 2002.¹¹ This is according to the World Bank collection of development indicators, compiled from officially recognized sources. More or less, this is the reality of the entire world. The availability

of any device or medium is more in developed countries and lesser in developing or undeveloped countries, but no mode of media covers 100% of the population. Even now, it can only be conceived as an ideal for the society. Still, it is true that media influences and affects the society in an enormous way and social media shares a big segment within this frame. The basic difference between mainstream and social media is not of coverage, but of the mode of content creation. Mainstream media is not dependent on its users for content creation. It creates content on its own and in a professional way. Every news and article is planned and scrutinized, as well as edited. It cannot allow anything to naturally flow on to the page or thrown up in the air. In the same way, it cannot allow all its users to react to the content arbitrarily; whether it is related to facts or the opinion. It cannot offer all its users space to interact. This works as a process of check and balance and also infuses a feeling of responsibility, but at the same time, also makes it one-way in a sense.

On the other hand, social media is completely based on the user-created content. As Jonathan A. Obar and Steve Wildman opine in their widely discussed

work on the topic, “Web 2.0 is the ideology and user-generated content is the fuel.”¹² Everyone who is registered on the platform is free to share his experience, art or anything that one likes to share. In the same way, anyone is free to react to it. This feature enables social media platforms to not be treated as a one-way supply of content, but makes them interactive. This freedom of expression and interaction both stand unhindered until someone breaks the chain through blocking or reporting against a user’s behavior or intention. This interaction makes social media more influential; again, its unique feature of ‘not leaving a single horse unchallenged’ makes it reliable and trustworthy as well. This reliance and trustworthiness, though, is confined only to the concerned segments of opinion or ideology. This situation of segmentation is same with the so-called media too, which flaunts itself as unbiased despite accepting its status of being liberal or rightwinger. But the feature of interaction oftentimes enables the entire game to be changed in other ways. This change of opinion does not remain confined to the virtual world alone, but also reflects and affects the real world in a sizeable measure. Earlier, it

was confined to the mainstream media alone to set an agenda for governments and run it accordingly. Now, because of the growing involvement of social media, it is no longer a one-sided game. Games often turn turtle. As Jim Willis explains, “To lump all media influence together and lay it at the doorstep of ‘the media’ is to say that—as a group of individually— newspapers, magazines, radio, the Internet, cable television and broadcast television all have equal, or at least similar effects on the government’s agenda.”¹³

Media and Agenda Setting

Further, he explains its hidden aspect, “An odd thing when it comes to media agenda setting is that we don’t always know the origin of that power or influence. Today’s media are an impersonal collection of Institutions and the World Wide Web has made them even more so.”¹⁴ Obviously, traditional media does not enjoy its biggest share in influencing the masses and power as well, in the same way as it used to earlier. As Willis explains with reference to his (American) society, “The traditional news media have seen their public clout diminished by the fascinations Americans have towards more non-traditional media forms. The influence of these newer venues of news and commentary was the subject of a 2004 study of William P. Eveland. This study shows that non-traditional political communication forms are finally producing consistent positive effects equivalent to traditional media such as television news and newspapers. Moreover there is some evidence that these

Mainstream media is not dependent on its users for content creation. It creates content on its own and in a professional way. Every news and article is planned and scrutinized, as well as edited. It cannot allow anything to naturally flow on to the page or thrown up in the air. In the same way, it cannot allow all its users to react to the content arbitrarily; whether it is related to facts or the opinion



Courtesy: <https://www.profitroom.com/blog/hotel-social-media-how-to-run-it/>

positive effects may be amplified among the less educated, helping to close the knowledge gap.”¹⁵ This shift of interest from one mode of media to the other is happening not only in America, but in the entire world. Every newer generation is attracted to the newer medium. This is as natural as change in technology.

Any kind of change in technology influences the society in both good and evil ways. It therefore, also affects society in both ways. This is why scholars like Marshall McLuhan emphasise more on the medium than the content. As he opines in his celebrated work *The Medium is the Message* first published in 1967, “Societies have always been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication. The alphabet, for instance, is a technology that is absorbed by the very young child in a completely unconscious manner, by osmosis so to speak. Words and the meaning of words

predispose the child to think and act automatically in certain ways. The alphabet and print technology fostered and encouraged a fragmenting process, a process of specialism and of detachment. Electric technology fosters and encourages unification and involvement. It is impossible to understand social and cultural changes without knowledge of the workings of media.”¹⁶

Marshall McLuhan is the individual who coined the phrase ‘the medium is the message’ and also ‘global village’. It is he who predicted the advent of the World Wide Web 30 years before its invention. He would obviously have had a perception, more or less, of all the problems that are arising in today’s society because of the World Wide Web and social media. It has become an addiction for some of its users as well as compulsion for others. It is this addiction or compulsion that has caused psychological problems like Facebook Depression, Social Media Anxiety, and even

catfishing. MTV’s show *Catfish*, based on a documentary film, is a good example showcasing the illusion of social media connections. “The term Catfish describes people who create fake social networking profiles, and ‘catfishing’ is the process of befriending strangers online while using a fake or stolen identity. It is a deceptive act and it has ruined marriages, relationships and the emotional well being of many people.”¹⁷ And now no one needs to be told that this is not the limit. Social media has also become a refuge for scoundrels. It has enabled notorious elements for many types of criminal activities which could not be thought of earlier. Besides causing emotional problems to its users, it is being used by malicious people for their benefit. They use social media platforms for lying, scams, attacking and hurting others in a number of ways. Many criminals have taken advantage of social media to hide their identity and commit several crimes such as

cyber bullying, cyber terrorism, human trafficking, drug dealing, etc...¹⁸ A new form of bullying has emerged with the use of social media, often termed as 'cyber bullying', within last two decades. Cyber bully culprits have the ability to conceal their identity. They often do so by posing as someone else and terrorise their victims. As social media scholar from Santa Clara University, Jacob Amedie puts it, "Recent studies indicate that approximately 20–35% of adolescents report involvement in bullying either as a bully, a victim or both."¹⁹

This ease of posting messages without revealing one's identity makes social media the safest haven for the gravest kind of criminals. This is why terrorist groups are rapidly adopting social media for their evil designs. Amedie informs, "In the last couple of decades, incidents of Islamic terrorism have occurred on a global scale, not only in Muslim-majority countries, but also in Europe, Russia, and the United States. Terrorism has been using social media for their benefit for gathering information, for recruiting members, for fund raising, and for propaganda schemes."²⁰ Weimann, a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center

and professor at Haifa University in Israel, has been studying the relationship between terrorism and social media since the early days of the Internet and has published a new report titled *New Terrorism and New Media*. According to Weimann, "terrorists started using the Internet almost 16 years ago. Ever since then, monitoring the use of the Internet and online platforms use by terrorist groups has skyrocketed from 12 to over 9,800 terrorist websites. After 9/11, many terrorist groups, such as the jihadist movements and al-Qaida moved to cyberspace."²¹

Most Vulnerable

These facts are enough to establish the opinion that social media is the most vulnerable form of media. It is dangerous not only from the point of view of emotional problems and crime, but also is likely to add many social problems. It is, however, impossible even to think back to the old era of media. Neither can we stop technology from evolving, nor humanity from progressing. All we can do is just update ourselves with regard to technology and lay down some norms to safeguard the common citizens' interests. We have entered an era in which all human societies are

actually technopolized. Neil Postman defines technopoly as a society, "Where technology is deified, meaning culture seeks its authorization in technology, and takes its orders from technology. It is characterised by a surplus of information generated by technology, which technological tools are in turn employed to cope with, in order to provide direction and purpose for society and individuals."²² Marshall McLuhan explained it long ago in another way giving an example, "An example of the disruptive impact of a hot technology succeeding a cool one is given by Robert Theobald in *The Rich and the Poor*. When Australian natives were given steel axes by the missionaries, their culture, based on the stone axe, collapsed. The stone axe had not only been scarce but had always been a basic status symbol of male importance." Finally he concludes, "The medium of money or wheel or writing, or any other form of specialist speed-up of exchange and information, will serve to fragment a tribal structure. Similarly, a very much greater speedup, such as occurs with electricity, may serve to restore a tribal pattern of intense involvement such as took place with the introduction of radio in Europe, and is now tending to happen as a result of TV in America. Specialist technologies detribalize. The nonspecialist electric technology retribalizes."²³

Knowledge and Smart Legislation

In these conditions the only recourse that can protect us from all these evils caused by fast growing technology and social

social media is the most vulnerable form of media. It is dangerous not only from the point of view of emotional problems and crime, but also is likely to add many social problems. It is, however, impossible even to think back to the old era of media. Neither can we stop technology from evolving, nor humanity from progressing. All we can do is just update ourselves with regard to technology and lay down some norms to safeguard the common citizens' interests

media is expansion of knowledge and smart legislation. Actually, internet and particularly social media was seen as a great boon for democratic discourse in its early days. Media regulation therefore becomes an immensely sensitive and controversial topic in all liberal and democratic countries. It is perhaps for this reason that countries like United States have relied much more on self regulation than European democracies have.

Totalitarian countries like China though, have assumed total control over the entire media within their borders, and social media too is a part of that. China does not allow sites like Twitter, Google and Whatsapp. Their services are provided instead by Chinese providers such as Weibo, Baidu and WeChat. As BBC informs, “The Cyberspace Administration of China announced at the end of January 2019 that in the previous six months it had closed 733 websites and ‘cleaned up’ 9,382 mobile apps, although those are more likely to be illegal gambling apps or copies of existing apps being used for illegal purposes than social media.”²⁴ China also has automatically censored some keywords, such as references to the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident. Russia has a law that gives regulators the power to switch off connections to the world wide web. Russia’s data laws from 2015 require social media companies to store any data about Russians on servers within the country. Its communication watchdog blocked LinkedIn and fined Facebook and Twitter for not being clear about how they planned to comply with this.²⁵ Australia passed the Sharing

Russia’s data laws from 2015 require social media companies to store any data about Russians on servers within the country. Its communication watchdog blocked LinkedIn and fined Facebook and Twitter for not being clear about how they planned to comply with this. Australia passed the Sharing of Abhorrent Violent Material Act in 2019

of Abhorrent Violent Material Act in 2019. It has posed criminal penalties for social media companies, possible jail sentences for tech executives for up to three years and financial penalties worth up to 10% of a company’s global turnover. The European Union also has strict laws in this regard. Social media platforms there face fines if they do not delete extremist content within an hour. The EU also introduced the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). This sets rules on how companies, including social media platforms, store and use people’s data. In Germany, the NetzDG law came into effect in 2018. This law applies to companies with more than two million registered users in the country. They were forced to set up procedures to review complaints about content they were hosting, remove anything that was clearly illegal within 24 hours and publish updates every six months about how they were doing. Individuals may be fined up to €5m and companies up to €50m for failing to comply with these requirements. The United Kingdom still does not have a clear legislation in this regard, though it has proposed a law which is expected to come in force soon. Recently unveiled, these proposals are part of the UK government’s bid

to force tech giants to rid their platforms of illegal and toxic content. Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, Twitter and other popular social networks will be required to establish clear terms and conditions which set out how they tackle content that is legal but could cause significant physical or psychological harm to adults, such as misinformation about corona virus vaccines.

As far as, India is concerned our Constitution permits censorship in certain limited circumstances. This problem is caused also by the global nature of internet. It is very difficult to control the content that is uploaded in foreign countries and viewed in India. Most attempts at censorship have therefore been haphazard and inconsistent. Article 19 (1) A of our Constitution protects the right to free speech and expression irrespective of the medium of communication. Article 19(2) permits reasonable restriction to be placed on the right in view of public policy concerns. In accordance with Article 19(2) India has legislated the Information Technology Act in 2000. It has also been amended from time to time. Yet, it doesn’t seem adequate to address the needs growing with time. There is still much to be done, not only in India but the entire world too, particularly bearing the

fact in mind that there are the countries that do not allow the social media of other countries into their borders, irrespective of whether their sites are being viewed in the whole world.

Obviously it is not so easy to control and legislate on social media and other content flowing on the internet uninterruptedly and ceaselessly. Conventional laws of the traditional world will not work for this. We would have to look into Francis Fukuyama's suggestion, "Modern liberal

democracies do not typically regulate speech via censorship directed by the state, as in authoritarian regimes, that is, by having a government official approve or alter the content carried by a media channel. Rather, the mechanisms tend to be indirect and include controlling access to media channels through licensing; managing sources of revenue to support private media; setting broad guidance as to what type of content is deemed acceptable or not; promoting certain content

through public broadcasting and other mechanisms; and establishing more or less permissive regimes for private citizens, including politicians and other public figures, to press defamation and invasion of privacy claims. In addition, states have sought to encourage self regulation by content providers. These are the same techniques that have been carried forward into the Internet Age. An alternative approach to media regulation is antitrust."²⁶

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Kumud Sharma

Role of Hindi Journalism in Enhancement of Language

“

The art of communication is the language of leadership.

~James Humes, American author

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Literature and Media play a central role in shaping a language and also in giving it a standard structure. An overview of Hindi's journey in this respect

Language is the identity of the ethos of a country. It is a priceless asset. The journey of the origins and development of language has its own turns and milestones. Literature and journalism, apart from being schools of language are also as a foundry where language is forged. With the natural development of language, new spheres of expressions and thoughts continue to enrich the language in new ways. The long-standing rich legacy of Indian journalism also has a history of making, embellishing and improving Hindi. Journalism in Indian languages has had a historical role in awakening Indian society during the era of the freedom movement, despite legislative acts passed with the intention of curbing the press.

After the publication of the first newspaper *Bengal Gazette* in India in 1780, in the early days of Indian journalism till 1826, the sales of newspapers in Indian languages

than was much than the English newspapers. Before the first war for freedom, the publications in Indian languages had established their hold over the Indian public. The nature and extent of their influence can be gauged from the report on Indian language publications presented in 1859 by Pastor J. Long. This report noted that, “The opinions expressed in (Indian) language publications act as safety valves and provide early warning of coming danger”. Had the Europeans read the papers published in native languages coming out from Delhi in January 1857, they would have certainly obtained information that the Indian people were ready to revolt”.¹

Newspapers and magazines have had an agitational role in the development of modern Khadi Boli Hindi. The history of Hindi journalism, that of the modern Hindi language and the history of Indian independence movement were scripted simultaneously. Hindi

became synonymous with national unity in the era of strengthening of self-confidence, self-esteem and self-reliance. It became the vehicle of consciousness of liberation from colonial rule.

The journey of the development of Hindi journalism also became a journey of the development of its form of the dynamism of the language. From the point of view of chronology, on May 30, 1826, the first Hindi newspaper born of the strong aspiration of promoting Indians' interests, came out under the editorship of Yugal Kishore Shukla. In the 19 December 1826 issue of this newspaper, there is a sample of the language used to describe Lord Amherst's visit to Lucknow, the then Governor General of India. The newspaper wrote:

"Jis samaya e nagara mein pīche utane samaya dekhane mein āyā ki rājamārga mein dono or chotī-chotī haveliyon ke bājāron (bārajon) para susajjar aur kamkhāb aur tāśabādalai ke kāyon ke sonahale aur rupahale aur kāracobiye ke kāya ke kapare logon ne laṭakāe the. Aura lakhanaū śahara bhītara jitanī dukānen jisa jisa padārtha kī thīn, usa samaya sāmagrī se sucī usakī śobhā dekhate hī bana āvatī hai. Aur jēmb jēmb savārī śahara mein dhamsī, temb temb thaur thaur nāy rang bhī dekhane āe. Fir jab ve Āsufahaddaulā ko mahal ke drāps hoke nikale, us

samay bādaśāh kī jēthī bahin kī d̥yorchī kī tainātī fauj āke salāmī kī. Jab savārī Farīdabakhśa Multānī koṭhī ke pās pahuṃcī, vahaṃ par bahut sī topeṃ dagiyāṃ aur logeṃ ne usī koṭhī mein hāzirī khāī."

[In the markets (at the barges), people had hung up well embroidered and multi-coloured fabrics and brocades, embroidered in both golden and silver threads. And the number of shops which were present in the city of Lucknow at that time, stand out in their grandeur by the list of items they offer. And as the (Governor General's) retinue strode into the city, one and all came out to have a glimpse in all its colours. Then, when he came out to the drop of the palace of Asufuddaula, the army stationed at the gates of the residence of the Badshah's elder sister stepped forward to salute. When the carriage reached Farīdabakhś Multani Kothi, many cannons were set off as gun-salutes and people thronged that *kothi*."]

The style of reporting of this paper corresponds to that of the twenty-first century, but in terms of language, the lingo of *Udant Martand* is composed of a mixture of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and regional terminology. It was a mixed form of Brajhasha and the then contemporary Hindi, which was called "Madhyadeśīya *Bhāṣā*".

The scholars of Madhyadeśa or the central region in India would say,

*"Hamārā yah Madhyadeśa bhagawatī Bhāratī ke paribhamāna ka pradhān puṣpodyān hai. Usamen bhī yah Grand Trunk Road māno bhāṣā Bhārat kī bhī Grand Trunk Road hai, jo sadā deśa k eek sire se dūsare sire tak nirantar chalatī rahtī hai."*²

[“Our Madhyadeśa is the chief garden of the wandering of Goddess Mother Bharat. In this too, this Grand Trunk Road of India is akin to the Grand Trunk route of language, which constantly traverses from one end of the country to the other”.]

The Madhyadesha or central region has also been called the 'network of Hindi speaking states'. According to Dr. Dharendra Verma, “The uniqueness of this language was that it used to relate to and mutually connect with other languages”. Journalists and historians of journalism considered this early form of prose to be the original form of the Khadi Boli (dialect) style before the influence of Bharatendu Harishchandra. “It is true that the language of *Udant Martand* is very different from that of today's Hindi newspapers; nevertheless, we can say that the basic form of the Khadi Boli style is reflected in it. In a way, Yugal Kishore Shukla established that form of future Hindi publications and prose of Hindi, which prior to the influence of Bharatendu Harishchandra became the standard of Hindi publications”.³

The publication of the Hindi version of the multi-lingual paper *Bangdoot*, on 9 May 1829, taken to be a revolutionary step. It was earlier published in Persian,

The journey of the development of Hindi journalism also became a journey of the development of its form of the dynamism of the language. From the point of view of chronology, on May 30, 1826, the first Hindi newspaper born of the strong aspiration of promoting Indians' interests, came out under the editorship of Yugal Kishore Shukla

Bengali and English, and jointly owned by Raja Rammohan Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and Prasannakumar Thakur. According to Jagdish Prasad Chaturvedi, it laid down the tradition of non-Hindi speakers publishing and editing Hindi newspapers. A sample of the language of its first editorial is presented here,

“Bhārat khand ko thakurāi au rājanīti au banaj vaipār au vidyā abhyās ke prakār au sab deś ke samācār au deśāntarani kī vidyā au sugharatā ke prasangani se prasangani ye śāstrarth yah samācār patra Banglā aur kāl parē se Pārsī au Hindī bhāṣā mein prati tasvīren chapegā jis karke bahu bhāṁti ke prayojan ke mūl sajīv hone kī sambhāvanā hai.”

[“This section has to do with the issue of *thakurai* (hegemony) and politics and *banaj vaipar* (forest trade) and *bigha* (unit of land measurement) practice of India and all the news about and length and breadth of the country. This newspaper will be published in Bangla (Bengali) and from tomorrow will publish photos in its Parsi and Hindi copies, by which many kinds of interests are likely to come alive.”] The publication of these newspapers in Hindi is evidence to the fact that the importance of Hindi was growing to be understood and

communicated.

The seeds of awakening as a consequence of the first war of independence also influenced the language and its dialects. The literature of the languages of the provinces began sprouting. After this, the litterateur who picked up the pen on the template of the generation of literature also appeared in the role of a journalist. That is why no dividing line could be laid down between literature and journalism. The number of Hindi newspapers started increasing in the Hindi provinces. Raja Shivprasad ‘Sitar-e-Hind’ and Bharatendu Harishchandra played the role of masters of language in the development of early Khari Boli Hindi, in their distinct way through their newspapers. Raja Shivprasad ‘Sitar-e-Hind’ forged the ideal of a common language by freeing Hindi from the heaviness of both Sanskrit and Persian by publishing the *Banaras Akhbar* from Varanasi. Making people aware of the use of language, he offered this important lesson:

“jahām tak ban parē un śabdōṁ ko lenā cāhie jo āmfaham aur khās pasand hoṁ arthāt jisako jiyādā ādamī samajh sakte hain.”

[As far as possible, take the words that are common and particularly liked; that is, which a greater number of people can

understan.]

In 1873, Bharatendu, who proclaimed “*Nij Bhāṣā Unnati Ahe Sab Unnati Ko Mūl*” (the advancement of one’s own language lies at the root of all advancements), declared: “Hindi has been cast in a new gait”. He also improved Hindi through his magazine *Kavivachan Sudha*.

It was only in the nineteenth century that journalism understood the importance of Hindi in articulating the voices of inspirational nationalism along with a new consciousness. The first editorial of *Bharat Mitra* (17 May 1878) dreamt of progress through the medium of newspapers in our own language. It wrote:

“Jis bhāṣā mein aur jis samāj mein samācār patr kā calan nahin hai tab tak usaki unnati ki āsā bhī durāsā mātr hai, kāraṅ ye vo cīj hai jise ghar mein koṭharī bhūtar baith ke sārī duniyā ko hathelī par dekh lo arthāt bhūmandal mein jaham jo kuch viśeṣ baat hotī hai vo isī ke dwārā prakāś hotī hai aur apnā dukh-sukh pradhān rājyādhikāriyon ko sunāne aur prarthanā karane kā ye hī mukhy upāy hai yadi samācār patr nahin ho to rājā ko apanī prajā kā kuch hāl nahīn mālūm ho sake aisī dasā mein rājya sāsan bhī acchī tarah se nahīho sakatā isīlie susabhy prajāhitaiṣī rājā log samācār patron kī swādhīnatā de ke utsāhit karate hain.”

[The hope of progress in the society in which its language and newspapers are not in circulation, is only a false hope. The reason is that this is that instrument by which one can, sitting inside the closet of one’s house, sees the whole world on one’s palm; that is, whatever particular

The seeds of awakening as a consequence of the first war of independence also influenced the language and its dialects. The literature of the languages of the provinces began sprouting. After this, the litterateur who picked up the pen on the template of the generation of literature also appeared in the role of a journalist. That is why no dividing line could be laid down between literature and journalism

thing happens in the planet is highlighted by this. It is through this that we can narrate our grievances to the officials of the state and pray for their redress. If there were no newspapers, then the ruler cannot come to know about the condition of his subjects. In such a situation, the state cannot govern well. That is why a civilised ruler who cares for his subjects encourages freedom to newspapers.]

The editor of *Sarsudhanidhi*, published from Kolkata in 1879, emphasised the need to adopt a 'pure and genuine form' of Hindi as the mother tongue. Linking the newspaper with the promotion of pure Hindi, and describing the advancement of mother tongue Hindi as the basis of patriotism, the newspaper wrote in its editorial of the 12th issue of its second year:

"Jab tak Hindustan pradhān Hindi bhāṣā viśuddha aur sādhu rūp dhāraṇ nahīn karegī sādharāṇ unnatī kadāpī nahīn ho sakegī. Ataeva Hindustan kī unnatī kā mūl jab yah thahrā ki Hindustan kī pradhān bhāṣā Hindi pariśuddha hokar sarvatra ek hī rūp se pracār hoy, tab avaśya government kī sahāyatā avaśyak hai."

[Unless India takes on Hindi in its pure and lucid form, its progress will never come about. Therefore, when this happens to be the root of the progress of India, and Hindi, the principal language of the country, be purified and spread everywhere in the same way, then the help of the government is necessary.]

In the year 1886, in its Issue No. 6 the *Hindi Pradeep* introduced the concept of Hindi as the national language to make the voices of communitarian

By the time the end of the nineteenth century had arrived, Hindi had set forth on the path of creation by becoming the fountainhead of communitarian consciousness. It is another matter that due to many different levels of variation in the form of language, Hindi could not find a stable and mature structure. Various forms of the language, some of them ungainly, were emerging

consciousness a nationwide phenomenon, saying,

"Yadi deś kā kuch bhī abhimān hamko hai to aisā upāy hamen śīghr karanā cāhie ki jisase hamārī ek jātīy (rāṣṭrīya) bhāṣā ho jāe. yahām par itnā hamen avaśy kahanā chāhie thā ki yadyapi jātīy bhāṣā ham logon kī koī nahīn, parantu jātīy akṣar hain aur jo koī hamārī jātīy bhāṣā kabhī hovegī, isake akṣar bhī ve hī hone cāhie, jinamen ki is samay jātīyatā hai – ve akṣar devanāgarī hain aur Bharatavarsh ki vartamān bhāṣāon mein ek bhāṣā bhī aisī hai, jo in ukt akṣaron mein likhī jātī hai aur vah bhāṣā Īśwar kī kṛpā se Hindi hai..... Yadi Bharatvarsh kī kabhī koī jātīy bhāṣā hogī to vah yahī hamārī pyārī sarvāngīṇ - Āgarī-Nāgarī hī hogī aur yathārth mein isī ko aisā banana kā adhikār hai."

[If we have any pride in the country, then we should take such measures so that there is a language of our nation. Here, we should certainly have said that although there is no single national language of our people, there are national script and whichever will be our national language, its alphabets too should be those in which nationhood is present in this period—those alphabets are Devanagari and among the current languages of India, there is a language that is written in these alphabets and by

the grace of God, that language is Hindi....if there is ever any national language of India, then it will be our beloved Agari-Nagari and in reality, it alone has the right to become such a language.]

By the time the end of the nineteenth century had arrived, Hindi had set forth on the path of creation by becoming the fountainhead of communitarian consciousness. It is another matter that due to many different levels of variation in the form of language, Hindi could not find a stable and mature structure. Various forms of the language, some of them ungainly, were emerging. In one of his editorial remarks in regard to this kind of a language, Uchitvakta (January 12, 1895) wrote:

"Jyon hī kisī ne kah diyā ki āpakī bhāṣā kaṭhin hai, kuch saral kījīe, ki cat palat kar urdū kī khicaṛī pakāne lag gae, fir jyon hī kisī ne kah diyā ki kewal Sanskrit śabdon ke prayog se bhāṣā puṣṭ na hogī, bas cat badal gae aur donon prakār ke śabdon ko bhī milāne mein utārū ho gae. Sārānś yah hai ki grāhkon kī khoj mein bhāṣā ko bhī bhatakatē rahate hain."

[As soon as someone says that your language is difficult, make it somewhat simple, we turn a somersault and bring in a mixture of Urdu. Then as soon as someone else says that only by

mixing Sanskrit words or using Urdu words will not make the language strong, we again change in a jiffy and get ready to mix both kinds of words. The gist of it is that in search of customers, we also make our language a vagabond.]

In order to make the proclamation “Ek Hriday Ho Bharat Janani” (May Mother India be One in Heart) come true, newspapers published in the twentieth century gave Hindi a firm ground for creation and enhancement. They also campaigned to support the Devnagari script. The first editorial of the newspaper *Devnagar*, published in May 1907 as the mouthpiece of Calcutta’s Ek Lipi Vistarak Parishad, reveals that the newspaper was operating in the belief that, “*Kashmiri se Kumārikā antarīp aur Brahmadesh se Gāndhār paryant jis Hindi yā isake rūpāntar kā vyavahār hotā hai isalie Sanskrit se janmī sabhī prāntik bhāṣāon ke sammīlan se ‘ek sārvaajanik nūtan bhāṣā kā nirmāṇ sambhav hai.*”

[From Kashmiri to Kumarika headland and from Brahmadesh (Burma) to Gāndhāra (Afghanistan) the Hindi or its variants that are in use show that the creation of a new language with the incorporation of all the provincial languages born from Sanskrit is possible.]

To promote intellectual awareness for promoting Hindi and to justify the acceptability of the Devnagari script for all the provincial languages, this newspaper wrote in its first editorial: “*Bharat ke bhinn prānt kī bhinn bhinn bolīyon ko ek lipi mein likhanā hī us āsānurūp fal kā dene wālā pradhān ankur*

hai. Kyonki anek prāntik bolīyon ke saral karane kī pahalī sīrhī unhen ek sāmāny sarvasugam lipi kā vastr pahnānā hai jis rūp mein vah apane citr vichitr lipīyon kā paricched chorakar ek prānt se dūsare prānt ke nivāsiyon ke sammukh āne par sahaj mein parhī jā sake aur thore he pariśram se samajhī jā sake.”

[Writing different dialects of different provinces of India in one script itself is the main seedling of that expected result. Because the first step to simplify many provincial dialects is to adorn them in a simple all-encompassing script, a form in which they can emerge from their varied and many-hued scripts and appear before the residents of other provinces and be read with ease and understood with little effort.]

The first half of the twentieth century was also the time for the rise of rebellious voices in Hindi. The feeling took root that without respecting and revering the mother tongue, an end to India’s plight was not possible. As the freedom movement gained momentum, the issue of language became intimately connected to the issue of independence. The awareness of Hindi was created by understanding the reality that

“richness of language is the seed of freedom”. National consciousness led to the embellishment of a vibrant language. Bharatendu’s Hindi forged in a new pace acquired a strong framework through Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi’s *Saraswati* magazine. It also gave Hindi uniformity. Committed to the refinement of Hindi, Acharya Dwivedi declared, “The language of prose and poetry shall be the same”. It was not enough for Dwivedi to gather words from here and there to say what he wanted to. Earlier, “*Iske*” and “*Isake*” would both be written and so was the case with “*Uske*” and “*Usake*”. Similarly, “*Inhain*” could also be written instead of “*Inko*” and “*Unhain*” too could be used in place of “*Unko*”. So was the case with “*Caahie*”, which some would also write as “*Caahiye*”. Dwivedi provided uniformity to the language in accordance with its basic nature. In Hindi, special attention was given to character configuration of the alphabet, grammar, inflection, syntax, mismatched words, impure and inappropriate words. Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi gave Hindi a sophisticated and refined structure. When this edifice began taking on a certain drabness and dryness, it was Balmukund

The first half of the twentieth century was also the time for the rise of rebellious voices in Hindi. The feeling took root that without respecting and revering the mother tongue, an end to India’s plight was not possible. As the freedom movement gained momentum, the issue of language became intimately connected to the issue of independence. The awareness of Hindi was created by understanding the reality that richness of language is the seed of freedom

Gupta's journalism that gave this structure a liveliness and lucidity.

The renaissance of Hindi too was conjoined with the national cultural awakening. The refinement of Khari Boli that took place due to Hindi's renaissance sharpened the articulation of national consciousness. In the Khari Boli, literature which sounded the clarion call of national consciousness was composed. It also drew a lot from the richness of Awadhi and Brajhasha. Arabic-Persian words associated with the background of were taken as required. Words from provincial languages were moulded into Hindi's grammar and pronunciation.

The refinement of the language and ideas of grammar remained a natural part of the posture of contemplation of journalists, especially during the era of the freedom movement. They were therefore constantly associated with the theoretical movements of its language and grammar. Doyen among editors Ambika Prasad Vajpayee illustrating the importance of disputes regarding language in journalism of the early 20th century said, "*Pahale sampādak adhyayanaśil hote the aura pane pāṭhakon ko adhik se adhik jānakārī dene kā yatn karate the. Bhāṣā śuddh aur muhāvaredār likhate the. 1910 Īsavī tak bhāṣāviṣayak vivād patron mein dikhane lage. In vivādon se pāṭhakon kī sankhyā bhi barhī thī aur pāṭhakon kī jānakārī bhī.*"

[Earlier, editors would read and study a lot and sought to provide as much information as possible to their readers. The language was pure and idiomatic. Disputes regarding language too

The renaissance of Hindi too was conjoined with the national cultural awakening. The refinement of Khari Boli that took place due to Hindi's renaissance sharpened the articulation of national consciousness. In the Khari Boli, literature which sounded the clarion call of national consciousness was composed. It also drew a lot from the richness of Awadhi and Brajhasha. Arabic-Persian words associated with the background of were taken as required

began appearing in newspapers by 1910. These disputes also increased the number of readers and their information as well.]

Turning the pages of the history of Indian journalism, the ground of controversy over the format of Hindi had been laid in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There was an exchange of acrimonious commentary regarding the nature of the language between *Bharat Mitra* and *Bihar Bandhu*. *Bharat Mitra* was in favour of that form of Hindi which common Indians could read and understand well. Regarding the language of *Bharatamitra*, *Bihar Bandhu* gave its reaction in the following comment: "*Likhāwaṭ abhī utanī uddeśy nahīn hai, lekin ummīd hai ki thore din bād likhāwaṭ, acchī ho jāyegī.*" [The main objective is not writing right now, but hopefully after a few days, it too will be good.] In its response to this comment, *Bharathamitra* retaliated, saying the language of *Bihar Bandhu* was flawed. It said, "*Yah to vahī kahāvāt huī ki sūp bole to bole, chalanī bhī bole jisamen 72 ched.*" [This is like the pot calling the kettle black.] Further extending its comment, it wrote, "*Jab tak Sanskrit, jo ki sab bhāṣāon kī mātā swarūp hai, isako (Sanskrit ko) na*

jānen tab tak bhāṣā ke lakṣaṇ aur mādhury, prāsād, prāñjal, saral aur lalit ādi guṇon ko samajhanā asamभव hai. Aur bhāṣā ko inhīn sab guṇon ke sāth sampan karanā puruṣārth hai. Ham logon kī Hindi bhāṣā hai, yadyapi ye prākṛt se utpann huī hai, tathāpi Sanskrit kā akhaṇḍ bhaṇḍār isakī samṛddhi vṛddhi kare hai. Aur jo ismen kahīn-kahīn Sūrasainī, Māgadhi, Fārasī, Arabī, aur Angrejī bhī saral bhāv se mil gāī hai, to isko bigāratī hai? Hamārī samajh mein to swabhāv sundarī Hindi ko, varan alankṛt karatī hai. Parantu aisā kahane se ye nahīn samajhanā ki ab ham Arabī, Īrānī, Turkī aur Yūnānī ādi se Hindi ko ḍhāmḱ den aur mūl ko āghāt Karen. In sab bhāṣāon ke śabd to vo hī rakhane cāhie jo inamen mil gaye hain. Jaisā ki mālūm, naksā, tārikh, tūr, tarafā, ṣteśan, geś aur feśan ādi dūsarī bhāṣā ke hain. Aur bhāṣā ko lalit karane ke lie to ham kyā pahale se bare-bare prasiddh kaviyon ne bhī dūsarī bhāṣā ke śabd kahīn-kahīn rakhe hain sampādak jī. Ye jhumjhalāne kī bāt nahīn hai, āp cintā karake dekhie to avaśy samajhenge ki 'Biharbandhu' mūl Hindi ko bigāratā hai athavā 'Bharatamitra'."⁴

[Until we know Sanskrit, which is the mother form of all

languages, it is impossible to understand the characteristics of the language and the qualities like its sweetness, poetic excellence, frankness, simplicity and felicity. And endow the language with all these qualities is what true endeavour is. Hindi is the language of our people; though it originated from Prakrit, yet the fathomless treasures of Sanskrit enhance its richness. And how do Sūrsainī, Māgadhī, Persian, Arabic, and English too which have entered it in a simple way, spoil it at all? In our understanding, they only further embellish Hindi, which by its very nature is beautiful. But when we say this, let it not be taken to mean that we envelop Hindi with Arabic, Iranian, Turkish and Greek etc. and strike at the original. Only those words of all these languages should be retained which have entered Hindi. Like for example, words like *naksā*, *tarikh*, *tīr*, *tarfā*, *ṣeśan*, *geś* and *feśan* etc., are from other languages. And in order to make the language fine, what to talk of ourselves, famous poets too have adopted the words of other languages at various places. It is not a matter to become annoyed about. When you consider it, you will surely understand who spoils the original Hindi, *Bihar Bandhu* or *Bharatamitra*.”]

Every editor of Hindi was awake, conscious and alert

regarding the language. A historical example of this is the dispute between Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and Babu Balmukund Gupta over the word *anasthiratā* (impermanence). Balmukund Gupta also raised controversy over the word *shesha* used by Lajjaram Mehta, the editor of *Venkateshwar Samachar*. Disputes over language and grammar led to additional awareness and concern about the refinement of language. One could read comments about the purity and impurity of the language in the newspapers and magazines. A magazine like *Kalpna* too, in the service of journalism, took inspiration from this controversy and displayed its awakened and conscious vision as regards the impurities in language and grammar.

Going further ahead, editors advocated the use of a language that would change with the times. Makhanlal Chaturvedi in his article *Patrakār: Maanas aur Dayitva*, laid emphasis on language that could be easily understandable by adopting the Hindi changing with the times, “*Samācār patron kī bhāṣā janatā kī bhāṣā honī cāhie usamen kaṭhin śabdon ka upayog usī samay honā cāhie jab ki vaijñānik śabd ko any bhāṣā se ham apanī bhāṣā mein pakat kar rahe hon. Kintu any bāton mein samācār patron kī bhāṣā*

mein na Sanskrit kā bojh ānā cāhie, na fārasī kā dabāv. Vah sādharan jan kī samajh mein āne wālī bhāṣā honī cāhie.”

[The language of newspapers should be the language of the public, in which difficult words should be used only when we try to express scientific terms from other languages in our own language. But in other topics, neither the burden of Sanskrit nor the pressure of Persian should enter the language of newspapers. It should be a language that is understood by the most ordinary folk.]

On 7 August 1946, Shivpujan Sahai made a strict remark in his article in the *Himalaya*, targeting journalists who spread corruption in the realm of language. In it, he said, “*Pracār ke nām par sanskār ka sanhār asahy anācār hai. Jān paratā hai ki yah bhāṣā sanskār ke badale bhāṣā sanhār kā yug hai. Patrakāron kā na idhar dhyān hai, na isamein anurāg hī.*” [The destruction of the sacred in the name of propagation is an unbearable malpractice. It seems that this era is one of destruction of the language instead of its adornment. Journalists pay no attention to this, nor do they have any affection for this.] Shivpujan Sahai used to see the responsibility of refining language naturally associated with the responsibility of an editor. That is why on May 4, 1946, in the *Himalaya*, he held editors guilty of corrupting the language, remarking, “*Doṣī vāstav mein ham sampādak hī hain jo apne patron yā patrikāon ke mādhyam se bhāṣā ke pavitr kṣetr mein bhraṣṭatā failāte hain.*” [It is we editors who really are guilty as we spread corruption in the sacred sphere of language through our

Every editor of Hindi was awake, conscious and alert regarding the language. A historical example of this is the dispute between Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi and Babu Balmukund Gupta over the word *anasthiratā*.

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newspapers or magazines.]

Establishing the power and ability of the language, Hindi journalism during the freedom movement proved Coleridge's assertion that "Language is the armoury of the human mind; and at once contains the trophies of its past and the weapons of its future conquests, like two sides of a coin".

After independence, only litterateurs were made editors in the field of journalism which, from a mission, had now become a profession. Along with mainstream newspapers and magazines, literary magazines continued to emerge from the business houses that were into journalism. Editors like Dharamvir Bharti and Ajneya too did not neglect the interests of Hindi. Ajneya infused the power of thinking in the language of journalism through the *Dinaman*, making it capable. He considered indifference to language synonymous with lack of values. He believed that "Only that value of language is right, which goes so deep that not only while writing, but also in one's dreams the question whether our language is correct or not does not arise". The magazine also introduced its conscious and vigilant gaze with regard to inaccuracies in language and grammar.

In this way, in post-independence Hindi journalism, until people associated with the world of literature shouldered the responsibility of editors, concerns regarding the refinement of the language and its values were sustained. As long as journalism continued to follow the earlier norms, it protected the values of the language, but gradually

After independence, only litterateurs were made editors in the field of journalism which, from a mission, had now become a profession. Along with mainstream newspapers and magazines, literary magazines continued to emerge from the business houses that were into journalism. Editors like Dharamvir Bharti and Ajneya too did not neglect the interests of Hindi

the responsibility of refining the language kept on decreasing. Gradually, the power of Hindi prose began to wane. Nearly three decades after independence, Rajendra Mathur had this to say, "Most of the prose of Hindi journalism is lifeless and dead".

On the one hand, the roots of professionalism in journalism had gone deeper. There was pressure to increase the circulation numbers. On the other hand, due to the increase in the number of new literates, new readers of newspapers were being born. Hence the remedy was found of simplifying Hindi. A supposedly common language began being advocated which even a lesser educated person could understand. This pressure continued to become more intense.

Prabhash Joshi wrote in *Jansatta* on November 17, 1983, in its first editorial: "Deś mein sabase jyādā akhbār Hindi ke nikalate hain. Ek dainik aur barhāne kī kyā zarūrat thī. Par Hindi mein parhane wāle bhī jyādā hain, lagablag das karō aur patr-patrikāen bikatī hain sirf ek karō chālīs lākh. Yānī angrejī se sirf tīs lākh jyādā jabaki angrejī bolane samajhane wāle do pratiśat hain aur Hindi ko ādhā Hindustan bolatā aur samajhatā hai. Isakā kāraṇ yah nahin hai ki Hindi ilākā garīb hai aur usamen parhane kī icchā

aur utsukatā nahīn hai. Hindi ilāke kī apanī kuch samasyāen hai. Hindi ilāke kī apanī kuch samasyāen hain aur usake pāthakon ko vah kuch nahīn milata jo use cāhie. Hindi ek se jyādā rājyon kī bhāṣā hai isalie usakā Kendra kisī ek rājy mein nahīn jaisā ki Banglā, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Malayālam ādi kā hai. Hindi rājyon kī apāne āpamein aur pūre ilāke kī deś mein aisī koī alag pahacān nahīn hai jaisī ki dūsare bhāṣā rājyon kī hai. Fir Hindi bhī sab rājyon mein ek jaisī nahīn hai bolane aur likhane kī bhāṣā kā fark to khair hai hī. Is hālat mein Hindi rājyon se nikalane wāle akhabār kisī ek zamīn mein jareṅ nahīn utār pāte. Yātāyāt aur sancār ke nae takanīk se kuch khāiyān pātī jā sakatī hain. Lekin bolacāl kī aisī bhāṣā jo navsākṣar se yā kam parhe likhe ādamī se lekar prakhar vidwān tak ke upayog aur anubhav se jo amīr ho, banate banate banatī hai aur vahī lākhon-karōron logon ko joṛatī hai. Aisī Hindi panap bhī rahī hai. Jarūrat hai use bolane se likhane aur chapane tak lāne kī. Jansatta aisi Hindi ko panapāne aur pratiṣṭhit karane ke lie nikal rahā hai."⁵

[The maximum number of newspapers published in the country is in Hindi. What was the need to increase one more daily? But readers in Hindi are more; about ten crores, whereas

only one crore forty lakhs publications are sold. That means only three million copies more than English, whereas only there are two per cent of people who understand and speak English while half of India speaks and understands Hindi. The reason for this is not that the Hindi region is poor and there is no desire and eagerness in it to read. The Hindi region has its own problems and its readers do not get what they want. Hindi is the language of more than one state, so its centre is not in any one state like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Malayalam, etc. the Hindi states do not have any distinct identity by themselves as an entire region in the country as other linguistic states do. Hindi too is not the same in all the states; there of course is the difference between the spoken and written language. In this situation, newspapers published from Hindi states do not take root in any one region. Some trenches can be bridged by the new mechanisms of transport and communication. But the kind of colloquial language, which is rich in use and experience, ranging from the newly literate or less educated people to the brightest scholar, develops only through use and practice.

It is such a language that connects millions of people. Such a Hindi too is flourishing. There is a need to bring it from being a spoken to a written and published language. *Jansatta* is setting out

Hindi is the language of more than one state, so its centre is not in any one state like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Malayalam, etc. the Hindi states do not have any distinct identity by themselves as an entire region in the country as other linguistic states do. Hindi too is not the same in all the states; there of course is the difference between the spoken and written language. In this situation, newspapers published from Hindi states do not take root in any one region

to cultivate and establish such a Hindi.]

Gradually, due to the tendency of simplification of language in journalism, emphasis began to be laid on the adoption of colloquial language. The discipline regarding grammar dissipated. Hindi journalism now walked on the crutches of translation. Even the names of Hindi newsmagazines started appearing in English. After globalization, under pressure to increase circulation and in order to find new customers, under orders of the 'Marketing Editor', journalists were handed the trick of the deliberate adulteration of English in Hindi. The norms of journalism have been completely altered due to globalization. The prevalence of a Hindi that shoulders the dominance of English has increased due to the former having to function in the marketplace.

Before independence, journalists saw the issue of one's own language as being associated

with the ethos and self-respect of the country. They were on a quest of the language. They traversed through words intensively and created a unique history of each and every word. Hindi prose generated by them had acquired the power to infuse life even into corpses. But today the tone of the language of journalism is being decided by the market and publicity. That is why people of media institutes are now heard saying that Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, Baburao Vishnu Paradkar, Ambika Prasad Vajpayee and Shiv Pujan Sahay can no longer be our ideals. They also say with great pride that "We run a business house and not a Hindi service institute". One can also hear this refrain, "We provide news in Hindi and not Hindi in news".

Today there is a need to reaffirm the fact that journalism is not only concerned with the purpose of communication, it is also related to the raising of cultural identity. ●

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Prof. Arun Kumar Bhagat

Journalism during the Emergency

“

You were asked only to bend, but you crawled.

~LK Advani to Indian media during The Emergency

”

The darkest chapter of the world's largest democracy is the Emergency which prevailed for 21 months and had changed the basic nature and character of the Indian Media along with its politics. An overview

A serious attempt was made in the history of Indian democracy to put curbs on the press by imposing emergency in the year 1975. The emergency had also been proclaimed during the Chinese invasion in 1962 and during Pak invasion in 1971, but the declaration of the imposition of censorship then had never ever reflected the dictatorial attitude of the government. In order to stick to power and run the autocratic regime emergency was declared and pre-censorship was imposed on media in Indian democracy. The incident of imposing restrictions upon the freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitution is significant in the history of journalism from various angles. Government censorship of newspapers opened up a new vista of journalism with many other options of mass communication coming to the fore. Secretly published news bulletin made it up to some extent. News about the despotic rule kept reaching the public through such secretly published newspapers and magazines as well as orally by way of ear to ear dissemination. On account of the oral spread of news,

it also suffered a grave distortion many a time.

With the proclamation of emergency in free India in 1975, newspapers and magazines were fettered by censorship. But despite all restrictions the freedom of expression could not be eclipsed entirely. Press Censorship led to the emergence of underground bulletins, which mitigated its effect to some extent and made the public aware of the world and reality. While some editors protested against the government by leaving the editorial space blank, others by publishing the quotations of great personalities in support of the freedom of expression. On December 8, 1975 the President, exercising its power under Article 123 of the Constitution, issued three ordinances namely the Prevention of Publication (of Objectionable Matter) Ordinance, the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, (Repeal) Ordinance and the Repeal of Press Council Act Ordinance. An endeavor was made to affect the press freedom through these ordinances.

In India Radio and Television

were already under the government control. With Press censorship these ordinances gave rise to the availability of other ways of clamping down on the newspapers and magazines. Owing to the censorship and other restrictions there was only one-sided propagation of information. News about the government's agenda and public announcements and its despotic attitude would reach the public domain in some form or other but the news about the public outcry against the emergency and vitriolic attack launched by the people on the governmental actions and policies would not get access to the government. Most pieces of news were being published in the newspapers through the press release issued by the government. Frequent presentation of one-sided picture of an issue had raised a question mark upon the creditworthiness of newspapers and journals. Owing to the one-sided communication for

19 months of emergency, the government nurtured a great misunderstanding for which it had to suffer severe consequences.

Censorship restrictions and atmosphere of fear created by the government and its agencies caused several newspapers and journals to shut down their publication. *Seminar* and *Opinion* were among such journals which deserve a mention. Declaration of 3801 newspapers was seized during emergency. 327 journalists were put in prison under MISA. The publication of advertisement in 290 newspapers was barred. Foreign journalists also were harassed and tortured. News representatives of *Time* and *Guardian* of Britain were expelled from India. Telexes and Telephones of Reuters and many other agencies were disconnected whenever the news-story of any foreign journalist would annoy any Indian official, he or she would face the same consequences. Accreditation of 51 journalists

was cancelled during emergency. Among them were 43 correspondences, 2 Cartoonists and 6 cameramen. 7 foreign correspondents also were asked to leave the country.

The central government asked the 'Akhil Bhartiya Samachar-Patra Sampadak-Sangh' to constitute a committee, which could give advice to the government about the newspapers violating the censorship regulations. The central government had also formed a committee comprising its own officials which would scrutinize the material to be published in the newspapers. Besides these two committees, there was also the Press Advisory Unit of Press Information Bureau which would examine the suitability of material for publication in the newspapers. Despite all these, there was a separate cell of Intelligence Bureau as fourth unit which would screen the printing and publication.

The Chief Censor used to issue guidelines even beyond the scope of Rule-18 of 'Defense and Integral Security of India Rules,' In the case of a journal, *Bhumiputra* and a journal *Freedom First* published in those days Gujrat High Court and Bombay High Court respectively held that the guidelines issued by the Censor were illegal. In another instance the government withdrew pre-censorship orders after the *Indian Express* moved the Court, assailing these orders. In the case of *Statesman* also the government had to withdraw 'Show Cause Notice' after the *Statesmen* instituted a writ petition in Calcutta High Court.

Shri K. R. Malkani, editor



of *Motherland*, was apprehended on the night of 26 June. Senior Journalist, Shri Kuldeep Nayar and senior correspondents of *Tribune* namely Shri Shyam Khosla and Shri Devendra Swaroop were also put behind the bars. Shri V.G. Verghese of *Hindustan Times*, Shri Nandkishore Trikhao of *Navbharat Times*, Shri Radheshyam Sharma, Shri Jitendra Gupta, Shri. Vachnesh Tripathi, Shri Aseem Mitra, Shri Govindlal Bohra. Shri Magandev Narayan Singh, Shri Surendra Dwivedi, Shri. Ramesh Sharma, Shri Gulab Batra, Shri Rambhuvan Singh Kushwaha, Shri V. R. Jetley, Shri Ramesh Nayar, Shri Baban Prasad Mishra etc. are big names being well worth mentioning, who suffered great humiliation and oppression at the hands of the despotic government during emergency. This was happening not only to Indian Journalists but also the foreign journalists were victims of atrocities inflicted by the dictatorial rule. Peter Hazleburst of *London Times*, Miss Laurin Jenkins of *Newsweek* and Peter Gill of the *Daily Telegraph* were ordered to leave the country. Lewis Simmons, a correspondent of *Washington Post*, was also turned out of the country.

The government also suffered a humiliating defeat in the case of Shri Kuldip Nayar, a noted journalist. The wife of Shri Kuldip Nayar had filed a 'habeas Corpus' writ in the High Court of Delhi on August 5, 1975. When, during the course of hearing, it appeared to the government counsel that the judgment would be pronounced against the government, he informed the court that the order issued

During emergency severe atrocities were inflicted on journalists. Among the most oppressed journalists Shri. K.R. Malkani, editor of *Motherland* and Shri V.B. Verghese, editor of *Hindustan Times* are prominent names. Shri Malkani was heavily tortured in jail. The wife of Shri Malkani wanted to tell the BBC correspondent all about it but the vigilant eye of the police and administration made her attempt end in failure. In the meanwhile the government hatched a conspiracy to remove Sh. Verghese by putting undue pressure upon the management of *Hindustan Times*

against Mr. Nayar under MISA had been revoked and he had been released. Thus we see that in many cases courts deprecated the tyrannical and authoritative attitude of the repressive regime on several occasions and granted appropriate relief to the petitioners during emergency.

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of it. Evidently, despite the acts of suppression, repression and oppression suffered by the press and journalists at the hands of the government, they continued to show patience, courage and solidarity.

DAVP used to show favoritism at the oral order of the government in permitting the publication of advertisement. In the 6th chapter of the 'Shah Commission' report it has been described in great details. Upon the direction of Sh. V.C. Shukla, the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, in a meeting of Co-ordination committee the Chief Censor was asked to prepare lists of 3 types. Newspapers were directed to be divided into three different classes-Friendly, Neutral and Hostile (Unfriendly) newspapers. Lists were made on the basis of ideology of newspapers and their (newspapers') relationship with the political party. While there is a long list of newspapers that were victimized from the viewpoint that the government advertisements were not provided to them, there is also no dearth of such newspapers as were given undue benefits after all rules and regulations having been reduced

to threads. The advertising rate of a journal, *Surya* published under the patronage of Sh. Sanjay Gandhi was increased from Rs. 7.15 to Rs. 41.75 per column centimeter, which was an unprecedented enhancement by around 600 percent.

In order to control and restrict the press freedom, news agencies were merged. Prior to the proclamation of emergency there were 4 news agencies in the country namely, PTI, UNI, Hindustan Samachar and Samachar Bharti. The existence and operation of these 4 agencies had made it difficult for the government to control the press freedom. Therefore an idea was brought to the fore that these 4 agencies should be merged into one news agency namely 'Samachar' on which the government could exercise complete and exclusive control. Pursuant to the approval of the proposal in the central cabinet meeting this aim was asked to be achieved 'through other means' instead of bringing a bill for it. Shri. Mirchandani, General Secretary of UNI and editor, strongly opposed it. Consequently he was forced to retire early. Ultimately, the pressure of the government compelled the merger of all the four agencies. As per the report of 'Shah Commission', various members of the editorial staff, Shri. P.S. Kasbekar, Shri. C.P. Maniklata, Shri. C.K. Arora, Shri. D.V. Desai, and other persons confirmed that

as regards editorial control, they had explicit instructions from the government and its agencies that the news about the policy guidelines of the government and activities of Congress party should be published only and the news about the movement and activities of the opposition party should not be allowed for publication.

People had lost faith in Radio and Doordarshan during emergency. The people had begun to listen to BBC and Voice of America even at village Choupals due to the one-sided circulation of news and views by Radio and Doordarshan. Shri Chandrasekhar, a veteran political leader, has written in his Jail Diary that the role

of Radio had been reduced to that of a mouthpiece of the government only. Shri Rajnikant Mudgal, author of *Court se vote tak*, has written in his book- Dilli Doordarshan spent 90 hours for the publicity of a Rally organized in support of Prime Minister during which a 29,000 feet long film was televised, whereas the rally of opposition parties was telecast for 35 seconds only. According to Shri Govind Singh, author of *Emergency ke 19 mahinen*, during emergency in a radio broadcast statements of Shri Sanjay Gandhi and excerpts of his speech were mentioned and discussed 226 times. From December, 1975 to mid-March, 1975 i.e. for a period of around 125 days, one or other team of photographers and typists was always ready to hand at the service of Sh. Sanjay Gandhi even though he was not holding any government office, nor was he a public representative in any manner.

In a very first meeting called by the Prime Minister after the proclamation of emergency a proposal seeking to do away with the press council was put forth. The proposal was accepted and the press council was abolished. With this the operation of a quasi-judicial body set up under a statute enacted by Parliament was brought to an end.

The Press Council had no power to take punitive action and in

विदा*

पहले संपादकीय में हमने लिखा था कि अपने चतकों को आटंको नेताओं, भोखापुओं और स्वयं अपने पर हँसना ही हमारा उद्देश्य है। लेकिन वे लोग कैसे हैं जिनमें हमने (शुभ अतिथिकरित्त है ? ये वे लोग हैं, जो एक सभ्यतपूर्ण आचारसंहिता का पालन करते हैं, और वे नहीं चाहते हैं जहाँ रहिष्णुता है, करुणा है। जहाँ पर तनसही होती है वहाँ हमम हो ही नहीं सकता, क्योंकि प्रज्य तनसहा पर हँस सकती है, और वह बलेष नहीं। शिटर के पूरे ससन के दौरान न तो कोई अच्छा प्रहसन था, न कार्टून, न कोई पैरोडी थी और न ही कोई हास्यपूर्ण नकल।

इस दृष्टि से दुनिया, और उसमें भी दुःखद रूप से भारत, की स्थिति कहीं अधिक विषादमय बन गई है। जहाँ कहीं थोड़ा-बहुत हास्य देखने में आता है, वह बेहद सीमित है। भाषा भी मात्र कायचलाक बनकर रह गई है, ज़ापेक पेशे में उसकी विशिष्ट सभ्यतवी विकसित हो गई है, जिसे उस पेशे के लोग ही समझ सकते हैं। अपने कार्यक्षेत्र से बाहर और अपने साथी अर्थशास्त्रियों से दूर कोई भी अर्थशास्त्री अपने को अजनबी के रूप में पाता है, मने किसी अनजान जगह में आ गया हो। वह सदा भयभीत रहता है कि कहीं उसे अनरिफित भाषा न सुनी पड़े! चकोलें, सॉफ्टों, सिगरेटों, पत्रकारों और अन्य पेशों से संबंध लोगों का भी यही हाल है।

इससे भी अधिक दुःख की बात यह है कि मानव कल्पना बीभत्स और विकृत चीजों की ओर उन्मुख होती जा रही है। पुस्तकों और फिल्मों के पास तो मनी हिंस और रोमर, यही दो विषय रह गए हैं। अग्रिम और आघातपूर्ण घटनाओं को छोड़कर कुछ भी मानव संवेदना को झकझोरता दिखाई नहीं देता। अब भले ही यह सभ्य और फिल्मों का प्रभाव हो या न हो, लेकिन समाज इन्हीं मानविकताओं को प्रतिबिंबित करता है। विमान अक्षरप, सट्टपाट, दुराचरण और हत्या दैनिक घटनाएँ बनती जा रही हैं। कभी-कभार तो इन घटनाओं को राजनीतिक रंग देकर सम्मालित कर्तव्य का जामा पहनाया जाता है।

किन्तु 'संकर संकली' एक बेगिनसल अज्ञातवादी पत्र है। हमें पूर्ण विश्वास है कि वर्तमान परिस्थिति के बावजूद दुनिया एक दिन खुलसुना और कहीं अधिक आरामदायक जगह बन जाएगी। अंत में मनुष्यता की भावना ज्युस का कारोबार कलेकली शक्तिओं पर नियंत्रण प्राप्त करेगी और जीवन उस हद तक प्रकुलित हो जाएगा कि दुनिया में मानवता का सर्वोच्च उद्देश्य स्वयंमेव पूर्ण हो जाएगा। कुछ लोग इसे ईश्वर कहते हैं; हम इसे मानव की निष्ठा कहना चाहते हैं, और इस विचार के साथ हम आपके सुखद भविष्य की कामना करते हुए आपसे सलने विदा लेते हैं।

* 'संकर संकली' के 31 अंक, 1975 के अंत में उद्योगिक संकर के अंतिम संपादकीय से लिये गए अंक।

this respect there was a general perception that the press council was a toothless tiger. Despite this, the press council was abolished, which evinces the dictatorial attitude of the government.

Underground journalism had played a very significant role during emergency. A parallel unit for the communication had been set up by the underground Communication System. Had it not been done so, the general public would have got only one-sided news and they would have been deprived of true and genuine news. However, the obstruction of the free access to news could not make the people suffer adverse consequences. In fact, the government could not conceive the mental disposition of the emergency-protesters. As a result the government failed to make a fair analysis of the comprehensive impact of emergency, and it called general elections. The ruling party had to pay heavily for the mistake of impeding the propagation of news and obstructing the free public access to the views of the protesters as is evident from the poll debacle in 1977.

Emergency movement, though operating underground, never ever turned violent and it always stuck to truth and non-violence. It performed a very significant role in raising the morale of the protesters. During the moments of great despair also the protesters nurtured some hope and satisfaction that truth would ultimately emerge victorious and they would get rid of despotic rule.

Shri. V.C. Shukla, the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, called a meeting of editors on June 28, 1975 and

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warned them that the editorial space should be left blank and there should not be any publication of such quotations as opposed the emergency. The government tried every possible course of action to threaten and intimidate the journalists and the editors. Newspapers and journals were subjected to torturous treatment over several issues involving the fixation of quota of newsprints, obtaining permission to purchase printing machine, the grant of approval for the publication of advertisement etc. Taking media in control bears testimony to the fact that the government was afraid that its image built up in the public mind would be spoiled.

Owing to the fear of censorship many a newspaper and journal met a premature demise. Several cases of the harassment of the *Indian Express* and the *Statesman* came to light. A Censor was appointed and deployed by the government in the offices of all newspapers. Electricity supply to all presses of the metropolitan city was cut off at the instance of the General Manager, Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking, who had a specific instruction of the government in regard thereto. Newspapers which had already been published were not allowed to be circulated. People got the news about the arrest

of Jayprakash Narayan only through the BBC. Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh supported the JP movement with their active and comprehensive participation therein. Therefore, it made a huge and significant impact upon the newspapers and magazines, which followed the ideology and subscribed to a school of thought which the RSS belonged to. *Panchjanya*, *Organiser*, *Motherland* (Daily), *Tarun Bharat*, *Vivek Vikram*, *Rashtradharm*, *Yugdharm* etc. were sealed. On the contrary, while in Bihar 'Lokwani', 'Chhatrashakti', 'Bharti' etc. were being published underground on behalf of RSS. In Haryana 'Darpan' was a hugely impactful journal. Telexes and Telephones of Reuter, UPI, ABB, Australian Broadcasting Commission, New York Times and associated press were disconnected as they had published news against the government. Editors were unable to do anything due to harsh censorship restrictions. In the circumstances the owners and editors of the newspapers and magazines began to think of choosing the option of shutting the newspapers and journals. The situation was that besides the propagation of news and information through one ear to another, the underground newspapers and magazines

were only the means of communication. Sh. Lalkrishna Advani, an eminent political leader, who was incarcerated in a jail at that time, has mentioned in his book *Najarband Loktantra* that the publication of journals namely *Seminar* and *Opinion* being published in those days was closed.

During emergency news of India was hardly published in foreign countries. The publication of the news against the government and in favour of the opposition was almost closed both at home and abroad. Owing to censorship the true picture of the suppression of press freedom at the hands of the government was not being presented before the world. More or less, this situation had begun to emerge even prior to the proclamation of emergency. Then Loknayak Jayprakash made an appeal to the foreign journalists to lend their support. Dr. Shatrughna Prasad, author of 'Apatkalin Sangharsh men Bihar', has made an exposition of the fact that on June 7, 1975 Jayprakash Narayan urged to foreign journalists to come to India and examine the true situation of the country and put the true picture of Indian democracy being crushed by the suppressive measures to the test of its global view.

According to a survey carried

out by Freedom House at international level, Press Freedom Index showed that India ranked third in the world in the early decade of 1970 but during 1975-77 her ranking came down from 3rd to 39th. One can broadly say that the press freedom was completely decimated through the imposition of emergency. It had a massive impact upon the global view. India began to be denounced everywhere. The fall of Press Freedom Index in India meant that there was a big rise in the dictatorship of the government and the unhappy state of affairs made the situation of democratic society worse than ever.

Sh. Lal Krishna Advani, a well known political leader, has described the significance of the news broadcast by BBC and Voice of America in his jail diary (*Najarband Loktantra*) like this: 'Today BBC and Voice of America broadcast a very important piece of news that on the 1st and 2nd of October the Delhi edition of the *Hindustan Express* could not be published due to the disconnection of electricity. In this regard the *Hindustan Express* filed a writ petition in the High Court of Delhi. The High Court ordered for the restoration of power supply. A few days ago the BBC, referring to a 'circular

letter', broadcast that Directorate of Audio Visual Publicity had directed all the government departments and private institutions not to give any advertisements to the newspapers belonging to *Statesman* group and to *The Tribune* published in Chandigarh.

The aforementioned instance evinces that censorship had not only harassed the Indian media but also eroded public faith in it. People used to look to the BBC and Voice of America. News correspondents of the *Times* and the *Guardian* of Britain were turned out of the country as they had published anti-government views during emergency. Despite all restrictions the Radio Australia, the BBC and the Voice of America were the major means of having access to news. People used to keep themselves riveted to foreign radios for all types of news- whether big or little.

Thus we see that the censorship had crippled Indian journalism during emergency. Writers and most newsmen, who called themselves and claimed to be intellectuals, were looking impotent. A large group of intelligentsia, who subscribed to the communist ideology, seemingly strove against emergency and toed the line, kowtowing to the despotic regime. During the great crisis emerged after the independence of India the role of a class of journalists, who assumed swaggering airs, considering themselves most intellectual persons, became ludicrous. Very few courageous journalists, who subscribed to the different ideology, had already been put behind bars. Most of the so called journalists, who were

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unresisting and subservient to the government, were practicing journalism to eke out a living only. However, despite being harassed and oppressed, the western press maintained reliability.

According to Shri P.G. Sahastrabudhhe, an author of 'Aapatkalin Sangharsh- Gatha' and Shri Manikchand Vajpayee, on January 4, 1976 guidelines were issued which contained inter alia that any news, comments and distribution in relation to parliamentary proceedings would fall within the purview of censorship laws. Therefore every such piece of news shall be published only after the approval of the Censor. Pursuant to the issuance of the guidelines room no. 64 of the Parliament Building was designated as the Censor Room. Then two authorities in two different sessions began to decide as to which pieces of news, comments, views would be published and which of them would not be. Despite all such and fetters clamped down upon the newspapers, the government perhaps was not satisfied. On February 11, 1976 the Prevention of Publication (of Objectionable Matter) Act, 1976 was brought into being. This harsh law throttled the free voice of the press. The Act contained a draconian provision through which it was placed in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. Consequently, this law could not be challenged on the ground that it fringed the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

There are several other presses which suffered a good measure of harassment during emergency. Some important names of the tormented newspapers, which



Courtesy: <https://www.newslick.in/reflections-emergency-and-press-censorship-today>

are well worth mentioning, are- *opinion*, a weekly journal published in Mumbai, *Maitri* of Parmar Ashram, *Freedom First* (Mumbai), *Panchjanya* (Lucknow), *Lokwani* (Bangalore), *Arth Vikas* (Karnataka), *Divyavani* (Bangalore), *Vikram* (Bangalore), *Sadhna* (Ahmedabad), *Anand Bazaar Patrika* (Kolkata), *Rashtravarta and Kesri* (Keral), *Himmat* (Mumbai) Shankar's weekly etc.

The proclamation of emergency by the government on June 26, 1975 in post-independent India made a huge impact upon the country and society. Subsequent to the proclamation of emergency pre-censorship was imposed upon the Indian Press. The catastrophic times which the Indian press passed through during emergency of all nineteen months, have gone down in the history of journalism as a dark chapter. Most of the journalists and editors enjoying high reputation in the world of journalism have accepted that during 1974-75 the economic and socio-political situation of India was not such as to warrant the imposition of emergency on the country as only option left

out. Sh. Pranav Mukharjee, ex-President of India, has recently stated that the emergency could have been staved off.

Analysts are of the view that on account of the election of Smt. Indira Gandhi having been declared illegal and her being banned from contesting elections for 6 years by Allahabad High Court, Smt. Indira Gandhi had feelings of failure, despair and hopelessness. Her despair of being banned for 6 years and her despondency about losing election had instilled in her Hitler (authoritarian) mentality which was probably the then reason for the proclamation of emergency. Besides these, the declaration of the opposition parties to launch a protest movement, apprehension of rebellion within the Congress, dictatorial attitude of Smt. Indira Gandhi, her irresistible tendency to adhere to power, inability and failure to control the rising prices of essential commodities, unemployment and corruption etc. were some reasons which built up the background to the imposition of emergency. Anyway, emergency danced annihilatorily, wreaking havoc on press freedom and as a result social life had begun to be

resounded all around with calls of “save me (us), have mercy upon me (us)”.

With the declaration of emergency Shri Loknayak Jai Prakash Narayan, a septuagenarian political leader and the real architect of ‘Sampurna Kranti’, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Lalkrishna Advani and thousands of other persons were apprehended. Persons, who were arrested, included a large number of writers, newsmen, pressmen, professors, advocates etc. who belonged to intellectual elite, along with several political leaders and social workers. More than 300 professors of Delhi University alone had been arrested. Tragedy and terrible situation caused by the imposition of emergency can be gathered from the very fact that during emergency clamped down for 19 months more than one lakh people had been detained, which was even greater than the number of persons arrested during ‘Quit India’ movement. Besides pre-censorship, several other measures were also taken to curb press freedom during emergency. Power supply to various presses was cut off so that newspapers would not be published. The newspapers which had already been published were not allowed to be distributed. Altogether it was made sure in the same night that the people did not know what was happening in India. Nevertheless, several newspapers including *Dainik Jagran* and *Nai Duniya* on that day had left the editorial space blank as a symbol of protest, thereby posing an open challenge to the government.

Above all, hundreds of

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journalists of the country started underground communication to make the general public keep abreast of all the factual details and began to publish dozens of news bulletins. A parallel system of communication through underground newspapers emerged due to the censorship of newspapers and journals that were published and distributed directly. Despite the process of communication of ideas and information having been completely shattered, the attitude of the government to propagate one-sided news received a pernicious blow.

Journalists unearthed the atrocious and suppressive acts of the police and administration by publishing surreptitiously the regular news bulletins and by bringing out various kinds of handbills, leaflets, booklets, pamphlets etc from the different places in the country. This alternative system of mass communication not only acquainted the general public with the truth about emergency but also it gave momentum to the anti-censorship movement.

‘Akhil Bhartiya Lok-Sangharsh Samiti’ published the following booklets, which reveal the inside story on emergency.

1. Twenty Lice of Mrs. Anti Gandhi 2. Anatomy of Fascism-

who is Fascist-we or they 3. Facts nail Indira’s lice 4. When disobedience to law is a duty 5. Charter of Civil Liberties 6. Samvidhan ko badal dalne ka prarup 7. Emergency X-rays 8. Fascism 9. Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh aur Rajniti 10. Kali Rat.¹

During emergency several pieces of news bulletins were also published among which the following bulletins are available 1. Lok-Vani (Lok-sangharsh Samiti aur Vidyarthi Parishad) 2. Tarun Kranti (Chhatra-Sangharsh-Samiti) 3. Hamara Sangharsh (Bhartiya Loktantra) 4. Mukti-Sangram (Lohia Vichar Manch Evam Chhatra-Sangharsh-Samiti) 5. Janmukti (Marksvadi) 6. Krantivaad (Yuvavahini) 7. Chhatra-Shakti (Vidyarthi Parishad) 8. Bhartiya (Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad) 9. Janta Samachar 10. Lok-Sangharsh 11. Sangram 12. Lokpaksha (Yuva Vahini Evam Chhatra-Sangharsh Samiti) 13. Yuva-sangharsh.²

The government had also not experienced problems caused by the censorship of the dissemination of information between the government and society. In other words the government had not any idea that the problems created by the censorship would assume

such huge proportions. News about the dictatorship of the administration would reach the public in some or other form but the same news would not get access to the government. Public freedom was burning in the raging fire of dictatorship but the government was unconscious of the crackling and roaring of its flames. The government always nurtured a misunderstanding that newspapers and journals were the root of all problems. That is why journalism kept groaning with pain, being crushed by the government acts of suppression and oppression during emergency imposed for a long period of 19 months. Censorship had badly knocked it out of shape for which the government had to pay a heavy cost.

How Truth can be changed into falsehood and falsehood can be changed into truth with the use of propaganda had been shown to the world both by Hitler and Stalin. Using the same tactics, Indira Gandhi, with the help of communists, was launching propagandist attack. The voice of very popular politician and journalists as well

as renowned writers namely S/Shri J.P. Narayan, Acharya Kriplani, Muhammad Karim Chhagla, Kuldip Nayar, Durga Bhagwat, Fanishwarnath 'Renu', Dr. Raghuwansh Gour, Kishore Ghosh etc used to be muzzled.³

Journalists, authors and writers associated with the ideological background of RSS had begun to bring out underground newspapers and magazines from almost all states of the country. They used to carry out the clandestine publication, managing to elude the police and administration. Obviously, all this involved high risks but it was making a great impact upon the public. While 'Janvani', 'Delhi News Bulletin', 'Public Servant' and 'Dilli Samachar' played a significant role in setting up a parallel system of communication, 'Darpan' brought out from Haryana became a big headache for the police and administration. All these newspapers and journals infused life into the underground communication system. It began not only to control and regulate the organizational and agitational move but also to

repudiate the false publicity of the government.

During this period women, risking their lives, distributed the clandestinely published literature, collected food and money for the activists detained in prisons, consoled and supported their families and exchanged views and information among the scattered activists. These women included not only ordinary activists but also wives of high level officers, who could not come out into the open. These officers would provide the agitators with important government information and send pieces of message for their proper defense and also furnish them with complete information about the steps to be taken by the government.⁴

There were four major classes of information to be gathered, published and disseminated Underground Communication System- (a) Information concerning the organization (b) Information connected with dictatorial measures of the government like arrests, suppressive policies, fusillade, breakage and destruction of the markets etc. government's oppressive orders, inhuman campaign of vasectomy and the activities of the queen, Smt. Indira Gandhi and the prince, Shri Sanjay Gandhi (c) gathering information about the perturbation of the government and information about its employees etc. (d) procuring secret information and gaining access to the information lying withheld and concealed in the government departments, Prime Minister's Office/Secretariat, Ministries, Intelligence Bureaus etc.⁵



Sanjay Gandhi and Indira Gandhi became the symbols of Emergency

The public had lost faith not only in the newspapers, which were an important source of information and were useful mass media, but also in Radio and Doordarshan. The government had begun to keep a close watch on almost all options and sources of mass communication. Censorship had driven journalism to writhe in pain. People used to look to the BBC and the Voice of America due to the publication and circulation of one-sided news only. In fact, it were the Underground newspapers and journals brought out secretly which were mitigating the effects of censorship to some extent.

To broadcast only the favorable news of the government during emergency had become the characteristic and the only duty of Radio. People used to look steadily to the BBC as the authenticity of the news broadcast by the Radio had always been doubtful. Though the censorship had been lifted during the elections in 1977 yet Radio news used to be broadcast only after getting censored by the Censors like Secretary and Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It means that it was always made sure that any news likely to make an adverse

impact upon the public mind was not broadcast and the news did not give importance to the opposition.

'Akashvani' was being called 'Indiravani' in common parlance and it had lost all credibility. Even rural and illiterate people would listen to BBC London at the village choupal, which would broadcast any news about India very authentically.⁶ Radio Broadcast of one-sided news had begun even prior to the proclamation of emergency. The fire of agitation had begun to smoulder in most incidents in some or other form. But news about it would not be allowed access to Radio. It would broadcast the news and views broadly from the government point of view.⁷

During emergency the underground struggle and underground journalism kept going on only with the public co-operation.. The people kept the underground struggle alive and active, staking their lives on it. It was the public co-operation owing to which the police, administration and government officers kept suffering major setbacks while dealing with the situation. Then they would have no options other than one to remain merely a spectator filled with remorse. One after

one method was applied to send underground journals, pamphlets, bulletins etc from one place to another. Propagation of information kept being carried out through children and women suitably. The police were befooled in broad day-light by the application of novel and advanced techniques evolved to communicate information and views.

Even during the darkest hours of their despondency women began to work, evincing extraordinary patience, courage and wisdom. Providing shelter to the underground activists; circulating the news; distribution of leaflets and letters; door-to-door supply of literature and writings on agitation; maintaining contacts with the fighters put in prisons and boosting their morale; encouraging them especially through Rakhis, Sweets and Lamps (Deepak) on special occasions; lending help to their families and setting up the big network of underground organizations in the whole state through clandestine meetings all became possible largely due to the efforts made by women.⁸

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has written about the achievement of underground system of communication- Smt. Indira Gandhi wanted completely to cut off the public from the opposition by exercising a monopoly on Censors and propagandist campaign but it all happened to the contrary. Propagandist publications intended to give her unfair advantage had lost credibility. Underground literature had connected people to the opposition. On the contrary, Smt. Indira Gandhi got badly disconnected from

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the public. On account of being unaware of the public mentality, Smt. Gandhi decided to go for the elections and when she saw the changed picture of the public mind, it was much too late. The underground system of communication deserves much credit for it.⁹

During emergency underground journalism had evolved a system for bringing the inside news out of jails and outside news into the jails. These pieces of news also used to reach the foreign countries and this mode of communication also used to help bring foreign news to India. In this way a new international news-service had come into existence. News and views obtained from this voluntary but secret news-service were brought to the people through small underground bulletins called by different names. Had it not been done so, the people would have got access to one-sided news only and they would not have got real news. Some prominent leaders had been entrusted with the responsibility to bring the underground system of communication of India to the foreign countries.

Underground mode of communication had extended its operation into the foreign countries. That is why the dictatorial character of the government could not be camouflaged abroad. We express our deepest gratitude to lakhs of Indians, intellectuals and socialist international leaders living abroad who extended their moral support to us for the struggle against dictatorship. S/ Shri Subrahmanyam Swami, Laila Fernandes, Ramjeth Malani, C.R. Irani, Kedarnath

What was the significance of the underground journalism could be ascertained from the very fact that the amount of circulation of newspapers and magazines published on the basis of the government communiqué was diminishing, while the amount of circulation of underground bulletins was increasing. This led to the emergence of a parallel system of communication.

It gained much credibility in comparison with the newspapers and journals apparently published and circulated

Sahni, Makrand Desai in particular made a memorable contribution to the success of the campaign for the publicity of the struggle in foreign countries.¹⁰

What was the significance of the underground journalism could be ascertained from the very fact that the amount of circulation of newspapers and magazines published on the basis of the government communiqué was diminishing, while the amount of circulation of underground bulletins was increasing. This led to the emergence of a parallel system of communication. It gained much credibility in comparison with the newspapers and journals apparently published and circulated. Radio and Television had become the mouthpiece of the government. Freedom of expression had no longer any meaning for it. By imposing censorship the government tried its level best to ensure that the people looked at the societal system through their eyes. This news flowing internally and the flow of information became more effective than the newspapers visibly published and circulated as well as the news broadcast on the Radio and Television. This stream had completely destroyed

the obstacles raised by Smt. Gandhi and the government led by her between the people and true news.¹¹ The interesting thing was that the amount of the circulation of the newspapers declared to be legal was decreasing while the circulation of these bulletins was increasing. The reason behind it was that these journals satisfied the curiosity of the people to know the truth.¹²

Effects of Underground Journalism

During emergency the underground journalism was greatly impactful. The journalists, who supported 'Sampurna Kranti' kept the underground journalism alive. They all played a very commendable role. They used to change their names in order to elude the police and administration. Underground mode of communication evolved by them was so successful that the government's intelligence department was also unable to detect where underground journals were published and how they were distributed. Details of the editor, price and office were printed uniquely on the front page of 'Darpan', a journal published in Haryana. It will be pertinent here to make a mention

of it-Sampadak: Narayan, Mulya: Padho-Padhao, Office: Chalta-Firta.

According to Shri Rajnath Singh 'Surya', a senior journalist, the owners and the editors of the newspapers had yielded up to the administration. Therefore the correspondents had no independent role to play in relation to their newspapers. However, a few journalists played a greater role in establishing co-ordination. In Uttar Pradesh we had with us Shri Achyutanand Mishra and Shri P.K. Roy who had played an important role in this struggle. As a matter of fact, it was most of the journalists who provided vital contacting link between the common people and the persons associated with the underground crusade against emergency and censorship. Shri 'Surya' says that during emergency cyclostyled copies of leaflets published in different languages used to be circulated in order to raise public consciousness. These leaflets used to be covertly published from various places of the country and circulated secretly. Shri Dattopant Thhengri used

to edit the leaflets brought out in those days, which contributed most to the public awareness.

Negotiators of these bulletins and secret agencies were great investigative newsmen. They were dauntless and sharp-eyed journalists. They would procure information connected with discussions held in the clandestine meetings of the government, cabinet of ministers and the congress party. When the news published in secret bulletins would reach the public, the government departments would be in a turmoil and would seek to know how the news was leaked. News of how Vidyacharan Shukla was reprimanded; how verbal duel ensued between Sanjay Gandhi and Indira Gandhi; when and how the UP Chief Minister picked up the sandals of Sanjay etc would figure in the secret leaflets. 'Top Secret' would completely become 'Open Secret'.¹³

Shri Vachnesh Tripathi, who had succeeded in escaping from the grasp of the police despite the issuance of arrest warrant two times during emergency, is of the view that

the newspapers and magazines brought out secretly during emergency contributed greatly to the intellectual awareness of the people. After the imposition of censorship the people were not getting real news. The secretly published newspapers played a significant role. Bold and enthusiastic journalists distributed cyclostyled copies of leaflets and newsletters. Even the hand written letters of J.P. were distributed among the people and they were called upon to carry on with the movement. All this became possible only because of the public co-operation.

Shri Dinanath Mishra, a senior journalist, claims that the newspapers and magazines published secretly played an important role in giving momentum to the underground movement. To re-establish the communication system dismantled due to censorship and arrests, had posed a grave challenge. Newspapers and magazines began to be published from various centres spread throughout the country. An important statistic is that the underground weeklies had a circulation of more than 5 lakh. Despite all efforts of Indira Gandhi, the underground communication system could not be brought to a halt.

Shri Mishra is of the opinion that if something could be done successfully during the underground movement launched against the emergency, it was the communication between the people and the opposition leaders, which was made to keep on at any cost. Real news kept reaching the people and that was the defeat of the government which could be inflicted only by



JP movement was a war against Emergency

dint of public co-operation. Its intensity was low as compared to that of the government propaganda but credibility was high. Obstruction created by Smt. Gandhi in the communication caused Smt. Gandhi herself to fall a prey to it. Owing to the censorship of newspapers, she failed to understand the public mentality and she had to suffer a big defeat.

On account of censorship and police vigilance newspapers and journalists suffered a lot. Wherever the police were able to lay hands on a leaflet supporting the agitation, the administration would make a quick move in search of the printer and the publisher and if they had in hand any 'prey', they would subject the 'prey' to harsh treatment through seizure and distraint; arrest and detention as well as through breakage and gunshots. Nevertheless, a few courageous journalists and printers even in the darkness of emergency kept the people awake through the publication and circulation of the message thumped out by Loknayak and the message of agitational activities and serious analyses.¹⁴

On being asked a question about the effect of censorship on journalism during emergency, Shri Jitendra Kumar Gupt, the then assistant editor of *Dinman*, looks very serious. In his view, besides the newspapers and other means of communication, the creditworthiness of the government had diminished on account of censorship. Newspapers carried the government announcements more. It was difficult to print even a single word against the government. In those days

During emergency the accreditation of Dr. Nand Kishor Trikha, a senior journalist with *The Navbharat Times* was cancelled. According to him, newspapers and magazines, which were secretly brought out, played a very important role in strengthening the resolve and sustaining courage. Owing to the prolongation of the emergency the morale of the people was apparently getting undermined

the rumors were all rife in the market due to the suppression of the newspapers. Only a few scattered leaflets used to be printed. The people used to get the information through these leaflets only.

Shri Vijay Chopra, manager of *Punjab Kesri* group and an aged journalist, says that during emergency many secret newspapers and magazines used to be published. The real journalism of that time was being practised through those papers and magazines only, which made a valuable contribution to the intellectual awareness of the people. Whichever newspaper or magazine I would get, I would bring them to my father Shri Lala Jagat Narayanjee, who was imprisoned in a jail. The jail superintendent and other authorities as well as employees had assumed a supportive role in this work. Other prisoners also would read them and as a result they would build up an anti-government mentality. Once in Patiala Jail, Lalajee had made these papers and journals available to a political leader, Shri Chandrashekar who had been shifted from some other jail. He then was very pleased and impressed with Lalajee. Later on, when Chandrashekarjee attended a Memorial Ceremony after the demise of Lalajee, he

revealed that in jail nobody used to pay attention to him. Lalajee then talked to him and gave papers and magazines to read. After this incident Chandrashekarjee had a close affinity with Lalajee and the feeling of intimacy lasted for ever.

During emergency the accreditation of Dr. Nand Kishor Trikha, a senior journalist with *The Navbharat Times* was cancelled. According to him, newspapers and magazines, which were secretly brought out, played a very important role in strengthening the resolve and sustaining courage. Owing to the prolongation of the emergency the morale of the people was apparently getting undermined. In this situation secretly published newspapers and journals, audio cassettes carrying the message thumped out and appeal made by the renowned thinkers and philosophers of the country, handbills, booklets, etc infused energy and strength into the activists and gave them inspiration to continue the struggle.

According to Shri Achyutanand Mishra, an eminent journalist, newspapers and journals, which were secretly published, played a significant role in raising the intellectual awareness of the people during emergency. Papers and

magazines were being brought out from many states including Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi and Haryana.

These secretly published newspapers and magazines were receiving massive public support, as they were the only source of real and genuine information in those days. Shri Mishra says that almost all newspapers and magazines had been closed. But several new newspapers and magazines had begun to be secretly published, which were several times more than the newspapers and magazines which had been shut down and these new papers and magazines contributed very significantly to the awakening of the public interest in the movement launched against the emergency.

Sh. Ram Sewak Srivastava, the then senior journalist, said that the secret publication of the papers and magazines was fraught with dangers. It required utmost courage as the MISA, which was labeled as a demonic law, was very effective in dealing with the cases brought within the purview of the Act. Those who brought these journals out and played an active part in their publicity and circulation, deserve a great admiration as these journals were helpful in

strengthening and improving the shattered morale of the people during the uncomfortable period of emergency.

Shri Jitendra Kumar Gupt, the then assistant editor of *Dinman* is of the view that the journals brought out clandestinely used to cause public indignation against the government which ultimately resulted into the debacle of Indira Gandhi in elections. People and the government employees were passing through hardships caused by the government policies. People were resentful of the modus operandi employed for the implementation of government orders in relation to family planning. Since the true facts used not to be brought to light, people were unaware of the extent of government excesses being committed for the implementation of a particular policy.

Newspapers and journals published secretly used to reflect the public voice, which played a significant part in raising the intellectual awareness of the people.

According to Shri S.S. Mahadevan, a well known south Indian journalist, owing to censorship news about the excesses committed by the police, administration and the government and about public

harassment would not figure in the newspapers and journals during emergency. Ordinarily, only the news, which the government wanted to be printed, used to be written, reported and published. In this situation news-letters, journals and bulletins served a pivotal role.

Agitators used to get the genuine information through them. Around 100 newspapers and journals would be published in different languages all over the country and despite censorship restrictions they would be circulated door to door.

Shri Aseem Mitra, a noted journalist of West Bengal and editor of 'Swastik', says that it was almost impossible to send the journals brought out secretly by postal mail and therefore a large network was set up in Kolkata to send those handbills and leaflets to the readers. Leaflets and handbills used to be dropped into every house very early in the morning. The people used to discuss the issues after reading them. We also used to join the discussion and enjoy the debate.

According to Shri Baban Prasad Mishra, the then editor of *Dharmyug* published during emergency, the people were getting all the inside news of jails and the information about police harassment and administrative excesses through these secretly published newspapers and journals. The news got the people resentful at the Indira government. The whole country was stunned particularly by the activities of Sanjay Gandhi, the younger son of Smt. Indira Gandhi.

Shri Magandev Narayan Singh, the then journalist of 'Pradeep',

Shri Jitendra Kumar Gupt, the then assistant editor of *Dinman* is of the view that the journals brought out clandestinely used to cause public indignation against the government which ultimately resulted into the debacle of Indira Gandhi in elections. People and the government employees were passing through hardships caused by the government policies. People were resentful of the modus operandi employed for the implementation of government orders in relation to family planning

a daily weekly published from Patna during emergency says that a Hindi newspaper namely *Pratipaksh* published in a tabloid size and a weekly *Yuva* were always in great demand. People placed heavy reliance on these newspapers while the newspapers established earlier had lost all credibility. Despite censorship restrictions, news or other things would be printed in some newspapers in symbolic language and the readers would understand them easily.

Shri Surendra Dwivedi, a journalist incarcerated in Jabalpur Central Jail under MISA during emergency, recounts that hand-written letters and cyclostyled copies of the leaflets containing news used to be published and circulated by the activists of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh and Jansangh in the shape of bulletins.

According to Shri Ram Bhuvan Singh Kushwaha, the then Bhind district Bureau Chief of 'Swadesh' some bulletins, pamphlets etc were surely being brought out during emergency. Luckily, all such bulletins coming to Gwalior Central Jail from the outside used to come to me first. My responsibility was to show them to all and thereafter destroy them. Therefore I personally knew that there was certainly a ray of hope in the darkness of deep despondency. Non-political organizations like 'Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh' and 'Sarvodaya' had played an active role which resulted into the emergence of a massive public movement against the emergency.

Shri Kushwaha says that it was the Congress Party itself which had made it possible for the opposition parties to get united.

Shri Surendra Dwivedi, a journalist incarcerated in Jabalpur Central Jail under MISA during emergency, recounts that hand-written letters and cyclostyled copies of the leaflets containing news used to be published and circulated by the activists of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh and Jansangh in the shape of bulletins

Besides, these bulletins and leaflets had played an important role in launching the underground movement. Stealthily published bulletins and secret literature used to come to us frequently through the family members and relatives of MISA prisoners, who would visit them time to time after obtaining permission from the competent authority. They would bring these bulletins, hiding them in the edible materials.

According to Shri Ramesh Sharma, a senior journalist working with 'Dainik Jagran' of Bhopal during emergency, very few newspapers and journals used to be brought out secretly during emergency but the circulation of handbills, pamphlets, leaflets etc. had substantially grown. This maintained the high morale of the agitators and repressed families. Shri Gulab Batra, a senior journalist of Rajasthan, says that to carry out the secret publication of the journals and leaflets and their distribution during the emergency period were a courageous task. It was nothing less than a terrifying ordeal (agnipariksha). These journals created such an atmosphere that after the declaration of elections the public indignation erupted like a volcano.

Shri Ramesh Nayar, a senior journalist of Chhattisgarh, says that besides the journals to be distributed in the small clandestine meetings, one page handbills

were also used to protest against the emergency. Some handbills used to be pasted upon the walls in the dead of night. They were helpful in creating an atmosphere against the government. According to Shri B.R. Jaitely, a senior journalist of an English newspaper, the underground pamphlets and magazines kept being published secretly in great numbers to be used against the government during emergency. The officials and the employees of the intelligence department would keep a watchful eye on the post offices so as to seize them. The police and the administration would remain alert at all times so as to apprehend the activists of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh involved in the propagation of information and views against emergency.

Sh. Bhagwati Dhar Bajpayee, the then Chief Editor of *Yug Dharm* published during emergency, says that the stealthily published newspapers and journals were the only means of communication during that period. Even in the atmosphere of fear and hopelessness those newspapers and magazines prevented the morale of the people from getting undermined. Besides, they also acquainted the people with the dark truth of emergency. Shri Jai Krishna Gaur, a then city reporter of 'Swadesh' living in Indore during emergency, says that during that period some

people, while being in jails, used to bring out hand-written letters. Those hand-written letters used to be surreptitiously brought to the targeted group of readers. Those newspapers contributed a lot to the intellectual awareness of the people.

According to Dr. P.V. Saran, a senior journalist who reported for 'Pioneer' from Ranchi during emergency, the secretly published journals played an important role in raising the public consciousness. Despite the police and administration keeping a wary eye on journalism during emergency, some journals published secretly used to make the people aware of the government excesses and the situations emerged owing to the imposition of emergency in the country.

According to Shri Balvir Dutt, editor of *Ranchi Express* the people used to eagerly and anxiously wait for some journals

brought out secretly during emergency. Some students of Ranchi Institute of Medical Science had set up 'Navjagran Samiti'. They stealthily used to distribute the leaflets and make the people aware of the government excesses and its suppressive policies.

Thus we can say that during emergency after the government had clamped fetters upon the newspapers and journals openly published, some journalists having social background and associated with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh began to publish newspapers secretly. In addition to the newspapers, a variety of booklets, pamphlets, handbills, bulletins etc. had also begun to be brought out in great numbers as anti-emergency literature in order to make the people aware of government excesses.

These booklets, pamphlets, handbills etc. not only would

reveal the inside story on the atrocities committed by the police and administration on the people who protested against emergency and censorship but also would serve as a medium of communication between the agitators and their supporters. Even in the atmosphere of fear and terror these secret journals and magazines served as a mast light in a fight against the darkness. These leaflets carried the message of the leaders like Loknayakan Jaiprakash Narayan, Atal Vihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani, which used to encourage the activists during those catastrophic times and also used to be an inspirational force for the families of agitators. In nutshell, the underground journalism evolved during emergency had set up a parallel device of communication, which played an important part in raising the intellectual awareness of the people. ●

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Vijay Kranti

Indian Print Media Today : Achievements and Challenges

“

World Press Freedom Day is a day to reiterate our unwavering support towards a free and vibrant Press, which is vital in a democracy

~Narendra Modi

”

The Technical changes within the last half of the 20th century had thrown up grave challenges to the print media. Newspapers can be said to be endangered in some countries. In India, though, both of the graphs of circulation and readership of newspapers, are touching new heights. A view on this growth

It is no small achievement of Indian print media that in an era when its counterparts in most parts of the world including Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa and Australia-Oceania are undergoing a spiral fall and struggling for survival, it is consistently registering impressive growth over past many decades. While a good number of daily newspapers and weekly magazines are calling it a day and their publishing houses too are hanging their gloves in USA and other countries, the number of titles among daily newspapers and weekly magazine in India are showing a constant increase and their circulation is expanding.

It was not too far away in the past when print media in the USA used to be among the biggest employers. But first the advent of cable TV and then the digital media through the internet has made things worse for the print media. Following the depression of 2008, media in the West, especially

in USA has failed to cope with its impact. Falling circulation and successively diminishing of its share in the advertising pie has proven debilitating for the print media in the West. In USA alone at least 2100 well established newspapers, including 70 weekly magazines, have stopped publishing since 2004. Many dailies have shifted to weekly publishing and there is no proper count of small newspapers which have finally closed. In a country where each county boasted of many daily good newspapers and working with such newspapers used to be a matter of pride for its employees, about half of the counties (1449 to be exact) are now left with only one local newspaper. 171 counties don't have even one daily newspaper of their own.

Official statistics from USA's Bureau of Labor Statistics show that the number of journalist workers fell by 23 percent during the 2008-2019 period . Worst hit was print

media where about 35 thousand of total 71 thousand lost their jobs. Digital media did hire new staff during these years but their total number was very small as compared to those who became redundant in the print media. The work force in the newspaper publishing companies fell from 71,070 to 34,950 which means over 50 pc loss of jobs.

Surge in Indian Print Media

However, the print media in India appears to be on a different cloud. The 2019 'Indian Readership Survey', considered to be the most exhaustive survey or reading habits in India, found that the trends in expansion of Indian print media and the number of readers continued as before. It says that the total number of daily newspaper readers in India in 2017 was 407 million which increased to 425 million by the end of first quarter of 2019. The number of Hindi daily newspaper readers was the largest at 186 million while other Indian

languages accounted for 210 million and English readers were 31 million. The survey shows that the number of readers in all these categories registered continuous increase.

Same trend was observed among weekly magazine readers. It increased to 90 million in 2019 from 87 million in 2017. The survey also shows that the number of readers of online editions of newspapers is also on the rise. In 2017 they accounted for 4 pc of total newspaper readers which increased to 5 pc in 2019. Use of internet is also becoming popular. While 19 percent of population used internet in 2019, their number increased to 24 pc by 2019. An interesting aspect of this trend is that despite lower availability of internet in the rural areas the total number of internet users in rural areas stood at 50 pc of total national numbers. Interestingly, popularity of printed newspapers is also on rise in the rural areas. All these findings show that even if internet and News TV

are expanding all over India, the popularity of print media is also on the rise – quite an opposite trend as compared to most other countries.

Print Media in India and Challenge of News-TV

The entry of private News-TV during the decade of 1990s was a watershed year in the history of Indian media. A flood of private News-TV channels, which started with Sun TV and Zee TV, inundated Indian viewers' drawing rooms. It soon became a Tsunami with the advent of Star News, Aaj Tak, Jain TV, Sahara TV. TV-18 as well foreign networks like BBC, CNN and CNBC. This wave was marked by exodus of print media journalists to the new News TV. This development was bound to send shivers down the spine of my tribe of print media. Our main worry was that after watching live and colourful news throughout the day would the newspaper reader be still left with some appetite or enthusiasm for his daily newspaper? This Tsunami continued over entire decade and so did our fear of losing jobs. It was in such an atmosphere that my colleagues like (late) RN Prabhu, Shyam Khosla, KN Gupta, Balbir Punj and (late) MD Gangwar at the National Union of Journalists (India) decided to study the impact of this new wave of News-TV on print media during these years. I was assigned to handle this responsibility.

An essential element of this study was to find out what was the trend in terms of total number of news publications and their readership over these years. The 'Registrar of Newspapers of



Courtesy: <https://www.samachar4media.com/vicharmanch/an-article-on-journalism-written-by-senior-journalist-punya-prasun-bajpai-10288.html>

India (RNI) is the national agency which controls registration and permission to publish daily newspapers and magazines across India. The statistics of RNI were electrifying. Our study found that with the increasing popularity and widening footprint of private News-TV channels not only the number of registered titles of daily newspapers and weekly magazines were increasing, their circulation too has been going up. We found that in 1996 when the private News-TV channels started expanding the total number of daily newspapers and weekly magazines was 39,149 which increased successively to 46,655 in next four years i.e. by 1999.

This increase accounted for a 92 pc jump in the number of registered titles among newspapers and weeklies. Out of this the NPs registered an increase of 10.2 pc from 4,680 in 1996 to 5,157 in 1999. This jump

was 18 pc among the weeklies which increased to 16,872 in 1999 from 14,300 in 1996. But a more encouraging finding of this study was that as the News-TV channels expanded across India so did the number of readers of the print media. In 1996 the total number of readers was 89.4 million which increased to 105.7 in 1997, 127.8 million in 1998 and 131 million by 1999. This was an impressive 45.5 percent increase over these four years and marked an unambiguous favourable synergy between the spread of News-TV, the print media and its readership. Interestingly this observation leads to two opposite inferences. One is that the TV news invokes viewers' desire to read in details about the day's events. And the other is that the falling standard of news presentation and cacophony of debates leaves no other choice with the reader but to go to the newspaper next day to understand the real situation.

means 340.7% from the levels of 1999 viz. about three and a half times. In the same period the number of weeklies went up to 94,175 in 2016 and 100,666 in 2018 viz. 596.6 % of 1999 levels i.e. about 6 times. The increase in readership too followed the same trends as the total number of dailies and weeklies was 314.5 million in 2016 and 430.066 million in 2018. This marks 330% of 1999 levels. All this shows that the print media in India has been successful in facing the onslaught of News-TV. Rather it gained enormously due to the advent of News-TV.

Impact of increasing Literacy

But a deeper study of the growth trends of print media in India shows that the rise of literacy has had a great impact on its popularity as it pulled in a large section of population who can now read a newspaper. The ever increasing political awareness and enrichment of democracy in India over past seven decades further improved people's desire to be aware of current social, political and economic developments. Further, consistent improvement in the standards of living and alleviation of extreme poverty among a major section of Indian society has enabled new millions of Indians to spend on things beyond basic necessities. And daily newspaper is surely one of these attractions.

Common man's desire to get their children educated and to make them aware of developments affecting their lives too has encouraged people to go for newspapers and magazines. One more factor which runs across all the above reasons as a

PRINT MEDIA'S INCREASING POPULARITY Circulation of Daily newspapers and weeklies in India

| Year | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | Growth % 1996 to 1999 | 2016 | 2018 |
|------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| Total NR. of Publications | 39,149 | 41,705 | 43,828 | 46,655 | 19.2 % | 110,851 | 118,239 |
| Daily NPs | 4,680 | 4,719 | 4,890 | 5,157 | 10.2 % | 16,136 | 17,573 |
| Weeklies | 14,300 | 14,743 | 15,645 | 16,872 | 18 % | 94,715 | 100,666 |
| Total Circulation (Million copies) | 89.43 | 105.7 | 127.8 | 130.1 | 45.5 % | 314.5 | 430.066 |

Source: Registrar of Newspapers of India & NUJ(I) study of 2000

Interestingly, the trends in print media's growth in India have continued till this day. RNI's statistics about 2016 and 2018 show that total number of publications in these two

years was 110,851 and 118,239 respectively. It shows going up to 253% which is two and half times growth in 19 years. The daily NPs touched 16,136 in 2016 and 17,573 by 2018. This

common denominator is people's traditional faith in the printed word.

The Printing and Digital Revolution

The introduction of computer and internet in printing as well as in news gathering has made great contribution in this phenomenal expansion of print media in India. The introduction of computer in the newspaper and magazine industry in 1980s has changed almost every aspect of the industry.

The time and labour consuming operations of the printing workshop which included complex processes like composing each letter or line, preparing the galley, proof reading, proof correction, designing the complete page, making a flong, casting the page with molten lead and then mounting it on the rotary machine for the final print order just disappeared and gave way to a sleek and smart desk top system which can handle the entire process from a single table and can even accommodate last minute corrections, fresh news, headlines and even photos at the time of printing.

The new digital technology has made it possible to simultaneously design a dozen or more city editions of a newspaper from a single place and transmit final pages for printing to respective city edition printing presses located hundreds of kilometers apart from each other. This technology has made it possible for publishing houses to launch simultaneous multi editions of a daily newspaper across the country with present not only a truly national

personality but also reflecting local flavour of the respective town or city.

No surprise that Hindi daily 'Dainik Jagran', the most circulated newspaper of India publishes 37 editions from 11 states of the country. Similarly 'DainikBhaskar', another popular daily newspaper publishes its 65 edition from 12 states in Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati languages and 'Times of India' comes out with 50 and 'The Hindu' in 11 city editions.

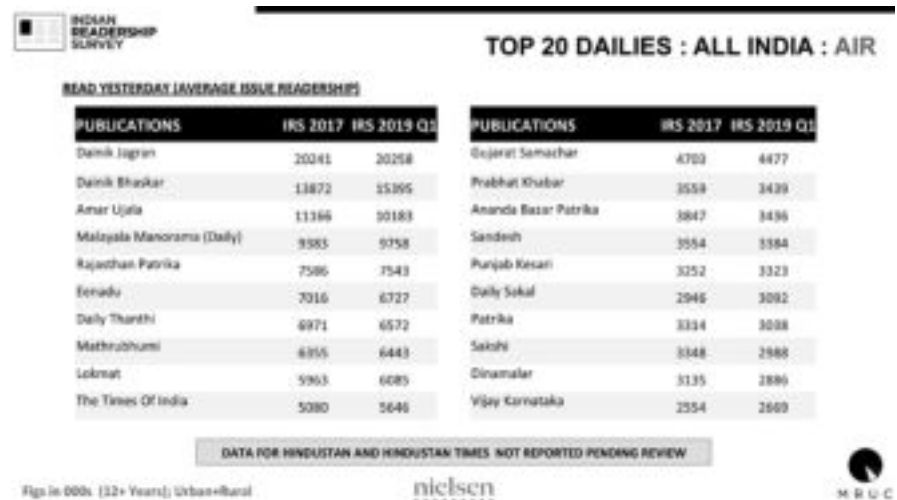
The 'Unproportionate' Dominance of English Language

India happens to be one of those few countries in the world where a foreign language dominates the scene despite having a variety of well-developed local languages.

Incidentally all such countries belong to the class of nations which used to be colonies of one or the other imperial power until a few decades ago and still the language of their former masters rules the roost in these former colonies. This dominance of English language in India has given an extra edge to the English publications in commanding advertising rates despite the fact that Indian languages dominate the print media readership today.

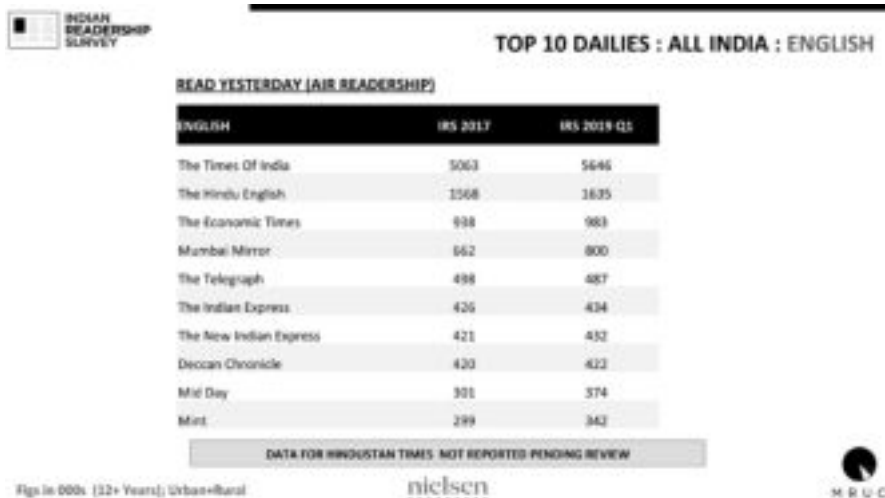
'Indian Readership Survey' (2019) shows that not a single English daily newspaper figures in the list of top-9 circulated newspapers of India. The only English daily which finds place in top-20 most read daily newspapers is the Times of India which stands at 10th position. (pl see IRS TABLE-1).

IRS CHART-1 : TOP-20 Circulated Daily Newspapers of India in 2019



Interestingly its circulation (5.646 million) is less than one fourth of the top Hindi daily newspaper 'Dainik Jagran' (23 million) which also happens to be the most circulated newspaper of India. (The 2019 survey did not include Hindustan and Hindustan Times figures for some technical reasons). Also, the circulation of 'Dainik Jagran' alone accounts for almost double the circulation of top seven English daily newspapers put together (pl see IRS CHART-2)

IRS CHART-2 : TOP-10 Circulated English Daily Newspapers of India in 2019



This IRS survey also shows that the total circulation of top most circulated daily newspapers in India in 2019 was 127.32 million and English readers accounted for only 5.646 million which is equivalent to mere 4.43 percent. In other words the English and non-English (Indian languages) proportion in terms of readership was 1:22.5. This means the readership of Indian languages' was 22.5 times as compared to English readers among top 20 dailies.

Various socio-economic studies and marketing studies over past many decades have shown that the non-English consumer in India far outweighs the English-reading buyers. This applies to every section of consumer goods like automobiles, clothes and processed food etc or services like insurance. But since English reading and English speaking class in India rules the roost in the Advertising industry and corporate circles, English language publications command much higher rates as compared to their Indian language counter

parts. This dominance of English is not limited to commerce alone. On political and social issues too, the intellectual discourse and narrative is dominated by the English media and the English speaking and English writing class. It would not be out of place to underline the fact that the English speaking section among the senior bureaucracy, corporate bosses and senior executives as well as those who dominate the justice delivery system rules the roost despite being illiterate or incompetent in other national languages of India. Policy makers who have recently introduced the new national education policy, which makes it compulsory for schools to educate children in their respective mother tongue during early years, are hopeful that this unnatural pro-English bias might get corrected in the future.

New Challenges before the Print Media

No doubt that Indian print media has successfully coped with the advent of News-TV, rather

has benefited from its massive penetration among the masses. But there are quite a few other challenges which are capable of affecting its supremacy or even existence. While a few challenges are internal to the print media, there are external ones too which are going to test its potential to survive.

One major challenge before the India print media is the changing equation and relationship between the management of the media industry and its journalist employees. This destabilization of the traditional equilibrium between the two sides is caused by the changing professional values and pressures like business competitiveness and the changing corporate culture, especially on issues related to employer-employee relationship. Lack of concern for each other, caused by these changing values, has affected the level of synergy between the two.

The best example in this regard is the relations between top editors and the management. It was not too far in the past when the Editor or 'Chief Editor' of a daily newspaper used to command high respect from the management. Editors like Giri Lal Jain (Times of India), BG Verghese (Hindustan Times), Arun Shourie (Indian Express), Khushwant Singh (Illustrated Weekly of India) and Prabhash Joshi (Jansatta) used to represent the intellectual image and pride of their respective publications and publishing houses. Each publishing house used to enjoy a special personality among the masses and commanded respect from top ranking political leaders and bureaucrats. Newspapers were more known by their editors,

their editorials and quality of news coverage.

Devaluation of the Editor and the News Room

It is a well-known fact that senior managers among the management of these newspapers would seek appointment from their editors to visit them for consultations. But changing corporate values, wild business competition between publishing houses and shifting priorities of management from editorial pride of the house and its publications to the circulation and advertising revenues has shifted the pivot from editor to the circulation managers and advertising managers. It is not uncommon to hear arrogant treatment of editors by the advertising heads or circulation managers in most newspapers. Unfortunately change in professional values and ethics among the editors in general too has led to such an

unfortunate situation. Obviously, this has affected the morale and self-respect of news editors and the news room too.

No doubt that the take-home pay packets of some individual editors and journalists have improved due to the advent of contract system but it has seriously damaged the overall self-esteem and sense of job security among most of journalist staff in the print media.

The subsequent and near death of the trade unions in the print media has proven the proverbial last straw. While lack of job security, institutional commitment and self-esteem among the news and editorial staff has given rise to unfortunate trends like paid-news, the near neutralization of the trade union has practically killed this institution which used to work as a source of job security and collective bargain as well as a collective custodian of professional conduct and

values for the overall journalist community.

Radia-Tapes : A Sad Commentary on Professional Ethics

The notorious Radia-Tapes episode is a perfect example of the obnoxious fall in general professional and moral values among the media community. It is a serious comment on the integrity and levels of professional values among India's media community that all those highly placed and nationally reputed journalists who were caught red handed for subletting their editorial columns to Radia and her corporate clients, or who functioned as middle-(wo)man for arranging sensitive ministerial berths for some corporate houses were not only let free by the justice delivery system of the country but they are still holding their editorial positions and influence in the industry. Such events have brought a bad name to the entire media community. Unfortunately there is not a single respected and influential forum among the media community of today's India which can reverse this trend.

The Digital Onslaught

The most potent external challenge which is threatening the commercial as well as professional interests of Indian print media, its owners, the journalist and non-journalist employees today is the onslaught of the digital or 'online' news media. A review of print media and changing trends in digital media in a news website referred to a recent survey says that "a majority of nearly 50 crore



Courtesy: <https://www.lifewire.com/what-is-web-press-1074624>

smartphone users in India spend most of their time (72 percent) surfing the net on their mobile phones. News and entertainment are two sectors most consumers tap into.” The website did not give more details of this survey and the correctness of figures may be open to scrutiny. But it surely reflects the ongoing trend in the increasing popularity of digital platforms as first source of current news for the smartphone users.

Common Indian’s perpetual interest in politics and ever increasing democratization of the system has made current news the staple diet for millions. That explains a flood of digital news portals on the internet. How many thousands of news portals have been launched in recent years to catch the eyeballs of common man is any body’s guess. But one cannot challenge the statement that this flood is fast growing into a Tsunami.

A major reason behind this explosion of news portals on the internet is the democratization of information which information technology has brought in through internet. Low cost and easy availability of the internet has offered as much freedom and facility to launch one’s own news portal on the internet to an ordinary young man in a remote Indian town as it is available to the richest Indian or the most resourceful publishing house. The ease with which internet has demolished the wall of expensive essentials like printing machinery, newsprint stocks, building, huge staff, office and a network of newspaper distribution which kept the newspaper publishing industry limited to only big

While there are good quality news portals run by serious individual journalists and professional publishing groups there is no shortage of interest groups including political parties, communal groups and even terrorist organizations who have launched their own news portals and websites with a specific agenda. That explains an uncontrolled flood of mischievous and ‘fake’ news which have serious implications for social peace, communal harmony and national security

business houses and resourceful groups, publishing is now open to anyone who has a net connection and a table to work from. The entry of smartphone in the scene has even removed the need of a table to.

It has obviously made things easy for ordinary reader who, instead of waiting till next morning for his newspaper, can now get latest news and analysis on click of a button on one’s mobile phone or computer. This easy reach to the reader has encouraged, rather forced the established publishing houses to launch web editions of their newspapers as well as news portals in order to meet the challenge posed by the new explosion of news portals. Advertising along with the news on the news portals has further helped in taking this expansion further ahead.

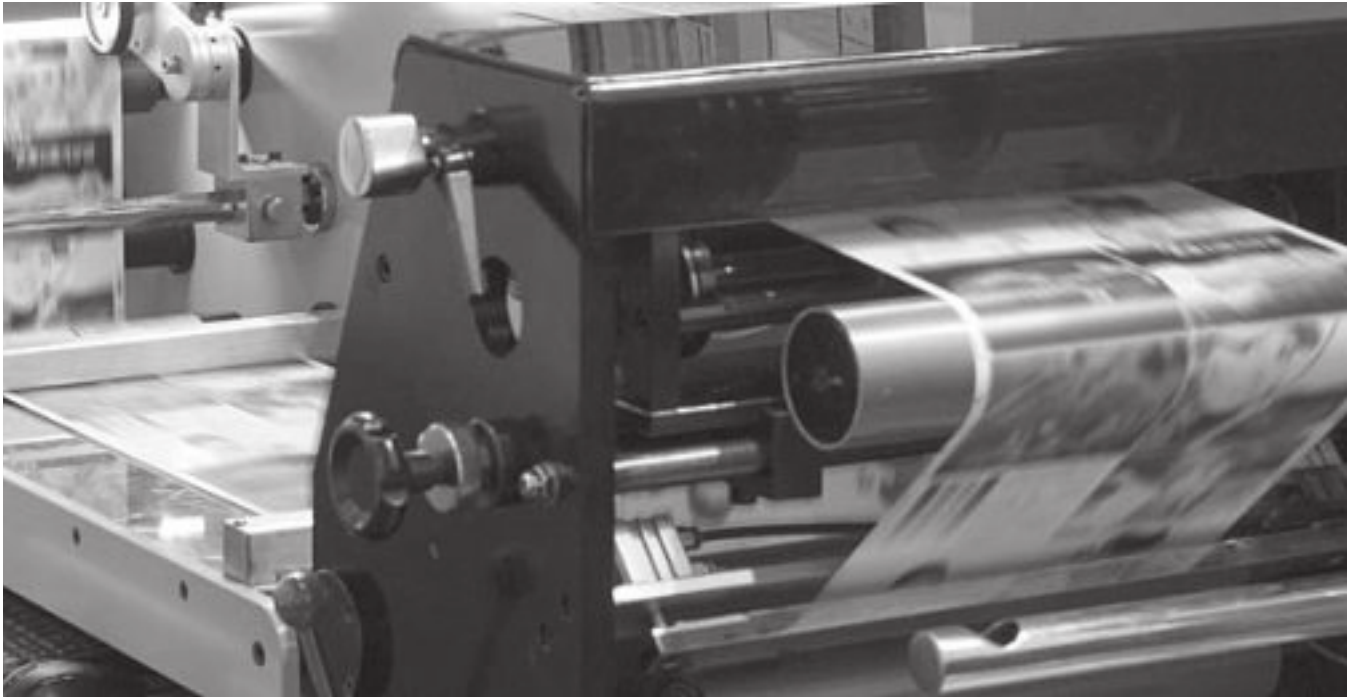
Misuse of Digital Media

Easy availability of digital platforms and their instant and inexpensive reach to millions of people has attracted all kind of individuals, organizations and forces to occupy the digital space and catch the eyeballs. While there are good quality news portals run by serious individual journalists and

professional publishing groups there is no shortage of interest groups including political parties, communal groups and even terrorist organizations who have launched their own news portals and websites with a specific agenda. That explains an uncontrolled flood of mischievous and ‘fake’ news which have serious implications for social peace, communal harmony and national security. Innumerable examples in recent years have proven that intelligently produced fake news can cause serious havoc as it is difficult for the gullible audience to distinguish between the real and fake news. Recent Shaheen Bagh movement in the capital and communal violence cause by fake news and biased narratives on the net are the latest example.

Missing Regulations & Need of a Media-Commission

Indian media community has been already unhappy at falling standards of professional ethics among print media and ineffectiveness of the Press Council of India to rehabilitate discipline among the print media. The Press Council of India is a statutory, adjudicating



Courtesy: <https://www.carel.com/blog/-/blogs/why-does-the-printing-industry-require-humidity-control/>

organization which was formed in 1966 by the parliament and is governed by the Press Council Act of 1978. Although it is a self-regulatory watchdog of the print media, yet it is finding itself ineffective and helpless due to lack of any statutory powers to discipline the erring journalists or non-complying media houses. However, its jurisdiction has been always limited to the print media alone. But with the fast expanding footprint of media, first with the advent of News TV and then digital media, the absence of a common statutory body with legal authority to bring in discipline is being felt far more seriously.

This has given rise to the demand for establishing a wider 'Media Commission' with statutory powers to punish the erring media groups and media persons. But there is also a vocal section among society which is opposing the idea of bringing

the digital media under any such control arguing that such an action will breach the 'freedom of expression'. A serious practical problem on the way of bringing the digital media under such a proposed 'Media Commission' is that it is very easy for any interested party to launch a digital news platform, aimed at Indian audience, from another country.

That will make it nearly impossible for any statutory Indian authority to stop the flow of information from abroad and take any legal action against it.

Financial Disputes

The emergence and wide reach of digital media has given rise to yet another problem which is directly affecting the business interests of the print media. News generating organizations like the newspapers, their publishing companies and news agencies are concerned that

digital platforms like Google and Facebook transmit news generated by them further but keep all the advertising revenue generated in this exercise with them. This dispute has taken dimension of a serious confrontation in many countries including Australia, France, Spain and India. In Australia the government's recent orders to Facebook to share their advertising revenue with the original publishing houses is being met with legal challenge.

In view of all this it is interesting to note that the Indian print media has been successful in not only in facing the onslaught of New-TV and digital media, but the numbers of its readers is on also the rise. It would be interesting to watch weather with the fast changing technologies and digital expansion of the news media, the print media can maintain this trend and for how long? ●



Siddharth Zarabi

The Future of India's Media is Social and All-Digital

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Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The UN General Assembly Universal Declaration on Freedom of Speech & Expression adopted on December 10, 1948.

”

Did you know that India has the largest number of Facebook users in the world at around 346 million? Are you aware that with around 400 million users, India is the largest market for WhatsApp? Have you ever used the photo and video sharing service Instagram, with its 120 million users in India, the second highest in the world?

Does it come as a surprise that YouTube has an estimated 325 million monthly active users in India and that it is the most used digital media platform in rural India?

Incidentally, before it was shut down, video-sharing social networking service TikTok had close to 200 million users in India, the largest outside of its home market of China.

Stay with me as I point out that

online professional networking and jobs site LinkedIn has around 72 million members in India, second only to the United States and significantly ahead of China?

Just the top five global social media and messaging platforms account for nearly 1.2 billion accounts in India, a country with almost similar number of people!

I could go on but will add just a couple more facts: India has over 960 million active mobile phone connections, of which 750 million use their phones to access the internet, making our country the second largest market globally on both counts.

Consequently, India has emerged as a **mobile-first, platform dominated** media market in less than a decade. In other words, social media is the fourth generation (4G)

Using internet through smartphone has shaped the media market anew. A view of the future of media in the light of facts

of media after print, television, and websites.

Armed with smart phones and mobile internet access, Indians are driving unprecedented change across the media landscape. Content consumption is booming in 'Bharat' and regional language content has seen staggering growth, with Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Bengali topping the charts. In fact, three out of four users in India use social media in regional languages. A key factor in this regard is that mobile internet tariffs in India are among the cheapest in the world.

What all of this has also meant is that the number of rural mobile internet users is higher than in urban areas. This has helped reduce the digital divide and break the grip of a small English language elite on content creation, distribution, and consumption.

Together, the smartphone and cheap mobile internet access have proven to be profound forces that have reshaped all aspects of human endeavour, redefined society, culture, politics, commerce, as well as the media landscape across the world and moreover in India.

India is a Mobile-first, Platform Dominated News Market

A 2019 study underscored that India had become a mobile-first, platform dominated market,

even head of developing markets like Brazil and Turkey, let alone markets like the United States or Germany.

As many as 68 per cent of the respondents in the Reuters India Digital News study said smartphones were their main device for accessing online news. Interestingly, 31 per cent of the respondents said they only used mobile devices for accessing online news.

Chart 1: India is a Social-First News Market

| Platform | Users (in Million) | Global Rank (by market size) |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Facebook | 346 | 1 |
| WhatsApp | 400 | 1 |
| YouTube | 325 | 1 |
| Instagram | 120 | 2 |
| Twitter | 19+ | 3 |

Source: Industry Data, Media Reports

The second major aspect is the dominance of 'platforms' to access the news.

The Reuters study shows that Facebook and WhatsApp are particularly widely used, with 75 per cent of respondents using Facebook and 82 per cent using WhatsApp to get their news. Other social media widely used for news include Instagram (26 per cent), Twitter (18 per cent) and Facebook Messenger (16 per cent).

Consequently, it becomes

clear that these social platforms are "absolutely central to online news distribution" in India and that they enjoy a brute power that is unprecedented in its scope and size in the history of this nation.

Another study, by ShareChat and Nielsen India on India's next billion internet users, points out that about 73 per cent of internet users sign into social networking platforms every day, with videos being the most preferred content.

Contrast these numbers with the Indian newspaper and television market.

India has over 1,10,851 registered newspapers and periodicals in dozens of languages. Yet, their combined circulation is estimated at just over 240 million copies.

The country has around 200 million television sets and an estimated 175 million cable and DTH connections. This is in addition to Prasar Bharati's terrestrial TV network that covers over 92 per cent of India's population.

Chart 2

| Number of TV Channels In India | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| News | 198 |
| GEC | 160 |
| Movies | 111 |
| Sports | 31 |
| Kids | 19 |
| Others | 131 |

*Source: BARC

What Led to this change?

The seeds for the dramatic upheaval in our media were sown 25 years ago with India's

Together, the smartphone and cheap mobile internet access have proven to be profound forces that have reshaped all aspects of human endeavour, redefined society, culture, politics, commerce, as well as the media landscape across the world and moreover in India.

internet and mobile phone boom (*read box*).

It is a well-established fact that

Indian consumers read and view their news mostly on smartphones and via social media platforms. The rapid rise of social media points to an “all-digital” future for India’s media.

Why is this so? There are many reasons but the most important is that social media platforms have provided users an opportunity to express their views, raise their voice and share their feelings with the wider world. The sense of participation and instant feedback from a ‘community’ of friends is the reward that a social media user gets. Following leading personalities, being followed back and accepted into an ‘online circle of friends’ gives the user a sense of a direct connect and is the glue that keeps them engaged.

Social media is also incredibly powerful as it goes beyond bland text and simple images. Video narratives are the most engaging and are witnessing the fastest growth

among all formats of news. Once again, the credit for this to the growth of the mobile web and affordable data. For years, technical issues including poor bandwidth had restricted online news to text and low-resolution pictures. That changed as handsets and networks evolved rapidly to support high-quality video consumption.

What is the Future?

The centrality of social media platforms to the creation and distribution of content will be a defining tenet of the Indian media landscape for the foreseeable future.

The fact that most of these platforms are global and ‘multi-national’ means that a country-specific regulatory framework will have to learn to deal with massive complexity and business forces that are extra-territorial.

For policy makers, the challenge is to first accept and acknowledge that an overwhelming 80 per cent of all news consumed in India is now being consumed on social media platforms.

This is a reality that the

content producers are already facing up to. India’s traditional media companies including print and television news and entertainment content creators are navigating this change.

Incidentally, the most popular channel by subscribers globally on YouTube is T-Series, an Indian music and film production company founded by the late Gulshan Kumar. With over 166 million subscribers, T-Series has one-and-half times more subscribers than the second largest YouTube channel run by a Swedish comedian!

For traditional Indian media companies, technology is what now defines the ‘the new normal’. The coming together of technology and the media is fundamentally altering business models and consumer expectations.

With the cost of creating content largely inelastic and falling ad revenues, an existential dilemma looms large on their current business model. Digital-born, social-first and technology focused media companies are witnessing rapid growth with significant investor interest. Currently dominant companies will have to sit up and take notice as start-ups have serious disruptive power.

A classic example of this is the growth of Netflix, subscription-based streaming service that allows viewers to watch TV shows and movies without commercials via an internet connection.

In 2010, Hollywood biggies made light of the company and its ambitions, with Time Warner CEO Jeff Bewkes reportedly saying the company was not a threat to his business.

A decade later, on September



Courtesy: <https://yourstory.com/2016/12/future-of-digital-content-and-media-disruption-in-india>

25 Years Of The Internet And Mobile Phones In India

Two epochal events that occurred in just over a fortnight

25 years will go down in history as the most defining moments in India's media landscape. Unbeknown at that time, the coming together of technology and the forces unleashed by economic reforms led to a massive upheaval. Even those who piloted the change could not have foreseen its consequences in India, the world's largest and most chaotic democracy.

The first moment occurred on the 31st of July 1995. Congress politician and then union minister of communications Sukh Ram called Jyoti Basu, then the communist chief minister of West Bengal. That phone call, between New Delhi and Kolkata, would go down in history as the first-ever on a mobile phone in India.

Two weeks later, on the 15th of August, India celebrated its 48th year of Independence. In Delhi, P.V. Narasimha Rao had addressed the nation that morning, in what was to be his last Independence Day speech as the Prime Minister of India. Speaking in flawless Hindi, the polyglot Prime Minister said economic reforms were not anti-poor and the idea behind them was to empower people and lift Indians out of poverty.

Hours later, in Mumbai, a sarkari company-Videsh Sanchar Nigam Ltd-unveiled something that would prove to be one of the most empowering moves ever in India's tryst with democracy. Led by BK Syngal, its technocrat head, the company launched the internet in India. In doing so, India became the fourth nation globally to offer access to the internet commercially to its people, ahead of even China.

1, 2020, Netflix became the largest entertainment company by market capitalisation in the world. It took Netflix only 23 years to achieve this feat!

And this is where any effort to understand the future of India's media and the media of the future must acknowledge the internet and the smartphone as the two dominant factors that have reshaped the news genre.

This 'digital' shift is more profound in the younger generation, which has directly moved to digital platforms for news and entertainment content, skipping television and even cinemas in the process. For every television set in a middle-class

home, there are on an average four mobile phones consuming varied amounts of high-speed data. This fact alone explains both the growth in consumption of news and entertainment content on individual handsets and the shift away from 'family viewing'.

In a nutshell, the data tells us is that India is one of the largest media markets in the world in terms of subscribers, readership, and total viewers. However, platform power means that while there are many more creators of content, including independent voices who publish first and only on social media, the power of distribution is concentrated in a

few tech-media behemoths.

Unlike China, which has not allowed foreign platforms entry, India has kept its markets open for everyone. In a belated move, the Indian government recently enacted new rules to exercise jurisdiction over all online news, social media and video streaming platforms including those that are funded by foreign investors. The government has cited the need for a level-playing field for all media as the reason for the move.

In conclusion, it is clear the future of mass-consumption news is short format video, edited and delivered in an easy-to-understand format. ●



Vijay Dutt Shridhar

Regional Journalism: The Spine of Journalism

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If newspapers have criticized the government, it is largely because of its sluggish administration, slow progress in the economic field and the gap between promise and performance. My concept of a free press is to ferret out the truth and let the public know.

~Veteran journalist Kuldip Nayyar

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In a rural, agriculture based country like Bharat, regional journalism is actually the spine of journalism. It should prove to be the voice of the dumb and the strength of the disabled. Is it truly playing its role accordingly? An analysis

Hindustan is such a strange country in which two countries dwell together- 'Bharat' & 'India'. The situations and the milieu of the two are totally different from each other and the relations between the two are also generally like that of avoidance and aloofness. The priorities, hopes, aspirations and expectations of the two are different. But, the naked and blatant truth is that the dominant 'India' always exploits 'Bharat', it steals Bharat's dreams and rights. The government and the administration, policies, plans, investments all are bent upon spending everything on 'India' and 'Bharat' is doomed to tolerate this. Even the politics of the country is anti-Bharat. The pity is that literature and journalism which give words to the sensibilities and concerns are also disinterested in 'Bharat'. All are indulgent towards 'India'. It is at this juncture when we

remember regional journalism. Even in literature, 'Raag-Darbari' or 'Maila Anchal' become the only exceptions where the Langad of Raag Darbari is still roaming around aimlessly and the wrong doings of Maila Anchal are still to the fullest.

Apart from the above mentioned hard realities, we must remember that in this large country, journalism started in quite a different scenario as compared to that of other countries and societies. In India, national awakening and journalism have grown together. The first dimension of the awakening movement was to gain political independence, the second dimension was the fight against the plunder of India's natural resources by the British and their ill intentioned policies of crippling Indian sculpture skills, and the third dimension was betterment of the society. And the fourth dimension was to associate the society with the

education of modern science and knowledge. While on the one hand the leaders and fighters of the awakening were constantly striving for these objectives, the editors on the other hand were keeping aflame the fire of public consciousness shoulder by shoulder. But, even here there was a big gap between the vernacular press and the English press. With some exceptions, most of the so called mainstream newspapers of the English press maintained a negative distance from the movement, whereas, the Indian vernacular press was by and large with the struggle. They were in fact paying a big price for this. The Indian journalism till 1947 was not divided deeply between 'India' and 'Bharat' as it is today. This disease developed after Independence, which is associated with the tendency to grab the budget and the opportunities.

When the country got independent, three-fourths of our population lived in the villages. Their life was dependent on agriculture and agriculture based work and skills. The cities and the urban population was less than twenty five per cent. When the nitty-gritty of planning and development was weaved, then the slogans raised were of rural development and progress of agriculture, but the real benefits of development and resources were showered upon the urban centers. Education, healthcare,

roads, electricity, water, traffic resources, housing, rural skills to promote income of farmers, and resources and measures for progress were not planned in a way so that the rural income could have increased and the availability of employment in villages would have been strengthened.

The level of education and healthcare should have been so developed that there would not have been a tendency to migrate to the cities for employment or for high level facilities. Another major problem was that the greed for blindly following of the western culture, created an atmosphere of neglect of Indian culture. Rural and district culture was branded as backward and undeveloped. They faced neglect. Such a situation has only helped in increasing the division between 'India' and 'Bharat' in the last seven decades.

Now, if we talk about the changing social, economic and political perspectives, an important role of regional journalism emerges. Eminent journalist Ganesh Mantri, an avid learner of social concerns, has dealt in detail on this subject in a well researched article. He writes, "In the rural ambience, the most important indicator of change is the ratio of literacy, which has grown three-fold when compared to 1951. With an increase in literacy, consciousness has grown and so have the readers

of newspapers."¹

We can clearly see that the newspapers are reaching the villages. If we examine the presence of audio-visual media there, radio and television have reached farthest corners of the country. A mobile in every hand has extended social media to every household. Only extremely remote areas are deprived of the communication revolution. Advanced agriculture has increased flow of money in the hands of big farmers in the villages. The point is that for the consumerism emerging from liberalization, India's villages and villagers are now big markets.

The other change which Ganesh Mantri talks about is on the social level. He writes, "Now in our rural society, class enmity, caste rivalry and political struggle is getting aggressive day by day. The classes and the castes which were kept subdued by our traditional social order have now become aware of their rights guided by the dual process of political consciousness and economic change."²

Here, if we look at the participation in the electoral process, several surprising facts come out. With independence, India adopted parliamentary democracy. Every citizen was given the right of universal franchise without any difference. Parliamentary constituencies were reserved for scheduled classes and tribes. With passage of time, by constitutional amendments, constitutional measures were fixed for urban bodies and panchayati raj institutions. It is clear that broad participation in the democratic process has enriched the rights-consciousness of the rural populations and

The level of education and healthcare should have been so developed that there would not have been a tendency to migrate to the cities for employment or for high level facilities. Another major problem was that the greed for blindly following of the western culture, created an atmosphere of neglect of Indian culture

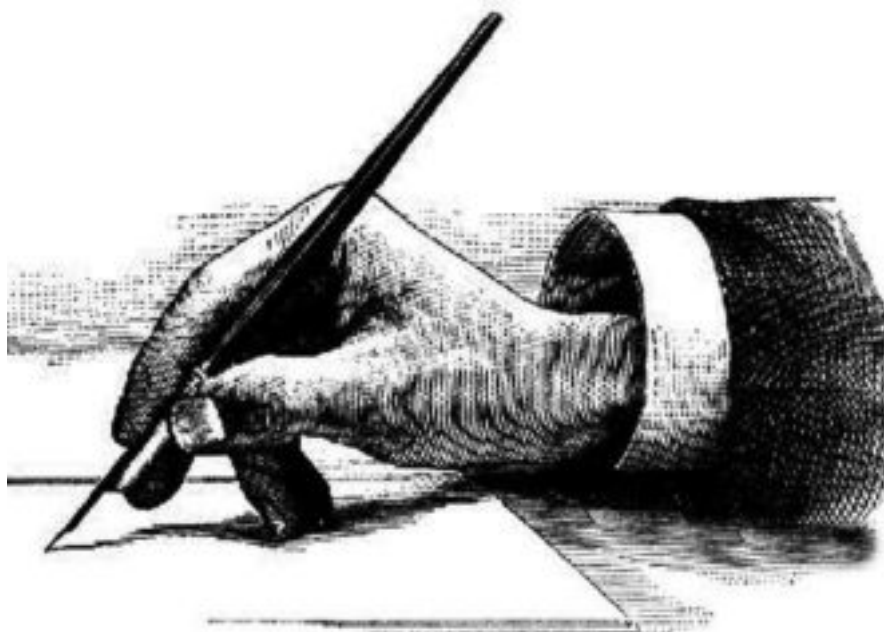
deprived sections. Due to this, the prospects of regional journalism have gained strength.

There is an important novel by Dr Shiv Prasad Singh by the name 'Alag-alag vaitarni'. In this novel, there is emotional comment on the colonial exploitation of rural Bharat by urban India. He writes, "There is a one way path open from our villages, that of export. Whatever is good and useful here, be it good cereals, milk, ghee, vegetables, goes out. Good healthy animals like cows, bulls, buffalos, goats etc go to the cities. Healthy well-built men who have strength in their bodies, are pulled into the forces, police, military and mills. These are all pulled from the villages. In such a scenario, those who are educated, those who are intelligent will also be drawn towards the cities."³

Ganesh Mantri writes, "It is true that the poor are there in the cities and towns too. There are dirty slums there too, but as soon as we leave the shores of out towns and cities, the sea of poverty in our villages has no end."

Leave aside other facilities; people deprived of even clean drinking water live in villages and small towns. Similarly, there are no industries in the villages or are very less which take recourse to advertising their products thus providing financial support to small newspapers.⁴

Regional journalism or rural journalism has broad dimensions. There is no dearth of prospects and productivity. Some difference has come about. Regional journalism when compared to Metro journalism or say the so-called national journalism centered on big cities has grown in importance and reach. Indian language newspapers have surpassed



Courtesy: <http://www.nayaharyana.com/49/omprakash-chautala-ke-jel-todak-ane-vale-bayan-ke-siyasee-mayane>

their English counterparts in circulation. Among these, newspapers published from state capitals and other major centers have taken lead.

Once, there was a monopoly of national papers over advertisements of certain products but now driven by market considerations, they now tilt towards regional papers. The market for high end consumer products like cars, fridges, air-conditioners has now spread up to small towns and villages. The markets which only understand the language of profit have increased the ad-capabilities of the regional press of Indian languages. The question to be considered is that whether the regional press has given adequate coverage to rural India in its papers, which it deserves.

The way villages and rural society in India is neglected, it is similar with the rural journalism. The biggest issue present before rural journalism is the suicides by farmers. Despite the

increasing trends of urbanization, two-thirds of our population still resides in villages, which is directly or indirectly dependent on farming and agriculture. It was Mahatma Gandhi who first deeply understood the critically bad conditions of agriculture and the farmers. After observing firsthand the pathetic conditions of the farmers during the Champaran revolution in 1917, Gandhiji gave it priority in the national agenda. He blew the bugle of the struggle for them. His struggle was successful and the Champaran farmers were freed from the exploitation of the white Britishers. The tormentous tinkathia system came to an end. In journalism, only Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's 'Pratap' and one or two other papers had taken up the issue.

A similar issue related to the villagers and farmers had also risen in Madhya Pradesh. The British Government had given permission to a British company for the opening of a mechanized

butchery in Ratauna village in Sagar district. Cows and calf in large numbers were to be butchered in the butchery daily. Considering the importance of cows in the rural economy and life, Makhanlal Chaturvedi, editor of 'Karmaveer' opposed this move tooth and nail. The editor of 'Taj' Tajuddin Ahmed and the young journalist Bhai Abdul Gani also supported him strongly. They built up such a strong protest that the government had to change its mind.⁵

But, when we look at the journalism post-independence, we find issues related to farmers and agriculture relatively neglected. Emulating the big city-papers, regional newspapers also waste sixty per cent of the space on politics. Even the remaining space is devoted to fashion and entertainment. Villages and farmers find space very rarely. The condition is such that hardly ten per cent of the farmers can be considered in a good financial condition.

Most of the farmers have small fields. Their farming is not adequate for their livelihood. But journalism is generally silent on this big issue because, despite being the largest chunk of the country's population, the farmers are not organized, and they are unable to force the government and the administration to consider their plight and take steps to

improve their condition. It is matter of great surprise that Hindi or any other Indian languages did not raise the pertinent farmer issues. Rather P. Sainath, the rural issues editor of the English paper 'The Hindu' continuously toured the country and took stock of the condition of the farmers, collected facts by basic studies and made the tragic issue of the farmer suicides a matter of grave concern. The TV media goes after coverage of trivial and stupid issues like fashion week, nag-nagin revenges, stories of ghosts etc, but they are not bothered by farmer suicides which have reached millions in numbers.

In the newspapers, there is some talk about agricultural production and storage, but they rarely talk about how rampant use of chemicals has taken away the nutritional benefits of fruits and vegetables and made them poisonous. The fertile lands about which our farmers were proud of once, has now become the source of life threatening diseases like cancer. Actually, due to regional journalism becoming ineffective, any campaign could not take place about up to what extent chemical fertilizers, insecticides and weedicides can be used and where the line should be drawn beyond which their usage should be restricted. The soil mixed with such chemicals when it flows to rivers and ponds, also kills

the water sources with deadly pollution. If regional journalism is conscious, and if it gets adequate space in newspapers and other media, the farmers could be warned about the dangers of chemical pollution.

Another serious issue is that of stubble burning. Due to this, the problem of air pollution is increasing. In big cities like Delhi, it even becomes life threatening.

It is also a result of absence of effective vigil expected of journalism that the co-operative movement which was envisaged for the aid of farmers has failed miserably in its objectives. Rather, there are several examples when corrupt government system has worked to destroy the farmers.

First, it is a big problem that the village is absent from the priority list. Second, heavy corruption and the negligence and lackadaisical attitude of the beauracracry have made rural life hell. If the basic facilities are ensured and are of good quality, and there are adequate employment opportunities, the migration of rural population to the cities can be stopped.

This will also reduce the pressure on urban cities. But, this issue is absent from the pages of the newspapers and television screens.

Another big shortcoming of our journalism is that when a new policy or scheme is announced or started, the media starts singing paeans of the scheme. But, what is happening on the level of implementation and whether society is getting the targeted benefit is not kept a watch upon whereas social audit should be an important element of regional journalism. Another shortcoming is that the government system does

Most of the farmers have small fields. Their farming is not adequate for their livelihood. But journalism is generally silent on this big issue because, despite being the largest chunk of the country's population, the farmers are not organized, and they are unable to force the government and the administration to consider their plight and take steps to improve their condition

not convey the rights and benefits to the beneficiaries properly because the politicians and the officers are afraid of an aware social consciousness. Actually, it is the responsibility of regional journalism that it performs its duty of informing, educating and encouraging the rural society. Recently, journalism has got a powerful tool in the form of right to information which can be very effective in exposing all shortcomings with authenticity. Thus, regional journalism can be more sharpened and result oriented.

It is not that nothing is happening in regional journalism. The metro papers have been compelled to come out with regional editions for different states. Even the regional newspapers have been forced to come out with different supplements for various districts. Due to political activity and activities of local institutions, district bureaus of newspapers are flooded with news releases. Somehow they are getting space in the papers too. But, a lack of quality rural journalism is also being felt. The skill and language quality required to convert any information or document received into a good news story is missing from rural journalism. Short duration training camps for regional journalists to eliminate this shortcoming and polish their skills can be helpful in this regard.

It was the responsibility of regional journalism to enrich rural society with scientific consciousness. Regional journalists should also, along with the scientific writers, shoulder the responsibility of increasing the scientific knowledge in plain and simple and

It was the responsibility of regional journalism to enrich rural society with scientific consciousness. Regional journalists should also, along with the scientific writers, shoulder the responsibility of increasing the scientific knowledge in plain and simple and easily digestible language among the rural people

easily digestible language among the rural people. The objective should be to create awareness in the society so that people can understand the difference between boons and curses of modern science. Whether it a newspaper or television or social media, they must build an awareness against superstition, hypocrisy, cheating and cunningness and they must warn the society against them. It is also necessary that traditions and customs and values prevailing in the folk culture which have a scientific base and are positive are encouraged.

The work of the Raipur daily 'Desh Bandhu' in the field of regional journalism is worth mentioning. More than ten of its journalists have been honoured by the prestigious 'Statesman Rural Journalism Award'. It began with the report 'Gaon se Pahchaan Kaise' by Rajnarayan Mishra who won this award in the very first year it was established. After him, Deshbandhu's Satyendra Gumasta, Girija Shankar, Ziaul Hussaini and others were conferred this award.

How a newspaper can reach the heights of stature and progress by increasing coverage of villages and by regional journalism is exemplified by Karpoorchand Kulish of the Rajasthan Patrika. When emergency was imposed in the country, freedom of expression and civil rights were stifled, then Kulish started visiting the rural

areas of Rajasthan. He studied about entire Rajasthan and wrote continuously about the conditions of the villages. The result was that Rajasthan Patrika reached every village and provided a base for planning for the government and administrators.

Here are some examples of how regional journalists can take up topics for reports, news, features and stories:

1. In the seventies, a big dam was built on the river Tawa in Hoshangabad district. Such big projects come with the catchy promises of progress and wellbeing. But, in a report of the Sarvoday Press Service it was exposed how the farmers were troubled by seepage and production per acre post the project came down.
2. Eminent journalist Vijay Manohar Tiwari tried to open the eyes of the supporters of development by exposing the tragic plight of the people disposed from the areas to be submerged by the dam project in Harsood in Madhya Pradesh. He also brought out the burning truth that the complete expected benefits of any big project are never accomplished whereas the destruction is always total.
3. Perhaps those who have worked actively for the destruction of the cooperative movement may have never met its soul. There is the 'Dhāsa Prathā'

prevailing in the tribal areas of Western Nimad. If the house of any villager is destroyed due to rain or any other calamity, the villagers collectively rebuilt it. These are kaccha houses. The tradition is that the villagers gather early in the morning with their tools after eating something and start working on the house. When the work is completed in the evening there is a community dinner at the site only. No one is given any wages for this but the house gets ready.

4. There are as many stories of corruption and negligence as many the schemes for destitute pensions and other welfare schemes are there. One example is that of Gubra, the old state of Gond between Katangi and Damoh. The king of Gubra followed a tradition that whenever he sat for dinner every night the drums at the palace gates of the fortress were beaten. It was like an invitation to all the residents of Gubra that if anyone was deprived of food, they could have their dinner with the king.

These are not only old tales. These are not even subjects of praise or condemnation. But these are lights lit up of human feelings and concerns, which create inspirational examples and show us the right path.

Regional journalism does have to its credit the exposure of several soul-awakening incidents.

Several reports were published by small and regional newspapers which increased pride and which created a flutter in the society.

The efforts of the administration to cover up or deny the things were unsuccessful. Even the threats and torture could not do anything. They were forced to act and there was some result coming out of the issues raised by the journalists. In this way, it can be said that vernacular regional press only is concerned about Bharat. Just as India's soul resides in its villages similarly regional journalism is the spinal cord of Indian vernacular journalism.

Journalist Harish Pathak had done extensive research on 'National Journalism of Regional Papers' under the 'Rajendra Mathur Fellowship' of the Madhya Pradesh government. In this study Pathak found that two small newspapers of Chhatarpur, 'Shubh Bharat' and 'Kranti Krishna' had published reports of the Chhatarpur Rape Crime. It was a small town and the administration was hell bent on threatening them, still the paper and the journalists were undeterred. The result was that probably first time in the history of independent India a judicial inquiry had to be set up to solve the dispute between the journalists and the district administration. Whether it be the story of skeleton traders of Bihar who killed small children or the tale of starving Ribayi Pandas of Sarguja, the fodder scam of

Bihar or the plight of the women of Surankot who were sexually exploited by the terrorists-regional papers and journalists were the one who exposed all these. What is surprising is that when such issues came to light the metro papers were forced to print them. Several times, the editors of the big newspapers did not even credit the sources of such stories.⁶

Eminent editor Rajendra Mathur gave his mantra in the conference of the Madhya Pradesh Aanchalik Patrakar Sangh (Chhatarpur, 1984) – "The regional journalists have to create their strength on their own. Those who are remembered who do not follow the beaten path and make their own path."

Editor of 'Ravivar' Surendra Pratap Singh commented- "A new type of journalism has emerged- A new language, new style, new grammar. Everything new is being created. And it is changing the thinking of the people. This is neither British nor American, it is pure Indian."

Social scientist journalist Ramsharan Joshi writes- "Regional papers are like manure and seeds for National journalism."

Definitely, regional journalism has the capacity to change the scenario. Newspapers and other media enterprises must understand that regional journalism will give a shine to their faces. It will make them popular. It will expand their circulation. Ultimately, it will also facilitate a path of profit. ●

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Dr. Santosh Kumar Tewari

P.P. Singh: A Pioneer in Media Education

“

I would rather have a completely free press, with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom, than a suppressed or regulated press.

~Jawahar Lal Nehru

”

History of media education in India and Pakistan won't be complete without a mention of Professor Prithvi Pal Singh. He was the doyen of journalism educators in both the countries. A look into the life and works of this pioneer of media education in India

The writer of this paper never saw P.P. Singh. He wrote a paper on P.P. Singh which was published in the *Communication Today*, Jaipur (April-June 2010, pp.18-24) That paper was largely based on the book *Communication: a discipline in distress* by Professor K.E. Eapen, one of the most senior media educators in India, and in-depth telephonic interviews with M.R. Dua, who was P.P. Singh's student and later his colleague in his department, and face to face interview with S.R. Nigam, who was a senior journalist, retired from *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, and later settled in Lucknow.

Even after publication of that paper in the *Communication Today*, this writer occasionally continued his research on PP Singh. This paper is based on his further research which is largely based emails of Professor M.R. Dua and Professor Archana Singh of School of Communication Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh. These emails are of December 2020.

Journalism education in India

started sometime around 1920 at the then National University at Adyar, Madras, founded by Dr. Annie Besant (1847-1933). The course in journalism started there through its English Department where history of journalism, editorial practice and newspaper administration, etc. were taught.¹ The experiment could not go beyond five years.²

According to Professor Ravindran Gopalan: "The first attempt to teach journalism in a college/ university in India was in 1918 in Madras by one of the colleges under the National University, started by Annie Besant as per the records of Theosophical Society. The 1920 cited by some is wrong. I've been working on the early attempts in Madras for the past 15 years, ..."³

Thereafter in 1938 Aligarh Muslim University started a one year diploma course in the subject under the leadership of Raham Ali Alhashami.⁴ The course was closed down in 1940 because of internal bickering.⁵

In 1941 P.P. Singh (3 October 1910 – 17 August 1979)⁶ started a

journalism programme in Panjab University, Lahore, and that is the longest surviving programme in the discipline in India and Pakistan. In 1947 when country was divided, Panjab University was also bifurcated.

Its journalism department moved to New Delhi and P.P. Singh taught the subject in evening classes which were held in Hartcourt Butler Higher Secondary School, situated on Mandir Marg, New Delhi, Near Birla Mandir.⁷ In 1962 the department moved to the new campus of Panjab University, Chandigarh. MR Dua joined the P.P. Singh's department in Chandigarh as a senior lecturer in January 1963. Those days there were three part-timers in the department to teach Hindi, Panjabi and Urdu journalism.⁸

Before joining academics P.P. Singh did a diploma course in journalism from London, UK. He also did a Master's course in the discipline in 1938 from the University of Missouri, USA, which is the oldest course in the subject in America.⁹

It was University of Missouri where in 1908 a separate journalism school was established. Walter Williams was its first dean. The school offered its first Master's degree in 1921 and first doctorate in journalism in 1934.¹⁰

After coming from abroad P.P. Singh met Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in 1938 who was then launching his daily newspaper *National Herald*, from Lucknow under the editorship of veteran journalist K. Ramarao. P.P. Singh took an introductory letter from Nehru for a job in *National Herald*. But K. Rama Rao didn't oblige Nehru as well as P.P.

Singh.¹¹ P.P. Singh then joined *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, a paper owned by British. Those days Desmond Young, an English man, was its editor. P.P. Singh worked there for about a year, but left it on health ground.¹² For some time he was also a stringer for an American news agency Associated Press (A.P.).¹³

Here it will not be out of place to mention that K. Rama Rao (1897-1961) was a very fearless journalist. He joined and left over 25 newspapers including *The Times of India*, Mumbai; *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi; *Sind Observer*, Karachi; *The People*, Lahore; *Swarajya*,

Chennai; *The Leader*, Allahabad, *The Pioneer*, Allahabad; and *Searchlight*, Patna, but he is remembered most for editing *National Herald* in Lucknow. Mahatma Gandhi called him as fighting editor. In August 1942 he was imprisoned for six months for his editorial criticizing British government published in the *National Herald*. One of the many books he wrote was his autobiography *Pen As My Sword*.¹⁴ He was also a member of the first Rajya Sabha.

When P.P. Singh was working on *The Pioneer*, he wanted to start a journalism course in the University of Lucknow, but



he failed to impress upon the authorities about the need for starting the course.¹⁵ P.P. Singh was originally from Lakhimpur-khiri district of Uttar Pradesh and an alumnus of the University of Lucknow. He did his B.A., LL.B. from Lucknow University.¹⁶

In fact, those days it was very difficult to make anyone understand that journalism was a subject which could be taught. People used to say Mahatma Gandhi, Tilak, etc. never went to any journalism school. The general impression was that journalists were by birth, not by education or training.

Even in America when Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911) offered a huge amount in 1892 for the cause of journalism education, many could not understand the logic. In 1892, Pulitzer made offer to give money to Columbia University for setting up the world's first school of journalism. The university turned down his offer. However, after ten years in 1902 Columbia University's new administration showed interest in his plan for a school of journalism. In his will Pulitzer bequeathed \$2,000,000 to the university for setting up journalism school as well as prizes. Pulitzer passed away in 1911 and with his money journalism school was set up in Columbia University in 1912.

When failed to launch a journalism course from Lucknow University, P.P. Singh tried for the same in Panjab University, Lahore, where his elder brother Rana Jung Bahadur Singh was the editor of *The Tribune*, a leading daily of Panjab.¹⁷ Because of the influence of his brother, he could start a course in the discipline in Panjab University, Lahore, now in Pakistan.

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It was a craft oriented part time diploma course with evening classes. The then editor of reputed daily *Dawn*, Lahore, who was an English man, also used to come there to teach in the evening classes.¹⁸

C.K Sardana, a student of P.P. Singh in 1954-55, said: "Professor Singh exhorted all journalism students to keep their eyes and ears open, look around the happenings, comprehend information and opinions and write for the media. He said 'start from a letter to the editor on a current subject of public interest. Never relent in your mission of becoming a good journalist and a good writer'. He was very particular about language, grammar, . . . proof checking.

...Professor Singh was full of energy - always vibrant thereby motivating and inspiring me (others too) to be the best, not just good or very good. A good and a great teacher."¹⁹

After the partition of the country, both P.P. Singh and Rana Jung Bahadur Singh migrated to Delhi. P.P. Singh was living in Rajendra Nagar area of New Delhi which was primarily a refugee colony. Later, Rana Jung Bahadur Singh became resident editor of *The Times of India*, New Delhi. After that he also contested parliamentary election as a Congress Party candidate from a Delhi constituency and

defeated Balraj Madhok of Jansangh. Those days leaders like Atal Behari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, etc. were in Jansangh. However, in the next general election Madhok captured the Lok Sabha seat.²⁰

After coming from USA, P.P. Singh got married to Satyavati Singh who was ten-twelve year younger than him. Satyavati Singh was then only High School pass. He encouraged her for further studies. Later she passed M.A. (Maths.), B.Ed. She became a teacher in a school and later became principal of a senior secondary school run by Delhi Administration. She had a commanding personality.²¹

When P.P. Singh shifted to Chandigarh in 1962, he preferred to live in a dormitory of a hostel and he used to cook for himself. He was a man of simple habits.²²

P.P. Singh retired from the Punjab University service at the age of 62. After retirement he settled down in R-Block Rajendra Nagar, New Delhi. He was not getting any pension. Those days the retirement age there was 60 years, but he was granted an extension of two years. After him the reigns of the Panjab University department went into the hand of Bhola Singh Thakur, popularly known as B.S. Thakur. He was originally from Uttar Pradesh.²³ He had a Master's

degree in the discipline from the University of Wisconsin, USA. Before joining Punjab University, Thakur worked at Osmania University, Hyderabad, from 1961 to 1968.²⁴ In the later part of his life, Thakur settled down in Panchkula (Haryana), an adjoining district of Chandigarh. Thakur is now no more.

P.P. Singh did not write any book on journalism and mass communication, but contributed a chapter in a book *Journalism in Modern India* edited by Dr. Roland E. Wolseley and published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay.²⁵ Dr. Wolseley visited India as a Fulbright Scholar.²⁶ P.P. Singh was also instrumental in establishing and developing journalism and mass communication departments in Calcutta, Madras, Osmania, Guwahati, Nagpur, etc.²⁷

What was left behind by P.P. Singh in Panjab University, Lahore, has now grown into one of the best journalism courses in that country. In 1985 its nomenclature was changed from journalism department to communication department, and now it is known as Institute of Communication Studies. But alas, its website does not give the name of its founder P.P. Singh. His name has been

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forgotten there.

Panjab University journalism department in India has now been renamed as School of Communication Studies. It is one of the leading schools in the discipline in northern India. Its website carries the name of PP Singh prominently and its wall also adores his photograph.

Panjab University has been organising Professor P.P. Singh Memorial Lecture every alternate year since 2018. The speaker for the first lecture was H.K. Dua and the second was Ms. Manraj Grewal, Editor of *The Indian Express*, Chandigarh. Both were alumni of the Panjab University department.²⁸

P.P. Singh was not very tall. He had a height of five feet five or six inches. He was a hefty man. (since he was hefty, some students affectionately called him “peepa singh”²⁹) He had blood pressure problem and

was also diabetic. In 1979 P.P. Singh alone, not accompanied by his wife, went to Lucknow to visit some of his relatives. He suffered a heart attack there and died in the city where he wanted to start a department of journalism in the late 1930’s. He was cremated in Lucknow. He left behind his widow and a son and two daughters.³⁰

Lucknow University could have a journalism course only in 1992. At first, the course started in Hindi Department and then an independent journalism department was set up in 1995.³¹

P.P. Singh could start the course in Lahore against heavy odds. Today the scene in media education is much better and comfortable, and now it is the duty of present day media teachers to carry forward the torch which P.P. Singh lit eight decades ago. ●

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most senior media educators in India. He did his M.S. from Syracuse University, New York, and doctorate from University of Wisconsin. He was professor/ head, department of communication at Bangalore University during 1973-79, and then he was at University of Kerala during 1979-83. He was settled in Bangalore since 1983.)

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Opinions of the Supreme Court of India

One-sided information, disinformation, misinformation and non information, all equally create an uninformed citizenry which makes democracy a farce. Freedom of speech and expression includes right to impart and receive information which includes freedom to hold opinions.

-In Union of India v/s Association for Democratic Reforms

The press plays a very significant role in the democratic machinery. The courts have duty to uphold the freedom of press and invalidate all laws and administrative actions that abridge that freedom. Freedom of press has three essential elements.

-In the Indian Express Newspapers v/s Union of India

Freedom of speech & of the press lay at the foundation of all democratic organization, for without free political discussion no public education, so essential for the proper functioning of the process of popular government, is possible.

Supreme Court of India in the famous Romesh Thapar V/s State of Madras case.



Umesh Chaturvedi

Vernacular Media in the Era of Globalisation

“

Were it left me to decide whether we should have a government without newspaper or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

~Thomas Jefferson

”

It is impossible not to remember the legendary Hindi journalist Babu Rao Vishnu Paradkar, while discussing vernacular journalism in the era of Globalisation. His role is important not only journalism but also in polishing and enriching the Hindi language. Reflective essayist Krishna Bihari Mishra terms it a creative role.

During the discussion on the journey of vernacular journalism in historical timeline, a statement by Mr. Paradkar obviously comes to mind. He had said from his Presidential chair of All India Editors Conference in 1925 at Vrindavan, “Running newspapers after establishing a unit will be possible only for the riches or well organised companies. The newspapers will be all attractive, bigger in size, well produced with beautiful, entertaining and informative pictures, articles will be varied, imaginative with glimpses of serious analysis and millions of subscribers. There will be everything but journalism. The policies of the

newspapers will not be decided by patriotic, dutiful or humanitarian editors. The authors blessed with these qualities will be considered as lunatics. They will not be able to become editor. The salaried editors will work for their masters and will perform their job skillfully. Professionally, they will be better than us. However, the freedom we are enjoying today, they won't. In fact, it's crucial time in the history of journalism.”

Paradkar might have the traditional thought of globalism which we know as *Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam* (entire world is like a family), at least he did not have any clue of today's system of globalisation. But whatever he had imagined about crossing his times through the journalism and the nature of changes therein, could not take shape during his lifetime. The same idea, though, took place rapidly in the era of globalisation. If one looks at a century long journey of newspapers, one finds that let alone the Indian ones, newspapers

Globalisation has brought about quite a sea change. Changes can be marked in the entire system, from economy to social values. So how could the media remain untouched by it! A view into the vernacular media

of entire world have gone under great changes. Newspapers have become more attractive and brighter as compared to those of earlier times. Also, the circulation shot up but the fear of lifelessness that Mr. Paradkar had visualised, are absolutely apparent now.

It is astonishing indeed to find that the fears Paradkar expressed at that time are coming true now. We can watch lack of patriotism, negligence towards one's duty and a tendency to make fun of devotion to humanity everywhere in current journalistic scenario. This is what Paradkar visualized about a century back. The way anti-India sentiments getting space in today's attractive and beautiful newspapers, the way religion – especially Hindu religion gets mocked, negligent views that are apparent on many issues are exactly the same as Paradkar had visualised and predicted ahead of his time. Surely, he would not have a clear perception of this globalisation, which is centered around the market and the vision of which would be developed around economy. The warmth in the traditional thought of globalism that was embedded as a mantra in the form of *Vasudhaiva kutumbakam* in Indian culture seems to be missing from the current western thought of globalisation. Even if it is seen occasionally, it is because of the

market's concern or some vested interest. Market or selfishness appears nowhere in the traditional concept of globalism. If we do for an interest in it, it is not worldly but at the most we will conclude it as spiritual.

Anyway, globalisation has completed the journey of three decades in India. In the beginning of 20th century's last decade, India had stepped in the way to globalisation through liberalisation. The path that India had adopted after independence for her tryst with destiny was based on socialistic philosophy with a slight bent to the left. Before beginning of liberalisation, Indian society, ruling system and a major chunk of its dependent intellectual class had covered a span of more than four decades. Obviously they were dominant so far. Since Leftists and socialists were feeling insecure about the phase of globalisation into which India had made an entry through the way of liberalisation, they were gravely worried in regard to the India's future too. If anybody was full of hopes, it was the then ruling class that was facing dual challenge of safeguarding its economy and taking ahead a huge population of 100 crores. Its predecessor had been forced to mortgage the country's gold before American banks to run our economy. Therefore, in the

globalisation voyage, the then ruling system had to be hopeful. But when one looks at the journey of vernacular press vis-à-vis globalisation, one comes across pessimism rather than optimism.

Since most of Indian intellectuals were committed to the leftist and socialist ideology, they were worried of this globalisation. The reflections of their jitters were clearly visible on the mainstream of vernacular media. When government moved ahead in the direction of clearing hurdles of liberalisation, vernacular press were full of its criticism. On India's behalf, the then Commerce Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee had signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) along with 123 countries in African Country Morocco's fourth big and beautiful city Marrakesh.

Next day, Indian newspapers were looking at it as a new symbol of slavery. On July 25, 1991, the speech of the then Finance Minister Manmohan Singh marked the beginning of liberalisation in India, in which he launched new policies for economic reforms in India. Indira Gandhi, though, had started enervating inspector raj just with her return to power in 1980, but it could not show the speed which it showed after 1991. Obviously, it had its effect on Indian media, specially on the vernacular media too. No doubt, Media had shown its combatant spirit in taking cudgels with the then ruling establishment during the black days of emergency. Though after the collapse of Janata party and return of Indira Gandhi into the power, the vernacular newspapers, especially Hindi ones, have taken

Since Leftists and socialists were feeling insecure about the phase of globalisation into which India had made an entry through the way of liberalisation, they were gravely worried in regard to the India's future too. If anybody was full of hopes, it was the then ruling class that was facing dual challenge of safeguarding its economy and taking ahead a huge population of 100 crores

to path of dependence. Despite this, there were several who did not allow vernacular journalism were there who did not allow it to become fully dependent on the government.

Nationalists were also there along with the leftists and socialists who had doubts in regard to the globalisation. The nationalists were also of the view like leftists that as globalisation will take its speed in India, it would create new *Lokvritta*. It is considered as a synonym to the concept of public sphere that German sociologist Habermas has given. The term 'public sphere' also denotes an area which embodies ethos of a particular society. Certainly, every novel thought and the new system that is established by it creates a new culture. A new *public sphere* is also created in this process. Certainly, these public spheres are full of new values. Though globalisation might not have been existed before Baburao Vishnu Paradkar, neither the outline of the new culture being developed through it but it is unanimous that he had guessed the future deviation of Hindi media that developed with the Hindi society and values imbibed by it.

There is nothing wrong in accepting that the liberalisation, that came with the globalisation, has completely altered the media scenario. What needs attention here is that whenever Indian journalism is analysed, it is tested on the basis of the values developed during the past especially the freedom movement. In fact, the entire developmental journey of Indian vernacular journalism has taken shape along with freedom movement. It can be said that the birth of entire



vernacular journalism including Hindi happened from the womb of freedom movement. Just like a child that adopts the qualities of his or her mother, whatever values vernacular journalism has created or imbibed, are mostly the values of freedom movement. This is the reason that whenever one discusses about vernacular journalism with reference to the values, it is tested on the very basis of the values evolved with the freedom movement. British author and India expert Francesca Orsini has studied the role of Hindi newspapers and magazines that were published between 1920 and 1940 before Independence in creating life values. She has concluded in her study that Hindi magazines of that time like *Sarasvati*, *Maryada*, *Jaganan*, *Hans*, *Madhuri*, *Chand* etc. have deeply contributed to create new life values and to establish them in public and social life against the social evils like treatment of untouchables and women's lack of education and gender inequality. Orsini's research is published as 'Public sphere of Hindi'. Its Hindi translation had also been published in the

name of "Hindi ka Lokvritta". In the preface, Francesca writes, "in 1920s literary and political workers, public places and institutions, the market of printed word and quantitative expansion of literary-political readers and listeners class had gave birth to a qualitative development as well."²

When globalisation was at the initial stage, Indian thinker Mr. Dattopant Thengdi used to say that through it, India will not only go under economic changes, but would also witness to the cultural changes. This concern was also playing a crucial role behind opposition to the system of globalisation. But as globalisation took steps further, India started writing stories on economic front. The concerns and worries regarding it went sideways. In such a situation, globalisation kept spreading its wings in India. In this context, if we pay attention to vernacular publications regarding globalisation, we find various forms. The vernacular journalism in this era can be divided into two parts. In first half one can look at journalistic

works ranging from 1991 to 2014. Post 2014 journalistic works can be discussed in the other half. Whether it is vernacular journalism of the period before 2014, or it is of post Narendra Modi emergence political scenario, both have one thing in common. Entire attention of journalism has been centered upon economic earnings. The desire to create values or to live or die with those has gradually become lesser and lesser. The pages of newspapers continued regularly turning more and more colorful and production improved. Also, the salaries of mediapersons got improved as compared to that of their preceding colleagues. But the traditional values that the Hindi journalism had earned within its 190 years journey, kept disappearing. (First Hindi newspaper *Udant Martandhad* appeared from Koklata in 1830). In the words of Babu Rao Vishnurao Paradkar, the getup of newspapers improved, though the journalism disappeared. This can be understood well in the words of senior journalist Rambahadur Rai. In his view, this is the moral decline of journalism. In an essay, "HindiPatrakarita: Aachar aur Vyavhaar, he says, 'Newspapers' circulation has gone up. It has touched the digit of crores but now we hardly see any concern for the society in

newspapers? One has to search for it, because readers are taken to be consumers nowadays. These newspapers also have messed up the language, i.e. Hindi."³

A concept had been established there in regard to the globalisation and liberalization; that the main objective of the life is to promote one's economic interests and acquire strong economic security. The effect of this thinking is visible on the vernacular journalism of globalisation era. It is interesting that those newspapers too came forward to refuse the traditional values and accept this value of the new era, which had been set up to encourage the struggle for freedom along with its values. In 1920 the well-known freedom fighter of Varanasi Shivprasad Gupta started *Dainik Aaj* to spread nationalist ideology and to encourage Indian values. Till Independence, this newspaper remained a voice of the national movement but post-independence after nineties, deviation from the values of the freedom movement has become apparent in it. Here one should recall an incident related to Satyendra Kumar Gupta – the grandson of Shivprasad Gupta and later publisher and editor of the newspaper. Even today it is mentioned regarding golden days of the newspaper and value based journalism. Once he went into

production room to see the final page before it was going to print and saw a huge advertisement on the front page. He asked the editors if the readers buy the newspaper to read advertisement on the front page. Obviously, the editors and marketing personnels did not have a satisfactory answer to the question. Needless to say, Satyendra Gupta got the ad removed from the front page. But the same newspaper appears dull in the whirlwind of liberalisation. It has opened many channels for the revenue.

The owner of Los Angeles Times had announced, "the economy of American newspaper publication is based on advertisements, not on its sales." Since then it has been considered in the whole world that basic income of newspapers is advertisement. Indian newspapers are no different, therefore India's vernacular media also continuously awaits advertisements. However, in reality newspaper basically has been considered as reader oriented product. For this reason, attempts have been made to strike a balance between advertisement and content. A standard to keep it between forty sixty ratio has been accepted. But this ratio kept falling during liberalisation. Journals normally pander to follow the norms. Sometimes newspapers begin to appear as heaps of advertisements.

Achyutanand Mishra, founder Vice Chancellor of Makhanlal Chaturvedi National Journalism and communication University and Executive Editor of *Jansatta* used to say that in today's times newspapers are not published for news but for advertisements. There is a humorous saying that

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whatever space remains from the advertisements is news.

Regarding India's newspaper revolution, Robin Jeffrey says, "by 1994 new opportunities of getting advertisements arrived in regional, i.e. Indian languages and agencies started crying about lack of writers. When companies went to sell to sell their products to the people they came to know that in villages and towns, the goods can be sold only by using regional languages.⁴ In the era of globalisation, this thought proved effective for vernacular media. Its effect was that vernacular newspapers emphasised on increasing their circulation. Growing literacy rate also have played an important role in it. Robin Geoffrey says, "there started a race among newspapers to get maximum advertisements and they made and collected advertisements on their own."⁵

During the times of freedom struggle Hindi journalism was used to be called as 'jute journalism' and this adjective remained to continue for a long times after independence too. It is because most of the owners of big Hindi publications had jute business as their basic trade. Be it the Hindustan Times or the Indian Express, or the Times of India group, all had jute industry as their basic source of income. Hindi journalism used to be mocked as jute press. It was believed that Hindi press mostly protected the interests of jute industry. It will not be improper to say that even this reproach seems to be slight when one looks at the way not only Hindi, but entire vernacular press behaved during liberalisation era. In this era of liberalisation Hindi newspapers left behind even those English

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newspapers from whose soil the liberalisation originated. The roles of former US President Ronald Reagan and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher proved most important in encouraging liberalisation and globalisation. Both had their tenures almost together. After dissolution of the USSR and end of the cold war in 1990, both the leaders started a campaign to entwine the world economy with the thread of liberalisation. For this reason, the system of globalisation and liberalisation is also called Reagan-Thatcher system. Los Angeles Times is a newspaper in US. In last decade of the current century, it started an experiment. If one looks with the view of economic liberalisation, it was a revolutionary step. Newspaper management associated a marketing executive with the Incharge of every page and assigned them a target, making the page a source of better income. The management extended this arrangement even to the editorial page. Usually, this step should have been supported in the United States – the land of liberalization, but the journalist explicitly stood up against it. Their logic was that every page will carry the stories and articles of advertisers' choice. Under This system, the articles and thoughts liked by the advertisers

will appear even on editorial pages. Then what will happen with the American social values and newspaper's own policy?

Needless to say that Los Angeles Times management was forced to take back this proposal, at least from the editorial page. But Hindi newspapers have gone far from this. Even advertisements of the tenders appear on the editorial page of a largely circulated Kolkata Hindi daily. Editorial page used to sometimes disappear from a reputed Madhya Bharat daily, now it seems to be a matter of routine.

Citing this example does not mean that advertisers do not influence other Hindi newspapers. Even in Hindi the influence of the advertiser is more or less visible on every page. Big corporate houses and governments too are involved in it. Despite all these things, if some material, other than the choice of advertisers, finds space in newspapers, it is because of basic character of newspaper business. So far Hindi newspapers are not strong enough to declare openly that their newspaper is published for advertisers alone. It is because of the traditional character of the newspapers that promoters of newspapers and news channels are forced to say that biggest capital of their newspaper or

channel are their readers and viewers. If the newspaper readers or channels viewers will not be there, where will the advertiser go to sell his wares?

In post liberalisation era, Hindi media had completely indulged in serving American values. An overview of Hindi media reveals that this change has become more apparent after the announcement of a global war against terrorism by Gorge Bush junior that he made after the terrorist attacked New York's twin towers on September 11, 2001. After this the US government and its information systems established that the American system, culture and thinking alone is praiseworthy. A dominant system got established through this and Hindi media, too, appears to be influenced by this. Famous media thinker Noam Chomsky defines this his way. In an interview given to the Znet website, he said, our (American) culture is a higher one. Everybody thinks so. In a way, it is a culture of suppression”.

In globalisation era, the way the culture of praising America has spread, is a successful attempt by American media and their ruling system. Though, Indian vernacular media appears to be a bit different. It glorifies America, but not at the price of its own subnational culture.

Paradkar had said in an editors' conference in 1925, “It should not be forgotten that in the eyes of God we are proving to be graver criminals even than the criminals for giving an attractive description of crimes and by giving much importance to obscene news stories to seek profit by sale. A criminal gets punishment after committing a single atrocity and we expect a respectful place in society even after spoiling the interest of entire society.”⁶ This was the view of freedom movement for Hindi or Indian media. But in the age of globalisation, not only Hindi but entire Indian media considered it a fashion. It did not regret abandoning the thought which it has negated in

the nineties of the last century. Right before liberalisation and even after it for a short period, the largest circulated Hindi daily was Punjab Kesri. Seminude pictures of heroes and heroines used to appear on its front page. At that time, it was considered as a mean tactic for circulation. It is, however, different that in post-globalisation times other Hindi newspapers and magazines too did not hesitate a bit in accepting this tactic to increase their circulation. Australian media thinker Robin Jeffrey calls this tendency as Pujbakesarisation of Hindi press in his study *Newspaper Revolution in India*.

In the times of Pujbakesarisation of Hindi journalism kitsch topics came to the fore. From nude and semi-nude photographs to happenings inside bedrooms were openly being written about in newspaper pages. This is also one of the gifts of globalisation. Globalisation provided an opportunity to write about kitsch topics which were used to be the subjects of secretly bought and read publications. Senior journalist Sushil Trivedi sheds light on this subject in his essay titled *Bāzāra kī Patrakāritā banām Patrakāritā kā Bāzāra*. He says, “Along with the decline of journalism's morality, cheapness crept into the selection of subjects and the language that was adopted to express the subjects selected also cheapened.... lingual sacraments began to be ignored in journalism.”⁷

In the time of globalisation, there grew a tendency to take readers as consumers, rather than treating them to be thinking and understanding humans. Samir Jain, the Vice Chairman of the



Courtesy: <http://mediacultureandglobalization.yolasite.com/>

Time of India group, played an active role in advancing this thought. He openly says that newspapers are get published for advertisements. He considers newspaper a product. One can see its impact in the print line of his newspaper where in column of publisher's declaration printer, publisher and editor are declared as the printer, publisher and editor of a particular product for a particular market. Since Times group is in the leading position, so its influence is visible on other newspapers as well in this globalisation era. The effect of consumeristic thoughts looks like messing up with Hindi also. Rambahadur Rai says Hindi newspapers have also spoiled Hindi. The Globalisation has after all furthered the power of English language. Though, the sense of local identity has also added a sense of respect to one's own language. Even then some of the newspapers have encouraged the tendency to take to the adulterated Hindi, with a fervor of forcibly mixed English words. We, though, don't see the tendency in other vernacular newspapers. This commitment for one's culture and language is much visible in the Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, kannada speaking people. However, Hindi media comes out with interesting logic in favour of encouraging Hinglish. It says that since youngsters like it, therefore they are accepting it as a popular culture.

Before liberalisation, vernacular press played like a basis to toughen the bond of nationality, though it seems to be dwindling in this era of liberalisation. American author Selig Harrison had given a

Before liberalisation, vernacular press played like a basis to toughen the bond of nationality, though it seems to be dwindling in this era of liberalisation. American author Selig Harrison had given a concept in sixties. According to that concept of Harrison, as the educational standard will grow in India, so will the danger for Indian national state

concept in sixties.⁸ According to that concept of Harrison, as the educational standard will grow in India, so will the danger for Indian national state. He wrote, "In India, Centripetal and centrifugal forces will get dominant one by one, which can cause upheavals. Most of the damage will be caused to the freedom and in these most dangerous times the issue of the existence of Indian State will become central."⁹ In fact, Harrison felt that in India indigenous forces will wake up with the growing literacy and will harm the nation because of their complexes of the past. But what happened was just opposite. Vernacular publications including Hindi played a major role in rejecting Harrison's concept along with strengthening Indian polity. Robin Jeffrey's study on newspaper revolution in India too proves the same. According to this study, as circulation of Indian media grew and its reach grew to lesser educated people, the effect was reverse to the Harrison's thought. Indian system of governance got strengthened in the wake of newspaper revolution. Jeffrey writes in the preface of his study, "The revolution that came in Indian vernacular press worked for the unity of Indian state rather than breaking it."¹⁰

Surely those values also worked behind it which Francesca Orsini took as the

subject of her study. But after the storm of globalisation, a section of vernacular media looked deviating from this thought. Some of the leftist newsmen, writers and intellectuals started demanding for a referendum in Kashmir. Perhaps they see much progressive change under Naxalite system and bloodbath under it. Its counter, though, kept going on public level. Therefore, Hindi media could not absorb this change in that style through which public value of Hindi could be accepted.

Since television's expanse took pace with the process of globalisation, therefore vernacular newspapers incorporated the merits and demerits of TV media to maintain their relevance in the climate of competition. Under the pressure of rating points television emphasised on sensationalism, combining it with sex and focused on crime stories along with cinema news. What Sushil Trivedi calls cheapness of subjects, is more apparent in the television. It is mostly the television where Ram Bahadur Rai sees missing of the concerns.

British critic E. M. Foster has given a concept in his work *Aspects of Novel*. He opines that any work has to be local first in order to be international. In Indian context, though, this concept is lying there since thousands

of years. It is said in Indian perspective that a banyan tree with more roots is more sheltering. Anyway, in liberalisation and globalisation, the idea of being local got encouraged. The market of advertising played a major role in it. Since local touch in newspapers added to their circulation, their advertisement revenue was also went up and thus they started accentuating on being local. In globalisation era, it was Telugu newspaper Eenadu that started localisation. It appointed correspondents on tehsil level and provided them with fax machines. Eenadu went ahead with the idea of district newspaper. In Hindi, Amar Ujala accepted this trend and its effect became visible on its circulation. Despite several twists, turns, ups and downs, it reached to the villages of Uttarakhand. With the course of time, Entire Indian vernacular media adopted this trend of Eenadu. Doubtlessly, English got a boost in a part of the media, but also local language phrases got coined in this hurricane of localisation.

The basic voice of Hindi newspapers was the national sentiment up to the decade of 1970 that had a black chapter of emergency. But race of localisation threatened its weakening. Though Robin Jeffrey

finds in his study that even in growing localisation, nationalism grew in vernacular media. Jeffrey writes, "Along with expansion of Telugu newspapers what came out was the fact that on one hand they were proud of calling themselves Indian, they also have a pride of being Telugu. A Telugu newspaper says for itself that this is an Indian newspaper, published in Telugu. Similarly, Malayalam newspaper Mathrubhumi says that it is an Indian newspaper, published in Malayalam."¹¹

Despite this, one cannot deny the fact that on one hand lifelessness of Indian vernacular newspapers including Hindi increased in globalisation era; television was charged with creating sensational news on the other. It is believed that since Hindi television channels accepted theatrical culture in the line of formula-driven of Hindi cinema. Many times it showed routine incidents in a sensational manner and at times it raised the hell in the name of sting operations. To show liveliness and sensation on the small screen, sponsored news stories were searched. An essay titled *Udārīkaraṇa, Tamāśā culture aur Hindi ke khabariyā channel* sheds light on this trend. The essay says, "it is an effect of the theatrics on news channels

that a girl coming out of a Guwahati pub on July 9, 2011 was openly got molested.... It was encouraged to do so for the sake of a show. The charge was labeled on the correspondent of a local news channel... Two TV 9 correspondents were charged with provoking a man to commit suicide in Gujrat's Mehsana. In Delhi a teacher Uma Khurana was charged with pushing her students in prostitution on August 31, 2007."¹² In the same essay, some of the local correspondents from Varanasi were charged with instigating some disabled persons to commit suicide."

Globalisation has one more gift – the notion that everything is salable and grandeur is helpful in making anything salable. Therefore, TV channels accepted grandeur like movie sets of filmmaker Sanjay Leela Bhansali. The sets became grand but issues and concerns started disappearing from news. Since there were no issues, the thrust was on theatrics. In such a situation, where would concerns stood? This is, however, different when social pressure started increasing; channels had to put up a show for the formality of concerns. Though current age is that of information revolution therefore information is reaching the viewers and readers through several media incessantly. Therefore, viewers and readers also believe that channel or newspaper are either showing formality or just managing.

It is believed that the economic set up of news channels is responsible for the lack of concern developed in this age of liberalisation. It is believed that since the only source of their income is advertisements

The basic voice of Hindi newspapers was the national sentiment up to the decade of 1970 that had a black chapter of emergency. But race of localisation threatened its weakening. Though Robin Jeffrey finds in his study that even in growing localisation, nationalism grew in vernacular media. Jeffrey writes, "Along with expansion of Telugu newspapers what came out was the fact that on one hand they were proud of calling themselves Indian, they also have a pride of being Telugu

rather than the viewers, and advertisements are based on television rating points; therefore they are obliged to show the things in accordance with the choice of TRP giving viewers. In an essay published in November 2020 issue of media magazine *Aanchalik Patrakar* titled as *TRP ki Maya* this phenomenon has been explained in detail. It is said in the article, "In India, there are 912 TV channels, of which 384 are news channels while 528 channels are general entertainment channels. The market of media advertisements in India has touched 25.7 billion dollars. The share of TV's ad market is less than half of it i.e. 12.93 billion dollars. According to Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC) this comes out to be 32000 crores of rupees. In west, 60 per cent of the revenue of television channels comes from viewers' fee and balance 40 per cent comes from advertisements. Therefore, there, they have to keep the values of public sphere and interests of the consumer in mind while making their programmes."¹³

The same article also says that in India only a part of the income of channels is generated from subscription and paid by the viewers. Only 326 channels in India are paid channels which have to be subscribed, while 584 channels are free to air channels. According to BARC, in India, the market of television advertisements worths Rs.32000 crore, for which channels race with each other and make below standard programmes. In present system, a channel, which has more TRP, gets costlier ads; therefore every channel strives hard to get maximum TRP.

In the globalisation era, one can see a change in the basic tendency of the vernacular media. During the period of 1991 to 2014, media appears leaving concerns and worries far behind. Literature disappears from its pages. Its thrust is more visible on market culture and presenting absurdity with obscenity

Needless to say that the concerns get left behind in this race and market becomes dominant. If market becomes dominant factor, no one bother for the content. Since newspapers got scared of their circulation to go down when channels were emerging, so they not only took into the race with channels in content, they also emphasised much on the layout and makeup. The net result we see in the age of globalisation is that the maximum focus went on earning. Be it TV or newspaper, it is essential to improve the economic aspect but not that much so as to do away with content side and social concerns.

In the globalisation era, one can see a change in the basic tendency of the vernacular media. During the period of 1991 to 2014, media appears leaving concerns and worries far behind. Literature disappears from its pages. Its thrust is more visible on market culture and presenting absurdity with obscenity. At the same time, it also appears speaking in political terms at social and political level. Krishna Bihari Mishra says in his book *Patrakarita, Itihaas and Prashna*, "today's journalists are speaking in the way the politics likes and it is only to get favour of the power. Aiming at the curse of consumer culture, journalists who shout like politicians have themselves

become thirsty of professional rhetoric and consumer culture became their own culture"¹⁴

It would have been better if things would have remained still. But after 2014 vernacular journalism is appearing in a different hue. Western thinkers term the journalism of these times as post truth journalism. The leftist thinkers as a well thought strategy have termed it as Narendra Modi influenced or the one working at his behest, not only this, they have established this concept to an extent. It was also believed that Media is writing, speaking or showing only at the behest of Modi what the central government wants. Despite this, it is also true that in post truth era in both the forms of media, much of the opposition of present dispensation is apparent.

In this analysis one more fact needs attention. After liberalisation, campaigns like *Azadi Bachao, Swadeshi Jagaran Manch* and *Gene campaign* were launched. To save cottage industry along with traditional Indian system, tradition of knowledge and agriculture was the one and only objective behind these. It was the effect of these campaigns that they got cooperation from all quarters of media. But as economy went on to progress through liberalisation, the gravity of these campaigns began to diminish in the media. Though, when the products under

Indian knowledge tradition, like Ayurveda, Yoga, Indian food, Indian dresses and bio-products started being packaged beautifully and presented as a part of liberalised system, they began to get attention. This change in vernacular media cannot be easily accepted as normal tendency. Since the basis of journalism involved a predisposition of dissecting the events of the era and the society therefore its deviations due to globalisation will go on being analysed. In a way, modern journalism is an extension of it. Therefore, like Indian tradition its objective is welfare of all. Exposing the villains of the time automatically gets imbibed in it. Therefore, questions will have to be raised on these changes, most of which are deviated, that have crept in the journalism during globalisation.

A glance at vernacular journalism reveals that media could not remain untouched of the degeneration of culture that Dattopant Thengdi had visualised to be creeping in with globalisation. It did not even hesitate in giving up the traditional Indian values. The world of Hindi television is

going ahead on the diet of sex, cinema, crime and sensation along with theatrical culture. Since in the world of news channels Hindi media is in a leading role for vernacular journalism, therefore its thinking is clearly visible on vernacular news channels. During nineties in last century, television was called idiot box. The idiot box took to the glamour but values kept disappearing from it. The issues that were thought to be forbidden to discuss in public, became normal matters in Indian drawing rooms. This media has played a successful role in establishing the culture of absurdity into mainstream culture. The situation has reached such a sorry pass that questioning absurdity has become a sign of backwardness.

Since television media developed during the times of liberalisation and communication revolution too have contributed to it, this became the main medium of these times. Today be it Indian intelligentsia, economy or politics, television is determining the directions for all of those. The newspapers have also tried to become television within their limits to compete with it. In this

tradition they took to the values of fast paced medium of television. In this entire process, they did not hesitate to discuss those forbidden issues which cannot be discussed publicly or within family. Doubtlessly there are no such deep changes in society as TV or newspapers show or publish. But this is also true that they have been influencing on account of their vast reach. This has resulted in development of such a culture of nudity which is being considered as a synonym of fashion and modernity. In these times of globalisation media has accepted valuelessness (or worthlessness) to such an extent that new generation now considers this valuelessness as a value. Familial and societal values have been left aside. What Francesca Orsini calls public sphere of Hindi has been left far behind in the era of globalisation. However, this is a matter of grave concern for age old Indian culture. Responsible people of society will have to come forward to address this issue. Efforts are needed to be made to establish traditional Indian cultural, social and familial values. For this, a strong voice will have to be raised from the genre of media. ●

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- प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना में कुल ₹ 8646 करोड़ का भुगतान।
- 16 लाख किसानों से 1 करोड़ 29 लाख मीट्रिक टन गेहूं का रिकॉर्ड उत्पादन, ₹ 27000 करोड़ से अधिक का भुगतान।
- पिछले 8 माह में 2 करोड़ 10 लाख किसानों को विभिन्न योजनाओं में ₹ 46000 करोड़ से अधिक का भुगतान।
- उर्वरकों का अग्रिम भण्डारण।
- पिछले 8 माह में लगभग ₹ 8000 करोड़ से अधिक की 7सिंचाई परियोजनाओं की स्वीकृति।
- 2002-03 में प्रदेश का कुल सिंचित रकबा मात्र 7 लाख 50 हजार हेक्टेयर था, जिसे 15 साल में बढ़ाकर 40 लाख हेक्टेयर तक कर दिया।
- 15 वर्षों में सिंचाई बजट ₹ 1005 करोड़ से बढ़ाकर ₹ 10,928 करोड़ किया गया।
- तीन वर्षों में 1000 नये "कृषि उत्पादक संगठन" का होगा गठन।
- शून्य व्याज दर पर ऋण योजना वर्ष 2020-21 में पुनः प्रारंभ।
- मंडी नियमों में ऐतिहासिक सुधार। मंडी टैक्स 1.5% से घटाकर 0.5% किया गया।
- सहकारी बैंकों की वित्तीय स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए ₹ 800 करोड़ जारी।

“
किसान मेटे लिये भगवान हैं,
हम उनकी सेवा में
कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ेंगे।
”

- शिवराज सिंह चौहान

सशक्त किसान, समृद्ध खेती, आत्मनिर्भर मध्यप्रदेश



श्री नरेंद्र मोदी, प्रधानमंत्री



आत्मनिर्भर भारत



श्री शिवराज सिंह चौहान, मुख्यमंत्री



Atman_MP@23

मुख्यमंत्री किसान कल्याण
योजनान्तर्गत

5 लाख किसानों को 100 करोड़ रुपये का लाभ वितरित

समृद्ध एवं सुरक्षित भविष्य की राह पर मध्यप्रदेश में कृषि और किसान

पिछले 8 माह में 2 करोड़ 10 लाख किसान हितग्राहियों को विभिन्न योजनाओं के तहत 46 हजार करोड़ रुपए से अधिक की राशि अंतरित।



कृषि का विकास आत्मनिर्भर मध्यप्रदेश की सुनिश्चिता का निर्माण करने नेता है। कृषि को लाभ का धंध बनाने के लिए मध्यप्रदेश सरकार द्वारा हर संभव प्रयास किये जा रहे हैं। कम लागत से ज्यादा उत्पादन, उपज का सही दाम, सिंचाई सुविधाएँ, कृषि इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर तथा छोटी में आधुनिक तकनीकों का उपयोग सुनिश्चित कर किसानों के जीवन में सन्धि और खुशहाली लाना हमारा सर्वोच्च संकल्प है।

शिवराज सिंह चौहान

कृषि को उन्नत बनाने के लिए किए गए प्रयास

- कृषि उपोत्सवका विकास फंड में मध्यप्रदेश देश में सबसे अगले। उपोत्सवका विकास के लिए आत्मनिर्भर कृषि विकास का मॉडल।
- प्रधानमंत्री किसान सम्मान निधि में पांच किसानों को फंड सरकार द्वारा प्रतिवर्ष मिलने वाली 6 हजार रुपए की राशि पर प्रोड सरकारी फंड के किसानों में प्रतिवर्ष 4 हजार रुपए की अतिरिक्त सहायता। किसानों को अब प्रतिवर्ष 10 हजार रुपए की सहायता।
- प्रधानमंत्री किसान सम्मान निधि के पांच किसानों को फंड सरकार द्वारा 33.48 करोड़ रुपए तथा प्रति सरकारी फंड 3500 करोड़ रुपए की राशि का मुआवजा।
- प्रधानमंत्री फसल बीमा योजना के तहत वर्ष 2018-19 में 18.86 लाख किसानों को 3228 करोड़ रुपए वर्ष 2019-20 में 23.59 लाख किसानों को 5418 करोड़ रुपए तथा राशि का मुआवजा।
- अतिरिक्त की कृषि निधि के कार्ड उपाज के कुल 50 दिनों में लगभग 16 लाख किसानों को 7 करोड़ 29 लाख रुपए का मुआवजा मध्यप्रदेश के मध्य में सबसे अधिक मुआवजा करने का काम।
- उपाज के वर्ष में प्रोड के किसानों के 2300 में 27 हजार करोड़ रुपए से अधिक की राशि अंतरित।
- मूल्य स्थिर दर पर काय योजना का वर्ष 2019-20 के लिए विभाजनवर्ष। वर्ष 2020-21 में भी दिग् जाने का निर्णय।
- उपोत्सव के मध्य बीमा के लिए 100 करोड़ रुपए की राशि।

आत्मनिर्भर रोजगार के लक्ष्य आगामी तीन वर्षों में किए जाने वाले प्रयास

- किसानों की उत्पादकता में वृद्धि तथा विविधीकरण।
- कृषि में अधिकतम प्रयोग हेतु नवीन तथा उन्नत तकनीक के कृषि क्षेत्र में रीप उपयोग को प्रोत्साहित करना।
- कृषि उपोत्सवका का विकास ताकि परेपु एवं विदेशी उपोत्सवकों हेतु उत्पादन एवं कुशल वितरण तंत्र को सहायता मिले।
- प्रमाणात वैश्विक कृषि उत्पादन में बढ़ोतरी।
- एक राष्ट्र एक बाजार के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए कृषि विभाग कर्मचारी में सुधार।
- कृषि एवं उपोत्सवका उत्पादकों का मूल्य संरक्षण।
- पशुपालन विकास।
- छात्री में हेक्टो जनसाव का विकास।
- अतिरिक्त सेक्टर हेतु मूल्य पालन एवं रेशन पालन विकास।



समृद्ध किसान, समृद्ध मध्यप्रदेश