

Manthan

Journal of Social & Academic Activism



Media Special-2



DIGITAL INDIA LEADING THE WAY TO AN **AATMANIRBHAR BHARAT**



"AatmaNirbhar Bharat or Self-Reliant India is not an India of isolation nor an inward-looking country. It is an India that enhances its capacity and develops a strong ecosystem as well as a robust supply chain linked with the global economy."

Ravi Shankar Prasad
Hon'ble Minister of Electronics & Information Technology,
Communications and Law & Justice, Government of India



*Today,
India is rapidly moving
towards becoming a
digitally empowered
society. Information
Technology is being used
not only to simplify
processes but also to
ensure transparency and
quality of services.*

Narendra Modi
Prime Minister of India



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Guest Editor

Sh. Achyutanand Mishra

Manthan

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Media Special-2

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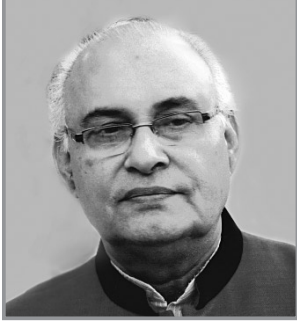
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Dr. Ramesh Raghunath Patange An MA in Political Science and Economics from Mumbai University, Dr. Patange has been associated with the Sangh since his very childhood. He was the editor of the weekly Vivek and president of the Hindustan Prakashan Sanstha. Dr. Patange has been incessantly writing in both Marathi and Hindi. He has authored a total of more than thirty books and edited several others.

Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma Former MP (Rajya Sabha). Member of Central Executive Committee of BJP, National Convener of the Deendayal Prashikshan Mahabhiyan. Edited the Complete Works of Deendayal Upadhyaya in 15 volumes in Hindi and English. Contact: Mahesh.chandra.sharma@live.com

Editorial



Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma

I am grateful to one and all for having welcomed Part One of the Media Special issue of *Manthan*. The knowledgeable and accomplished authors of *Manthan* write after much research, and hence their articles become worthy of being preserved. I extend my greetings to all authors. The Media Special issue—Part Two—is in your hands. The contributors have worked quite hard and shared notes in adorning this issue. The index of this issue has been prepared with all-round analysis with the latest information. Relevant and proper information regarding inspirational great figures of journalism could also be collated in this issue. Our guest editor respected Achyutanand Mishra and Sri Rambahadur Rai worked tirelessly to enable the publication of an outstanding issue. I salute both these veterans.

Dr. Manmohan Vaidya, Sah-Sarkaryavah of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, has written a noteworthy article for this issue, exploring the Indian path of journalism and bringing to light the peculiarities of the Western environment. There was an opportunity to have an enlightening discourse with him in this regard, for which I accord my gratitude. I also thank all the authors of the issue.

Our country, especially its public and academic sector, has a special status. Our assessment has become generally westernized. We therefore, have to understand subjects through the mode of translation. There is no Indian or indigenous concept of either dialogue or dissemination of news available to us. Also, we find ourselves generally unable to understand Indian technical terminology. Sadly, for us, even the indigenous term '*Samachar*' is nothing more than a translation of the term 'news'. There are four words for this in Indian literature: 1) *Vārtā* 2) *Pravṛtti* (disposition) 3) *Vṛttānt* (account or episodal narration) and 4) *Udanta* (arisen or awoken). The first ever Hindi newspaper was titled *Udanta Mārtanda*, meaning 'the sun of news'. Often, people think that it means a 'rising sun', which in fact, is not. Some narratives of those Indian concepts have been taken up in Dr. Manmohan Vaidya's article in this issue.

Interpretations oriented towards the Indian way, at times seem a tad too idealistic to people. This too needs to be understood. Every society imparts some basis to its behaviour. Indian thinking holds that the ideal alone can be the measure of rationality of conduct. Therefore, conduct devoid of ideals cannot said to be compatible with our values. In the context of the media, this issue is a research-oriented effort to draw the contours Indian situation as regards policy regulation on this issue. You too are welcome to this forum of contemplation.

The canvas of what we know today as the media has extended far beyond the element of mere news gathering and dissemination. It is difficult to get a measure of this spread. Only a few selected aspects of this phenomenon can be included in these issues of *Manthan* published in two parts. If we set out to fully assess this subject, many texts on it can be produced. That would indeed entail a research-oriented endeavour. I sincerely hope you like this issue as well. Kindly do read this and convey to us your views on the same.

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Guest Editorial

Challenges and Perils of Ambition



Achyutanand Mishra

Among the powers of the Almighty or Nature, the very life of the universe is the power of motion. Whether it is air or light, environment or energy, its experience accrues from motion and mobility. Like fire and the wheel, society and language, literature, art and culture are man's great inventions. Introduction to their many forms too happens through the medium of communication. There is an experience of pleasure from the language of literature, music and art. Nature is defined by the terminology of the environment. The language of science dispels the myths born of ignorance. It is the expression of what is unexpressed that is considered to be the motion of language and a miracle.

Humankind's desire to know, conduct dialogue and express itself inspired the creation of literature from time immemorial. Journalism began its journey by following language, literature and expression. Criticism, whether it be in literature or journalism, is of a similar genre. If fearlessness is the optimum feature of journalism, then incisive criticism is its dharma. Literature is not only the medium of communication, but also the conduit of truth that is inherent in speech and creativity, which shakes up the reader and listener and agitate him to stand up for truth. Like the truth of literature, in journalism too, the test of truthfulness of facts is its first condition. There is a difference between the language of literature and that of journalism. Its intervention in literature by way of critique carries a touch of the personable and is constructive, whereas aggression in the language of journalism probably occurs because the editor or writer comments with the aim of shaking up the establishment.

The Renaissance, the movement of the Reformation in religion and the scientific and Industrial Revolution in Europe brought unprecedented changes in the intellectual, social, political and economic environment in that part of the world. The modern form of both democracy and the media is the product of the scientific and Industrial Revolution of Europe. Democracy, which Greek philosopher Aristotle considered to be the weakest political philosophy, was declared to be the social, political, economic construct against monarchy as an alternative fundament. The history of Europe in the early 17th century, i.e., from 1605 to 1665, saw many ups and downs. Raymond Williams outlined this. The period of the English monarch Charles (I) is considered to be important in the era of confrontation between the monarchy and Parliament. He reigned

from 1649 to 1685 after which the revolution of 1688 happened, following which William and Mary came to the throne. The media played a very big role in this uprising and change of leadership. After this success of the mass movement, the popularity of the press i.e., the media increased but when it started writing against Members of Parliament who held special privileges, all of them turned against the media. There was a ban on publishing the proceedings of Parliament. It was the outcome of this struggle that on March 11, 1702 the first daily newspaper Daily Courant was published. While on the one hand there was a struggle against monarchy, feudalism and the authority of the Pope in Europe, on the other hand, these countries of Europe established imperialism by enslaving the countries of Asia and Africa. This was also an ongoing phase of ruthless genocides and economic loot. The revolutions of America and France played a leading role in establishing democracy and power of the media. Media and democracy were inspired by moral ideals in the final years of the 18th century until the period of revolutions. The leaders of the Indian independence movement did use the techniques of Western media in the awakening of the people, but their standards and ideals were different. European journalism had become professional under the influence of the Industrial Revolution at that time, but journalists and journalism in India had not taken the form of business. Freedom fighters waging the struggle for independence were also ideal men of society in literature, culture, politics and the media. Their life and ideals were inspired by not only Indian philosophy but indeed, by that of all of humanity. The lives and struggles of Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, Swami Shradhdhanand, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lokmanya and Tilak, Bipinchandra Pal, Yogi Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi can be understood only in their totality. Such great men had performed the task of public education through the media in creating public resistance against British colonial rule and its system. This cannot be defined by reducing it to a movement of any single organization or ideology. Mahatma Gandhi in fact, rejected the very way of functioning of British democracy and the Western media. The great men of that era adopted journalism to establish the highest traditions of nationality with the help of education of the people, public awareness, swadeshi and popular struggle. Self-reliance, self-respect and fearlessness in struggle too are the ideals for journalism. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his autobiography, "The newspaper is a mighty force but an unrestrained pen creates destruction like an unchecked flow of water. Internal checks are necessary because external shackles are extremely toxic". In India, while there was support for the freedom of expression in journalism, there was the urge for truth and morality in it. This was a feature of the Indian independence struggle, whereas in those days the publishing of newspapers had taken the form of an industry over the world and publications were busy competing for monopoly. The number of small newspapers and magazines was rapidly decreasing due to two or two world wars. The number of newspapers in America came down from 15,000 to a mere 1,749. The debate about the role of media has been going on for a long time whether the media, which has laid the groundwork for history, should be seen as a highly profitable industry and political power or be placed in the category of an institution dedicated to social service as the media itself keeps claiming.

After the Second World War, given the changing role of media, the increasing influence of capital and technology in its development, global politics, social and economic pressures, the circumstances of diplomacy and war, and the cultural diversity of different countries, there has been constant debate experts in the field of communication all over the world. A debate of this kind is still going on today as to whether the media is complementary to democracy or obstructive. In the democratic constitutions of the world, it has been accepted in principle that it is highly essential to allow freedom of expression to the media for the success of democracy. But the Constitution of India has not given any such privilege to the media. It is a part of the right of the common citizen. Several principles regarding the media have been put forth for democratic participation. The well known book *Four Theories of the Press* by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm published in 1956, discussed the social responsibility of media and the theory of its functioning. 27 years later, in 1983, the communication scholar Dennis McQuail proposed the theory of development and the principle of democratic participation. During this period, efforts were also made for political, economic and cultural participation in the world. On the other hand, many countries were strengthened where the freedom of citizens and media were made to dance like puppets at the behest of the state, gained in strength. The first and final compulsion of media in countries with communist rule is to go along with the decisions of the state. Lenin considered the media to be the biggest weapon to keep public opinion in his favour. In this way, the media has been made a part of the political dictatorship by implementing the system of censorship and pre-censorship. The recommendation of the Royal Commission and Press Council set up in Britain in 1947 and the Hutchins Commission of the United States of America in the same year, known as the Commission on Freedom of the Press, to adhere to media accountability and ethics of society was accepted after much debate. Other democratic countries including India had given it a significant place in the system. In 1980, UNESCO, the well-known organization of the United Nations, constituted the MacBride Commission to emphasize the democratization of international media, whose recommendations were not accepted by many developed countries. A period of institutionalization of information-imperialism and cultural colonialism began along with a tussle for the dominance of means between the media of developed countries and that of developing countries. Issues such as democratic participation and decentralization fell behind in the period of ideology and agenda setting, and the phase of the revolution in satellite communication established the practice of 'public agenda', 'policy agenda', as well as 'media agenda'. The agenda of the public interest is still constantly weakening and lagging behind. That is why the biggest issue of debate in the entire world today is on how helpful and useful the changed media is in the establishment of democracy. Looking at the preponderance of the economic model of the media, the question is also being asked as to whether it is possible to apply the principle of the freedom of expression in today's media.

In India's independence movement, the media of that era played an epoch-making role. Nationalist thought, the idea of swadeshi and efforts to become self-reliant immortalized the historical role of newspapers of that era. But in

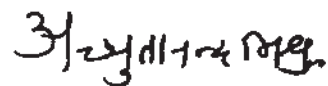
independent India, the media, with the help of capital, technical and government institutions, has constantly shed its credibility, ignoring the basic issues like poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, health and so on. The Indian media's craven surrender to the ruling regime during the Emergency was proof that the media, which walked in the name of development and freedom of expression, continued to become undemocratic despite its growing power and prosperity. The last two decades of the 20th century are considered to be the most important in the development and history of Indian media, whereas the media, without announcing it, changed its model from public service to that of an industry. Following the glut of foreign capital investment and electronic channels, the media has all but made it its objective to buy whatever is for sale in the market and sell whatever it can. Without declaring it to be so, this is the agenda of today's media; its real power lies in strengthening its ties with politics and friendly relations with all corporate houses. Media houses have wholeheartedly embraced the business model of paid news. The electoral media too, is not included under the purview of the Press Council's ethical regulation. Politics, the government and political parties have suggested no legal way to make the media accountable, while media owners—according to what they say—declare themselves 'ready to introspect' but in actuality, are reluctant to do so. The media of the 21st century is actually totally under the control of web portals and social media platforms. In this era, along with paid news, the trend of fake news, (rumour-mongering), and hate news too has rapidly proliferated. Its beneficiaries and victims keep changing from time to time, though. Governments and courts are not demonstrating the resolve to regulate these trends. Take the most recent example of the farmers' agitation; the rumour being propagated on social media is that the implementation of the new agricultural laws will end the system of the minimum support price (MSP) and the farmers' lands will be taken away from them. This propaganda on social media is being done only to spread confusion and make the government bend.

Today's global media, including the Indian media, faces many serious allegations. A return to the rich media traditions of the 19th and 20th centuries seems impossible to even think of, as the media of the 21st century, particularly social media, has become an arbitrary corporate entity in itself, engendering manipulations that threaten society, power, politics and the economy. The form of its ownership has changed and so has the structure of its industry and trade. Newspapers today are no longer accused only of making money by inflating their TRP figures in their sales statistics or channels. They now face serious allegations like fudging and selling statistics to satiate their audience's interests and trends. No editor of any newspaper, media personnel employed in channels nor any slogan of national development is able to bring about any sort of cohesion. The late APJ Abdul Kalam, a popular former President, in 2006 had dreamt of a 'Mission for Media'. He had envisioned that by 2020, the media would provide solutions by participating in the process of national development and initiating a nationwide debate on complex national issues. The whole country knows to what extent his dream has been realized by the media. The assurance of self-regulation on the part of the electronic and social media is also a disappointing one. Meanwhile, there have also been many experiments like 'alternative

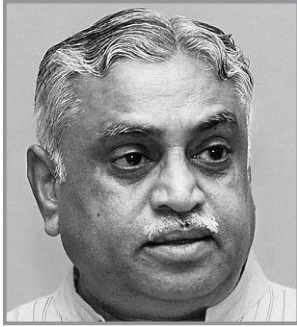
journalism' and 'citizen journalism'. Citizen journalism too has not been able to convince the mainstream of media that its real power rests with its readers and audience, not in the institutions of power. Even their falling credibility does not seem to be able to curb the media. The element of truth and morality in the conduct of political parties, big corporate houses and institutions of power is steadily decreasing. The MacBride Commission took serious note of this danger. Accepting that information and communication is a political weapon, it widely discussed the nature of their integral relationship. The Commission also discussed in its report how the relationship between communication and (political) power and communication and freedom should be.

This is also having a direct impact on the operators of the media. The expansion of electronic channels and the spread of social media have empowered unrestrained freedom of expression. While their attraction and captivating impetus have made them more effective, the negative thinking arising from them has also continuously increased. While on one hand an impression of awakening on political, economic and social issues has been generated, market culture and values too have been aroused in the form of ambition. Will any new media council, a third press commission or attempts at self-regulation bring about a qualitative and democratic reform in the structure of the ownership of today's media? Perhaps this too is the most important question and challenge today.

Eminent research journals like Manthan have attracted the attention of readers with a wide range of media-centric topics in two special issues. The media, which is the life-force of democracy, people's interests and aspiration, is itself struggling against the dangers to its own preservation. The freedom of expression has become a fundamental human right and the most valuable attainment of democracy, which today is beset by challenges. To put this vehicle back on track, meaningful but essential intervention by readers, viewers and citizens is necessary.



Achyutanand Mishra



Dr. Manmohan Vaidya

News is that which Enhances

There is fundamental distinction between the Indian and Western outlook on life. In the same way, both have different views towards news. An introspective look into how true Indian news institutions are to the Indian outlook on news and its dissemination...

I have been asked to write on the topic “News—Indian and Western concepts” for the Media issue of *Manthan* magazine. In the present media, things like false news, agenda journalism, a vulture mentality and media trials in the name of competitive news collection are also seen to be associated. Most of these phenomena, it seems, are due to the lack of an Indian vision of news, or the influence of the Western outlook. Getting rid of them is a challenge for the news world.

I do not know much about the Western outlook regarding the purveying of news. But it would be the Indian and non-Indian view of life that might be imparting a different paradigm to the outlook on news and the media. There is a fundamental difference between the two worldviews which Fritzoff Capra, the well-known American nuclear scientist, stated in the following words:

Fritzoff Capra notes:

“The paradigm that is now receding has dominated our culture for several hundred years. During which it has shaped our modern Western society and has significantly influenced the rest of the world. This paradigm consists of number of entrenched ideas and values, among them the view of the Universe as a mechanical

system composed of elementary blocks, view of human body as a machine, the view of life in society as competitive struggle for existence, belief in unlimited material, economic and technological growth, and last not the least—the belief that a society in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male is one that follows a basic law of nature. These entire assumptions have been fatefully challenged by recent events. And indeed a radical revision of them is occurring.”

“The new paradigm may be called a holistic world view, seeing the world as an integrated whole rather than a dissociated collection of parts. It may also be called an ecological view, if the term ecological is used in a much broader and deeper sense than usual. Deep ecological awareness recognizes the fundamental interdependence of all phenomena and the fact that as individuals and societies we are all embedded in (and ultimately depend on) the cyclic process of nature.

Ultimately, deep ecological awareness is spiritual or religious awareness. When the concept of the human spirit understood as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels a sense of belonging, of connectedness, to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is spiritual in

its deepest essence. It is therefore not surprising that the emerging new vision of reality based on deep ecological awareness is consistent with the so-called perennial philosophy of spiritual traditions.”¹

The new concepts Fritzoff Capra has talked about (new paradigm) are the Indian way of life when viewed in a different light.

Almost everyone is well acquainted with the Western concept of news. I shall therefore, talk only about the Indian concept. The Indian outlook on life lies at the core of the Indian concept of news. If we understand it and its features, it would become easy to understand the Indian concept of news.

The specialty of the Indian outlook of life is that its basis is spirituality. This is why it is integral and holistic. That is why it is connected with the entire universe and is interdependent. It was because of this that a distinctive ethos of India i.e., Indian society came into being. There are four main characteristics of this distinctive persona or identity. The first—which we believe—is symbolized by the dictum *Ekam Sat Viprah Bahudha Vadanti*, which means “Truth is one; the wise call it by many names”. There can be different ways to realize it and they are all similar. Second, the

same consciousness is expressed in various forms. Therefore, India has the vision that is essential to realize the unity which is at the core of the outwardly apparent diversity.² The third feature, which is related to this subject, is that there is divinity in every person. Every soul is potentially divine. The very goal of human life is to manifest the divinity within by controlling nature internal and external, through different paths and to attain liberation. It has to be done by work, worship, psychic control or meditation; any of these four or more, or all of these and become free. As *moksha* or becoming free of worldly bondage is the final goal of life, all activities in India are meant to proceed in this direction. This is why it is said about knowledge: “*Sā Vidyā Yā Vimuktayē*”, i.e., “Knowledge is that which sets free”; the same can also be said about art, i.e., “*Sā Kalā Yā Vimuktayē*”, etc.

What does it mean to be free? It means the step by step ascension to the consciousness that one is a part of, the consciousness that is itself a part of the consciousness pervading all creation. Open the eyes and shorten the “I”. When the “I” is reduced, the circumference of “we” gradually expands. This extended consciousness then begins to feel oneness with oneself, one’s family, neighborhood, society, village,

district, state, and country, all of humanity, the non-human creation and the entire universe. Despite one’s distinct existence, its realization culminates into this feeling of oneness with all. That is why Sant Tukaram Maharaj says: “*Vṛkṣa vallī āmhā soire vanacare*”³ (trees, vegetation, the denizens of the forest are all my relatives). It then becomes natural for the being to feel like arise and do something for those who the being feels are its own. This sense of belonging—for those who are not ours—to do something for them, to give to them, is called dharma. Dharma is not ‘religion’ as used in English. We can denote religion by the terms worship, sect or faith. Dharma does not discriminate among anyone. Dharma is that which connects everyone and binds everyone together, keeps them together and sustains everyone. Doing something for society or giving it to it with a sense of belongingness is called dharma.

Sister Nivedita, a disciple of Swami Vivekananda has said: “The society in which people do not keep the reward of their labour only to themselves but give it to society becomes endowed and prosperous on the basis of such social capital gathered. And when the society becomes endowed and prosperous, every individual of the society becomes rich and prosperous. But in a society where an individual does not offer the remuneration of his labour to society but keeps it only to himself, some people become do prosperous but society remains impoverished. Giving some or all of one’s wealth, labour or time enriches social capital. That is why it is said that by undertaking

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acts of dharma, by practicing it, dharma itself gets enriched and it arranges for the well being of all. When dharma is safeguarded, it protects everyone. The reason is that dharma is not discriminatory, nor does it discriminate against anyone. It is said, “*Dharmo Rakṣati Rakṣitah*”, i.e., “Those who protect dharma are protected by it”.

Another feature of India is that state power has never been paramount in India. The welfare state has never been a tradition of India. Only few important issues of society were subject to regulation by the state; for the majority of issues, society had its own systems independent of the state. This is what Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore has said in his essay “Swadeshi Samaj”: “The society which is least dependent on the state for its needs is the “Swadeshi society”. Therefore, capital of the society is enriched by performing dharma. Society can operate its systems on the basis of this social capital, independent of the state. Most systems of the society run on the basis of the capital acquired by dharma. In this sense, our society was based on or situated in dharma.

Right now the whole world is struggling against the crisis brought on by the Corona virus. But India’s fight against Corona is different from the fight in many countries of the world, and is unique. The power of the state is paramount in most countries of the world. All the systems of society are based on the power of the state. That is why it has acquired the nomenclature welfare state. In such a calamity, the state system and administration are also particularly active, and people too



Courtesy: <https://www.scotbuzz.org/2017/12/samachar.html>

wait for the governmental system to become active. The scenario in India is distinct from this. In our country’s tradition, society has an independent existence and intricate network. It has its own systems. Together, we have become the “We”.

Earlier we were slaves of the British. We became independent on 15 August 1949. We accepted the current constitution from 26 January 1950 onwards. However, before independence, the continuation of this ‘us’ who have accepted the constitution is our real identity. There were invasions; our rulers were defeated, and there was rule by aliens. But this ‘us’ was never defeated.

This is ‘We’, our society, i.e., our nation. It has to be understood that this is different from the “nation state” of the West. When

former President Dr. Pranab Mukherjee came to Nagpur to address Sangh swayamsewaks, he stated the same thing. Mukherjee said, “The Indian concept of a nation-based nation of the West and the Indian concept of a nation based on the Indian vision are different”. That is why, at the time of any manmade or natural disaster in India, the society also is seen active in the task of relief and restoration along with the administration.

During this unprecedented crisis of Coronavirus, security personnel, doctors, nurses, other medical assistants, sanitation workers and other representatives of the administrative setup have all discharged their functions with total dedication. They continued to perform their duties sincerely, well aware of the possibility of infection of this contagious

disease while going about their work. Many personnel were infected as well; some losing their lives serving on this front. It is therefore apt to term them “Corona warriors”.

But along with these government and semi-government employees, a large section of the society has been continuously active in the entire country from the first day till today, even putting their own lives in danger. Although it is not part of their responsibility, nor are they expected to obtain anything in return, they have been performing this task motivated by a sense of social responsibility and of belonging that “It is my duty to help my society in times of crisis”. This is the feeling of “We are part of the nation”. Engaging in relief work at the time of natural disasters like floods, earthquakes and doing so in the hour of this contagious disease, being aware of the possibility of oneself becoming infected, are different commitments. This active participation of the society has been the uniform all over the country. It is a reflection of an awakened, active national power.

4 lakh 80 thousand swayamsewaks of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh have distributed ration kits to crores of families through Seva Bharati at 85,701 locations from Arunachal

Pradesh to Kashmir and Kanyakumari, distributing crores of food packets to the needy, and millions of masks. More than 40 thousand units of blood have been donated, millions of migrant labourers have been assisted, as well as nomadic tribes, transgender individuals, sex workers, monkeys and animals reared in religious places and reliant upon pilgrims too have been aided. Swayamsewaks have carried out aid programmes in many places by visiting infected settlements. Irrespective of which party is in government, swayamsewaks have rendered the help sought by the administration in all states. Be it crowd management or registration of the names of the migrant workers, swayamsewaks have carried out innumerable tasks at the call of administration.

It is unfortunate that there is an ongoing effort to create a narrative based on completely untrue and unfounded statements about the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh that is dedicated in such a manner to public welfare, solely through the glasses of a specific ideology. It is in this context that an incident is recalled.

Once, at a programme of the Communist Party in Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh, the daughter of a communist leader, herself also a communist, made a statement

that the RSS temples was going to be built in Uttar Pradesh to commemorate the birth centenary of Nathuram Godse. In a particular English newspaper, which has more circulation in South India, this news was carried in three columns. Now it is common decency that that communist politician does not have the right to announce any programme of the *Sangh*. And if she did say so, it was the journalistic ethic and *dharma* of that reporter (if at all the Left believes in *dharma*!) to have got any such statement verified by an authorized person of the *Sangh*. But this did not happen. When the people of the *Sangh* challenged that statement in the Press Council, the magazine was forced to accept that this news was baseless and untrue and had to publish a confirmation to that effect.

Despite such incidents, there should be strength in the society that is constant and powerful on its own, which can face any disaster, for which the *Sangh* is constantly working in the society.

Not only the *Sangh*, but many social, religious institutions, monasteries, temples, gurudwaras have all given their participation in this social endeavour of the struggle against Corona from place to place. Apart from the government machinery, this is society's own system. This has taken place only in India.

Outside of India, where social activism has been seen helping society in the time of the Covid-19 pandemic in many countries, it is generally Indians who have settled there who have been active in this regard.

This is the particularity of India; this is the Indian way of

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life. All of this is possible only because of the awakened feeling “We are part of the nation”. It is only because of this awakened feeling that this society, which speaks various languages, known by its many castes and worships various deities, is one society in the whole of India. The feeling that “We are one; we have been one” has been present since ancient times. It is this feeling of I being an integral component of this greater ‘we’ that inspires us to become active for the society even to the extent putting ourselves in peril, without seeking any fame or other reward. The awakening of the feeling that the entire society, be it any caste, residing in any state of India, educated, illiterate, wealthy, impoverished, rural, urban, forest-dwelling or living in cities, is my own, is the awakening of the nation. I, my family, neighbourhood, village, district, state, country, the whole world, the whole inert and mobile creation, all these are respectively the expanding and evolving realm of my consciousness. There is no conflict among them; they are complementary, and it should be my endeavour to achieve coordination among them. This has been the eternal, all-encompassing thought of India, based on spirituality. It is this way of thought that has given India a unique identity in the world for many millennia. That is why all of ‘us’ continue to expand the periphery of affinity by associating with its different units. It is this feeling of togetherness that motivates us to be naturally active during such times of crisis. The fabric of the society that is woven due to this creates a society.

But many times it is seen that

due to lack of understanding and of sensitivity of this feeling of forging a society, events are presented in a distorted or discriminatory way, in the form of news.

Once, a leading English newspaper reported that in a village in Haryana, people of the *Dalit* community were refused to participate in the Holi programme. I asked our chief of propagation of the Haryana region to ascertain the facts, upon which he informed me that the entire village had participated in the Holi celebrations. Only 4 four or five youngsters who had become drunk after consuming liquor were disallowed from participating. Those young men belonged to the Scheduled Castes. But all the other members of that caste had participated in the Holi event. Those who were not allowed to participate were prevented not because they belonged to a particular caste, but because they were creating a ruckus after having turned drunk. A clarification was then issued by the *sarpanch* of that village. I do not say that there occurs no discrimination on the basis of caste anywhere. Unfortunately, such things might be happening somewhere, which should certainly be opposed. But it was not so in this instance. Had that particular reporter verified the

reality of this event, then the false piece of news that created caste maliciousness would not have been published.

Such distorted presentation not only disrupts the process of forging a society, but also degrades journalistic ethics. This task of building a society is not accomplished in an instant, nor does it happen on its own. The endeavour of forging a society takes place consciously and is a result of continuous and natural effort over a long period of time. It becomes possible only after generations have passed. Take the example of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, whose very endeavour is to create a sense of unity in the whole society, weave it into a single strand and make it strong. Five generations of *Sangh* activists have been expended in the fruition of the vast expansion, influence and organized power we witness and feel today. Thousands of people have virtually sunk their entire lives, holding one single task as a mission. The lives of innumerable young people have been consumed like camphor going up in smoke, and it is only then that this outcome is visible. Not only the *Sangh*, innumerable socio-religious institutions, teachers, businesspersons, citizens engaged in various occupations, especially innumerable housewives, are

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making a very fundamental contribution to this national awakening. The only difference is that one can see and feel this nationwide organized strength, due to the *Sangh*.

Not only the media, every individual, institution and organization working in different areas of the society should maintain a constant awareness of the feeling that “I am also an integral part of this society” and should regulate all his or her activities. Of course, there is competition in life. But competition is not the only thing present. This society, which has been functioning for a long time, its fabric, its existence independent of the state, the coordination, harmony and co-operation necessary for its have to be sustained. Keeping the peripheries of this trinity in mind, one should remain alert and awakened to perform one’s work in this periphery. It is also necessary to be careful that this tapestry, which has taken countless years and generations to be created, does not come apart in this competitiveness and pursuit of only self-interests. Believing that one has nothing to do with this society, and only has to look to one’s benefit and reward is not the Indian world view. One must regulate one’s functions and actions by keeping this point of view in focus that one is also an integral component of this nation.

I remember an incident when I was visiting America in 1992. In those days, a garments manufacturer designed T-shirts with the word GUN with a picture of different handguns that became very popular among American teenagers. This businessman too

I was visiting America in 1992. In those days, a garments manufacturer designed T-shirts with the word GUN with a picture of different handguns that became very popular among American teenagers. This businessman too made a lot of profit. Later, when parents came to notice that due to these T-shirts, teenagers were becoming prone to violence, they first started a movement for the withdrawal of those T-shirts from the market

made a lot of profit. Later, when parents came to notice that due to these T-shirts, teenagers were becoming prone to violence, they first started a movement for the withdrawal of those T-shirts from the market. Finally, when talk of boycotting all the merchandise of that manufacturer became vocal, he withdrew those T-shirts imprinted with gun images from the market. When journalists asked that manufacturer, “These T-shirts are causing adverse consequences on the minds of the youth of the society. Why didn’t you recall them earlier?” he replied “Look, I am here in the business of making money, and not in the business of morality”. There can be two different approaches: one, this society is my own or the second, which is that society is merely a resource for me.⁴

The wheels of the economy ground to a halt due to the Covid-imposed lockdown. The advent of this sudden calamity also gave rise to many unimaginable problems and challenges. There were some shortcomings in organizing or trying to deal with all those problems. It is unfortunate that the consequences of this pandemic and its attendant difficulties have had to be faced common folk as well, many of whom were helpless. It is natural that there would be discussion

about these events in public life, sparking debate in the media. This too is a part of democracy. But it seems that while engaging in this debate, some people, especially politicians, journalists and writers seem to ignore the sentiment of “We too are part of this society”. To portray an incident exaggeratedly or to blow events up out of proportion and to present this as happening everywhere, can lead to questions being raised on society’s confidence, the faith and dedication of innumerable workers, officials, activists of social institutions and their hard work. What is wrong is of course wrong. But while fixing accountability for it, all of us, as being “part of the nation” have to take care that an image of everything going wrong should not be created.

It was not easy to make arrangements to tackle this infectious disease, amidst fears of the infection spreading due to congestion, and the labourers who stepped out to go home, including the elderly and children. The arrangements that were made for this were inadequate. Moreover, the habit of living in a particular setup and lack of patience caused many people to suffer a lot. One’s heart would quail looking at images of suffering people and hearing of their pain. There was a lot of debate in the media about

this. The ruling party and the opposition traded accusations. But during the same period, this too should have been simultaneously reported that more than 50 lakh workers had reached their respective villages in the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, etc., by availing of the system of the government machinery and that of social organizations (this information pertains till May 20, 2020). In Madhya Pradesh, about 4 lakh laborers who walked on foot from Maharashtra and Gujarat to go to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were escorted by swayamsewaks on vehicles with the help of the administration to the borders of Uttar Pradesh. From there, the Uttar Pradesh administration, with the help of swayamsewaks, arranged a vehicle to take them to their villages or to the border of Bihar. With the insistence of screening each labourer, making arrangements for their food and maintaining physical distance, the task of bringing 50 lakh workers back to their villages and arranging for their isolation has been accomplished, a fact that should have been shown in the media as well, in its various debate on this situation.

Similarly, if there are incidents of violence, atrocities, exploitation, injustice or cheating,

there should be condemnation of these, protests, opposition, and strict action should be taken against the guilty after enquiry against them. But to what extent is it normal to generalize such incidents, to launch an assault on the identity of the entire society by making such incidents appear larger and out of proportion? However, this is what seems to happen. The reason is that in the minds of those who do this, the feeling that “We are part of the nation” seems weak or dissipating. To them, this society, a particular segment of this society, the inequality present here, the poverty, lack of education, the filth and squalour all seem like resource material to further their agendas. This is the result of lack of affinity. This seems to be happening as a result of conducting journalism with an agenda on the basis of ideology or forgetting the very ethics of journalism.

People of a particular ideology appear to be misusing the media to create a state of disintegration and conflict in society by spreading unrestrained lies about their political interests against those who disagree or oppose their views. This is happening because they are devoid of the feeling of being a part of the nation, and hover like vultures in search of such ‘opportunities’.

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At the time of the terror attack on Parliament House in December 2001, one such senior journalist had made a shameless admission that upon hearing this news, he felt this would be an exclusive story for his channel. The desire to air the coverage of this terrorist attack before other channels could cover it was above everything in his mind, the security of the Parliament House and Members of Parliament of the country be damned. It is this that is called the outlook of a vulture.

We have also seen the thoughtless act of making things easy for terrorists under the pretext of ‘exclusive coverage’, by positioning media cameras so that footage of the security forces of the country were visible at the time of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attack in the name of ‘security coverage’. The Indian media’s coverage of the incident of hijacking India’s Air India aircraft, and of families demanding the release of terrorists under the custody of the Government of India also merits serious consideration. The mental stress and pressure that the government and security forces would be facing because of showing only the wails of the family members of the hijacked passengers in that plane was not given any consideration at all.

In contrast, I remember that a photo-journalist along with pictures of the devastation that occurred during the 2001 Kutch earthquake, conveyed a message of strong morale to those who had lost everything, and also conveyed a direction of hope to all readers. In that moment, readers could see and read what an old Kutchi man was thinking standing atop

a pile of rubble that had been his house! A determination is seen on the face of the elderly person standing on top of that pile of rubble. That journalist too delivered an excellent message titled with that picture, “I’ve seen your power, O Nature! You shall now see mine”. I believe that such headlines are also an attempt to impart a positive direction to the process of building a society.

It is expected that all the constituents of society who are doing the work of society, big or small, will do so imbued with the feeling of “We are part of the nation”. It is said: “*Vayam Rāṣṭre Jāgrayāma Purohitāḥ*” (We are the priests who awaken the nation). Thus, journalists and media-workers too come in the ranks of those who are such kinds of ‘priests’, as they are among those who need to worry more about the interests of the society. Information comes first to the media and through them public communication or news reaches the society at a speedy pace, and travels far. Therefore, it is expected of them to remain alert and responsible in this matter. That is why the selection of news, corroboration of its veracity and its presentation should be carried out with utmost responsibility, so that truth is presented, truth alone should be presented and while doing that society should be awakened. Those who are negligent should become careful, the wrongdoer should be made to desist, and care must also be exercised that the meticulously and painstakingly woven fabric of society should not be distorted or destroyed. Because this is my society, I am a part of society.

Unfortunately, some people

Some shortcomings arose over time in such an ancient society, due to which problems emerged. Every effort should be made to mitigate and dispel them, but while doing this, care should be taken not to harm the function of building the society. Some historically incorrect policies led to the creation of social and economic disparities. They should be overcome and every effort made to build a harmonious society

of our own country seem to ignore this inherent fact about building a society, and are seen trying to present only one-sided pictures. Conspiracies to create new divisions in society by presenting our characteristic diversity as divisive distinctness, due to the obliteration or neglect of our vision of life based on spirituality, which is the source of unity at the core of our diversity, is fundamentally because of the media’s unwavering belief in Western concepts and the liberalism of Europe, and its slavishness towards these concepts. It is not that all journalists and editors who are engaged in such conspiracies are necessarily Congressmen, Leftists or jihadis. Most of them are the products of our education system. Based on what they have read, they believe very sincerely and with full conviction that our diversity is actually a revelation of some fault lines in our society. They have unwavering faith in the liberal theory of a dominant culture and of subcultures standing up for their identities.

It is to be noted that despite the Western concept of news being influential everywhere in the media and the impact of the liberalism of Europe, our Indian view of life has not completely vanished from the media of our country. The media institutions

that we commonly see presenting news coverage in contrast to the Indian way of life or the feeling of “We are”, are also seen standing with this very feeling, in do or die situation. This conveys a picture of hope.

Some shortcomings arose over time in such an ancient society, due to which problems emerged. Every effort should be made to mitigate and dispel them, but while doing this, care should be taken not to harm the function of building the society. Some historically incorrect policies led to the creation of social and economic disparities. They should be overcome and every effort made to build a harmonious society. But even while doing this, the thread of this unity should neither be loosened nor weakened. Otherwise, ignoring or trying to ignore the process of building the society in the name of freedom of media or freedom of expression would result in a situation of “Operation successful, patient dead”.

This can be aptly summed up in the form of the following verses from the poem “Baat Aisi Kar” (Speak thus):

Speak thus

*That your words carry weight
Weighed not by kilos or grams
But by the depth of the mind
May it not be lost in the wind*

*But settle in the mind.
The poet further says:
Never remain silent
In the hour of injustice or
oppression
Raise your voice constantly to
combat them
May your voice be a volcano
Let it speak so loudly so that
oppression might feel tremor
And whoever is somnolent or
uncaring
Would be awakened to his error*

*The poet finally says:
Affinity in speech
And in one's heart
Present your truth
In a way that
Others too become ours
Speak thus
That your words carry weight*

This should always be kept in mind while considering the selection, presentation and outcome of news.

As stated at the outset, according to Indian thought, the ultimate goal of human life is to attain *moksha* or liberation from the cycle of life, death and rebirth. That is why the goal of music, dance, art, learning, business and worship in the Indian tradition has been to proceed towards the attainment of liberation. That is why all these works have been divinity installed in them and have Nataraja (Shiva), Saraswati, Ganesha, Lakshmi, Hanuman as

their respective presiding deities. Samarth Ramdas Swami says:
*Ability there is of action
Of those who will do what they
must
But the presence of God
In them is a must
For those actions to come to
fruition ||*⁵

Therefore, it is my responsibility as well to treat this society as my own and to keep building it, keeping in mind that, while discharging the duty of providing information about what is wrong, continue believing in the good of the society, and ensure that the network that builds it does not loosen or break down. This too has to be kept in mind.

Knowledge about such events and news that are good, encouraging, and which treat the society or nation as paramount should be provided constantly in ample measure. Care should be taken that those who read such news and information, while obtaining correct, fact-based information, should also be enabled to invoke, awaken and elevate the divinity in them. The ethics of journalism would be served if the inhuman instincts embedded in society are not emboldened to rear their heads; a negligent society becomes awakened, and the latent divinity within the society is inspired come to the fore. The presentation

of news must maintain a balance among all these. Ultimately, the Indian point of view is that news and information must enable both the provider of news and the reader to expand the arc of their affinity, and moving towards liberation. News is also called *samvād* or dialogue or *vārtā*, i.e., talk in Sanskrit. That is why a reporter is called '*vārtāhar*' in Marathi.⁶

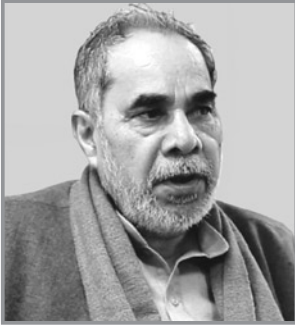
The Rg Veda (1-30-5) says, "*Vibhūtīrastu Sunṛtā*". *Vibhūti* means splendour, greatness, prosperity, glory, or *abhyudaya*, i.e., rise. Therefore, it can be stated that the news should be such that it becomes an enhancer, not something that divides or creates discord. Such a vision should be: "*Sā Vārtā Yā Vibhūtaye, Kadāpi Na Vibhedāya*", i.e., news is that which enhances; never ever brings about discord.

Many veteran journalists and editors of the era of Indian freedom struggle have in various ways, stated this to be the duty for the press or media. Everyone from Gandhi to Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay has had this vision.

This entire society spread from the (Indian) Ocean to the Himalayas is my society. I have to shape it. Its ability to withstand all kinds of future crises lies in its unity, and in its feeling of "We". All of us, at all times, under every circumstance, should strengthen the society by increasing this feeling of "We". ●

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Ram Bahadur Rai

Strong Probability of a Media Council

The mechanism which was developed for regulating the press has now become inadequate due to the changing form of the media. Here is a vision about a new mechanism in this regard

There was a time in Indian journalism of the magic of the printed word. It was an era which retains its place in history for its tradition of good journalism. It is remembered often by different names and adjectives. Was it the golden era of journalism? This question is both natural and timely. The second question arises from this only, that in which era today's journalism is in? The answer to this is easy. It is not a big problem. This is the time of commercialization of journalism. Because of this, the ways and character of journalism has come under a circle of questions. This is a problem which has been there for decades. The need for a mechanism for its regulation has now become compulsory. The journalism especially being talked about in this article is called print journalism in common parlance. Because, the new name for the world of journalism is media and it has taken on a different hue and color now. It would be proper to call print as the traditional journalism. Print has two parts- in one part it is the society's voice is in its own language, while in the other it is in the language of the powers that be-English. Hindi also comes in the domain of vernacular newspapers. Vernacular journalism has a biblical-chord type relation with society. This is also a reason why vernacular press

has an outlook which is society-oriented. The welfare, pains and aspirations of society have been getting a natural prominence in the language press. Politics is also one of them, not the only one. Is this true today also? English journalism was born, brought up and grew amidst colonial prosperity. That is why, from the very first day, it is costlier and rich. It has arrogance. It always strives to find its place in the circumference of urban life and power.

On the balance of their roles in opinion forming, the vernacular press has become heavier than the English press. It was not so earlier. The perception was that public opinion is formed by the English press. The 1989 Lok Sabha elections proved to be the emergence of a new era of the vernacular press. The National Front government came to power and the Congress was unseated. The vernacular press aroused public opinion and defeated 'Mr. Clean' Rajiv Gandhi. For the vernacular press it was an achievement equal to reaching the Everest and putting its flag there. Its downfall also started from there itself. And it has not stopped. Can anyone say when this downfall will stop and when the vernacular press will reclaim its old glory? Till when this situation of the crocodile eating the elephant will

remain like it is?

This can be understood by an old tale from the Puranas. This story has come up in the Bhagwat Puran that Agastya Rishi once cursed a king from the South. And due to that he was born as an elephant. Once, to put away the heat, the elephant went to a pond. There was a crocodile in the pond which caught his leg and started pulling him. The elephant was arrogant due to the strength of his huge body. He tried to extricate himself but was unsuccessful. Suddenly, he remembered some scriptures from his previous birth. He started chanting them. Due to that, Vishnu left Garuda and leapt into the pond and took out the elephant along with the crocodile. He cut the mouth of the crocodile with his *chakra* and set the elephant free. This incident is also known as *Gajendra Moksha*. This symbolic story describes the situation of the vernacular press which is in the grip of a crocodile. The question is how a facilitator of its *Gajendra Moksh* will be born?

There was a time when the entire world of journalism was inherent in print. Radio was of the government. Only print and news agencies were under regulations and policies. In independent India, the history of regulatory policies is in two stages. The first stage is often ignored, although it is not only important but is useful in dispelling many misconceptions. To understand this stage, we must know the constitutional aspect of the freedom of speech. The freedom of the press is inherent in the extent to which a citizen has been given the right to freedom of expression in the constitution. The citizen has a right to freedom of expression under article 19(1)



(A) of the constitution. This right is very important among the basic rights. This right only gives us the opportunity to speak, write or express our opinion. This right also includes the rights of civil disobedience and non-violent defiance etc. The citizen gets the right to oppose and criticize government's policies under this right only. When the constitution was implemented, the prolific use of this right disturbed the peace of mind of the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He climbed down to earth from the skies. He made the colonial tools as his shield. He got the constitution amended and put some restrictions on freedom of expression. Under article 19(2), the government can put restrictions which the government thinks logical on the freedom of expression. This amendment was done by Nehru only. Such as, the integrity and sovereignty of the nation cannot be challenged. Contempt of court or someone's defamation will be considered violation of the freedom of expression. Where the law is violated, this right dissolves. If the sovereignty of the nation is challenged which results in violence and public

order is disturbed, then a case of sedition can be registered. Justice Jagdish Sharan Verma, former judge of the Supreme Court says, "Rights to freedom of expression have been given under article 19(1)A of the constitution but along with it under sub article 2 it has been ensured that in a civil society no one can be given unlimited rights. Definitely, it is a subject of logical restrictions. As I said before, I have the right to spread my arms only to the extent that no one's face comes in between. True, I have a right to express my feelings, but I cannot speak anything which hurts someone else's feelings or they feel insulted. Thus, article 19 has some provisions which relate to logical restrictions. The freedom of expression is inherent with respect to these restrictions. I have always liked to put this in a mathematical way. Thus, if article 19(1) is a circle or circumference then there are several segments of this circle. National Security, unity and integrity, defamation, ethics are elements inherent in these segments."

Its effect and result should be remembered. Section 124(A) of the Indian Penal Code of the British era got revived. Sedition

has been defined in it. If any person by writing, speaking or by any other medium of expression does anything which the government considers seditious or understands that it can create hatred between communities, that person could be prosecuted for sedition. He could be awarded life imprisonment if found guilty. There is controversy over this, and it is going to remain so, whether healthy criticism of the government and bringing facts into the public domain is seditious or not. One point of view is that there is a difference between the government and the nation. Challenging the sovereignty of the nation is seditious but disagreeing with the policies of the government is not seditious. This dispute even came before the Supreme Court. There are two judgments of the court in this regard. In the first judgment, the Supreme Court held section 124(A) of the IPC constitutional. It said that criticizing the government or commenting adversely on the administration cannot be the basis of a case for sedition. In 1995 in the case of *Balwant Singh vs the State of Punjab*, the Supreme Court had said just raising slogans cannot be considered as sedition. If there is rebellion due to that or hatred spreads between communities then only it will be called sedition.

This fact is mostly ignored. It caused three types of effects. The freedom of expression under the fundamental rights was curbed and it was controlled. Control is always unjustified. If Pandit Nehru had not gone for amending the constitution in order to increase control, the sedition law which was a tool of the

British in dependent India would have expired. It got revived in independent India. This was the first stage.

In the second stage, the Indian government created a provision to regulate the press which is continuing today, but which has become ineffective and redundant due to the changing form and spread of the media. This mechanism has become a joke as it is not in resonance with the times. Here, I mean the Press Council. When the parliament was expressing concern over paid news, Arun Jaitley, leader of the opposition in the Rajya Sabha, had given a definition to the Press Council. He said that this organization is a toothless tiger. People used to feel like that but earlier no one defined it in this way. Not only that, it has become the second name of the Press Council.

We must understand its essence. Has change in the Press Council according to the changing times become pertinent? Then why no change is taking place? This is the eighth wonder of Indian democracy. If any regulatory body is ineffective, the onus of improving it lies with the government. The Press Council is the first regulatory body of the media. It has not been constituted by an order of the government; rather it was constituted duly with a law. The Press Council came into existence by an act of parliament. It has a history. When President Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressed parliament after the first general elections, his speech contained a clear intent of creation of a Press Commission. Journalists of those times wrote and raised a demand to create it as a trade union of journalists. After

that, Prime Minister Nehru was given a memorandum regarding this, as a result of which the mention came in the President's speech. It was a promise to the nation. In order to establish the role of the press in independent India, that promise was proper in all respects. It was also the responsibility of the Government of India. It was welcomed. The Indian government kept its promise and the first Press Commission was formed. The first Press Commission was formed in the background of the agenda for the rebuilding of independent India. One of the reasons behind it was to study the condition of the press in Europe and America. The reports of the Royal Commission in Britain and that of the Hutchins Commission in America had been submitted. New circumstances had been created. The Indian Press knew the reports of the overseas press studies. One of its nine recommendations was that a Press Council should be formed. (See box 1 for details)

Box – 1

First Press Commission

Chairman- Justice G.S.

Rajadhyaksha

Members-

1. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar
2. Acharya Narendra Dev
3. Dr. Zakir Hussain
4. V.K.R.V. Rao
5. P.H. Patvardhan
6. T.N. Singh
7. Jaipal Singh
8. J. Natarajan/ A.D. Mani
9. A.R. Bhatt
10. M. Chelapati Rao

Tenure- 3 October 1952 – 14 July 1954

Box – 2**Main Recommendations of the Commission**

1. Appointment of Press Registrar
2. Formation of an institution for statistics of the newspaper industry
3. Determination of press page schedule from time to time
4. Curb on incorrect regulation of journalistic work and to define it
5. Houses running more than one newspaper shall publish their figures from time to time
6. Fraud in advertising to be made penal crime
7. New law should be enacted for the employees that fixes salary, terms of service and perks
8. Determining the mechanism for estimating the profits of the press industry
9. It should be mandatory for the newspapers to declare details of ownership and control periodically

Here, a clarification is necessary so that there shall not be any confusion regarding this. Policy and regulation are an inseparable part of democracy. In order to run any democracy in a proper way, laws and rules are created under constitutional provisions. This is the responsibility of the government. Control is another matter. It is the opposite of regulation. What I want to say is that no one should keep any misconception over the suggestion for regulation that control is being sought in this article. Policy-regulations

are fundamental elements of a constitutional mechanism. Law and its rules are the other name for democracy. If the law and its rules do their work properly, regulation is easily maintained. Regulation is democratic but control is the synonym of restriction. When curbs become uncontrolled, dictatorship is born. The memory of the cruel tyranny of the Emergency (1975- 1977) is alive in the minds of journalists as well as the common citizens just as the cruel pain of partition is embedded in the uprooted people. On the other hand, anarchy is born in the absence of a proper mechanism for regulation which is being seen today with respect to the media. The parliament is for policies and regulations. So is the government and so are the courts. But, the initiative must come from the Government of India. After the revival of democracy in India, the Morarji Desai government in 1978 constituted the second Press Commission. That commission could not even complete its tenure before the government fell. Indira Gandhi came to power again in 1980. She did not dissolve this commission but reconstituted it. Thus the second Press Commission in four years studied questions regarding the press, its ownership, its structure, commercialization, industrial-business relations, vernacular press, news agencies, condition of the journalists, social responsibilities of the press, freedom of the press, role of the Indian Press Council, press vs parliamentary privileges, security against interference by management and editorial autonomy, ratio between news and advertisements and ads condition of the small and medium

newspapers and submitted its report. This commission made a big recommendation that the media houses should not make themselves part of other industries and they should break their relations with other industrial houses. (See box 3 and 4)

There are four institutions currently in the media for policy-regulation. The first is the Press Council who has the responsibility to safeguard the freedom of the press and to decide standards and act as their watchdog. The newspapers, magazines and the news agencies come under its ambit. Its chairman is a retired

Box – 3**Second Press Commission- 1**

Chairman- Justice P.K. Goswami

Members-

1. Abu Abraham-Cartoonist
2. Prem Bhatia- Editor, Tribune
3. Surendra Nath Dwivedi- Former M.P.
4. Moinuddin Haris- Urdu Journalist
5. Prof. Ravi J. Mathai- Economist
6. Yashodhar N. Mehta- Advocate
7. V.K.Narasimhan- Editor, Deccan Herald
8. Fali S. Nariman- Senior Counsel
9. Sachidanand Hiranand Vatsyayan 'Ajney'- Editor, Navbharat Times
10. Arun Shourie- Senior Fellow, ICSSR
11. Nikhil Chakravarti- Editor, Mainstream

Tenure- 29 May 1978- 14 January 1980

judge of the Supreme Court. There are 28 members in the council who comprise six editors, seven senior journalists, six persons from the managements, one person from the news agencies, one person each from the Bar Council of India, University Grants Commission and the Sahitya Academy, three members from the Lok Sabha and two members from the Rajya Sabha. The entire structure of the Press Council is according to the Government of India. In Britain, when the newspapers indulged in many types of irregularities a commission was formed. It is called the Lord Justice Lewison commission. It submitted its report in 2012 in which it recommended that there shall not be any working editor or any sitting member of parliament in the regulatory institution. Then only the regulatory body could be independent. Though, the British government did not accept this recommendation.

The second regulatory body is the News Broadcasting Standards Authority. It has been formed by the News Broadcasters Association (NBA). The third institution is Broadcasting Content Complaints Council. It is a body to deal with complaints regarding entertainment TV and TV news. The owners have formed this body. The fourth institution is News Broadcasters Federation. It is a new body formed by the efforts of Arnab Goswami after separating from the NBA. The parliamentary committee on information technology had suggested during the 16th Lok Sabha that where there is no law to be changed neither there is any subject of policy formation, in such cases the 47th report

Box – 4

Second Press Commission-2

Chairman- Justice K.K. Mathew

Members-

1. Justice- Shishir Kumar Mukherjee
 2. Amrita Pritam- Author
 3. P.V.Gadgil, Journalist
 4. Israt Ali Siddique- Editor, Qaumi Awaaz
 5. Rajendra Mathur- Editor, Nai Duniya
 6. Girilal Jain- Editor, Times of India
 7. K.R. Ganesh- Former Central Minister
 8. Madan Bhatia- Advocate, Prem Chandra Verma- Chief Editor, Jagat
 9. Ranvir Singh- Editor, Milap
 10. Prof. H. K. Paranjpe- Economist
 11. Justice A.N.Mulla
- Tenure- 21 April 1980- 15 April 1982

should be totally implemented. But due to absence of this, there is a question mark over the credibility of these institutions. People who keep an eye on the working of these institutions say that they do not discharge their basic responsibilities. Their basic responsibilities are- freedom of the press, maintaining its ethics and values and to keep the standard of journalism high. This is the opinion of reader-editor of The Hindu A.S. Pannerselvan. And anyone who is acquainted with today's idea would not disagree with him. In spite of these so called regulatory institutions the business of paid news is flourishing. It runs from

the underbellies of the media. It should be called the underworld of the media. The so called immoral investigative journalism of channels like Tehelka has not ended. Nothing happened to the news peddlers caught in the Radia tapes. Fake news is common in the media. These are incidents which has put the credibility of the media on its head.

Out of these institutions, it is the Press Council which has been formed by an act of parliament. Citizens used to send their complaints to the council. They were heard. A good tradition had developed. No one ignored the Press Council. There were judiciary type hearings. It used to make decisions. All newspapers published those decisions and the news agencies carried them. The discharge of such a tradition had created a system of social and moral obligation. But it has been broken now. Complaints are still sent to the Press Council. But, it has been decades when no one publishes its decisions. This has a history. There was an editor of The Times of India- H.K.Dua. He created an example by complaining to the council about his mistreatment by the management. The decision which came was against The Times of India. The newspaper cared little about the Press Council. When an old, prestigious and big newspaper of the country was adamant on showing the Press Council its place, its helplessness was exposed. After that, the moral system of publishing the decisions of the Press Council in newspapers came to an end. This incident is three decades old. Its other side is more meaningful that after that for all these years the existence of the Press Council

is just for its namesake. When will it get the powers to regulate? This question is similarly old.

When Justice P.B.Sawant was the Chairman of the Press Council he took an initiative. He talked about the remedies to make the media healthy. He made a draft. It was the draft of a Media Council. Late Sushma Swaraj was the broadcasting minister then. We presented her that draft under the leadership of Justice Sawant. We had hoped that the Government of India will release it, ask for suggestions on the draft and take necessary steps. When this did not happen, whoever was witnessing the credibility-crisis of the media was concerned at least personally. This created awareness. It encouraged raising of the voice about this issue. For the first time, a demand was raised from the platform of the Prabhash Parampara Nyas that there was a need for a study of the real state of the media. By its inferences, measures for regulating the media could be derived. Vice President Hamid Ansari and the chairman of the Press Council Justice Markandeya Katju were also there on that platform. After a few days the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) also supported this demand.

What did the renowned journalists think about it? Out of this curiosity when I talked

to Kuldip Nayar about this, I felt both satisfaction and surprise. The satisfaction was that he was himself trying for the formation of a media commission. He had met Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in this regard and talked to him. The Prime Minister asked him to submit a draft. The surprise was that his draft met the same fate which Justice Sawant's draft had met. Why this happened is no less than a mystery. In those days Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's media advisor was Harish Khare. He is a prestigious journalist by all respects. When I brought to his notice the proposal of the Prabhash Parampara Nyas about a media commission, he had termed right the demand to constitute a media commission. He also made efforts on his level. But the result was the same-zero.

If anyone wants to see the evidence why a media commission is needed, it is available in three studies. The ministry of Information & Broadcasting has got these studies done over time. The first study was done by TRAI, the telecom regulatory authority. At that time, the ministry had to decide whom it shall register and to whom it should issue license as per the various laws, rules and provisions. The ministry wanted advice from the TRAI in this regard. TRAI did a study and submitted its report. It advised

clearly that for everything policies and rules must be defined. It also suggested criteria for it. The report had expressed concern that due to ad-hocism monopolistic houses are emerging in the media which can be dangerous for democracy.

When TRAI was studying these things, at the same time the ministry decided to have a study done by the Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad. It was given the mandate to study the structure of ownership of the media in the country. What are the experiences all over the world and what should be done in this regard in India? That report was also filed. It was hoped that the Information & Broadcasting ministry would work out a plan based on the two reports and there would be widespread discussion on it. But, it never happened. It is suspected that under pressure from the media houses the process was halted by political intervention.

Whenever such studies are done at the administrative level and no decision is taken, then it has become a tradition to linger it on and time is passed in the name of new studies. This was the tendency at that time too. Even after considering two earlier reports asking TRAI to do a fresh study is an example and also a proof of such a tendency. Instead of making a working plan according to the two studies done in 2008 and 2009, the I&B secretary wrote to TRAI in May 2012 to submit a report on every aspect of the media. TRAI submitted that report on 15 February, 2013. It can be seen and read on TRAI's website. This report is like a suggestion in which all aspects of

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the ownership of the media has been looked into. It is a 108 page report. Many reactions had come over this report but it is of no use going into those details.

But, from this study a warning emerged which is related to the triangle of power, property and politics. It can make democracy hollow. The warning is that monopolistic houses have come into existence in the media. Due to this, the diversity and the scope of the media are decreasing. The other name of democracy is diversity and multiplicity. It is obvious that it is a technical report. It cannot say anything more than this. But, this report has given an indication about the internal health of the media. This is a matter of our concern.

The question is why there is a race in the media for monopolistic tendencies. Who does not know the answer to this! There are two motives going behind this.

The first is related to profit. And the objective of the second is to acquire the patronage of the powers and eliminate the rival from the field. Here, traditions of Indian media stand in between. Our constitution has envisaged the concept of a welfare state. The constitution makers had a dream that people should be happy and get the opportunity to live better lives. That which can encourage and facilitate and, if need arises, create the people's pressure on the government to tread on this path is the media. This is traditional and social responsibility of the media. Though this responsibility is not openly discussed in the TRAI report, but the facts which have emerged are enough to make anyone concerned. This actually should not be done by TRAI. It is the work of a media commission.

TRAI had raised the alarm bells long ago. To listen to it, to

get alerted and take a hard resolve to eliminate it is the responsibility of the Indian government. TRAI has reported that there are only a few media houses that are spread across TV channels, radio, newspapers and online media. This is called monopoly. Where there will be monopoly, there will not be competition. Then what will happen to democracy? The share of print in the media can be understood by the number of newspapers registered with the registrar of newspapers. It is increasing every year. Where it was about 70,000 newspapers and magazines a few years ago, it has doubled now. The figures of 31 March, 2020 are the latest. The number of newspapers and magazines on this date was 1,43,423. There have been 1,498 new registrations in the year gone by. Out of this figure, 54,873 are Hindi newspapers and 19,766 are English papers. The print houses which have submitted their annual reports are just 32,883 and half of them are the Hindi papers.

The TRAI report had estimated that the ratio of profit in the media would be 17 per cent. Before the corona pandemic this was the profit going. No study has been done recently. However, where there is devastation in the entire economy, its effect on the media is not to the same extent. An estimate is that even today profit in the media, especially in print, is 7 per cent. The fundamental question is whether these media houses are extending democratic awareness in the country? Is the media making people aware of their rights? Is the media becoming the voice of the common man? Is it standing on the foundation upon which the glory of Indian journalism was



Courtesy: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/472239/judiciary-and-media>

founded? Is it able to uphold the social and democratic values? This logic has no sense that the conditions have changed. The eternal value of journalism shall always be viewed as an altar even in the changed scenario.

This also has to be seen whether the profit-driven media is able to do its basic work in the right way or not. If it does its basic work correctly, it will help the citizen in taking decisions. No harm will come on his intellect. Another fact hidden in the TRAI report is that these days a social evil has crept into the media. Media is a public institution and that is why it is called the fourth pillar. But, these days it has become the pillar of the corporate houses. And we know that the corporate houses are driven by one objective only and that is profit. There is lack of fairness and democratic values in the media and there is favoritism and bias.

Thus, there are at least 11 diseases ailing our media. One- paid news, two- paid channels, three- corporate and political lobbying, four- political bias in the news, five- irresponsible reporting and stress on sensationalism, six- promoting inequality, seven- ill effects of foreign capital, eight- suppressing of news, nine- ignoring human rights, ten- vagaries of monopolistic media houses and pressure on the government, eleven- fake news. All this has clouded the media's credibility. The media is going through the dark moonless night and waiting for the bright full moon. The TRAI report and other reports have identified these ills. A media commission is required as a remedy and a resolution of these problems, if it is constituted and is given these terms of

We have adopted parliamentary democracy. This system of governance is mainly driven by the party system and by a free press where accountability has a central role. Today, there are questions on the free press even more than the hollowness of the party system. Whoever wants to learn about the disease called 'paid news' must read like a religious text, the 47th report of the parliamentary standing committee on information technology

reference for examination.

We have adopted parliamentary democracy. This system of governance is mainly driven by the party system and by a free press where accountability has a central role. Today, there are questions on the free press even more than the hollowness of the party system. Whoever wants to learn about the disease called 'paid news' must read like a religious text, the 47th report of the parliamentary standing committee on information technology. People read a religious text in order to know themselves. This parliamentary report deeply investigates the current and internal conditions of the media. This report is very important by any point of view. Has this report which shows a mirror to the media been able to change the mind of the Indian government?

There are many specialties of this report. The standing committee has not given its report on 'paid news' in a hurry. It took three years studying it. The report clearly reflects the deep effort to investigate and study the issue deeply.

Although, Rao Indrajeet Singh, the Chairman of the standing committee was a member of the Congress then, he has carried his duty in a fair manner. Wherever the committee has reservations about

the tendency of the government it has been expressed clearly. After reading the full report, it comes out that the extent of paid news is much greater than what it is thought to be. The government is falling shy of the steps it should have taken to curb this. Is the wavering tendency of the government due to the pressure of the monopolistic houses? The answer to this is in the affirmative and found at several places in the report. Rao Indrajeet Singh spoke on this very subject on 15 July, 2013 in a program of the Prabhash Parampara Nyas. His speech left a positive impression. It is very significant when he says that the government is sitting on suggestions to stop 'paid news' for several years. The details are there in the report. The credibility of the media has fallen. Why did this happen? And from when did this happen? The report carries answers to both these questions extensively. It is clear that there was a time when people turned to the media to know the truth. Before independence, the media promoted the freedom struggle. It presented high ideals. After independence, for several decades, the media grew in a healthy manner. But when and why did this started slowing, the report is silent on this. It seems the reason behind this is that the committee considered this subject

beyond its terms. It is obvious that it is a separate subject which needs to be investigated deeply.

The subject studied by the committee is 'paid news'. From this section of the report, we can know from when 'paid news' has been there. The committee notes that in the pre-independence times, the media grew in a healthy way and it continued to be so for a few decades. But, as soon as it got powerful, its downfall began. Everyone realized that it was the only medium to reach to the people because it had great credibility. In this background, the candidates fighting elections realized that instead of spending on other mediums of publicity like advertisements and other means, it was more beneficial to somehow impress the media and thus this corruption spread. The committee has found that in the last two decades corporate houses have emerged and grown in the media. They are solely driven by profit. There has been a downfall in the freedom, autonomy and credibility of the media because the institution of the editor has become negligible. 'Paid news' is a disease. It is off course corruption. There cannot be a more accurate example of the media houses becoming corrupt and earning illegitimate profits.

There are several types of 'paid news'. The committee has reported this in detail. Now it is

the duty of the government that it should develop a system to fight against it. As the difference between news and advertisement has lessened, 'paid news' has flourished. Everyone is indulged in the business of 'paid news'- newspapers, radio, TV channels and internet. By accepting the committee's suggestions, the government can manage how the lessening difference between news and advertisement can be curbed and a system could be developed for this. The first need is that 'paid news' should be clearly defined. Who shall do this? When the media is totally indulged in the business of 'paid news' then it the government's duty it take an initiative in this regard. This is possible by enacting a law. The committee has advised the government on this, and asked it to bring it to the committee's knowledge.

The biggest problem is how to prove 'paid news'? After due consideration, the committee has given some suggestions about this. It suggests that the ministry should constitute a regulatory body. This body should deliberate on the complaints. The body should look at the coverage pattern too besides the circumstantial evidence. The committee has looked at this aspect also and collected the facts about the reasons behind 'paid news'. It has come to the

conclusion that there has been a decline in the role of the editor. This is the first ever parliamentary report which expresses concern on the decline in the institution of the editor. It is a symptom of the disease ailing the media. It can be inferred by this that the media which was created to safeguard and strengthen democracy has itself become undignified. After independence, on the recommendations of the first and second media commissions, internal limits were drawn for the media. These have been breached. For the first time this parliamentary committee has drawn our attention to this in clear terms. It has said how in this era of commercialization the freedom of the journalists has been taken away. Without restoring it, things cannot be improved again. The committee has also stressed the need for a media commission which can be easily understood by reading this part of the report- " Private agreements between media companies and corporate entities are the most dangerous expression of 'paid news'. The private agreements are considered as an accord between a media company and a corporate entity under which the corporate house gives some of its shares to the media company in lieu of ads, space and positive coverage. This scenario openly violates the ethics of journalism. This gives birth to the disease of 'paid news'."

'Paid news' is a business of illegitimate profit. It can also be called black marketing. The committee in its probe has determined cross media holding also a big reason behind it. This promotes monopoly. It creates hurdles in the free flow of

There are several types of 'paid news'. The committee has reported this in detail. Now it is the duty of the government that it should develop a system to fight against it. As the difference between news and advertisement has lessened, 'paid news' has flourished. Everyone is indulged in the business of 'paid news'- newspapers, radio, TV channels and internet

information. It is very strange that whenever there are suggestions to make legal provisions to stop 'paid news', the logic given by the government and the media houses are the same. Its language is different, but its essence is the same that press freedom must be maintained. Thus, self-regulation is suggested to be the panacea. The committee also found in its investigation that self-regulation is just eyewash. Examples of this are in the report. In the standing committee's report, it has not been mentioned, but it is justified to say that the English Newspaper 'The Hindu' is an exception. It has created a post of Readers Editor which looks into readers' complaints.

The 12th report of the technology ministry which came in August, 2015, describes what steps were taken by the Information & Broadcasting ministry on the 47th report. The chairman of this standing committee was Anurag Thakur and its members included Lal Krishna Advani. In the 47th report, the parliamentary standing committee had recommended formation of a media commission to study the current condition of the media, and report to the parliament in three months. The Anurag Singh Thakur committee has expressed displeasure over the fact that the

I&B ministry did not take any steps for the formation of a media commission. The tendency of the Indian government on the issue of the constitution of a media commission is the same as before. There has been no change in it. When we dig deeper in its reasons, several things emerge clearly. First is that the Indian government considers it as something not worthy of doing.

But the credibility of the media will only be restored, when there is a decision about the policies and regulations regarding these point-to-empower the Indian Press Council from a statutory point of view, empowering it with rights to act and penalize, serious study of the issue of ownership of the press, national law to eliminate monopoly and centralization, establishing proportional balance between news and views and advertisements/making a law, allowing one person or family or group to own only one medium, establishing a trust of intellectuals or representatives of the civil society between the management and the editor in national and large press institutions, reviving the institution of editor, defining and editing the workspace of manager, brand manager and ad givers in a legal way, restoring the autonomy of the work office, strictly delinking the press and

the industry-business, providing security to local small and medium newspapers, stopping the efforts of the foreign powers and capital from influencing the Indian mindset, reviving the vernacular news agencies, arranging training of journalism in rural and small town areas, establishing a Press Development Council, giving more importance to vernacular press, creative analysis of the working of the DAVP, PIB, RNI and PRO offices of the states, determining the boundaries and number of editions, social auditing mechanism, determining the responsibility of the press, ensuring security, freedom and stability of the journalists, review of the recommendations of both the previous commissions, and determining responsibility of completing the pending work, probing permissions given to foreign capital investment and how to stop them in future, study of the circumstances and foreign pressure under which the Manmohan Singh government cleared the way to increase foreign investment in entertainment from 74 to 100 percent, and in press from 26 to 49 percent, need of the formation of regional commissions along with a national commission, Presspal, and declaration of assets every three years by managers (advertisements, circulation manager etc), authorized editors, and other senior positions like joint editors, local editors, bureau chiefs, chief reporter etc.

Currently debate is going on about two controversies. The first controversy is related to the 'Bindas Bol' program of Sudarshan TV. The other is related to the accusation of manipulation of TRP by Republic TV. On the

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first controversy, the Government of India filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court in which the government has accepted that incidents of violation of rules in the print and electronic media are not rampant. But there is mayhem in the digital media. The government in its affidavit has christened digital media as parallel media. Apart from these two the third debate raging on is about the 'Press and Periodicals Registration Bill, 2019'. The digital media has also been included in this proposed bill. The totally free digital media is

on fire about this.

Prime Minister Modi's government is known for its decisions and not for postponing them. The I&B ministry has received suggestions on the proposed bill on a large scale. If this bill comes in parliament and is passed, then first time there will be any change in the P.R.B. law of 1867. This should be considered a step forward in the direction of reform. If my information is correct, then I can say that the Government of India is soon going to take a decision on the formation of a Media Council. If

this happens, it can serve the old demand of policy determination and regulation in the media. The entire media will be under one umbrella. The country will see a new era of institutions, rules and regulations, which have been long awaited. This will revive the magic of the printed word, and the credibility of what the journalists say will improve. Even then the question of studying in totality the current condition of the media will remain until the Indian Government constitutes a media commission under the commission of enquiry act. ●

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Umesh Upadhyay

Technology in Media

Bhasmasur or

Kalpavriksh

With the progress of technology, human life has gradually gone in the control of machines. Media is also mostly controlled by technology and in the times to come it will definitely come under full technological control. What will happen then — an analysis

“The leadership of the current biotech and InfoTech revolution is in the hands of the engineers, industrialists and scientists. They do not perhaps understand the political implications of their decisions because they do not represent anyone. Isn't it time that the elected parliaments and political parties should assume control of these?”

- Yuval Noah Harari¹

“The freedom of expression is not freedom to incite violence.”

- Jonathan Greenblatt (*New York Times*, 6 January, 2021²)

Come, let us for some time go to the future.

February 2025:

As soon as Avinash, with his laptop bag hanging over his shoulder, had pushed the bell of his 16th floor apartment in the upmarket East village of New York, a sweet voice answered from inside, “Who is that? Avinash? I will just open the door!”

Avinash replied, “Yes Bhawana, it is me only.”

Just as he said this the door opened on its own. After putting his bag on the table beside the sofa, Avinash was taking off his shoes and the voice said again, “What is

the matter? You look too tired today Avinash?”

“Yes, you are right, it was too hectic in the office today,” Avinash murmured in a low voice.

“See, your sugar level is also down. Your hot tea is ready in the tea maker. It has been made sweeter today considering your sugar level,” the voice said.

Avinash went into the kitchenette of his studio apartment and brought the tea cup filled with fresh hot tea from under the tea maker. The tea was perfect. As soon as he rested his head on the back of the sofa, after he had taken a relaxing sip of his tea, his favorite song “*Tum na jaane kis jahan me kho gaye...*” in the melodious voice of Lata Mangeshkar started playing in a soothing volume in his music system.

Whenever Avinash was tired, this song by S.D. Burman from the 50s used to give him much relaxation. Today he was missing Bhawana too much.

Bhawana, his wife, was living thousands of miles away in the city of Gurgaon in India with their little daughter Saloni. Avinash is an IT engineer, and due to work, he has to live in New York for months several times. Bhawana is teaching

in the Delhi University and so cannot come to New York with her husband.

Then how did he hear Bhawana's voice when he was standing outside the door?

Who was it who prepared his tea and, realizing his condition, also played the music accordingly?

All this was done by the automatic system of his home based on Artificial Intelligence-AI. If we look at the sequence of his coming home in an orderly way, we will find that on every step a computer program was managing his home.

When he had reached his car parking area, the computer in his home connected to his phone via GPS knew that Avinash was arriving. The Apple watch on his wrist was connected to the entire system. After 5G, there is now no latency in big data and so all his systems are accurate to one hundredth of a second. When he was outside his door, the computer had directed the camera to scan his retina and ensure that it was Avinash only. When the scan made sure that it was Avinash, then under a second layer of security, the computer itself had asked him in Bhawana's voice, "Have you come Avinash?" and when Avinash had replied, it was only after the computer had examined

his voice that it had directed the automatic mechanical system of the door and it had opened without any key.

As soon as he had sat down on the sofa, the scan of his eyes and his skin had taken place and the computer had known that Avinash's energy level was down due to low sugar levels in his blood.

Avinash loves his wife very much. That is why he has named the computer program which runs his New York smart home Bhawana. He had entered the samples of his wife's voice in the computer, and that is why he heard the same voice from his computer. Even though he is thousands of miles away from his wife, he is experiencing virtual nearness with his wife. It is another matter that this virtual nearness increases his longing for Bhawana in moments of solitude. And he wants to embrace his wife.

You are perhaps thinking that this is some sort of science fiction. No, this is no longer the imagination of a writer. If not today it is going to be the truth in the next few years. Some part of this is operating even today in smart homes.

If you do not believe this, let us go back to September 2019 from 2025. This is also necessary to know today's truth.

September 2019

Avinash has come to Chennai from Gurgaon for some company work. In the coming months the festivals of Dussehra and Diwali are going to come. He was married six months ago. But, he had never bought a saree for Bhawana by himself. He thought that the bright Kanjeevaram saree would look good on his fair wife. He bought the traditional Patola design red and yellow saree from Nalli sarees in T Nagar, and as soon as he swiped his card his phone rang. He was still inside the showroom. A voice said from the other end, "Sir, this is a call from ABC bank. Have you just made a payment at Nalli Sarees in Chennai?"

Avinash, carrying the saree packet in one hand and putting back his credit card in his wallet from the other, got irritated a little bit. He was getting late for the airport.

"Yes yes, I have just made a payment," Avinash almost shouted.

The voice from the other end said, "Thank you for confirming that sir, happy shopping and have a good day sir."

Such calls are normal now. Behind this seemingly ordinary looking call, a complete automatic system works, which tries to alert you after analyzing your shopping behavior in just a few seconds. There is a complete web of computers and internet active behind this. The computer infers using Artificial Intelligence and machine learning that you have done something unusual, different from your routine behavior. That is why you get a call from the bank whenever you make a

There is a complete web of computers and internet active behind this. The computer infers using Artificial Intelligence and machine learning that you have done something unusual, different from your routine behavior. That is why you get a call from the bank whenever you make a purchase deviating from your usual 'pattern'. 'Pattern' means calculating the frequency in seconds, analyzing it and making a definite inference based on it

purchase deviating from your usual 'pattern'. 'Pattern' means calculating the frequency in seconds, analyzing it and making a definite inference based on it. Not just making an inference but acting upon it. This is Artificial Intelligence based on Big Data.

However, if you give it a thought, our intelligence examines whatever is happening around us based upon the experiences stored in its memory. This inference becomes the basis of our action or reaction. In this very cycle of actions and reactions most of our life is spent. By the medium of our nervous system, there is a constant communication between our intelligence, mind and senses. Several actions are based upon this cycle only. The mind does not have to strain for them and they seem to happen on their own. Like brushing your teeth, movement of our hands when a fly comes near us or opening of the mouth when eating.

For individuals and for society, life's normal actions go on as per a cycle of actions and reactions between humans and nature. It can also be said that a continuous cycle of the sequence of action and reaction can be called life. But, there is a basic difference between the human body and a machine; and that is the presence of elements like the heart, mind, thoughts, emotions etc in humans apart from the senses. Now the question is that today the machine does not have these elements but in future can a computer get these elements independently? The wise and learned reply both in the affirmative and negative to this. It is a matter of a different

If we talk about the media, we find how YouTube, Google, Twitter, Facebook etc have started showing us content based upon our taste without us even realizing it. Content updates based upon our tastes, old searches and frequency of search are posted on our phones and computers in such a natural way that we no longer find them strange any more

and big debate.

For now, let us talk about the different uses of Artificial Intelligence today and in the future. If we put apart imagination, then the machine has more power to memorize and calculate as compared to humans. Such computers have been developed now which have almost limitless capacity, and when these computers are connected to a big network their calculating power becomes almost infinite. This means that apart from imagination, all that work that is done to take out inferences or conclusions based on comparative study by using the memory, the machine can perform better than humans. With the use of machine intelligence software many such tasks have been transferred to computers in the last few years from humans. These tasks done by the machine are better, the probability of a mistake is negligible and due to this they are cost-effective also.

If we look around we find that tasks which were being done by humans a few decades ago are being performed by computers. Tasks such as counting notes in banks, withdrawing money from your accounts, train reservations, conduction of aviation, sale of cinema tickets, counting of votes, even matching

of horoscopes by pundits are being done by computers. In the times to come, in matters related to the media, agriculture, health, education and communication we will find more artificial intelligence being used. This can be very well explained by two examples. In a competition organized by Nasscom sometime ago, Samsung presented a sensor which can continuously read your blood pressure using your phone without you even knowing it. If the fluctuation in your blood pressure is matched online with your old health records it can alert you well in advance about a heart condition. Not only this, in an emergency this automatic system will be a boon to save your life. Similarly, tests like E.C.G can also be read by a machine in a quicker and better way.

If we talk about the media, we find how YouTube, Google, Twitter, Facebook etc have started showing us content based upon our taste without us even realizing it. Content updates based upon our tastes, old searches and frequency of search are posted on our phones and computers in such a natural way that we no longer find them strange any more. If you explore deeply you will understand that a complex system of computers, digital networks and artificial

intelligence works behind it. When did all this become a part of our daily routine and habit, we did not even realize. But, the point to be considered is machine's intervention in the media world is not limited to search only.

According to experts, in the next three-four years, in a newsroom a computer will start doing several tasks currently being done by the journalists. These tasks are sub editing, writing summary of news, language translation, converting written words into voice or vice versa etc. A computer will be able to perform many of these tasks in a better and faster way. During Covid times, already some of these tasks are being done by the computers. A lot of text to voice and voice to text tasks are being done by software. Similarly language translation work has been handed over to the machines in a big way.

It must be said here that machines also have their limitations. A computer cannot input a new thought or thinking in these editorial tasks. Up till now the machines do not have thoughts, imagination and independent decision making capacity. Thus, there will always be some tasks that the machines will be unable to do. But there are several tasks

in the newsroom based upon cycles. Tasks involving new imagination are anyway a small part of the total work. Apart from these, most of the work will gradually be transferred to the machines. There is no scope of any reservation on this. In the last few years we have seen this happening in the banking, telecom, aviation and finance sectors.

Thus, all the work which involves only mathematical calculations are either already being done by the computer or it has the capacity to do them. The usage of such intelligence of the machines, in intelligence based calculations has increased exponentially in the last two decades. In the entire world, resources to a large extent are being utilized in new explorations about artificial intelligence going beyond machine –intelligence. In 2017, 6.4 billion dollars were spent on such research. In the previous year this amount was just 3.8 billion dollars. India is currently behind in this research but an amount of 73 million dollars was spent on such research in 2017 where as in 2016 this amount was 4 million dollars only. India is now at the 10th position among countries doing similar research.

After the advent of the

Internet, intervention of technology in the media field has also increased. Big digital/social media institutions now know our tastes in reading, hearing and watching content by the medium of algorithms. Now, they are even using this to influence our tastes. Whatever content is being shown to us, we have rights over it only for namesake, but gradually this right is slipping from our hands and going to machines. These machines are run by the algorithms decided by big companies. When we talk of artificial intelligence it means a capacity to understand and filter big data accumulated in the machine and presenting it to a particular individual and a capability to take decisions based upon it. These algorithms are self run computer programs which keep on continuously improving themselves. This means that the algorithms are now developing new algorithms better than themselves.

But the question is how much influence will it put on editorial direction and editorial decisions? In the case of social and digital media, algorithms are gradually deciding what to present to the reader, listener or viewer. But the question is, will algorithms going forward will also decide what the content will be in future? Algorithms based on big data are a fact in our life today. But, the important thing is who will decide the rules and sub regulations about how to run this entire system of artificial intelligence? Will the profit-driven companies and their executives decide this or the system based upon accepted norms and constitutions? The

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entire world has to struggle against this question but, especially in democratic societies like that of India, this issue will have an important role in deciding things for the future.

The interference of the media houses on contemporary issues is not hidden anymore. Their Big Data-based capacity, number of their subscribers, and their system of presenting content without charging any money directly from the users, has made the multinational institutions very powerful. They are now using in democratic societies rights such as the freedom of expression like convenient slogans according to their political thinking. The right to expression is a fundamental right in democratic systems and it is an established fact that without it democracy loses its meaning. But you cannot use it as per your convenience and opportunity. Using the power of technology to promote a particular narrative is opportunism. This has been seen recently in the USA and India.³

On the 6th of January, violent incidents took place in the Capitol Hill, the US Parliament. At that time the Twitter account of then President Donald Trump was blocked as he was accused of inciting violence. It was said that Trump incited his supporters for violence through a video. Several other Twitter accounts were also blocked or suspended for the same reason. YouTube, Facebook and other social media companies also did the same.⁴

It was also said that it is important to view the freedom of expression in a right perspective. When there was mayhem in America, a voice

was raised from all sides to put curbs on social media. The 'liberal' supporters of freedom of expression suddenly started saying forcefully that no one can be allowed to spread hatred in the community in the name of freedom of expression. On this issue, Jonathan Greenblatt, who had been special assistant to the former President Barack Obama, said clearly, "The freedom of expression is not freedom to spread violence." He said, "President Trump has spread poison through social media." Greenblatt, who is currently the CEO of the Anti Defamation League of America, said, "It is imperative on the social media companies that they shall take strict action and stop this."

At that time, Twitter while blocking the account of President Donald Trump, said that, "Trump's account will remain blocked for 12 hours, and if he does not delete those tweets rejecting the election results which seem to be inciting violence, this suspension will be extended further." Besides, Twitter also said in this statement, "If Trump continues to violate Twitter's policy on violent threats and false propaganda related to the elections, his account will be closed permanently."

But, does Twitter maintain the same principles everywhere in the world? What happened in India? Rioters insulted the National Flag on 26th January at the Red Fort, which is the symbol of India's integrity and national pride. Did Twitter or any other social media platform take any action similar to what they did in the US regarding the violence that took place in the Red Fort on 26th January? Did Twitter or Facebook even try to block accounts inciting violence or disharmony?

Not only that, a hashtag #ModiPlanningFarmerGenocide was circulated in India. This hashtag means that Prime Minister Modi was planning genocide of farmers. Now what can be more fake and false and provocative propaganda inciting violence? It is totally against Twitter's declared policy as quoted above. A section of farmers is protesting against the new farm laws in India. A few days ago on 26th January violence had already happened. The society is agitated over the desecration of the tricolor and the Red Fort. In such a scenario, you need not be an extremely wise person to understand the motive behind such hashtags. What should have happened was that Twitter's algorithm should have itself caught this violation.

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And its editorial team should have acted afterwards. This did not happen and rather Twitter, as opposed to the US incident, called it 'newsworthy content'.

The Indian government gave a written order to Twitter to act upon 257 accounts which had circulated the #ModiPlanningFarmerGenocide. Twitter blocked some of these accounts for a few hours. But then Twitter executives took a U-turn and said that they consider this an issue of freedom of expression and restored the accounts propagating this hashtag. Twitter also said that this hashtag was newsworthy. Thus, Twitter played all the four roles-that of complainant, accused, lawyer and judge itself, beyond all rules and propriety. It is another matter that after pressure was put on it, it had to block those accounts again. However, these accounts were blocked by geo-tagging in India only, and they were running elsewhere.

This clearly shows that Twitter took a different stand on the algorithm in India and it viewed it from a different angle in the US. After violence has taken place, what is the reason behind adopting such double standards regarding democratic systems established by the rule of law? This is a matter of consideration for the intellectuals, the lawmakers and the policymakers.

Several fundamental questions arise from this incident.

The first question is whether companies like Twitter who work for profit, have the right to decide as per their convenience what will be the narrative in which democratic country?

Yuval Noah Harari also raises a fundamental question.

His question is whether the time has come when the machines assume the role of our minds and not only our intelligence? We need to understand this. Today the computers work on the basis of algorithms given to them by man. The algorithms created initially for simple calculations have become complex day by day

The second question is that are these companies greater than India's law, India's parliament, or a democratically elected government or the Indian system? This is also applicable to other democratic systems also.

The third point is that will these companies play all the roles themselves- that of complainant, lawyer, accused and judge?

The fourth and most important question is whether these media companies have any rights above the sovereignty of a democratic state like India?

This issue has been analyzed in detail by the young thinker Yuval Noah Harari in his book 21 lessons for the 21st Century. He says that the Biotech and InfoTech revolution has now started giving man powers to control his mind according to his wishes. He writes, "We (humans) have acquired the power with which we have manipulated the world around us in such a way that we have changed the face of the earth." It is another matter that we could not fully understand these changes done in the name of development. That is the reason why these changes have resulted in the destruction of the environment.

Yuval Noah Harari also raises a fundamental question. His question is whether the time has come when the machines

assume the role of our minds and not only our intelligence? We need to understand this. Today the computers work on the basis of algorithms given to them by man. The algorithms created initially for simple calculations have become complex day by day. Earlier the algorithms only did calculations, and scientists derived meanings from those calculations and took out conclusions. Now, the computer not only infers but also conducts the actions and reactions based on them. Can supercomputers not develop their own new algorithms? If this happens we cannot rule out the possibility of some sort of imagination capability developing in the computer.

We can well imagine the dangers of this development. It will be apt to give here the example of the 1993 science fiction film Jurassic park by Steven Spielberg. This film shows how the scientists recreate the extinct dinosaurs by using their DNA. But, how the dinosaurs created after so much hard work become a hazard for the same scientists has been shown in a lively and effective way in this film.

Now think if the machines develop such capabilities what will happen to mankind? This might look like wild imagination today but who had

thought of mobile phones a few decades ago? It was hardly a few years ago when a computer with two to four GB memory took a space of a few hundred square feet. But, now a mobile phone weighing just 150-200 grams which fits in our pockets is more capable and effective than those computers. Therefore ignoring these possibilities is like ignoring future realities. What machine and artificial intelligence can do is hard to imagine today.

Based on these algorithms, big social and digital media organizations are deciding today which revolution will run in which country on which issues. Which issue will be promoted and which issue will be buried. From Egypt's Arab Spring to the Black Lives Matter of the US to the so-called movement against the new farm laws in India, the interference of these media organizations is clearly visible. Revolutions are natural in a democracy. Protest is the basic element of democratic systems. But it is the prerogative of the political parties, social organizations and the public to organize movements and decide issues. International media organizations cannot do this from behind the curtain. There must be transparency in their working and in the working of their algorithms. They cannot be above the elected governments. These media organizations

It will be apt to mention a fresh incident here. China's President Xi Jinping has recently directed blog writers in his country to take compulsory permission from his government before writing on health, economic issues, education or judicial issues. Earlier the permission was mandatory for political, military and strategic matters only. Xi Jinping has done this under his principle of maintaining 'digital sovereignty'

cannot be allowed to become the behind-the-curtain digital powers and set the narratives in democratic societies.

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China, anyway, is a dictatorial system. But the issue of digital sovereignty cannot be ignored now. In democratic societies like India who will have this digital sovereignty? Will it be with the owners of the tech-media organizations who work for profit and who are not accountable to anyone or with parliament elected by the people? In this context Harari's statement becomes important,

"The leadership of the current biotech and InfoTech revolution is in the hands of the engineers, industrialists and scientists. They do not perhaps understand the political implications of their decisions because they do not represent anyone. Isn't it time that the elected parliaments and political parties should assume control of these?"

If we go back to the original characters of this article Avinash and Bhawana, their life is becoming rich in facilities but also gradually getting complex.

Will our Avinash get lost somewhere between the virtual and the real world? Will this game between the virtual and real worlds turn into a conflict? If we look at the media, will 'fake narrative' usurp the real down to earth narratives?

Technology is a big achievement for humankind. But it is the responsibility of the new generation to ensure that it does not become a bhasmasur (the self consuming demon) but a Kalpavriksh (the eternal tree). ●

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Hitesh Shankar

Ideological Journalism in India: Affiliation and Conflict

Questions have been raised again and again regarding the committed slant or nature of journalism, but there is a long history as well, of ideological journalism in India. A look at the needs and prospects of the present and future through the window of the past...

Journalism today is beset with a lot of questions. From a “media that is for sale” to a “media that simply blares and bores”, these are stigmas that have not only drilled holes in the credibility of the media, but also filled the minds of society with a foreboding about the edifice, which was called the fortress of truth and fact, being rendered porous and increasingly hollow.

The doubts harboured by society, and the questions it raises are not without reason.

When we consider the question of why these arise, we see some more turns in this sequence of developments. How the journalism of Indian society and its concerns thereof came into being, the spirit that led to its creation, the changes that have emerged in today's journalism, the issues of compactness in journalism, which have evolved as a result of these changes, the pressures in journalism, or say, what ought to be the main functions of journalism, and how journalism should interact amidst all these, are some of contemporary matters of consideration. The question is: where is the thinking in journalism to free itself of the pressure of breaking news? And the biggest question is, why is this thinking needed?

If we delve into the veritable

‘Indian Ocean’ of the history of journalism to satiate these curiosities, we find a solid and robust inscription of ‘national thought’ in the foundation of Indian journalism.

Journalism in India: From a foreign initiative to an indigenous ideological turn

The story of Hindi journalism is the saga of Indian nationality. The first progenitors of Hindi journalism were fully conscious of communitarian self-identity, a realization of the age they lived in and also their social responsibility. Perhaps this is why they had to fall prey to the repressive policies of an alien regime. For the record, it is James Augustus Hickey who has the credit for bringing out the first newspaper in India. However in this, there is less of any concern for journalism in the Indian sense; a wish to resort to arm twisting is more visible. Hickey published the *Bengal Gazette* in the year 1780, which criticized the East India Company's government, not sparing even the wife of the then Viceroy Warren Hastings, due to which the East India Company sent him back to Britain. In 1818, the British merchant James Silk Berkingham edited the *Calcutta General*. Berkingham was the first

publisher to present the press as a mirror of the public.

The origin or DNA of the tradition of Indian journalism has been love for the nation. Journalism in India began at around the same time as the spark of nationalism was lit. This was the basic element of the Indian journalism that began with the initiative of James Hickey. Gangadhar Bhattacharya began publishing the *Bengal Gazette* from Calcutta in 1816 under the inspiration of Raja Rammohan Roy. It was the first newspaper published by any Indian. On 4 December 1821, Tarachand Dutt and Bhawanicharan Bandyopadhyay started the Bengali weekly *Samvad Kaumudi*, again under the inspiration of Rammohan Roy. Roy made *Samvad Kaumudi* a campaign against the practice of sati.

On April 20, 1822, Raja Rammohan Roy began the publication of *Mirat ul Akhbar* in Persian from Calcutta. In his first editorial opinion piece, Roy wrote: “My intent in publishing this newspaper is that such issues should be presented to the public which can enhance their experiences, enable social progress, let the government know the condition of the people and the public become

aware of the functioning of the government and the rules and regulations.”³

Hindi’s first weekly and daily: their purpose and sense of values

The first weekly in Hindi *Udant Martand* was published by a lawyer from Kanpur, Yugal Kishore Shukla, on May 30, 1826 from Calcutta but was shut down on September 18, 1828. Shukla showed the courage in publishing a newspaper in Hindi at a time when it was a huge challenge to write anything in favour of the interests of Indians under British rule.⁴ The motto of *Udant Martand* was “To help promote the interests of Hindustanis (Indians)”. The values of India’s journalism are clearly seen in this statement. The purpose of journalism or, say, its sense of values, ought to be to safeguard the interests of the Indian people.

After this, the first Hindi daily *Samachar Sudhavarshan* too was published from Calcutta on June 8, 1854, whose editor was Shyam Sundar Sen. The editor of this newspaper was a ubiquitous freedom fighter of Indian news publications. *Samachar Sudhavarshan* constantly and courageously published the news about the atrocities committed

by the British army. In its May 26, 1857 issue, the newspaper wrote: “Recently the British tried to destroy our religion. God therefore, is angry with them. It seems that the end of the British Empire is at hand. The reality is that the war is gathering strength and the people of many regions are joining the (mutineers) army”.⁵

In its June 5, 1857 issue, *Samachar Sudhavarshan* wrote that the revolt at Meerut and Delhi had so frightened the Governor that he increased the number of security personnel guarding him and ordered the closure of all the routes of the Governor’s mansion at eight o’clock every night. The haplessness of the Governor is such that he goes to Dum Dum and Barrackpore and tells the (East India Company’s) soldiers with folded hands: “I shall not do anything that will hurt your religion”. The British government was so scared by news about the uprising that the Governor General decided to prosecute Shyam Sundar Sen on 12 June 1857.

After 1857 (the first war of independence): ideas illuminating the path to freedom

After the war of 1857, there was an unprecedented increase in the number of Indian newspapers. They now became more vocal critics of the government. In 1858, British indigo planters began coercing the paddy farmers of Bengal to cultivate indigo in their fields, against which the peasants rose in revolt. Most indigo factories were shut down by 1860. Harishchandra Mukherjee, editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, played a major role in

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this revolt.

Indian newspapers began taking a stand against Lord Lytton's imperialist tendencies. Lytton ended the freedom of Indian newspapers in 1878 through the Native Language Newspaper Act. The Vernacular Press Act was aimed at the then popular and important nationalist newspaper *Som Prakash*. In other words, this Act would apply only to *Som Prakash*. To escape being caught in Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (a newspaper), which was being published in Bengali, changed itself into an English weekly. Trials were conducted against *Som Prakash*, *Bharat Mihir*, *Dhaka Prakash*, *Sahachar*, etc. Newspapers had no right of appeal in a court under this Act. This abominable Act was repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.⁶

Indian renaissance and ideological journalism: a mutually complementary sojourn

Indian journalism after 1875 operated at many levels. One was the development of language whose precursor was Bharatendu Harishchandra and on the other hand the template of Indian renaissance, whose harbinger was Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. But viewed holistically, this renaissance is nothing other than the national heralding and spread of ideological journalism.

Tilak started two newspapers, *Maratha* and *Kesari*. The first issue of the *Kesari* was published in the year 1881. Tilak's articles in these newspapers were openly opposed to the brutal policies and atrocities of the British

Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took over as the editor of the newspaper *Hindusthan* published from Kalakankar in 1886. Under Malviya's capable editorship, *Hindustan* became the voice of the nation. His incisive writings established the publication in the country as a nationalist paper. The values that Malaviya established through his journalism still show us the way. Nationalism was the fundamental voice of the journalism of that era

regime. In his newspapers, important issues such as boycott of foreign goods, the use of *swadeshi*, national education and the Swaraj movement were made the basis. Tilak was also imprisoned several times due to these clear and rebellious articles. Despite this, Tilak remained totally devoted to journalism and always stood by his views and principles.⁷ The words "Swaraj, Independence, Boycott, Swadeshi" are the contribution of Tilak's outspoken vocal journalism, fused with the spirit of nationhood. It was Tilak's journalism that broadened the freedom movement.

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Bengal in 1905 made the whole of India rise against the British government. To collate and lend expression to the sentiments of patriotic Indians, there was an urgent need to start an English daily. As a result, due to Malaviya's efforts of, the newspaper *The Leader* came into existence on October 24, 1909.

Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, editor of *Saraswati*, a leading Hindi magazine published since 1900, says that in order to make politics cultured it is necessary that our nation builders read literature. Journalism is the name of the vehicle of ideas and literature of society, from which the birth of nationalism and the spirit of renaissance are automatically generated in the people.⁹

Swaraj's editors, overwhelmed by nationalism, lent such a forceful voice to the national public awareness that many of them had to go to jail on several occasions on being accused of treason. The task of journalism was to sound the clarion call and convey the message of nationalism in the country and society. Its proponents therefore, while propagating the reformist approach, not only contemplated upon the problems of child marriage, *purdah*, widow

marriage, women education etc., deeply, but also considered it their duty to create a political awakening by strengthening the society through establishing harmony.¹⁰

During the course of the independence movement, Deenabandhu C.F. Andrews, upon the suggestion of Lala Lajpat Rai geared himself up for the publication of a nationalist daily paper. In October 1904, Lala Lajpat Rai and his colleagues launched the newspaper *The Punjabi*. Right from its first edition, *The Punjabi* made it appear that its purpose was not just to become yet another daily newspaper, but to awaken the masses of the country and create political consciousness for the liberation of Mother India from the British Empire. *The Punjabi* also laid down what the role of the media and its concerns in the freedom movement ought to be. Apart from *The Punjabi*, Lajpat Rai inspired the people to fight for freedom and laid the foundation of nationalist journalism through books like *Young India*, *United States of America: A Hindu's Impression and Study*, *England's Debt to India and Political Future of India*.¹¹

On reaching South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi worked to

awaken South Africans and Indians against the British Empire through the *Indian Opinion*. Here, Gandhi started his journalism in Durban by writing letters to the editor when he was asked to take off his turban in the court and he refused to do so. The journalism that started with this protest later grew with the publication of *Indian Opinion*, *Navajivan*, *Harijan*, etc., and writing articles in many newspapers. In the April 3, 1924 issue of *Young India*, Gandhi writes: "Why am I striving for India's independence? Because my *swadeshi* dharma teaches me that I was born in this country. I have inherited the culture of this country, so I am at the most eligible only to serve my mother, and the first right on my service is of this land of my birth, but my devotion to my land does not turn me away from the service of another country".¹²

The feeling of nationhood in journalism after independence

After independence, journalism was more or less engaged in the task of nation building. In this regard, the ruling establishment and the people had become somewhat congruent. But there were some who sensed that the euphoria after attaining freedom

had evaporated and considered the undertaking of a continual *yajna* of spreading nationalist consciousness necessary. Chief among such people was Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

Along with being a political statesman, thinker and ideologue, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay can as well be called a pioneer of post-independence nationalist journalism. Due to the increasing influence of the Leftists, Indian ideology could not find its proper place in the media. Instead, efforts were being made to create a negative milieu towards national ideas and nationalist thought. The country then needed a strong alternative in the media, which could carry an alternative political stream to the public other than the politics of the Congress and the Left; a stream of journalism, which is not Westernized but based on Indianness. It is precisely such an Indian stream in journalism that Deendayal Upadhyay with his visionary thinking made flow. He started the national magazine *Rashtradharma*, the weekly newspaper *Panchjanya* (Hindi), *Organiser* (English) and the daily newspaper *Swadesh*. When Deendayal stepped into journalism (with the publication of *Rashtradharma* in 1947), journalism till then was considered as a missionary activity or, say, a mission. It was the medium of national awakening. In *Panchjanya* too, Deendayal used to write the column "Vicharveethi" while in the *Organiser* published in English, he used to write a column by the name of "Political Diary". His writings contained ideas providing direction to national

On reaching South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi worked to awaken South Africans and Indians against the British Empire through the *Indian Opinion*. Here, Gandhi started his journalism in Durban by writing letters to the editor when he was asked to take off his turban in the court and he refused to do so. The journalism that started with this protest later grew with the publication of *Indian Opinion*, *Navajivan*, *Harijan*, etc., and writing articles in many newspapers

life, apart from his commentary on the then prevailing conditions.¹³ Deendayal did not publish only newspapers and magazines, but due to his inspiration many people entered the field of journalism and later on became prominent names in this field. Prominent among them are former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, former Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani, Devendra Swaroop, Maheshchandra Sharma, Yadavrao Deshmukh, Rajiv Lochan Agnihotri, Vachnesh Tripathi, Mahendra Kulshrestha, Girish Chandra Mishra, etc. All of them trod that path of journalism, which was ploughed by Deendayal Upadhyay.

Cultural concerns are bigger than government

Slavery to British rule came to an end with the Partition of India in 1947. At that time, when it was believed that the responsibility of journalism of making sacrifices in the national movement had been fulfilled, and it was therefore the launch of newspapers and magazines like *Panchajanya*, *Rashtradharm*, *Swadesh*, *Organiser*, etc., was surprising for some people.

This particular stride of journalism in India that stood on the threshold of self-government was a declaration that despite changing governments, the concerns of live, awoke societies and cultures do not change.

These were the experiments of a journalism targeted at society, wherein instead of being a supplicant of the government for advertising, the idea of enlightening the society and informing the administration too was reflected in the mirror of the

It is one thing to listen to others or respect their views, but bowing down to another is a completely different thing. In preparing to bow down to the will of another, there always remains a peril. Those who are gentle and sincere always forsake their insistence and accept others' viewpoint, but those who are malevolent and insolent get their way and become leading individuals of the society. Gradually, democracy takes on a distorted form and becomes painful for society. To face this chaos and stubbornness, the philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyay puts forth the idea of refinement of public opinion

cultural concept of democracy.

A journalism that provides answers rather than just question

In the writings and journalism of Deendayal Upadhyay, along with the flowering of democracy, one finds intellectual methods and experiments that balance it with the philosophy of Indianness that keeps society away from anarchy and chaos, and can provide it with economic, social, administrative and above all, mental and spiritual satisfaction.

Since the intellectual underpinnings of this journalism have been an inclusive philosophy, it can be tested on the touchstone of any place and period of time. The ability to present socially beneficial solutions through journalism can be easily seen in these literary and journalistic delvings.

The countering of obstinacy towards anarchy and unrest in the name of agitation

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To face this chaos and stubbornness, the philosophy of Deendayal Upadhyay puts forth the idea of refinement of public opinion. In a society in which this work of sophistication proceeds, a comity of tolerant and restrained individuals would continue to grow. Even though there might be a few exceptions, they would not be able to establish preponderance.

Deendayal Upadhyay
[*Rashtrajeevan ki Disha* (book) 1971]

Not anarchy but development

All entities are true. As our self-consciousness expands, our perception will develop. All are true, and because of this there is no shunning of the other, no abandonment and no proscribing.

For example, sprouts come forth from seedlings and plants out of the sprouts, and from there branches and offshoots emerge, flowers and fruits spring forth from them. The size of each one of them is different, be it the seedling, plant, flowers and fruits; they are seemingly not related to each other. This seems to be a very chaotic situation, but it is a sequence of growth rather than anarchy. There is no conflict between the seed and sprout, from the smallest unit to the largest entity. All are true in their respective spheres. No one opposes another. This is the salient feature of the Indian way of thought.

(Explanation of the philosophy of Integral Humanism—statement of eminent *swadeshi* thinker, the late Dattopant Thengdi)

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay's view was that the way the institution of governance is created, through decentralization of political power among the people, economic power too should be similarly decentralized among people and the economy should be structured and run on those patterns. Deendayal's outlook draws up not only the framework of Indian dimensions of economic journalism, but presents the standards and

philosophies that are worthy of being adopted globally. It is due to this ideological clarity of Deendayal Upadhyay that *Panchjanya's* journalism demonstrates efforts to solve rather than problem, rather than laying blame.

Deendayal Upadhyay wrote a series of five articles titled "Yojana Badalo" [change the (Five Year) Plan]. He was in favour of practical planning by understanding the Indian tradition and situation rather than being confined to thinking bound by the confines of Western 'isms' and conventions. Deendayal propagated that two words were enough to solve the problems of the Indian economy. One is *Swadeshi* and the second is decentralization.

Deendayal Upadhyay also organized a satyagraha across the country against the obstacles being created in Kashmir's accession to India.

A conspiracy to assault nationalist ethos

The huge and negative change in Hindi journalism came after 1975 when Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, imposed egregious shackles on journalism by imposing the Emergency and persecuted journalists. Leftists, who had made inroads into

journalism along with their alien ideology under the smokescreen of this dictatorship, now began portraying mere opposition to the establishment as journalism. In reality, the strategy behind this posture was to weaken the Indian republic. Following this strategy, the devious ploy of portraying Indian culture, traditions, *Swadeshi*, indigenous attire, language and religions as orthodox, backward and ridiculous was set in motion. In other words, a conspiracy of assaulting the ethos of nationalism, which the doyens of the journalism of the pre-independence era had nurtured through their journalism, creating a sense of self-respect and awakening among the Indians, was now put into action. New definitions of journalism began being coined in which nationalism, the basic DNA of Indian journalism, was squeezed out and journalism was spoken of as being separate from the nation and its culture.

Meanwhile, the dominance of capital began to grow after the Soviet Union's communist superstructure disintegrated and profit-making rather than the refinement of national consciousness became the purpose of bringing out newspapers. Despite being ideologically disposed against capital, this situation was favourable to the Leftists, as the individualism emanating from capitalism appeared to militate against the collective nationalist consciousness and started taking on the form of the newspaper business. This aided those who owed allegiance to an ideology and the spread of anarchy to be juxtaposed against nationalist

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ethos became easier for them. To cash in on this sentiment, anarchical elements, whose ideology was alien, started coming out of the woodwork in the name of being anti-establishment; the nature of their journalism was not Indian at all.

The current status of journalism

If we look at journalism in the current milieu, the scope of journalistic media has increased. Earlier, newspapers were the medium of information and thought. A newspaper used to arrive in the morning, through which the polity (public) would become familiar with the new events. This uniform routine was broken by evening dailies. During this period, news would also appear on the medium of audio, such as All India Radio, but that too was brief and timely. The relevance of newspapers did not suffer. Visual media then made its advent and a one-hour news bulletin began on television at night, which ended the monotony of newspapers. This was followed by the emergence of private news channels and the coming of news coverage round the clock. In this, there began competition to present breaking news. But the introduction of mobile and digital media affected the relevance of the primary responsibility of newspapers, which is reporting. When the US took action to eliminate Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, a non-journalist individual reported on social media from his BlackBerry mobile that some helicopters were seen hovering in the sky. This incident led to the introduction of citizen

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journalism and breaking news, before appearing on established media, began breaking out on social media.

What should be the role of newspapers?

In such a situation, what the role of newspapers now is has become an appropriate topic. When we seek the answer, we see that the journalism of newspapers today is divided into four parts—journalism (providing information), advertising, public relations and propagation (propaganda). The latter three are key elements from the business point of view while the first part is limited to simply reporting. Between these, concerns and ideas have disappeared from newspapers.

This ideological crisis of Hindi newspapers and magazines was foreseen some 95 years ago by the doyen of journalists, Baburao Vishnu Paradkar. That is when he said at the Hindi editors' conference at Vrindavan's in 1925, "In the coming years, the publication of newspapers and magazines will be the function of big money-lenders. The circulation of newspapers will be in millions. They will be multi-coloured and will be equipped with excellent embellishments. But in spite

of all this, newspapers will be lifeless." This prediction of Paradkar is being proved greatly true today.¹⁴

The question now is that when the function of dispensing information from newspapers has turned towards social media, what responsibilities should newspapers take on? These obligations may be of assessment, analysis, concern and contemplation. These are the concerns and ideas that have been at the core of Indian journalism since its inception and indeed, been the DNA of journalism. What then are these concerns and ideas? When certain individuals approach the issue of concern, they come up with the idea of anarchy in the guise of concerns or interests. This anarchist ideology is contrary to the basic DNA of Indian journalism, but in the name of ideas and concerns, attempts are made to entrench this anarchy. It is being propagated that the responsibility of journalism is to oppose the establishment in power. In order to corroborate this argument, the journalism of the pre-independence period is quoted as an example, as it stridently opposed British imperial rule. Under the guise of this twisted argument, advocacy

for even Naxalite terrorists against the government is justified. Under the fig leaf of human rights, the rights of terrorists and traitorous forces are being promoted as a result of which the country steps on to the path of decline instead of development, and society goes along on the road of becoming an entity devoid of any values.

On which points should ideological journalism be practiced?

What is the safeguard against this? Prior to independence, the main concern was to free the country of foreign rule. What now after achieving that goal? The question is not very difficult. Maintaining the holistic freedom (political, economic, cultural, social and educational freedom), the unity and integrity of the country and the all-round development of the people of this country alone can be the most prominent concerns of journalism at present.

Journalism can be a tool to break the country and also a means of bringing society

The aim of ideological journalism should be to advance Indian thought, to erase distortions in the society and customs of India, and to uplift the people of India at the educational, social, cultural levels. The basic characteristics of Indian culture are truth, self-respect, satisfaction and tolerance. Journalism of an ideological bent should be aimed at strengthening public opinion in these contexts

together. In the words of Deendayal Upadhyay:

“The more society understands that it is its responsibility to run the state, the more will it become restrained. The party which senses that the burden of administering the state might fall on its shoulders tomorrow will never be irresponsible and unrestrained in its promises and conduct. The responsibility of governing the state of course constantly rests on the people.”

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levels. The basic characteristics of Indian culture are truth, self-respect, satisfaction and tolerance. Journalism of an ideological bent should be aimed at strengthening public opinion in these contexts. Ahimsā has been a key value of India; our shāstras say: “Ahimsā Paramō Dharmah Dharma Hinsā Tathaiva Ça” (Non-violence is the supreme dharma, but violence in order to protect dharma is equally so). Journalism should work to bring the true meaning of such fundamental principles to the people so that every Indian becomes empowered in his/her own self and can play his/her role in once again taking the nation to the highest glory. ●

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Ashok Kumar Tandon

Origin & Growth of News Agencies in India

The most crucial role in any media is of providing news on time. Competition made it more crucial and no media house keeps as wide network of its reporters as can gather news from entire world. It makes the role of news agencies inevitable to media

Information is power and the means to disseminate it have always been a powerful tool to sustain and expand power. This is exactly what most imperial powers did in the post-industrial revolution era.

The colonial rulers in Asia, Africa and Latin America floated, encouraged & promoted news agencies (initially called WIRE SERVICES OR NEWS POOLS) and used them for dissemination of messages and information to expand, protect and consolidate control over their respective colonies across the globe. Reuters (British), AFP (Agency France Presse) (French), DPA (Deschushe Press Agency) (Germany), Spanish News Agency and United Press International (UPI) and Associated Press (AP) both American, were among the first to establish themselves as the global wire services or as we now call them TRANSNATIONAL NEWS AGENCIES.

After the 1857 first war of Indian independence, the British felt the need of effective means of communication for transmission of messages/information/news between India & London. The British brought Reuters news agency to India, primarily for two-way dissemination of vital information/ messages/news between the Raj & the British

government in London. To ensure that Reuters was not handicapped due to lack of latest technology, the British laid an under-sea cable from London to Bombay in 1870. That marked the advent of telegraph in British India.

It was available only to the British and the Reuters news feed was barred from reaching the domestic newspapers. In 1904, an enterprising Calcutta-based journalist Keshab Chandra Roy, popularly known as K.C.Roy, introduced the concept of pooling of news reports for more than one Indian newspaper at reasonable rates. He was among the very few Indian journalists who could afford to move to Shimla, the summer capital of the British Empire, to cover government news whenever the Durbar shifted from Calcutta.

He sold his pooled news to seven or eight Indian English dailies.

Roy named his private news pool arrangement as Associated Press of India (API). That is why Roy is known as father of the news agencies in India.

The API gradually became an important domestic news agency without any support. Initially, Reuters joined hands with K.C.Roy to get Indian news for transmission abroad, but later the British wire service purchased Roy's API and made it Indian arm of the Reuters

to end whatever competition or challenge it faced from an Indian budding news agency. At the time of independence in 1947 Reuters was asked to pack up and leave like all other colonial set ups and handover its operations to its Indian arm-the API news agency.

But Reuters refused to oblige. Reuters' teleprinter line licence was due for renewal in July 1947. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who was also the first Information & Broadcasting Minister of Independent India, threatened Reuters and fearing disconnection of its transmission licence the British news agency reluctantly left India and its Indian arm- API was later emerged as the national News agency called the Press Trust of India (PTI).

The PTI was incorporated as a limited company by a group of seven publishers of Indian newspapers on August 27, 1947 which in 1949 completely took over the operations of Associated Press of India (API). As per PTI-Reuters agreement in 1948, the Indian news agency was to compulsorily buy 12500 shares in the British parent company so that PTI could continue to get global news for Indian newspaper subscribers. PTI was in desperate need of funds for buying the shares of Reuters to get international news from it. It issued debentures to raise funds. Sardar Patel persuaded the ruler of Baroda to buy bulk of the debentures. On 14 January 1949, PTI remitted the money and became a partner of Reuters to get international news. The Parliament street office of Reuters-API on rent was allotted to PTI.

A large number of Siemens

The government expects the PTI to stand more and more on its own legs, not subservient to other international agencies but equal to them, and not also forming a subsidiary part of any international cartel.

From this point of view, we find the proposed new agreement to be very unsatisfactory and not auguring well for the future of PTI as a growing national agency

teleprinters which the British/ Reuters left as obsolete machines of the II World War vintage were put at the disposal of the PTI and so were the old typewriters. When Hindustan Teleprinters produced modern teleprinters, PTI was provided these equipments on easy payment basis. A major concession to PTI was subsidised transmission facilities by the department of telecommunications-both domestic as well as international.

Even the subsidised transmission charges were very high and the penniless PTI couldn't afford to pay and arrears were piling up. Even before independence, Jawaharlal Nehru had outlined his vision of an international news agency in independent India. Speaking at a meeting of the Newspapers Editors' Conference in 1946, Nehru had exhorted the Society of Indian Newspaper-owners to come forward and translate this dream into a reality. But his dream has remained elusive till date. Prime Minister Nehru, while replying to a question in parliament on behalf of Patel, who was not well, said during 1946-47 Rs. 1,45,568 were paid to Reuters and the API news agencies on account of the supply of news services to government offices in India and the AIR.

Nehru told parliament that

Reuters was not reporting the Indian representatives at the UNO and was distorting news about Jammu & Kashmir and we have decided to discontinue payment to Reuters with due notice. At the time of the renewal of the PTI-Reuters agreement, the government took a tough stance. On August 13, 1952, Dr. B.V. Keskar, the then I&B minister, wrote to the PTI management:

“The government expects the PTI to stand more and more on its own legs, not subservient to other international agencies but equal to them, and not also forming a subsidiary part of any international cartel. From this point of view, we find the proposed new agreement to be very unsatisfactory and not auguring well for the future of PTI as a growing national agency. If we find that PTI has entered into any agreement which derogates from the position that we expect it to have, and becomes subservient to any foreign national or international network, we might then have to think seriously how far we can continue to give PTI the facilities and cooperation that we have been extending to it until now”.

Four days later, Nehru, too, wrote to PTI management, “I am reluctant, as prime minister, to interfere in partnership arrangements between PTI

and Reuters. But naturally, I am greatly interested in this matter because of its wider implications. I should like national news agencies to develop in India and I would like to judge every proposal from that point of view”.

Ramnath Goenka as chairman of the PTI did hard bargain from the Reuters demand of GBP 40,000 to GBP 30,000. He wrote to PM Nehru that Reuters demand was too high and PTI was contemplating entering into an arrangement with French news agency AFP. PTI board finally agreed to continue the agreement with Reuters and paid GBP 30,000 for a contract of four years. Nehru was not happy.

PTI which was already allotted Parliament Street office in 1947 was granted Rs. One Crore as soft loan/grant in the early sixties for construction of a six story building on the same plot with certain provisions like giving some of the floors on long lease/rent to All India Radio and a few other government departments etc. PTI needed a bigger budget because of its larger role and the agency management again wrote to Nehru in August 1954 requesting him to help in getting enhanced subscription from newspapers.

The First Press Commission was appointed by the Nehru

government in September 1952, under the chairmanship of Justice G.S. Rajadhyaksha. The other 10 members included Acharya Narendra Dev, Dr C.P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, P.H. Patwardhan, J. Natarajan and Chalapathi Rau.

The Commission submitted its report in 1954. It made several important recommendations in respect of the functioning of the news agencies in independent India. Some of the recommendations and observations of the First Press Commission included:

“The news agencies should not merely keep themselves free from bias and follow strictly the principles of integrity, objectivity and comprehensiveness in its coverage of news, but should also appear to the public that the news agencies are maintaining such a course.”

The First Press Commission in its report also recommended various measures for helping PTI to improve its functioning, including increased payment by All India Radio (AIR) and an interest –free long-term soft advance by the central government. It recommended fixed charges to be paid by AIR to PTI as royalty at the rate of Ten Annas per annum per Radio set in the country.

The Second Press Commission was set up by the Morarji Desai Janata government in 1978. It was headed first by Justice P. K. Goswami, a retired judge of the Supreme Court, and later substituted by Justice K.K. Mathew of the Supreme Court. Its terms of reference, among other things, included "structure and functioning of existing news agencies". The Second Press Commission in its report in 1979, too, felt that “since news agencies serve not only newspapers but the wide public, we are of the view that there should be provision for public accountability”. That led to inclusion of a few small and medium newspapers on the PTI board.

The First Press Commission also pondered over the losses PTI was incurring since its inception and pointed an accusing finger at the shareholding newspapers for their own “mounting subscription arrears”, and blamed the PTI management for laxity in recovering mounting subscription arrears from them. The Fact Finding Committee of Newspaper Economics in its report in 1975 also noted that daily newspapers depend primarily on news agencies for the news which they publish and that “the amount of subscription paid by any individual newspaper to those news agencies represents only a very insignificant portion of its cost of production”. There was a feeling then that newspaper hawker gets more per copy delivered by him than PTI earns for its service from the newspapers.

The first Press Commission took cognizance of the allegations of ‘improper management’ and ‘nepotism’

The First Press Commission in its report also recommended various measures for helping PTI to improve its functioning, including increased payment by All India Radio (AIR) and an interest –free long-term soft advance by the central government. It recommended fixed charges to be paid by AIR to PTI as royalty at the rate of Ten Annas per annum per Radio set in the country

and 'laxity in the supervision of accounts' in the PTI. The First Press Commission report passed severe strictures against the Board of Directors and made all the help conditional on the transfer of PTI to "a public corporation established by an act of parliament or operating under a charter from the President". Rattled by its indictment for lack of a "well formulated plan for meeting the growing demands which are made on the service", the PTI Board in 1956 agreed to include a few eminent persons from public life as its members.

When computerisation was introduced in India, Rajiv Gandhi government provided Four Crores as a grant /soft loan to PTI to switch over its operations to new technology. The External Publicity Division of the External Affairs Ministry invariably has been promoting PTI by giving them projects like publication of its in-house bulletins, journals of its missions in prominent world capitals.

PTI was provided funds to manage the Non-Aligned News Pool (NANP). The I&B Ministry provided funds to PTI to manage the Organisation of Asia-Pacific News Agencies (OANA). PTI's feature service, sports service, scan service, stock scan service, science service, economic service & corporate service have been regularly promoted by different government departments, PSUs and financial institutions and corporate houses. Even today a big chunk of the salary bill for the PTI staff is paid from the market-rate rent the agency receives from the five floors of the building at the most vantage location.

In June 1975, when the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi imposed a state of national emergency, all the four news agencies- PTI, UNI, HINDUSTAN SAMACHAR & SAMACHAR BHARATI were forced to merge to form SAMACHAR. All the agencies were asked to pay their huge telecom arrears immediately or sign the merger proposal

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When the Janata party government came to power in 1977, it set-up the Kuldip Nayar Committee which in its report recommended termination of SAMACHAR and restoration of status quo ante. The Janata government also set up the Second Press Commission in 1978. It studied the subscription system of AIR & Doordarshan to the news agencies and recommended a realistic subscription formula for the news agencies.

Press Trust of India

India's largest news agency, Press Trust of India (PTI) is a non-profit sharing cooperative owned by the country's newspapers with a mandate to provide efficient and unbiased news to all its subscribers. Founded on 27 August 1947, PTI began functioning from 1 February 1949.

PTI offers its news services in the English and Hindi languages. Bhasha is the Hindi language

news service of the agency. PTI subscribers include 500 newspapers in India and a large number abroad. All major TV/Radio channels in India and several abroad, including BBC in London, receive PTI service.

PTI now has its own satellite delivery system through a transponder on an INSAT satellite for reaching its services directly to subscribers anywhere in the country. Photo service is delivered by satellite as well as accessed by dial-up. PTI is now on the Internet at : <http://www.ptinews.com>.

With a staff of over 1,500 including 400 journalists, PTI has over 100 bureaux across the country and foreign correspondents in major cities of the world including Beijing, Berlin, Colombo, Dhaka, Dubai, Islamabad, London, Moscow, New York and Washington. In addition, about 500 stringers contribute to the news file at home while 20 part-time correspondents bring news from the rest of the world.

Besides the news and photo services, the other services of the agency include mailer packages of Feature, Graphics, Science Service, Econ Service and Data India, and screen-based services such as News-scan Stockscan. A television wing, PTI-TV, does features and undertakes corporate documentaries on

assignment basis.

PTI has arrangements with the Associated Press and Agence France Presse for distribution of their news in India. AP's photo and international commercial information services are also distributed in India through PTI. PTI is a partner in Asia Pulse International, a Singapore-registered company formed by PTI and five other Asian media organisations to provide an online data bank on economic developments and business opportunities in Asian countries. PTI is also a participant in Asianet, a cooperative arrangement among 12 news agencies of the Asia-Pacific region for distribution of corporate and Government press releases.

PTI is a leading participant in the Pool of News Agencies of the Non-Aligned Countries and the Organisation of Asia-Pacific News Agencies. It also has bilateral news exchange arrangements with several news agencies belonging to the countries of Asia, Africa

United News of India

The first Press Commission in its report in 1954 emphasized the importance of a second news agency to compete with PTI. Another set of leading newspaper owners came forward and launched UNI in 1961. When the IENS (Indian & Eastern

Newspaper Society) now called INS (Indian Newspapers Society), the apex body of newspaper owners, decided to go for UNI as a second news agency in India to break PTI's monopoly, the Rafi Marg bungalow in the heart of New Delhi was allotted to the news agency.

United News of India (UNI) was launched on 21 March 1961, and has now grown into one of the largest news agencies in Asia with about 90 bureaux in India and abroad. It has more than 1,000 subscribers in India and abroad, especially in the Gulf States. It has correspondents in all the major cities and towns of India as well as several major world capitals. UNI has collaboration with several foreign news agencies, including Reuters.

HINDUSTAN SAMACHAR

Soon after independence nationalist organisations, including the RSS, felt the need for a Multi-Lingual news agency to promote dissemination of news and information in all Indian languages.

In 1948, Shivram Shankar Apte launched Hindusthan Samachar in Mumbai as one of the leading multi-lingual news agencies in India.

HS continued till 1975 as the only News Agency in the co-operative sector dedicated to providing news in Indian

Languages.

It was registered in Delhi as a co-operative Society In 1957 and was run mainly by working journalists.

Hindustan Samachar Successfully developed and provided news through Devnagari teleprinters and spread its activities throughout India with centres in most state capitals. It also Appointed reporters in Nepal, Mauritius and Thailand.

When Indira Gandhi imposed Emergency in 1975, all the existing news agencies:-

P.T.I., Hindusthan Samachar, U.N.I and Samachar Bharati were forced to merge as SAMACHAR.

In 1977, Janata Government demerged the agencies. HS was restored to its earlier position. Janata Govt. provided some help for some time. Most journalists left H S. in distress. Congress Government returned to power in 1980. Started suppressing HS by withdrawing news services to A.I.R. and later by withdrawing other facilities. The Central Registrar, co-operative Societies terminated the Managing committee of HS in 1985 and later in 1986 issued a notice of winding up of the society. Registrar did not act. One HS. Society member challenged winding up notice in the High Court. High Court asked Registrar to proceed ahead with the procedure u/s 77 and u/s 69 of multistate co-operative Societies Act 1984 for winding up. Registrar did not act. In 2001 Central Registrar withdrew the winding up notice. N.D.A. govt. allowed revival of HS. P.T.I. and U.N.I were exempted from service tax but HS plea was rejected. HS filed

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a writ petition in Delhi High Court against the Govt. decision. The pending writ Petition No. is: [c] no.2343 of 2014] HS society members and office bearers resumed working of the Society with the object of reviving HS as a premier news agency of India. Main characteristic of HS was its multi lingual approach To reach out to all the Indian Language papers within a short period was a tremendous challenge. . HS advantage was its goodwill. HS credibility as a news agency was still alive even after its closure for a decade or so Problems facing the new management were many and of varied nature:. No place for working in Delhi or other cities. Old office places vacated or forcibly occupied. Previous journalists had left. Contracts for news supply with A.I.R news papers were terminated or expired. No funds were available even to start working of the agency. Liabilities to ex-employees relating to salary, P.F.

were pending.

New management was determination to re –start the working. HS began in September 2001 at Delhi and in Mumbai. Initially in Hindi & Marathi. News papers were approached and they started subscribing the news.

- News in Gujarati, Asamiya, Bangala, Oriya and Nepali started.
- HS website www.hindusthansamachar.com
- News service in most Indian languages.
- Correspondents in more than 100 places in India.
- More than 20 centers working 24 hours.

Other Services are:

- News Scan Service----- 24 hour news scan service for individuals, Institutions and Govts.
- 24 hours News Kiosk at public places like Bank or

Hospital

- HS has completed 14 years of service since revival.
- HS has set its foot firmly in this sector but still a long way to go.
- The N.D.A government in Delhi and in states may treat Hindusthan Samachar at par with P.T.I. and U.N.I and also help in attaining its rightful place.

With cooperation from:

Prasar Bharati-----Akashvani, DD one and other DD channels. Ministry of Finance for --Exemption from service Tax; Ministry of Housing and Development,for accommodation, I&B... Facilities granted to other News Agencies. ●

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Mexico world's deadliest country for journalists, new report finds

Mexico was the deadliest country in the world for the media in 2020, accounting for almost a third of journalists killed this year, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists, which investigates attacks against the press globally.

Nine journalists were killed in Mexico in 2020, bringing the death toll to at least 120 since 2000. Last month, three journalists were shot dead within 10 days.

This year's death count means that Mexican journalists are now more likely to be killed than those covering wars – the first time the country has held this inglorious top ranking since CPJ began tracking violence against the media in 1992.

"Mexico is suffering a multi-faceted crisis with regard to press freedom. The situation has been getting steadily worse over the past few years, culminating in the country's abysmal status as the world's deadliest for reporters in 2020. The crisis principally stems from impunity," said Jan-Albert Hootsen, CPJ's Mexico representative. Overall, at least 90% of journalist killings remain unsolved.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/dec/22/mexico-journalists-deadly-cpr-press-freedom>



Prof. Sanjay Dwivedi

100 Years of Media Education in India

How successful or otherwise media education has been in India is another issue altogether. Despite this, it cannot be denied that such education is indeed needed. A view on the history and relevance of media education in India...

There was a time when people believed that journalists are born and journalism cannot be taught by teaching. But times have changed now. Today the field of journalism and mass communication has become very important in terms of education.

People might well remember the year 2020 because of the Corona epidemic, but for me as a media teacher it is very important that 100 years of media education have been completed in India this very year. The first course of journalism was started by Dr. Annie Besant at Madras National University in the year 1920 under the auspices of the Theosophical Society. Almost two decades later, in the year 1938, the Aligarh Muslim University's journalism course was started as a certificate course. In this sequence, the University of Punjab, which used to be situated in Lahore at that time, was the first university to establish a department of journalism. Professor PP Singh, who is called the founder of journalism studies in India, established this department in the year 1941. Speaking of independent India, it was the University of Madras which first established a Department of Journalism and Mass Communication in the year 1947.

After this, Calcutta University, Maharaja College of Mysore, Osmania University and Nagpur University initiated many courses related to media education. On 17 August 1965, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting established the Indian Institute of Mass Communication, which is today the foremost institution in the whole of Asia in the field of media education¹. The Makhnallal Chaturvedi University of National Journalism and Mass Communication, the Kushabhau Thakre University of Journalism and Mass Communication, and the Haridev Joshi Journalism and Mass Communication University in Jaipur are fully engaged in the task of providing media education and training.

Although the history of media education in India has completed 100 years, it has not yet been freed from the dilemma of whether it is technical or ideological. While the conflict of technology and ideology is responsible for the neglect of media education, governmental neglect and the absence of active support of media institutions also render the scenario of the history of media education a blurred one².

Whenever one talks of media education in India, the name of Professor K. E. Eapen is always

remembered. Professor Eapen stood for practical training in the system of journalism education in India. Professor Eapen believed that media teachers should acquire direct experience of working in the media along with formal education in journalism; only then would they be able to effectively teach their students. Today, most journalism and mass education institutions in the country accord priority to those media educators who possess experience in journalism as well as being qualified academically. This is so that these teachers can create an educational environment and curriculum that students can later use in their field of work.

Of the arguments made in support of the training of journalism, one forcible argument is that if one has to be at least an MBBS to practice medicine, can become a lawyer only after obtaining a degree in law, how can an important profession like journalism be left open to anybody? The reality is that journalism being an important profession raises the issue of how can everyone become a journalist. Today journalism is becoming a profession and a business, but it is a specialized profession. It is this uniqueness that binds this profession to responsibilities. Despite being a business, journalism even today remains the fourth pillar of democracy. It is essential that this pillar not only remains strong, but one of its functions is to ensure that the other three pillars of democracy continue to discharge their responsibilities well. In other words, those who perform

Despite being a business, journalism even today remains the fourth pillar of democracy. It is essential that this pillar not only remains strong, but one of its functions is to ensure that the other three pillars of democracy continue to discharge their responsibilities well. In other words, those who perform the task of journalism should be qualified to do so. This qualification has to be earned. Anyone can have the ability to acquire such qualification, but the issue is of the utilisation of this ability. Training in journalism performs this function to a large extent

the task of journalism should be qualified to do so. This qualification has to be earned. Anyone can have the ability to acquire such qualification, but the issue is of the utilisation of this ability. Training in journalism performs this function to a large extent.³

Factually, media education in India takes place broadly at six levels. First, in government universities or colleges; second, in institutions affiliated to universities; third, in the autonomous institutions of the Government of India; fourth, in fully private institutes; fifth, in deemed universities and sixth, in media channels or newspapers that have opened their media institutes.⁴

One of the biggest problems facing us in this entire process is the availability of books. Students of media education in our country are more dependent on foreign books. But if we look at the structure and functioning of the media industry of India and America, there is a lot of difference. It is therefore the responsibility of teachers of media studies to write books in accordance with Indian conditions. Such books will help students prepare themselves

in keeping with the needs of the Indian media. But it is also necessary to have practical knowledge. If those who have never done reporting write books on reporting, one cannot expect good books to be written. Although the preparation of textbooks in Indian languages and in accordance with Indian circumstances is also a huge challenge for us, but if we try, it is possible to resolve this issue. According to a report, there are more than 1,500 media educational institutions in India. Even if an institute produces only two books a year, about 3,000 books a year would be available for students. But it is often seen that as soon as one talks about India-centric curriculum, there are many who would rise in protest. The argument is touted that knowledge cannot be imparted in Indian languages. If one wants to teach and gain knowledge, it can only be in English; whereas, in Germany, people are now studying Sanskrit. Why then can teaching in media or other genres not be conducted in Indian languages⁵?

It is also important to mention the National Education Policy in this context. The new education

policy is a revolutionary step in India's education system. If we adopt this education policy properly, it will lead us to quality education. This education policy will forge a new nation through knowledge and skills. But for this, we have to effect changes in mass education. We have to create new courses in journalism, which are in accordance with today's times. We have to create our vision as to which direction we want education in journalism to take.

A Media Education Council is needed today to enhance the quality of media education. Not only will the curriculum of journalism and mass education be improved with the aid of such a body, journalists too can be made and shaped according to the needs of the media industry. Today there is a competition in media education. Therefore, media teachers have to decide whether they want to enter the competition, or to create a better environment for the teaching of journalism. Journalism has changed a lot in today's age, and therefore a change in the education of journalism is also necessary. Today, just as people expect the right treatment from a doctor, they also expect truthful news from a journalist. We have to now prepare courses in media

education that will include new techniques along with content. We have to determine what the purpose of journalism is. Is our journalism for the market, the corporate world, government or society? If we want true democracy, journalism will have to think very deeply about its goals. The task of media education is not just to impart knowledge to students, but also to prepare them in accordance with the media industry. Media teachers will have to focus on this aspect.⁶

New media is today the new normal. We all know that Artificial Intelligence has resulted in millions of jobs being lost. We therefore have to pay attention to different aspects of media education and churn out professionals in keeping with the needs of the market. The new education policy calls for a focus on regional languages. We have to pay attention to this in the genre of teaching mass communication too. A major requirement for media educational institutions today is to prepare syllabi in regional languages. Only that language survives in which can earn a living and in India, under a well-planned conspiracy, English is being made the sole language of livelihood. This is happening at a time when journalism is

moving from English-speaking big cities to smaller towns and villages that speak in Hindi and other Indian languages. Today, English news channels also debate in Hindi. Therefore, it is necessary for media teachers to prepare courses in regional languages in addition to Hindi and English. Look at the CBSE board. Today, media is taught as a subject in the CBSE syllabus. Can we make such systemic arrangements in the courses of other states too, wherein education about the media can be given a new direction?

Often, the question is raised as to how much media studies are used in the field. I believe that a journalist who has studied journalism, performs his work more efficiently and better than other journalists. It is true that in India, instead of practical studies, there is presently more focus on book knowledge, but gradually, this scenario too is changing. Today, while studying journalism, students learn a range of topics from publishing newspapers, preparing news bulletins and making documentary films, and in the process they are prepared for the field. However, this does not mean that book knowledge is unimportant.

With regard to an area of media production, I would like to mention here two articles and a book, which every media teacher and student of journalism must read.

The first is T.S. Elliott's article, "Tradition and Individual Talent"; another is Adrienne Rich's article, "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Revision", and the last is Harold Bloom's book *The Anxiety of Influence: A*

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Theory of Poetry. All these will not only enhance your creative ability, but will also introduce you to a new form of this important dimension of media.

There was a time when journalism meant the print media. In the American film *Ghostbusters*, released in the eighties, the Secretary asks the scientist “Do they like to read? To which the scientist replies “Print is dead”. This particular character saying this was a matter of humour at that time, but looking at the kind of doubts being raised about the future of print media in the present scenario, it seems that this question perfectly fits the situation today. Today, we hear from developments in most advanced countries of the world that the print media is beset by the clouds of crisis. It is also being said that newspapers will soon be finished. In 2008, American author Jeff Gomez predicted the print media's demise through his book *Print is Dead*. Reviewing the book at the time, Antony Chitham wrote, “This book is like a wakeup call for all those in the print media, but they don't know how the digital world is taking shape through the Internet”. At the same time, another writer Ros Dawson constructed a

chart outlining the extinction of newspapers in accordance with to a timetable. According to what was broadly stated in this chart, by 2040, the print editions of newspapers would be extinct in the world.

In this situation, media educational institutions should make changes in their courses that would enable them to prepare the students for new media. Today, technology is an important part of any curriculum. There are two kinds of formats in media. One is traditional media such as newspapers and magazines and the other is digital media. If we talk in the present context, the best thing is that these two formats go together. Today traditional media is converting itself to digital media. These changes are, in effect, transforming a company's functioning into Internet-style operations. But if we talk about this digital transform, the biggest problem arises in the matter of cultural transformation. In this regard, it is most important to inform and motivate people who are engaged in conventional functions. This certainly is challenging, but most media groups of the country are performing this task. If the country's major media institutions are engaged in this

process, then why shouldn't media educational institutions prepare their students for digital transformation in advance? As a journalist and media teacher, I believe that if anyone is running this digital transformation, then they are four Cs. These four Cs are Content, Communication, Commerce and Context. When these four Cs meet, a traditional media house turns into a digital media one. And it is our responsibility to make students aware of this entire process.

Today, the importance of the regional language market in the country is also constantly increasing. KPMG included this phenomenon as a major theme in its report "India's Digital Future: Mass of Niches". According to this report, the shift of the English-language audience towards digital media is almost complete. It is believed that by the year 2030, the number of users in the regional language market will reach 500 million and people will use the Internet in the local language.⁷ I would also like to mention a few efforts by the Indian Institute of Mass Communication in this regard. Apart from Hindi and English, IIMC also offers courses in Marathi, Urdu, Malayalam and Oriya. It is our endeavour to prepare journalists in keeping with the needs of the regional language market.

There is also another aspect of digital media. Journalism today is not conducted only by journalists working in institutions. If you have 10 rupees today, have a way of conveying what you want to say and there is a cyber cafe nearby, you can practice journalism even if you do not have a laptop, computer or

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smartphone. If you have a point, you can reach millions. Professor Ann Cooper of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, in an article in 2008, stated that the scope of journalism has now expanded beyond journalists. She considered the dialogue on the Internet and social media as part of journalism, she wrote: "The issue is not of who the journalist is, but one of who does journalism". She believed that anyone who has an Internet connection can do journalism.⁸

In the context of this freedom of media, the mention of Judge Lord Denning of Britain is also significant. Lord Denning said that "Freedom of the press does not mean that the press can be given the freedom to destroy someone's reputation, demolish trust or corrupt the flow of justice".⁹

We need to focus on mass media education to inspire our media with its roots, values and emotions. If the youth coming to the media derive some ideas from their roots, which will teach them professionalism as well as inculcation of values, we will perhaps be able to accord more space to human values in our media. The way media is equipped with state-of-the-art

We need to focus on mass media education to inspire our media with its roots, values and emotions. If the youth coming to the media derive some ideas from their roots, which will teach them professionalism as well as inculcation of values, we will perhaps be able to accord more space to human values in our media. The way media is equipped with state-of-the-art methods and practices today and the kind of preparation and capabilities that are expected from today's media persons necessitate media institutions to be able to emerge true on that touchstone

methods and practices today and the kind of preparation and capabilities that are expected from today's media persons necessitate media institutions to be able to emerge true on that touchstone. Mass education is not limited to journalism alone; it has gone beyond public relations to touch the heights of corporate and business communication. There is a demand for different kinds of experts in the field of advertising. Along with print media, people are demanding a whole range of options in the electronic, radio, entertainment and web media. This expansion of media has greatly increased the challenges of media professionals today. Institutions of mass education

should prepare themselves for these challenges. This is a huge responsibility.

In this regard, it should be the responsibility of every media teacher and educationist to develop students in the social media era as better journalists, so that they can eschew fake news and propaganda, and perform their duties better. Apart from this, it is also important to focus on employable education under the rubric of education on media, because knowledge is meaningful only when it permeates our life. Let us all therefore, come together to give a new dimension to media education and help create a better environment of mass education. ●

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Himanshu Shekhar

Regulating Electronic and Digital Media

Only 45,000 boxes are used to decide the TRP for a population of around one and half billion. Earlier only 3,000 boxes were used. TRP is not decided by any government institution but a private entity releases TRP figures. Exploring the questions of regulating electronic and digital media

It has been around three decades of liberalisation in India. It started in 1991 and its impact on Indian media is clearly visible. This market led model of liberalisation has converted news into a commodity. Most of the media organisations are competing with each other to make more and more money by selling news. There is no place for moral duty. Social concern has become an alien concept for the media houses and those journalists who still talk about social concerns are marginalised. If news becomes a tool of earning more and more money then it's obvious that concepts like morality and social concerns will no longer remain relevant.

The discussion on media regulation is based on this context. Right from the beginning of liberalisation, there was a sharp decline in values of print media but this decline was even more sharper in electronic media and digital media emerged in this background. The failure of self regulation in media has given rise to discussion about government led regulation of media. It is said that the government should bring a law to regulate media because only such regulation will stop the anarchy of news propagated by profit-driven news channels and news portals.

The failure of self-regulation in electronic media can be explained

through some examples. In 2008, Mumbai faced its worst terror attack. Its coverage by electronic news channels was widely criticised. Despite that no positive initiative was visible from these news channels to improve the situation. When the pressure mounted, the then Manmohan Singh government started considering different alternatives of media regulation. Under this pressure, news channels took an initiative. The Manmohan Singh government was planning to establish a Broadcast Regulatory Authority to regulate the broadcasting services. The proposed body was modelled on Telecom Regulatory Authority of India. But opposition from the media and proposal of self-regulation were enough to stop the government to explore the alternative routes of media regulations.¹

The rise and expansion of electronic media in India resulted in establishment of an institution News Broadcasters Association (NBA) by news channels. NBA released guidelines after Mumbai terror attacks for coverage of such incidents in future. News channels in their news bulletins explicitly mentioned that any complaint against their coverage can be lodged with the NBA. It was also said that the grievance redressal committee of NBA will take actions against erring news channels. Did

the NBA take any strong action against any news channels? Did news channels take care of journalistic values in their news coverage? Most of the people will give negative answers to these questions.

In NBA guidelines, it is clearly mentioned that news channels should stop the practice of making rumour a news and any news should be broadcasted after proper verification. In India, news channels were focussing on those news which can bring them more television rating points. Thereafter a trend of panel discussions emerged. This resulted in proceedings of parallel courts in the studio of most of the news channels. But there is a difference in the sequence of proceeding in these parallel news channel courts in comparison to normal court of law. In the court of news channels, conclusion is drawn in the very beginning and the panelist and the line of reporting is decided accordingly.

This can be proved by the actor Sushant Singh Rajput case who died by suicide. On 14th June, 2020, it came in news that Sushant Singh Rajput died by suicide. For two or two and half month, media kept saying that he died by suicide.

Thereafter the Republic network started claiming that he was murdered. This network started a campaign on this line and it made a section of the common public believe that Sushant Singh Rajput was murdered. Republic TV declared Rhea Chakraborty as his murderer. CBI is investigating this case from last few months and it is still unknown to public that Sushant Singh Rajput died by suicide or he was murdered.

But one sided campaign and media trial of Republic network made its new Hindi news channel "R-Bharat" number one in the news category ousting "Aaj Tak". Once R-Bharat TRP was up, other channels came back on Sushant Singh Rajput case and followed the similar line of coverage adopted by the Republic network. Because this was resulting into higher TRPs. News Channels were not concerned about the fact that what their coverage follows the parameters of news or not. It was clearly visible that news channels considered any rumour or imaginary incident which could bring TRPs as the real news.

The hollowness of the TRP system came into light last year. However, those who were familiar with the system of TRP raised this issue multiple times

in the past. Despite that news channels always defended this system for their own benefits. TRPs for news channels have not been released for the last few months. Some former employees of the company responsible for TRPs are behind the bars. There are legal cases against the senior officials of some news channels and some employees of these channels faced arrest too.

The "TRP Scam" of last year brought the hollowness of the whole system to the fore. Mumbai Police Commissioner Parambir Singh in a press conference said that Mumbai police has cracked a "TRP racket." He said that channels were indulged in manipulating the TRP system in their favour. He took the name of three channels: Republic TV, Fakat Marathi and Box Cinema. He informed that these channels were helped by the employees of the company which releases TRPs.

Once these informations were made public by Mumbai police, Republic TV and Aaj Tak started taking jibe against each other. Both channels were trying to project their channel as the most honest and the other as the most dishonest news channel. Aaj Tak termed Republic TV as "TRP Chor" (TRP Thief). On the other hand, Republic TV criticised Aaj Tak on a regular basis by referring to it only as "Tak." It is mentioned earlier that a particular way of covering the Sushant Singh Rajput case made Republic Bharat number one news channel by ousting Aaj Tak from the top spot. This has resulted into a rivalry between these two channels.

In this background, when the alleged "TRP Scam" was

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exposed, these two channels started attacking each other more fiercely. It is important to understand the nuts and bolts of the TRP system on which the whole television industry hovers around. Before going into the complex aspects of the TRP system, it is pertinent to mention that this is an arrangement done by advertisers. They come to know through this system about how many viewers are watching a particular television channel. On this basis, they decide to give advertisements to television channels. The television channel with maximum number of viewers will get maximum advertisement and its earning will be maximum.

Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC) releases TRPs. This agency has installed around 45,000 TRP boxes across the country. The agency claims that the exact location of these boxes is only known to this agency and it is not shared with any person or organisation. These boxes record data about the viewership of any television channel. The geographical location and socio-economic details of those houses with these TRP boxes are known to BARC. On the basis of these details and viewership data collected through TRP boxes, this agency released TRP data categorised in different age groups and socio-economic backgrounds. It facilitates advertisers to place their commercials in order to reach their targeted audience. If any advertiser has made a product to cater youths then this advertiser will try to place its commercials to only

those channels which have most of the youth viewers.²

Under the TRP system, viewers are calculated on minute to minute basis for different categories. It means, news channels can sense the change in number of their viewers minute wise. BARC used to release this data every week. The importance of TRP can be understood by some facts. According to an estimate by FICCI, the television industry of India in 2019-20 was of around Rs. 78,000 crore. In this huge industry, the allocation and placement of commercials are done on the basis of TRP.

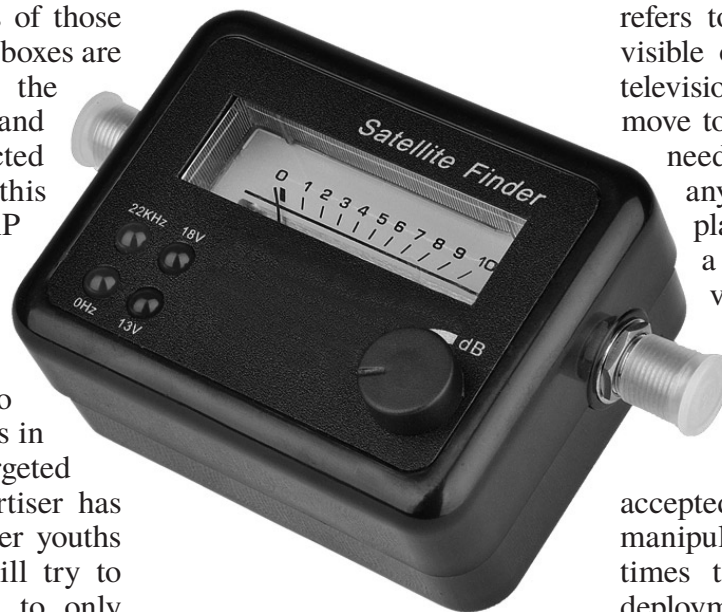
TRP is not facing the controversy for the first time. It faced many questions in the past too. Earlier, TRP was released by Television Audience Measurement (TAM). TAM was releasing TRP data on the basis of only 3,000 TRP boxes. Most of its boxes were installed in major cities like Mumbai and Delhi. There were almost no boxes in states like Bihar and North Eastern states. Because of this, news channels were mainly focussing on news of

major urban centres where TRP boxes were installed. When TAM started facing questions on the very small number of boxes, it started increasing the numbers of TRP boxes.

Despite that this agency faced many questions. Thereafter BARC came into existence. Advertisers, advertising agencies and broadcast companies came together in this new body. Although BARC was constituted in 2010 but guidelines for TRP was issued by Ministry of Information and Broadcasting on January 10, 2014. In July, 2015, BARC was constituted under these guidelines to improve the system of TRPs.

Now the question arises how is it possible to manipulate the ratings of BARC which is based on 45,000 TRP boxes. If any channel gets this information about the houses with these boxes then that particular channel can try to influence those particular houses. It can offer money to those households. It can also make a deal with a local cable operator to put its channel on the landing page. Landing page refers to that channel which is visible once you switch on the television set. If you want to move to any other channel, you need to change the channel. If any channel is deliberately placed on a landing page by a local cable operator, its viewership increases for a few seconds or minutes and this results into better TRP for that particular channel.

Even BARC has accepted that TRP boxes get manipulated. It is reported many times that agents involved in deployment of these boxes are



Government notifies new rules to regulate Social Media, OTT platforms and Digital Media

Amidst growing concerns around lack of transparency, accountability and rights of users related to digital media and after elaborate consultation with the public and stakeholders, the Information Technology (Intermediary Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules 2021 has been framed by the government of India. It is an attempt to regulate OTT platforms, Social Media platforms and digital media platforms.

The Rules prescribe due diligence that must be followed by intermediaries, including social media intermediaries. The Rules seek to empower the users by mandating the intermediaries, including social media intermediaries, to establish a grievance redressal mechanism for receiving resolving complaints from the users or victims. An intermediary upon receiving actual knowledge in the form of an order by a court or being notified by the Appropriate Govt. or its agencies through authorized officer should not host or publish any information which is prohibited under any law in relation to the interest of the sovereignty and integrity of India, public order, friendly relations with foreign countries etc.

The Rules establish a soft-touch self-regulatory architecture and a Code of Ethics and three tier grievance redressal mechanism for news publishers and OTT Platforms and digital media. Code of Ethics for online news, OTT platforms and digital media prescribe the guidelines to be followed by OTT platforms and online news and digital media entities. The OTT platforms, called as the publishers of online curated content in the rules, would self-classify the content into five age based categories- U (Universal), U/A 7+, U/A 13+, U/A 16+, and A (Adult). Platforms would be required to implement parental locks for content classified as U/A 13+ or higher, and reliable age verification mechanisms for content classified as "A".

Publishers of news on digital media would be required to observe Norms of Journalistic Conduct of the Press Council of India and the Programme Code under the Cable Television Networks Regulation Act thereby providing a level playing field between the offline (Print, TV) and digital media. A three-level grievance redressal mechanism has been established under the rules with different levels of self-regulation.

Publisher shall appoint a Grievance Redressal Officer based in India who shall be responsible for the redressal of grievances received by it. The officer shall take decision on every grievance received by it within 15 days. There may be one or more self-regulatory bodies of publishers. Such a body shall be headed by a retired judge of the Supreme Court, a High Court or independent eminent person and have not more than six members. Such a body will have to register with the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. This body will oversee the adherence by the publisher to the Code of Ethics and address grievances that have not been resolved by the publisher within 15 days. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting shall formulate an oversight mechanism. It shall publish a charter for self-regulating bodies, including Codes of Practices. It shall establish an Inter-Departmental Committee for hearing grievances.

Source: PIB

involved in manipulation of these boxes for the benefit of any particular television channel. BARC has lodged FIRs in such cases in the past. On a few occasions, owners and editors of some news channels have written

to BARC and alleged that TRP boxes are getting manipulated. The owner and editor of the India TV Rajat Sharma had written to BARC in past and raised many questions about the ratings of TV9 Bharatvarsh. He alleged

that BARC releases manipulated data every week and the manipulation is taking place with collusion of BARC and some broadcasters.

A consultation paper released by Telecom Regulatory Authority

of India in 2018 gives information about the FIRs lodged by BARC. TRAI has clearly mentioned in this paper that BARC has lodged FIRs in different police stations. TRAI also said that this practice is not coming to an end because there is no legal framework to deal with it. TRAI underlined the need of a legal framework to stop this manipulation.

TRAI said that the sample size is only 45,000 which makes it easy to manipulate the whole system. If the sample size is increased, it will not be easy to manipulate it. The number of 45,000 does not seem too small but when it is categorised in groups, it comes to notice how inadequate this number is. According to a report in Indian Express, only 700 boxes out of these 45,000 are used for deciding the TRPs of English news channels. Out of these 700, around 350 households watch English news channels for a longer duration. A senior executive from the television industry has been quoted in this report saying that if 10 households out of these 350 are influenced and if any particular English news channel is watched for a longer duration in these 10 households then its TRP will be up.

Same strategy was followed in the recently exposed TRP scam to manipulate the TRP system. Mumbai police said that BARC has outsourced the work of installing TRP boxes and data collection to Hansa Research in Mumbai region. Some employees of this company were bribed by some channels to manipulate the whole system in their favour. These employees bribed those households where these boxes

were installed. Mumbai police claimed that the members of these households were told to watch English news channel Republic TV for longer durations. Mumbai police commissioner claimed that these households were paid Rs 500 to 600 on monthly basis. Mumbai Police Commissioner Parambir Singh claimed that those households whose members are not able to understand English were watching Republic TV. Parambir Singh also claimed that out of these households, many have confessed that they were getting paid.³

Mumbai police said that this strange change was noticed by Hansa Research and BARC and they filed a complaint to Mumbai police. Mumbai police crime branch registered an FIR in Kandivali police station and arrested two former employees of Hansa Research Vishal Bhandari and Bompalli Rao Mistry. Mumbai police also arrested the owner of Fakat Marathi Shirish Pattanshetthi and Box Cinema's Narayan Sharma. Both employees of Hansa research resigned from the company in June, 2020. Mumbai police claimed that one of these two had Rs. 20 lakh in his bank account and Rs. 8.5 lakh in his locker. Mumbai police also claimed that these two persons have confessed that they were

bribing these households to keep watching these three channels for longer durations.⁴

However, Republic TV has rejected these allegations and claimed that there is no mention of its name in FIR but the name of news channel "India Today" is mentioned in the FIR. Republic TV also said that they are facing such allegations because they were raising questions on Mumbai police in Sushant Singh Rajput case. Thereafter Mumbai police replied and said that there is mention of "India Today" channel in FIR but no accused has said that they were paying to watch "India Today" but the accused persons mentioned the name of Republic TV, Fakat Marathi and Box Cinema.

Once the name of Republic TV came into this controversy, other news channels started frontal attacks on Republic TV. Aaj Tak was leading this attack because there was a struggle between "Aaj Tak" and "R Bharat" for the top spot. Aaj Tak claimed in one of its special programmes that Republic TV is a TRP thief (Republic TV TRP chor hai). Other channels were also very critical about Republic TV. ABP news also made a show on this and claimed that the TRP conspiracy of Republic TV got exposed. Times Now broadcasted a special programme

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with headline of “Republic TV cheated Bharat.”

Amid many allegations of TRP manipulations, the Ministry of Information and Broadcast proposed a new system of TRP in 2018. The Ministry proposed that the TRP data should not be captured by boxes but a chip should be installed in every DTH box to capture the viewership of television channels.⁵

It was said that the proposed system will increase the sample size drastically and it would become very difficult to influence this huge sample size. It would have made the TRP system fully democratic because each and every television viewer television watching preferences will be recorded under the new proposed system. But there was no agreement on the new proposed system and the earlier non-transparent system with low sample size continued. Now there are no TRPs for news channels from the last few months, it's time to discuss the alternative system of TRPs with more safeguards.

The system of TRP resulted in an anarchy of news in news channels. Same anarchy of news is clearly visible on digital news platforms. In digital media, TRP is replaced by hits, unique visitors (UV) and page view (PV). Hits gives the data about how many persons have clicked on any particular news item. UV refers to different persons opening any particular news and PV refers to how many times a page is seen. This UV and PV are TRPs of digital news media.

The journalists of digital news platforms are directed to write only such stories which could bring more UVs and PVs. This is resulting into more news

It is also seen in digital media that headlines are given in such a manner to generate more and more curiosity in readers. It does not matter whether the whole news is related with the headline or not. It is often seen that the news is completely or partially different from the headline. It is clear from this that digital news platforms are deliberately giving such confusing headlines to increase their UVs and PVs and in order to do that they are cheating their readers

related to cinema, celebrity and sex on digital news platforms. Photo galleries of actresses and models are also made to increase the UVs and PVs of digital news platforms.

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Most of the digital media organisations are giving the targets of UVs and PVs to their reporters. There is a monthly target of UVs and PVs to be achieved by each writer of news. Those journalists who are unable to achieve these targets are facing actions. It does not matter how relevant their news items are if they are not resulting in an adequate number of UVs and PVs. There are instances of termination of journalists only because they were not able to achieve the target of UVs and PVs. In this cut throat competition of

getting more and more UVs and PVs, the morality and journalistic values have become irrelevant in Indian digital media.

There is no mechanism to regulate the digital media in India. There are certain laws to regulate licensing and functioning of print media and electronic media. But there is no need to take any license for digital media platforms and there is no need for any registration. This is the reason why a large number of news websites have mushroomed.⁶ Out of these there is a large number of those websites which are running a particular agenda or maligning any particular person or organisation. There is neither a law nor an institution to regulate digital media.

The malaise of fake news is also clearly visible in digital media. There are many news websites publishing fake news frequently and later on these news items are shared on social media platforms with a vested interest. Social media companies are also facing criticism for promoting the culture of fake news. It is seen that the fake news coming in the form of a link to a news website makes more impact in the common masses. It would not be wrong to say that the culture

of fake news on social media is rooted into the widespread anarchy in digital media.

However, last year the union government issued a notification which brought news websites and OTT platforms under the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcast.⁷ Despite that there is no institutional and legal framework for regulation of digital media yet. There are discussions about a new structure but details are yet to be made public. It's also a matter of fact that there is no body for self-regulation of digital media. In this background, it would not be wrong to conclude that there is anarchy in the digital news space.

One fact needs to be mentioned in this context. Last year, the union government fixed the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

limit for digital media platforms to 26 percent. The Union government also said that if any digital news media company has more FDI than this limit then they will have to bring it down to 26 percent in next one year. It is pertinent to mention that print media has also an upper limit of 26 percent for FDI but there is an upper cap of 49 percent for electronic media in India.⁸

However, it's a separate discussion whether FDI should be allowed in Indian media or not. It is important to understand that there are dangers of bringing FDI in the media. FDI will obviously change the priorities and values of journalism in India. The flow of foreign capital in Indian media will naturally increase the interference of those persons or entities who are investing capital in the news landscape. It would

be important to discuss pros and cons of FDI in the media before giving a free hand to such practices. Because if this is not done, it would be more difficult to regulate the foreign funded media organisations.

The union government move of fixing the upper cap on FDI in digital media to 26 percent was seen as an attempt from the government to rein in the digital media in a section of media. They argued that in absence of any clear guidelines many digital news platforms were working with more FDI and out of these few are critical about the incumbent government. They are of the view that new rules will make it difficult for these companies to keep working and only those companies will work smoothly who keep toeing the line of the incumbent government. If these

INS demands more revenue from Google

Amid rising pressure over Google across the world to share more revenue with news publishers, Indian Newspaper Society (INS) has also written to the company and demanded a larger share for Indian news publishers. Recently Australia passed a law which made it mandatory for social media platforms to share the revenue with original news creators. France has also made such rules. Other countries are also planning such initiatives to develop a level playing field for new social media giants and original publishers of news.

In India, INS represents print media houses. INS President L Adimoolam in a letter to Google India, said publishers are facing a "very opaque advertising system", as they are unable to get details of Google's advertising value chain. INS has asked Google to compensate the Indian newspapers "comprehensively" for using contents published by them and to share its advertising revenues properly.

"The Society insisted that Google should increase the publisher share of advertising revenue to 85 per cent, and also ensure more transparency in the revenue reports provided to publishers by Google," said INS in a statement. Content generated and published by newspapers at considerable expense is proprietary, said INS while pointing out that it is this credible content that has given Google the authenticity in India ever since its inception.

INS has demanded that Google should pay for news generated by the newspapers which employ thousands of journalists on the ground, at considerable expense, for gathering and verifying information. Pointing out that publishers have been providing complete access to "quality journalism with credible news, current affairs, analysis, information and entertainment", INS said there is a huge distinction between the editorial content from quality publications and fake news that is spreading on other information platforms. In this context, INS is demanding a major share in revenue from Google.

Reference: <https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/indian-newspaper-society-asks-google-to-increase-publisher-share-of-ad-revenue-to-85/story/432396.html>

logics are seen in the context of the facts, it is clear that this limit is for the whole digital media industry. Although there is no need to allow FDI in Indian media but despite that there is a new limit of 26 percent FDI in digital media, there should have been more than one year time limit to comply with the new rules.

Another challenge of digital media regulation is that a number of websites are operating from outside the geographical boundary of India. It is not easy to stop these websites in India. If any website is banned, despite that the news items of these websites will come to India through social media platforms. If the government develops any mechanism to regulate Indian news websites then this question will remain unanswered about how the news coming from foreign news websites and social media platforms will be regulated. Not only the government but Indian digital media organisations also need to think on this problem. Because it is very complex to regulate digital media in comparison to print media and electronic media. Once the government decides to regulate digital media, it will have to face tech giants like Google, Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter.

The problems in functioning of news channels and digital media has provided a good opportunity for the government to interfere in the working of these media organisations. There is a demand that the government should regulate the media. One question needs to be answered in this context: what should be the structure of regulation of



electronic media and digital media. There is a suggestion that Media Council of India (MCI) should be established and this new body should replace Press Council of India (PCI). MCI should be given responsibility for regulating print, electronic and digital media.

It is also a fact that PCI on many occasions appeared like a paper tiger and helpless institution. But on this basis the proposal of MCI can not be rejected. Because the impact of any institution largely depends on its functioning not on the way how it is constituted. The functioning of any organisation also depends on the persons leading that particular organisation. So the idea of MCI needs to be discussed with an open mind.

While constituting MCI, it should be always kept in mind that the new body has adequate legal powers. New proposed body should be given adequate legal powers with the help of which it can act against erring media organisations. The ineffectiveness of PCI is often attributed to lack of legal and judicial powers given to this body. This is the reason why PCI

can not act against erring media organisations in an effective manner.

The constitution of MCI will not be a solution but it would be just a beginning. This proposed body should be developed in such a manner that there should not be any impression that the government is regulating the media through the back door. This organisation should be given enough autonomy. MCI can be a beginning to regulate electronic media and digital media in a more transparent, effective, reliable and decisive manner.

Some lessons for media regulation in India can be learnt from the media regulation models of other countries. Different countries have different models of regulating electronic media and digital media but there are some similarities across the major countries. All major countries have a legal structure to regulate media. Institutional arrangements are based on this legal structure and the goals of media regulations are clearly defined.

In most of the countries, there is a regulatory institution. In

Britain, this is done by the Office of Communications (Ofcom). This body has imposed a penalty of 20,000 pound on Worldview Media Networks Limited which distributes Indian news channel "Republic Bharat" in Britain. Ofcom found that the "Poochta hai Bharat" programme of Republic Bharat contained "uncontextualised hate speech" and inciteful language.⁹ This institution effectively work for regulating media organisations of Britain. But no institution in India is seen imposing such a penalty against any media organisation.

In France, CSA is regulating the media effectively. In Sweden, this work is done by the Broadcasting Commission. In USA, media regulation is done by the Federal Communication Commission (FCC). It works as an autonomous organisation in an effective manner.¹⁰ Last year FCC imposed a record 48 million dollar penalty on Sinclair Broadcast Group. FCC has been working for more than eight decades but such a hefty penalty was never imposed. This media company was facing an allegation of acquiring a media company

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by deceiving the regulators. There was another allegation that the company broadcasted a sponsored programme as a normal news programme. Out of 48 million dollar, a 13 million dollar penalty was imposed for this.¹¹

Is it possible to impose such a penalty on any media organisation in India in current institutional setup? In India, there is not an issue of any particular news programme but media organisations as a whole are termed as sponsored organisations in common masses. Common citizens of India are saying clearly which media organisation is linked

with which political ideology.

If institutions like Ofcom and FCC are effectively regulating media then the main reason is that they have got real autonomy in their functioning coupled with adequate power. This is why these institutions are working effectively in their countries. It is important to learn lessons from the functioning of these organisations and contextualise it for implementing few of the important and relevant lessons in India. It is also possible to develop a new comprehensive and effective mechanism of media regulation based on unique needs of Indian media landscape. ●

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Anshuman Tiwari

Recession in Democracy

The freedom of the media and democracy is not an element independent of the economy. To a great extent, this is intertwined with the economic freedom of both the people and the market. A look at the conditions that are changing with time

This incident is of 1644. The famous poet John Milton, who penned *Paradise Lost*, was highly incensed with the British parliament. By the time half of the 15th century had passed, the clatter of the printing press had begun in parts of the world. William Caxton brought the printing office to England before the century passed. Growing up in the cultural richness of Bruges (Belgium), Caxton, the British businessman, writer and translator became England's first private publisher.

168 years had passed since the press scandal in Westminster began before Milton's indignant letter to the British parliament was issued. Private printing presses had made their appearance in all parts of Europe. In Germany, newspapers and magazines began to be printed, i.e., publishing had become a new private enterprise, which was spreading rapidly, weaving an extremely interesting history.

In the meantime, Britain's parliament made a law. The proclamation was that books that would be printed now would require the approval of Parliament. This is where the saga of the censorship begins. Milton was enraged at this and issued an open letter called *Aeropagitica* (a speech of John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicenc'd

Printing, to the Parliament of England is a 1644 prose polemic by the English poet, scholar, and polemical author opposing licensing and censorship). Milton did not call it *Areopagitica* for nothing. There was a mound named Areopagus or Ares' Hill in ancient Athens (4th century BCE), where the earliest aristocratic court used to sit and impose various kinds of censorship.

Anyway, the gist of the issue is that John Milton wrote to Parliament that truth and understanding were not things that could be sold by issuing stamps or determined by laws or rules. This tussle lasted long; though it was Sweden and not England that passed a law in 1766 to lift the ban on printed material for the first time.

The world changed once again after this. Freedom, the most precious commodity, holding the hand of private enterprise spread throughout the world. 25 years after the Swedish law came into being, American lawmakers passed the First Amendment. The Amendment made a resolve that freedom of the press or expression would never be curbed.

Milton did not vent his ire on the British parliament without grounds to do so. It was the market or the new age of enterprise that had given him an opportunity. Milton said that when publishers are private and

their ideas too were individual, the government or parliament should not impose laws on us. Milton was empowered to say this by the most intriguing struggle of the 17th and 18th centuries. The rapidly emerging private publishing industry of Europe was giving people the freedom to speak, print, share, and this new independence was beginning to spark a perennial fear in governments. Governments wanted to control an emerging industry, and it was this very industry that was making dozens like Milton become enablers of the dawn of a new independence.

This freedom, i.e., of shaking up the government with questions and mounting protests against it, is highly frightening and intriguing to governments. It is fundamentally different from other freedoms in history. Under democracy, the freedom to speak as compared to other rights (justice, voting, religion, livelihood), etc., did not come from any organized political movement but has been a unique gift of technology, market and enterprise. Provisions were added to constitutions and laws made, to ensure other rights, but the freedom of expression was associated with the law and repression-loving governments being told of their limits. Therefore, more than acquiring such a freedom, movements and agitations have taken place to safeguard it and these will continue to happen. Because no matter in what era governments operate in, it is a moot point why they would want people to ask questions or raise their voice against governments.

In many ways, the history

Why did Google, Facebook or Twitter originate in the US and why not in Japan, a global leader in technology or in the countries of Europe? By the time the 20th century had traversed half its course, it was almost certain globally that the freedom of speech would gain new strength in those countries where markets were liberal, i.e., freedom of enterprise would lead to greater freedom

of the Internet and its manifest avatar, i.e., social networks, is full of gripping events like the history of the printing press. About two to three hundred years after its invention in Germany, the printing press spread throughout the world and set off a wave of freedom of thought, knowledge, ideas and expression.

The Arab world had stayed away from this miraculous knowledge-based invention. For a long time, the Sultans of the Middle East placed restrictions on printing presses. As a result, the sciences of Arabia were lost in darkness. However, after the advent of the Internet, the Middle East adopted it with such rapidity that it led to revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia.

The freedom of speech and expression, i.e., a free media, is not the essence of democracy for nothing. It is a formula made of unique chemicals in which the freedom of enterprise and thought combine to lay the foundation of democracy. It is for this reason that efforts are constantly undertaken to keep the institutional undertakings (the press, cinema, publications) of this freedom free of government interference. The difference between where this freedom, which is considered more valuable than elections, exists and where it does not is to be found in the political systems

of Russia and America. Elections are held in both countries, but there is a world of difference when it comes to the power of democracy. This difference comes from laying down ideas and giving them the freedom to spread.

From Milton's era to that of the Internet, there has been a unique connection between the freedom of expression and free enterprise. Why did Google, Facebook or Twitter originate in the US and why not in Japan, a global leader in technology or in the countries of Europe? By the time the 20th century had traversed half its course, it was almost certain globally that the freedom of speech would gain new strength in those countries where markets were liberal, i.e., freedom of enterprise would lead to greater freedom.

This is the reason why China does not permit free ideas (press and social media) despite allowing all kinds of technology. Whereas the biggest benefit to India from the economic crisis of 1991 was that it marked the beginning of a new era of the flourishing of the press and media in the country. The template of freedom of expression in India, which before 1991 restricted to a few private newspapers and entirely to the government's electronic media, expanded all at once.

Companies, riding on the

consumption of new consumers began mass production and sales, and through the power of their advertising spending, not only did the revenue model of the media industry—so dependent on government ads and on select companies for its revenue—often change, but also, new news sharing windows opened up. The creation and distribution of information content became modernized at an astonishing pace. India became one of the unique media markets in the world where all the four mediums (print, TV, digital, social) developed together, but their mutual convergence too became a reality in the fastest way.

In the last decade of the 20th century, free markets and democracy emerged as the most successful couple. They established an interdependent relationship that depended on the freedom of expression that was growing almost every instant. At the root of this freedom was the growing broadcasting (publishing, TV and web) industry which was now functioning on the power of the market, advertising and was now looking governments in the eye.

Then came the first recession of the 21st century in the world, i.e., the 2008-09 financial crisis; democracy around the world became entangled in two unprecedented questions.

1. Does economic recession threaten democratic freedoms?
2. Why the freedom of expression is necessary in democracy to protect free markets from shrinking.

These are the most boisterous and pointed questions relating to freedom in a democracy. In the last nearly twenty years, a new economics of democracy has come into being, with the help of which the free market has prevented governments from becoming overlords by embellishing economic freedom.

“Freedom in the World”, a report of the Freedom House (the world’s most prestigious institution assessing the authenticity of democratic systems) is a well-known index of democracy. According to its report for 2018, democracy faces its deepest crisis in the past several decades. In 2007, political rights, press freedoms, rights of minorities and the rule of law had weakened in 75 democratic

countries.

This is the twelfth year of a continual decline in the freedoms of democracy. “Freedom in the World” states that democracy has weakened in 112 countries in the past 12 years. The number of dictatorial countries has increased from 43 to 48.

Dire days for democracy gained momentum since 2008. In the same year, the world saw a recession that continues till now. After 1990, both the countenance and character of democracies all over the world had improved somewhat. It is no surprise that economic liberalization started in many countries of the world at around the same time, and global development grew wings. In other words, freedoms flourished in the wake of rapid economic development.

Recent experiences show that the strength of democracy has dissipated in countries that are badly engulfed by the recession. “Freedom in the World” reported back in 2013 that freedom of the press in European countries weakened following the global recession of 2008, especially in the countries of the European Community, whose record is unmatched when it comes to the freedom of the press.

The relationship between economic liberalization, rapid growth and democracy is both complex and sensitive. Among all the rights of democracy, the freedom of expression is the only right of its kind which mandatorily needs rapid economic growth and liberal markets. If economic growth is quick, the market of advertisements keeps buzzing, people have the ability to spend and there is enough competition in the market, then

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a powerful press or media can stand on its feet and confront the government with questions. Conversely, as recession shrinks the market and limits private entrepreneurship, governments acquire opportunities to increase their own power.

As soon as a recession hits, consumers limit spending on all the products and services that are advertised by companies which wish to sell them. Cars and vehicles, real estate, entertainment, electronics, branded consumer products, cosmetics, mobile services, etc., advertise the most in India. It is these industries that flourished rapidly because people had a desire to buy and adopt these as they wished to better their lives.

Generally, products and services of this category are not in the list of purchases if essential requirements, i.e., people think about spending on them only after they are able to obtain the basic necessities of food and clothing. Therefore, there is huge expenditure on the advertisement of these products. Recession gives rise to a 'cocooning' among consumers, meaning that people limit their spending to the essentials and demand for better living slows down or ceases.

In the last three to four years,

the impact of the decline in both demand for and consumption of goods of businesses like automobiles, electronics, houses, luxury goods, etc., can also be measured by the decrease in their advertising expenses. In the same proportion, the balance sheet of news enterprises also suffered, their incomes decreased and expansion and modernisation was adversely affected.

An old friend associated with the world of advertisements said that from 2001 to 2005, newspapers and television wouldn't have space for cheaper government advertisements. Advertisements coming from the market did not leave room for government advertisements.

However, this equation changed after the recession. Amidst the decline of private advertising, publicity-driven governments emerged in India, who earmarked huge budgets for advertisements. A large part of the revenue of media companies now depended on the government's promotional expenses, funded by taxpayer money.

This is the indirect governmentalization of the private business of news and information, a situation born of the 2008 recession. This change shook the basic equation

of freedom of the media. A freedom that was funded entirely by the private market and which showed to governments the mirror of questions and criticism, for business reasons, now saw its reins indirectly pass into the hands of the government, which can now control the narrative of these mediums. And it is of course doing this.

A major economic depression too has ensued with along with the coming of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has demolished the erstwhile revenue of media companies in the Indian market and increased the dependence of their entire business model on government advertisements manifold.

The world, while trying to get out of the clutches of Covid has proceeded on a tricky path as far as the freedom of expression is concerned. Reputed indices such as Edelman's Global Trust Barometer or Freedom House's latest report speak of a lack of confidence in the media, but this index is not so blunt. This is because the old formulas to measure the freedom of expression are changing or to put it differently, a new struggle is emerging.

Governments, aided by this recession and through the power of laws have brought in a considerable degree of control over the earlier framework of freedom of expression (media companies and voluntary organizations). However, despite this, in the new environment, governments themselves seem more restless and troubled than before.

At the moment, when the freedom of expression is technically speaking, in its

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most enriched phase, where the centuries-old dream of two-way communication between power and the common street is being fulfilled, governments seem to be in trepidation because of private discourse on social networks.

The old-fashioned leadership and officials of many countries like India are afraid of the new form of global democracy. Channels of broadcasting have become universal, which cannot be bound by the laws of any single country; it is difficult to get the whole world to agree on this.

The poet Ahmad Faraz had once said:

*Write only that which is decreed
by the ruler;
Which speaks of pain, you shall
not write that*

A divided society is our burgeoning reality and equally significant is the fact that the entire world is in the grip of huge challenges like the prolonged recession and economic inequality. Three major changes are expected in the current model of the world's media business until the recession is dispelled.

First: Whatever the imperatives of democracy, the phenomenon of a private media that runs on government sustenance will become a reality in many democracies. In other words, if we curse the government-run press agencies of China or Russia, many similar examples are also coming to the fore in those democracies where the media in principle is a purely private enterprise.

Second: Governments will

This major recession and the Covid-19 epidemic have played havoc with many businesses in the world. However, if one views things standing in the shoes of powerful governments, the recession does not appear to be so bad. It provides political leaders an opportunity to play the messiah. Governments can control the advertising market and make media companies severely wounded by their losses dance to their (i.e., governments') tune

ban not only registered media mediums but also independent journalism itself, using different laws (from information technology to sedition). With this, a new battle will begin. This will be one where governments will be arraigned against social media platforms.

Third: With this battle, the struggle for freedom of expression will become global. That is, concerns regarding freedom in a particular country will no longer be confined to the boundaries of that nation.

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It is worth mentioning that a minimal dependence of the media's business upon the government and transparent profitability is the basic condition on which the freedom to speak, say, question and critique rests

on. Our hope too, rests on the very fact that a long recession renders governments hugely unpopular; Economic crises cause prominent political leaders to become history. Therefore, it is mandatory to overcome the recession; that is, as soon as the market and economic growth return to their strength, democracy will regain its energy and maybe we shall get a new free and more global media, a media with whom concerns and struggles will be a shared canvas. However, until the recession goes away and the market for advertisements does not become normal, governments will try their utmost to limit that freedom. No wonder therefore that John Milton, who had clashed with his country's parliament for sake of this freedom, was engaged in the struggle for freedom of thought, reforms in the Church and the movement towards republicanism, which was the precursor of the modern democracy that emerged over the years, before he became a poet.

*“Calling this a democracy,
which is but an absurdity;
With their power they seek to
frighten us.”*

— Noman Shauq ●



Dr. Santosh Kumar Tewari

Increasing Interest of Readers in Spirituality

Spirituality has always been the basis of any fundamental change in India. It is interesting to see the amount of space there is for spirituality in today's journalism and how organizations associated with spirituality and sects are making journalism a medium to fulfill their purpose

This paper has two parts. In the first part, the attention of the readers has been drawn to the fact that in the major daily newspapers of Hindi and English, spiritual content is now getting more space. The second part gives a bird's-eye view of the number of spiritual and religious journals in the country.

Part 1

Journalism has undergone many changes in the last twenty-five to thirty years. For instance, trade news was not given much priority earlier. But now, news of the Sensex going up and down has become a permanent part of daily news. Earlier, sports news in newspapers was not covered to the extent it is today. Similarly, columns or entire pages related to spirituality, religion or positive thinking have now become an integral part of most daily newspapers.

All spiritual television channels too are growing rapidly; for instance, channels on faith, rituals, spiritual practice, God TV, etc. Some of these also have separate branches of bhajan-kirtan etc.

Why is this happening? Perhaps the biggest reason for this is that there is a rapid decline of moral values in

daily life. Families are breaking up. There is a fierce struggle everywhere to acquire money. Newspapers and television news channels are full of negative news. Most places are dominated by untruth. In such a state of affairs, people are looking for peace. There is a search for light in the dense darkness.

Earlier too, newspapers would carry content related to spirituality and religion, but this content has increased in recent years. A column titled "Faith" is published almost every day in the English daily The Hindu, which itself is an extreme Left-leaning newspaper. A column titled 'The Speaking Tree' is being published on the editorial page of the English daily The Times of India since 1995. For the past several years, The Times of India has been the most read English newspaper in the country. The Hindi daily Hindustan publishes a full page on dharma every week. The Hindi newspaper Navbharat Times, a subsidiary of The Times of India, also regularly publishes a column titled 'The Speaking Tree'. Its content is different from that of the Times of India column. In the Dainik Jagran, a column titled "Oorja" is published almost daily on the editorial page. Similarly, in Amar Ujala, a

daily column “Antaryatra” is published. The daily Hindustan also regularly publishes content on spirituality and religion. It is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that the readership of Hindi newspapers is many times more than that of English newspapers. What this means is that there is a large readership that is interested in spirituality.

Dinamalar, a reputed Tamil daily published from Tamil Nadu regularly publishes articles about some or the other temple.

Such is the popularity of 'The Speaking Tree' column of The Times of India that selected content published in it has been published in the form of a book in many volumes till now. The book's name is The Best of Speaking Tree. Its twelfth volume was published in the year 2019. One of the reasons

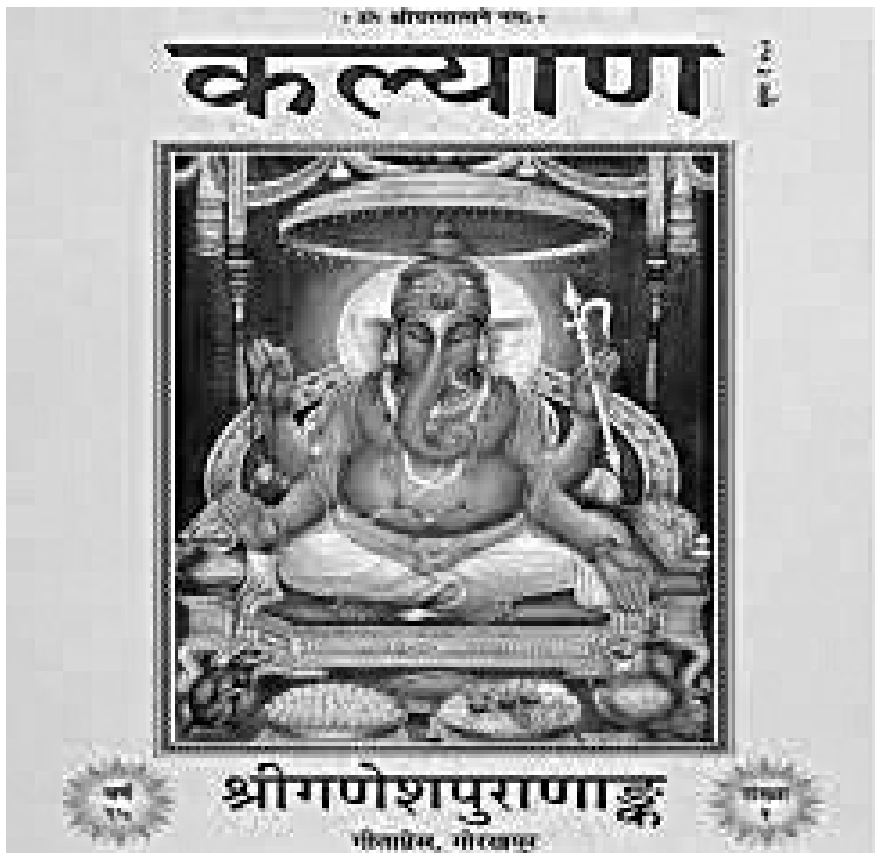
for its popularity is that it gives place to various religions and all kinds of spiritual outlook; plus, its language is very simple. The author's name is also printed in the Times of India column, while in the Hindu's column “Faith”, the author's name is not given.

A little description of the variety of material is published in the Times of India column 'The Speaking Tree' is given here through the headings taken from sections two and four of the above book.

The Best of Speaking Tree (Volume 2) (First published in 2004, Fifth Reprint 2008)

1. “Motor Your Mind Towards Godhead”, by Alfred Ford (He is an ISKON member and is a great grandson of Henry Ford. He spoke to Sujay Basu in Kolkata.), pp.9-10

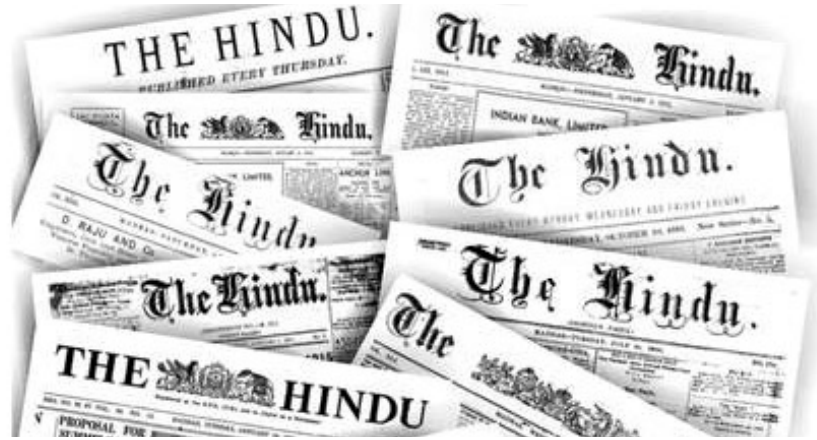
2. “Journalists Need a Loving Detachment”, by Vivek Singh, pp.33-34
3. “Surfing the Ocean of Soul Music”, by Bindu Chawala, pp.45-46
4. “Double Celebration: Sankara & Ramanuja”, by Pranav Khullar, pp.49-50
5. “Leave Behind Those Psychological Shoes”, by Swami Sukhabodhdhananda, pp.55-56
6. “Religion is a Bond Between Man & Nature”, by Mata Amritanandandamayī, pp.57-58
7. “Spirit of Dialogue Must for Peace”, by Daisaku Ikeda, pp.63-64
8. “Nataraj's Dance: Science & Intuition”, by Mrinalini Sarabhai, p.73-74
9. “Physics & Vedanta: So Much in Common”, by Mani Bahumik, pp. 85-86
10. “Neither a Chargesheet Nor a Shopping List”, by Swami Swaroopananda (The author is in charge of Chinmaya Mission's activities in Australia, New Zealand and the Far East), pp.99-100
11. “Temples as Places of Deep Insight”, by Dinesan Namboodiripad (The author is the chief priest of Srikrishna temple, Guruvayoor), pp. 107-108
12. “Music with Mantras: A Divine Experience”, by Swami Sukhabodhdhananda, pp.111-112
13. “Avatars Help Bond With the Divine”, by Sri Sri Ravishankar, pp.137-138
14. “In Search of Real 'Me'”, by Swami Chidananda (The author is president of the Divine Life Society,



Rishikesh), pp. 147-148

The Best of Speaking Tree (Volume 4) (First published in 2007)

1. "Celebrating Revelations of the Holy Qur'an", by Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, pp.15-16
2. "Climb to Heaven in the Garden of Eden", by Narayani Ghosh, pp. 27-28
3. "Why We Celebrate the Birthday of Ram", by Sri Sathya Sai Baba, pp.29-30
4. "Celebrating Life: Feast of Passover", by Ezekiel Isaac Malekar, pp.29—30
5. "A Glowing Tribute To the Tenth Guru", by Patwant Singh, pp. 67-68
6. "When Chaplin Got Convinced of Gandhi's Philosophy", by Amrit Gangar, pp.71-72
7. "Music Dissolve All Divisions", by Lama Doboomb Tulku (as told to Sudhamahi Regunathan), pp. 87-88
8. "The Kindly Stranger To Your Rescue", by Jan Morris, pp.119-120
9. "Getting Connected With Compassion", by Anees Jung, pp.129-130
10. "Pass Around a Precious Gift This Season", by Janina Gomes, pp. 131-132
11. "Significance of Giving Heartfelt Thanks", by Muhammad Ishaq Khan, pp. 137-138
12. "Give Thanks: It's Part of Spiritual Evolvment"; Discourse by Sant Rajinder Singh, pp.139-140
13. "A Physicist's Faith in Science & God", by Charles H Towns (The author is a Noble laureate. He invented the maser and co-invented the laser. He spoke to



- Narayani Ghosh.), pp.167-168
14. "Dispassionate View of the Law of Karma", Discourse: Osho, pp. 187-188
15. "Oneness and Wellness the Energetic Way", Discourse: Sadhguru Jaggi Vasudev, pp. 189-190

In order to get information on the "Faith" column of The Hindu newspaper, this writer wrote the following letter to their Readers' Editor on 19 February 2021:

I am a retired Professor. I am writing an article on spiritual journalism in India. Therefore I need some information about your "Faith" column.

Kindly reply to my following questions:

1. When did this column begin?
2. Previously, was its name 'Religion'?
3. In this column, do you publish matters of religions other than Hindu religion? If yes, please send me some examples.

The newspaper gave a very quick reply, which is as under:

"Sir,

Thanks for your interest in The Hindu. The archival charges

for parting with the information requested by you is Rs. 2360 (Rs. 2000 plus 18 % GST). Please find attached our bank details to make online payment. Kindly share the transaction ID, to track it from our end. You will receive the requested information within 7 days from the date of payment.

Regards

Team Archives"

Owing to financial constraints, no information could be obtained from *The Hindu*.

However, it is believed that *The Hindu* has the oldest such column amongst all the English dailies of India.

Moreover, the newspaper's website www.thehindu.com > faith accessed on 02 March 2021 informs that 'Faith' column of *The Hindu* is on Religion, Hinduism, Sacred Texts. Its contents are based on the Bhagavad Gita, Vedas, Mahabharata, Ramayana, etc.

The major difference in the Times of India's Speaking Tree column and *The Hindu's* Faith column is that the former carries the name of the writer, whereas latter does not provide the identity of the writer.

Whether it is the 'The Speaking Tree' column of the

Times of India or the spiritual column of any other newspaper, its beauty and specialty is that it gives peace to the reader whenever or wherever one reads it. These pillars show the way to those wandering in darkness.

Part Two

This part lists some of the magazines of different religions published in India. It should be clarified at the beginning that the list given below is not exhaustive one. Moreover, most of the information is based on the Internet.

Hindu religion

Ramkrishna Mission

Prabuddh Bharat is perhaps the oldest English monthly on Hindu religion in India.

Ramkrishna Mission official website https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_magazines_by_Ramkrishna_Mission was accessed on 02 March 2021 to find out their magazines. They focus on spirituality, Vedanta, religious studies, and service activities. Following are their magazines:

'Kalyan' in August 1926 and that is the oldest surviving religious Hindi monthly in India. Later in 1934 Gita Press started publication of an English monthly 'Kalyana-Kalpataru'.

'Kalyan' is perhaps the only magazine in India which prints its print order on each of its issues. Its current print order is 200,000 copies.

Gayatri Parivar

Gayatri Parivar's Akhand Jyoti is a monthly magazine published in Hindi, English and some other Indian languages. Though the magazine was started in 1938 from Agra, its formal publication began in January 1940. Since 1941, it has been published from Mathura.

Amritanandamayi Math

According to <https://matruvani.org/>, accessed on 02 March 2021, Amritanandamayi Math brings out a monthly magazines Matruvani which means voice of the mother. Matruvani is published in nine Indian languages and eight foreign ones. The nine Indian languages are Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada,

French, Italian, Spanish, Finnish, Japanese and Greek.

The Divine Life Society

According to https://www.sivanandaonline.org/public_html/?cmd=displayrightsection§ion_id=1709 accessed on 02 March 2021, the Divine Life Society, founded by Sri Swami Sivanandaji Maharaj in 1936, publishes two monthly magazines, Divine Life in English and Divya Jivan in Hindi.

Sri Ramanasramam

According to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mountain_Path, accessed on 02 March 2021, the Mountain Path is an English-language quarterly magazine published by Sri Ramanasramam. The ashram was founded by the devotees of Sri Ramana Maharshi.

Christian magazines

According to <http://www.churchesinindia.com/publication.html> website accessed on 18 February 2021, there are more than three hundred Christian magazines in India published from different states of the country. The website seems to be more than two decades old, because some of the cities of Jharkhand are shown in Bihar. Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar in 2000. The following is the list of Christian magazines given in the website:

Andhra Pradesh

Arunodaya Yuvatha Spurthi, Bible Bhashyam, Chaitanyavani, In Vinculo Christi, Prema Seva, Bharathamitram, Catholic Vani, Don Bosco Salesian Bulletin, Nene Velugu, Saanghika Aradhana.

The Gita Press

Gita Press, Gorakhpur, started publication of its Hindi monthly

Telugu, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya and Bengali. The eight foreign ones are English, German,

Periodicals					
	Name	Running year	Language	Periodicity	Centre
1	Prabuddha Bharata	124th	English	Monthly	Advaita Ashrama Mayavati
2	Udbodhan	120th	Bengali	Monthly	Kolkata Bagbazar
3	The Vedanta Kesari	107th	English	Monthly	Chennai Mylapore
4	Sri Ramakrishna Vijayam	99th	Tamil	Monthly	Chennai Mylapore
5	Vivek Jyoti	56th	Hindi	Monthly	Raipur Chhattisgarh

Bihar

Ave, In Christo, Katic Preritko, Mass Media, Nishkalanka, Sevartham, Gram Guru, Jisu Jaher Dudhani, Marsaltabon, Mustard Seed, Rahi, Yug Chetna, Gurukul Geetam.

Gujarat

Doot, Mission India, Spotlight, Third Millennium Indian.

Goa

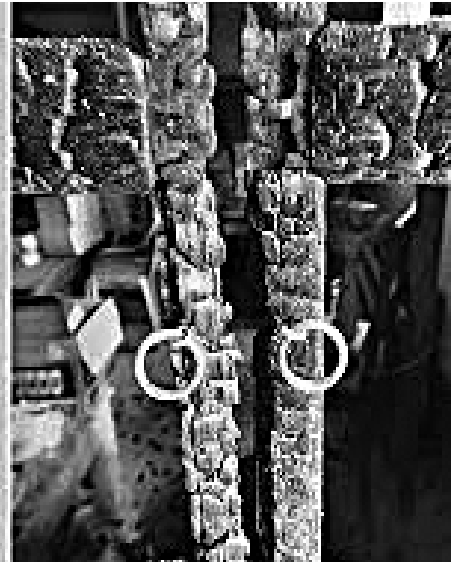
Amcho Sevadhorm, Daily Flash, Pago Patriarchal, Renovacao, Vomp'Pi, Bl. Joseph Vas, Dor Mhoineachi Rotti, Rays, Savera (English and Konkani), Yuvayana.

HARYANA

Channel Niscort.

Kerala

Aikyadeepam, Amma, Apostolic Prabodhanam, Bible Bhashyam, Amalolbhava, Apna Des, Assisi Monthly, Boquet, Carmel, Charis Jyothi, Charity Blossoms, Cherupushpam, Cherusoonam, Chraistava Kahalam, Christeen, Christian Orient, Deepanalam Weekly, Deivarajyam, Divine Voice, Divyakarunya Kahalam, Dukhrana, Girideepam, Good News, Herald Of The East, Jeeva Vachanam, Jeevadhara – English, Jeevajwala, Jeevadhara-Malayalam, Jeevajyothi, Jeevanum Velichavum, Jeevaraksha, Kalari, Karmalakusumam, Kathirolly, Kristava Kahalam, Kudumba Deepam, Kudumnajothis, Kunjumissionary Monthly, Light And Life, Light Of Cochin, Little Liberator, Madhyasthan, Malankara Balan, Mangalavartha, Mary Vijayam, Matha Darsanam,



Mathadarsanam, Mathavum Chinthayum, Mission Darsanam, Ozanam, Passion Flower (English), Pratiba, Preshitha Keralam, Pulary, Sacred Heart Monthly, Sandesham, Santome Mission, Santhwana Prakasam, Sastrapadham, Sathyadeepam, Shalom, Sneha Sena, Snehavani, Sunday Shalom, Suvara, Talent, Tempest, Thamara Mottukal, Thanima, The Animator, The Little Liberator, The Living World, Thiruhridaya Doothan, Ushus, Vachana Dhara, Vachanadeepam, Vachanadeepthi, Vachanam Belivediyil, Vachanolsavam (Monthly), Yesumargam.

Other Churches

Agape Vocie, Athma Prakasini, Athmeeya yathra, Atmadeepam (Monthly), Bethel Patrika, Christava Deepika, Doothan, Evening Light, Excelsior, Hermon Sandesham, Jeeva Vachanam, Jnana Nikshepam, Kahalam, Knanaya Deepam, M.O.C. Publications, Malamkara Sabha Deepam, Malankara Sabha Tharaka, Malamkara Sabha, Malankara Syrin Orthodox Youth, Mar Thoma Sabha

Book Dept, Marubhoomiyile Dhaiva Sabdam, Munnettam, Njananikshepam, OCYM News Bulletin, Orthodox Youth Magazine, Othodox Youth, Padana Sahai, Njananikshepam, Penthecosthin Sandesam, Pourasthiya Tharam, Pourasthya Suviseshakan, Purohithan, Ripples, Sabha Chandrika, Samarpitha, Sandarsini, Sandesam, Sathya Viswasa Deepti, Senehalokam, Spiritual India Publication, Suvisesha Doothan, Tabor Voice, Thalirukal, The Catholic Life, The Rainbow, Udaya Nakshatram, Uthara Kerala Sabha Mithram, Vachanadhorani, Vanitha Bodhimi, Veda Kahalom, Vedanadam, Vision Publications, Vision, Voice Of Action, Yuva Deepam.

Karnataka

Vikasa Vani, Amchi Mai Marian, Ange Vocations Monthly, Bala Spoorthy, Christ hyoti, Dalit Voice, Dharmaram Publications, Dharshan, Dootha, Eleyara Geleya, Fraternity, Journal Of Dharma, Manik, Namaste, Navajyoti, Navasarani, Proclaim, Rakno Weekly, Ujwal.

Mizoram

Shalom, Flash.

Maharashtra

Awakening Faith, Book World, Catholic Charismatic, Charis India, Chetna, Chirag, Divya Vani, Divyadaan, Don Bosco's Madonna, Indica

Ishvani, Jesuit Parivar, Jivan, Jnana Deepa, Petrus, Suvarta (Monthly), Tadore Nadam (Malayalam), The Examiner, The Teenager, Vision And Venture, With Joyfull Lips, Yuva Dhara, The Gate Way.

Madhya Pradesh

New Kiran, Sat Prakashan, The Light.

Meghalaya

Sengbaa

New Delhi

AIACHE Publications, Ave, Christian Mind series, Hum Dalith, Indian Currents, Legal News and Views, Vishal Malankara Voice, The Nazrani, Our Daily Bread, Pratiksha Leheren, Vachana Sudha, Vidya Jyoti Journal Of Theological Reflection, Women Link, Yuva Spandan, Faith Publications, Star Of East.

Orissa

Balasore Deepti, Bible Comics In Oriya, Christo Raja, Dibyo Probha, Prabha, Rashmi.

Punjab

Khuda Da Din, Piar De Sipahi, Sada Samana.

Port Blair

Dweep Tarangini

Rajasthan

Cross and Crown

Tamil Nadu

Yesuve Aandavar, Aviyin Mantrattu Muzhakkam, Annaiyin, Arutchudar, Annam, Arul Mozhi, Arumbu, Aruvi, Clergy News, Deivasabtam, Dharma Deepika, True Friends, Don Bosco Salesian, Bulletin, Fatima, Franciscan Oli, Friends, Gnanathootham, God's Ambassador, Illan Thendral, Illaya Theepam, Ithaya Sudar, Iathaya Thakam, Kalvi Cheithi Madal, Kristhuvil Vazhavu Laity, Maatram, Manitha Membadu, Nanthavanam, Narcheithi Natham, Narkarunai Veeran, Prama Nambikkad, Pathaigal Poiya Vilakku, Samaya Uravu, Sarpirasatha Thoothan, Sathiya Bothini, Soldiers Of God, Then Oli, Urimai Vazhvu, Vaikarai Velankanni Kuraloli, Vivilia Virunthu, Yesuvin Theiru Irudaya, Thoothan.

Other Churches

Emmanuel - Angel Christeen, Gurukul, Jesus Calls, Priceless Pearl, Suviseshakam, The South India Churchman.

Tripura

Shalom, Tiripura Baptist Herald.

Uttar Pradesh

Karipaon Ki Mata, Prabhu Ka Din, Quote, Sakshi, The Teenager.

West Bengal

Catechetics India, Milon Bithee, Our Lady of Bandel, Prarthana, S.V.P. Bulletin Bi-Monthly, Streams of Living Water, Sonjibon

The Herald Weekly, Yuva Pragati quarterly.

Buddhist Magazines

According to <http://navayan.com/periodicals.php?type=monthly&page=2> accessed on 28 February 2021, there are a number of Bauddha magazines published in India. For example, Dalit Dastak, Hindi monthly, New Delhi, Bliss Bulletin, monthly Mumbai, Buddhist Voice, monthly from Mumbai, Ramai Masik, Aurangabad, Vandana Sanghacha – Dhammaghosh, monthly, Nagpur, Samyak Times, Monthly, Mumbai, Dhamma, English monthly, Bangalore, Dalit Kesari, Hindi montly, Allahabad, Bauddha Vihar, Hindi monthly, Patna, Bheem Patrika, Hindi monthly, Jalandhar, etc.

Sikh Magazine

According to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gurmat_Parkash accessed on 28 February 2021, Gurmat Parkash is a monthly Punjabi magazine published by Dharam Prachar Committee of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar. Its Hindi version is Gurmat Gyan.

Jain Magazines

https://www.jainsamaj.org/content.php?url=Jain_Magazines_-_Published_in lists about 250 Jain magazines; for example, Jain Jagruti, Jain Samaj, Anuvrat, etc.

Conclusion: Within the scope of this paper, it is difficult to assess the impact of these religious magazines and spiritual columns in newspapers. However, one thing is sure that there is a large and increasing readership of such material in India. ●

Forerunner of Indian Journalism



Dr. Dharendra Kumar Rai



Harshit Shyam Jaiswal

Paradigm of Journalism Mahamana Malaviya

*Bahukṛtye nirudyogī jāgartavye prasuptakah|
Viśvassatvan bhayasthāne hā putraka! Vihanyase||*

“Many works need to be accomplished; yet you are indolent. It is time to wake up, yet you sleep. In this land of dread, you rest trusting that there is no fear! Oh! You perish!”

Through these verses composed by Maharishi Ved Vyas, Malaviya Ji intended to awaken the people of India. He used them as opening lines of the article titled “*Rashtriya Jagran*” (National Awakening) that was published in the newspaper *Abhyudaya on Samvat* 1963 (Falgun Krishna Saptami)¹. Baburao Vishnu Paradkar opined that “leadership in journalism and public life could not walk hand in hand.” According to him, “to become successful and flawless in a singular art, the renunciation of the other was mandatory.” However, if one observes the life of Malviya Ji, one grasps that he turns out to be an exception. As accomplished as Malviya Ji was in leading his public life, his contributions to journalism retained equal distinction. From *Hindosthan* to *Abhyudaya*, *Sanatan Dharma*, *Leader*, *Hindustan Times*, and *Maryada*, many authentic documents vouching the same have

recorded this historical claim. If one scrutinizes Malviya Ji’s journalism in entirety, it can be confirmed unequivocally that his efforts heralded a new vision to modern Indian journalism.

As an editor, Malviya Ji’s initial association with the occupation of journalism was through *Hindosthan* newspaper. The daily was instituted by Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar (Pratapgarh), and Malviya Ji became its editor in the year 1887. He dutifully held this position for almost two and a half years. *Hindosthan* was then the first daily newspaper to be published entirely in Hindi. Obtaining self-government for India was the main goal of his editorial policy in *Hindosthan*. In 1889, he briefly collaborated in the publication of an English newspaper by Pandit Ayodhyanath called the *Indian Opinion*. Eventually in 1907, he started editing and publishing the Hindi weekly *Abhyudaya* from Prayag. *Abhyudaya*, at that time, became an unforgettable name etched in the history of not just Hindi, but Indian journalism as well. It was the most popular nationalist

Journalism was not just a medium of people’s awakening but also an instrument of initiating them into language and literature. He introduced a new vision in Indian journalism through his efforts

newspaper in the early decades of the twentieth century. In its early years, it was a weekly newspaper. Ever since the dawn of World War I, there was an increased desire in the general public to be aware and informed of national and international news. The demand for magazines and journals greatly augmented during this period. As a result, *Abhyudaya* also started publishing twice a week, instead of once in seven days. On Vijayadashami 1909, Malaviya Ji started the English daily *Leader* from his hometown Prayag. The ensuing publication of the monthly magazine named *Maryadain* 1910, also started from the *Abhyudaya* Press in Prayag. The responsibility of publishing *Maryada* rested on the reliable shoulders of Malaviya Ji's nephew, Krishnakant Malaviya. In due course the magazine was published from Babu Shivprasad Gupta's *Gyan Mandal* in Kashi, where its editing was borne by Sampurnanand. Later Munshi Premchand also edited the magazine for a while. In 1924, Malaviya Ji joined the

management of *Hindustan Times*, the English daily newspaper that was published from New Delhi. He remained the chairman of the newspaper's management committee for a substantial period of time as well. By 1933, he started the weekly magazine known as *Sanatan Dharma* from Kashi (Varanasi) to disseminate nationality, spirituality and cultural consciousness. The magazine was centred on the principle that, "Those who remain steadfast to their religion, will herald creation." In the first issue of this magazine itself, Malaviya Ji raised the question of *Antyajyoddhar* (redemption of those who are born in supposedly lower classes) in the article titled '*Bhakti ki Mahima*' (Glory of Bhakti). Other than that, Malaviya Ji continued supporting all publications that emanated at that time, on the basis of his experience, in whichever manner he could. Malaviya Ji contributed to the publication of both Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's *Hindustan Review*, and the English weekly named Indian

People. Ramananda Chatterjee's publication from Allahabad called the *Modern Review* was also aided by Malaviya Ji's relentless bolstering.

Mahamana holds a distinct standing in the history of Hindi journalism. In his book titled '*Mahamana Malaviya aur Hindi Patrakarita*', Dr. Lakshmishankar Vyas divides the pre-independence period of Hindi journalism into three eras: The Early era, the era of Bharatendu, and the era Malaviya. Malaviya Ji's contributions, and the historical implications of his journalistic endeavours in the advancement of modern Hindi journalism can be understood in detail through diverse perspectives.

Malaviya Ji's editing bravura

The journalistic career of Malaviya Ji started in 1880, with an article published in *Hindi Pradeep* that was edited by Balkrishna Bhatt. Impressed by his spirited speech at the Calcutta Congress session, Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar urged him to become the editor for his newspaper. Following this request in 1887, he left his teaching job, and started his voyage into journalism as an editor with *Hindosthan* newspaper. Subsequently Malaviya Ji edited many newspapers, and magazines. In his role as an editor, he forayed into many experiments that still resonate in the editing of modern journals and magazines. As an editor, Malaviya Ji would emphasize on the usage of colloquial language instead of formal. In this context, he was driven by the clarity that one should use the same words in



books or newspapers that which are understood and spoken in the public. He considered *tadbhava* (inherited vocabulary of modern Indo-Aryan languages, specifically Sanskrit) words of Hindi to be one's personal assets. His linguistic texture was also similar, as he not only coined words, but like a linguistic artisan would create all the meanings that emerged from the womb of each word. In the absence of linguistic words, he used Sanskrit words with profundity for the purpose of his journalistic language. In place of words like *janm* (birth), *karya* (work), *yatn* (effort), *lagn* (ascendant), et cetera, he preferred using words like *janam* (birth), *kaaj* (work), *jatan* (effort), and *lagan* (ascendant). He made all the words of Sanskrit and Indian languages as the basis of his journalistic language. The endless examples of which can be seen in his journalism.

He considered journalism to be a scientific art. In the context of dailies, he thought that the editors should decide the subject for each day. This, he opined, would keep the reader interested in the magazine, and would also increase its circulation. Editors must publish articles either according to a particular day or assigned subject like literature, physical advancement, village organization, among others. He used to write weekly editorials on village related issues while positioned as the editor of *Hindusthan*. Here it would not be an excess to claim that the foundation of rural journalism, or what one understands of it in the modern sense of the word, centred on rural upliftment, was essentially started by Malaviya Ji. He published a poem titled 'Our

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Village', relating the foreign rule in Hindustan to be the reason for the plight of Indian villages,

Our villages

*Where did those villages of
absolute beauty go.
Loved by everyone, those that
brought ultimate peace of mind
Clear of fraud and cruelty, sin
and materials.
Where simple people settled,
with no deceit.
Where thirty-six castes lived
together harmoniously.
Where neither false work nor
false value was magnified.
Whose only basis of living is
truth.
Where are those villages of
affectionate people.
Not even a sign, of it is not
visible.²*

The partition of Bengal in 1905 is a significant event in the history of modern India, as it gave a new edge to the Indian struggle against the British. It was in this background that the publication of *Abhyudaya* started from Prayag in 1907. The newspaper was christened by Pandit Balkrishna Bhatt. During the editing and publication of *Abhyudaya*, Malaviya Ji was fully supported by Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi, Krishnakant Malaviya, Purushottam Das Tandon, Pandit Venkatesh

Narayan Tiwari, Bhagavandas Halna, Padmakant Malaviya, among other literati. In his capacity as an editor, Malaviya Ji used to do every possible thing to make his journals understandable and stimulating. It can be best understood from his two letters written to Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi:

**Prayag
08.02.1907**

**Dear Pt. Mahavir Prasad,
Namaskar! I hope that both
the editions of *Abhyudaya*
have reached you, and that
you have liked it.
I pray that you help it with
your mature articles. And
I hope you will accept this
proposition.**

**Yours sincerely,
Madan Mohan Malviya.³**

In response to this letter, Acharya Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi Ji sent two articles for publication in *Abhyudaya*. One of them was penned by him, while the other was written by Babu Mishrilal Gupta. On receiving Dwivedi's article on 26 February, 1907, Malaviya Ji wrote a letter, which in turn became an important correspondence from the perspective of Indian journalism's history. In this

letter, for the first time, Malaviya Ji refers to starting the practice of giving honorarium/gift, et cetera, to authors for their articles.

Prayag
26.02.1907

Dear Mahaveer Prasad Ji,

Pranaam! Both your letters of clemency and the two articles, one penned by you and the other by Babu Mishrilal Gupta, have reached. I could not pen the letter of acceptance till now. Do forgive me. The first letter was not written by my own hand. Please forgive this aspect as well. Due to the multiplicity of work and the inconsistency of not working in order, these days I often have to send letters penned by others to my most treasured friends. However, given the indulgence that you and my other dear friends accord me, my detrimental manners are very well forgiven. With this idea, I send such letters to run this work. I hope that you will never really think that I am a man of such foolish disposition or so narrow hearted that I do not revere your qualities appropriately.

For my letter requesting immediate help, you kindly answered my appeal, for which I give you my heartfelt gratitude. I implore that, as far as possible, you should send one article per week for Abhyudaya. I am hopeful that you will accept it. In this province, there has been a long standing need to establish a prestigious weekly newspaper in the Hindi language, in which articles of scholarly,

thoughtful, experienced nation-friendly gentlemen should be published, and one that inspires enthusiasm in such gentlemen to do so. You will be just as delighted and affectionate of such a journal as I am. However, I can never help as much as you can in this endeavour. I have courageously released the newspaper despite having many more occupational worries and burdens. It is the duty of you and other nation-friendly allies to make it function for the benefit of the country and for it being able to continue. And it is dependent on the backing of you people.

Although now it seems to be a daring and unnecessary adventure, however, it is my desire that I start the order of offering authors some honorarium. There are very

few authors whose articles are worth some offering. And in the present state of the newspaper, it will also be difficult to present something worthwhile. Nonetheless, by the law of 'Alparambha-Kshemkrah' (basic pay), I wish that for articles accorded the same respect of newspaper publication like your article titled "The women of Vedic age", should be offered some patra-pushp (leaves and flower; implying monetary honorarium). Kindly pen your opinion in this matter. My thought is that the 1 (one) quarter rupee per column should be started for now, and as the economic status of the newspaper gets better, the rate of offering should be increased. Though it might not offer some revenue growth to a worthy acquaintance, but it will begin a tradition by virtue of which the friends contributing to building and enhancing the newspaper, will satisfactorily be encouraged. They will also experience satisfaction of getting some financial benefit from furthering the national interest. I hope and believe that if you and the two-three other friends to whom I am writing, will give full support to this letter, then the newspaper will have eight to ten thousand readers in due course.

You do not need to write specifically. I hope and believe that the price I am mentioning in this letter, you will consider the same worth for it. And one or two articles per week will help.

I removed part of the widow's marriage because your opinion was not published



The article about which Mahamana was distressed (dated 13 June, 1914).

in it and the article would not have been dear to the public. I hope that you have not been unhappy with us.

Tomorrow I will write about the article of Babu Mishrilal.

**Yours faithfully,
Madan Mohan Malviya.**

The magnitude of Mahamana's overall vision of a newspaper can be best understood from the book "*Mahamana Malaviya aur Hindi Patrakarita*", where Dr. Lakshmeshankar Vyas examines and writes about the foundation of Malaviya Ji's journalism, and his style of editing. It is clear that according to Mahamana Malaviya's outlook, the following requirements were indispensable to get the best weekly newspaper:

- Support of respectable writers
- Encouragement of new writers
- Remuneration for best articles
- Increase in circulation of newspaper

We find an example of how consciously Malaviya Ji functioned as an editor by observing Dr. Rajendra Prasad's statement, "By becoming the editor of *Abhyudaya*, Malaviya Ji has taken the country and society towards '*Abhyudaya*' (elevation). "In those days, newspapers were not published across many cities. Consequently, on 25 October, 1909, the publication of *Leader* started in Allahabad aiming to seal the shortage of a national daily newspaper. It also intended to bring news to the English intellectual community, especially the ones related to the freedom struggle, gaining

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momentum in the country. The significance of *Leader* in the journalism of that era, can be traced from a comment recorded in a confidential report of the Government of India in 1927. The report read that, "The educated Indians of the United Provinces get the news of political affairs from the '*Leader*', on the basis of which they decide on their opinion." Soon after the publication of the newspaper *Maryada* started in November 1910. A comprehensive Hindi newspaper, it functions as an ideal even to this day. For a short period in 1917, he also published the *Kisan* journal from *Abhyudaya* Press. Since the start of its publication in 1933, the weekly magazine *Sanatana Dharmahad* articles written by Malaviya Ji, along with the publication of his speeches centred on Sanatan Dharma. No matter where Malaviya Ji was associated with publication work, with him there always functioned an entire team of those who contributed to his editorial direction. He was instrumental in providing Indian journalism with a new breed and fellowship of journalists. In *Hindusthan* he was accompanied by people like Babu Balamukund Gupta, Bharatendu Sakha,

Pt. Pratapnarayan Mishra, Babu Gopal Ram Gahmari, Gulab chandra Chaubey, Babu Shashibhushan Chatterjee, and Pt. Amritlal Chakraborty. At the same time, there were accomplished men like Krishnakant Malaviya, and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi who worked with him in *Abhyudaya*, supplying immense contributions to the society with their journalism. However, soon after the first decade of twentieth century, due to his engagement with Banaras Hindu University, though Malaviya Ji's vigorous role in journalism waned with time, he kept a close watch on his publication projects. This sentiment of his can be understood from a letter to Krishnakant Malaviya, penned by him on 17 June, 1914:

"Last night I dreamt that a fierce fire had taken place in the *Abhyudaya* Press. The flames were rising viciously, and kept spreading to the surrounding houses. The agony I suffered while reading *Abhyudaya*'s 23rd periodical, that came by post now, is much worse than the dream where the press was burning. Had the press been consumed by fire before the key article of the previous

edition was published, I would not have felt as dismal as I did while reading this article in *Abhyudaya*. If the newspaper could be repented by closing it, then I would have closed it immediately; but it cannot be. As long as I live, it is not right for us to express such feelings in either *Abhyudaya* or *Maryada* that makes criminals of us, to be humiliated in front of the society.”

Thus, it is clear that Mahamana did not wish to let anything be published, in all the journals emanating from his publication, that which would create any discrimination or bitterness in the society.

Journalism beyond advocacy

Apart from being an editor and a journalist, Malaviya Ji was a politician, an advocate, and was intrinsically involved in freedom struggle, besides being an activist devoted to various projects of social reform. He tried his best to be unbiased from all his other deeds and thoughts, while discharging his role as an editor or a journalist. Association with the Congress was obvious for the founder of *Hindosthan*, Raja Rampal Singh and Mahamana Malaviya Ji. Though this newspaper may have been helpful in spreading the policies of the Congress, but that did not

stop Malaviya Ji from criticizing the Congress when required. Likewise, during the publication period of *Abhyudaya*, the divide between Moderates (those who wanted to oppose the British in peaceful manner) and Extremists (those who wanted to oppose in violent manner) in the Congress had increased greatly. On many occasions, these two factions of Congress clashed with each other. Malaviya Ji was from the Moderate camp, yet he did not disguise or disregard the ideas and speeches of Extremist leaders like Lokmanya Tilak, and Bipin Chandra Pal in *Abhyudaya*. In his dissertation titled “Journalism, Public Opinion and Politics in Uttar Pradesh: 1905-1920”, Bhubaneswar Pandey stated that, “If *Abhyudaya* is called the first nationalist newspaper in the Hindi language, it will not be an exaggeration. Krishnakant Malaviya was its first editor. Although Madan Mohan Malaviya was a Moderate, he would also give considerable prominence to the extremist politics of the province in the newspaper.”

As a journalist, Malaviya Ji used to keep an eye on various issues related to the country and the world. On one hand he would publish articles on Hindu-Muslim unity; nation building; idea of income-expenditure of India; women Education; and

cow protection based on the country. While on the other hand, to spread his views to the public, he used to write editorials or articles with titles like Indian Army, while also commenting on various important events happening around the world. He made one such comment in the context of relations between Japan and America,

Japan and America

From the ‘Pioneer’ dated 4th, concerning the war with Japan, it seems that US newspapers are publishing articles very unwisely. They write that Japan is prepared to go to war. With regards to President Roosevelt, they have written that he said that as far as possible, the malpractices that are spreading through Japan must be abolished; because the war with the heroic and influential Japan will not be as easy as the war of Spain. Unlike the European countries, Japan will not see the possibility of using all forms of politics, but will launch an attack whenever possible. Such articles of America will shame the peace-loving peoples of all countries, as articles such as these cannot benefit from loss. Yet, even in such a state, Japan’s patience and pride are admirable. The thing is that powerful men are often very patient.

From this remark, it seems clear that Mahamana was not only keeping a close watch on the events and politics of India or Britain, but he also understood the events taking place in the global world, along with the effects of international politics. Malaviya Ji used to express his views on every important issue with impunity. He would never

Apart from being an editor and a journalist, Malaviya Ji was a politician, an advocate, and was intrinsically involved in freedom struggle, besides being an activist devoted to various projects of social reform. He tried his best to be unbiased from all his other deeds and thoughts, while discharging his role as an editor or a journalist

miss out on sticking to reporting the facts and rationally criticising the government's decisions. On his article 'Hindustan and income-expenditure' published in *Abhyudaya* dated Samvat 1964 (Chaitradhik-Shukla 12), he gave a feedback to the government on the decision to reduce the salt tax. He suggested that the Indian government completely withdraw the salt tax. It was in this article, that the suggestion to reduce military expenditure was made, in order to increase the expansion of education. Comparing the budget of India and England, he wrote that, "The annual income of our country is 1 billion and 12 crores. Overall, the Government is currently spending 3 million to 4 million rupees on promoting learning and education. The total expenditure of the army is 30 million. The annual income of England is above 2 billion and 30 crores, out of which twenty-four crores rupees is spent in education, and 43.20 crores in military expenditure. In such a situation, the only hope can be that the education in this country is as publicized as is it in civilized countries."

The outline of Mahamana's values and how he wanted to build an intoxicant-free society, is to be found in the same article, where he wrote in one place that, "The inhabitants of China are diligently trying to quit the lethal habit of drinking Chandu (prepared opium), and it is certain that in a few years, opium will not travel from India to China. This will cause a loss of five and a half crores each year to the imperial treasury of India. But we are not unhappy with this. We do not want to benefit our country by harming

any other country or caste."

There are many such examples which testify that Malaviya Ji would honestly voice each side in journalism without a care about predilections.

Efforts to make Hindi a national language

The effort to set up Hindi as a national language can be traced in the entire journalistic career of Malaviya Ji. From the time of *Hindusthan*, he emphasized on the usage of easy words, especially those prevalent in folk culture. He intended to extensively use *tadbhava* words in Hindi, so that he could communicate to, and connect with an increasingly larger number of people. The editor of *The Jayaji Pratap*, that was published from Gwalior, said that through *Abhyudaya*, the influence of Bengali language on Hindi had been reduced. The influence of Bengali was considerable on Hindi because most of the earlier newspapers published in Hindi language had been published from Bengal, especially from the printing presses in Calcutta. Malaviya Ji disengaged this link, and played a vital role in establishing the background of Hindi publications from Prayag, and the United Provinces. Malaviya Ji had proposed that Hindi be made the national language, as early as 1910. With this intention, he also engaged the language policy. He opined that, "We must see to it that the words of our language are such that the people from all provinces can benefit from it." Explaining the position of Hindi in Indian languages, he claimed that Hindi is "the oldest and the eldest among all her sisters." He was consistently trying to

spread Hindi to more and more people. In that order, he would often emphasize the use of simple Hindi and Devanagari script to the writers who would send articles to his journals and magazines. The following letter from Chandradhar Sharma Guleri confirms just that:

Prayag

23.02.1909

**Dear Chandradhar Ji,
Namaskar!**

Your second article and letter have arrived. This article will be printed in the upcoming edition of *Abhyudaya*, in the same manner as *Leader*. I have proofread it. I have directed two sections of the article. Raja Saheb's opinion in one, and your comment in the other, both would appear in this number.

I had wished that I could simplify the method of the article somewhat. Some words were changed at certain places, but nothing could be changed significantly. Difficult Sanskrit words have to be used to illuminate the expressions even in translation and in free text. Even I find it difficult to write simply (in language), so do you, yet I am trying hard, and you must too. And wherever it is possible, try using the experience of simple language and those Persian-Arabic words, which have now become part of our popular language. Try imbibing a language that is used by the common people, so that they can understand our articles. Practice has proven, with it also being very satisfying to see that we share equal thoughts regarding not just religion,

but also politics. I hope that both our ideas will continue being similar endlessly. Do understand that the burden of *Abhyudaya* is on your own self. Think of me as your assistant, who might not always be able to assist as much as I am doing at the moment, and I would be troubling your work. If you were independent and would come here to take the entire weight of the editorial position on yourself, then I would have been able to get to the university work immediately.

If you cannot come, then do write about someone who I should give this load to? I had written to Balmukund Gupta, and he said that he would do it after a month. Yet, he was unsure about coming. Perhaps he would not be able to come. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find an editor for Hindi newspapers. I am willing to give 100 rupees monthly, but there is no man who would take it. This is the condition of our country and our language. Well, whatever happens. Whenever it is possible, send comments and articles every week. Now your help is needed every week. Eventually, it would lessen with time. I am sure that people will adore the newsletter after

reading your articles. What more is there to write, thank you. You do what you can. God bless you with the best in this country.

Yours,
Madan Mohan Malviya.

The significance of Malaviya Ji's efforts in the Hindi Movement, was not limited merely to the use of language-script only in affairs of the state. Through this massive Hindi language movement, he was voicing the political aspirations of the country's large masses. To establish Hindi as the national language, he used every role of his own, along with using every platform he could. When he got an opportunity to deliver the presidential speech at the first Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, he delivered a memorable speech while trying to remove all the misconceptions and apprehensions related to it. An important part of that speech is quoted here,

"One of my friends asked me, what exactly is Hindi? This is really a complex question about Hindi. In such a situation, I tackle it first. I am disappointed to neither be a scholar of Sanskrit, who can offer evidences in this matter, nor am I a scholar of languages that I should discuss this subject. But I plead before

One of my friends asked me, what exactly is Hindi?
This is really a complex question about Hindi. In such a situation, I tackle it first. I am disappointed to neither be a scholar of Sanskrit, who can offer evidences in this matter, nor am I a scholar of languages that I should discuss this subject. But I plead before you that when one can say nothing with proof, then it is one's duty that he reasons with his thoughts as the only evidence that he can offer

you that when one can say nothing with proof, then it is one's duty that he reasons with his thoughts as the only evidence that he can offer. There is a lot of controversy about Hindi. Many in our country, whosoever could, have written in relation to Hindi. However, among our European writers, there is Dr. Grierson of Britain who tops as a crowning jewel (applause). He has done a great service to Hindi and has been industriously working for the development of Hindi. He wrote in one place that in the European year 1803 AD, Lallu Lal Ji authored several literary works into modern vernacular Hindi. Many others have said the same thing. He says that the foreign scholars of Hindi have been claiming that Hindi is not a language. The name of this language is Urdu. Its name is Hindustani. These people will keep saying all this, but they will not say that this language is Hindi (shame). Shame is nothing, but a matter of consideration, gentlemen! Many distinguished English officers had asked me, what is Hindi? The language of this province is Hindustani. I was stunned to hear this question. Even after explaining when they did not accept, then I said that the language you call Hindustani, that is Hindi."

Malaviya Ji carried on in his speech, "Reasoning in relation to Hindi language, first consider the image of Sanskrit, then bring to mind the image of the Hindi language. Deeply contemplate which language is Hindi, and where are its origins? Among the many daughters of Sanskrit, which is the eldest daughter? Among the daughters of Sanskrit, what is Hindi's position? What

is its relation with Sanskrit? Sanskrit, as the word says, is bound by rules. Whatever was vain, was removed, the best things were kept, words were tied to regulations and formulas, that which was out of rule, they were professed to be against the rules. The grammatical words were mentioned in the grammar. You know that Prakrit happened in Sanskrit. Those who say that Sanskrit was never spoken, are unaware of Sanskrit. If they read a little Prakrit, then they will recognize that Prakrit cannot be spoken. There is no doubt in Sanskrit being spoken. Prakrit came from Sanskrit. It was followed by Sauraseni, Magadhi and Maharashtrian. It may be in your mind that Dandi was in the 8th century. In his time, he wrote that there are four languages in India, Maharashtrian, Sauraseni, Magadhi and Bhasha. These four languages have been going on.

Now you know that there is a lot of variance between Maharashtrian language and Magadhi language. Pay attention to my words, you get the form of words from Sanskrit language in these languages. As much as it is found in Hindi language, it cannot be found in any other language.”

Like many other freedom fighters, for Malaviya Ji saw Hindi as a language that would unify the country into a formula. Thus, he wanted to establish Hindi as the national language for this very purpose.

Contribution to Indian Renaissance

As a journalist Malaviya Ji played an important role in the upliftment of Indian society, along with its renaissance. In his

book '*Madanmohan Malaviya: Navjagran Ka Lokvritt'*, Samir Kumar Pathak writes that, “Malaviya Ji was one of the few people in the Hindi province, whose identity was all Indian. His vigilant-active political-cultural life spanned six decades. His whole career and ideological journey until 1880-1940, involvement in independence struggle and Swadeshi operations, along with resolution of national consciousness, the establishment of Hindu University and its development, are nothing short of inspiring episodes of greatness. He was active in political-cultural functions through the Congress; through *Hindosthan, Abhyudaya, Leader, Maryada*, he developed and expanded the idea-consciousness of the Renaissance in journalism; he was instrumental in criticizing British imperialism for India's economic plight; he called for a collective effort to secure Hindu-Muslims unity; he advocated for Hindi language and Devanagari script; he rationalized about both the future of education and education in the future, to establish the Hindu University-Madan Mohan Malaviya's entire life was synonymous with the progressing journey of renaissance.”

In his writings, Malaviya

Ji attempted to awaken the subjugated Indian public by reinforcing ideas like *Swarajya* in India through mythical and historical references, with the help of *Shlokas* composed by Maharishi Ved Vyas, along with texts such as *Shatapatha Brahmins*, etcetera. Through the articles in his magazine *Sanatana Dharma*, he tried not just to communicate with the supposedly lower classes, but he also religiously initiated Harijans on Dasashwamedh Ghat in Kashi by invoking *Panchakshara* (the five sacred syllables of *na-ma-shi-va-ya*) chants of '*Namah Shivay*' (Salutations to Lord Shiva). Underlining the role of women in the reformation of the society, he wrote an article titled 'Women-education', “The progress or degradation of men is only in the hands of women! Just as a woman like Lady Macbeth can remove men from the darkness of their misdeeds, similarly women like Gandhari and Draupadi can protect themselves from the hands of miscreants and save their clan and take the sinner on the path of virtue. But it can happen only when they have the prerequisite education to have such a deep understanding of policy, and in due course know where to appropriately use them. I do not

Malaviya Ji was one of the few people in the Hindi province, whose identity was all Indian. His vigilant-active political-cultural life spanned six decades. His whole career and ideological journey until 1880-1940, involvement in independence struggle and Swadeshi operations, along with resolution of national consciousness, the establishment of Hindu University and its development, are nothing short of inspiring episodes of greatness

want to request anymore from the readers about the meaning of women education which is usually understood nowadays. We mean the complete development and complete confirmation of all the powers of the heart and mind through education. Given the immense power that they have been given by God, our aim is to make women workable and practical by bringing them to face the high ideal of life. This is the happiness and duty of our traditional life. The condition which is associated to the education of women in our country these days, was the same condition that inhabited civilized countries like Europe and America fifty years ago. Regarding the gift of higher education to women, many kinds of arguments that are fanciful and misleading, coupled with weak beliefs are hovering here at this time. Similar was the condition of civilized countries at that time. But with the turn of time, the minds of those people have now shifted away from these malpractices, and with their removal, new blood has been pumped in their cultural life. They were transformed only by paying attention to the education of women. The progress that the US and Europe have witnessed in the last fifty years, they could not achieve in the last two centuries.”

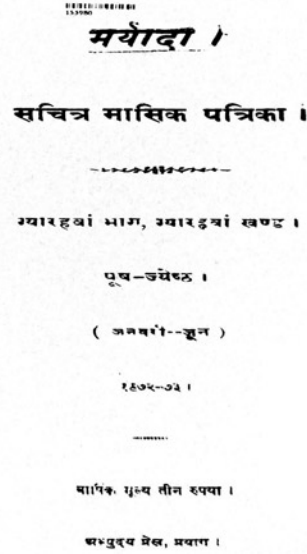
The diverse dimensions of Mahamana's journalism

The core of journalism is to



Mastheads of various newspapers and magazines of Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

reach out to people in order to inform, educate, and entertain them. It is not surprising that Mahamana understood the role of a communicator and a journalist well before journalism was developed into a separate field of study. Journalism studies started in Banaras Hindu University in 1973, approximately two-and-a-half decades after Mahamana's demise (1946). It remains one of the earliest universities in the country which started offering a degree in journalism. As a journalist, he was continually writing about education. In an article titled 'Our Education', he opined that, "There was a time in India when everybody living here used to highly accomplished in scholarly skills, while being enterprising, courageous, and religious. This is not very ancient. This condition of this country remained till the time of Maharaja Bhoja. In the court of Maharaja Bhoja, whenever someone used to compose a new shloka, the emperor would give the poet one lakh currency as a reward. In the same India, there has been such a miserable



सभ्युदय मेल, प्रयाग ।

condition that nothing is to be said for the promotion of education among the lower castes, as there is a lack of knowledge even among the upper castes. The reason for this is due to the apathy of our government, who do not pay proper attention to the general public. Hearing what the Indian government spends for our education, the readers will be shocked and saddened.

The government spends about one āna (equal to 1/16th of a rupee) per person per annum to promote education in this country. For our countrymen, from whom the government extorts a little more than a billion rupees annually, whether it is justice or injustice to spend so little on education, let our readers consider.” He not only raised questions on the government, but further wrote that, “We accept the fact that in our educational work, the government spends far less than what is needed, but we are more indifferent than the government itself, because it is us who should get that education. Can we not manage our education on our own? When the government imposes a new tax on our heads, or increases the land revenue every thirty years, we are sure to give this money, happily or unhappily, in one way or the other. Why do we pay? The government is immensely influential, and even if we do not pay the tax happily, the government is sure to collect it. If we impose a tax on ourselves for the promotion of education

in the country and maintain it regularly for the promotion of education, then can our education not be progressed? Those who consider their intended work to blaspheme and hurt others, by giving lectures or by the writing too much, they must contemplate on this .”

In this way, Malaviya Ji also suggested measures to be taken for self-improvement, instead of merely relying on the government. Not only did he suggest measures, but he also tried to work in this direction himself. Instead of seeking government help, he raised funds from every corner of the country and built a public university, that was borne out of the money from the common masses, and from the Kings-Maharajas of all the princely states of the country. It was his sincerity that this university, which was established by him, has not only led the country in the field of modern technology and knowledge-science for the last hundred years, but is also promoting ancient knowledge, culture and traditions.

Malaviya Ji saw education as a medium of reconstruction for the Indian society. His dedication and efforts directed towards education were well known. His devotion towards the grandeur and splendour of Indian intellectual and contemplative tradition can be understood from an early preface

for the establishment of Banaras Hindu University in 1905, where Malaviya Ji wrote that, “A teaching university would but half perform its function, if it does not seek to develop the heart power of its scholars with the same solicitude with which it develops their brain power. Hence, this university has placed formation of character in youth as one of its principal objects. It will seek not merely to turn out men as Engineers, Scientists, Doctors, Theologists, Merchants, but also as men of high character probity and honour, whose conduct through life would show that they bear the hallmark of a great university.”

These aspects of Mahamana’s philosophy are best reflected in the new National Education Policy (2020). The NEP 2020 approved by the Union Cabinet of India on 29 July, 2020, also “envisions an India-centric education system that contributes directly to transforming our nation sustainably into an equitable and vibrant knowledge society by providing high-quality education to all.” This similarity is not merely a coincidence. Establishing an institution dedicated to the study of subjects ranging from humanities to modern science, from religion to technical education, law, modern medicine and Ayurvedic medicine, is all a reflection of his grand vision. When considering

the aspect of interdisciplinary study and research that finds its place in academia in the contemporary times, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that the idea was envisioned by Mahamana Ji about a century ago.

Mahamana used to give primacy to factual information in his articles. In the article titled ‘Swarajya: Ability and Means’ published in *Abhyudaya*, Malaviya wrote that, “It is often said that for the issuance of *Swarajya* or representative governance system, it is necessary that education should be spread amongst the general public.” To dismiss this issue with arguments, he further writes, “Now in India, one in every 9 men can read and write. Professor Rogers writes in his book titled ‘British Citizen’ that ‘I do not believe that (in England) 100 years ago, more than one in ten men and more than one in twenty women could read and write. When I was in my childhood in a village called Hampshire, there could hardly be one or two literates among the peasants aged above forty years. A century or two ago, the inhabitants of England, men and children, high and low, except for a handful of men, were drowning in utter ignorance and even then, there was the House of Commons in England...’

Mr. Yule had quite rightly said that even with the idea of the merit of learning, many people in India were of the same merit and quality as those who were in England two or three generations ago, who could be dignifiedly included in a well-governed regime. In the last twenty years, there has been a substantial growth of learning

Mahamana used to give primacy to factual information in his articles. In the article titled ‘Swarajya: Ability and Means’ published in *Abhyudaya*, Malaviya wrote that, “It is often said that for the issuance of *Swarajya* or representative governance system, it is necessary that education should be spread amongst the general public

in the country. The number of educated people has increased quite a lot.”

In this way, Mahamana dismisses the British logic for not giving Swaraj or representative governance on the basis of lack of spread of education. Through his article, he proves that the level of education in the Indian society was much better in comparison to the British society when they implemented *swarajya* or representative governance. Therefore, on this basis, he confronted the British Empire for not implementing the representative governance system.

Managerial quality

Malaviya Ji's personality was very vast and multifaceted. The quality of leadership and management came naturally to him. Despite his engagements in teaching, legal career, and an active political life, he made huge contributions in the field of journalism. Apart from *Hindusthan*, all his other newspapers and magazines were published from his own publication. Despite the British government's various repressive policies, his management skills best represent how he managed to keep running his newspapers for a long time. The basis of the tradition of giving remuneration to writers in *Abhyudaya* would hardly have been possible without proper management of his own finances. This was probably also possible because at that time, journalism was not just a means of livelihood, as people did not publish newspapers only for the purpose of their ulterior gains. Journalism was then a very noble and admirable tool to serve

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the country. When a financial crisis clouded his English daily newspaper *Leader*, he decided to fundraise to get out of that crisis. He first sought financial aid from his wife, Kundan Devi, and said, “Don't think that you have only four sons. Your fifth son is the daily *Leader*. Today he is lying on his deathbed. Should I let him die?” Hearing this, his wife sold all her jewellery for three thousand and five hundred rupees and came to the defence of *Leader*. In this way, despite all the tribulations, Malaviya Ji as a manager, and an editor used everything imaginable for the continuous running of his journals. With difficult situations often descending upon him, Malviya Ji loved reminiscing a *sher* (couplet) by Ghalib,

Transliteration:

*Rañj se khūgar huā insāñ to
miṭa jāṭā hai rañj
Mushkileñ mujh par paḍñ itnī
ki āsāñ ho gaiñ*

Translation:

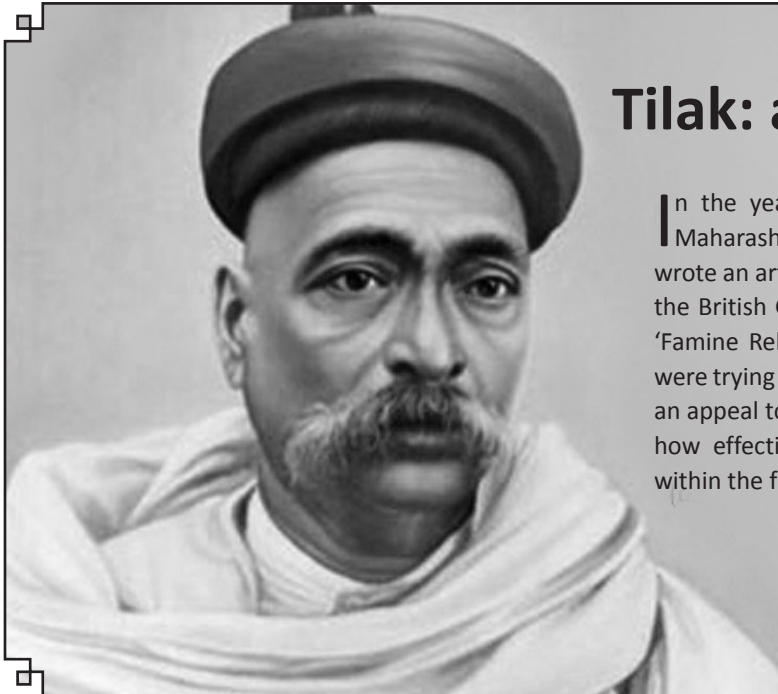
**A man addicted to sorrow is
annihilated by grief,
Difficulties hit me so much
that they became easier.**

From the above discussion

we get a proper insight into the journalism of Malaviya Ji. Just like his personality, Malaviya Ji's journalism was also holistic in nature. Knowing the importance of the role of journalism, journalists, and editors in the purview of opinion-making in the society, Malaviya Ji played his role with remarkable idealism and objectivity. Instead of being egocentric in his newspapers, he was able to connect to more and more people through his articles. To fulfil this objective, he not only offered ideas like remuneration to the writers, but also started out with smaller amounts (which were considerable according to that time). He perpetually strove for the dissemination of newspapers and magazines. In *Abhyudaya*, he would regularly request that the readers pass on the newspaper to their farmer brothers. In this way, it can be deduced that he was very supportive of spreading awareness through the medium of newspapers and magazines, so that various ideas could reach the public. He understood the true power of mass media. Malaviya Ji's numerous efforts over the years establish him as a paradigm of journalism. ●

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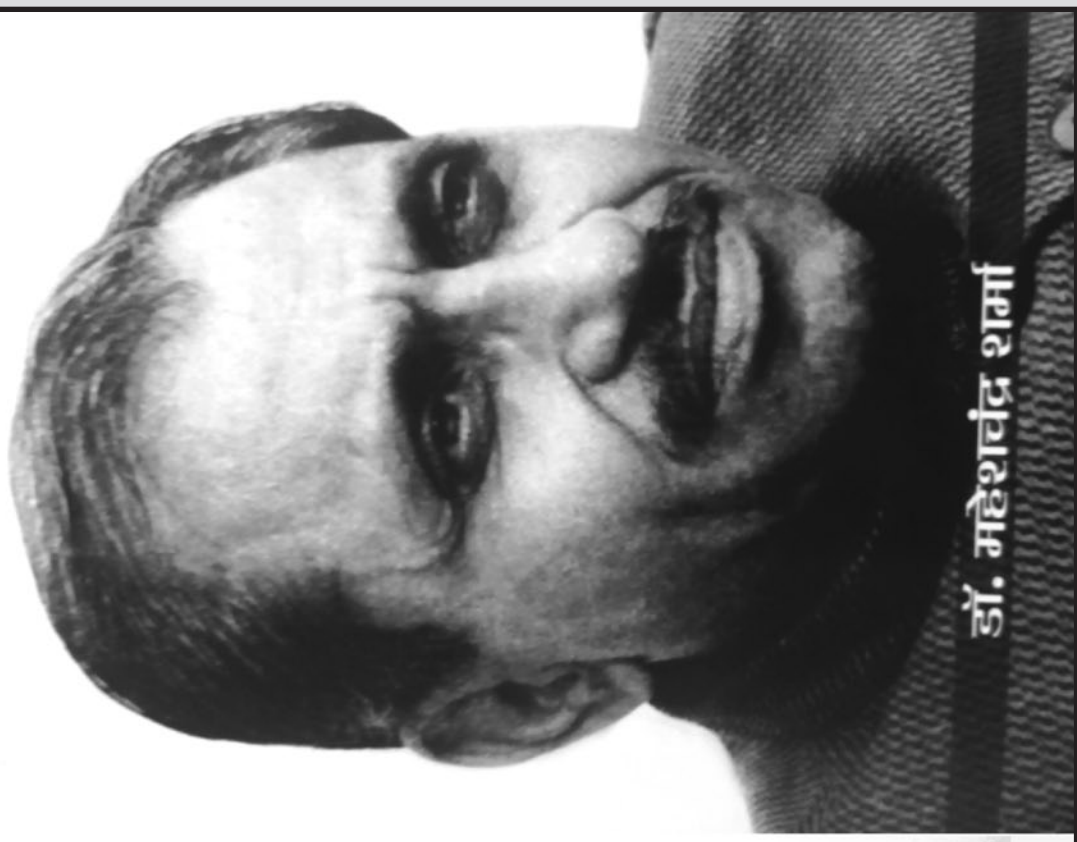


Tilak: a Fearless Journalist

In the year 1896-97, there was a severe famine in Maharashtra and people had no food to eat. Tilak wrote an article in 'Kesari' and brought it to the notice of the British Government what were its duties under the 'Famine Relief Code'. He also warned the officers who were trying to throttle the rights of the citizens and made an appeal to the people to fight for justice. Tilak showed how effectively one can serve the people, remaining within the frame of law.

https://www.hindujagruti.org/articles/41_lokmanya-tilak.html

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय कर्तृत्व एवं विचार



डॉ. महेशचंद्र शर्मा

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय कर्तृत्व एवं विचार

डॉ. महेशचंद्र शर्मा



“पंडित दीनदयाल उपाध्याय के विषय में जानकारियाँ बहुत ही सीमित हैं। डॉ. महेशचंद्र शर्मा ने इस विषय पर गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन किया है। इस शोध-ग्रंथ का प्रकाशन न केवल जनसंघ की राजनीति व विचारधारा के प्रति लोगों को लाभदायक जानकारियाँ देगा वरन् राजनीति शास्त्र की वैचारिक बहस को भी आगे बढ़ाएगा। दीनदयाल उपाध्याय व भारतीय जनसंघ को समझने के लिए यह शोध-ग्रंथ प्रामाणिक आधारभूमि प्रदान करता है।”

—डॉ. इकबाल नारायण

पूर्व कुलपति-राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय,
काशी हिंदू विश्वविद्यालय तथा नॉर्थ-ईस्ट हिलज यूनिवर्सिटी,
पूर्व सदस्य-सचिव, भारतीय सामाजिक विज्ञान अनुसंधान परिषद्

“यदि मुझे दो दीनदयाल मिल जाएँ, तो मैं भारतीय राजनीति का नक्शा बदल दूँ।”

—डॉ. श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी

पं. दीनदयाल उपाध्याय द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकें



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Forerunner of Indian Journalism



Bhanu Kumar

Shri Arvind A Journalist to the Nation

As much as we come to know Shri Arvind, so much we will know ourselves, enrich ourselves. The emotional condition of life in which you are now, and the resolves which we are trying to achieve, amidst them, we will always find Shri Arvind giving us new inspirations. He will seem to be introducing us to new paths-

Narendra Modi, Prime Minister (Mann ki Baat, 29 November, 2020)

Sri Arvind, blessed with a multi-faceted personality, has a side which is of writing and journalism. This is his side which introduces us to the concept of *swadeshi* toward our Indian Nation. And, that is why it is important to bring it to the fore

What is a Nation after all? What is Nationalism? How is Bharat a Nation? How is Bharat's Nationalism ancient? All such ideological questions, the answers to which we still seek from an Indian perspective, are analyzed in a logical and practical way in Shri Arvind's writings in 'Bande Mataram'.

After reading Arvind, it seems that the story of the Indian freedom struggle that has been told to us is incomplete. Without Arvind's thoughts, these stories are incomplete. Till now, whatever ideological material is prevailing about the Indian freedom struggle do not have Shri Arvind in them, neither are there any evidences of ideological works established by him. Perhaps, why the historians ignored him would be because of personal selfishness and their proximity to the powers that were. In the history of the Indian freedom struggle written by all the five schools of Indian history

writing (Imperialist, Cambridge, Nationalistic, Marxist and Subaltern), the central controversial question in all of them was the question of Bharat as a nation and its nationalism. The historians wanted to keep this controversy alive and they never let the writings of nationalist writers like Shri Arvind and Bipin Chandra Pal to come into the mainstream. By the passage of time, whenever the words buried in the pages of history will come out, they will, on the one hand, strengthen our conceptualization of a nation and on the other hand they will force us to reconsider those historians who have cheated the Indian mindset about the concept of a Nation.

Haridas and Uma Mukherjee wrote in 'Bande Mataram and Indian Nationalism' published in 1957 that words emerging from the pen of Arvind were sharper than the edge of a sword. Not only was his writing different from that of everyone else, it was a medium to affect the public mind. Bande Mataram, within a span

of two years, had established in the people's minds that snatching freedom from the British was not as cheap as something in the market, but was to be snatched with strength. Shri Arvind wrote an essay dedicated to Bankim Chandra, the creator of Vande Mataram. He accepted in that essay, that Vande Mataram is such a chant that has tied the entire Bharat with one thread of patriotism. After seeing his study of Vande Mataram, we get a glimpse of his understanding of journalism. In his essays, Arvind has written with an open mind on the political, economic, cultural and religious global scenarios.

Introduction

Shri Arvind was born on 15 August, 1872 in Calcutta. At the age of seven he went to England for studies. He came back to India on 6 February, 1893. Then his life struggle started. First he became an officer in Baroda, then a Professor in Calcutta, then editor, leader and then a *yogi*.

His character as a *yogi*, revolutionary and spiritual saint is well known to the Indian public. But, apart from that he was also a journalist-a nationalistic journalist. Very less has been written about it. After Tilak, it was Arvind who had planted a seed of nationalism by his writings in the nation's mind. Tilak's 'Maratha Kesari' and Arvind's 'Bande Mataram' had inspired the youth on a large scale by their words. That is why Arvind is considered the pioneer of nationalist journalism.

The countrymen have not known much about

Shri Arvind's journalism. But, for the new generation of journalists it is imperative to know about it. Shri Arvind was one of those journalists who had, through newspapers, played an important role in preparing the public mind of that time for the Indian Freedom Struggle.

Entry into the freedom struggle

Shri Arvind took one year's leave from Baroda College and came to Bengal on 19 June, 1906 but that leave never ended. After that, he worked as a teacher in Calcutta's National College for a few days. Simultaneously, he kept on guiding the revolutionaries of Bengal. At that time politics after the division of Bengal had put a question mark on the abilities of the nation. Arvind understood the nation's pain. This pain required to be expressed in words, so that the nation's capabilities could be re-established.

Journalist Arvind

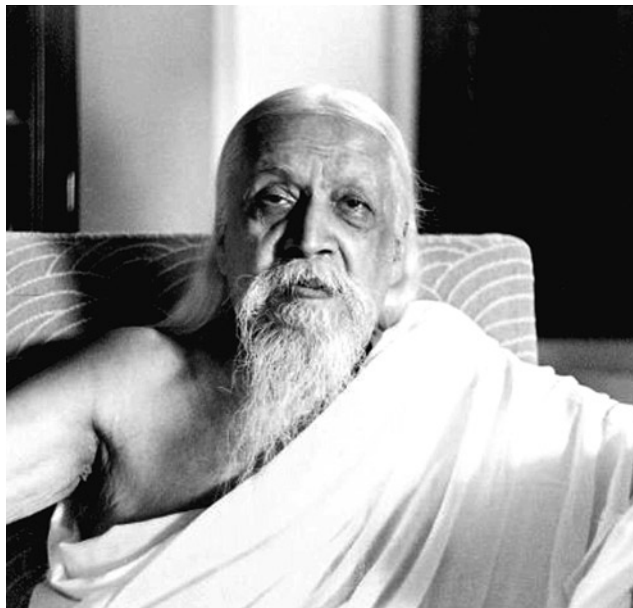
Shri Arvind had entered the field of journalism in 1893 through the Marathi weekly 'Indu Prakash'.

His first article on 'Bharat and the British Parliament' was published on 26 June. After that, a series of seven of his articles were published from 16 July to 27 August, 1894. He had written these articles paying tributes to Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the great Bangla writer and author of 'Vande Mataram'. Afterwards, Arvind also wrote for the Bangla daily 'Yugantar'. 'Yugantar' had been started in March, 1906 by his brother Barindra Ghosh and his friends.

Publication of 'Bande Mataram' started from 7 August, 1906. Shri Arvind got associated with Bipin Chandra Pal as assistant editor. In the beginning it was a daily, but from 2 June 1907 it also started its weekly edition. The last issue of 'Bande Mataram' was published on 29 October, 1908.

Shri Arvind wrote his first article as an editor on 'Famine near Calcutta' on 29 October, 1906. In this article he tried to awaken Indians dependent on the mercy of the British officers. Arvind wrote that solution to such a problem was possible only if we become united. Thus, with his very first editorial he had started filling the public mind with feelings of unity against the Britishers.

Maharshi Arvind was one of those journalists who had played a major role in preparing the public mind for the freedom struggle through the newspapers. There was a clear fearlessness reflected in Arvind's journalism in Bande Mataram. He was committed to the nationalist consciousness.



Whoever came in its way, Arvind raised questions on their intentions whether they were British or Indian. One thing clearly emerges when we study Arvind's *Bande Mataram*, that on the one hand he was shaking Congress's inertia, and on the other he was exposing the myth of artificial western thoughts when compared to Indian thinking, and he was also building up a force with national character for which the only goal was *Swarajya*.

Arvind was such an accomplished editor that even his opponents could not accuse him of any wrongdoing. The editor of the newspaper *The Statesman* writes that his articles were very clever; in every sentence of *Bande Mataram* there was sedition, but it was concealed in such a manner that the law could not catch it. Another proof of this is found in the private letters of the secretary to the Viceroy, in which he writes that the wave of sedition currently flowing in the country has Shri Arvind behind it, who is silently creating an army of rebels through his paper.

There was a time when people of Bengal were considered fearful and weak. Macaulay had even written that for the Bengalis to rebel against the British was like

the cattle fighting against fierce wolves or like man taking against giants. But, it was Shri Arvind, who, by the construction of the Bhawani Mandir and through the medium of *Bande Mataram*, had not only awakened the sleeping Bengal but transformed it into such a volcano, that even the British administration was scared of it. It was the effect of Shri Arvind's words that gave birth to such youth in Bengal who played with death that the British were scared just by their mention. Their bravery, their desire to get martyred for the country, their courage to take on the noose, was such that the public made talismans from their ashes and wore them.

The language of Shri Arvind's journalism was English. The way he has used difficult English words and phrases in his articles, it seems that his objective was not only to adjoin the public mind with the national consciousness, but also to break the arrogance of the British and their faithful that they were the only learned people. When Shri Arvind joined *Bande Mataram* as an editor, he got a company formed and included many people in its board of directors. That is why the responsibility of the articles

of *Bande Mataram* could not be pinned to any individual.

Bande Mataram, published in English, was the most popular paper of its time, which blew a new life in thousands of youth. Arvind's *Bande Mataram* slogan put such a power in this paper that every person of the foreign government got furious with him.

'Dharm' & 'Karmyogi'

After relinquishing his political life, Arvind edited two more magazines- 'Dharm' in Bangla and 'Karmyogi' in English. By this time, his mind had broadened. He started thinking that changing the government was not his only objective but formation of a Nation was also his goal. Later, he also edited the English paper 'Arya'.

Arvind's Nation

In Arvind's life, Nation and motherland, and total self-government were always central questions. He always tried to get answers to these questions in all parts of his life. In Baroda he tried to understand what is a nation? Or what is our motherland? According to Arvind, Nation is not just a word, rather it is a great powerful unit formed by the coming together of crores of people and their strengths. There is an important speech by Arvind on his conceptualization of the Nation. This speech happened on 15 January, 1908 in Mumbai. It was published as an article on 19 January, 1908. Its subject was 'Nationalist Education' and the reference was the motion on National Education proposed by Gokhale and passed in the Calcutta session which was to be changed in the Surat session in 1907. In this session the name

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of this motion was changed to 'Independent Education System'. Arvind was very angry over this. He wrote strongly opposing it that changing the name of National Education shows the narrow-minded understanding of the word 'National' among the leaders of the Congress. He explained in a logical way the word 'Nation' in order to explain nationalism. Whenever we talk about the Bharat Nation, the image of a geographical, historical and spiritual Bharat emerges clearly before us. Arvind clearly believed that just as humans leave everything and are engrossed in their quest for *moksha*, similarly everyone should totally involve himself in the revival of this nation. These ideas of Arvind may look ordinary to some, but the truth is that this is the only true way to sustain the nation and the civilization.

Swaraj for Arvind

After the controversy of the Surat session, Arvind had spoken in many cities of Maharashtra. His speech took place in Nashik on 24 January, 1908. Next day it was published in Nashik Vritt. Although it was his own speech, on reading the published article his statement shows a clear reflection of his art of editing. In this speech on the subject 'Meaning of Swaraj', he had put before the people the most practical definition of *Swaraj*. According to my own study, such a clear definition has not been given even by Gandhi and Tilak. He had said explaining the meaning of *Swaraj*, "*Swaraj* is the nation's life. The nation is founded upon this elixir only. *Swaraj* is that definite path, upon which a nation attains its *moksha*. Just as life is

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not possible without air, similarly, without *Swaraj*, the existence of a nation is not possible. Giving examples from history, he said that all the countries where there was no *Swaraj* or self government were finished over time.

Arvind had been successful in energizing the people by his words. In this same Nashik speech, he exhorted the people of Maharashtra, "On one end of this *Aryabhumi* are the Bengalis, and on the other end you are there. We must all strive together to bring *Swaraj* to this land. The people of this land under the leadership of Shivaji, had fought against the Muslim invaders and brought *Swaraj*, this is an example of your bravery and today the country is again demanding *Swaraj*. It is your responsibility that you shall try again to re-establish it."

Garam Dal-Not extremists but nationalists

In the history of the Indian freedom revolution, two factions of the Congress are talked about-one Naram Dal and the other Garam Dal. But when we study Arvind's articles, we come to know that the faction which we know as Garam Dal (extremists) actually considered and defined itself as nationalists. In his article 'Nationalist, not Extremist' of 26 April, 1907, Arvind writes that the political sections faithful to

the British in their understanding and selfishness declared the nationalists as extremists. Arvind, displaying his plain speaking, in his article even questions the thinking of the leader of the Garam Dal, Raas Bihari Bose. According to Arvind there were three factions in India. First the Faithful, which was satisfied with limited participation in the British rule over India and believed that Indians were not capable of ruling. The second Moderate, which demanded autonomy under the British as it believed that Bharat was weak and not ready for independence. And the third faction was of the Nationalists who demanded nothing less than *Swaraj*-total independence- and believed that people of India were capable of handling independence. Arvind wrote fearlessly on the division of the Congress in the Surat session, in which he questioned fearlessly the thinking and the intentions of the then moderate Congress leaders. Arvind's articles show how in free India one side of history has been ignored.

Arvind and Nationalism

In India, there is constantly a debate going on among the intellectuals of history and political science about the concept of Nationalism. But, they have never given a definition yet which

can be easily understood by the common man neither they accept a simple definition. That is the reason why in the country this debate has been going on.

When we read Arvind's article of 16 November 1907 on Nationalism, possibly it would be easier to understand the definition of Nationalism. Arvind writes that Nationalism in India was not borne out of opposition to Curzon; rather it was the product of the anguish borne out of the losing of faith in British officers by the leaders of the Congress. He further writes, Nationalism in India was not born either in Congress's tents, or in the Bombay Presidency Association, or in the so-called groups of the knowledgeable and the economists. And neither it is the product of the minds of Gokhale or Mehta, or Surendranath or Lalmohan and nor the civilized followers of the British way of life. Nationalism was born in the prison just like Krishna. It was born and grew in the minds of Indians. This definition of Nationalism by Arvind at that time was not only a reply to the Western nationalism; it was the basis of the principle of Indian Nationalism upon which the current public accepts the elements of Nationalism. Nationalism in Bharat was born in the ancient times and is continuing ever since.

Arvind and Swadeshi

Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in his *Mann ki Baat* on 29 November, 2020 talked about Arvind's principle of *Swadeshi*. Explaining Arvind's understanding of *Swadeshi* the Prime Minister said that nothing is wrong in learning something from the foreign countries, whatever

is new anywhere we must learn, whatever can be good for us we must promote and support, this is the fundamental thought behind the *mantra* of Vocal for Local under the 'Atmanirbhar Bharat Campaign'. The Prime Minister further said that every citizen of the country must read what Arvind has said about *Swadeshi*. In this context, when we started studying Arvind's explanation of *Swadeshi*, then in the pages of *Bande Mataram* not only did we find *Swadeshi* as a *mantra* but it emerged as a plan, a system and a thought. In total, *Swadeshi* was the *mantra* behind India's economic nationalism which has been thoroughly described by Arvind in *Bande Mataram*. Not only are his thoughts relevant today also, but they encourage us to discover our new perspectives.

Arvind had written an article in *Bande Mataram* on Industrial India on 11 July, 1907. According to Arvind, after reading India's history it is quite clear that British policies not only destroyed Indian industrial infrastructure but made us dependent on the British. We can come out of this situation only by Nationalist education, just as Germany had done for its industrial development. We must build an industrial India by establishing a nationalist education system so that the people of India can become self dependent. Thus, our self-dependence is not possible without a *Swadeshi* system of education; this was demonstrated by Arvind 100 years ago.

Currently, an initiative is underway in the country to implement the New Education Policy. The ideological pillar behind the formulation of this NEP has been *Swadeshi*. The

government is talking about the total development of the country through the elements of *Swadeshi*. But the background to all these thoughts can be seen in Arvind's writings 100 years ago. On 13 July, 1907 in his article '*Swadeshi* in Education', Arvind writes that *Swadeshi* in education not at all means that you should be taught only by Indian teachers, or you shall study only in the institutions run by Indians, rather it means that we must undertake such education which matches our needs and behavior.

Popularity of his journalism

It was because of the popularity of Arvind's journalism that thousands of youth used to gather before the Police court of Lal Bajar, where Arvind's case was being heard, and shouted *Vande Mataram*. Publication of *Bande Mataram* was stopped in September 1908. After that he started the English weekly *Karmyogi* on 15 June 1909 from Calcutta itself; and the Bangla weekly *Dharm* on 23 August, 1909. Their basic voice was that of nationalism. In both these magazines, Shri Arvind wrote on Nationalism as well as social problems. Shri Arvind was such a Nationalist of the Indian freedom struggle who inspired the power of nationalism in the public mind by his writing, and on the other hand his writings created a fear in the minds of the British. The nationalist voice in the journalism of Shri Arvind was so sharp that its effect is felt in Bharat even today. Shri Arvind died as a Yogi on 5 December, 1950, but words written by him as a *Rashtra-Yogi* are even today lighting up the lamp of Nationalism. ●

Forerunner of Indian Journalism



Kamal Kishore Goenka

Nationalism: Core of the journalism practised by Gandhi

Around ten years had passed between the day Gandhi had reached South Africa and the 4th day of June, 1903 (Though the first issue has a mention of this date, it hit the market only on the 6th of June, 1903) on which the first number of the 'Indian Opinion' had been published. There is a very long list of many important things done by Gandhi during these ten years, which gives the account of more the incidents of struggle for the rights of the Indian emigrants than those of earning money through law practice.

Gandhi had tied Indians in a thread, making them join together on the issue of the suffrage and then it was necessary to make them struggle politically. For this, he founded 'Natal Indian Congress' on the 22th of May, 1894 inspired by the 'Indian National Congress', which glaringly evinces his feeling of "Nationalism". Gandhi has even written that South African conservatives would not like it and yet the congress was the very life of India. Its strength and power must get enhanced. It savored of cowardice to conceal or hesitate to adopt that name. Therefore, with full explanation of my reasons, I recommended that the organization should be called the Natal Indian Congress and on the

22nd of May, 1894 the 'Natal Indian Congress' came into being.¹ Thus Gandhi established the lifeblood of India itself as the Natal Indian Congress and he constantly remained in contact and correspondence with the presidents of India National Congress like Dada Bhai Nairojee. Gandhi came back to India in the month of July, 1906 and brought out his famous book 'Hari Pustika' and circulated it in Bombay, Pune, Madras, Calcutta etc. and informed the people about the miserable conditions as well as inhuman and degrading treatment of Indians. After this voyage, when Gandhi returned to South Africa, the crowd of Britishers, enraged by the details contained in 'Hari Pustika' first did not allow him to alight from the Ship and thereafter they made a deadly attack on him. Anyhow Gandhi managed to save his life, and yet Gandhi persuaded the assailants and thereby enhanced the dignity of Indians. In the nomenclature of Gandhi's newspapers, the Indian school of thought remained the focal point.

The '*Indian Opinion*' lucidly reflected the Indian viewpoint and thought. Amongst the newspapers and journals brought out in the year 1919, the '*Young India*' manifested

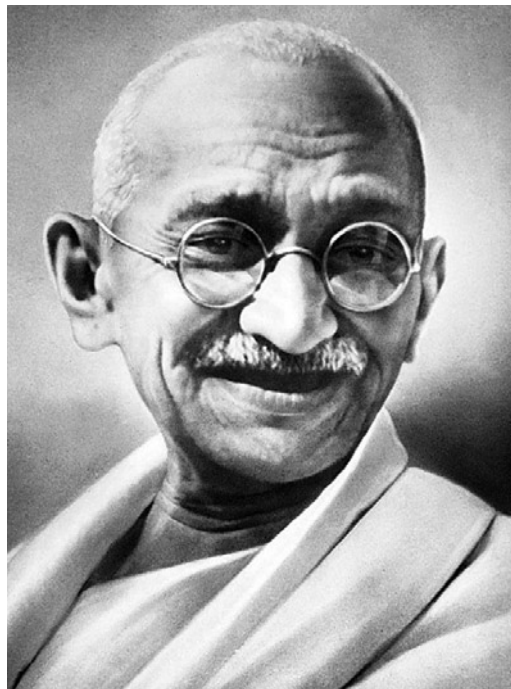
For Gandhi journalism was not an end to be gained, but it was a means to achieve an end. For him it was an effective means to do service to the general public and awaken in them a sense of nationalism. A perspective

Yuva Bharat ie youthful India, the '*Navajivan*' echoed the idea of India ushering in a new era and the '*Harijan*' voiced the concerns of all Indians, since all were very dear to God. This nomenclature proves that the very foundation of the journalism practiced by Gandhi was his keen love for the country and nationalism.

Two fellow-workers of Gandhi Ji started the '*Indian Opinion*' in South Africa. Madanjit was very much practical and realistic. Mansukhlal Naazar was the secretary of the 'Natal Indian Congress' and he assisted Gandhi in publishing the journals. Mansukhlal Naazar became the first editor of the '*Indian Opinion*'. Madanjit had already been running a Press and it was he who had come out with an idea of starting the journal but Gandhi bore the real burden of editing the journal.

When Gandhi issued the first number of the '*Indian Opinion*' from the Phoenix settlement, he had to face several problems and difficulties while printing and circulating it. Gandhi's autobiography contains an interesting description of all these problems and difficulties under the title of 'The First Night'. Right from the day when the '*Indian Opinion*' was issued for the first time to the very end of the year 1914 when Gandhi came back to India permanently, there was hardly any issue of the journal for which he had not written any article and had not poured out his soul in it. The '*Indian Opinion*' was absolutely useful for the welfare and the interests of the Indian emigrants to South Africa. It contained the reference to their pathetic

plight, the interpretation of adverse laws and protest against them; and it also carried the news about the successful protest against the registration and contained the '*Weekly Diary*' which the readers used to read with keen interest. It also contained the publication of views about Satyagrah, important news about India and the world, message of awareness and unity of Indians and admiration for Indians' love for their country. Mentioning the three objects of a journal in the April issue of the '*Indian Opinion*' (Gujrati) [28 April 1906] Gandhi wrote, saying, "first to make our grievances known to the government, to the whites here in South Africa and in England and to the people in India; secondly, to tell our people of their own shortcomings and to exhort them to overcome these and, thirdly-- and this is perhaps the principal object- to eliminate the distinctions as between Hindus and Mahomedans and also those among Gujaratis, Tamilians and Calcutta-wallas prevalent here.



The British rulers in India, it would appear, follow a different policy. They do not desire that we should come together and become united. Here in South Africa, these groups are small in numbers. We are all confronted with the same disabilities. We are moreover, free from certain restrictions from which our people suffer in India. We can therefore easily essay an experiment in achieving unity. It is the aim of this journal to inculcate these ideals in the minds of our people and strengthen the community.....The journal is a great means of education. It is necessary for every Indian to look upon the journal as belonging to him, not as something mine."² Just one year and a half thereafter Gandhi wrote, saying, 'our aim is to serve the people, promote growth of education and preserve our self-respect.'³ On 23 April, 1910 he again writes in the '*Indian Opinion*' that the object of the newspaper is to render service to the people by advocating reforms in the government and among the people.⁴ Just two years and a half thereafter he wrote, saying, 'The objects of issuing this paper are twofold: to voice and work to remove the grievances of the British Indians of South Africa, and to do educative work, by publishing matter of an elevating character.'⁵ Gandhi again discusses its objectives, saying, 'There are two and only two, reasons for the publication of this journal. First to strive to end the hardships suffered by Indians in this country and secondly, to promote moral education. The second purpose can be best served by improving our way of life.'⁶ In Gandhi's view the object of journalism is not to earn a

livelihood, but its main function is to encourage public education.⁷ Not only Gandhi but also his friends, colleagues and assistants had a feeling of patriotism. That is why, in the April issue of the '*Indian Opinion*' (published on 28 April, 1906) Gandhi wrote, saying, "We believe it is the duty of every Indian to help. All persons connected with the journal are such that they can earn their livelihood by other means. We believe that they continue with the journal despite this is due to the spark of patriotism that they keep alive in their hearts."⁸ Gandhi's nationalistic passion and patriotic feelings exhorted him and his friends to public service.

For this reason Gandhi had pointed out that the '*Indian Opinion*' was a public property for all Indians.⁹ In his autobiography Gandhi wrote that the '*Indian Opinion*' was the mirror of part of his life and the journal had served the Indian community well... Satyagraha would probably have been impossible without the '*Indian Opinion*'. The readers looked forward to it for a trustworthy account of the Satyagraha campaign as also of the real condition of Indians in South Africa..... The conclusion was that the sole aim of the journal should be service. The newspaper or the press was a great power.¹⁰ Thus Gandhi, by connecting the education for people and social service with public awareness and public struggle, made the '*Indian Opinion*' a mouthpiece for the entire Indian community.

He brought the Indian emigrants to South Africa and own brethren of India onto the same platform and encouraged them to make an endeavour to struggle for freedom and guided

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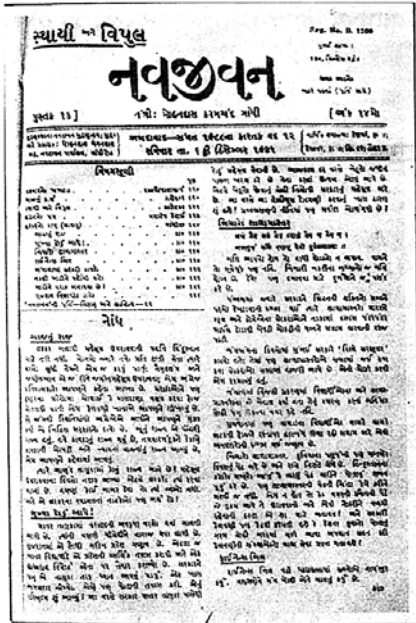
them with the enunciation of the philosophy of liberation. Gandhi established the foundation and built the structure of the '*Indian Opinion*' on his invincible feelings of nationalism, patriotism and Indianism. His world-famous book '*Hind Swaraj*' bears testimony to this fact. The book was originally written in Gujarati language for the Gujarati readers of the '*Indian Opinion*' and its all 20 chapters were published serially in the columns of the Gujarati issue of the '*Indian Opinion*' edited by Gandhi. Gandhi had gone to London in the year 1909 and met the Indian youth (including also Vir Sawarkar), who were great revolutionaries and lovers of '*Swaraj*'. Whatever Gandhi conversed and discussed with these young people was the inspiration behind his writing the book '*Hind Swaraj*'. Gandhi wrote in the preface to '*Hind Swaraj*', saying, "The book was written in 1909, while on board the ship, during my return voyage from London to South Africa in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. I came in contact with every known Indian anarchist in London. Their bravery impressed me, but I feel that their zeal was misguided. I felt that violence was no remedy for India's ills, and that her civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection.....this (book) teaches the gospel of love in place of that of hate. It replaces violence

with self-sacrifice. It pits soul force against brute force..... If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, Swaraj would descend upon India from heaven."¹¹

This statement of Gandhi symbolizes only partial truth and '*Hind Swaraj*' is not only an exposition of the sublimity of non-violence against violence and that of soul force, but also it is a declaration of the sublimity and excellence of Indian civilization, culture, way of life and human values and also that of the new awareness of '*Yoga*'. Gandhi, around 6 years prior to his coming back to India in the year 1915, was mulling over the establishment of own culture, own education, own language and own values besides the self-rule (home rule) and in this way he was elucidating his philosophy of life.

The articles of the book '*Hind Swaraj*' published in the year 1909 had been written in the '*Indian Opinion*' for the majority of Gujarati Indians living in South Africa who spoke Gujarati languages. but there is no description of South Africa anywhere in the book. This book depicts the subjugation of India, social infirmities and ill effects of European Civilization and also presents the excellence of Indian life style and culture as well as the concept of Swaraj (Home Rule) with strong reasoning.

Nationalism is the core of



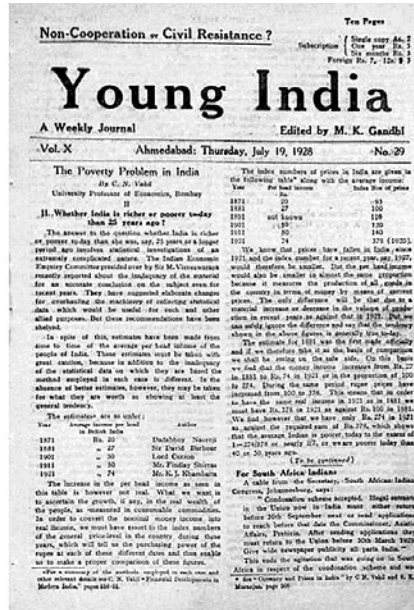
journalism done by Gandhi, which, in fact, lays down the foundation of Indian Journalism and establishes the strongest and most acceptable viewpoint for journalism in subjugated India. Gandhi had written articles on 'Hind Swaraj' (Indian Home Rule) for the Gujarati readers of the 'Indian Opinion' but the English translation of the book done by Gandhi made his nationalist thoughts and convictions easily available not only to the huge Indian community but also to the entire human race of the world. When Gandhi came back to India, he made the thought of 'Hind Swaraj' the very basis of the freedom-struggle and he never ever felt any necessity to make any amendment thereto. Thus it was the journalism practised by Gandhi, which built the ideological background of the struggle for freedom of India and made the entire country stand with him.

Gandhi brought out 'Navajivan' (Gujarati) and 'Young India' (English) after he came back from South Africa to India

and subsequently he started the 'Harijan', a weekly journal. These journals like the 'Indian Opinion', were also not the newspapers but the 'viewpapers' instead, and again the 'nationalism' was the main base for these journals as well. Elements of nationalism, which were prominent in the edition and the publication of the 'Indian Opinion', were the inspirational and active elements in the genesis and the publication of these weekly journals also. Gandhi's journalism had only changed the forum, but the underlying view had remained unaltered since in both the places- in South Africa and in India- there was a great aim to be achieved. The object was to make the Indian emigrants living in South Africa and the countrymen here in India to enjoy freedom of life and also to free India from the subjection of the British rule and rid Indians of injustice. Indians were subject to the British rule and victims of cruelty, brutality, oppression, suppression and inequity at the hands of the Britishers. Therefore the journalism practised by Gandhi could be based only on patriotism and nationalism. The

'Navajivan' was a monthly journal published in Gujarati language and Indulal Kanhaiyalal Yajnik was its editor. Yajnik handed over the charge of the 'Navajivan' to Gandhi. Gandhi accepted to shoulder the responsibility to edit and publish the journal published in his Gujarati language along with that of the 'Young India' published in English, as Gandhi knew very well that he could get access to the people only through the journals published in Indian languages. In Gandhi's view the newspapers rendering service to the country were the only nationalist newspapers.¹² He regarded the 'Independent' as the nationalist journal and it was but natural that he placed the 'Navajivan' and the 'Young India' also in this category. Therefore he resolves to serve the people, while mentioning the purposes of the 'Navajivan'. He writes in the 'Navajivan' (Gujarati) issued on 7 March, 1920, saying, "Our aim in starting 'Navajivan' was not business, it was, through its means, to render what little service we could to the people and, at a time when new life was flowing into them, to guide them, to the best of our ability, along straightforward and simple paths and help them in solving complicated problems."¹³

Gandhi's sense of this duty to the nation manifests itself as "pure patriotism"¹⁴ and he wishes to deliver a message for the public welfare through his journals. He writes on the publication of the 'Navajivan', saying, "I think I have a service to render to India by delivering a message to her. Some ideas I have come by as a result of my thinking are such as will advance us towards our welfare. It has even been my endeavour to explain these. One powerful



modern means for this purpose is the newspaper.”¹⁵ Gandhi expressed this view at the time of paying his humble tribute to Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, editor of *'The Hindu'*, saying, “Journalism should never be prostituted for selfish ends or for the sake of merely earning a livelihood, or, worse still, for amassing money. Journalism to be useful and serviceable to the country, will take its definite place only when it become unselfish and when it devotes its best for the service of the country and, whatever happens to the editors or to the journal itself, editors would express the views of the country irrespective of consequences. I think that we have in our midst the making of journalism of that character... ..A journalist’s peculiar function is to read the mind of the country and give definite and fearless expression to that mind.”¹⁶ Gandhi, as a journalist, is able to read the mind of the people and therefore he advocates and propagates the idea of Satyagrah, non-violence etc. without giving importance to the news in the *'Navajivan'* and declares clearly that the object of the *'Navajivan'* is to attain *'Swaraj'*. In Gandhi’s view, to buy *'Navajivan'* is to take the road of *'Swaraj'*, to chant the praises of the spinning wheel and to be the subscriber of *'Navajivan'* is to deal in truth and non-violence.¹⁹ Gandhi knows very well that the subscribers of the *'Navajivan'* speak the Gujarati tongue. Therefore he understands the significance of bringing out the newspaper in vernaculars. He noticed this reality even during the period he used to publish the Hindu, Urdu, Marathi and Tamil edition. His inclination to publish the newspaper in



the different languages of the country in national journalism was significant as he knew that the vast population of farmers and workers and majority of India’s population could be reached only through the vernaculars. In fact, they made real India.²⁰ Rendering service to the Indian people and public education were part of this nationalism.

The ideological foundation of the *'Young India'* (English) also was the nationalism itself. The change of the language of the newspapers changes the readers but the views of Gandhi remain the same. Gandhi wishes to deliver the same message to the literate, illiterate, English speaking population and the people speaking vernaculars. Therefore, when he again takes up the editorial control of the *'Young India'* after his return from the Yervada prison, he writes “so far as my mind can perceive, there will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *'Young India'*. I have no new programme, nor have any new message to deliver to the reader.”²² For Gandhi, the reason behind the edition and the publication of English *'Young India'* was that he wanted to keep bringing his views and activities to the notice of Indians who used to speak, read and understand

only the English language and also to the notice of the British rule as well as the world. Gandhi confessed that editing a newspaper in English was no pleasure to him. However, he accepts that he cannot discontinue the English journals as Englishmen and Indian scholars of English believe that there is something special in their English and his contact with the west was also widening. Despite all these attractions Gandhi runs the English journal, *'Young India'* with Indian viewpoint and declares his own method and policy. In the first editorial in *'Young India'* Gandhi, emphasizing the *'national service'* and *'purity of journalism'* and elucidating the aim of the journal, writes- “Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive Satyagraha as also sometimes cleansing Satyagraha.”²⁴

This constructive Satyagrah of Gandhi, in fact, aimed at ‘the cultivation of *'public opinion'* and the establishment of *'Swaraj'*. Gandhi wrote a very important essay under the title ‘Liberty of the Press’ in the *'Young India'* issued on 12 January, 1922, demanding various kinds of freedom ie freedom of speech with a view to educating the people and awakening the public opinion against *'Swaraj'*, Khilafat movement, the violent fight for Punjab and against restrictions, freedom of organizing meetings and conferences and freedom of printing. Gandhi calls these various types freedom *'Swaraj'*. Gandhi believes that free speech, free association and free press protesting against injustices are very important and powerful and the restoration of this threefold freedom is almost the whole

Swaraj.²⁵ This is why Gandhi gives much importance to public opinion and believes that journalism is also a means to create public opinion.²⁶

Gandhi also says two more important things in the editorial in the '*Young India*' –firstly that journalism is not the mission of his life but a means and secondly he wants to acquaint the public community with his ideals through the newspapers. On the 2nd of July, 1925 he writes in '*Young India*', saying, "I have taken up journalism not for its sake but merely as an aid to what I have conceived to be my mission in life. My mission is to teach by example and precept under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of Satyagraha which is direct corollary of non-violence and truth."²⁷

Gandhi wants to bring this very object of journalism to the notice of the English speaking readers. He writes in the '*Young India*' issued on 30 April, 1925, saying, "'*Young India*' has a definite mission. Through its medium I seek to popularize the ideals I try to represent among that large body of men and women who do not understand either Gujarati or Hindi, but who understand English."²⁸ Gandhi calls these newspapers a 'nationalist newspapers'²⁹ and his work of popularizing those ideals through these newspapers '*Swadeshi Dharm*', that is, a duty to his own country which gives him a right to serve his motherland.³⁰

Gandhi edited and published the '*Harijan*' in a somewhat different manner. Like his other papers, he made '*Harijan*' also a '*viewpaper*'³¹. However, he also made it mouthpiece of the movement for the abolition of

untouchability by restricting the ambit of its subject matter. Gandhi was of the view that the movement, thought essentially Hindu, had a worldwide significance and the sympathy, if possible, of the whole of humanity and therefore it was necessary to keep the world acquainted with its implication and progress.³² Gandhi brought out the '*Harijan*' for the cause of *Harijans* only and he kept it aloof from the matters touching upon politics. He believed that so long as we were possessed by the evil spirit of untouchability, the attainment of '*swaraj*' would be the will-o'-the-wisp only.³³ Thus the aim of the '*Harijan*' and the eradication of untouchability became a big social reform. Gandhi believed that the '*Harijan*' was the seeker of truth. He said, "If the '*Harijan*' stands for truth and if the reformers have patience, the opponents of today will be the reformers of tomorrow."³⁴

Thus the sole aim of Gandhi was to attain '*Swaraj*'. Therefore, when the rumor about the imposition of restrictions on the '*Harijan*' spread despite its being dedicated to social reform, he decided to shut down the '*Harijan*' upon the receipt of the government order as the disobedience of the government order was not part of the movement launched for the eradication of untouchability. Around the same time, with the declaration of 'Quit India' movement and the slogan of 'Do or Die' Gandhi was making an appeal to the Indians to struggle for the freedom of the country. At this time of national movement Gandhi, underlining the national viewpoint and the national responsibility of the newspapers, said that the Indian press, at the time of the acid test to come, would

fearlessly represent the national cause and keep warning those Indians who had the nation's cause at heart against countenancing violence either against the British people or among themselves as it must retard our progress towards our goal to attain Swaraj.³⁵ For this reason, in Gandhi's view the need of the '*Harijan Samaj Samachar-patra*' ended after the independence was secured.³⁶

In South Africa Gandhi brought out the '*Indian opinion*' which focussed on the Indian viewpoint and thought, and even in India the '*Young India*', the '*Navajivan*' (new life of India) and the '*Harijan*' (a man of god being an Indian citizen and very dear to him) were all centered upon India itself. The reason behind this uniformity was that in both the countries it was Indians, who were slave and they alone were the victims of repression, suppression, barbarity, injustices, maladministration, cruelty and the imperialistic ambition at the hands of the Britishers. Therefore, despite the change of the newspapers, country, place etc. Gandhi's freedom struggle was really meant for Indian society. Gandhi was there in both places and his thinking was also the same in both places. The only difference was that in South Africa there was a struggle for freedom from injustice and discrimination and for the preservation of self-pride, dignity and self-respect, while in India the struggle was for the establishment of *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Home Rule) by uprooting the British imperialism in India.

Gandhi's mission was sacred. His sole aim was to attain India's liberation. Therefore, journalism as a means to achieve this purpose had to be pure and sacred. The kind of journalism, which Gandhi's

national consciousness visualized and shaped, consisted in absolute sacredness, purity, public interest, public morality, unselfishness, altruism and humanity. Gandhi called himself 'amateur editor'³⁷, but, in reality, he was a 'national editor' and he, by virtue of his

sense of nationalism and sacrosanct objects, developed high-class tradition in Indian journalism, which he had called the best tradition of journalism.³⁸ This best of journalism, national interest, morality, truth, selflessness etc. were the human qualities possessed

by Gandhi, and, in fact, these were behavior oriented qualities. Gandhi adopted and made this kind of journalism assimilate into his way of life and practised it throughout his life and only then did the best norm and tradition develop in journalism. ●

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Forerunner of Indian Journalism



Dr. Ramesh Raghunath Patange

Babasaheb's Journalism is Timeless

'Journalist' is a term that is applied to all persons associated with a publication (newspaper) or media. The person doing the print proofing, one who works on the report, the page layout person and the one who writes the report are all identified with the term journalist. When we talk of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar as a journalist, we have to clearly state in the framework of the above array of functions that it is not correct to call Dr. Babasaheb a journalist, as journalism was not his career. But as no other adequate word is available, the word journalist has to be used for him.

Training is necessary nowadays to become a journalist. Ambedkar also did not undergo any training in journalism. Journalism was for him a medium to present ideas to the society and a weapon to awaken society. There were publications like the *Times of India* in English or the *Kesari* in Marathi. However, the likelihood of Babasaheb's ideas obtaining a place in these publications was negligible. For this reason, in 1920, he brought out a paper named *Mookanayak* (fortnightly). Its twelve editions were edited by

Dr. Ambedkar himself. He started a paper named *Bahishkrut Bharat* (India Ostracized; a fortnightly) was after this in 1927, also editing it. He wrote the editorials of *Mooknayak* and *Bahishkrut Bharat* as well.

In the first editorial of *Mooknayak*, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar stated in the following words, "I am starting this publication. There is no place like a newspaper to discuss to suggest a plan of remedy for the injustices heaped on the excluded segment of our people, more injustices that lie ahead, their future progress and the actual path of their uplift. But, if we look at the publications that are published in the Mumbai region, it would come to one's notice that most publications favour a particular caste. They do not care about the interests of other castes (Editorial of January 30, 1920)". *Mooknayak* was born only to cater to the issues of the community of the untouchables. The name *Mookanayak* is also a distinct one. He is a hero, but cannot speak. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to give him a voice.

One might well refer to all the editorials of *Mooknayak*, which were centered around the issue of the untouchables. The freedom movement

The journalism of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar is not for the sake of any ideology. Its ultimate purpose is the awakening of society. An insight...

was at its peak in 1920. “The thirst for self rule cannot be quenched by good governance” became the slogan of the movement. In a February 14, 1920 editorial, Babasaheb took cognizance of this and raised the question: “Whose will be this swarajya and for whom? These questions should be answered”. In an editorial dated February 28, 1920, he answers the question himself, “This *swarajya* is of no use to us, because our untouchability is not going to end in *swarajya*”. He goes on to say, “The *swarajya* of the Congress party means the raj (rule) of upper castes over us”. What we term fundamental rights today was mentioned by Babasaheb in this very editorial. Every individual should be given nine rights: 1) Individual freedom 2) Individual protection 3) The right to own private goods and property 4) Equality under law 5) Consent to conduct oneself in accordance with reasoned intellect 6) Freedom of speech and the freedom to vote 7) The right to organize meetings 8) The right to send representatives to the country's government

(Parliament), and 9) The right to obtain a government job.

Dr. Babasaheb writes in an editorial of April 27, 1920, “We will certainly obtain *swarajya* and the system of governance that will come about will be that of a ‘people’s representative state’.” This is Ambedkar’s foresight. In an editorial dated 5 June 1920, he has thrown some light on the virtue of truth, called satyadharma. He writes, “True dharma remains the same everywhere in the country. God will be satisfied with those who conduct themselves in accordance with it. On the contrary, would God be satisfied by forsaking true dharma and not seeing Janardan (Narayana in the mortal being) the people, creating an artificial sense of high and low, composing such scriptures that justify it, on the basis of which one the hideous sin of rendering one’s own brethren more despicable than even animals? What punishment would God mete out to such a sinner?” In the August 14, 1920 issue, he told the excluded society, “How long shall we tolerate injustice? Do we not

want to become human beings? Or, will we like lions raised in sheep pens by shepherds, consider ourselves as sheep although being lions? We are descendants of Chokhamela, Matangrishi, Raidas, etc.”, Babasaheb reminds us of this.

Babasaheb’s editorials of his publication *Bahishkrut Bharat* are more elaborate and much superior in depth of thought. The specialty of these two letters is that they have not raised any other topic other than the issues of the untouchable class. For instance, Ambedkar did not write anything in these newspapers on the issues of the general economic policy of the country, its foreign policy, international politics, protection, education, transport, etc. His focus extends to the untouchable class, their liberation from untouchability, issues that hinder their liberation, measures to overcome these issues, organizing the untouchables and attempts to build self-consciousness in them.

The editorials of *Bahishkrut Bharat* can be classified into four categories: 1) The epistemology of Hinduism 2) The caste system and untouchability 3) The economic issues of the untouchables 4) Political rights of the untouchables. The editorial of *Bahishkrut Bharat* dated 22 April 1927 appears to attempt to cure Hinduism of its ills. In it, Babasaheb writes, “The doctrine of Hinduism nourishes the element of equality, distinct from the doctrine of Christi (Christian) and Mohemmedi (Islam) religion. Man is part of God. This doctrine does not merely stop at stating this; it says, man is verily the form of God. Only Hinduism says this so boldly. Where everyone and everything are the forms of



God, there is no high or low; such discrimination is not possible. There can be no greater doctrine than this to build an empire of equality. But Babasaheb regrets that, worldly conduct in accordance with this element of Hinduism does not take place.

Dharma has two parts, 1) Philosophy 2) Conduct (rituals and practices). In this particular editorial, Babasaheb said that the thought and conduct of dharma should be the same. He quoted Lokmanya Tilak. Says Lokmanya Tilak: **“Dhāraṇāt dharmamityāhu dharmō dhārayati prajāḥ | Yatobhyudaya niḥśrēyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmah**||. Hindu Dharmashāstras have given the right to make changes in the conduct of the philosophy in accordance with the times and environment. According to the *shāstras*, there should be changes in accordance with the times”. This editorial was been written during the time of the Mahar Chavdar lake satyagraha. There is a reference to this satyagraha in the editorial. There is a Mahar caste among the untouchable castes in Maharashtra. People of this caste had joined the satyagraha and drank the water of the pond. Caste Hindus were enraged by this. They said that the water of the pond had ‘turned impure’ because of the touch of the untouchables, and so did some religious rituals for ‘purifying’ the water. This made Babasaheb very sad and he condemned this act in harsh words.

He said, “This is violation of dharma. On the one hand, some Hindus are campaigning to bring those who have crossed over to other religions back to our dharma and purify them, while on the other hand, there are some Hindus

who ill-treat those who belong to our dharma. This is madness. This is not going to take Swami Shraddhanand’s enlightened work any further. On the contrary, such behaviour is the opposite of his task. Untouchability is the stigma of our human person and we will have to erase it”. Ambedkar concludes this editorial with these words. In another editorial dated July 29, 1927, he once again wrote on the principles of Hinduism. He said that there must be a favourable environment in society for *abhyudaya* or the uplift of everyone. The attainment of liberation is a matter after death. These so-called rules of Hinduism do not provide opportunity for *abhyudaya*. Ambedkar states that some people say, “As long as you live, you must remain our slaves. You shall go to heaven after death”. He poses the question “Is the individual for dharma, or dharma for the individual? Is our Hinduism our religion or not?” This too is a question raised by Ambedkar. Untouchability is a disease that gnaws away at Hindu society. There are other articles of this kind, in which the inconsistencies and contradictions in Hindu thought and behaviour are presented in clear terms. Ambedkar also indicated in a pointed manner, “What will happen to Hindu society if untouchables become Muslims? Hindu society should think about this as well”.

Ambedkar has also given sage advice about the caste system and untouchability in an editorial dated June 3, 1927. He says, “The untouchability that exists in Hindu society has been there for generations. Such a kind of untouchability does not exist in any other society.

This is the real interpretation of Brahmanism. It is this sentiment high and low that has given rise to the caste system. The Brahmin class first distinguished itself from the productive segment of society. They were followed by the Kshatriya class and then the Vaishya class”. Ambedkar writes, “We are not against the Brahmin caste. Our criticism is on Brahmanism. Brahmins are not our enemies; it is the people who are afflicted by Brahminism who are our enemies”. In his editorial of July 1, 1927, he has given a historical analysis of how the Brahmin class, afflicted by the feelings of Brahminism, gave rise to caste. “The Brahmin community has led the society. It has acquired this place by tradition. Therefore, it becomes their responsibility to try to eradicate the debilitating moribund practices that have arisen in the society. They have to eradicate the feelings of high and low”.

There are three editorials by Dr. Ambedkar in *Bahishkrut Bharat*, regarding the economic status of the Mahar caste. The editorials are titled “*Maharvatan*” (reward) dated 2 September, 16 September and 30 September, 1927. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s knowledge of economics is demonstrated in these three articles. He has mentioned the following kinds of works among paid work in what used to be the wage labour of the Mahar caste spread across the villages and countryside.

1. Assisting village officials to collect revenue
2. To deliver postage to the place where the taluka office is located or the official sits
3. To deliver the collected revenue

- to the taluka office
4. Collection of information on births and deaths
 5. To make proper arrangements for government officials during their visits to the village and carry out the tasks directed by them
 6. Do whatever other kind of work as instructed.



These were functions of the government. In addition to these, the Mahars also had to do the work of the village's subjects (residents of the village). These functions were as follows:

1. Helping villagers in constructing barns
2. Providing fuel for the funeral rites, i.e., burning on the pyre, upon death of any among the village's people
3. To convey the news to the relatives of the deceased
4. Carrying away the carcasses of dead animals
5. Cutting wood on the occasion of weddings
6. Performing other minor tasks.

Babasaheb had strong objections to the system of 'Mahar vatan'. These were: 1) The functions of the Mahars who worked under the vatan arrangement were not fixed. As Mahar people were government workers, their work should have been fixed according to government rules. The duration of their work was not fixed, and they had to work for 24 hours. If any vatan family happened to reside nearby, and for some reason no male member was available for work, his wife, and

even aged mother or father had to work instead and all these tasks were extremely laborious. It was nothing but injustice to send an elderly person on foot from one village to another. When any government official arrived in the village, apart from making arrangements for him, doing all other work including bathing, scrubbing and feeding his horse was included in the Mahar vatan. Apart from this, he had to do other work for free too. Dr. Ambedkar lists 43 such tasks.

Dr. Ambedkar's forthright opinion was to abolish the Mahar vatan system. It is the responsibility of the government to pay compensation in the case of annulment. Ambedkar's statement at that time (1927) was an act of courage. "Where the urge for vatan is so tremendous, where the Patil (headman) is not ready to leave his vatan, where the Kulkarni (treasurer or accounts keeper) is struggling for his lost income, the fact that a leader of the Mahars should ask for the abolition of the vatan of the Mahars will seem bizarre and some people might accuse me by calling me an enemy of my own people".

In his editorial in the

Mooknayak and *Bahishkurt Bharat*, Dr. Ambedkar has presented the background of the untouchable people with continuity. His exposition is, "The untouchable classes are a minority. They are excluded from Hindu society, do not have civil rights and also do not have political rights. Being socially excluded, they should be considered as a minority

and should be given special political rights as a minority, and must also enter the setup of political power. They will acquire strength due to power and will obtain a place of respect in the society". From 1921 onwards, the British began the process of giving a constitution to India. The Congress opposed such proposed constitutions. A report of what the Constitution of India should be like was presented to the country by the Motilal Nehru Committee. Dr. Ambedkar too took up the Nehru Report for treatment in the January 18, 1929 issue. In other words, in an article, he informed about the benefits and disadvantages of the draft constitution which was presented by Motilal Nehru to the country. The article was titled, "The Nehru Committee Plan and the future of India".

This subject is complicated due to the context of the constitution. However, Dr. Ambedkar writes about it in very simple words. He says (excerpts) "The politics of a country cannot operate without a constitution. The Nehru Committee has dared to create a parallel Creation like that of sage Vishwamitra. Territorial

and caste-based electorates (voter groups) have been formed in accordance with the Nehru Committee”. Ambedkar says that caste-based electorates are necessary for the backward castes. It is difficult a backward caste candidate to be elected from the territorial electorates. However, Ambedkar mounted a strong attack on the Muslims for whom separate communal electorates were formed in the Nehru Committee. His words are as follows: “The main reason for the irresponsible tendencies which have been created in the politics of this country is the separate electorate of Muslims. Such electorates must be abolished immediately”.

After this, Dr. Babasaheb analyzed the Lucknow Pact. According to him, the Nehru Committee had given a greater number of separate electorates to the Muslims than even the Lucknow Pact. He gave the graphics of this. In the recommendations of the Nehru Committee, Muslims were given more separate electorates than what was given in the Lucknow Pact. Similarly, Sindh, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province were separated. Due to this (at that time there were only nine provinces in India), in five of these nine provinces, there will be a predominance of Muslims, because it was being said that where Muslims are in a majority, they would not persecute Hindus but where Hindus are in a majority Muslims will not be persecuted. Ambedkar’s clear view was that in this way, keeping a group separate was politics of the lowest order.

Dr. Ambedkar said that the nature of the Hindu being to bear

injustice if meted out by others and not retaliate would only cause the Hindu to suffer. He warned that the Nehru Committee report was dangerous for Hindus and was one that would bring harm upon India as well. We should understand that our country is a land caught between a pair of scissors. On the one side, there is an arc of nations with two different cultures, such as China and Japan, while on the other side there are three Muslim countries like Turkey, Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan. If China attacked India, then the whole of India would rise against it. But if the Muslims invaded the country, would the Muslims of India fight the aggressor Muslims? Finally he said, “I comment on the Hindu society and religion, and so Hindu people are angry with me. Many also say that I should not invite the anger of the Muslims by commenting on them, but I have taken this risk because of my feeling that an issue in which lies there is peril to our country is our peril too”.

Dr. Ambedkar uses Sanskrit verses many times in his writings. For example “*Yatōbhayudayanīḥśreyasiddhiḥ sa dharmah*” (that by which both enhancement and detachment are attained is dharma); “*Na jānapadikam dukhimeki śocitumarhati aśocannati kurvīta yadi Paśyedupakramam*” (It is futile to grieve for those who are publicly miserable. One should try to mitigate their grieving); “*Apahāya nijam karma Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇoti vādinī Tē Harerdweṣinaḥ pāpāḥ dharmārtha janma Yaddharēḥ*” (Those who renounce their karma and remain inactive chanting only Hari Hari, actually detest Hari, who was born

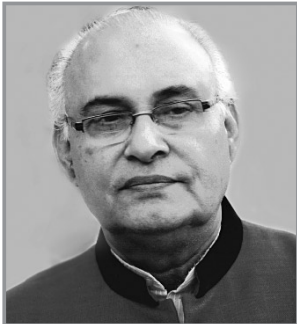
to protect dharma); “*Etāvāneva puruṣō yadamarṣī yadaḥsamī I Kṣamāvānniramarśva naiva strī na puni pumān*” (Only a man who feels anger at injustice ought to be called a man) (4/11/1927); “*Rṇaiscaturbhiḥ samyuktā jāyante mānavā bhuvī I Pitṛdevarṣimnrjairdeyam tebhyaśca dharmatī*” (3/2/1928) (Every individual is born with four kinds of debt; to one’s ancestors, to the gods, the rishis and to the universe, which he has to repay).

Many *shlokas* thus appear in Dr. Ambedkar’s articles. Along with this, he also used short stories to make clear his issues, along with using many idioms of Marathi effectively. Simple language, clear exposition, unquestionable rationalism and fearless writing were his qualities.

Dr. Ambedkar’s journalism is a topic of intense study. He stands out in marked difference from conventional journalists. His journalism is not for capitalism, socialism or individualism; its ultimate purpose is social awakening. Dr. Ambedkar himself bore this responsibility on his shoulders. He is miles away from personal benefit and fear. He never made personal comments on anyone. He never used his writing to hit below the belt. Ambedkar never wrote the untruth, never resorted to disinformation and misinformation. His writing was original, which remains timeless. It is remains as true in 2021 as it was in 1927–28. For such journalism, it is imperative to possess deep study and all-round knowledge of the subject(s). All of us experience this after reading Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s articles.

Our humble salutations to such a rare pundit of journalism! ●

Forerunner of Indian Journalism



Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma

Deendayal- A Journalist with Resolve

Deendayal Upadhyaya was a great man enriched with a vast and complete vision. His multi-faceted personality cannot be described by one headline. Was he a journalist? Questions can be raised on this. Officially, neither was he the editor of any newspaper or magazine nor reporter, but he had a deep attachment towards journalism. With his vision, how did he understand journalism and how he explained it to the workers, it is important and enlightening to know this.

Some points are from history. How was *Rashtradharm* started? How were *Panchajanya* and the daily *Swadesh* started? Although officially he was not the editor of these papers or magazines, he played a decisive role in running them. He was everything for these papers; he also used to write for them. Some of his editorials were even signed by him. Later, two of his columns were published regularly in *Organiser* and *Panchjanya*. In *Panchjanya* it was *Vicharveethi* by the name Parashar and *Political Diary* in *Organiser*. Later, when *Political Diary* was published as a book, then the preface for the book was written

by the famous Congress leader Dr. Sampurnanand. His analysis was good. He wrote, "Some of the articles are in the immediate context, some are such that they will go a long way but some of the articles are immortal." To whom a voter shall give their vote to, what should be the character of a party, what type of candidates should be there, what should be the character of the voter himself, his articles in these contexts have been labeled as immortal by Dr. Sampurnanand. If we want to develop our democracy, then these articles must be seriously deliberated upon.

In this research, three episodes are relevant to be presented here. The first is- the *Arth* issue of *Panchjanya* in July 1953. For this issue, material related to economic issues was collected diligently. The editor was Shri Mahendra Kulshreshth. Deendayal himself analyzed the issue in his letter to Kulshreshth. In his analysis, he said that, "The selection of the material should be impartial and total in nature and there shall be no favoritism in it." He wrote, "In the article on the five year plan why was the criticism by Shri Ranadive given space while point of views

Not being a full time journalist in the broader sense, Deendayalji had a deep attachment to journalism. Besides, he had a comprehensive viewpoint towards journalism. An Analysis

Journalism was a Mission for Him

Devendra Swaroop

I came to know the real form of his journalism when I came to Lucknow at the end of 1951. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh had just been formed then. Deendayal ji had been entrusted with the responsibility of the general secretary of the Uttar Pradesh unit. I was sent from Prayag to look after the publicity work in the provincial office of the Jana Sangh. Whenever Deendayal ji used to return back to Lucknow after his tours as a general secretary, he used to spend some time at the Jana Sangh office at Aminabad and then went to the Rashtradharm Prakashan at Sadar Bajar. Those days, Rashtradharm was a monthly, Panchjanya was a weekly and Swadesh was being published as a daily. As soon as Deendayal ji reached there the entire editorial team would collect around him. On cups of tea, he used to narrate the experiences of his tours, and there were jokes and camaraderie. When discussions were held on the national happenings, he would analyze them and a debate used to start over future possibilities. When things would get heated up, Deendayal ji would say jokingly, hey editor you are a fool and everyone would burst out laughing.

of other parties has not been included. (Ranadive was from the Communist Party) It lacks totality. Discipline should not be ignored in journalism.” In the analysis he further wrote,

“In the editorial, it would have been consistent with ‘Panchjanya’s stature if any better word would have been used instead of ‘foolish’ in the criticism of Shri Ashok Mehta’s

Role Model for Missionary Journalism

Deenanath Mishra

Behind the journalistic stints of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Lal Krishna Advani also, there was some sort of inspiration by Deendayal ji. Atal ji in fact carried his different journalistic roles with Deendayal ji for a long time. When Lal Krishna Advani got attached to *Organiser* as a journalist, he put pressure on Deendayal ji for writing for the paper regularly, especially when he became the editor.

Deendayal ji was often on tours. Advani ji requested him to cover in his column the happenings and his experiences on his tours. Deendayal ji did this one or two times but then he did not like the idea of talking about himself in his articles and so stopped doing so. Later, he never talked about incidents related to himself in his articles.

Hundreds of people in the country adopted journalism as their mission inspired by the journalism of Deendayal ji, Atal ji and Advani ji. In those times, the likes of senior journalists like Kewal Ratn Malkani, Baleshwar Agrawal, N.B. Lele, Yadavrao Deshmukh, Devendra Swaroop Agrawal, Nandkishore Trikhia can be counted as symbols of missionary journalism.

A Learned Journalist in the Tradition of Saints

Lallan Prasad Vyas

How Deendayal ji served the cause of Hindi journalism through *Panchjanya* and *Rashtradharm* and how he presented an ideal of simplicity, service and sacrifice will always be remembered with reverence and regard. I saw him closely as a writer, but was not fortunate to watch him closely as a journalist. I have read and heard a lot about the high human values attached to his journalistic life, and they definitely inspired directly or indirectly my own life as a journalist, because, for me too, journalism was never a profession but a means for serving the society and also of self-development.

policy of cooperating with the government.” He analyzed the ‘Arth’ issue in a hard hitting way. In this critique of his, his viewpoint towards journalism can be easily understood.

During my research, I asked the then editor of ‘Panchjanya’ Shri Bhanupratap Shukla about the journalist in Deendayal. He said Deendayal’s relations with *Panchjanya* were not

visible but we felt it. His presence was always soft and instructive. He used to come, there were discussions on journalism, how to prepare news, how to give headlines and about many theoretical

Follower and Guide of Idealistic Journalism

Yadavrao Deshmukh

Loyalty to whom?

Any enlightened journalist has his own point of view towards problems. He himself is lighted with an ideology. Several times, he is the follower of any institution or party. Question arises naturally, to whom he shall be loyal as a journalist? To his ideology? To any party related to him or the wider interests of the country or the people? To such a question I got his clear guidance on the publication of my article in *Panchjanya*.

Perhaps this episode is from 1961. At that time the country had come under a cloud of an impending attack by China. In such a situation, several political parties and labour organizations had called for a countrywide rail strike in support of the railway employees.

Seeing that the 1962 elections were near, the Bhartaiya Jana Sangh also supported the strike. Its prominent leaders naturally expected that *Panchjanya* will also support the strike. But I, after consulting my editorial colleagues, described the strike as against the benefit of the nation. The Congress daily *Navjeevan* made it a good point to attack the Jana Sangh. Due to this, it was natural for the Jana Sangh people to get angry. They complained to Deendayal ji, who was the general secretary of the Jana Sangh at that time whether it was correct for *Panchjanya* to oppose the programs and policies of Jana Sangh? Deendayal ji called me to his house in the evening and also called those workers of the Jana Sangh. He explained to me the reason behind their anger. Then he himself asked, “If anything is beneficial for the party, but would seem to be not beneficial or justified for the society or the country, then what should a newspaper which guides the readers do?” The answer was inherent in the question. Then he said, “Look, there might be reasons for the party to support the strike, but there is no such reason for *Panchjanya* to do so. I think both of you have taken the right decision at your respective positions.” Matters were cleared then and there. Parties cannot be greater than the country or the society. The benefit of the country should be supreme. A journalist’s loyalty is always expected towards the nation.

Studying was his Addiction and Journalism was his Mission

Dr. Nandkishore Trikha

Writing the truth and only the truth, and if anything was both true and to his liking yet it was bad for the society then not writing it- this was the ideal of his journalism. He was always very careful that in his articles never a word should be used which was opposite to public good. Not only in his own articles but if he found any such word in anyone’s article he would talk to the person about it without any hesitation. Only a yogi can tread on the path of such stringent rule for his writings. Deendayal ji was such a yogi as a journalist. Even Gandhi ji has said in his articles that when he was editing the *The Indian Opinion* and the *Harijan* then several times he used to wake up in the night and reflected on what would be the effect on society of a particular word which he was using.

and practical topics. We even argued with him. Once, Deendayal ji came to Lucknow. Then, Saint Fateh Singh was doing fast unto death on some matter. We gave a headline in Panchjanya- 'Akaltakht ke

Kaal'. Deendayal ji asked us to remove this headline. He explained to us that in public life such language should not be used. This promotes acrimony and kills the possibility of working together. To say your

point firmly does not mean saying it with bitterness.

The third episode is related to *Organizer's* then editor Shri K.R.Malkani. He told us that in 1969 when within three days non-congress governments in three states Haryana, Punjab and West Bengal were felled, we had carried a cartoon in *Organizer* depicting the then home minister Shri Yashwant Rao Chauhan as cutting the ox symbolizing democracy. Several people felt it to be extreme. Panditji's reaction was, it may be a cartoon but this scene showing cow-killing was shocking to the heart.

The picture which emerges of Deendayal when we see his editorial articles and columns is that his journalism was not professional; it was one of resolve and missionary. Recently, a pleasant fact has come to light that on the 15th anniversary of *Hindusthan Samachar*, he wrote an article and he used such a word in it which was intriguing for me. He wrote that today, when a journalist interviews someone then it is less of an interview and more like an

Editor among Editors-Deendayal

Dr. Vedpratap Vaidik

Deendayal ji was a journalist of the post independence era. If you consider him a journalist and look at the last 200 years of journalism, then a line is drawn- pre-independence journalism and post-independence journalism. Pre-independence journalism is said to be of resolve, and post-independence journalism is for livelihood or profession. The resolve ended and the profession started. The ills in journalism which we see today were hinted at by Deendayal ji regularly. If we look at the journalism which was in his time and what it is today then this hard fact emerges that journalism has become a profession today. In Deendayal ji's journalism, though he was the journalist among journalists, editor among editors, we could not find such professionalism which is ailing today's journalism. It is not that only Deendayal ji was doing such journalism, there were several newspapers of different parties which were published then. The communist party's newspaper, papers of other small parties, newspapers and magazines of Dr. Lohia and Ashok Mehta were published then. But, we could not find the sacrifice, the prominent intellectual grandeur, and originality and fearlessness in all those papers that we found in Panchjanya or Rashtrdharma or other such newspapers.

Pandit ji was the Creator of the Unification of Words and Work

Hridaynarayan Dikshit

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya's words are like seed-mantras. He has done the remarkable work of practicing the sanatan values with the ritual of his writing. Pandit ji's creation is like a fragrant garden in the midst of a busy daily routine.

There is a seed hidden inside the inherent power of journalism and the basic feeling behind writing. Those who have much to say, those who are themselves sad because of the sad aggrieved humanity, cannot hold themselves from writing. Pandit ji has added word by word and put the pearls of his thoughts in the thread of his feelings because of the pain he felt.

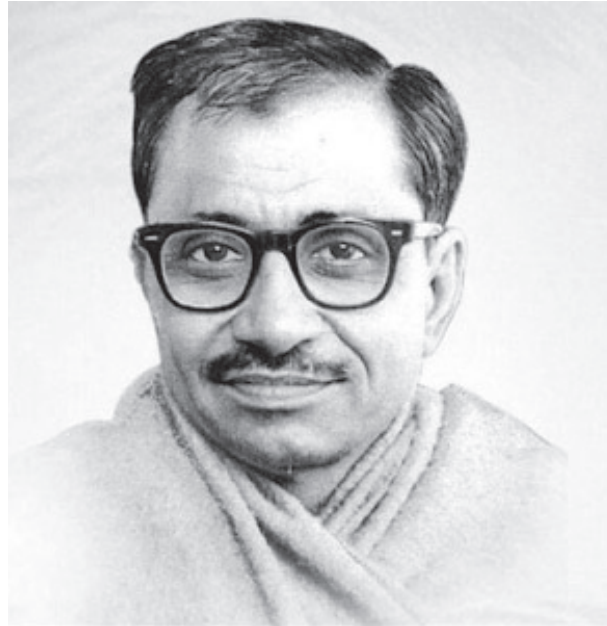
‘interrogation’.

He gives news as if he is backbiting someone. He used the Hindi word ‘*chugli karna*’. I liked the word ‘*chugli*’ very much.

Deendayal ji was of the opinion that there is a difference between a ‘*chugalkhor*’ that is a backbiter and a reporter. ‘*Chugli*’ may be popular but it is not news. News must pass the three ideals of ‘*Satyam, Shivam and Sundaram*.’ It will not do if only ‘*Satyam*’ (truth) and ‘*Sundaram*’ (beauty) are followed. I found this

very important. Apart from ‘*Satyam*’ and ‘*Sundaram*’, a journalist must also adhere to ‘*Shivam*’ (good).

A journalist not only acts as a preacher, but rather takes the speaker to ‘*Shivam*’ in a way that ‘*Shivam*’ becomes reality. A journalist does not roam in a vacuum, neither he talks about an imaginary world; he takes



only facts of life and creates ‘*Shiva*’ from them. Many such things have been said in this article, which refine the journalist from inside.

Here we can also describe the types of analysis and subject matter in his articles, columns and editorials. Not only his thinking, wisdom and grasping power is reflected

in these articles, his responsibility as a journalist and politeness are also underlined. Journalism which deviates from social values can be very dangerous. Today, in the name of professionalism, the way journalists are treating journalism is a matter of concern. In such times, Deendayal’s guidance in the context of journalism can be enlightening. Will we be able to grasp this beacon? That is the big

question today. ●

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G Subramania Iyer

He was a freedom fighter and social reformer and chose to fight his freedom battle by establishing two prominent newspapers: The Hindu (which is still one of India’s most respected papers) and Swadesamitran (one of the first Tamil newspapers).

While Subramania Iyer was more comfortable writing in English, he started Swadesamitran four years after The Hindu to chronicle the Indian Freedom Movement, from the time of its inception, to incite a feeling of patriotism among Tamil people, and inspire them to join the freedom struggle.

He was determined that the discussion of India’s future be taken to the masses.

He tried to use his paper as a vehicle for reform but found himself in caught up defamation cases, which left him financially crippled.

While he served as editor for the publication, in 1908, he was prosecuted and sentenced for sedition by the British. He was never the same after he went to prison.



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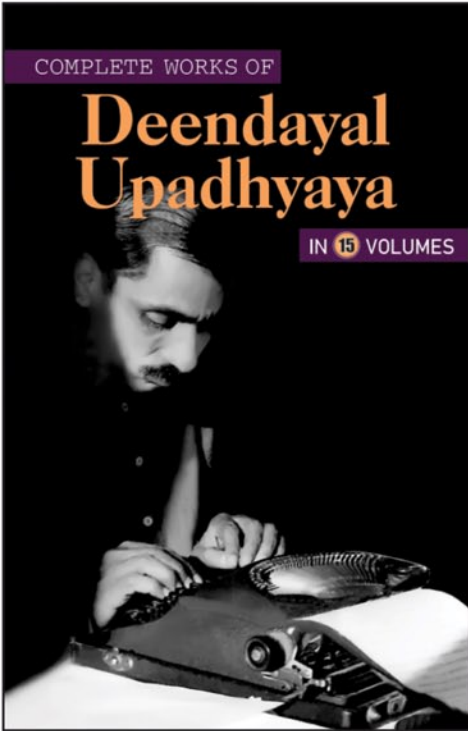
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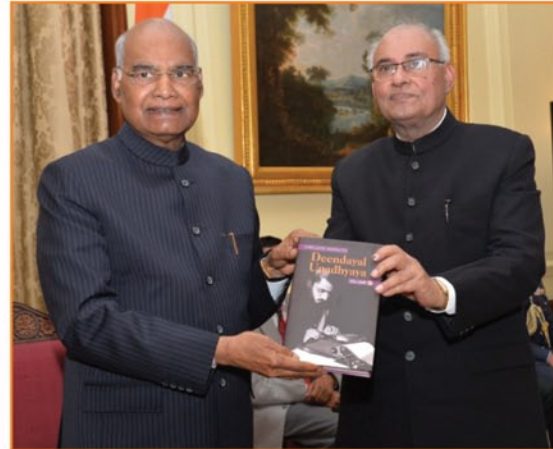
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