

**GOVERNMENT OF
THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR**



REPORT
of the
Newspaper Industry Enquiry Committee
Central Provinces and Berar

Printed at
SUBODH SINDHU PRESS,
Civil Lines, Nagpur.

Price Ans. १

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The Government of the C. P. & Berar, by the resolution No. 629-3429-XXIII of 1947 dated the 27th March 1948, set up an Inquiry Committee to examine and report on certain questions relating to the general working of the newspaper industry in the province. The Committee consisted of the following:—

Shri J. R. Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, District and Sessions Judge (now) Puisne Judge of the Nagpur High Court)
Chairman.

MEMBERS.

1. Shri A. D. Mani, Editor, the 'Hitavada', Nagpur.
2. Shri N. R. Bamangaonkar, Editor, the 'Udaya', Amraoti,
3. Shri P. Y. Deshpande, Editor, the 'Bhavitavya', Nagpur.
4. Shri V. L. Ulabhaje, President of the Working Journalists' Association, Nagpur
5. Shri Ramgopal Maheshwari, Editor, the 'Nava Bharat', Nagpur.
6. Shri K. C. Rao Naidu, President, Nagpur Journalists' Association, Nagpur.
7. Shri Kalika Prasad Dikshit, Editor, the 'Jai Hind', Jabbulpore,
8. The Director of Information and Publicity, C. P. and Berar, Nagpur.

At the time of the constitution of the Committee Shri M. D. Shahane was the Director of Information and Publicity. He, however, relinquished charge of his office when the Committee had been in existence for about two weeks. He was succeeded by Shri Someshwar Dayal, who, in his capacity as the Director of Information and Publicity, C. P. and Berar, continued to work as Member-Secretary of the Committee. Later, vide Publicity Department Notification No. 856/1243-XXIII dated 28th April 1948, Shri Shahane was appointed a member of the Committee; but consequent on his having accepted a post outside the province (outside the country for that matter) he ceased to be a member as from 25th October 1948, vide Publicity Department Notification No. 3974/XXIII dated 16th November 1948.

Shri Y. H. Pitke, Public Relations Officer in the Directorate of Information and Publicity, C. P. and Berar, was vide Publicity Department Notification No. 2113/XXIII dated the 25th September 1948, appointed Assistant Secretary of the Committee.

2. The terms of reference of the Committee, to quote the Government resolution itself, were:—

“The terms of reference of the committee will be:

(i) To examine the general working of the newspaper industry (and standard of journalism as added by Publicity Department notification No. 791-1243-XXIII dated the 15th April 1948 published in C. P. and Berar Gazette of 23rd April 1948, page 200) in this province, with special reference to the general conditions of work affecting the editorial and other staff of newspapers in the province and of the local correspondents of newspapers published outside the province, their emoluments including dearness allowance, leave, provident fund, pensionary benefits, etc.

(ii) "To make recommendations regarding the essential improvements that are necessary, and the feasibility of bringing them about, and the ways and means of doing so.

(iii) "The committee will commence work immediately with Nagpur as its headquarters and visit such places in the province as it may consider necessary. The committee is authorised to call for information in writing and to take evidence from any Department, or officer of Government on matters which fall within the scope of the enquiry. Persons who desire to be called as witnesses should apply in writing to the Secretary of the Committee giving their names and addresses together with a brief memorandum on the points on which they desire to give evidence. The Provincial Government have no doubt that Provincial Newspapers will afford the committee all the information and assistance as may be required. The committee should submit its report within a period not exceeding six months".

3. The committee met on the 6th April 1948 and formulated the questionnaire, which is set out in appendix I.

4. The committee received answers from (i) 4 institutions and (ii) 60 individuals.

5. The committee held 41 meetings and the average attendance at the meeting of the committee was 7. The committee visited Amraoti, Akola, Jabulpore and Raipur. The committee examined in all 89 witnesses. The number of working days on which the committee met was 41.

6. The above committee was set up as a result of a representation made by working journalists in the province through their organisations, viz., the C. P. & Berar Working Journalists' Conference and the Nagpur Journalists' Association. The working journalists felt that their conditions of working left much to be desired and that there was a case for Government inquiry into the matter. After the questionnaire was formulated and the work of the committee had commenced, the local committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference declined to cooperate any further with the committee for certain reasons which we do not think it necessary to go into. Suffice it to say that the committee revised its attitude a few days later and gave us its full cooperation.

7. We may observe here that this is the second committee instituted by a Provincial Government in our country to enquiry into the conditions of the newspaper industry. At the outset of our work, we decided to recommend to the Government that the terms of reference should be so expanded as to include questions relating to the tone of journalism in the province. The Government acceded to our request and the questionnaire, which has been set out in appendix I was issued after securing their sanction.

8. We have made recommendations on all aspects of the questionnaire and it is our hope that they would receive the serious consideration of the journalists of the province, as also of others who are connected with or interested in the newspaper industry.

CHAPTER II

History of Journalism

9. It is only appropriate that an enquiry into the conditions of the newspaper industry in the Central Provinces and Berar should be prefaced by a short note on the history of journalism in the province. It is well-known that journalism in our country is of recent growth and became a profession only during this century. Wherever there were settlements of the British, there sprang up at various centres in India newspapers to cater to the needs of the British community. Naturally these papers were conducted in the English language and were mainly devoted to society gossip or movements of Company authorities. The first regular news-sheet known as Hickey's Gazette dates to the eighties of the 18th century. The first paper to be published in an Indian language came into being in the year 1823.

10. There were a number of factors which stood in the way of rapid journalistic development in our province. The province was annexed by the British only after 1818. The Central Provinces were constituted into a Chief Commissioner's province in 1860. Naturally, therefore, the province was deprived of the advantages of those educational and social developments which came earlier in the former presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. It will be seen that it was only in these presidencies that journalism progressed satisfactorily in the 19th century. The progress can be attributed to the facts that they were the first to be constituted as administrative units by the British Government and enjoyed the further advantage of having universities of their own in the early stages of their history. In our province conditions were wholly different. Half of the province has been and is covered by forests. Then again it contains a good percentage of aboriginal population, which has not so far taken full advantage of educational facilities as other communities have done. The Nagpur University was started only as late as in 1924. In view of these handicaps, journalism in the last century had a fitful and languorous career.

11. From official records, that are available, we have discovered that the first known newspapers in the province were the 'C. P. News', an English paper from Nagpur, and 'Victoria Sewak' and 'Saraswati Vilas', Hindi papers from Jabulpore and Narsingpur respectively. The precise years in which they were first published are not known. What happened eventually to these papers is not known either. That they had a short life is apparent but it is not clear why they had to close down. The only reason that can be advanced at this distance of time for their failure is that they were far ahead of their time and so they could not get the necessary financial support for their existence. In 1900, there was a newspaper called the 'C. P. and Berar Times' which was bilingual, a part appearing in English and another part in Marathi. This paper enjoyed official patronage. There were also other newspapers like the 'Independent', the 'Bhonsla Patra', the 'Goraksha' and the 'Nyaya Sudha', which were all published from Nagpur. There was also a weekly, 'Deshsewak', edited first by Shri Paudit and later by Shri Kelkar, Padhye, A. B. Kolhatkar, Gopal Rao Ogle and Shambhu Rao Gadgil. This paper seems to have attracted the attention of Government by its outspoken writings and was stopped by it in the year 1908. One of the old magazines published in Nagpur was 'Nirajellas'

edited by Shri Vinayakrao Shadangule. There were also other newspapers from the mofussil like the 'Vichar Vahan', from Saugor, the Urdu 'Tebliğ', the 'Hindi Master', the 'Tieakar' and 'Subha Chintak' from Jubbulpore, the 'Chhattisgarh Mitra' from Raipur, and the 'Nyaya Ratna' from Chhindwara.

12. 'Varhad Samachar' from Akola, 'Premod Sindhu' and 'Vidarbha' from Amraoti and 'Batmidar' from Yeotmal were published from 1880. This was the position before Berar was tacked on to the Central Provinces. In the year 1905-1906 'Harikishor' was started by Shri P.H. Gosavi in Yeotmal, for propagating the cause of the swadeshi movement. Within a short spell of 4 years Shri Gosavi and his associate Shri N. V. Bhave were sent to prison under section 124-A I.P.C. and thus the paper had to be closed. In 1907 Shri N. R. Bamangaonkar started 'Tarun Hind' which stopped publication in 1909 as the editor had to pay a heavy fine under the Press Act. 'Swavalamban' a journal founded at Akola in 1908, had to cease publication in 1909 as it was prosecuted on a charge of sedition.

13. In those days, newspapers were more or less a one man show, the editor himself doing almost all the work connected with the paper from writing articles to getting them printed. These newspapers were not financially sound propositions.

14. It was only after 1910 that journalism developed from a fitful exhibition into a permanent institution in the province. This period in British Indian history coincides with the ascendancy of Lokmanya Tilak in politics. His supporters were anxious to propagate his views in the province and one of them Shri Madhao Rao Sapre, founded a Hindi Weekly 'Hind-Keshari'. In its life of just a single year it developed into a paper commanding considerable public support and was reputed to have a circulation of 6000, though we have had no opportunity of checking up the correctness of the figure. Being a protagonist of swaraj and of the national school of thought it was out of favour with the Government and evoked the wrath of the British authorities. It was charged with sedition and finally had to suspend publication.

15. It was in 1913 that the first English newspaper which is surviving today (the Hitavada) was acquired by the Servants of India Society. Before the Hitavada passed on to the hands of the Servants of India Society, it was a Marathi newspaper conducted by Shri Madhao Rao Padhye. When it was converted into English the first editor was Shri N. A. Dravid.

16. In 1914 another newspaper, the Maharashtra, which is still in existence was started by Shri Gopalrao Ogle. Originally it was only a weekly. Then it became a biweekly and has now developed into a daily newspaper.

17. It is only proper at this stage that we should place on record the appreciation of all those interested in journalism, of the pioneering endeavours of Shri N. A. Dravid and Shri Gopalrao Ogle. They started their journals at a time when there was no clientele worth the name for encouraging journalistic ventures and in spite of heavy and persistent discouragement, they carried on their newspapers. Shri Ogle, unfortunately, is no more but Shri Dravid is still, happily, with us and to them, a work of just tribute is due for having made journalism, a permanent feature of the public life of the province. To Shri V. S. Venkataraman, the organiser and editor of the second English daily newspaper in the province, the 'Daily News', should go the credit of being one of the pioneers of daily journalism in the province. Others have followed and started their newspapers and given further strength to journalism but it is only fitting that in a record of this kind the work of the pioneers must be specially mentioned.

18. The period between 1910 and 1920 saw a feverish attempt at the starting of a number of newspapers, among whom can be mentioned the 'C. P. Standard' from Katni, the 'Safar-i-Berar' from Amraoti, the 'Sumati' and the 'Bharat' from Wardha, the 'Swaritta Prasar' from Akola, the 'Mitra Mandali Samachar' from Sohagpur, the 'Patit Mitra' from Nagpur, the 'Prabha' from Khandwa, the 'Sharada Vinod' from Jubbulpore, the 'Dharma Prabhakar' from Ellichpur and the 'Bharat' and the 'Udaya' and 'Kartavya' from Amraoti.

19. The end of the first world war saw a new phase in the development of journalism in this province. With the beginning of Mahatma Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, the newspapers were called upon to play a new role and become the heralds of a new era. Men from public life came into the field and several newspapers sprang up. The members of the Provincial Legislative Council were feeling the need of a Hindi paper.

20. In cooperation with Shri Prayagdutta Shukla, Dr. B. S. Moonje started his 'Sankalpa' in 1919 which, however, closed down after a year. In 1920, Shri V. D. Shukla in cooperation with Shri Makhanlal Chaturvedi and Shri Madhava Rao Sapre founded the 'Karmaveer' which was published from Jubbulpore. The 'Karmaveer' had drawn to itself many writers of talent and workers, such as Shri S. M. Agarkar, Thakur Laxman Singh and Shrimati Subhadra Kumari Chouhan. After sometime, however, another paper under the same name was published from Khandwa, under the editorship of Shri Makhanlal Chaturvedi. In the meantime 'Karmaveer' of Jubbulpore had ceased publication and it is not known whether or not the paper started from Khandwa was the same paper as was originally started at Jubbulpore. Shri Agarkar later started his 'Madhya Bharat' from Khandwa, changing it into 'Swarajya' after some time.

21. A few Marathi papers also came into being about this time. The weekly 'Young Patriot' was started in 1921 and was first edited by Shri Shivdas Pant Barlinge and later by Shri Herlekar, Pleader. Then came 'Tarun Maharashtra', edited by Shri W. N. Ghorpade, published first in Wardha and later in Nagpur.

22. By 1925 a fresh crop of papers came up, consisting of 'Pranaveer' and 'Samaj Sevak', from Nagpur, 'Rajasthan Keshri', from Wardha, the 'Desh' from Chhindwara, the 'Tilak' from Jubbulpore the 'Udaya' from Chhindwara, the 'Tilak' from Jubbulpore the 'Udaya' from Saugor, the 'Narsinha' from Narsinghpur 'Mahakoshal' (which stopped after a year and was revived later in 1943), the 'Rana Sangram' from Nagpur, the 'Lokmat' from Yeotmal, the 'Prajapaksha' the 'Shuddha Varhadi' and the 'Varhad Samachar, from Akola (all weeklies). About this time Shri Waman Rao Joshi started 'Swatantra Hindustan' from Amraoti. Some of these papers later disappeared for financial reasons.

23. 'Nava Bharat' is the first successful Hindi daily of the province which was quickly followed by 'Lokmat'. Later on a Hindi daily, 'Jai Hind', started publication from Jubbulpore. A number of Hindi weeklies are now published from almost all important centres in the province.

24. The first daily in the province was the Marathi 'Sandesh' which was registered in 1920 and edited by Shri A. B. Kolhatkar. The 'Swatantra' started in 1923 by Shri Kelkar was the second daily. This was later edited by Shri Kolhatkar and Ogle and Dr. Hedgewar. The late Shri Abhyankar founded the 'Tarun Bharat' weekly. But, for financial reasons, this too closed down after some years. A few years ago it was revived and that as a daily by Shri Madkholkar.

*After having ceased publication it was revived last year.

25. The first Hindi daily in the province was 'Lokmat' from Jubbulpore, started by Seth Govinddas and Pandit (Now Hon'ble Pandit) Dwarka Prasad Mishra. Pandit Mishra was its editor and during a short period, the paper made its mark as a high class journal in the province. But as a result of the incarceration of the sponsors several times, in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement, the paper had ultimately to close down.

26. The first English daily in the province was the 'Nagpur Mail' started in 1927, edited by Shri G. L. Banerji, Assistant Editor of Amrit Bazar Patrika and published by Shri Shiv Narain Rathi from the Marwari Press Nagpur. The paper ceased publication after about 10 months of existence.

27. Next in the field was the 'Daily News' started in 1933 by Shri V. S. Venkataraman, who was for many years editor of the 'Hitavada'. At the time it was started it was the only English daily in the province but its example had been quickly followed. Today there are three English dailies, published from Nagpur, the 'Hitavada', the 'Nagpur Times' (the successors to the Daily News) and the 'Hindusthan Herald'.

28. During the period between 1910 and now journalism did not enjoy the status of a profession as in Bombay and Calcutta. For, hardly any of those who started newspapers in the province had any previous training in journalism. Most of the men working at the present day on journals published in the province have been apprenticed and trained on the papers published in the province itself. It is only recently that attempts have been made by newspapers to secure journalists, who have had training in the profession in other provinces.

29. The above is a brief survey of the development of journalism in the province. One need not look for purple pages in it. It is a sombre canvas full of greys and very little of crimson but journalists have little reason to be ashamed of the tardy development of journalism in the province. The History of Journalism has been a history of struggle, toil and tears; with little encouragement from the public and practically no encouragement from financiers. It is, therefore, creditable that inspite of overwhelming odds, the profession has organised itself and there are at least five journals which are financially self-supporting.

30. One factor which has to be considered in an assessment of the growth of newspapers in the province is that provincial journalism has been subjected, to what we may call, continuous bombardment of newspapers from other provinces. Owing to the fact that the province is centrally situated, with defective means of railway communication, from a circulation point of view, it has been a veritable hunting ground for newspapers printed in Bombay, Calcutta, the U. P. and Madras. Now that newspapers are carried by air, competition from well established newspapers from other provinces has become severer. That the local newspapers have been standing up to it, is a matter of which the province can legitimately be proud. We have no doubt that despite serious competition from newspapers of other provinces, newspapers in the province have a bright future.

31. With the development of education in the province and with the inevitable focussing of public attention on provincial problems, it is expected that the competition from newspapers published in other provinces will decrease substantially. They will definitely be at a disadvantage with regard to the presentation of local and provincial news in its many facets. So, as long as provincial newspapers concentrate on news of the province, their future is assured. Indeed many newspapers have already realised that their strength lies in the steady and continuous supply of provincial news.

32. Though not as well organised here as in other provinces journalism has wielded far more influence on local politics than elsewhere. This may appear to be a paradox but we think that the conclusion is, none the less, correct. The reason for this probably is the high regard which the literates have for the printed word. The influence of journalism on politics being what it is, it becomes all the more necessary that the mighty power of the pen be wielded with circumspection and restraint and that conditions should exist in newspaper offices which will enable journalists to give their best to the profession.

CHAPTER III

Summary of Evidence

33. During the course of our enquiry, we had many opportunities of questioning witnesses connected with journalism about the financial condition of newspapers in the province. It is a matter of regret that out of a large number of newspapers published in the province, the evidence shows that only five dailies, three bi-weeklies and two or three weeklies are either just paving their way or making some profit. A large percentage of newspapers in the province cannot be said to be of such financial dimensions as to be classed as industries. Many of them are, like their predecessors in the early part of the century, 'one man' concerns, conducted either for propagating a certain point of view or because the conductor has no avocation open to him except that of journalism. We were confronted with the question in the early stages of our enquiry whether it is proper to describe journalism in the province as an industry. Though the terms of reference refer to the publication of newspapers in the province as an industry, the evidence that was laid before the committee has to be taken into account. The main characteristics of an industry are that it must be organised, remunerative and productive. The evidence adduced before us makes it clear that none of these characteristics are present in the provincial press, taken as a whole. It is safe to say, then, that newspaper publication in the province is not an industry of the kind that it is, say in Bombay, Calcutta or Madras.

34. Though we had requested newspapers to place before us all facts regarding their financial position, such as their investments, income, expenses etc. we were successful in getting only a few to place them before us. Whatever may be the reason that led some newspaper proprietors not to place all the financial details of their concerns before us, the fact remains that we feel handicapped by this and have to proceed only on the meagre data supplied to us. Some of the journals, which placed all the facts before us, belong to an exceptional category in the sense that they are well entrenched and are well known as leading newspapers of the province. No general deduction about the financial position of newspapers in the province can be drawn from the data supplied by them. The general impression left on our minds by the oral evidence is that journalism in the province is not a remunerative profession.

35. The main problem with which we were concerned in our enquiry was to secure betterment of the conditions of the employees of newspapers wherever such improvement was necessary and possible. We decided in the early stages of the enquiry that it should be confined to journalists working on newspapers and not extended to workers of other descriptions. We did so because their case stands on an entirely different footing from that of other persons working in newspaper offices, and also because the committee having been constituted at the instance of working journalists had, obviously, to ascertain only their grievances and not those of other classes of newspaper employees.

36. A number of witnesses who appeared before us stated that working conditions in newspaper offices are wholly unsatisfactory, that there is no minimum wage for a journalist, that there are no rules regarding leave and retirement, that there is no security of tenure, that bonus and dearness allowance are given only by a few newspapers, that journalists are put on more than one type of work, that no remuneration is given for extra work and that there are no

fixed hours of work. That such conditions should obtain on newspapers, which are not financially self-supporting is not surprising. But if journalism in this province is to develop on sound lines it is necessary that every newspaper should make a serious effort to bring into existence working conditions, which will be satisfactory to journalists and creditable to the profession.

37. Taking the case of leave rules we noticed that though many newspapers had no such rules they generally gave a month's leave on full pay during the year to their employees and casual leave from between 10 to 15 days during a year. Though there is no security of tenure in newspaper offices in the province we also found that actually few persons have been turned out arbitrarily and that where their services were terminated they were given the customary notice of one month.

38. Newspapers in general in the province do not pay gratuity to any of their employees after their retirement from service. A few instances were brought to our notice where newspapers have given or have the practice of giving gratuity to their employees upon retirement. We are glad to note that there is an increasing tendency among newspaper offices to make provision for instituting a contributory provident fund for their employees: At least 4 newspapers have so far, instituted a provident fund. No newspapers have yet undertaken insurance of their employees.

39. On the question of hours of work we have found that in very few cases definite hours of work have been prescribed. This is inevitable because of the peculiar nature of the work in a newspaper office. However we found that newspaper employees are not usually asked to work for more than 8 hours.

40. Few newspapers in the province have prescribed rules regarding recess but most of the witnesses, who appeared before us, stated that they do get some recess during the day as time and work permit.

41. The incidence of absenteeism is practically non-existent among the journalists.

42. As regards the conditions of the precincts in which journalists have to work, we have to depend mostly upon the evidence of witnesses, who appeared before us as we could visit the offices of only 1 newspaper in Nagpur, 2 in Jubbulpore and 1 in Amraoti. From the evidence it appears to us that except in the case of a few leading newspapers the conditions in newspaper offices require much improvement. It has been stated in the evidence that journalists in some cases are cramped in small rooms in which ventilation is unsatisfactory. Some witnesses complained that there is no adequate privacy in those rooms and that there is generally an absence of conditions, which are essential for enabling persons to give their best to work, which is of an intellectual character. What was more regrettable was that few newspaper offices had even ordinary books of reference.

43. In spite of the handicaps under which journalists have been working in the province, we are glad to note that discipline amongst them was tolerably good, though a few witnesses have made complaints about violations of discipline.

44. It appears from the evidence that practically every newspaper office has a weekly holiday, generally Sunday, and in Nagpur twelve holidays in a year. We are told that in regard to the declaration of holidays there has been some working arrangement amongst newspaper offices in Nagpur who have agreed to have a common list of holidays to be declared in a year.

45. The third part of the questionnaire refers to the qualification of employees and on this aspect of our enquiry a good deal of interesting evidence was given by witnesses. It transpired in evidence that barring a few people

engaged in journalism in the province, a large majority of persons employed on journals in the province possessed no university degree or any diploma in journalism. Many of them have either been self-taught or have learnt the ropes in newspaper offices by actually working in them. Reading between the lines of the evidence of some of the witnesses, who appeared before us, it is evident that not many are adequately equipped for the work which they are called upon to do and that some of them do not even have a flair for journalism. We also find that quite a few persons have entered journalism because they have found in it a profitable instrument for spreading their influence and for acquiring power. Another factor bearing on the qualifications of journalists was brought out by the evidence which was laid before us: So far there is no institution in the province which imparts training to journalists. The only way in which journalists could pick up their work, as would appear from the evidence, is by practical working in newspaper offices. Few newspapers seem to have taken the trouble of imparting systematic training to new-comers and few have given opportunities to journalists to go outside the province and acquire the necessary qualifications for their work.

46. The questionnaire refers to overtime work of journalists. We were glad to note that in actual fact few journalists are overworked and that newspaper offices employ adequate staff. There were, however, one or two cases mentioned to us in which journalists have been compelled to work for longer hours with inadequate rest. A complaint was made before us by several witnesses that no payment is made for extra work but other witnesses have stated that it is only on rare occasions that they were called upon to do any extra work and that generally they were paid for doing it.

47. Newspapers in the province do not appear to hold any examinations or to enforce any special test before employing journalists. The general practice prevalent in the profession seems to be to accept journalists, who have previous experience or whom they find suitable.

48. Few newspapers in the province entertain apprentices on their staff on a paid or a formal basis. Those few that do so pay them about Rs. 75/- p. m. including dearness allowance. We noticed that newspapers have not raised serious objection to their employees doing part-time work elsewhere as long as it did not conflict with the work or interest of the newspaper on which they are working.

49. The fifth part of the questionnaire deals with the 'Tone of journalism'. A large number of witnesses were not quite clear in their minds as to what was meant by the expression 'Tone of Journalism'. Some said that the tone of journalism in the province was good but quite a number stated that it was low and stood in need of improvement. Some of the witnesses were not quite clear what was meant by the word 'Tone'. They seemed to confuse 'Tone' with the 'independence of a journal' or with its 'get up'. But a number of witnesses did understand what the term implied and when they replied to this part of the questionnaire, they had in mind the general attitude of the paper towards public events, people and problems generally and the manner of expression of views and news regarding public events. It can be said, therefore, that when these witnesses stated that the tone of journalism stood in need of improvement they had in mind the conventions and restraints which characterise the learned professions. Regarding the steps to be taken for improving the tone of journalism, there was considerable difference of opinion among witnesses. Quite a number of witnesses seemed to think that improvement should be brought about by journalists them-

*(The Marathi Patrakar Parishad has recently instituted courses in journalism in Nagpur.)

selves and that there should be no Governmental interference in this matter. Several witnesses expressed the opinion that if public opinion was assertive the tone of newspapers will, as a result of the impact of public pressure, improve by itself. Witnesses also appeared to think that the low tone of journalism in the province was the direct consequence of the absence of general educational advance and virile public opinion in the province.

50. While very few witnesses were able to state the extent to which the accurate presentation of news or adequate expression of opinion in newspapers in the province was distorted or restricted by the seven factors set out in question No. V (d), they generally agreed that these factors do lead and are leading to the distortion of newspapers and have affected free expression of opinion in newspapers.

51. On the question of Journalistic Policy, many of the witnesses were of opinion that the present position regarding presentation of news, withholding publication of news and publication of news received from doubtful or interested sources was unsatisfactory. According to most of them the personal interests and prejudices of newspaper proprietors or its editor played an important part in deciding whether a newspaper should publish a certain news item or not and if it was published, the manner in which it was to be presented. It was also stated that few newspapers take the trouble of verifying news before publishing it even though circumstances might suggest that the source from which news emerged is of doubtful veracity or biased. The reason given by some of the witnesses for the omission to obtain verification is the want of sufficient time to have news verified.

52. In order to secure accuracy of news it was stated by a number of witnesses that every newspaper should have its own correspondents in the mofussil. The witnesses who expressed this view also suggested that no newspaper should publish any news item unless it was received from its own correspondent or from an authorised news agency or from a Governmental source. The general opinion expressed by witnesses was that the press must remain free and independent but it was realised that it should not be allowed to be irresponsible. One of the suggestions made and widely supported by witnesses, in this connection, was that a Council of Journalists should be established, which would deal with the improvement in the tone of journalism.

52-A. As regards the position of an editor vis-a-vis the management or the proprietor of a journal, the general opinion of the witnesses was that the policy of the paper should be laid down by the proprietor but that the editor should have freedom to write what he likes within the limits already defined, without interference from the proprietor in regard to the day-to-day administration of the paper. From the evidence, it was clear to us that there was not a single case of any formal contract existing between an editor and a proprietor. A suggestion was made by several witnesses that a standard contract should be evolved by the Council of Journalists and that the relations between the proprietor and the editor should be governed by that contract.

53. In connection with the question of rights and limitations, while witnesses have agreed that there is in fact no concentration of control of organs of the press in this province at present nor is there a possibility within a measurable distance of time of such a concentration taking place, many have expressed the opinion that such concentration if it does come about would be a direct threat to democracy.

54. Not many of the witnesses made definite suggestions regarding the manner in which concentration of newspapers should be broken up. From amongst those, who made suggestions quite a number were of the view that they

should be broken up by legislation. While a few said that the problem will be solved as time passes by. There is, however, one thing about which all were agreed and that is that Government should not acquire control over newspaper syndicates.

55. In regard to the law of libel the general opinion of witnesses was that in its present form, the law operates as a great hardship on journalists and in many cases is an instrument of harassment. Some witnesses expressed the view that a journalist should not be criminally liable for publication of alleged defamatory matter unless it is proved that he acted mala fide. It was represented to us that where a journalist could show that he acted bona fide and that he was willing to publish a contradiction and an apology in his paper immediately after being satisfied that what was published was false and libellous, he should not be liable for a criminal prosecution.

56. A majority of witnesses opposed the suggestion that Government should compete with the newspapers in the dissemination of news. Some expressed the view, however, that it was not objectionable for Government to collect and supply news concerning their activities.

57. As regards the suggestion about the establishment of an independent agency to appraise and report periodically on the performance of the press, set standards for mass communication and publicly criticise failures, there was a general agreement among those, who chose to answer this question, that such an agency ought to be established. Some even went to the extent of saying that Government should establish such an agency while others were of opinion that the Council of Journalists, if one is established, should constitute such an agency.

58. The suggestion contained in this part of the questionnaire regarding the establishment of a Council of Journalists was readily accepted by almost all witnesses. Though there was no unanimity amongst witnesses on the nature and scope of its powers, the view of the majority appears to be that those powers should be analogous to those of the Bar Council.

59. The witnesses who appeared before us were of opinion that where a newspaper has abused its freedom or where any action was taken by Government against a newspaper, the matter should be referred, in the first instance, to the Council of Journalists for its opinion and for such action as may be deemed necessary in the interest of the profession.

60. Quite a number of witnesses stated before the committee that minimum wage and pay and pay scales for journalists should be enforced by legislation. A few expressed a contrary view. A few witnesses also suggested that the pay scales for journalists should be on a par with those of the provincial services. The two journalists associations in the province also submitted detailed memoranda about pay scales and working conditions of journalists.

61. The above, in brief, is a summary of important trends of opinion, which were visible in the evidence laid before us. We felt that such a summary was called for as a background for the recommendations we make in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER IV

Working Conditions of Journalists

62. In the last chapter we had referred to the importance of journalism in the moulding of political life in the province. Journalism can never be an attractive profession, which will draw the best talent from the country if it does not offer conditions of work and remuneration, which are commensurate with the qualifications required for a journalist. A number of witnesses, who appeared before us, stressed the fact that without an attempt on the part of proprietors to raise the standard of remuneration of journalists, there cannot be an improvement in the tone of journalism.

63. In making recommendations regarding a minimum wage for a journalist and the scales of pay we were confronted at the outset of our enquiry with the need for a definition of the term 'Journalist'. A point of view was pressed before us that if minimum wage and scales are prescribed, attempts should be simultaneously made to lay down the qualifications of journalists as well.

64. What ought to be the minimum qualification? Should we say that every journalist should be atleast a university graduate or the holder of a diploma in journalism? The majority of journalists in the province do not have either of such qualifications and have learnt their work by practical experience on newspapers. If qualifications of these types are to be prescribed for the existing members of the journalistic profession, the benefit of our recommendations will be denied to a large number of them.

65. We think it appropriate to define journalist as a person who falls in any one of the following categories.

(1) One who has obtained a university degree and has learnt work on a newspaper.

(2) One who has taken a diploma in journalism from a university or from a recognised institute of Journalism.

(3) One who has worked continuously for a period of 5 years on a newspaper in a capacity not lower than that of a sub-editor or an editorial apprentice.

66. Thus, under this definition a person who does not possess the requisite academic qualifications but has worked continuously for five years in a journalistic capacity will be entitled to receive the benefit of our recommendations.

67. The recommendations, which we are making below, will apply to all persons falling in the categories mentioned above. In our opinion, the minimum wage for a journalist working on any journal should be Rs. 100/- p. m. excluding dearness allowance on which subject recommendations are made hereafter. The scales of pay of journalists should be as follows:—

Journalists, who are:—

<i>Sub-Editors</i>	.....	.....	.....	Rs. 100-200.
<i>Assistant Editors</i>	Rs. 150-300.
(a) With 10 years journalistic experience to their credit, minimum	Rs. 150/-.

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|--|------------|
| (b) With 15 years journalistic experience to their credit, minimum | Rs. 200 -. |
| (c) With 20 years journalistic experience to their credit, minimum | Rs. 250 -. |

Note:—By the time an Assistant Editor completes 25 years service he should reach the pay of Rs. 300|-.

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|--|-------------|
| <i>Editors</i> | Rs. 200-300 |
| (a) Editor of a weekly newspaper minimum | Rs. 200 -. |
| (b) Editor of a daily newspaper, minimum | Rs. 300 -. |
| (c) Editor of a periodical, fixed pay | Rs. 200\|-. |

In the pay scales mentioned above, we have placed the salary of an Editor of a periodical on a footing different from that of the editor of a daily newspaper because the duties of an editor of a periodical are not as arduous as those of an editor of a daily newspaper. We have also not suggested the rising scale of pay for editors because, considering the financial position of most newspapers in the province, we do not think it advisable at this stage to do so. When, however, the financial circumstances of a particular newspaper permits it to provide for a rising scale of pay for editors we trust that it would provide for such a scale.

68. We have suggested a separate scale of pay for assistant editors. It has been represented to us that quite a number of newspapers in the province will not be able to afford this scale of remuneration. While we have no desire that journals which are not in a position to pay, should be burdened by a scale which has no proportionate connection with their finances we have to point out that it will be in the interest of newspapers themselves if assistant editors are well remunerated. Assistant editors occupy responsible positions on newspapers and it is only fair that persons, who are placed in a position of responsibility, should be adequately remunerated. We hope, therefore, that in course of time even those journals, which are not at present in a position to pay the minimum salary recommended, will draw into line and make the terms of service for assistant editor better than what they are to-day.

69. The question arises, who is an assistant editor? In our opinion, an assistant editor is a journalist who has a certain special responsibility on a newspaper e.g. the duty of writing editorial articles, helping the editor to carry out the editorial policy and supervising the work of sub-editors and being in general charge of the paper whenever so required.

70. It was suggested by some witnesses, who appeared before us, that there should be legislation to give effect to these scales of pay. But taking a broad view of the matter it will be realised that any enforcement by legislation attended with penalties, is likely to lead to the closure of a large number of newspapers. In our view, if democracy is to develop on proper lines, there should be more and more journals. This is also the view of the American Commission on the Freedom of Press. We think, however, that the danger apprehended by us can be averted and the objective of the employees gained by steering a middle course. In our view the proprietors should voluntarily accept our recommendations which will be as much in their interest as in that of the journalists. Contented journalists are the best asset of a newspaper. We hope, therefore, that the proprietors would, of their own accord, give effect to these recommendations. If after two years it is found that the response to our recommendations is unsatisfactory then there will be occasion for the Government, working journalists and proprietors to consider whether any legislation is necessary.

71. We may point, out that the recommendations which we have made approximate in a great measure to the proposals put forward before us by the Central Provinces and Berar Working Journalists Conference. In regard to essential matters, their recommendations have been accepted. In this connection we wish to pay a tribute to the representatives of the working journalists who appeared before us and those who served on the committee for the realistic approach to the problem. If in some respect we have not gone all the way to meet the demands of the Central Provinces and Berar Working Journalists' Conference, it is because we must take into account the financial condition of the newspapers in the province as also the local conditions. As stated in the last chapter, a large majority of newspapers in the province are not even business propositions. As the recommendations we may make are to be accepted not by a minority but by a majority they have necessarily to be of such a character as would be acceptable to the largest number of newspapers. Then again, we cannot ignore the fact that the possibility of the expansion of revenues of newspapers in this province is strictly limited. This is because they cannot for some years atleast, expect handsome allotments of advertisements which means that they have to remain content with such revenues as they are getting at the present moment. Therefore, we feel that these recommendations are the best in the circumstances and are in the interest of the largest number of newspapers and journalists.

72. *Bonus*: In the matter of payment of bonus the fact has to be borne in mind that only a very few newspapers are making sufficient profits to enable them to declare bonus. Therefore, it would be futile for us to make any recommendation in regard to this matter. We would, however, make it quite clear that our refusal to do so should not be understood as saying that newspapers making adequate profits should not pay bonus to their employees. Indeed we hope that such newspapers will pay such bonus to their employees as their profits permit.

73. *Dearness Allowance*: As regards dearness allowance, we feel that a distinction should be made between journals published in Nagpur and Jabulpore and journals published elsewhere in the province. The reason for this is that the cost of living at these two places is undoubtedly higher than that at other places. In our opinion, there should be a flat rate of dearness allowance of Rs. 35/- p.m. for all categories of journalists in Nagpur and Jabulpore. As regards journalists working elsewhere in the province, we would recommend a flat rate of dearness allowance of Rs. 25/- p. m. It is possible that this may be too severe a burden on newspapers which are not well entrenched. In their case we are inclined to make a concession but even then we think that Rs. 25/- p.m. should be the minimum in Nagpur and Jabulpore and Rs. 20/- p.m. elsewhere.

74. We recommend that dearness allowance should be paid at a flat rate to all persons and should not be graded as it is in the case of Government servants, the consideration behind this recommendation being that in a newspaper office, having a number of categories of journalists, the adoption of a differential scale of dearness allowance might lead to disharmony, friction and bitterness. The newspaper is a peculiar form of undertaking where the utmost harmony should prevail and in the interests of harmony, we recommend, therefore, that no differential scales based on salaries in regard to dearness allowance should be enforced.

75. *Extra Work*: It was pointed out to us by some witnesses that in newspaper offices a journalist is asked to do work, which does not normally pertain to his sphere of work. Happily such a situation does not obtain on all newspapers and is confined to a few exceptional cases. But there might arise occasions in any newspaper when a journalist might be asked to do work which

is not exactly connected with his routine duties. In such a case we recommend that he should be paid for doing such work, particularly so when the work is of a superior nature. This recommendation will not cover cases of those who seek to improve their qualifications by requesting the proprietors for opportunities for training themselves in work of a superior kind. For example, in some cases, journalists desire to be trained as leader-writers. Their copies have to be corrected and edited. In such cases, as the superior work is solicited, as part of training, and as supervision of that work is necessary, no extra-payment need be made.

76. *Part-time Work*: In our view, part-time work should be undertaken by journalists only where it does not conflict with their normal duties on newspapers. A journalist working on a particular newspaper should not undertake regular part-time work on any other newspaper in the province though he may, with the permission of the proprietor, accept part-time work on a newspaper published outside the province. We hope that the permission will not ordinarily be refused. For, we feel that part-time work like contribution of occasional articles to other journals will help to strengthen the experience of budding journalists and ought, therefore, to be encouraged.

77. A certain kind of part-time work, which some journalists appear to undertake, was also brought to our notice. Apparently owing to the fact that the profession is not remunerative, some journalists engage themselves in commerce and trade. In our view that is not proper and, indeed, is derogatory to the profession. We would, therefore, suggest that journalists, of their own accord, decide not to undertake work which is of a non-journalistic character. By doing so they will bring their profession in line with the legal profession which works under similar restraints.

78. *Correspondents*: The committee does not think it desirable to suggest minimum wage for correspondents, whose main avocation is not journalism. The practice obtaining at present on a number of newspapers is to engage lawyers, doctors, politicians and others as correspondents in the mofussil. Since such persons do not regard journalism as their main avocation we do not think it necessary to make recommendations regarding their scales of pay. Where, however, a person is exclusively a newspaper correspondent we recommend that he should get something between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 50/- p.m. according to the importance of the centre in which he works.

79. From the evidence adduced before us, it will appear that while important newspaper do employ staff reporters at headquarters, practically no newspaper employs a staff correspondent in the mofussil. We are of opinion that reporters and staff correspondents should be treated as sub-editors in the matter of pay, provided, of course they work exclusively for one newspaper.

80. *Leave*: Looking to the nature of the work of a journalist we think that every journalist should get adequate leave during the year. In our opinion, a journalist should be entitled to 30 days privilege leave during the year on full pay. Such leave, in our opinion, ought to be allowed to be accumulated up to 3 months only. Any portion of leave earned in the past over and above 3 months leave on full pay should lapse. We also recommend that every journalist should be entitled to casual leave upto 15 days during a year. While the granting of casual leave cannot be claimed as of right, we would say that it ought not to be arbitrarily refused by the proprietor. We recommend that every employee should get 15 days leave on medical grounds every year and that such leave ought to be on half pay. It was suggested to us that where a journalist is asked to work on a holiday he should be compensated by being given leave for an equivalent period. We think that the suggestion is one which merits acceptance by newspaper proprietors.

81. *Retirement*: In our view, a journalist should be entitled to retire from service after completing 25 years of active service or on the attainment of the age of 60 years. When, however, a journalist chooses to serve even after 25 years he may be permitted to do so by the management if it considers him fit and efficient.

82. *Notice*: We recommend that the services of no permanent employee should be terminated without giving him three months clear notice or three months' pay in lieu thereof unless of course, it has been found that he had been guilty of misconduct or flagrant breach of discipline. A permanent employee is one who has been confirmed in his post or who has put in five years of continuous and uninterrupted service on a newspaper.

83. *Staff Council*: We suggest that in order to protect journalists from victimization every newspaper should establish a staff council. Such a council should comprise of all the members of the editorial staff and should be presided over by the proprietor or the managing editor or by a representative of the proprietor. Before taking disciplinary action against a journalist his case ought to be placed before the council. Normally unless it finds a journalist guilty of misconduct or flagrant breach of discipline no punishment ought to be inflicted on him.

84. *Provident Fund*: We find it difficult to recommend that a system of pensions should be accepted by the newspapers in the province particularly when many of them are not even profit making concerns. We feel, however, that the future of journalists should be adequately safeguarded by the institution of provident funds and, therefore, every newspaper should make it obligatory upon its employees to join its provident fund. In our opinion, the employer as well as the employee should each contribute -1/- in the rupee and the amount should carry interest at the same rate as that paid by the Government to the subscribers to the General Provident Fund during a particular year.

85. *Insurance*: Where it is found impossible or impracticable for a newspaper to institute a provident fund, we recommend that such newspapers should at least effect an insurance on the life of each employee for an amount equivalent to three years' initial salary of that employee. The premium on the policy should be shared equally between the employer and the employee as long as the employee continues in service. Upon the termination of the employee's services, for any cause whatsoever, the employer's liability to contribute towards payment of the premium should cease and the employee should alone get the benefit of the policy.

86. *Gratuity*: Since only a few newspapers have so far instituted provident funds and even these have done so only very recently, some gratuity ought to be paid to those journalists who have been working on a newspaper for more than 5 years prior to the institution of a provident fund therein. Such gratuity should be equal to one month's pay for every year's service and should be claimable upon retirement or death, whichever event happens first. It is not necessary to recommend the payment of gratuity to journalists who have not completed 5 years' service on a journal before the institution of a provident fund therein. The reason for this is that such persons would get almost the full benefit of the provident fund scheme.

87. *Hours of Work*: The peculiar nature of the work of journalists does not justify the laying down of any hard and fast rules about hours of work. But we feel that a journalist should normally work for six hours, unless an extraordinary event happens, which might necessitate his working for longer hours than this.

88. *Recess*: We recommend that normally half an hour's recess should be provided to every journalist.

89. *Other Amenities*: We recommend that employers should provide adequate amenities to enable journalists to put in their best in their work. The rooms in which journalists work should be well ventilated and should have electric fans, wherever electricity is available, and should be provided with khus tattis during summer. We would also suggest that a rest room should be provided in every newspaper office which should be available to journalists working on the night-shift. There should also be facilities to enable employees to obtain refreshments and in this connection we suggest that every newspaper might explore the possibility of starting an office canteen on a cooperative basis.

90. *Holidays*: We think that the present scheduled holidays, which are in vogue in most of the newspaper offices in Nagpur are quite adequate.

91. Before we leave this topic there is just one matter to which we must advert. With all our best endeavour we could not produce our report within the time originally fixed by Government. But we feel that working journalists ought not to be made to suffer on that account. Therefore, we would most earnestly request the newspaper proprietors in the province to give effect to our recommendations as regards pay scales as from 1-1-1949.

CHAPTER V

Qualifications of Employees

92. In the course of our enquiry it was pointed out to us that quite a number of journalists in our province, owing to lack of facilities, were not fully qualified. We have already adverted to the question of enabling journalists to secure adequate training in journalism which, if implemented, would help in bringing about an improvement in the tone of journalism.

93. In our view the Government and newspapers have a joint responsibility in the matter. Many newspapers do not, however, have the financial resources for sending journalists for training on well-established newspapers in other parts of India or outside India. We recommend, therefore, that for the time being the responsibility in the matter should be borne by the Government alone which should select annually a few journalists for being trained in well-established newspaper offices in India and outside. It is unnecessary to add that only persons of merit, who would undertake to work on the journals in the province, should be selected for the purpose.

94. There is also another way in which the Government can assist in the growth of journalism in the province and improving the technique of newspaper production. They can assist established journals in the province by sharing the expenses of training abroad or in India of a journalist working thereon provided, of course, they are satisfied about his worthiness. We think that the selection of persons should be made by the Government in consultation with representative organisations of newspapers and journalists in the province.

95. The universities in cooperation with newspaper organisation should, in our view, start immediately a course in journalism which students could take up and thus be enabled to get diplomas as an entrance qualification for joining the profession. It may, however, not be possible for the universities to institute these courses without assistance from Government and we hope that the Government would not lag behind in affording such assistance as is possible. Till such time as the universities are able to institute courses in journalism we suggest that journalists themselves conduct examinations and give certificates of proficiency to persons who are successful in such examinations.

96. In addition to any examination which the university or the journalists may conduct for granting diplomas or certificates of proficiency, we recommend that summer courses in journalism and in public affairs should be conducted by responsible academic or professional bodies. We also recommend that newspapers, universities and the Government, wherever possible, should help journalists to visit other parts of India so that they may have an opportunity of seeing a bit of their own country, broadening their outlook and watching first hand the working of legislatures and other political institutions in the different parts of our country. We feel that wider acquaintance with the political and other aspects of life in our country will inevitably lead not only to the widening of the general knowledge of journalists but also to the broadening of their outlook.

97. *Staff:* Though so far there has been no complaint about inadequacy of staff we apprehend that with the introduction of the teleprinter system, the existing staff, working on the night-shift on daily newspapers, will be found inadequate and will have to be increased.

98. We must place on record our opinion that more care should be taken by newspaper offices in selecting their staff and in training the new comers. We, therefore, urge on newspaper employers the necessity of giving due importance to both these matters, not only in the interest of their own newspapers but in the interests of journalism as a whole. It will be of immense value to the newspapers if, hereafter, they confine their selection to those who possess at least one of the qualifications enumerated by us earlier.

99. *Apprentices:* It is desirable for every newspaper to entertain one or more apprentices on its staff, who will receive systematic and intensive training during the period of apprenticeship, which should ordinarily not exceed two years. During the period of apprenticeship, the apprentice should be paid at least Rs. 60|- p.m. and after the successful completion of his apprenticeship the person should be entitled to a minimum wage of Rs. 100|- p.m. Where a person was formerly an apprentice and has served in a journal continuously for five years at least as a sub-editor, he should be deemed to have acquired the necessary qualifications and be entitled to the minimum wages we have recommended for the members of the editorial staff.

CHAPTER VI

Tone of Journalism

100. A majority of witnesses, who appeared before the committee, was of opinion that the tone of journalism in our province stands in need of improvement, although some of the witnesses expressed the opinion that the tone of journalism in this province compares well with that of other journals in the country. A number of witnesses were not clear in their minds about the meaning of the word 'tone' and could not precisely define either the word 'tone' or the term 'standard of Journalism.' Two or three witnesses attempted to give their ideas about what they meant by the expression 'tone'. Most of the other witnesses, however, only indicated the way in which the tone of journalism needs to be improved. Generally speaking, it can be said that the tone of journalism would mean a certain level, both intellectual and moral, and certain standards of professional morality to be observed by the journalists. It was generally admitted before us that whenever a journal permits publication of personal attacks or indulges in scurrilous writings it necessarily lowers the tone of journalism. If journalists as a whole could persuade themselves to emphasize problems of public importance from whatever angle of view and to discard questioning of motives and indulging in personal attacks, the tone of journalism would necessarily improve. One of the distressing features of provincial journalism is the bitterness and the frequency of personal attacks against individuals. We trust that the provincial press will scrupulously eschew publication of derogatory personal references in their columns.

101. In bringing about an improvement in the tone of journalism the initiative primarily rests with the journalists themselves. We are of opinion that if immediately a Council of journalists is established on the lines of the Bar Council or the Medical Council, journalists will have to frame a Code of Conduct for newspaper men and a certain set of conventions which will be binding on journalists. Such a Code of Conduct will, in our view, have a restraining influence on those sections of the press, which conduct in a manner not worthy of the profession. It will be seen, therefore, that improvement must come from within i.e. from journalists themselves and we trust that this aspect of the matter will not escape the attention of the members of profession. If speedy steps are not taken to set up a Council of Journalists, the journalists will lay themselves open to the attack that while they agitate for better standards and conditions of work, they are not prepared to take steps to set up an institution, which will look into the matter of raising the tone of journalism. We are attaching the greatest importance to this aspect of the question because of the frequency and the bitterness of personal attacks, particularly in the districts.

102. In our question No. V (d) we tried to elicit information on points, which incidentally would help us in making a realistic approach to this problem. Seven points have been mentioned in question No. V (d), all of which, barring one, viz. No. V (d) (3), were answered in the affirmative by most of the witnesses. It is, therefore, clear that in a general way most of the journals in this province suffer to some extent from (1) the limitations and prejudices of the public, (2) the limitations and prejudices of journalists and editors, (3) the interests, policies and prejudices of newspaper proprietors, (4) the influence and interests of pressure groups, (5) the economic and other difficulties in establishing new newspaper industries or developing the existing ones; and to a very small measure and in an indirect way, (6) the influence of Government. Other factors

also were emphasized by some of the witnesses, which were said to be responsible for the low tone of many journals. These are :

- (i) the journalists in our province are not as well paid as they should be,
- (ii) to this profession have flocked a number of persons, who are not fully competent, and
- (iii) journalists have not had the opportunity of undergoing rigorous training on well-established newspapers in the country.

103. Although much evidence has not been laid before us on the exact manner in which the accurate presentation of news and adequate expression of opinion in newspapers is distorted or restricted by a number of limitations, we are of opinion that as far as papers in the province are concerned they are to some extent governed by the considerations mentioned in question No. V (d), barring the interests and influence of advertisers. In regard to the points raised by these considerations we wish to make some general observations. The limitation and prejudices of the public are certainly beyond the control of the journalists. At the same time if journals perform their social role in an effective manner, they will, to a very large extent, mould public opinion. To the extent to which they succeed in doing so, the influence of public prejudices could be considerably neutralised. The limitations and prejudices of journalists and editors, on the other hand, are matters, which should be within their control and, as we have said above, a Council of Journalists could certainly do a great deal in preventing the limitations and prejudices of individual journalists and editors from doing harm to journalism as a whole or to the public.

104. The problem of 'proprietors *versus* editors and journalists', is again a matter of some complexity. Those, who supply finance and make it possible for the journalists to carry on their profession, are bound to influence journals under their control. The relationship between proprietors on the one hand and editors and journalists on the other is to-day entirely unregulated. We are of opinion that whereas the proprietors should lay down the outlines of broad policy of their papers, they should, as a rule, allow editors and journalists a considerable amount of freedom of expression within the limits of that broad policy. This could be achieved if the Council of Journalists were to evolve a standard form of agreement, which should be executed by both the proprietors and the editorial staff and breaches of which should be considered and decided by the Council of Journalists. If some such arrangement were to be brought into existence, the interests, policies and prejudices of newspaper proprietors would not influence journalism in such a way as to disgrace this noble profession.

105. The extent to which pressure groups are influencing journals in this province is more a matter of conjecture than of conclusive proof. From the nature of evidence we had before us it would appear that pressure groups are operating in this province and they are influencing a number of journals, especially district journals, in a manner not conducive to the healthy growth of journalism. In many cases it so happens that most of the men connected with journals happen to be politicians. Because of this the tendency to influence the policies of these journals in a manner so as to subserve the interests of certain political groups finds an easy scope for development. We do not welcome this tendency. Here again the Council of Journalists, when established, could play its parts in countering these tendencies. The very existence of the council and the fear that if journalists indulge in activities which disgrace their profession, they will be brought into the limelight of professional scrutiny and publicly censured, will in itself lead to the building up of resistance to the baneful influence of pressure groups and help to maintain certain standards of a free and disinterested expression of opinion.

106. The problem of economic and other allied difficulties is a grave one. As we have said elsewhere, barring a few well established journals, most of the journals in this province are financially not self-supporting. This is a very large and complex question, and it would be futile to make concrete suggestions as to how the press in this province could be placed in a satisfactory financial position.

107. As regards the influence of Government on newspapers, much evidence was not placed before us. A few witnesses did, however, state that the Government practise discrimination in the matter of distributing official advertisements. Their charges were mostly vague and general except those made by 3 or 4 witnesses. We would, therefore, not have attached any importance to their complaint. But, then, we cannot, in this transitional period, when sound democratic conventions have yet to be established, ignore the possibility of official advertisements being used by the Government of the day as a means of influencing newspapers. We cannot also ignore the possibility of pressure being brought on newspapers in other ways. While we hope that our apprehensions would prove wrong, we would like to state that it is in the interest not only of the well-ordered development of the press but of democracy itself that no attempt whatsoever be made by the Government to influence the press. Indeed, the press must be allowed to develop in its own way and without improper interference by the Government.

108. In order to obviate complaints as also a possible misuse of the patronage that lies in the hands of the Government, we suggest that they should lay it down as a policy that advertisements will be given only on the basis of the circulation of a newspaper and on the commercial return that the paper gives provided that the paper conforms to accepted standards of journalistic conduct. If this policy is declared and pursued by the present Government, it will have a salutary effect on succeeding Governments.

109. There can be no two opinions about the place of journalism in a democracy. We are now committed to adult suffrage and, therefore, it is clear that our destinies will be governed by the common man. So it is imperative that a full and true account of the day-to-day happenings of important events should be available to every one. Again, every one should be given as much help as possible to form an intelligent opinion about every problem of national importance. This will only be possible if there are in existence powerful media of mass communication. Mass communication can be secured by employing three agencies, the radio, the screen and the newspaper. It is not for us to say what use should be made of the radio and the screen. But we think we are entitled to urge that full and proper use should be made of newspapers.

110. We think that the drive started by the Government in the sphere of education, particularly the social education drive will soon show results and there will come into existence a fairly big class of literates, who would not only be able to read newspapers but would show interest in news as well as in views. This new class will have to be catered for both in their own interest as well as in the interest of the State. Therefore, in our opinion, it is necessary to bring into existence a few good newspapers in the province. These newspapers should be in Marathi and in Hindi.

111. As we have already observed, barring a few newspapers the rest are either subsidised by parties or groups of individuals or are living on public charity. We fear that such newspapers may not be able to survive for long and even if they do, their utility from the point of providing full and accurate news and well-balanced views on public matters cannot be expected to be very high. It would indeed be a patriotic step if men with money were to embark upon starting newspapers at different centres in the province. But we very much

doubt if people with means will risk their money in ventures which may not necessarily prove profitable. Therefore, in our opinion there are left only two ways for starting new newspapers. One of them is by journalists and public spirited men cooperating and pooling their resources in starting newspapers. The other is by Government subsidising such of the existing newspapers which in their small way are striving to serve the people of the province, but due to insufficiency of capital are unable to expand their activities.

112. We realize that any attempt on the part of Government to subsidise newspapers will be viewed with suspicion. We also realize that the possibility of a misuse of such an authority in the interest of the party in power cannot be ruled out. We are, therefore, unable to recommend that Government should play any active part in the promotion of journalistic endeavour. That leaves then, only the first alternative. We would most earnestly commend it to our public spirited men and to the local journalists.

CHAPTER VII.

Journalistic Policy

113. The witnesses who appeared before the committee were not very specific in their evidence regarding the present position concerning the presentation of news, withholding publication of news and publication of news received from doubtful or interested sources. As we have discussed above, the tone of journalism in our province stands in need of improvement and when we mentioned the tone, we meant to cover even this part of the questionnaire. We are of opinion that Journalists' Associations must lay down as a salutary convention of their profession that whenever a correction is sent of a misleading or false item, it must be published promptly and in as prominent a manner as the original item. We recognise that journalists have got to work at high speed and under conditions of great pressure and it is inevitable that sometimes mistakes in the presentation of news may occur. Journalists should realise that the respect which the public will accord to a newspaper will depend on the newspaper's ability to maintain a very high percentage of publication of correct news. Whenever sources of its verification are existent and available, journalists should try to seek verification of news items. With the recent reorganisation of the Information Directorate we expect that it will be much easier than in the past for newspapers to secure official news or to obtain verification of news. Of course, for the work to be effective the verification and supply of news must be prompt.

114. In our opinion, the present unsatisfactory position in ensuring accuracy of news is mainly due, among others, to the following causes:—

- (i) Lack of well-paid whole time journalists as correspondents.
- (ii) The employment of interested men as correspondents,
- and
- (iii) The employment of honorary correspondents.

115. It was brought to our notice that mofussil news published in newspapers has occasionally been wrong, prejudiced or biased. We can understand the difficulties under which the journalists and newspapers are working. Many newspapers are not in a position to pay adequate remuneration to such correspondents as would ensure the supply of accurate news from the mofussil.

116. As in the future, public life will be developing more and more on provincial lines and greater public interest will be devoted to events in the districts, it will be in the interest of the newspapers themselves to appoint staff correspondents in important centres in the mofussil. Such correspondents will have an obligation to the newspaper concerned to supply accurate news and they will generally be amenable to the discipline of the paper. We also think that no newspaper should publish news which is not received by it from its own correspondent or from an authorised news agency or from a governmental source or at least not without having it verified by its own correspondents. If this convention is rigidly observed and if every newspaper insists on the due observance of normal journalistic conventions by its correspondents we are sure that there would be very few occasions for incorrect, garbled or biased reports appearing in newspapers.

117. Freedom of the press is just an aspect of a larger freedom, freedom of speech and due provision for safeguarding it would be made in the new Constitution. The press is today subject to a number of restrictions and the Press Laws Repeal Enquiry Committee has recommended their removal. The Government of India, we understand, are considering the report and in due course are expected to announce their decision. Since their decision will govern the position of the press in this province also, an elaborate treatment of the question by us in this report would serve no useful purpose.

118. We are, however, of opinion that we ought to leave no doubt as to our view on the matter. Surrender of a part of the right of unrestricted freedom is implicit in an individual's acceptance of citizenship of a State. So is it with the press. There is also a further duty resting upon the press and that is of the observance of a due sense of responsibility. This duty increases, in our view, in proportion to a newspaper's influence and we hope that newspaper men in the province will always be alive to this important aspect of their duties.

119. As to what should be the extent of the rights of a newspaper and what should be the limitations upon those rights we can do no better than set out the definition of 'freedom of the press' submitted on behalf of the United Kingdom to the United Nations Organisation Sub-Committee on Freedom of Information. That definition, with which we generally agree, runs thus:—

“(i) Every person shall be free to express and publish his ideas orally, in writing or in the form of art or otherwise.

(ii) Every person shall be free to receive and disseminate information of all kinds, including facts and critical comments by books, newspapers or oral instruction and by the medium of all lawfully operated devices.

(iii) Freedom of speech and information referred to in the preceding paragraphs of this article shall be subject only to necessary restrictions, penalties or liabilities with regard to matters, which must remain secret in the interests of national safety; publications likely or intended to incite persons to alter by violence the system of government, or to promote disorder or crime; obscene publications aimed at the suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms or injurious to the independence of the judiciary or the fair conduct of legal proceedings; and expression or publications, which libel or slander the reputations of other persons”.

120. We would recommend to the Government the acceptance of these principles. If they are accepted and if legislation, which cuts across these principles, is repealed, the press will secure that amount of freedom, which is necessary to enable it to function properly and to play its role in a democracy.

121. We are glad to note in this connection that the press advisory system, introduced during War time is still in vogue in the province. It will be desirable if Government always consult the Press Advisory Committee in regard to actions which they may contemplate against offending newspapers and also in regard to any matter affecting the rights, liberties and privileges of the press. The existence of a body which has to be consulted will act as a check on any arbitrary action on the part of the executive.

122. The limitations on the freedom of the press, which are indicated in the suggestions made on behalf of the United Kingdom to the United Nations Organisation Sub-Committee on Freedom of Information should, in our view be accepted by journalists. If they are accepted, then the Press will automatically conduct itself in a more responsible manner. We would add that a duty lies upon the public to exercise adequate vigilance on the performance of the press.

123. But the most effective way of preventing the press from becoming irresponsible is the one which the journalists alone can follow. It is for them to realise the full extent of their power as well as their responsibility and to exercise that power with due restraint and due appreciation of the interests of the community. We are sure that with the building up of a sound journalistic tradition, the observance of a sense of responsibility by journalists will become a matter of course.

124. Where, however, a journalist systematically misuses his position to the detriment of the community, a corrective would be necessary. If the journalist commits a breach of a law he would render himself liable to the penalties attached to the breach of that particular law. Where, however, a journalist does something, which is short of a breach of law but is definitely inimical to the interest of the country we think that he should not escape scot free. In our opinion, his conduct should be promptly taken notice of by the Council of Journalists regarding which we are making suggestions hereafter.

125. Pursuing the question of the position of an editor vis-a-vis the management or proprietor of a journal further we would suggest as follows:—

The general policy of a newspaper should, of course, be laid down by the proprietor or the management but the editor should have freedom in the matter of expounding that policy. In our opinion, there ought to be no interference by the proprietor or the management with the conduct of a newspaper by the editor as long as he does not transgress the policy laid down by the proprietor or the management. Of course, we realize that the proprietor or the management may think it fit to alter or modify the policy. In that case the editor should be apprised of the alteration or the modification and then the option should lie with the editor either to accept that alteration and modification or himself to go out of the paper.

CHAPTER VIII

Rights and Limitations

126. We are satisfied after hearing the witnesses that there is no concentration of control of organs of the press in the province. Fortunately in this matter our province is free from certain tendencies, which are visible in the development of the press in other parts of the country. In other provinces developments are already in evidence to show that big financiers are acquiring control of newspapers. Many of the newspapers in the province have been built up by individuals, who have been journalists themselves. Hence there is no prospect of concentration of control of the organs of the press within a measurable distance of time. As there is no concentration of control of organs of the press, the question of breaking up the concentration does not arise. We are firmly of opinion that the Government should not control newspaper syndicates or any newspaper and that in this matter private enterprise should be left to start and run journals.

127. Though there is no concentration of control of organs of the press in our province, there is, however, an indirect and persistent competition of chain newspapers which are flown from other provinces. We do not recommend that such import of newspapers should be stopped as it will lead to the interference with the freedom of organisations to secure dissemination of news and views, without let or hindrance on the part of Government. The best way of meeting the competition is by the provincial newspapers, concentrating on the production of newspapers which will appeal to the readers of the province, from a provincial point of view. The papers which are flown by air cannot compete with them in the presentation of local news and it is in this field that the strength of the provincial newspapers lies. If newspapers devote more attention to the publication of accurate and well informed provincial news they have a good future before them.

128. As far as dissemination of news is concerned, we think that it should be left entirely in the hands of private agencies, preferably agencies started by news papers themselves, because in this field there is also the danger of financiers controlling news agencies. We are glad to note that a new organisation has been formed called the Press Trust of India run entirely by news papers which have entered into partnership with Reuters for the dissemination of news in our country.

129. In the evidence adduced before us, two kinds of suggestions were made concerning the amendment of the law of libel in so far as it affects the press. One view was that the law, as it now stands, is not rigorous enough to prevent misuse by the press of its powers, while the other view was that the law works a hardship on a journalist.

130. Bearing in mind the views expressed before us, we are of opinion that the law of libel, as it stands, might be amended in so far as the press is concerned. Newspaper libel should cease to be penal offence and the remedy for the person libelled, should be the claiming of damages in a civil court. If it is not thought desirable to implement this suggestion, we would suggest that where a newspaper publishes any matter of a libellous nature *bona fide* also publishes a contradiction when apprised of the facts of the case together with an apology the editor and the publisher of the paper should be relieved of criminal liability.

131. In regard to the establishment of an independent agency to appraise and report periodically on the performance of the press, we would recommend that every year the Council of Journalists should issue a report on the performance of the press.

132. *Council of Journalists*: One of the questions on which a large number of witnesses were in agreement was the need for setting up a council of journalists analogous to the Bar Council or the Medical Council.

133. Whether such a Council should be set up by statute or by the journalist organizations themselves is an issue on which there is difference of opinion among journalists. Some would like it to be set up by statute and others by voluntary initiative. In our opinion, it will enhance the dignity of the journalistic profession if a professional council is set up by statute so that the public may know that the journalists' profession is asked to accept its responsibilities in the same manner as lawyers and doctors.

134. How such a council should be set up is a matter of detail. Experience suggests that it should be a small working body of say, ten journalists.

135. To such a professional council, the public should have a right to complain against misuse of journalistic offences. We have no doubt that the very existence of the council and the possibility of complaints being preferred to it will act as a deterrent to journalists lacking in a sense of responsibility.

136. The setting up of a council will necessarily require the maintenance of a roll of journalists, like the rolls of lawyers and doctors. The punishment of striking of a member from the roll of journalists should be considered the highest punishment which the profession can inflict on a recalcitrant member. We are sure that there will be few occasions for the use of this extreme form of punishment because the fact that such a power vests in the council and that a person is likely to be condemned by his own fellow-journalists will in itself induce a sense of responsibility in persons who lack it at present.

137. The establishment of the council of journalists will also need the drawing up of a code of professional conduct. This is a matter which the journalists have to decide. We might however, make a note, in passing, of the code of conduct drawn up by the National Union of Journalists in London, which appears to be comprehensive. Some provisions may have to be altered to suit Indian conditions and some new provisions may have to be added. This work can well be entrusted to the Professional council. For the sake of information, the code of conduct drawn up by the National Union of Journalists is set out below :—

“(1) A member should do nothing that would bring discredit on himself, his Union, his newspaper, or his profession. He should study the rules of his union, and should not, by commission or omission, act against the interests of the Union.

(2) Unless the employer consents to a variation, a member who wishes to terminate his employment must give notice according to agreement or professional custom.

(3) No member should seek promotion or seek to obtain the position of another journalist by unfair methods. A member should not, directly or indirectly, attempt to obtain for himself or anyone else any commission, regular or occasional, held by a free-lance member of the union.

(4) It is unprofessional conduct to exploit the labour of another journalist by plagiarism, or by using his copy for lineage purpose without permission,

(5) Staff men who do linage work should be prepared to give us such work to conform with any pooling scheme approved by the N. E. C., or any Union plan to provide a free-lance member with a means of earning a living.

(6) A member holding a staff appointment shall serve first the paper that employs him. In his own time a member is free to engage in other creative work, but he should not undertake any extra work in his rest-time or holidays if by so doing he is depriving an out-of-work member of a chance to obtain employment. Any misuse of rest days — won by the Union on the sound argument that periods of recuperation are needed after strenuous hours of labour is damaging to trade union aims for a shorter working week.

(7) While a spirit of willingness to help other members should be encouraged at all times, members, are under a special obligation of honour to help an unemployed member to obtain work.

(8) Every journalist should treat subordinates as considerably as he would desire to be treated by his superiors.

(9) Freedom in the honest collection and publication of news facts, and the rights of fair comment and criticism, are principles which every journalist should defend.

(10) A journalist should fully realise his personal responsibility for every thing he sends to his paper or agency. He should keep Union and professional secrets, and respect all necessary confidences regarding sources of information and private documents. He should not falsify information or documents, or distort or misrepresent facts.

(11) In obtaining news or pictures, reporters and Press photographers should do nothing that will cause pain or humiliation to innocent, bereaved, or otherwise distressed persons. News, pictures, and documents should be acquired by honest methods only.

(12) Every journalist should keep in mind the dangers in the laws of libel, contempt of court, and copyright. In reports of law court proceedings it is necessary to observe and practice the role of fair play to all parties.

(13) Whether for publication or suppression, the acceptance of a bribe by a journalist is one of the gravest professional offences."

138. The above, in brief, are our recommendations in regard to the raising of the tone of journalism and journalistic policy in the province. We are aware that many of them are in the nature of hopes and wishes. But, for that reason, we need not despair about the future. With the setting up of a Council of Journalists, there will come into being a realisation on the part of journalists of the duties of their callings and this will necessarily bring about the desired improvement in the standard and tone of journalism.

139. What a committee of this kind or other bodies can do, is, mainly, to offer advice. It lies with the journalists to accept our advice to bring about a healthy change in the tone and standard of journalism in the province. That there have been many lapses from accepted conventions of journalism will not be denied by journalists. It has never been suggested, and we do not suggest it, that there are no papers in the province which maintain an honourable standard of conduct. We record with pleasure that there indeed are a few journals in the province which maintain a code of conduct comparable to that of many other well known newspapers in the country. In a matter of this kind, however, the profession is judged not by the performance of the minority but by the performance of the majority.

140. The legal and the medical professions are considered black coated professions on which the State and the public can depend for the enforcement of a certain standard of conduct. This is because both these professions have diligently maintained, so to speak, a black register in which those who do not conform to the accepted code of conduct, are automatically listed. As an instance of the code of conduct which these professions maintain a recent Bombay case may be cited. A medical practitioner, in order to assist a friend, gave him a false medical certificate of his having taken yellow-fever inoculations. The doctor was struck off the register of the medical association after an enquiry even though he was a person of many years standing in the profession. If the journalistic profession were only to maintain such standards of conduct, not only will the dignity of the profession in the province be enhanced but also its utility to the public and to the State.

141. It is an unfortunate fact that in spite of journalists constituting an essential public service, a large majority of them do not enjoy the social status which is enjoyed by the members of the medical and legal professions. While a lawyer or a doctor is accepted as a highly reputed citizen of society performing certain necessary functions, the public have not yet come to accept the ordinary journalist as a person who performs a necessary public duty. It may be that the public is to some extent responsible for not giving the profession the respect it deserves. But largely the fault lies with the journalists themselves as they have not set their house in order.

142. If journalists by their own effort assisted if necessary by Government bring about an improvement in the tone of journalism, then they will have made the power of the press, the greatest and the most salutary for the common weal. In the hands of journalists lies the future of democracy in the province and the country and there can be no better advice, which we can offer to journalists than a variation of the historic one offered at the battle of Trafalgar "the public expects every journalist to do his duty."

Sd|- J. R. MUDHOLKAR,
(Chairman).

Sd|- A. D. Mani,
Sd|- P. Y. Deshpande,
Sd|- N. R. Bamangaonkar,
Sd|- V. L. Ulabhaje,
Sd|- K. C. Rao Naidu,
Sd|- K. P. Dikshit,
Sd|- R. G. Maheshwari.

(Members).

Nagpur:
The 29th December, 1948.

Sd|- SOMESHWAR DAYAL,
(Member and Secretary).

APPENDIX I.

OFFICE OF THE C. P. AND BERAR NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

Questionnaire

I. Financial position of newspapers:

- (a) When was it started?
- (b) What was the capital? Any addition to the original capital.
- (c) Is the journal proprietary, a joint stock Company, a trust or does it belong to any other category?
- (d) Who holds the controlling interest in the Concern? Have the employees any stake in it?
- (e) Is any newspaper part of any chain of papers owned by any individual or company?
- (f) What are its present assets?
 - (i) What is the condition of the building and machinery?
 - (ii) Any capital expenditure necessary? If so, for what precise purpose and up to what amount.
 - (iii) What are its immediate financial commitments regarding the improvement of the paper?
- (g) What profits has the journal earned or losses it has sustained from its inception till the end of 1939?
- (h) What profits has it earned or losses it has sustained from 1940 till the end of 1947?
- (i) What were the gross earnings between 1940 and 1947 and what was the (1) capital and (2) recurrent expenditure for each year during this period?
- (j) What is the gross advertisement revenue?
- (k) What is the gross subscription revenue?
- (l) What are your estimates of peak revenue under advertisements and subscription for a well conducted newspaper in this province for the next 10 years?

II. Conditions of employees' employment (A) pays and allowances:

(a) Pay scales for the various categories of employees obtaining (i) at the inception of the journal and (ii) today.

(b) What bonuses and dearness or any other kind of allowances were paid by the journal for each year from 1940 till 1947? What, if any, housing allowance was paid to the employees during the period?

(c) What facilities are given or allowances paid for extra work and/or night work?

(d) Scales of remuneration of part time employees including correspondents and reporters.

(e) Does the paper maintain staff correspondents in the mofussil? What are their emoluments?

Conditions of employce's employment (B) leave, retirement, termination of service:

(a) What kind of leave with full, average or half average pay is admissible to employees?

(b) Are there any rules governing retirement of an employee or termination of an employee's services? If so, what are the rules?

Conditions of employees' employment (C) pension, provident fund, insurance, gratuity:

(a) What, if any, are the scales of pension and gratuity for every category of the employees?

(b) Is there any provident fund? If so, who contributes towards it and in what proportion.

(c) Are the employees or those belonging to any particular category insured? If so, how many up to what amounts and who pays the premia?

Conditions of employees employment (D) hours of work recesses, etc.:

(a) What are the usual hours of work for each category of employees?

(b) What recesses they get?

(c) Incidence of absenteeism, its causes and extent.

(d) What are the conditions of the precincts in which the employees do their work? Is there a common room for resting during resess? Are there any arrangements for obtaining refreshments in the premises?

(e) What is the state of discipline among the employees?

(f) What, if any, holidays are given to the employees? Are such holidays without pay in the case of any category of employees?

III. *Qualifications of employees:*

(a) Are all employees (except menial workers) fully qualified for their jobs? If so, what are their qualifications?

(b) Is any help or opportunity afforded to any category of employees to obtain special or additional training? If so, what, if any, financial assistance is given by the journal?

(c) Have you any suggestion to make in this regard? (Part to be played by the Government and the Universities.)

IV. *Staff: Particulars:*

(a) What staff do you employ?

(b) How are journalist on your staff recruited and trained?

(c) Is any member entrusted with more than one kind of duty? If so, is it usual? Is the person so employed paid any allowance or additional pay for this?

(d) Are any apprentices employed in your office? If so, are they paid any salary? What are the scales of salary?

(e) Is any allowance paid to an employee for working over-time?

(f) Is any member of your staff allowed to accept part-time work elsewhere and, if so, on what terms?

V. *Tone of journalism:*

(a) What is your opinion regarding the general tone of journals published (i) in the province (ii) in the country?

(b) Is it your opinion that an improvement in the tone is called for?

(c) If so, what steps would you suggest for effecting the desired improvement?

(d) To what extent if at all do you consider that the accurate presentation of news or adequate expression of opinion in newspapers in the province is distorted or restricted by:—

- (1) the limitations and prejudices of the public;
- (2) the limitations and prejudices of journalists and editors;

- (3) the interests and influence of advertisers;
- (4) the interests, policies and prejudices of newspaper proprietors;
- (5) the influence and interests of pressure groups;
- (6) the influence of Government; and
- (7) the economic and other difficulties of establishing new industries.

VI. *Journalistic policy:*

(a) Does the present position regarding presentation of news, withholding publication of news and publication of news received from doubtful or interested sources appear to you to be satisfactory?

(b) What steps do you suggest for securing accuracy of news?

(c) What steps would you suggest for making the press free and independent without being irresponsible?

(d) What should be the position of an editor vis-a-vis the management or proprietor of a journal?

(e) Are there any special terms in an editor's contract either guaranteeing or limiting his freedom in exercising his functions?

VII. *Rights and Limitations:*

(a) Do you consider that the concentration of control of organs of the Press is a direct threat to democracy?

(b) Can the problem be solved by breaking up the concentration or should Newspaper Syndicates be controlled by Government or by some other agency or organisation?

(c) Does the law of libel so far as it affects the Press require any modification. If so, in what directions?

(d) Should Government enter into competition and have its own agency for dissemination of news? What media should it employ?

(e) Should the Industry establish an independent agency to appraise and report periodically on the performance of the Press, set standards for mass communication and publicly criticise failures?

(f) Should a council of journalists be established? Should its powers be analogous to those of the Bar Council or of the Medical Association and should it have power to take disciplinary action against journalists?

- (g) What remedy would you suggest for
- (a) abuse of freedom of Press; and
 - (b) for action taken by Government against newspapers?

VIII. Recommendations:

- (a) What recommendations would you make regarding the matters set out above?
- (b) In what way should or could effect be given to them?

Note.—Question No. I is for journals only.

APPENDIX II

List of persons who submitted written replies to the questionnaire issued by the C. P. and Berar Newspaper Industry Enquiry Committee.

S. No.

Name of person

NAGPUR DIVISION.

1. Shri W. N. Ghorpade, Editor and Journalist Nagpur.
2. Shri S. D. Rathi, Correspondent, Hinganghat.
3. Shri R. V. Karandikar, Pleader and Journalist, Wardha.
4. Shri M. P. Dhanuskar, Editor, Bhawishya Wani Ramnagar, Wardha.
5. Shri Kolapkar, Assistant Editor Samajonnati Magazine, Wardha.
6. Shri R. R. Patil Editor, Shyamsundar, Nagpur.
7. Shri Sushilabai Mohoni, Editor, Wikas.
8. Lt. Col. Pandit K. L. Dubey, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur.
9. Shri Mudhukar Pagey, Reporter, Khapa.
10. Shri Gopalrao Pathak, Photographer, Nagpur.
11. Shri Shailendra Kumar Kinariwala, Secretary, C. P. and Berar Working Journalist's Association, Nagpur.
12. Shri B. R. Modak, Editor, Mulanche Masik, Nagpur.
13. Shri R. K. Bharatiya, Sub-Editor, Navabharat Nagpur.
14. Shri M. Bakshi, Photographer, Jubbulpore.
15. Shri P. D. Dhawale, Editor, Maharashtra, Nagpur.
16. Shri W. G. Sheorcy, Editor, Independent, Nagpur.
17. Shri A. D. Mani, Editor, Hitavada, Nagpur.
18. Shri E. S. Patwardhan, Organiser, Tarun Bharat, Nagpur.
19. Shri G. G. Gokhale, Sub-Editor, Tarun Bharat, Nagpur.
20. Shri K. P. Narayan, Editor, Hindusthan Herald, Nagpur.
21. Shri V. S. Venkatraman Editor, New India, Nagpur.
22. G. D. Karkare, Nagpur U. P. I.

JUBBULPORE DIVISION

23. Shri G. K. Kher, Press Representative Saugor.
24. Shri Hukum Chand Narad, Correspondent, Jubbulpore.
25. Dr. George D'Silva, Jubbulpore.
26. Shri G. B. Awasthi, Editor, Lokseva, Jubbulpore.
27. Shri J. P. Jyotishi, Editor, Vindhya—Kesari, Saugor.
28. Shri Kasturehand Gupta, Sub-editor, Jai Hind, Jubbulpore
29. Shri Hazarilal Verma, Asstt. Editor, Jai Hind, Jubbulpore
30. Shri Girija Prasad Dubey, Proof Reader, Jain Hindi, Jubbulpore.
31. Shri C. D. Meghsham, B.A. LL. B., Journalist, Khandwa.
32. Shri H. V. Dugvekar, Editor, Spark, Jubbulpore.
33. Mahakoshal Working Journalists Association, Jubbulpore.
34. Sardar Gulzari Singh, Employment Officer, Sub-Regional Employment Exchange, Jubbulpore.
- 34-A. Shri Sukumar Pagare, Editor, Jana Shakti, Itarsi.
- 34-B. Shri Ram Narayan Upadhaya, Editor, Gram Wani, Khandwa.

CHHATISGARH DIVISION

- | <i>S. No.</i> | <i>Name of person</i> |
|---------------|---|
| 35. | Thakur Piarelal Singh, Raipur. |
| 36. | Shri M. A. Latif Yezdani, Vice-President, Chhattisgarh Journalist Association. |
| 37. | Shri Deepchand Daga, B. Com. Journalist, Raipur. |
| 38. | Officer-in-charge, Municipal Administrator, Raipur, (Shri S. C. Tiwari). |
| 39. | Shri K. L. Varma, M. A. LL. B., President, Chhattisgarh Journalists, Association. |
| 40. | Shri Gurubachan Singh, Editor, Masihi Awaza Gun Memorial, Raipur. |

BERAR DIVISION

41. Shri N. R. Kanitkar Pleader, Buldana.
42. Shri V. K. Soman, Mehkar (Berar).
43. Shri R. A. Kanitkar, Buldana.
44. Shri Dr. S. K. Kane, Yeotmal.
45. Shri R. D. Damble, Pleader and Correspondent, Yeotmal.
46. Shri K. S. Shukla, Wun (Yeotmal).
47. President Marathi Patrakar Sangh, Amraoti (Shri R. D. Deshpande).
48. Shri Khetulal Mahadeo Bawane, Dhamangaon Railway Station.
49. Shri T. U. Bapat, Honorary Secy. Yeotmal Distt. Assn. Yeotmal.
50. Shri R. M. Deshmukh, Chikalda, Ex-Minister.
51. Shri K. V. Brahma, Advocate, Nagpur.
52. Shri K. D. Deshpande, Joint Editor, Udaya, Amraoti.
53. Shri N. R. Bamangaonkar, Managing Trustee, Tilakashram —Arun—Uday, Amraoti.
54. Shri Narayan Tambi, B. A. LL. B., Amraoti.

OUTSIDE THE PROVINCE (EXTRA—PROVINCIAL)

55. Shri D. V. Divekar, Assistant Editor, Kesari, Poona.
56. Shri Prabhakar Padhye, Editor, Navashakti, Bombay.
57. Shri N. M. Shidhaye, Sub-editor, Daily, Prabhat, Poona.
58. Shri S. S. Navare, Editor, Daily Prabhat, Bombay.
59. Shri G. A. Johnson, Editor, Statesman, Calcutta.
60. Shri Shankar R. Date, Editor, Daily Kal, Poona.
61. Shri S. Sadanand, Managing Editor, Free Press Journal, Bombay.
62. Shri Suresh Vaidya, Bombay, 7, Sargent House, Barrow Road, Bombay.

APPENDIX III

List of persons who gave oral evidence before the Newspaper Industry Enquiry Committee, Central Provinces and Berar.

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Place & date.</i>	<i>Name and address.</i>
1	2	3
1.	Nagpur 16-4-48	Shri A. K. Ghosh, Assistant Editor, Hitavada.
2.	17-4-48.	Shri K. S. Bharadwaj, Manager, Hitvada.
3.	"	Shri D. T. Mangalmurti, Advocate, Nagpur.
4.	19-4-48.	Shri W. N. Ghorpade, Journalist, Nagpur.
5.	Amraoti 17-5-48.	Shri R. D. Deshpande, Editor, Varadshala Patrak, Amraoti.
6.	"	Shri G. D. Gadrey, Editor, Hindusthan.
7.	"	Shri Kisan Prasad Shukla, Wun, Yeotmal.
8.	"	Shri A. V. Kale, Journalist and correspondent, Amraoti.
9.	"	Shri Vasant Chuke, Joint Editor, Jyoti Prakash, Amraoti.
10.	18-5-48.	Shri V. W. Bhole, Correspondent Times of India, Amraoti.
11.	"	Shri K. D. Deshpande, Sub-editor, Udaya, Amraoti.
12.	"	Shri J. N. Awasthi, Correspondent, Free Press, Amraoti.
13.	19-5-48.	Veer Wamanrao Joshi, Amraoti.
14.	"	Shri V. R. Ketkar, Supdt., Berar Victoria Memorial and Technical Institute, Amraoti.
15.	20-5-48.	Dr. Punjab Rao Deshmukh, Ex-Minister, Amraoti.
16.	31-5-48.	Shri R. K. Thomre, President, Berar Association, Akola.
17.	"	Shrimati Radha Devi Goenka, M.L.A., Akola.
18.	"	Shri R. A. Kanitkar, Pleader, Buldana.
19.	"	Shri M. R. Thosar, Editor, Sewak, Akola.
20.	2-6-48.	Shri Shankar Sahai Varma, Editor, Manavata
21.	"	Shri Syed Zavar Hussain, Editor, Al-Burhan, Akola.
22.	"	Shri R. T. Iyengar, Correspondent, Globe News Agency, Akola.
23.	"	Shri Khubilal, Editor Ramrajya, Akola.
24.	"	Shri Narhar Patil, Asstt. Editor, Kisan, Akola.
25.	"	Shri J. S. Akarte, Pleader, Akola.
26.	"	Shri R. D. Damle, Pleader Yeotmal, (Representative of Times of India in Yeotmal and correspondent of Hitavada).
27.	"	Shri Ram Bedekar, Correspondent, Tarun Bharat.
28.	"	Shri Manik Chand Jain, Correspondent, Janata.
29.	"	Shri Vinayak Tiwari, Asstt. Editor Ramrajya, Akola.

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Place & date.</i>	<i>Name and address.</i>
1	2	3
30.	Jubbulpore 16-6-48.	Shri Harischandra Verma, Sub-Editor, Shakti, Jubbulpore.
31.	"	Shri Govind Prasad Mishra, City Reporter, Jai Hind and Sub-Editor Shubhehintak, Jubbulpore.
32.	"	Shri Hazarilal Verma, Sub-editor, Jai Hind.
33.	17-6-48.	Shri B. S. Audholia, Principal, Commerce College.
34.	"	Shri D. S. Nag, Professor, Commerce College.
35.	"	Shri G. B. Awasthi, Editor, Loksewa.
36.	"	Shri J. C. Jethi, Pleader.
37.	"	Dr. George D'Silva.
38.	"	Shri S. B. Paranjpe, Teacher and correspondent.
39.	"	Shri R. P. Guru, Representative, Amrit Bazar Patrika.
40.	"	Shri W. E. Hookans, Free Lance, Professor Robertson College.
41.	18-6-48.	Shri Beohar Rajendra Singh, M.L.A.
42.	"	Shri Nitya Gopal Tiwari, Sub-Editor, Jai-Hind.
43.	"	Shri Sardar Rajendra Singh, Pleader.
44.	"	Shri R. P. Mody, Correspondent.
45.	"	Shri Hukumchand Narad, Correspondent.
		Was examined on 18th & 19th
46.	19-6-48.	Shri Kekre, Pleader.
47.	"	Shri G. K. Kher, Malguzar, Saugor, Representative of Papers.
48.	"	Shri P. N. Telang, Joint Editor, Vindya Kesari, Saugor.
49.	"	Shri Narmada Prasad Khare, Editor, Subha-Chintak.
50.	"	Shri Amrit Rai, Member.
51.	Nagpur 1-7-48.	Shri Gopalrao Jairam Pathak, Photographer, Mahal, Nagpur.
52.	"	Shri R. V. Karandikar, Correspondent and Pleader, Wardha.
53.	"	Shri Jyotiramayaji.
54.	"	Shri Shailendra Kumar Kinariwala.
55.	"	Shri Devikant Jha.
56.	2-7-48.	Shri W. G. Gawande, Editor, Surajya.
57.	"	Shri S. M. Garge, Sub-Editor, Tarun Bharat.
58.	"	Shri S. N. Dwivedi, Assistant Editor, Nava-Bharat.
62.	"	Shri Upadhyaji, Editor, Lokmat.
61.	3-7-48.	Shri E. S. Patwardhan, Organiser, Tarun
59.	"	Professor S. N. Banahatti, Editor, Samadhan. Congress Committee, Nagpur.
60.	"	Shri Din Dayal Gupta, Member, All India Bharat.

S. No.	Place & date.	Name and address.
1	2	3
63.	3-7-48.	Shri Purohit, Sub-Editor, Nava Bharat.
64.	"	Shri R. W. Fulay, Advocate, Nagpur.
65.	"	Shri B. R. Modak, Editor, Mulanche Masik.
66.	"	Shri J. R. Joshi, Sub-Editor, Maharashtra.
67.	"	Shri Bharatiya, Sub-Editor, Nava Bharat.
68.	10-7-48.	Shri S. R. Singh, Secretary Nagpur Journalists' Association.
69.	"	Shri P. D. Dhavle, Editor, Maharashtra.
70.	11-7-48.	Shri W. G. Sheorey, Editor, Independent,
71.	"	Shri A. D. Mani, Editor, Hitvada.
72.	19-7-48.	Shri D. V. Divekar, Asstt. Editor, Kesari, Poona.
73.	"	Shri S. S. Navare, Editor, Prabhat Bombay.
74.	"	Shri N. M. Shidhaye, Sub-Editor, Prabhat, Poona.
75.	"	Shri Prabhakar Padhye, Editor Navashakti.
76.	24-7-48.	Shri G. G. Gokhale, Senior Asstt. Editor, Tarun Bharat.
77.	"	Shri R. S. Ruikar, M.L.A., Advocate, Nagpur.
78.	"	Shri N. P. Shrivastava, Revenue Secy. to Govt. C. P. and Berar.
79.	Nagpur 14-8-48.	Shri T. C. S. Jayaratnam, I.C.S., Financial Commissioner, C. P. and Berar.
80.	19-8-48.	Pandit Kunjilal Dube, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur, University.
81.	"	Shri Victor Ghosh, Representative, Amrit Bazar Patrika.
82.	Raipur 21-8-48.	Seth Sheodas Daga, M.L.A., (Central) Raipur.
83.	"	Dr. Khubchand Baghel, Raipur.
84.	"	Shri K. P. Verma, Editor, Agradoot, Raipur.
85.	"	Shri Deepchand Daga, B. Com., Joint-Editor, Chhattisgarh Kesari, Raipur.
		Gave oral evidence jointly.
86.	"	Shri M. A. Latif Yazdani, Raipur
87.	"	Shri S. P. Trivedi,
88.	"	Shri G. P. Shyam, Raipur.
89.	"	Shri Sheolal Jaiswal, Newspaper Correspondent, Raipur.

APPENDIX IV

List of newspapers and periodicals published in the C. P. and Berar

during the year 1948.

S. No. 1	Name of paper. 2	Place of publication. 3
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I — DAILIES

ENGLISH

1.	Hitavada Nagpur.
2.	Hindusthan Herald Nagpur.
3.	Nagpur Times Nagpur.

HINDI

1.	Jai Hind	..... Jubbulpore.
2.	Nava Bharat	..... Nagpur.
3.	Dainik Lok Mat	..... Nagpur.
4.	Alok	..... Nagpur.

MARATHI

1.	Tarun Bharat	..... Nagpur.
2.	Maharashtra	..... Nagpur.

II — WEEKLIES

ENGLISH

1.	New India	..... Nagpur.
2.	Independent	..... Nagpur.
3.	Spark	..... Jubbulpore.

HINDI

1.	Lok Sewa	..... Jubbulpore.
2.	Shakti	..... Jubbulpore.
3.	Prahari	..... Jubbulpore.
4.	Ushakal	..... Jubbulpore.
5.	Sahayak Patrika	..... Jubbulpore.
6.	Jyoti Kiran	..... Jubbulpore.
7.	Jai Hind	..... Jubbulpore.
8.	Nava Bharat	..... Nagpur.
9.	Lok Mat	..... Nagpur.
10.	Nava Prabhat	..... Nagpur.
11.	Yug Dharma	..... Nagpur.
12.	Yug Sandesh	..... Nagpur.
13.	Azadi	..... Saugor.
14.	Karmavir	..... Saugor.
15.	Agami Kal	..... Khandwa.
16.	Swaraj	..... Khandwa.
17.	Ankush	..... Khandwa.
18.	Krishak Bandhu	..... Khandwa.
19.	Sipahi	..... Khandwa.
20.	Vindhya Kesari	..... Nagpur.

S. No. 1	Name of paper. 2	Place of publication. 3
21.	Sanmati	..... Saugor.
22.	Mahakoshal	..... Raipur.
23.	Agradoot	..... Raipur.
24.	Dehati Dunia	..... Saugor.
25.	Jan Sandesh	..... Damoh.
26.	Chhattisgarh Kesari	..... Raipur.
27.	Zindagi	..... Drug.
28.	Ramrajya	..... Akola
29.	Parakram	..... Bilaspur.
30.	Kartavya	..... Damoh.
31.	Naya Jamana	..... Akola
32.	Jana Shakti	..... Itarsi.
33.	Udaya	..... Narsingpur.

MARATHI

1.	Bhavitavya	..... Nagpur.
2.	Maharashtra	..... Nagpur.
3.	Vikas	..... Nagpur.
4.	Inquilab	..... Nagpur.
5.	Chavata	..... Nagpur.
6.	Shyam Sundar	..... Nagpur.
7.	Surajya	..... Nagpur.
8.	Samadhan	..... Nagpur.
9.	Nrisprih	..... Nagpur.
10.	Sandesh	..... Nagpur.
11.	Nava Sandesh	..... Nagpur.
12.	Arun	..... Nagpur.
13.	Rashtra Shakti	..... Nagpur.
14.	Swayam Sevak	..... Wardha.
15.	Swatantra Bharat	..... Wardha.
16.	Kranti Doot	..... Wardha.
17.	Maha Lakshmi	..... Wardha.
18.	Nava Manu	..... Chanda.
19.	Jana Seva	..... Amraoti.
20.	Hindusthan	..... Amraoti.
21.	Gram Seva	..... Amraoti.
22.	Swatantra Hindusthan	..... Amraoti.
23.	Samata	..... Amraoti.
24.	Nave Jag	..... Yeotmal.
25.	Lok Sevak	..... Yeotmal.
26.	Jagriti	..... Yeotmal.
27.	Kisan	..... Akola.
28.	Sevak	..... Akola.
29.	Sudarshan	..... Akola.
30.	Ninad	..... Khamgaon.
31.	Shetkari	..... Malkapur.
32.	Prakash	..... Hinganghat.
33.	Lok Raj	..... Khamgaon.

URDU

1.	Al-Burhan Akola.
2.	Alfarooq Kamptee.

S. No. 1	Name of paper. 2	Place of publication. 3
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III. BI-WEEKLIES

ENGLISH

Nil

HINDI

1.	Subh Chintak	Jubbulpore.
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MARATHI

1.	Udaya	Amraoti.
2.	Matru-Bhumi	Akola.

IV. FORTNIGHTLY

ENGLISH

1.	Collegian	Nagpur.
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HINDI

1.	Bhagyodaya	Jubbulpore.
2.	Gram Vani	Khandwa.
3.	Taran Sandesh	Damoh.
4.	Swatantra Bharat	Rajnandgaon.
5.	Arya Sewak	.....	Nagpur.
6.	Hamare Gaon	.....	Akola.
7.			

MARATHI

1.	Vishal Bharat	.....	Nagpur.
2.	Prakash	.....	Nagpur.

V. MONTHLY

ENGLISH

Nil

HINDI

1.	Nirbhaya	.....	Jubbulpore.
2.	Bhanudaya	.....	Jubbulpore.
3.	Yugarambha	.....	Jubbulpore.
4.	Pukar	.....	Jubbulpore.
5.	Rathod Bandhu	.....	Jubbulpore.
6.	Bhavishya Vani	.....	Wardha.
7.	Sangam	.....	Wardha.
8.	Rashtra Bhasha	.....	Wardha.
9.	Gram Udyogpatrika	.....	Wardha.
10.	Jain Jagat	.....	Wardha.
11.	Khadi Jagat	.....	Wardha.
12.	Ayurveda Sewak	.....	Nagpur.
13.	Shree	.....	Raipur.
14.	Sahu Sewak	.....	Raipur.
15.	Vishva Bandhu	.....	Nagpur.

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of paper.</i>	<i>Place of publication.</i>
1	2	3
16.	Udyam	..... Nagpur.
17.	Adarsh Goswami	..... Nagpur.
18.	Krishak	..... Nagpur.
19.	Nyaya Bodh	..... Nagpur.
20.	Grahani	..... Nagpur.
21.	Masihi Mahila	..... Jubbulpore.
22.	Manavata	..... Akola.
23.	Nava Jyoti	..... Raipur.
24.	Pravah	..... Akola.
25.	Mennonite Samaehar Patrika.....	Dhamtari.

MARATHI

1.	Nyaya Bodh	..... Nagpur.
2.	Udyama	..... Nagpur.
3.	Mulanche Masik	..... Nagpur.
4.	Unmesh	..... Nagpur.
5.	Puja	..... Nagpur.
6.	Sushama	..... Nagpur.
7.	Samajonati	..... Wardha.
8.	Varhad Shala Patrak	..... Amraoti.
9.	Guru Deo	..... Amraoti.
10.	Jyoti Prakash	..... Amraoti.
11.	Yugawani	..... Yeotmal.
12.	Suvritta Prasar	..... Akola.
13.	Atmaunati	.....
14.	Ayurvedh Patrika	.....

APPENDIX V

Council of Journalists

We think it desirable to submit a note giving, in an outline, our suggestions regarding the constitution of the 'Council of Journalists' and the nature and the scope of its powers. The council, in our opinion, should be a small body consisting of 10 members, six of whom to be elected by the general body of journalists entered on the roll of journalists, one to be a nominee of the recognised association of journalists, one to be a nominee of the provincial branch of the All India Newspaper Editors Conference, one to be an eminent journalist to be nominated by the Government and the Director of Information and Publicity. A journalist of 5 years' standing should be eligible for election.

2. In our opinion, the Council should be charged with the following duties:

- (i) To maintain a roll of journalists.
- (ii) To frame a code of professional conduct for journalists.
- (iii) To constitute a tribunal for enquiring into complaints against a journalist concerning his professional conduct and take such action as may be recommended by its President.
- (iv) To review annually the performance of the press in the province.

3. We think that in order to enable the council to discharge its duties it ought to have the following powers:—

- (i) To prescribe qualifications for enrolment.
- (ii) To prescribe and recover fees from persons enrolled or seeking to be enrolled.
- (iii) To constitute a tribunal for enquiry into complaints against a journalist.
- (iv) To take such action against an erring journalist as may be recommended by the President of the Tribunal.
- (v) To call for such information from any journalist or any newspaper as may be necessary to enable it to discharge the obligations resting upon it.

4. (i) The tribunal we have in mind should be analogous to the Bar Council tribunal and should consist of three members including the President. We would like to make our view clear that the President should be a person of the status of a High Court judge and that his view ought to prevail over that of other members. The President should be appointed by the Government, while the members should be elected by the council.

(ii) The tribunal should have all the powers of a Civil Court and the provisions of the Code of Civil procedure and of the Evidence Act ought to apply to the enquiries held by it.

APPENDIX VI

Staff Council

On page 17 of the report a reference has been made to the establishment of 'Staff Councils' for newspapers. Having suggested the establishment of staff councils, we think it is only proper that we should indicate our views on the manner in which the staff council should be constituted and what matters should fall within their purview. The staff council of a newspaper should consist of the entire editorial staff. It should meet periodically to discuss matters connected with the editorial conduct of the paper. The meetings should be presided over by the proprietor or his representative or by the managing editor. It would be desirable if the editor and the proprietors discuss matters of policy of the paper at such meetings so that the staff might know what the policy is and adjust their work accordingly. The staff council should also consider cases of discipline and inefficiency and advise the proprietor on the manner in which the cases should be handled and what punishment, if any, should be inflicted on a delinquent member. The function of the council ought only to be advisory in this regard and the final decision ought to rest with the proprietor. We think that the fact that the staff council will have to be consulted, will operate as an effective check on arbitrary action by the proprietor.

Freedom of the Press

The Committee has very graciously permitted me to add this note on the 'Freedom of Press' which is not by way of any dissent from the findings of the Committee but only in further elucidation of some of the points involved in the concept of the Freedom of Press.

The points raised in question No. VII of the questionnaire issued by the Committee cannot possibly be dealt with effectively unless a fundamental approach is brought to bear upon them. The Freedom of Press is a logical corollary of one of the recognised 'rights of man' namely, the freedom of speech or expression. This right is recognised by all the democratic constitutions of the world. It also finds a place in the new constitution of free India in article No. 13 (1) a.

The basic idea underlying 'Civil Liberties' arising out of the 'fundamental rights of man' is the concept which recognises the right of each individual to go where he pleases and to say what he likes, provided he does not infringe thereby similar rights of other individuals. 'Civil Liberties' are, therefore, essentially *individual* liberties and not *collective* liberties. Even the right of public meeting is not a collective right, although it may appear to be so. It emerges by reason of a combination of two fundamental rights viz., the right of free movement and the right of free expression. The right of each individual to go where he pleases enables him to go to a public place and the right to say what he likes enables him to address those assembled in that place. When many individuals exercise these two rights in an orderly manner we have a public meeting.

Freedom of expression from which flows the freedom of the press if viewed in this light should *ipso facto* render void the purchasing by any man the freedom of expression of any other man. The reason is that civil liberties being inalienable such a traffic in the fundamental right of the freedom of expression would go against the very grain of the basic concept underlying the 'fundamental rights of man.' Any such infringement should, therefore, be challengeable in the High Court, in a manner identical with the proceedings of the writ of *habeas corpus* which offers an effective remedy against the infringement of the liberty of one person by any other person. I, therefore, feel that the constitutional law or the High Courts should provide a remedy of the nature of the writ of *habeas corpus* against any infringement of the right of freedom of expression and the freedom of the Press.

If the importance of providing such a remedy is recognised, it will of itself operate as an effective safeguard against all the evils consequent on the concentration of the organs of the Press in the hands of financial magnets, or Political parties inside or outside the Government, or any other group trying to fetter individual expression of opinion and thereby become a menace to the healthy growth of democratic ideals.

Let me try to explain the point I wish to make. For instance, a Tata, a Birla or a Dalmia may individually edit a paper and say what he likes in it. But such a financial Magnate can have no right to employ for a pecuniary consideration only the intelligence of other persons on the strength of the power of his purse, for the purpose of propagating his views and establishing a chain of newspapers all over the country, in furtherance of that purpose. Such a thing would be tantamount to trafficking in the inalienable right of the freedom of expression.

I am aware of the possible difficulties that may crop up if my point of view is given effect to in a legal manner. With the growth of the machine age and the consequent technical advancement in the art of printing, it will not be possible for an individual of meagre means to establish a first class modern printing press for the propagation of his views. Capital will continue to play a decisive role in the establishment of fully equipped modern printing presses. Even so, there could be a differentiation between proprietary rights in the printing establishments on the one hand and the right of free expression of opinion on the other.

Whereas the former could be left open to the capitalists for obtaining a fair return on their capital, the latter must always remain the domain of individual expression, free from all fetters. If democracy is to survive and develop into a force capable of resisting the emergence of all totalitarian tendencies, the right to freedom of expression will have to be more effectively safeguarded and all regimentation of thought made possible by the machine age will have to be rigorously kept in restraint. It is with this view that I have ventured to submit this note for consideration of the Government and of the democratic minded public.

P. Y. DESHPANDE,
Member,
Newspaper Industry Enquiry Committee,
C. P. and Berar.

Note by Shri K. C. Rao Naidu on Press Correspondents in the Province

NEWS — PURVEYING, — 30 YEARS IN RETROSPECT.

This note on news-purveying does not attempt to give a cent per cent accurate picture of the conditions which obtained 30 years ago, but will nevertheless, depict certain features which will serve to throw a *streak of light* on the reporting side of journalism, dealing chiefly with Nagpur. Imperfect as the attempt may be, it will suffice our purpose if we can gain some insight into the environment in which a reporter moved and worked.

To take the mind back to nearly three decades. Life then moved along slowly, placidly, seldom ruffled by events which brought grist to the mill. The spell was broken with the advent of ministries; a buzzing was abroad, more and more news being available for being hauled in and with congress ministries taking over the reins of administration the humming increased still further and with independence reigning over the land there seems to be no end to the spate of news, directed from all ends. Thus it will be seen that the pioneers in this profession had a somewhat difficult task set them, having had to dig and burrow for their, 'copy'. In those times—it may sound strange but none the less it is true events did occur warranting publicity, but the quarters responsible were apathetic, shutting them out from public gaze. To not a few even the calling of a press correspondent was an enigma, all of which illustrates the fact that news—consciousness was still in the making them.

Far different is the tale now. Publicity both through official and non-official channels is being put out so extensively that a reporter now has not the worry which his predecessor of the days gone by had to undergo. Where formerly a news-hound hunted for his news and had a peculiar gratification in getting a, "scop", now a correspondent's ingenuity and resourcefulness is in a sense blocked by the releases which keep on pouring from the Information Department of the Government, leaving him not much scope for displaying his originality.

30 years ago only one reporter could be pointed out.—Shri S. B. Hastak, who represented the Associated Press of India. About a dozen years later the number was increased to two with Shri K. C. Rao Naidu taking to the line of a press correspondent. About the time B. S. Hastak represented the Associated Press Shri N. A. Dravid Senior Member of the Servants of India Society and Editor of the Hitavada also held the authority for the same news agency to be used for special occasions. Not long after Shri K. C. Rao Naidu took to reporting Shri S. P. Banerji and Shri S. V. Moghe, while continuing to work in the Nagpur University, engaged themselves in reporting for All India papers as a side line. Within the next decade or so fresh veterans came to worship at the altar of reporting.—Shri K. S. Bharadwaj, Shri G. D. Karkare, Shri P. D. Dhavale, Shri A. K. Ghose, Shri B. S. Hastak, Shri V. L. Ulabhaje and from Jabulpore was heard the name of Shri Hukumchand Narad. Of these Shri K. S. Bharadwaj, Shri P. D. Dhavale and V. L. Ulabhaje may no longer be reckoned among the ranks of regular reporters, having retired from the field some years ago. Most of these, it will not be wrong to infer, were drawn to the profession, not so much by the remuneration it held forth, but by the glamour which it exercised over them. The spell of once a journalist a journalist for ever seemed to keep them on to the rail. Fierce competition was witnessed among these stalwarts, each one having at some time or another scored something to plume himself on. The forecast of the Hindu Moslem riots in 1927 when

Government report, did not square with it, the forecast of the break-up of the first congress ministry which provoked quite a storm, the reporting of the judgment in what was known as the Rago murder appeal on a day when it was expected no judgment will be delivered, the ferreting out of a Government secret about the line of action to be taken against individual satyagrahis, these are some of the achievements of the old guard. Not merely this, but political observers are prepared to hazard the statement that in the matter of turning out scoops this centre was perhaps unrivalled.

No cordon was thrown around pressmen who wished to contact a Minister and it may be said of the long line of ministers in this province that there was none who did not accommodate a newspaper representative to the extent it was possible. So too has been the tradition of the Secretariat, nursed by Secretaries who are now holding high-placed positions with the Government of India. In the news set-up of these days loomed large a personality and that was Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao who was sought after by pressmen whether he occupied an official position or not. He proved a store-house of information to them as regards both official and non-official activities. There is a personality in the congress ministry who corresponds to him and that is Pandit Dwarkaprasad Mishra, Minister for Information. He is liked and admired by the members of the reporting fraternity for the journalistic flair he possesses and employs in his own inimitable way. Although in the midst of multifarious duties, he never turns away a press correspondent who calls on him and endeavours his best to supply him with as much news as he can. So highly does he value his association with persons belonging to the journalistic profession that, generally speaking, he will not allow considerations of health or time to stand in his way from inaugurating or presiding over any function connected with their activities.

Turning to present times, more interest is being exhibited by outside papers in this province which is seen in the number of representatives being appointed by them. To the list of correspondents—outside and local—is added the names of Shri Victor Ghose, Shri K. P. Narayanan, Shri Nand Kishore, Shri C. V. Vishwanathan, Shri Y. B. Shastri, Shri E. S. Patwardhan, Shri Sheoraj Singh, Shri Taroon Bhadoori, Shri D. K. Gokhale, Shri D. T. Deshpande, and Shri G. T. Parande.

Since the past few years the Press Correspondents have formed an association of their own impelled by a desire to safeguard their interests and promote sociableness among them.

A period of nearly thirty years has witnessed far-reaching changes in the art of reporting, accentuated by the ushering-in of independence. Perhaps as time marches on the old standards may be thrown over-board and new angles and new values may come into play.
