CHAPTER 6

FLAWS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND THEIR REMOVAL
Chapter - 6

Flaws in political communication and their removal

With momentous changing taking place within and across nationals. Systems and institutions also take the challenge of change. Individuals, groups and institutions want to evolve and register progress. Political communication system also endeavours to evolve and break down the barriers of traditional approach. People consciously or unconsciously are dissatisfied with the things as they are. Mass communication system also looked forward to have fuller, vaster and all embracing approach to meet the needs of the people. People however, have a faint glimpse of the modus of operation of the mass media system. The system can impart correct perspective to the people. The perspective provided by the communicators will have their limitations. People will not be satisfied with these limitations. They will desire that political communication should provide more information of the issues affecting them. Here, in this chapter, I have attempted to bring out Flaws in political communication with a focus on the mass media in India and the ways to remove these Flaws.

Loss of Credibility

The communicators either overdo things or minimise them and have their own bias, personal, ideological and the net result that has accrued from all these approve that the government mass media has lost credibility. More the hammering of a set of ideas, people may become more wary of them. May be all these projections are misleading.

1) They are only motivated to present the image of their political bosses, or persons likely to become their bosses. The main political functions of the mass media is to make people acquire understanding of what democracy is, how it does it work and how it should work. The pulse of people, of course, can never be fully gauged. Political mass communication aiming to be
people-oriented and make all efforts to present public opinion. The political communication system values public opinion the most.

Channels for change not devised:

If this basic fact is not taken into account, and the mood of the people for change is ignored, no fruitful attempts can be made. The question that arises, therefore, is that do the system and the communicators have an idea of public mood? (2) If not, things will be and are drifted towards lack of correspondence or vacuums in the interface between the people and the mass media. They will take no cognizance of professional ethics. They will willfully please their masters. Ultimately incompetency is the reward that they have. If no departure is made from settled routes "Play-safe" attitudes are bound to colour their projection in the process. The goal of political communications to devise channels of reaching out to the people will not be realised.

Communication: Not information carrier:

How are these Flaws, apparent or latent to be removed? An impartial study of what these Flaws are is therefore relevant and in order. Without it, remedial procedure can not be contemplated. Out of the several flaws stated so far, the one that is the most disturbing is that accountability to people is never given its due. (3) Even if this is done, they do not become information carrier in sense it should be. Reasons are obvious and a detailed analysis is unwarranted. Only the result is a labyrinth from which one can never get out. It is like moving off the tracks of the circumference; without trying to locate the "center". Naturally this amounts to whirling round and round the beaten tracks, failing to find the balance that breaks out the circumference and even causes a trickle. Even if a small trickle is thrust upon the circumference, unquestionably it will be a long period, but it can outpour the revelations of boundaries and immeasurable depths of the sea of political communications.
Code of conduct for mass media:

General belief prevalent among the people at large is that, under the code of conduct laid down for the communicators, it is but natural that their criticism or their thinking of what the Government does for them is not reflected by the mass media. Very few know that it is not that much restrictive. The fact is that in implementing them, by their own understanding of being popular to whom they owe their loyalty they depict audio-visual projection in a distorted manner. If the communicators keep themselves apart from their petty motives, they can project people's critical feedback in much more increasing measure and the whole process of communication can become more participatory and people-oriented.

NO RESPONSIBILITY TO PEOPLE:

Media behaviour, is clearly lacking in its responsibility to the people. For the present, to be more explicit on the subject, a look as to the functioning of the three main organs, radio, TV and press particularly are the main channels is essential. Government owned media play in tune with the party in power while newspapers are more or less under the control of business magnets. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and the people should not be silent spectators to the objectives of power-catching parties. They should go on putting up relentless resentment to such an attitude. Unless people are vigilant and they do not carry on the tirade against them, making a rational choice in elections and elect candidates whom they think they can deliver goods cannot be realised.

NEED OF CORRECT INVESTIGATION

Theoretically, this is very correct. But can all people be organised for this purpose? Never can people be organised in this fashion, in any nation in the world. As the maxim says, water does not flow from the bottom; it flows from the top. This is correct on the surface of things as it exists today. But examination of the
contents, purpose and structure could be taken on hand so as to arrive at the correct investigation. To put it in simple terms, to facilitate to have a plunge into the depth of what the maxim, if renovated in the present situation, can convey to us or spell out a future course of action to be taken.

**STUDY OF BOTTOM AND TOP**

One need not go into details of all the labour. However, one thing can surely be said that total truth can be grasped if both viewpoints are studied simultaneously. (7) Water may not flow from bottom. But bottom should also try to see the domination of top does not dictate the course of events. Top, i.e. Government hierarchy, political leaders, vocal intellectuals who can be hired, can never give the essence or even the semblence of what one dreams for: Corruption, nepotism, psycophency, henchmanship, yesmanship, power-hunting game, wealth-gathering greed are many such evils today are the logical consequences. National integration, minimising the gap between the rich and poor, sufficiency for all before superfluity for some, sound fiscal policy, domestic strength, need-based built up defence forces, triumph of human values, uplifting the country and inculcating into people a sense that they are first of all Indians and human beings and not localised individuals bound by 5000 years' traditions and bound to follow the cultural, social, economic, political forces etc. Otherwise they are the product of the impact made upon them. The first and foremost, pre-requisite of traversing on this line is that an inward firm determination should flow in every call of individuals to feel, "Come, what may! We shall toil ceaselessly to have posterity imbued with these ideals and translating them into action of day-to-day life". (8)

**COMMITTMENT TO CAUSE OF POLITICAL AWARENESS**

The top, therefore, should be pure, selfless, not having any personal axe to grind, and go in all out for creating public confidence into them. If they do so and can do so, if they work sincerely, honestly and truthfully. Their only working cannot fulfill the
purpose of mass communication. They, first of all, should be committed to the cause of political awareness in the public. Unfortunately, the communicators to-day are not committed. (9) The teachers should be first taught these lessons and the communication in whom these qualities are ingrained, should only be in charge of communication. They should have a free hand in projecting public grievances and needs, even against the will of policy-makers. This will expose all the policy-makers and compel them to toe the line, at least for having power, name and fame. Automatically other vices if not totally done away with, will be at a very low ebb.

COMMUNICATION IS NOT PEOPLE ORIENTED

Communication is not people-oriented. This is bound to be as communicators themselves do not know what the people want. First of all basic wants of people have to be ascertained. Probably shelter, two-time meals, clothing, and security are the material basic needs. Tall talks do not appeal them. On the contrary, they antagonize them. This is why their confidence in the political leaders and communicators is the much-needed step of the multi-step ladder of ascent to reach our objective. This can be done if people are made active participants in the task of nation-building, the sole purpose of communicators and political leaders.

This, in turn, demands providing information about the political system in general. Unless people are aware of the political system prevailing here and elsewhere, how are they to know the possibilities of their betterment and hindrances which work as deterrents in exploring new vistas of the remaining possibilities. They are either passive or negative and transform them into positive gains-giving instruments. (10)

NEED OF DIFFERENT APPROACH

People do have robust common sense and ardent desire to know things. To put before them in the language they
understand and to have visual impact on them, is "an acid test for a mass communicator". He has to adopt altogether a different approach. People are not selected from all sections for ascertaining impact of the channels used. Right up from the affluent to the lowly placed, the communication should reach. This demands contact with all strata of society. No segment, area, institution, class, caste can be omitted.

**FORM MAINTAINED, SUBSTANCE LOST**

The question, then to be dealt with, is how such contacts can be established. This work is gigantic and results of work will be complex. Firstly, this gigantic work can not be done by a handful number of communicators. At the same time, one can not have lakhs of communicators. This can be done if the people voluntarily begin to give free, frank and fearless opinion - may it be raw or sophisticated. If this is done, the communicator will have to do away with the form and find out the substance. The substance, however is lost and only the form is maintained. If this position is reversed, the task will not look as gigantic as it is made out to be to-day and it will doubtlessly, though great, will be much more simplified and people will opine on what they know and make queries on things which they do not know.

**PROJECTION OF PUBLIC OPINION**

In the first case, public opinion will be projected and implementation part will figure in and the communicators will have to work vigourously. This can be no problem if a team of workers, aided by a team of monitoring expert communicators and sincere political leaders, spread out in all areas to do this job. In the second case, the task of communication is a little more difficult: Queries raised will be on a massive scale and information will have to be provided on all aspects. The second team will have to be not only conversant with all the details of political systems but scientifically arrange the information- subjectwise, contentwise, areawise, sexwise, calibrewise, etc. Everybody will have to be provided information in a manner that may be
intelligible to them and raise their level to understand any new development that takes place. This task is really very difficult in developing countries, but if the problem is tackled from this two-fold approach, connecting links could be forged and finally it can be tackled.(13) Nothing is accomplished till everything is accomplished, as the unaccomplished has always a tendency to crack a sense of despondency, defeatism, annihilating the desire to realise the unreached summits and create a sense of frustration in the force trying to accomplish, echoing all the while "vain is thy labour". People in past for lacks of years are failed and that destiny awaits you. So please rest and allow things to move as they do. You are a petty adventurer tide down by many forces. The mighty have failed". This echo has effect on many forces of accomplishment. Only a few will say, "The glory lies not in falling any time but rising everytime one falls". If such forces, though very few, are given congenial atmosphere conducive to sustain the spirit of continuity to rise everytime from the fall, then, surely, the gleam will down upon the entire existence in the first for survival of growth. Impact may be dim in the initial stage but will be brighter and brighter and spread the message of rising everytime against other forces and consolidate themselves.

REVOLVING ROUND PARTY IN POWER—NEED FOR REVERSAL OF THIS TREND

People acutely feel that mass media revolve round the party in power, reports about its functioning gives visual projections to build them up, presents people who are close to them, coverages, speeches, messages, features, photo-articles, interviews etc. everything about them. Not a word is said, or an event projected as to how they should govern—really speaking—to serve people.(14) They have never attempted to explain them directly or indirectly that in the ultimate analysis people are their masters: They come and go but people are there for ever. Communicator can easily change their own stand if the opposition is voted to power and do the same exercise they did to the party that was previously in power. The new party also takes this way of functioning for granted.
This existing state of affairs should be reformed. Projections should be based on current events of public interest, whether it is related to party in power or out of power but the issues should be of popular interest and public concern. All types of events should get importance and exposure. They should not be cramped by other considerations. The only consideration should be of public awareness and political consciousness. But, today, even neither judiciary nor legislative aspects of even government get due importance and exposure. People, must be at least in the know of the fundamental issues on which judiciary delivers judgement. This will enable them to fashion their behavioural dimension on vital issues pertaining to them.

**LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIARY FUNCTIONING IGNORED**

Similarly, the legislative aspects of the Government have to be duly reported. They are not given enough exposure at present. In the press also generally controversial and sensational issues are highlighted. People must know details of how the acts are legislated, how the party in power behaves, how does the opposition react, and about the waste of time, money and energy in legislatures and how issues vital to them are neglected or just touched and passed over. In this case, both print medium and audio-visual media have yet to come out with satisfactory answer. (15)

**NEED FOR FEEDBACK MECHANISM**

No definite mechanism is evolved by mass media to evaluate the utility of their programmes. (16) The same is the case with the print medium. There is no effective feedback machinery for the readers to give their opinions and the material, articles etc. As a result, the readers, the listeners and the viewers who react are very few and only vocal intellectuals steal the show. About 90% reactions projected are theirs. This is why indications of the target audience's responses are never supplied in its true sense. Assessing the utility for them for which they are meant is unnecessary
intellectual jugglary to justify the communicators' hypothesis.

TOTAL RE-ORIENTATION FOR TRANSFORMATION

We are conditioned by all systems, past and present, by philosophies, ideas, concepts, beliefs, organised propaganda by religion and institutions. The people have no confidence in the politician, in the preacher, in any book, in any scripture, in own fellow being. Inspite of this, people do not want to renew or renovate all these things.

Yet the tendency to battle out for settling the issue is not lost. In fact, we are tradition-bound and do not want to throw away traditions which have ushered in this world of stresses and strains. Media are no exception to this. But communicators have a specific role and i.e. of transforming the life of the people and they have to and must work for attainment of this objective. Otherwise, a dark shadow keeping people ignorant will become larger and larger.

Mass media communicators for this purpose have to work as "statesman". The literary dictionary meaning of the word "statesman" is not envisaged here. The literary meaning is that the statesman governs the state but the visualisation projected here is a little deeper and goes into the very connotation of the word. If the word "statesman" is translated as a man working for the state, the real meaning will be looming over the surface of our traditionally accepted meaning of dictionary. It is very obvious that a man who works for the state does not work only for himself, for his kith & kin, for his circle, for his friends, for the affluent or for the lowly - placed only or business magnets or intelligent vocal class etc. He has before him, an ideal to see that whatever is good for all at large is made effective and operative. He does not care whether actions taken by him are appreciated. The goal for him is to provide the people the basic necessity of life (information) but inculcate into them a sense of dignity, honour and
confidence. He will only rest contended till he feels that people have started tradition-free actions and ardent desire for the growth rises into them like a ray from the Sun which is continuously sending, multitude of rays without any favour to anybody. Once the self-confidence is created amongst the people, half the battle is won. That is the task to the statesman which is envisaged by me. An idea is never merely an airy. Someday, it is going to be translated into the existing life. Of course, this world can not be changed overnight. It will be a wishful thinking to expect this to happen in a very short period. The process of nature has been very tardy and slow. We have to generate forces from ourselves to assist nature's forces by understanding them and the task will not be so difficult then. The statesman will, therefore, give a total re-orientation to the communicators, leaders, workers and all segments of society to foster a sense of harmony between them as all problems of existence are problems of harmony. In days to come, this will gradually and some of the problems will be off.

**TARGET AUDIENCE AND MASS COMMUNICATION**

Full justice is never given either by the print media or government owned media in reflecting the needs of the people and the ways by which they could be met with. (18) This is the case, more or less, everywhere but in a developing country, the horizon is widened to the tune of damaging the cause of uplifting people in general to a very great extent. Government-owned media have one fundamental inherent defect of trying to adjust all its programmes— may be news, serials even songs and films—with the main consideration of pleasing the political bosses who have reigns of power in their hands. This, naturally, leads communicators to framing their entire structure of the programmes to be in the eyes of the party in power and influential leaders and workers. These people on whom they concentrate have only one motive of winning elections by any means. And, therefore, the target audience is where the votes would be in their favour. The programmes, therefore, are based, bearing this aspect in view unless communicators are committed to professional skill, ideological soundness,
equipped with up-to-date knowledge and, above all, if they are firmly resolved to put everything aside that inclusive of material and intellectual progress.

PRINT MEDIUM AND ITS LIMITATIONS

Comparatively, the press media are considered to be free. They are said to have the role of "vigilant fourth estate". In practice to-day, however, we see that it is a group of newspapers controlled by business magnets who play prominent role in shaping their policy and giving weightage in content. (19) Here again, it is noticed that they also can not fashion the policy in the way they desire. They are more or less businessman having no professional skill or comprehension of national and international events. This law, even, can be overcome by entrusting this work to a professional journalist by making him the editor with all the power and responsibilities. Even after this measure is taken, free and independent flow of information has been a dream rather than a reality. A single incident of Bofors may be just stated here in brief to show how things rapidly change and the fact stated once is immediately contradicted after three or four days by the same newspaper.

Shri Arun Shourie of "The Indian Express" came out with the details of commission given in Bofors deal and went to the extent of giving the amount and indicating the sources to whom the commission was given. Even the letter of the Managing Director of Bofors was published. After a few days, articles were published which amounted to giving other aspects indirectly nullifying the stand taken earlier. The reason can be easily traced out by all. Shri Arun Shourie had to be shifted and the others were brought in his place. The business magnets know for certain that the opposition to Government will amount to harrassment to them in matters of Income tax and the quantum of advertisement will be reduced to sizeable extent. He can not and will not suffer such a large loss of money because his ideology is not public-oriented but money-oriented. (20)
The civil society as we have seen for the lakhs of the years has been governed by the rules. The rules vary according to the traditions of the people of the nation. Those who violate rules are considered to lack in sense of citizenship and many a times in major events, they are dubbed as anti-national and stern actions are taken against them. Here, we have to bring one important fact along with this view to enable us to the spirit in which the rules are framed or have to be framed or the processes which lead to the formation of the rules. A simple well-known sentence is "Exception proves the rule" What does this mean? It only means that exception has in itself latent capacity to change the existing rules. Undoubtedly, this has not been a fact in the present day life. An incident of Shri N. Ram of "Hindu" may be quoted here to illustrate how the print medium in itself is divided and does not join hands with the cause which even they think to be true. Shri N. Ram brought out the full details of Bofors deal with photostate copies of the original documents. Barring a few newspapers in south, no other newspaper joined in this cause. As a result, majority of people could not understand the implications of the deal, dishonesty, corruption, disgrace, of the nation and dirty involvement of the politicians in it! Even the "The Hindu" after a few days ceased to continue the campaign. The reasons as usual is the loss of money involved in it which we do not elaborate here as it has been stated in case of audio-visual electronic media. Now if the exception was allowed to gather strength, it would have changed the entire structure of thinking and understanding of people on the subject. History, since time immemorial, has proved leaving no shade of doubt that a tiny minority dedicated to a set purpose or goal always has succeeded in converting the majority to their viewpoint. In the pre-independence days, before the arrival of Mahatma Gandhiji even seeing simply a British soldier made people run away. But what a transformation! Within a decade or so, Gandhiji made Indian people,"
man out of clay". His very people embolden themselves to face bullets and die without caring for what will happen to their families. This clearly shows that is a truthful cause is followed with sincerity and dedication even by a tiny minority can succeed. Could the mass communicators, not take a lesson from this? Could they be not sincere and dedicated to serve public interest whether the party bosses like or not and adopt attitude that no sacrifice is great, even the sufferings to their family to serve public interest. If this attitude is translated into action, then the desired results are inevitable. The communicators have to forget pros and cons. They have to take a plunge and transform the existing state of affairs. Then only, the political communication will have healthy effect on public mind.

RESTRICTIONS NOT BIG BARRIERS

In developing countries, the proportion of education is very minimum. The Adult Education classes only provide them with the knowledge of writing their names or reading postcards. But higher education which is the nucleus of exposure to various facts of life events, happening in the country also in the world; and the capacity to understand them is poorly wanting. The only impact that can be made on them is of listening and seeing. In this context audio-visual media has all the possibilities of making their impact felt on their listeners and the viewers. This is why the communicators have to make full use of the resources at their disposal to bring public awareness in this vast class of people.

However, it is a matter of deep concern that audio-visual media attempts least to avail the benefits of this strength it has. On the contrary, it is presenting stereo typed projections which have only monotonous effect. Even the assessment of the public response is not carried out as it ought to be. With the limitations the communicators have, they can deliver much better projections than they do at present. Their concepts have to be changed and they have to work for public interest and provide stimulated analytical perspective to them. Similarly, the press also gives out the material which is of practically little use to the
people. Only a few periodicals and weeklies give importance to local and regional needs. But these papers being very small and always in dire necessity, have to depend upon the Govt. advertisements provided to them. Therefore, the Government sponsored material figures most in them. Besides they have their own local prejudices and are biased. Their projection is partial, misleading and overplaying the issue from which they get money. Hence the group newspapers, regional newspapers upset the objective rather than fulfilling the objective. This can only be achieved by a team of independent expert communicators with the full authority to provide money to the needy, of course, if they behave in projecting public interest. This team's recommendations should be accepted by the Government in toto.

FREE AND FAITHFUL FLOW OF INFORMATION

The discrepancy of the free flow of the information in Government owned media as well as in the print medium is another handicap in the mass political communication system. Flow of information should be consistent with the event and not based on either interpretative reporting or self-conceived notions or pressurised projection from other sources. We, today observe none of the media is able to adhere to one of the important basic necessities of the political system. The government owned medium, at times or perhaps many a times, goes out of way to project upon people, the justification of totally incorrect actions of the government. This can well be illustrated even by a solitary example by a raid on "The Indian Express". "The Indian Express" was continuously reporting against government's faulty measures or questionable actions. When the threats did not work, it was charged with having forged documents, purchasing imported machinery without requisite licence and storing documents harmful to national interest. Raids were continued for a number of days. Even thenafter no tangible or plausible evidence of the charges levelled by the Government was supported by any concrete evidence. However, the owners and the employees were subjected to lot of mental torture and unimaginable financial difficulties.
Ultimately, owners and employees had to compromise and providing this truthful information ceased to appear. Excepting a single day’s protest by some newspapers, neither the newspapers’ association, nor the Editors’ Guild, nor the Press Council took it upon themselves to put up a fight or to make even a serious endeavour to convince the Government that this way of dealing with the newspapers is tautological to the existence of a free press in democracy. In its place, the Press Council exercised a fruitless jugglery and gave its verdict of curbing “yellow journalism” without stating in clear terms what the yellow journalism is. On the contrary, it was said that anything that violates national security in the sense Government defines and revealing sources of attacks on the Members of Parliament and important personalities having national image. Of course, this was not bluntly stated but more or less, it amounted to the same.

FINANCIAL HOLD OVER PRINT MEDIUM

The print medium is said to be relatively free. This again is miles away from the reality. (25) The Government resorts to two methods either to win over the newspapers’ policy makers - by offering a larger share of advertisements and other financial assistance by purchasing their shares in a sizeable numbers. If this does not work, it tries to curb independence of the press by various measures. One of them is prominent in the Defamation Bill (1988). The Defamation Bill proposed “the provision of calling the reporter before the select committee of Parliament and making a provision that the judgement of a select committee can not be referred to judiciary if it goes wrong against the reporter who has published the defaming reports. Same is the case with the audio-visual media”. It is comparatively easy here as it is practically under the total control of party in power. The political communicators have no alternative but to obey what the Government dictates.

DISSATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE

This sorry state of affairs has to be given up if the
flow of information is to be free and impartial. But in the society that exists today, political communicators and press medium are no exception to this. They, too, have their petty interests at their hearts. They not only accept the Government line but even go to the extent of overdoing or blacking out the information unfavourable to the Government or distorting them in a way that suits the Government. Here, people for whom all the media are meant are the first casualty. Their interest is at the bottom of the priorities laid down by the Government in securing its aims. People alone can never change the situation and particularly in an illiterate country where they are mostly unorganised, how can their voice be enough to effect a change? The obvious answer is certainly "No". This is why the mass has to come out to make their voice fall on the deaf ears of the Government. How this can be done has to be worked out by the mass communicators themselves. Because if a manifesto of measures is to be laid down, the interpretation of these measures will be according to the communicators. They being as they are one can not expect even if the manifesto is genuine to implement the measures in the right spirit. The only ray of hope is that they themselves decide positively and purposefully to ensure that free flow of information is never checked. Professor Laski has rightly said that the fundamental rights of equality, liberty and fraternity granted in the constitution are violated, there is no go but over throwing the corrupt administration headed by the corrupt people. Revolution is totally justified in such events. In fact, government machinery should more or less be a vehicle to register decisions arrived at elsewhere. If this angle is adhered to, then alone there can be a free flow of information.

ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE PROGRAMMES

Mass media regularly organises analytical perspective programmes. But these programmes are made with a view to project what it has been told to project. (26) A single incident of such a forum organised to discuss Thakkar Commission Report is an ample evidence to see that the persons who favour the party were invited for
the purpose. In this forum, Shri Vasant Sathe and Shri Kamaleshwar were invited. The forum was particularly addressed to the intellectuals, who party in power thought, were not agreeable to their policies. Therefore, people were invited of the type that would please the party in power. In fact, if the Thakkar Commission report was to be discussed without any bias, eminent analytical and knowledgeable persons like Shri R.K. Dhawan, Shri Ram Jethmalani, Shri Tarkunde, Shri Rajani Kothari, Shri Kuldeep Nayar should have been invited to present all the details in proper perspective. The fact that they were not invited demonstrates that the media did not want all things to be known in the right perspective and wanted to project a coloured version of the situation with distortions and if possible, win over or at least effect the breach amongst the intellectuals and minimise the harmful effect that this vocal class would spread into horizons they could reach.

NEED OF INDEPENDENT NEWS SOURCES

All the three mass media: Press, Radio and TV almost utilise news agencies and press releases of information department as their major source of information. News Agencies (PTI, UNI, Samachar Bharati and others) are receiving considerable monetary assistance from the government and as such indirect control may be to a lesser extent but is definitely having impact on their releases. (27) The quality of information, projection of its content, captions and subcaptions, logical sequence, whatever they present gets affected by the channels through which they function. And in turn, communication received gets affected. Thus the major sources of the press and the radio - TV have to choose only from the material supplied by them. We notice that in logical sequence also, priority is given to government viewpoint and casual references are made to the essential things. At times these references do not figure at all and if they figure, they are at very insignificant place, followed by another paragraph which nullifies whatever said of public interest in the earlier paragraph. Because of the pressure of time and other reasons very few might be reading newspapers in details. They
evaluate mostly from headlines and sub-captions. These are given in a manner which highlight only government measures or party line. If all the media resort to these sources and they must in absence of other alternatives, how the information of vital interest to the public be given in objective format? The solution lies in allowing the sources to become autonomous and not preventing or reducing monetary assistance if they highlight or report more of matters of public interest than of government measures. In fact, a government committed to democratic values and strengthening them and placing before it an ideal to serve public interest first and foremost is one who is really democratic in its true sense. If this is done, automatically the government will become, "of the people for the people and by the people". Otherwise, it will remain only an empty slogan to be recited in text books on civics on the eve of election to deceive and mislead people.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND PEOPLE'S ASPIRATION

A popular movement or agitation, even if influential and widespread in the area concerned, is not reflected in other newspapers than the local as it ought to be. Naturally, the interest of people in this movement is very less or nil confining a widespread movement in the area concerned amounts to keeping people ignorant of the events happening around them. Slowly and steadily, the agitators get annoyed and are disgusted and come in a mood of greater revolt against the national party which works against them. A single incident of Assam agitation and the attitude adopted towards it by the Indian government is a positive proof of how local aspirations, demand and mood are of very little value to them. Not only that, all efforts were made to restrict the spread of news by putting curb on, particularly on foreign journalists in order to see that the national image is not spoiled at international level. This is rationally unsound because the strength of a nation lies in becoming internally strong and sound. If the nation is internally strong and sound, its image is bound to be bettered at all the levels. But becoming a despot at home and a liberal abroad is a policy which is
followed in general. The results, in spite of this may
turn out to be awful, disgraceful and disgusting.

**ONLY ONE WAY COMMUNICATION**

In developing countries, the beneficiaries of the Government measures are practically invisible or unnoticeable. Small institutions, groups of handful men do individually things of benefits. These institutions and people do positively beneficiary work but this being in far off corners is not reflected in any media be it in print or electronic media. Our country live in many un noticed petty corners. (30) It is very imperative that their perspective, their work and the thinking imbibe in them in various issues get reflected in all the three media. Otherwise, the reflection is of only vocal and favoured class. Therefore, all these three media should aim at horizontal communication. All these people should be participants. If not all, a selected few (true representatives) must be presented, in audio-visual media and their views must be published by print medium. If this does not materialise, communication will not become participatory. It will be only one-way communication. If there is a two-way communication directly between Government and people, then alone can vertical communication takes place. This is not very difficult. If sarpanch or village school master is asked to work out after being trained, surely necessary data in this regard can be furnished by them. It, then, will not be difficult for mass communicators to work out the details as to how to project their views.

**NEED OF VOICING PUBLIC ECHO**

Today, in all the media, heaps of irrelevant information are being dished out everyday. Information is naturally for the public to put it in the media language, it is for the receiving end. However, today, we find that none of them is interested in serving the subject. On the contrary, most of the space or presentation is occupied by inauguration by a VIP, visits of a VIP and his/her addresses etc. Few people are interested in such reportage. People are interested in relevant, useful and
the need-based information. The need-based information is for them the information regarding the policies which will affect them and their life-style. To redress this state of affairs, method suggested in the previous paragraph can be applicable here. Of course, the data mass political communication will require, will be little different. However, some modifications and alterations can be made. A clear perception of what they want is explained, then it will enable mass communicators to further chalk out fruitful and useful line of action. Public echo will be voiced more and the result will be the transformation (which society yearn for) with a quicker pace. Of course, as usual, dedication, honesty and sincerity of the purpose - the three wings - shall have to be imbibed before the communicators start marching on the roads to awakening public awareness and consciousness.

PERSONS AT THE HELM OF AFFAIRS

In the post-independence era, all that was expected went wrong. On the contrary, anti-forces generated atmosphere in which the very basis of cultural, social and moral values, economic viability, fraternity, equality and liberty were destroyed to an extent beyond imagination. (31) Can anyone think of a person at the helm of affairs to brush away the interest of the people whom they have voted to power and placed full faith that the individual would do good for them? But this did happen and, not in the case of an ordinary individual but the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

During the emergency (1975-77) the mass media were totally under the thumb of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Minister of Information & Broadcasting. As such none of the media dared oppose her style of functioning at this critical juncture and remained passive spectators. Except a few in the press many of them, through the widespread use of money, advanced arguments for her taking such decision. Shri Jay Prakash Narayan, one of the most selfless workers of the nation, even with the ailing health spread the message of the damages done by her and all the endeavours of all the media to lower down the effect
were nullified. Granted that the media were not autonomous, even within the framework of power they had; had they reported the correct mood of the people and the message of Jay Prakash Narayan, they would have been ideal political mass communicators at least to some extent. (32) Of course, it would have been most welcomed if they had the courage to step out, (even a few of them) then the people of nation would have showered them with prestige, honour and dignity. However, this did not happen simply because they were tradition-bound to hero worship cult and were also in a state of confusion about future political set up. Erecting the walls of safety, a general tendency of people prevailed upon them and this is because, as we have stated times and again, even a few mass communicators did not give top priority to public interest. In a democracy, public interest is a supreme and sole aim.

Press, comparatively free from the government control could have done sufficiently more in this regard. But here too, the business magnets which control them were sufficiently managed and threatened at of dire consequences. Not resting contended with this, her Minister of I & B went to the extent of manipulating even the reporters, news agencies and ensured that a total impartial version was never supplied to the press. This two-fold approach did not allow the print medium to reflect properly things as they were. However, the press can not acquit itself of its moral responsibility. It had many other ways through which it could give a correct picture of the situation. Thousands of the institutions and lakhs of readers did send their opinion. However, the press media was guilty of either blacking them out or giving a very insignificant place or twisting them. Of course, some papers like "The Indian Express", inspite of all temptations did not fall a prey to this game. Periodicals like SEMINAR, MAINSTREAM chose to close down. Some in regional press like BHOOHIPUTRA, SADHANA etc continued to defy the censor. Such exceptional cases were very few. If the other newspapers had even if not highlighted, a partial representation of views of such papers was projected, then even they could have done service to the people. It
was in this context that the people came out with their indigenous devices. Handprinted and cyclostyled Samachar patrikas, pamphlets became the major channel of flow of information about the developments during the Emergency rule. Interpersonal communication through telephone and clandestine group meetings also tried to fill in the gap in information about which citizens evinced in acute curiosity and concern. Such informal multiplex communication helped sustain the morale of the pro-democracy forces in India when the government controlled media lost its credibility.

KNOWLEDGE OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Mass communication in political field either be it print or audio-visual medium, only goes on reporting or projecting things which are less helpful to the receiver. The receiver is interested in many things and it becomes the duty of the communicators to acquaint him of the main fundamental rights and duties that the constitution has laid down for him. The print medium and electronic media are 100% guilty in discharging their duties in this aspect. Neither the newspapers nor the magazines, nor the weeklies, nor the monthlies, nor the audio-visual media devote any part of their projections of what the rights and duties the receiver has. In a democracy, the know-how of constitutional rights and duties is the first requirement.(33) Else how can the receiver know what his rights are and what he can demand from the Government and what duties he is expected to discharge? One can not understand the intention of the mass media to keep the receiver totally ignorant of this aspect. If people do not know these things, how are they to be real citizens? This is not a matter on which anyone can pressurise. It is solely the fault of political communicators to disregard projecting or informing people about the fundamentals of the constitution. Mass media claim to be a "mouthpiece of people". They can, at least, work in acquainting them of what they have to do in the framework of powers they have, even if each medium may be subject to its financier or money supplier.
The only remedy here is that the small institutions, influential institutions and the people from all corners should strive hard for providing this information to them and go on insisting on them till the communicators feel that their very existence will be at stake if the demand of the people is not met with.

FULL AUTONOMY TO MASS MEDIA IMPARATIVE

The party in power is always for retaining and maximising the gains to their selfish ends of remain in power and returning to power, retaining wealth and gathering more wealth, that is why they prefer "status quo" so that the citizens are kept in darkness. The communicators for their own reasons assist party in power to realise this. Because their survival depends only on the goodwill of the politicians in power. This can be remedied only if full autonomy is given to AIR and Television and the PRESS is allowed to be free and frank and urge to report all what is said hereto. It requires honest, courageous and sincere body of political leaders at the helm of affairs to take bold decisions on these lines. Public opinion is driving them towards this. The day will not be far off when the new government may try to implement it to the best as it can.

IRRELEVANT AND MINOR ISSUES HIGHLY FOCUSED

No mass media is either investigating or interpretative events that can educate people and make them active participants. Even the print medium, when it resorts to investigation, it does not expose the limitations and the mistakes of the party in power. For electronic media (Radio & TV) one can understand as they are under the complete control of the Government have to dance to the tune but the press can regardless of the monetary assistance purge out the wrong direction and the unhealthy purpose with which the Government may function. The mass communicators have failed here. There is no point in discussing the issues of minor importance. Unbiased and impersonal outlook in content and presentation is lacking in all the media. They do not care giving timewise, contentwise and
presentationwise justice to the alarming problems that need to be solved first for the security, safety and integrity of the nation (35) as well the acute problems related to the basic needs of the masses. For registering progress of a democracy, this is inevitable. Some communicators will have to come out and serve this cause else alarming problems will assume bigger dimensions and directions which probably will be out of control and curing them will be a stupendous task which will be beyond the reach of communicators and the political leaders.

CENSORSHIP AND ITS EVILS

Censorship, outright or informal, affects government-owned media and they can not make the citizens sensitive to the problems in which their existence itself is at stake. Print medium, though not Government-owned, should not have only the circulation and advertisement getting motive before it. Therefore, it need not go in for sensational, alarming, unethical and such other content news. Instead, it should give priority and space allocation for projecting positive and constructive sides of public interest. If the sensationalism is confined to Government's irrelevant working, it will be a service because it will give a chance to the political leaders to improve. Their correct exposure will wipe them out of politics forever. Unfortunately, sensationalism in the newspapers, today, is for more or less unethical events, petty conflicts etc... which uproot the very fabric of whatever is good in the cultural heritage we have imbibed.(36) Nothing is bad in toto as nothing is good in toto. The intellect has to discriminate. If it can not completely bring out the truth, at least strike a balance between the truth that should emerge and the forces of falsehood that work for not allowing it to emerge. This is, of course, a delicate and difficult task, but certainly not an impossible one. What is required is the courage to brush out and come out in the open, if not by all the communicators, atleast by a few. People, in turn, will pick it up and assist such few to gather much more information. Once the flow of information starts even
Informal and interpersonal channels are more effective in countries like India where the rate of illiteracy is comparatively higher. Informal channels means the channels in which the opinions are expressed without a motive of expressing just merely through automatic discussion that spontaneously spring from their dialogues. Same is the case with the interpersonal channels. In both these channels, the opinions expressed represent indirectly their interests, needs, demands and aspirations. These are the channels who save our democracy. (37) Our experience during the Indira Gandhi Emergency is a case in point.

In meetings, processions, market places, fairs, pangallas, street talks etc... are the fora where the people knowingly or unknowingly discuss political affairs and their viewpoints remain absolutely unrepresented. The mass media should select a few from all these classes, however of little importance they may seem them to be and project their viewpoints. From these viewpoints, the communicators can get fairly a good idea of whether the people have comprehended the essence and the principles of democracy and how they struggle for their growth.

After obtaining the data, the communicators must devise ways and means as to how the people can be more effective in the nation-building task. For this, the communicators will have to devote sufficient time, make adequate investigations and see as to how these people are brought at par with others— if not intellectually at least enabling them to have capacity to understand where they should co-operate, non-cooperate or oppose. If this is done, automatically with the passage of time, their level itself will grow with the other virtues flowing from the mainsprings from where these things are insisted upon.
PROJECTING PERSONALITIES AND PARTY IN POWER

To-day, unfortunately, mass communicators in political arena, use all their energy to inculcate into the minds of the people the correctness of the party stand and we know that the party stand is always politically power-motivated. This is why all the projections are more or less one sided and only endeavour to change the thinking pattern of the people. This is particularly in the case of Government-owned media. This is why all the communication of these media lack credibility. People never accept what they project. And these media also hardly have effective arrangement for receiving the peoples feedback on what is projected on the Government media.

Unless mass media network ceases to confine themselves to projecting personalities and party propaganda, it will continue to thrust upon people the opinions of the selected few in whose hands the future of mass communicators lie. (38) Citibank, who have voted for the people in power, are never projected. Under the circumstances, how can the pulse of the people of the nation be measured? The remedy lies in representing citizen' views and making the scope of projection wider and wider in all the three mass media.

THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN PRESS-MASS COMMUNICATORS

DESIRING THE SHIFT

The communicators working in print medium are comparatively more powerful. Still, however, they are not satisfied with these powers. For safety and financial gains, these print medium communicators want to change over to audio-visual medium. The next important reason forwarded by them is that the slavery to the Government is more welcome than the slavery to the one tycoon or giant institution! In the Government service, at least stability and security of job are considered to be safe whereas communicators working in electronic media consider print medium better. The
reason advanced by them is that there is "freedom of expression" in print medium which is denied here. Curiously we see that the print medium communicators want to shift to electronic media and those of electronic media want to shift to print medium! (39) The substance and reasons are very clear. One set of communicators, think that the security is better than the slavery, freedom of expression can play the secondary role. Electronic media communicators considered freedom of expression more important than security. One thing emerges out of these two perspectives that neither is satisfied with the job he has. The way out is that the both media (print and electronic) should have security and freedom of expression without which dissatisfaction can not be removed. Dissatisfied communicators can ill-serve the cause of public interest. This will have to be done else the use of media will be mechanical and routine.

POLITICIANS IN ACTION

The system of "the politicians in action" should be adopted by the mass political communicators as far as possible. Assembly functioning, cabinet meetings, party meetings, committee meeting, judicial meetings, in short - all the meetings of vital interest to the people should be televised and telecast. The lame excuse of secrecy should be done away with. Why should anything be secret from the people whose interest these representatives are expected to serve? Failure to do so will amount to denying the citizens their basic rights to evaluate performances of their elected representatives themselves. There should be no harm in allowing people to know themselves as to what the representatives are. Unless their ulterior motive is to serve their own ends. This method has to be operative. This will if not at present but in future change the character of the future representatives of the people. Their characters will be more public-interest oriented and will have sense of accountability to public. Their behavior will not be unbecoming and dusty as we see it today but will be restrained and correct, respecting the views of each other and sitting together solving the problems across the table rather than the "fights" in
the legislature; slogan shouting will cease. A culture of tolerance will make the exchange of views which will lead to harmonious development will slowly take place.

**MICRO AND MACRO LEVEL DEVELOPMENTAL CONTENT**

To state the other points in brief, political communication through mass media should incorporate at micro and macro levels, at regional and local levels. This would be a wider projection of all political actions, particularly "politicians in action". The second suggestion that I would like to make is that not the party in power but all the recognised political parties should be given equal opportunity to address citizens at regular intervals and not only at the time of elections. This suggestion is made with a view that the addresses on the eve of elections would be taken by people as mere propaganda and will not consider serious implications, if any, even of public interest by them. Even, this should be advanced by allotting certain columns regularly in the newspapers.(40) The method, if more elaborated, can be in case of addresses that half of the time may be allotted for the addresses and the other half of the time for the questions by the citizens.

**NO UP-TO-DATE POLITICAL INFORMATION**

At present, where we listen or read or see the projection of the political discussion, we find it as good as a running commentary on a cricket match. Most of the political leaders who participate in the interviews are not fully equipped with the subject and dish out their views here and there without knowing what they mean. Even the questionnaire willfully presented does not serve the purpose. It becomes more or less a mockery and people understand it thoroughly. Here again we may quote the programme of Shri Vinod Dua on the Fairfax issue and the views presented by him on the subject. People easily understand that "they were biased, partial and were projected with a view to please the party in power". Mass media communicators put questions to the ministers more or less in the form of releases of the information department. The result is that the people
listen or see their viewpoint "We have done this and we have done that and we will do that."

Again, the present media communicators do not reflect this nature of India's multi-party polity.

**TRUTH CURBED**

When political analysis programmes are arranged, all people with different viewpoints who are experts and balanced should be invited. This is not done and, therefore, more or less it becomes a government sponsored wagon which carries people whom it chooses. The discussion of Thakkar Commission in this regard on Doordarshan is a clear evidence of how the government curbs truth and projects what it likes. (41)

**ELECTION ORIENTED MEDIA PERFORMANCE**

When Newspapers when they publish news, reports, features, photo-articles regarding politics, the persons whom the task is entrusted to, are not well-conversant with the subject and merely depend upon the resources of the news agency reports and information department's releases. Even the editorials are written on the basis of such material supplied from these sources. Correct assessment of political situation the cannot be given to the people. (42) The case of the elections in Assam may be cited here. The students' agitation continued more or less like a prolonged popular movement. "If the elections were held at that juncture, it will be more or less a fiasco. However, the editorials of the newspapers said that constitutionally. Whatever the situation may be, elections must be held in Assam. Then alone the people's government would solve the problem in a democratic way." Elections did take place (1983) but about 80 to 90% voters did not exercise their franchise. Even the victory was registered by a narrow margin of 330 to 340 votes. Could such a government be considered as people's government? After the results, the editorials did write that there was no meaning if Assam elections where people's representation was quite meagure.
REORIENTATION-TRAINING

The talks which the politicians not in frequently carry out about political consciousness and awareness does not work simply. One may leave it aside, as it is ingrained in them. However, the journalists who write about political affairs for each medium must have adequate knowledge of this aspect. This can be done only if a regular training orientation courses for these journalists who have been recruited and working; also those who are to be recruited should be taken with this purpose. The curriculum of the training must be by dispassionate, well-informed senior journalists, proven correspondents, and edit writers, and academically intellectual personnel. If the curriculum is all embracing and purposeful devising separate ways and means for each media and the recruitment flair and test may be ascertained and then they may be admitted to these training classes. Then each medium is bound to register considerable improvement because the writer what he has to write and for what as well as for whom he has to write.

Till November 1989, programmes on TV are slanted party-oriented, traditional, political purpose-oriented and as such the qualitative improvement in political projection seemed to be practically impossible. There is no method with any one right from information ministers to the comperes because the programmes are without any higher levels, stagnant and depicting loyalty to the government. (43) If these units are made autonomous, some changes are possible. Till then the only alternative for the people is to boycott or avoid seeing of these programmes. In Poland, when such programmes were given Polish people adopted this method of not seeing these programmes and conveying to the TV management of their boycott and favourable results came out. The TV authorities had to yield and make suitable changes in the programmes as demanded by the people. If this can be done in Poland, why can it not be done in India? The organised intellectuals should pave the way for adoption of this method. Once, it is decided, the details can be worked out.
REPRESENTATION TO ALL SHADES OF PUBLIC OPINION

If we want to live as citizens of a democratic nation, one way thought-traffic will have to be removed. One way thought-traffic is a truth but not the whole truth. Therefore, all the shades of opinions of the experts belonging to all the classes should be reflected. Then alone, the values of democracy may begin to come out and also strengthen its congenial forces. In brief, total popular opinion should be reflected.

ABSENCE OF AUTONOMY AND DAMAGE TO DEMOCRACY

But, however, here in India, it is said that "India is a democracy of an evolving nation and if different opinions are projected, there will be chaos and confusion. Evolution will come to standstill". Such arguments are being made by politically interested ruling elite to keep backward people deliberately on a low intellectual level. (44) For this, the power is used, the fake currency of the name of democracy is put into circulation and the elite control over the media is maintained. Vigilance Commission projection is a case in point. Only those who favoured the government were invited in the forum. The force of arguing and proving was repeated. People, of course, have common sense and they could make out that all this was a propaganda stunt. Such things could take place only because AIR and Doordarshan were not autonomous. If they were autonomous, there would have been considerable difference and the so called anti-poverty tirade in five years' plan, damaging mistakes related to Indo-China war, collaboration with industrialists, conspiracies of political assassinations, big cases of corruption, devaluation of judiciary and legislation and continuation of feudal democracy could have been detected, debated and exposed, well in time. Even common people could be made aware of these vital issues. But in the absence of autonomy, the ruling elements and media managers have damaged democracy as much as they could. What is required is sincere representation of varied opinion on vital public issues, for which study and political awareness are needed. If these are there,
mass media would definitely be more purposeful and democratically potent.

COPING UP WITH RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD

Spoken, written and listened words do effect on public. (45) Doordarshan and AIR and print medium plays different roles on this count. The effect of TV is for a long term purpose. Even after long term purpose, its effects remains or not is a matter of investigation and evaluation in a rapidly changing world. The needs of the day are not the needs of future. Comparatively, print medium does write with some responsibility. However, the sword of defamation, contempt of court and breach of special previleges hang over their heads all the while. Therefore, their publications also are not fully representative of popular mood. It is a general belief that with the advent of Doordarshan, radio has been pushed into the background. However, radio is the only medium which can be carried easily to the distant villages and is listened comparatively by far more people.

CENSORSHIP

Censorship imposed in 1975-1976 was extremely negative and fatal to democratic structure and it created a very hard unbearable blow on the public mind. These imposition of censorship even put into illusion that people did not object to censorship and Congress will surely win in the elections. Even the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the Government were disillusioned. Magazines were, more or less, "a storehouse of romantic affairs". As a result, rumours spread with eagle speed and whether they were true or false the people considered them to be authentic and the credibility of the entire propaganda was totally impactless. This dreadful situation killed the very process of democracy. Even Mr. V.C. Shukla, Minister for Information was not in the full know of the things and was under illusion that Congress would win. However, the elections in 1977 gave them an unforgettable lesson. This taught them that under no circumstances censorship
could block out the flow of information. The role of communicators, at this juncture, was very much deplorable. They never went to the grass-roots of the problems. They ignored lakhs of rumours and thought that they were deliberately spread to demoralise them and preferred to adopt an attitude a little more favourable to the party in power i.e. Smt. Indira Gandhi and gave insignificant place to Shri Jay Prakash Narayan's addresses, their impact and people's mood. This is where communicators have been a great failure. They could have by other means as stated in previous paragraphs at least given some sizeable portion of publication in their newspapers even within the frame work of censorship. If this was done, a healthy way to democratic process could have been paved. Instead, all the media analysed but of irrelevant problems. Particularly TV was responsible for it. Anti-power aptitude was reflected in newspapers but not to the desired or possible extent. Investigations mainly devoted to pointing out defects of government measures. But not the basic issues involved in it. The feedback channels, if kept open, could help Smt. Gandhi herself for the feedback would make her aware about the ground reality of popular reaction to her Emergency measures. Radio day in and out went on releasing programmes, purely propagative which were dubbed by people as nonsense. What these communicators had to do was to acquaint people about all problems, make them discuss them and make them anxious and ultimately make them active participants. Mass communicators miserably failed in adopting this attitude. As a result, explained everybody that more the propaganda more the censorship, more the people will run away from what the government wants to convince them.

SELLING COMMUNICATORS' VIEWPOINTS

Even in the restrictive conditions, the government owned media function they can do much better if they have a definite purpose. At least they can do three things namely (i) present news of developmental activities in a greater proportion, (ii) critical presentation of public issues and (iii) infuse varieties in their programmes. The other two things that the mass media can lay stress upon are projecting rising aspiration of people and
emergence of new forces that endeavour to change the process or even the concept of democracy. A communicator should be away from selling a particular viewpoint to the people because more or less, it will amount to shaping up another industry of false goods will not be acceptable to people.(46)

NEWS AND VIEWS

The mass media, today, have a little concept of the distinction between news and views. In news, views should not be made to creep in. No attempts to deliberately push the thinking of the receivers in one direction should be made. Brainwashing of the receiver should never be attempted. In fact, the efforts should be made to arouse critical thinking among the receivers so that they are able to judge the issues properly.

INTRODUCTION OF OMBUDSMAN

To-day, the Press Council in the format it functions is more or less imposed. Its advices to the newspapers are not needed many a times. It is not imposed upon the newspapers to accept its suggestions. The only value is that morally, the newspaper disregarding its advice will go down in the eyes of the journalistic world. Instead, a system of "Ombudsman" adopted by 'The Times of India' which in itself suggest corrective measures and the paper makes suitable changes accordingly.(47) It is a self-corrective device. If all the newspapers, TV, Radio and all media adopt this method, then each of them can correct itself in the way that it can and it needs to. Once the method of self-correcting device is adopted by each medium, then the element of imposition is not felt. The incentive to be better by itself will deliver goods.

MORE COMMUNITY LISTENING AND VIEWING

At present, mass media do not attempt to go the people who have no access to information. In fact, percolation
and diffusion of information to these people is the basic necessity and if this is neglected, public awareness or political consciousness can not be aroused in people. Therefore, more community radio sets and more community TV sets should be placed in slum, backward areas and villages in particular and illiterate areas in general.

**BRIDGE BETWEEN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT**

The duty of the communicators is to fill up the bridge between the Government and the people. Today, the communicators more heavily present the Government views and go on hammering it till the people are fed up with it. This results into alienation of people from the government and gap between the people and the government is widened. (48) The communicators, even though not of an autonomous body can do this if they have a little more visualisation and some sincerity and dedication to serve public interest.

**TIMELINESS**

At present, in AIR and Doordarshan the time is not observed. The current and hot events are not reported when they are happening and in its place other hackneyed matters are presented. People, therefore, have to switch to the other channels such as BBC, Voice of America and whatever they can catch hold of to know world events, and sometimes to know even events nearer home! This is of vital importance because there is no meaning in projecting the event after few days when people have already formed their opinions and events might have died down. One can not understand why this basic step is not being taken. There is no difficulty in maintaining timeliness and topicality. This is a flaw of the communicators' own making. (49)
In brief, all the aspects of communication, including communicators, objectives of communication, information motivation, target audience, area of coverage; subject, kind, nature and quantum of information; unbiased-neutral, visually rich, factual presentation, black out, curbing, censorship, one-sided personality cult encouragement, have been dealt with in this chapter. The stress is laid by me on some of the main features such as on making all the mass media people-oriented, content-oriented, fact-oriented. Presenting all the varieties of views and giving due importance to Centre and state both instead of only concentrating on Union Government, understanding the depth and dimensions of communication gives political communication what it need the most — efficacy and credibility.
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COMMUNICATORS' PERCEPTION

Flow of Political Communication

I neither show people, nor project people.

Radio

I neither listen to people, nor talk about people.

I neither know people, nor write about people.