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AMERICA IN THE INDIAN PRESS:
A Study of News Flow and Usage

Frederick T. Davis



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by

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Preface

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I. Purpose of the Study

In a world shrunken by modern technology to a small ball of compact humanity, what men know and think of each other becomes crucially important. How well they know and understand each other depends to a considerable extent upon the quantity and quality of news flowing between them.

This study is an investigation of the flow of news from the U.S.A. to India and its use in the press. It was undertaken in the belief that a better knowledge of the character of the news flow and the pattern of usage, as well as an increased understanding of the problems involved, must precede any general improvement.

It also was felt that the more attention can be focused on the situation, the more efforts may be stimulated to seek ways of effecting that improvement. If the study succeeds to even a small degree in either of these aims, it will have achieved its purpose.

II. Approach

The subject was not approached with any ideal conception of foreign news coverage to use as a critical yardstick. At the same time, it is inevitable that Americans would like to see ever greater and more comprehensive coverage of their country in the press of India or any other nation. Indians are no less anxious to have themselves ever more thoroughly covered in the American press.

In such a situation, it is doubtful if any two countries would agree fully on what constitutes "satisfactory" coverage of either in the press of the other. The study therefore was approached with a desire to avoid, insofar as possible, either a purely American or an Indian point of view.

Primary attention was devoted to analyzing existing objective conditions and the related problems of press communications, rather than to a critical study of press attitudes. This approach seemed more likely to increase the over-all usefulness of the study to interested persons in each country.

On this basis, the study was divided into five main aspects:

1. The sources and nature of the flow of American news to India.
2. The usage of the news in the daily press.
3. The resulting picture of America and Americans.
4. The views of Indian editors on the flow and changes they would like to see in it.
5. The outlook for the future.

III Scope and Method

The nature of the news flow to India was studied through the files of the two Indian wire news agencies on 14 dates during three months in January-April, 1956.

During the same period, 34 daily newspapers were subscribed to and the American news in them analyzed and compared with the corresponding agency files.

Conclusions about the picture of America presented are drawn

from these two studies.

The views of editors were obtained through a questionnaire, formulated in part on the basis of the content studies, and sent to editors of papers taking one or more wire services. Further views and information were gained by personal interviews with a large number of editors and other pertinent persons in different parts of India.

The scope and method of different aspects of the study are discussed in more detail in the respective chapters.

IV A Problem

Mention must be made of the problem of obtaining accurate statistics on the Indian press. Reliable figures have not been available because there has been no organization, public or private, with the aim or means of collecting data from the press as a whole.

The Press Commission experienced great difficulty in getting satisfactory statistics, and had in the end to be content with approximate data, although it felt this was essentially accurate. As a result of the commission's recommendations, a government Press Registrar has been appointed, with authority to require all papers to file copies for record and to supply circulation figures and other data. As soon as this data can be collected and compiled, there will be, for the first time, assuredly accurate statistics on the press.

The data on the number of daily newspapers and circulations used in this study are based in general on the Press Commission's

figures. For papers which are members of the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the latest available figures from that source have been used. The resulting data would appear to be the best available under the circumstances.

V. Form of the Report

The chapter following this introduction consists of general background on the press and readership, designed to place the study in perspective. The material is limited to aspects of particular relevance, and is not intended as a comprehensive summary of the subject.

The succeeding chapter takes up the sources and nature of the news flow to India. That is followed by a chapter on the content study of newspapers. Next come the results of the questionnaire and interviews and finally, a chapter of conclusions.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIAN PRESS AND ITS READERS

(The following are notes on selected aspects of background, designed to give perspective to the remainder of the study.)

I. The Press as a Whole

India has approximately 330 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 2½-3 million copies per day.* Of these, about 40 papers with a circulation of 700,000 are in English. The remainder are in 12 major and a few minor Indian languages.

The distribution of papers by languages is shown in the following table from the Press Commission Report:

<u>Language</u>	<u>No. of Papers</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
English	41	697,000
Hindi	76	397,000
Bengali	7	240,000
Urdu	70	218,000
Malayalam	21	196,000
Marathi	26	191,000
Gujarati	23	187,000
Tamil	12	168,000
Telegu	6	98,000
Kannada	25	72,000
Oriya	3	43,000
Punjabi	9	23,000
Assamese	1	3,000
Minor languages	9	15,000
Chinese	1	500
Total	330	2,525,000

* The Press Commission figure was 2½ million. But the growth of circulation during the past four years seems likely to have pushed circulation toward if not past the 3 million mark.

The largest single-paper circulation in English is 97,000, and in an Indian language, 72,000. Both of these papers are published from more than one center.

Few papers have a circulation of more than 25,000, and the majority of the Indian-language papers have circulations of 5,000 or less.

The number of papers by circulation groups is shown in the following table, figures for which are taken from the Press Commission Report.

<u>Circulation Group</u>	<u>English- Language Papers</u>	<u>Indian Language Papers</u>
Up to 1,000	3	67
1,000-5,000	7	113
5,001-10,000	10	49
10,001-25,000	10	42
25,001-50,000	6	7
50,001-75,000	2	3
75,001 and up	1	-

All but a handful of Indian dailies are morning papers. This is in part because of the time required to transport papers to outlying areas. And since Indian time is 5 to 10 hours ahead of that in major Western news centers, much important foreign news reaches India in the late evening and middle of the night.

The size of papers varies from 10 - 14 pages daily for the

larger English-language papers to 4 - 6 pages for much of the Indian-language press. However, the smaller amount of advertising compared with papers in western countries, leaves a relatively larger amount of space for editoria content. This is particularly true of the Indian-language press, although this advantage is somewhat offset by the complexities of expression and of the characters used in the Indian languages.

A greater number of characters is needed to express a thought in most of the Indian languages than in English. And the nature of many characters requires a larger body size of type. As a result, a column in most Indian-language papers carries considerably less news than a column in English-language papers.

II Some Problems of the Press.

The financial position of some of the English-language press and of the majority of Indian-language papers is precarious. Income from advertising and circulation are limited. Newsprint and other costs are high. Capital is very short. The resulting poor finances of many papers leave them little ability to make even fairly inexpensive improvements or innovations.

The relative development of journalism varies considerably among the different Indian languages. For example, circulation per 1,000 population varies from 14.7 papers in Malayalam down to 3.3 in Oriya, 3.0 in Telegu and 0.6 in Assamese. These variations result from numerous factors, including differences in levels of literacy, education, economic conditions, geography, transportation facilities,

reading habits and cultural considerations.

Technical conditions within the press industry also vary. In a few languages, such as Malayalam, typographical complexities of the script have prevented the development of composing machines. Many Urdu papers are hand-written and then lithographed.

The Indian-language press also suffers from the absence of teleprinters in any of the regional languages except Hindi, and in Hindi only a small beginning has been made in their use. This means that practically all non-local news, except that supplied by air mail, must be translated into the regional languages from English before publication. Oftentimes this involves two translations, one from one regional language into English, for transmission, and then re-translation into the same or another regional language for publication. Thus, verbatim accounts of a speech made in an Indian language ordinarily differ, at least slightly, in each Indian-language paper that uses the story, even among those in the language in which the speech was delivered. This translation process is costly and time-consuming, and often results in the news being pared to its barest essentials.

Another factor that hampers the growth of some of the Indian-language press is adherence to difficult literary styles and complex vocabularies. Illustrating this is Mr. Nehru's recent appeal to Hindi newspapers to develop an easy, straight-forward style and simple, non-Sanscritized vocabulary that would encourage greater readership of the papers and more rapid spread of the national language.

On the other hand, colloquial forms of some Indian languages are not sufficiently standardized to be intelligible over the whole language area. To meet this problem, papers resort to the literary form of the language which, although it is more difficult for the average reader, is more or less standard over the whole region.

III Readership

Readership is confined to the tiny, though highly influential minority of the total population which can both read and afford newspapers. This group is overwhelmingly urban, while India's population is primarily rural.

Newspapers are costly. The average English-language papers sell for 3 1/3 cents, and most of the Indian-language papers for about 2 cents. In most Indian homes, a daily newspaper is a luxury.

Perhaps a maximum of 9 million people, or 2½ per cent of the population can read or follow a newspaper. This estimate is based on census figures and on the Press Commission's assumption that a middle-school or high-school education is necessary to enable a person to read a newspaper with facility. If we can assume that each of the approximately 3 million daily copies is seen by 2 persons, it would appear that many, perhaps most, of those who can read with facility do have access to a newspaper.

The actual dissemination of news, however, is far greater than these figures would indicate. Reading of newspapers aloud to groups of listeners and other word-of-mouth contacts carry at least some of the news to a number certainly many times the actual readership.

IV Two Important Characteristics

A striking characteristic of the Indian press is its serious nature. Several factors have contributed to this. In the early days, Indian newspapers were started primarily by religious, social or literary reformers, both English and Indian. Later, politics and the independence movement became the dominant elements in the rise of new papers and the growth of older ones.

Throughout most of the formative years of the press, readership was confined to a very small class of literate, often well-educated persons, many of them civil servants, members of the professions and others with serious interests.

Since 1947, this emphasis on serious news has remained-- in education, information, reforms and planning. As Krishnalal Shridharani in his recent study of "The Journalist in India," says, "There is very little of laughter and gaiety, and the 'entertainment' aspect of the press is relatively ignored."

A second characteristic of the press is its high content of foreign news. The International Press Institute in its 1952-53 study, "The Flow of the News," found that foreign news occupied 12.5 per cent of all non-advertising space in Indian-language papers and 22 per cent in English-language papers. "Probably in no other country," the report concluded, "is foreign news given such importance in relation to national and local coverage."

This emphasis on foreign news has come about through a number of factors: (1) the presence down to 1947 of a sizeable English community, interested in news of England and the West,

(2) the pre-independence significance to Indians of news from London, (3) the relatively high level of education and broad interests of many Indian readers, (4) the underdevelopment of facilities for gathering and distributing domestic and local news, and (5) the desire of Indian patriots to identify themselves with and draw inspiration from other colonial peoples and their struggles for freedom.

V The Indian Journalist

The journalist, his education, pay, working conditions and attitudes all may affect his selection and presentation of news. While these influences cannot be assessed definitely, consideration of them is important.

The average Indian journalist, Shridharani says, is of the middle class, usually of at least high-school education, but seldom with more than a B.A. degree. He concluded that "a lack of understanding of issues, owing to the absence of academic training, leads to a faulty display."

This is in part borne out by the questionnaire sent to editors in connection with the present study. They were asked whether they felt that sub-editors handling foreign news "have sufficient educational background, including knowledge of other countries, to enable them to do a first-class job." Of the 56 editors who answered, 34 said "yes," and 22 "no."

The small number of subeditors on most papers makes it necessary for each to do a number of different jobs. This precludes the

development of specialists comparable to the telegraph editor on American dailies.

Libraries and reference materials on most papers offer the editorial worker too little help, even if he had time to avail himself of it.

Pay scales are low. The Press Commission found that "junior" journalists (including most of those who handle foreign news) received less than \$42 a month on Indian-language papers and between \$42 and \$100 on English-language papers. There has been some improvement since 1953, but the situation today is not markedly different.

Other working conditions leave much to be desired. Insecurity of tenure is common. Opportunities for promotion are limited. Work loads are heavy.

"By and large," Shridharani concludes, "the Indian journalist is dissatisfied with his working conditions, his poor pay, with the fragile quality of his influence on a society composed overwhelmingly of those who do not or cannot read him or anybody else..."

This dissatisfaction is evident in political attitudes. "Comparatively speaking, the average Indian journalist is further left of center than perhaps any other professional worker or white-collar worker," he adds.

Relatively loose editorial control exercised by many owners and publishers, as described by V.K. Narasimhan of the Hindu in his study, The Making of Editorial Policy, gives editors and sub-editors considerable scope for making their views or predilections felt.

However, the pressure of work may leave the sub-editor relatively little time to rewrite copy or, in Shridharani's view to "give it a slant." He concluded that if a story happens to disagree violently with a sub-editor's views, he may simply kill it, or give it a headline which in some measure reflects his own views.

An effort was made in the questionnaire to obtain editors' opinions on sub-editing. They were asked to rate the sub-editing of agency news copy on Indian newspapers as either "excellent," "good," "average," or "fair." Of the 61 editors who answered the question, 32 called the sub-editing "good," 18 "average," 9 "fair," and only 2 called it "excellent."

Another question asked whether editors thought that subeditors in handling agency copy: (1) "always try their hardest, in selecting, editing and heading stories, to make the news understandable," or (2) "are over-inclined to take the news as it comes, treating it in a less imaginative or routine manner." Twenty-eight editors thought sub-editors "always try their hardest." But 22 others felt sub-editors are "over-inclined to take the news as it comes."

CHAPTER III
THE NEWS FLOW TO INDIA

I. General Sources

Foreign news reaches India's daily newspapers through four general sources: news agencies, special correspondents abroad, special news services issued by leading foreign newspapers, and the information services of foreign governments.

By far the most important of these are the news agencies, of which there are four: the Press Trust of India (PTI), the United Press of India (UPI) (no connection with the United Press of America), the Association Press (of America) (APA), and the Near and Far East News Agency (NAFEN). The first three transmit news by wire, the last is a small mail service.

These agencies account for 85-90 per cent of the foreign news used by the larger papers in English, and an even higher percentage of that used by other papers.

A few of the largest dailies, almost all in English, subscribe to the news services of major foreign newspapers, chiefly in London. These include the services of the London Observer and the Daily Express, taken by the Hindustan Times; that of the Times of London, taken by the Statesman; and Walter Lippmann's column, taken from the New York Herald Tribune by the Hindu and the Hindusthan Standard. Until recently, the Times of India subscribed to the foreign service of The New York Times. Most of the material in these special services is analytical or interpretative, rather than spot news.

Only a handful of the largest dailies are able to maintain full-time foreign correspondents, and only one of these, the Hindu, has a full-time reporter in the United States. The Hindu's newsman, stationed in Washington, and the correspondent of PTI in New York City are the only full-time Indian correspondents in America.

A few of the larger papers employ part-time correspondents in major foreign capitals, particularly London. One or two papers have such correspondents in the U.S.A., but their output appears to be small.

The information services of major foreign governments including the U.S. Information Service (USIS), supply news and pictures to most of the daily press. Unfortunately it is practically impossible to determine how much of this is used, because papers almost never identify USIS as the source of a story. However, it is reasonably clear that the amount used constitutes a small, though important, portion of the total American news appearing in the daily press.

II The News Agencies

One hundred and seventy-eight of India's estimated 330 daily newspapers subscribe to a wire news service. These 178 papers have a total circulation of about 2,375,000, or roughly 80 per cent of the overall circulation.

Of these 178 papers, 135 with a circulation of 1,250,000 take a single wire news service, either PTI or UPI. Of these, PTI serves 95 papers with a circulation of 1,090,000 and UPI 40 papers with a circulation of 160,000. Thirty-eight papers with a circulation of

of just under 1,000,000 receive both PTI and UPI news.

The five papers of the Times of India group, with a combined circulation of about 150,000, have three wire services: PTI, UPI, and APA.

A breakdown of wire service membership by language is given in the following table compiled from figures supplied by the agencies.

Extent of Wire Service Membership
Among Indian Daily Newspapers

Language	Total number Papers	Papers with wire service	Papers with PTI and UPI	Papers with PTI only	Papers with UPI only
English	41	34	18	10	6
Assamese	1	1	-	1	-
Bengali	7	6	5	1	-
Gujarati	23	19	2	15	2
Hindi	76	35	7	18	10
Kannada	25	7	1	6	-
Malayalam	21	16	-	16	-
Marathi	26	18	-	11	7
Oriya	3	3	1	1	1
Punjabi	9	1	-	-	1
Tamil	12	7	2	5	-
Telegu	6	1	1	2	1
Urdu	70	25	6	8	11
Sindhi	7	1	-	1	-
Manipuri	2	-	-	-	-
Chinese	1	1	-	-	1
Total	330	178	43	95	40

The 152 papers not taking a wire service have an average circulation of only about 4,000. Thus the majority of papers subscribe to an agency wire service. Those that do not are small and of little general importance.

On the basis of language, the English press is the most thoroughly covered by wire services. But each of the 14 Indian languages in which there is a daily newspaper, with the minor exception of Manipuri, have at least one paper with an agency wire service.

The Press Trust of India is a private limited company, ownership of which is confined to subscribing newspapers. PTI obtains its foreign news from Reuters under contract and from a small number of its own correspondents, stationed chiefly in Asian capitals.

The United Press of India is a privately owned, public limited company, which obtains its foreign news from Agence France Presse. UPI has a handful of its own correspondents in nearby Asian countries, and a newsman in London.

The Associated Press of America supplies news to the Times of India group under an exclusive contract. Its news comes from its own world-wide service.

The Near and Far East News Agency is a British-owned company. It supplies a relatively small amount of news of a more or less feature type to 38 subscribing papers by air mail. Its news is gathered by its own correspondents in the U.S.A., the U.K., the Middle and Far East.

The following table gives the relative scope of the three wire news services:

Agency	Number of Papers Served	Circulation of Papers Served
PTI	138	2,210,000
UPI	83	1,281,000
APA	5	140,000

The predominant role of PTI is underlined by the fact that the five subscribers of APA and 43 of UPI are also PTI members. Of all wire service subscribers, only 40 UPI papers with a total circulation of but 160,000 are not members of PTI.

The relative position of the two main agencies is further brought out by comparing the total circulation of their members in English and in Indian languages:

Agency	E-L Members	I-L Members	Total E-L Circulation	Total I-L Circulation
PTI	28	110	730,629	1,479,466
UPI	24	59	666,295	614,845

The position of the two agencies among English-language papers is not significantly different. In Indian-language papers, however, PTI has nearly twice the membership and more than double the circulation of UPI.

III Agency Sources of U.S. News

The most significant point about American news supplied to Indian papers by the news agencies is that it is reported by sources that are primarily neither Indian nor American.

PTI's American news comes from Reuters, and from its own correspondent, an Indian, in New York City. The latter covers the United Nations and supplements the Reuters file with stories of particular interest to India. An analysis of PTI files indicates that approximately 83 per cent of its American news comes from Reuters and about 17 per cent from its own newsman, whose stories are limited to the New York area and to Washington.

Reuters has British and Australian correspondents in bureaus in New York and Washington, and has stringers (American newsmen) in other major cities. The preponderance of New York and Washington datelines in the Reuters file seems to indicate that by far the biggest part of Reuters' reporting in the U.S.A. is done by its own bureaus. Reuters also subscribes to the domestic service of APA, but appears to make relatively little use of it.

Reuters news from these sources is combined in its New York bureau and sent to London by radioteletype. There, the selection of news for PTI is made on its Indian desk, whose workers are advised by a PTI newsman. The news is then sent by radioteletype to Bombay, where it is broken down by PTI into three classes of service and transmitted by teletype to its bureaus and members throughout India.

UPI's American news is obtained from AFP, which has bureaus in New York and Washington. These are staffed by French newsmen, and some Americans. AFP also received APA's domestic service. AFP news is sent from New York to Paris, where a selection for Asia is

made on its Far East desk, manned chiefly by British newsmen, with a few Frenchmen and Americans. From Paris, the news is radioteletyped to UPI in New Delhi. From there it is teletyped to other UPI offices and member papers.

APA's news is gathered, edited and transmitted by American newsmen. Its news for India is radioed direct from New York to Bombay, with a relay at Tangier.

NAFEN's source of U.S. news is its American correspondent in New York City. He airmails news for India direct to Bombay. From there it is mimeographed and distributed to member papers by airmail and hand delivery.

USIS supplies a large amount of American news daily to practically all newspapers. This news is gathered by its own staff in the U.S.A. and radiod to Bombay. There the file is teletyped to the New Delhi office and from there to offices in Calcutta and Madras. These regional offices select, mimeograph and distribute items they consider will be of most interest to larger papers in their areas. Local distribution is by hand, other by mail. Smaller papers receive the entire news file direct from Bombay.

Nearly all USIS news is supplied in English. Occasionally, important speeches, texts or other special items are supplied to larger papers in the principal Indian languages.

IV Classes of Agency Services

APA has but one class of foreign news service and its subscribers in India all receive the same amount of copy. UPI has two classes, general and summary, but as far as foreign news is concerned,

practically all subscribers receive the same amount of copy.

PTI has three classes of service, "A," "B," and "C." The division, based on wordage and importance of news items, is designed to meet the needs of papers varying in size, policy or financial ability.

The "A" service is the most complete, the "B" next and the "C" is the shortest. The "C" service contains only the most important news of the day in brief form. The "B" service includes the "C" plus added details, and a few stories of slightly less priority. The "A" service comprises the "B" and the "C" plus more details on items in them, and a considerable number of stories of less general importance, of interest and use to papers of larger size and circulation.

PTI has said that the "B" service is intended to provide 50 per cent of the "A" wordage, and the "C" 25 per cent of the "A". But there appears to be considerable variance in this. The Press Commission made an analysis of PTI reports and found the "B" and "C" reports to be 60 and 40 per cent, respectively, of the "A". The figures for American news only, on the basis of the present study, were 27 per cent and 13 per cent.

The membership and total circulation of the three PTI services is given in the following table.

Class of Service	E-I members	I-I members	Total E-I circulation	Total I-L circulation
A	18	4	641,255	180,024
B	9	26	80,881	553,014
C	1	80	8,493	746,428
Total	28	110	730,629	1,479,466

PTI's "A" service goes chiefly in English-language papers. Indian language subscribers comprise most of the "B" service subscribers and practically all those of the "C" service.

The costs of agency services are an important factor in the extent of wire news service. They assume added significance from the extremely limited financial resources of most papers.

PTI charges the following minimum monthly rates:

Service	E-L Papers	I-L Papers
"A"	Rs. 3,600	Rs. 1,800
"B"	2,000	1,000
"C"	1,200	600

After a year's membership, a surcharge is added for each 5,000 circulation over a minimum of 10,000. This surcharge amounts to Rs. 200 for the "A" service, 100 for "B" and 50 for "C". The surcharge is the same for both English and Indian-language papers.

UPI's maximum monthly charges are Rs. 2,000 for English-language papers and Rs. 1,150 for Indian-language papers. However, UPI gives numerous rate concessions, depending upon an individual paper's circulation and general financial position. Although there is no fixed scale, these concessional rates may be as low as Rs. 1,150 for English-language papers and Rs. 650 for papers in Indian languages. About half of UPI's 83 members receive some concession in rates.

V. Quantity of the News Flow

Most Indian papers are so largely limited to the American news in agency dispatches that these take on special importance. PTI and UPI files of American news for the 11 dates corresponding with the newspaper study were studied in detail. The average, maximum and minimum amounts of American news supplied per day were as follows:

Agency Service	Maximum Wordage	Minimum Wordage	Average Wordage
PTI "A"	6,610	1,120	2,800
" "B"	1,790	130	753
" "C"	840	000	368
UPI	1,150	70	610

The amount of news supplied on any single day varied widely, depending on the relative importance of that day of three factors: events in the U.S.A. themselves, news from other foreign countries, and news within India.

The daily flow of USIS news is very large, averaging 8,000 to 10,000 words in its combined South Asia and Middle East news files. However, the total sent to larger dailies is greatly reduced in its regional offices. The Calcutta office, for example, supplies about 2,500 words per day to papers in Eastern India.

VI. Types of Stories in the News Flow

Agency dispatches also were analyzed according to the subject of the stories carried. The resulting quantitative percentages of different types of stories are given in the following table:

Category of news*	PTI"A" service per cent	PTI"B" service per cent	PTI"C" service per cent	UPI per cent
Foreign relations	46.0	52.3	68.3	59.7
Politics	11.8	9.2	4.5	5.8
Racial	9.1	15.7	8.0	3.8
Economic aid	7.9	8.4	6.8	6.2
Science-technical	5.7	1.6	---	1.4
Sports	3.7	---	---	---
Economic conditions	2.8	1.3	---	.9
Defense	1.6	2.5	2.7	10.5
Judicial-legal	1.4	1.7	3.4	---
Human interest	1.2	---	---	3.2
Military aid	.9	3.3	---	---
Cultural	.9	---	---	---
Disaster	.7	.8	1.6	3.3
Educational	.3	---	---	---
Religious	---	---	---	---
Crime	---	---	---	---
Social measures	---	---	---	---
Non-American**	6.0	3.2	4.7	4.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Conclusions from this are:

1. News of America's relations with other countries, India in particular of course, constituted the major part of the files of all the news services. It was 46 per cent of the PTI "A" report, 52 per cent of the "B" and 68 per cent of the "C". In the UPI report it was 59 per cent.

*The schedule of categories is based in part on that used by the International Press Institute in its study "The Flow of the News." All classification of stories was done by the writer, following codified definitions of each category.

** News coming through American sources but not involving America or Americans. An example was a story of pro-Stalin riots in Russia, which broke from Washington through a State Department release.

2. Next in importance were stories of politics, race relations and economic aid, although the exact order varied in each report.

3. Smaller amounts of wordage were given to news of disasters, economic conditions, and human interest type stories.

4. The least space, in many cases little or none, was devoted to news of cultural, educational and religious developments and crime.

Analyzing the individual services and comparing them brought out three points:

1. The PTI "A" service, while comprised heavily of foreign relations news, was of sufficient quantity to include stories of a wide range of other types, including sports, cultural and educational developments, military aid and human interest stories.

2. The PTI "B" service was considerably more restricted in variety as well as wordage. Foreign relations news amounted to more than half, and there were no stories of cultural, educational, human interest or sports news.

3. The PTI "C" report was even more predominantly foreign relations news. There were a few stories of race relations, economic aid and politics, and occasionally a story of judicial-legal news, defense or disaster.

4. The UPI service fell between the PTI "B" and "C" services both in quantity and in scope. Aside from one or two minor deviations, its pattern was strikingly similar to that of PTI.

USIS does not attempt to compete with the commercial news

agencies in the reporting of general news. The types of stories it supplies are based on its four major objectives of publicizing (1) the U.S.A. as a champion of peace, (2) the technical co-operation program, (3) the American attitude toward Communism, and (4) a better understanding of the American way of life.

This frameword tends to put the majority of its news in the categories of foreign relations, politics and economic aid. Thus the USIS pattern does not differ radically from that of the commercial news agencies. It appears, however, that USIS carries more news of American life generally than do the agencies.

VII. Datelines

Datelines of PTI and UPI stories were studied to find the relative number of items and wordage originating from Washington, New York and other points. The results were as follows:

Agency	Washington Stories	New York Stories	Other Stories	Washington Wordage	New York Wordage	Other Wordage
PTI	46.0	27.0	27.0	50.3	28.5	21.2
UPI	66.7	15.7	17.6	70.6	15.5	13.9

Washington datelines accounted for 50.3 per cent of PTI wordage and 70.6 per cent of UPI. New York dated stories covered 28.5 per cent of PTI wordage and 15.5 per cent of UPI. Stories from all other points amounted to 21.2 per cent of PTI and 13.9 per cent of UPI wordage.

Practically all stories from Washington and the majority from New York dealt with government and related activities. About a

quarter of the stories from other places, for example from President Eisenhower's vacation headquarters in Augusta, Ga., were also of this type.

Thus news of what may be called an "official" type appeared to account for 2/3 to 3/4 of all agency wordage. There was correspondingly little news of people, or of their "private" activities, except in race relations, sports and science and technological developments.

VIII. Indian "Angles"

A high percentage of stories of all types was built around Indian "angles." This was particularly true of stories of economic aid, and it was a significant factor in such categories as cultural, educational and racial news.

Cultural news, for example, was mostly accounts of recognition given Indian culture in the U.S.A., including reviews given Indian books by American newspapers, and Indian choir touring the U.S.A., and observances of Indian holidays.

The Indian angle also was uppermost in almost all educational news stories, for instance the establishment of a V.K. Krishna Menon scholarship at Rutgers, or news of a special course being given Indian and other foreign specialists at Columbia University.

And in race relations, stories of the Negro boycott of busses in Montgomery, Ala., were often centered on the attempt to conduct the movement on lines of non-co-operation and other Gandhian principles.

In general, the predominance of the Indian "angle" in many types of stories was so great that the stories did not reflect those particular areas of American life, but only occasional, often minor elements that had an Indian reference. This suggests that the resulting overall picture of many aspects of American life is not as complete as even the limited amount of space given to these types of news might indicate.

IX. A Control

Study of the agency dispatches is by itself not enough to answer the important questions, "Do the agencies report all the major news from the U.S.A.? Are any stories of top-rank importance in America unreported to the Indian press? If so, what types of stories are involved?"

In an attempt to find the answers, The New York Times' home edition was compared with the agency reports for the 14 days under study. A simple result was handicapped by the impossibility of establishing objective criteria for classifying a story as of major international significance.

The difficulty is compounded by the need to consider all the factors involved in the transmission or non-transmission of a particular news story from one particular country to another on a particular day. Agency editors in New York, London or Paris might select an American story, on its own merits, for transmission to India, but be forced to lay it aside because of a heavy file of what they judge to be more important news from other countries that day. Or technical difficulties in radio or teleprinter signals may curtail transmission to or within India.

The impossibility of determining these factors or of correlating them to achieve a reliable answer left the results in the form of general observations and conclusions rather than measurable data.

First, no outstanding instances were noted where a really top domestic story appearing in The Times was not reported to India by the news agencies. Leading stories of lesser importance, which were not carried by the agencies to India fell into two categories:

1. Stories whose subjects made them of more or less, if not purely domestic interest.
2. Stories whose subjects were of types basically interesting to Indian papers, but whose specific news developments were too minor or limited to make them of major interest abroad. Examples of this were stories of politics and of a Congressional investigation underway at the time.

This suggests that unless the day-to-day developments in major, continuing, stories are summed up in periodic roundups or "situationers," papers abroad are hardly able to keep the stories in focus for their readers. The agencies do provide roundup stories on various subjects from time to time. But it seems there is scope for somewhat more of this type of reporting for India.

CHAPTER IV

THE USE OF THE NEWS FLOW IN THE PRESS

I. Introduction

The object of this study was to obtain as clear a picture as possible of the news from the U.S.A. appearing in the selected sample of the Indian daily press. The specific questions sought to be answered were:

1. What was the average amount of American news used per day.
2. What types of stories were used and what was the relative amount of each type used.
3. What sources did the stories come from and what was the relative quantity from each source.
4. How were the stories handled in the papers, that is, what locations and headlines were given them.
5. What was each paper's expressed editorial attitude toward the U.S.A. generally, and what correlation, if any, was discernable between this attitude and the amount of American news used.

II. Scope

The study intercluded all stories originating from the U.S.A., that is, all stories with American datelines. Two exceptions were made: United Nations news and the daily financial and commodity reports. UN news is international in character rather than American. The market reports are routines of interest only to small special groups in India rather than the public as a whole. Their use is almost entirely limited to the larger English-language papers.

The story needed to be spread over a sufficiently long time to avoid the unbalancing effect of major news stories receiving concentrated attention during a number of days, and to include scope for as wide as possible a variety of news. Yet the physical limitations of what could be done, as well as the cost of assistants to obtain data from the Indian-language press, necessitated keeping the overall effort to a minimum consonant with valid and useful results.

The solution arrived at was to spread the study over a three-month period, and to study the papers every sixth day. This resulted in study of 14 dates, including two issues of each day of the week. This latter point was necessary to allow for variations in a paper's number of pages on different days of the week. For example, most of the papers studied published the smallest number of pages on Mondays and the largest on Sundays and Fridays.

It would have been ideal to have studied the papers more frequently, and to have continued the study for a longer period than three months. At the same time, most of the results obtained developed into strong patterns on which clear conclusions could be based. In the relatively few instances where data were too few for generalizing, it appears that only a far more extensive study would have yielded significantly more comprehensive results.

The study of whatever news appeared on the 14 dates chosen did not produce quite enough of a base for full answers to all the questions. It was therefore supplemented by a study of the specific

use or non-use of 10 selected stories.

The news appearing in a paper on a particular day could not be compared exactly with the wire service reports for the preceding 24 hours, because of the $10\frac{1}{2}$ -hour time differential between the U.S.A. and India. This results in most American news reaching India late in the evening or in the middle of the night. Stories frequently arrive too late for use in the next morning's paper, particularly on papers with early deadlines. In the Indian-language press, the translation factor injects a further small delay.

Consequently, late arriving news often must be held over until the second day if it is to be used. Moreover, many Indian papers make a practice of using lesser important items two, three or even more days after receipt, if space cannot be found for them earlier.

The result of this situation is to make comparison of news agency reports on a particular date with the next morning's papers relative rather than precise. However, since any one day's papers also include stories not used on previous days, the effect over a period would appear to average out, insofar as the amount and type of stories used are concerned.

Because this type of comparison does not give full data on the use or non-use of a particular story, and to insure inclusion in the study of some of the major news of the period, a study of 10 specific stories was added. For this, papers of the three succeeding days were read, and data recorded as in the 14-day study. The stories were selected to include examples of lesser as well as more

important stories, and stories of varying subjects.

III. The Languages and Papers Studied

Thirty-four papers were studied, 13 in English, 8 in Hindi, 4 in Urdu and 3 each in Bengali, Tamil and Malayalam. Two North Indian languages, Marathi and Gujarati, had to be left out, as well as two South Indian languages, Telegu and Kannada. These were omitted not because they are unimportant, but because including them would either have meant increasing the papers studied to a prohibitive number, or studying so few papers in each language that over-all results would have been weakened. It seemed that at least three papers should be read in each language covered, and for some, notably English and Hindi, a considerably greater number was necessary for an adequate sample.

The six languages chosen represent 75 per cent of the total circulation of all Indian dailies, including those in English. Hindi, Urdu and Bengali account for 65 per cent of the circulation in North Indian languages; Tamil and Malayalam represent 68 per cent of that in South Indian languages. Thus the languages chosen represent $\frac{3}{4}$ of the country's total circulation and practically equal portions of the total in North and South India.

The number of papers studied in each language, and their individual selection were based on considerations of circulation, geographical spread of the language, the number of major papers in it, and which were subscribers to which of the news agencies. Another need was to include papers of varying numbers of pages, the

smaller and lesser important ones as well as the larger and more influential. Because of the overwhelming importance of PTI among the agencies, the papers were selected from among PTI members. However, 15 of the 34 also were UPI subscribers. All are morning papers.

The 13 papers in English were the Times of India (Bombay edition), Free Press Journal (Bombay), Hindustan Times (New Delhi), The Statesman and Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta editions), the Hindu (Madras), Indian Express (Madras edition), The Tribune (Ambala), Deccan Herald (Bangalore), Indian Nation (Patna), Assam Tribune (Gauhati), Hitavada (Nagpur), and the Eastern Times (Guttack).

These 13 papers represent 77 per cent of the total circulation of English-language dailies.

Hindi papers studied included Hindustan (New Delhi), Nav Bharat Times (new Delhi edition), Aryavarta (Patna), Nava Jeevan (Lucknow), Pratap (Kanpur), Lokmanya (Calcutta), Jagran (Indore), and Nav Bharat (Nagpur). They represent 30 per cent of the total circulation in Hindi. The low percentage results from the large number of papers in Hindi, and their small average circulation. Nav Bharat Times and Hindustan have the largest circulation among Hindi dailies. The other six Hindi papers are medium and small in size and circulation.

The four Urdu papers included were Milap (Jullundur, New Delhi and Hyderabad), Pratap (Jullundur and New Delhi), Inquilab (Bombay and Hyderabad), and Asre Jadid (Calcutta). The New Delhi editions of Milap and Pratap were used and the Bombay edition of

Inquilab. Milap and Pratap are the largest circulation papers in Urdu. Both are Hindu-owned. Inquilab and Asre Jadid are Muslim-owned papers. The four account for 26 per cent of the total circulation in Urdu. Their influence, however, is greater than that figure would indicate, since most Urdu papers are extremely small and local.

The Bengali papers studied, three of the six dailies in the language, were Ananda Bazar Patrika, Jugantar, and Lokasevak, all of Calcutta. Together they account for 77 per cent of the circulation in Bengali. Ananda Bazar Patrika and Jugantar have the two largest circulations among all single-unit Indian-language dailies.

In Tamil, the papers chosen were Dinamani (Madras and Madura), Swadesamitran (Madras), and Nava India (Coimbatore). The Madras edition of Dinamani was used. The three papers represent 64 per cent of the circulation of Tamil dailies. Dinamani and Swadesamitran are the leading papers in the language.

Malayalam dailies used were Mathrubhumi (Kozhikode), Malayalam Manorama (Kottayam), and the Express (Trichur). Their circulation is 36 per cent of the total in Malayalam. Mathrubhumi and Malayalam Manorama are the largest papers in the language.

IV. Method

The papers were obtained by subscription. The data from English-language papers and part of that from Hindi was gathered by the writer. The remaining Indian-language papers were read by

Indians, who identified each story from the U.S.A. and recorded the basic information needed to enable the writer to finish compiling the data.

Each story was noted as to dateline, subject, its classification among the 18 subject-matter types, length in column inches (exclusive of heading), source, location in the papers and size of heading.

Measurement of the length of stories in column inches necessitated allowance for the different face and body sizes of type used by the various papers. Another necessary consideration was the greater wordage required to express a story in the Indian languages than in English. A number of translators gave the ratio as approximately five words in an Indian language to four in English. This figure was used to obtain the "real" length of Indian-language items and thus permit comparing their length with that of the same story as carried by the news agencies in the English-language papers.

V. The News Character of the Period

Before coming to the results of the newspaper study, a brief survey of the major news event of the period studied is advisable. The American news flowing to India and used in the press at any one time depends on, among other things, the quantity and relative importance of the news from America itself, from other foreign countries, and from within India.

News from all these sources must compete for the space available to the news agencies and newspapers. American news of major

international importance may be treated more extensively during days or weeks of relative quiet in the news from other countries and within India. Conversely, when major events take place in those areas, the flow and usage of American news may be curtailed from what it would otherwise be.

These factors cannot be weighed against each other within any quantitative result. But a survey of what was happening on the American, other foreign, and Indian news fronts during the period of the study (January 20 - April 20, 1956) will help to place the results in better perspective.

a. The American Scene

Major news developing in the U.S.A. fell into three main categories: diplomacy, politics and race relations. Diplomatic events included Eisenhower-Bulganin correspondence over a proposed treaty of friendship and non-aggression, Prime minister Eden's talks with Eisenhower in Washington, U.S. attempts to meet the continuing crisis in the Middle East, American reaction to events in Russia, especially the 20th Communist Party Congress and the downgrading of Stalin, and review of the changing cold war scene generally.

Major political events were Eisenhower's decision to stand for re-nomination and re-election, the passage and veto of the natural gas and farm bills, Congressional investigation of lobbying, several presidential primaries, and general jockeying for positions in the forthcoming presidential campaign.

Developments in race relations during the period assumed

increased importance, including the admission and expulsion of Miss Autherine Lucy from the University of Alabama, the Negro boycott of buses in Montgomery, Ala., and subsequent arrests and prosecutions, and two decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court on aspects of the de-segregation of schools.

A group of miscellaneous happenings included the death of H.I. Mencken and Connie Mack, the suspension of runner Wes Santee by the A.A.U. and the government seizure of Communist Party property for alleged tax arrears.

b. The Remaining Foreign Scene

The usual steady flow of news from other countries to India was marked throughout the period by coverage of Middle Eastern, North African and South African situations. Stories which took over major amounts of front-page space during parts of the period included the Soviet Communist Party Congress, the SEATO conference in Karachi and in particular its reference to Kashmir, and the Ceylonese election and change of governments there.

c. The Indian Scene

Major developments in India during the period included the 60th session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, announcement of the Second Five-Year Plan, introduction of the general and railway budgets, the ESCAPE conference in Bangalore, visits of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Shah of Iran, Lord Mountbatten, British Foreign Secretary Lloyd, Secretary of State Dulles, French Foreign

Minister Pineau and Soviet Vice Premier Mikoyan.

Other events claiming much attention were the continuing aspects of the states' reorganization controversy, Indo-Pakistan border incidents, the Kashmir question and actions against hostile Naga tribesmen.

d. Summary

The period can be said to have been marked by (1) a considerable, though probably not unusual, number of important developments in America, (2) a similarly more or less moderate flow of news from other foreign countries, punctuated by a relatively small number of stories of top importance, and (3) a series of events of great domestic interest and significance within India.

No single story from any of these newsfronts dominated the front pages day in and day out. While the situation was not "abnormal" in that sense, no period in the ever-changing kaleidoscope of world news can ever be singled out as "normal". The most that can be concluded is that while the amount of American news in the press was affected during the period, as it always is, by the quantity of news from other foreign countries and from within India, this does not seem to have been so to an unusual degree.

VI The Amount of News Used

The amount of American news used varied widely among the 34 papers, depending to a considerable extent on the amount each

received (which wire services were subscribed to), the number of pages in the paper, and the particular language.

The average wordage per day varied from 1,575 for a 10-page English-language paper with extensive PTI and UPI services (The Tribune), down to 57 words a day for a four-page Hindi paper (Jagran) with only the PTI "C" service. However, many papers did not use some American news every day.

Because of the extreme variation and the numerous factors involved, comparisons on the basis of language, number of pages and wire service membership are more useful than considering the 34 papers as a group. On the basis of language, the average wordage of American news per day for all the papers was as follows:

Language	Number of Papers Studied	Average Wordage per Day
English	13	914
Urdu	4	228
Hindi	8	193
Tamil	3	167
Bengali	3	141
Malayalam	3	132

Papers in English used four to seven times as much American news as papers in Indian languages. Among the Indian languages themselves, there was lesser variation.

For comparison on the basis of the wire service received, PTI membership alone was used. As will be seen, UPI usage was

too limited to be an important factor. The results were:

Service Taken	E-L Papers	E-L Daily Average	I-L Papers	I-L Daily Average	Combined Daily Average
PTI "A"	8	1,112	2	141	917
PTI "B"	4	752	5	216	456
PTI "C"	1*	109	14	173	168

In general, the relative amount of news used bore a high degree of correlation to the type of agency service received. There was however, considerable variation in the average wordage used, even among papers of the same size in the same language and using the same wire services. The explanation would seem to lie in differences in editors' predilections or standards of evaluating news, or in editorial policies.

Paper groups with a smaller number of pages showed progressively less internal variation in the amount of news used. This suggests that differences in editorial judgment and policy becomes less of a factor as the amount of news used approaches a minimum, including only news of the topmost importance.

The results of the study of the sources of American news used by the papers is given in the following table:

* This is the only English-language paper taking the "C" service, and it cannot be considered representative.

PER CENT OF TOTAL AMERICAN NEWS USED, ACCORDING TO SOURCE

PAPER

	From PTI %	From UPI %	Source Uniden- tified	From NAFEN %	From UPA/AP %	Special Services %	Special Corres- pondents
<u>ENGLISH</u>							
Amrita B Pat'ka	67.4	xxx*	11.7	---	---	---	21.1
Assam Tribune	53.7	---	28.2	18.1	---	---	---
Deccan Herald	46.6	4.2	40.9	8.3	---	---	---
Eastern Times	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
F.P. Journal	78.4	1.6	20.0	---	---	---	---
Hindu	6.9	.4	60.0	---	---	13.3	19.4
Hindustan Times	74.4	xxx	5.4	4.5	---	15.7	---
Hitavada	82.7	---	6.5	---	---	10.8	---
Indian Express	46.5	.8	52.7	---	---	---	---
Indian Nation	60.8	---	15.4	23.8	---	---	---
Statesman	93.2	xxx	1.8	---	---	5.0	---
Times	26.1	xxx	4.6	---	60.5	8.8	---
Tribune	86.9	1.0	12.1	---	---	---	---
<u>HINDI</u>							
Aryavarta	69.9	---	30.1	---	---	---	---
Hindustan	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Jagran	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Lokmanya	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Nav Bharat	85.9	---	14.1	---	---	---	---
Nav Bh't Times	25.2	xxx	33.9	---	40.9	---	---
Nava Jeevan	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Pratap	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
<u>URDU</u>							
Asre Jadid	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Inquilab	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Milap	26.3	17.5	34.9	---	---	---	21.3
Pratap	26.2	4.3	69.5	---	---	---	---
<u>BENGALI</u>							
Ananda B Pat'ka	56.0	7.6	17.2	---	---	---	19.2
Jugantar	50.6	2.4	47.0	---	---	---	---
Lokesevak	40.8	---	54.9	4.3	---	---	---
<u>TAMIL</u>							
Dinamani	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Nava India	xxx	---	100.0	---	---	---	---
Swadesamitran	20.1	1.1	78.8	---	---	---	---

*The xxx indicates the paper subscribes to that service, but did not identify any of the stories as coming from it.

PER CENT OF TOTAL AMERICAN NEWS USED, ACCORDING TO SOURCE, Cont.

PAPER

	From PTI %	From UPI %	Source Uniden- tified	From NAFEN %	From UPA/AP %	Special Services %	Special Correspon- dents
<u>MALAYALAM</u>							
Express	59.7	---	40.3	---	---	---	---
Mal'la Manorama	34.2	---	27.2	---	---	---	38.6
Mathrubhumi	79.3	---	20.7	---	---	---	---

A number of papers do not identify the source of some or all of the stories they use. Fortunately, all papers using both PTI and UPI news identified enough of each source to set a clear pattern.

The most significant point that emerges is the great predominance of PTI stories over UPI, even where a paper has both services. In the 14 papers using both agencies, the ratio of PTI over UPI on identified wordage was more than 38 to 1. Four large English-language papers taking both services did not identify any of their news from America as coming through UPI.

UPI, of course, supplied a much smaller amount of news than the PTI "A" service, and somewhat less than the "B" service. But the proportion of UPI news was considerably less than the relative amount supplied. Papers having both services appear to rely generally on PTI alone, and to use a UPI story only when PTI does not carry a similar one, or when the UPI story is judged clearly preferable, or is received earlier.

NAFEN news does not appear very widely used by papers taking it.

Only five papers carried any identified NAFEN stories, although 16 of the 34 are NAFEN subscribers. The quantities used were of course small, as is the volume of the service.

News from special news services of foreign papers, and from special correspondents is confined for the most part to the large English-language papers. Even there it appears to be used only to supplement the news agency reports.

The unidentified category presumably included news stories from all these various sources, and from USIS. It is unfortunate that there is no means of determining the full amount of USIS news used. PTI and UPI make some use, though not extensive, of USIS stories from the U.S A. The use of USIS news by individual papers remains unascertainable for the most part, because papers usually delete the source of a USIS story.

It seems significant, however, that three of the largest English-language papers, the Hindustan Times, the Statesman, and the Times of India, had less than six per cent of their American news in the unidentified category. Even if we assume that most or all of this may have come from USIS, it seems that for these papers, USIS supplied a small portion of the total American news used.

PTI is the main source of American news for Indian papers. But how much of the PTI news they receive do the papers use? This could not be answered on a day-to-day basis because of the factors preventing valid comparison of wire service reports for any one day with papers of the next morning. However, over a longer period, these limitations tend to average out and to permit useful though still not precise comparisons.

A study was made of the per cent of the total PTI wordage used by the various papers on the 14 dates, compared with the total PTI wordages supplied during the preceding cycles. The results indicate that few papers use more than half the news supplied, and that many use only about a quarter of it. The papers with the greatest number of pages (66-96 per week) do not appear to use the highest percentage of the news received. Apparently the PTI "A" service supplies an even greater proportion of news than their large size allows them to print.

The highest percentage of usage appears among the medium-sized papers (54-64 pages per week), some taking the "B" service and some the "C". The smaller-sized papers appear to use varying amounts, but generally less than half of the limited amount they get.

These observations suggest that the papers generally, except for the middle-sized group, would not use more American news if they had it, at least not unless it were of a different type or treatment.

VII Types of News Used.

The news used by each paper also was broken down into 18 types, corresponding to those used in studying the agency files. The relative amounts of each type, for the English and Indian-language papers, is given in the following table:

**BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL NEWS USED BY
PAPERS, ACCORDING TO SUBJECT-MATTER TYPE**

Type of News	In English Language Papers %	In Indian Language Papers %
Foreign Relations	52.2	56.4
Economic Aid	11.4	9.0
Racial	6.6	3.3
Political	3.9	3.9
Science and Technical	3.2	3.8
Sports	3.2	---
Defense	2.8	3.4
Economic Conditions	2.7	.8
Human Interest	1.4	1.6
Cultural	1.3	.2
Military Aid	1.2	.9
Judicial-Legal	1.2	.6
Disaster	.9	.9
Social Measures	.5	.4
Education	.2	.7
Religion	.1	---
Crime	---	---
Non-American	7.2	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0

The overall pattern is quite similar to that found in the agency files. More than half the news used related to America's relations with other countries, including India. After this came news of foreign economic aid, racial relations, politics and scientific and technical developments. Receiving the smallest amount of space were stories of crime, religion, education, social measures and disasters.

Comparison of the use, by type of story, by papers in English with those in Indian languages showed these points of difference:

1. Race relations news was given only half the relative

space in Indian-language papers (3.3 per cent) that it was in English-language papers (6.6 per cent).

2. Scientific and technical news accounted for a larger share of the total space in the Indian-language press (3.8 per cent) than in the English (3.2 per cent), although most of the Indian-language papers received very little or no news of this type from PTI.

3. While news of education, social measures, cultural and human interest types was used in about the same relative proportions in the Indian-language papers as in the English, very little of it came to the Indian-language papers through the PTI "B" or "C" services.

VIII. Placement and Headlines

The study of the location of stories in the papers, and the size of headlines did not yield results of quite the order hoped. There were several limitations, principally differences in make up the different languages, and among papers in the same language.

For example, the makeup of Urdu papers is so different from that in other Indian languages that comparisons are meaningless. Another instance is that of the Hindustan Times, which uses the back page as the second most important news page, after page one.

Another factor preventing comparisons is the practise of many papers of devoting at least part of the front page to advertisements. The most thoroughgoing example of this is the Hindu, which has advertisements over all of page one except on Mondays.

The leading Urdu papers, Milap and Pratap, have two or three special editions a week, the front pages of which are usually all pictures.

As a general observation, the placement and heading of stories seemed to follow their relative importance quite closely. One or two papers which used relatively little American news and which were frequent critics of a wide range of American life and policy, did appear to give lesser treatment to American news than the other papers generally.

IX. Pictures

There are few pictures in Indian newspapers, except for the Urdu papers printed by photo-offset. The use of pictures in other papers is growing, especially in the English-language press, but still is very limited.

Only two instances of American pictures were found in the 455 papers read in the study. One was of the handing over of Indian aid for flood victims in California by an Indian government official. It was used by an Urdu daily (Pratap) on the picture-page of a special edition. The source was not identified, but presumably was USIS. The other case was a series of pictures accompanying a sports feature story in a large English daily (Free Press Journal) on a 40-game winning streak of the University of San Francisco basketball team.

X. A Study of Ten Selected Stories

Ten particular stories were selected (actually 11 as one broke on two successive days) and various aspects of their usage were studied and compared with the corresponding PTI reports. Papers of the three following days were read to determine the pattern of usage. Each story was noted as to relative date of use, page, location on the page (above or below the fold), column size of heading and the story's length. Where possible, the length was compared with that carried by PTI.

The stories selected for study were:

1. WASHINGTON, Feb. 10 - Senate Foreign Relations Committee studies plan for three-year, \$225 million aid to India.
2. NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 16 - Federal courts declare Louisiana segregation laws unconstitutional and order desegregation of New Orleans schools.
3. THOMASVILLE, GA., Feb. 22 - Eisenhower orders release of billion dollar's worth of U-235 for peaceful purposes.
- 4a. WASHINGTON, Feb. 29 - Eisenhower announces he will stand for renomination and re-election.
- 4b. WASHINGTON, March 1 - Eisenhower elaborates on his decision over TV; says won't conduct barnstorming campaign.
5. HOLLYWOOD, March 22 - Film Oscars awarded to picture "Marty," actor Ernest Borgnine and actress Anna Magnani.
6. MONTGOMERY, ALA., March 23 - Martin Luther King, leader of Negro boycott of buses, convicted and fined.
7. NEW YORK, March 27 - Government seizes Communist Party property across nation for alleged tax arrears.
8. MILWAUKEE, April 4 - No logical contender for Rocky Marciano's title, National Boxing Assn. says in its quarterly rating of boxers.
9. WASHINGTON, April 4 - Army Chief of Staff Taylor says U.S. has seven divisions overseas, will keep them there.

10. AUGUSTA, GA., April 10 - Eisenhower pledges U.S. would oppose any aggression in the Middle East.

The usage given the stories accorded in general with common newspaper practices. The particular conclusions were:

1. Major stories, or stories relating to India were the most used. The most-used stories were No. 10 (Eisenhower - Middle East) in 32 papers, No. 4a (Eisenhower-re-election) in 29 papers, and No. 1 (aid for India) in 23 papers. Two stories, the Oscars (No. 5) and Mariano (No. 8) went only to the 10 papers of the "A" service. Each was used by 5 papers.

2. The English papers, with more space and more news from PTI, used a greater number of the stories than the Indian-language papers: 69 to 43 per cent. On the biggest stories, however, the percentage of usage differed very little.

3. Most of the stories were used the morning after they were received. Where they were held till the second day or in a few cases the third day, it appeared to be because they either were received late or were crowded out by major domestic news.

4. The pages on which a story was used varied widely, affected by layout practices, and depending on the story's relative importance. Other factors appeared to be the amount of other important news that day and the time a story was received, that is, where it could be fitted in late. The Indian-language papers generally put the stories on page one somewhat less often than English papers, although in one or two cases the reverse was true.

5. The column-width of headlines on each story varied relatively little among the different papers. Indian-language papers, though often using a smaller portion of the story, gave it about the same size as the English papers.

6. Whether the story was put above or below the fold seemed to vary directly with the story's importance and the amount of the story used. Late arriving stories of course had to be fitted in where they could.

7. The amount of copy used on a story also seemed to follow its relative importance closely. Long stories were trimmed more than short ones.

XI Editorial Attitudes

Editorial attitudes of the 34 papers toward the U.S.A. were studied throughout the whole 90-day period. This was done to round out the picture of each paper, and to see whether there was any correlation between the paper's attitude and the amount of American news it used.

The attempt involved two major difficulties. First was the fact that all the papers, as practically all the Indian public, were solidly opposed to at least four aspects of American foreign policy: military aid to Pakistan, military pacts in general (Baghdad and SEATO), Secretary of State Dulles' reference to Goa as a "Portugese province," and Dulles himself.

Other items came in for criticism by many, though not all of the papers. These included U.S. policy toward China, especially in

opposing its admission to the United Nations, continuance of atomic weapons tests, Middle East policy and domestic race relations.

Two events during the period brought divided reactions from the papers: American rejection of a Soviet offer of a treaty of friendship, and Dulles' visit to India. Some papers felt that rejection of the treaty was hasty and ill-considered; others supported rejection of it. Some said Dulles' visit had been a failure or had accomplished nothing; others thought it had been successful, or might prove helpful in some way.

Considerable favor was expressed by a number of papers on two points: the views expressed by Walter Reuther on his visit to India, and recognition of past U.S. aid and hopes for continued large-scale aid for India's Second Five-Year Plan.

Since no paper was uncritical of some aspects of U.S. policies, the attempt to classify a paper's attitude had to take this into account. To offset the effects of this, the first four points, on which criticism was unanimous, were set aside and not taken into consideration in determining a paper's attitude. The latter was rated according to the degree of its approval or disapproval of other aspects of the U.S.A. and its policies.

The second major difficulty was the impossibility of setting up an objective criteria for rating the degree of a paper's friendliness or unfriendliness, by which one paper could be compared with another. An arbitrary scale, necessarily subjective, was experimented with, and the results while limited by its nature, were interesting.

Each paper was rated in one of five groups: severely critical, moderately critical, critical-friendly, moderately friendly, and clearly friendly. These ratings were then compared with the amount of U.S. news used by the papers. This was done by taking the percentage of PTI news used and determining the average per cent used by all papers in each of the five groups. This showed the following results:

Rating	Papers in Group	Average per cent of PTI news used by papers in the group
Severely critical	2	23
Moderately critical	5	32
Critical-friendly	11	42
Moderately friendly	14	49
Clearly friendly	2	60

The results seem to suggest there was a considerable degree of correlation between editorial attitude and the amount of American news used. The strength of the conclusion must be tempered because of the arbitrary, subjective system of classification and because other factors affect the amount of news used, some perhaps to a greater degree than editorial attitudes.

CHAPTER V
WHAT THE EDITORS THINK

Views of editors on the flow and usage of American news were sought through a questionnaire and through personal interviews with a large number of journalists in various parts of India.

In general, the questionnaire proved a somewhat more fruitful source of views than the personal talks. The reasons for this appear to be that (1) the flow of American news is not one of the major problems of editors, as they themselves see it. Consequently it is not one which many of them have given a great deal of thought. In this context, the questionnaire may have acted as a means of organizing and concretizing their thoughts, (2) Editors are perhaps less hesitant to express critical views in answering a questionnaire than in a personal interview. (3) Busy editors could, and apparently did lay the questionnaire aside until they had time to answer it more or less at leisure. Despite efforts, it was not always possible to hold the personal talks under such favorable circumstances.

Some of the interviews did not prove of outstanding value in contributing new ideas and viewpoints. Others often served to confirm attitudes disclosed by the questionnaire, or to underline specific points.

I. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire contained 28 questions, most of them of the multiple-choice answer type. This style of question was used, despite its limitation, in the hope that reducing the time required to complete the questionnaire would result in a larger number of replies.

The questionnaire covered (1) the quantity of the news flow, (2) the type of news included, (3) objectivity, (4) meaningfulness, and (5) possibilities of improvement.

The questionnaire was sent to 137 editors of daily papers. These comprised practically all papers with a wire news service, aside from some editions of multiple-unit papers and instances where a single editor has charge of more than one paper, usually in different languages, at the same location.

A total of 62 editors, or 45 per cent, replied. These included 8 English-language papers (one out of three polled) and 54 Indian-language papers (one out of two polled). The Indian-language papers included Hindi, 15; Gujarati, 10; Marati, 7; Urdu, 6; Malayalam, 4; Telegu, 4; Kannada, 3; Bengali, 2; Tamil, 2; and Sindhi, 1.

Most major papers in each language responded, as well as other, smaller papers. Geographically, the replies were quite evenly distributed throughout the country.

II. Quantity of the News Flow

Forty-nine editors said the present quantity of American news was "adequate," 8 termed it "too much," and only 2 called it "too little."

While 22 editors said their papers would be able to use more news from the U.S.A. if it were available, 20 said they could not and 30 were doubtful. The fact that most of the papers included in the content study used less than half the American news they received casts doubt on whether many papers would use more if they had it.

Twenty-eight editors felt that the introduction of a price-page schedule (legislation for which has since been enacted) would necessitate a reduction in the amount of foreign news, including American, their papers could use. Twenty-four thought this would not require a reduction and 10 were not sure.

Development of more domestic news in India and more news from Asian countries will tend to reduce the news which can be carried of Western countries, in the view of 39 editors. Seventeen thought it would not have this effect, and 6 were not sure.

III. Types of News Included

The editors were asked if they thought it was "within the function of the daily press to seek to present a rounded picture of other major countries, including the life and viewpoint of the average man." Forty-nine replied "yes", and 11 "no".

The questionnaire then listed the approximate percentages of different types of American news carried in agency reports and asked whether editors considered this pattern gave a "sufficiently rounded picture of American life." Two editors out of three (40-21) felt it did not.

An even higher number (51 - 10) said they would "like to have more news of educational, cultural, religious and social developments in the U.S.A." Several editors deleted "religious" from the categories listed.

A majority of editors (31-24) said they would be willing to have more of these types of news at the expense of some of the present amount of news of politics, government and foreign relations.

The same number of editors, 31, thought their papers could find space for more such news. Seven said they could not use more, and 22 were doubtful.

These comments, most of them from editors of leading papers, are typical:

- Kannada: "Cut down political and defense news. (We want) more news concerning America's scientific, educational and cultural achievements. India is not interested in American hatred of Communism. We want to see and hear more of Mr., Mrs. and Master America."
- Gujarati: "The warmth and the sincerity of the American man in the street should be reflected--or projected--in the news dispatches. We are an emotional people and we respond readily to emotion-mixed of course with common sense."
- English: "More stories concerning scientific, cultural and human achievements and less of the intolerance and conflict of policies would help international understanding. The former should be made 'news' by proper selection and presentation."
- Tamil: (We would like) "more news of scientific advances, industrial developments, agricultural methods and results which have a bearing on Indian conditions, and stories of human interest."

Hindi: "Political news of international nature gets unduly large coverage. News of social and cultural importance, particularly if dealing with problems identical to both countries, would be well received."

Kannada: "We are getting mostly political news. India is on the verge of a social, cultural and economic renaissance; news dispatches from America relating to industry, major projects such as the TVA and the development of technical and scientific education will be more useful."

Hindi: "The all-pervading 'politicalness' makes many good items not very welcome. The ordinary man is not interested in how a peasant in Iowa tills his land and lives in luxury. He is more interested to find if there is any similarity between the viewpoints and life as a whole of the two people. He is also interested to know anything from the U.S.A. that helps him solve his own problems, such as the education of his children, or civic problems."

IV Objectivity of Agency News

A majority of the editors (33-25) said they did not consider the writing of agency dispatches from the U.S.A. sufficiently objective.

Sixty-one of the 62 felt it a handicap that practically all reporting for PTI and UPI in America is done by Western newsmen, who do not have much of an Indian point of view. Asked to rate the degree of this handicap, 27 termed it "serious," 22 "moderate," and 12 "slight." Most editors (53-9) said they did not think the Indian angle or interest is sufficiently brought out in agency dispatches.

Editors then were asked to indicate specific ways in which they considered the writing unbalanced. Most of the replies centered around two themes: that agency newsmen in America know and understand little of India and consequently their stories do not

reflect an Indian point of view; and secondly, that facts are cast and interpreted in terms of Western interests, especially vis-a-vis Communism.

Here are some representative comments, most of them by editors of prominent papers in the respective languages:

Hindi: "The agency dispatches seem to care more for non-Indian interests than what would be conducive to the interests of India and Indian readers."

Urdu: "The present dispatches coming from the U.S. show a complete absence of understanding of the Indian point of view. The correspondents writing today are all (so) steeped in the old British tradition that they do not understand new India's view at all."

Marati: "I think there appears to be Communist phobia in all the dispatches. Indian journalists as an average are not pro-Communists, but they do not like to read such a propaganda campaign against Communism in season and out of season."

Kannada: "(Agency dispatches) lean much upon political propaganda of the West instead of factual representation."

Gujarati: "There is always a Western, anti-Communist slant."

Bengali: "American newsmen should try to appreciate the Indian viewpoint."

English: "The British and American viewpoint is never out of the correspondents' minds."

It is chiefly in the area of international affairs that Indian editors feel reporting from America is often unbalanced. Their criticism is usually applied equally to reports on America made by American, British or French news sources, because American, British and French views of the world scene are ordinarily relatively close.

A different situation was introduced by the sharp reaction in

America against the British-French attack on Egypt in November 1956. Here American opinion was closer to the Indian than to the British or French. And some Indian editors felt that reports of the American attitude, made by British and French news agencies, were unbalanced in not picturing the full extent of American feeling.

An example of this was the speech made by S.A. Shastri, president of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, at the federation's annual meeting in Lucknow in mid-November, 1956. Shastri criticized reports of the international (British and French) news agencies coming from Egypt, and added, "Nor did we have an accurate idea of how deeply and profoundly American opinion had been stirred by the attack on Egypt." The real extent of American feeling, he said, was known in India only from "the big American newspapers received in the last few days."

This criticism, if justified, raises the question of whether, in such situations, reporting of American attitudes by British and French agencies may not be unbalanced from the American point of view, as well as from the Indian.

V. Meaningfulness

The opinion of editors was asked whether "on the whole, agency reports carry enough background information to make the spot news developments understandable to the average reader." Thirty-eight said "yes", and 21 "no".

However, three editors out of four (45-15) indicated they would like to have more backgrounding. But only 20 of them thought space

limitations would permit them to use it, while 10 said they could not use more, and 21 were doubtful. A considerable number said they would like to have more background for the orientation of editors and writers of editorials, even though they could not use it as news stories.

A majority of the editors (46-13) felt that agencies should include interpretations as well as facts in their reports. Eighteen editors wanted interpretation woven along with facts in a self-contained story. But 26 said they preferred separate interpretative stories.

Asked for their views about the present amount of interpretative or explanatory writing in agency files, 28 editors called it "about right," 25 "too little," and only 3 "too much." Twenty-four thought they could find space for more interpretative writing, but 12 said they could not and 22 were doubtful.

VI Suggestions for Improvement

The most common suggestion of editors for improving coverage of the U.S.A. is to send more Indian correspondents to America. Typical was the comment of a leading Narathi editor: "The present state of US news being mainly collected and carried by a foreign news agency to India is deplorable."

Frank Moraes, editor of the Times of India, remarked that "there is no practical substitute to a competent and understanding Indian correspondent or correspondents working in the Indian press abroad."

While this section was being written, Prime Minister Nehru said in a speech in Calcutta: "Often we have got one side of the picture of the events in other parts of the world. It is important therefore, for Indian news agencies to develop and Indian correspondents should go abroad, not to push out any agency or correspondents, but to balance the news from another point of view so that our people may have a balanced picture to form their opinions."

Thirty-two editors felt that having more Indian correspondents in the U.S. was an "urgent need." Twenty-six others called it "desirable," and only four thought it "not particularly important."

Editors then were asked whether they thought future Indian newsmen in America should be (1) special correspondents of individual newspapers, (2) correspondents of PTI stationed in Washington and other major cities, or (3) roving correspondents of PTI. Thirteen favored special correspondents for individual papers, 17 said they would like stationary correspondents of PTI, and 13 would choose roving correspondents of PTI.

A final question asked whether, if press telegram rates could be reduced "to or near the Commonwealth rate of one anna (now 5 naye paise, or 1.1 cents) a word, "their papers would seriously consider (1) sending a special correspondent to America, (2) engaging the part-time services of an American correspondent, or (3) subscribing to a foreign news service from a leading American newspaper.

Six papers, most of them large English-language dailies, said they would seriously consider sending a special correspondent to

America. One said it definitely would do so. Eleven other papers said they would consider engaging a part-time American correspondent, and 22 indicated they would consider taking a foreign news service from an American daily.

The conclusion is that any such reduction in press telegram rates would have a beneficial and far-reaching effect on the coverage of America in the Indian press.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

I. Sources of U.S. News

Most Indian daily newspapers depend largely, if not almost entirely, upon PTI (and indirectly Reuters) for their American and other foreign news. Many papers also subscribe to UPI, but make relatively little use of it. APA service is limited to a single group of papers.

USIS supplies American news to practically all papers, but it does not attempt to compete with the commercial news agencies. Because of this, and other limitations under which it operates, USIS is a lesser source of the total American news used by most papers.

II. Quantity of the News Flow

The total quantity of American news being received appears fully adequate for the needs and capacities of the papers. Most of the larger papers, almost all in English, receive an average of 2,800 or more words daily through one or more of the news agencies. The actual day-to-day amount varies widely, between 1,000 and 7,000 words, depending on the world news picture.

Smaller papers receive an average of 350 to 750 words a day. Both large and small papers get a very large amount daily from USIS.

In most cases, this total quantity is more than adequate and papers are able to use only 1/3 to 1/2 of the agency news they receive. Thus the 12 English-language papers in the study used an average of 750-1,000 words of American news per day. The average used by

the 21 Indian-language papers studied was 150-200 words per day.

Practically all editors say the present quantity of news flow is sufficient, and the majority feel they could not find space for more.

A general increase in the quantity of American news received would probably result in little if any increase over the amount now being used. This situation seems likely to continue for the foreseeable future. In fact, the development of more domestic and Asian news is likely to act as a brake on the use of more news from Western countries. The forthcoming price-page schedule may also have the same effect.

From the American point of view, the quantity of news used leaves a great deal to be desired, particularly among the smaller Indian-language papers, which account for half of the total circulation. One, two or three brief stories a day, together totaling no more than 150-200 words cannot provide more than a hazy, patchwork sketch of America and Americans, devoid of depth, continuity, intelligibility and significance.

On the other hand, two points need to be kept in mind. First, the percentage of space given to foreign news in the Indian press is probably as high as, if not higher than that in the press of any other country.

Second, it is safe to say that America is given more coverage in the Indian press than any other foreign country except Britain.

The only prospects for an increase in the quantity of American news received and used appear to lie in:

1. Increased size (number of pages) of the papers. In general, this must await improvement in papers' financial conditions through increased circulation and advertising revenues and larger supplies of newsprint at cheaper cost. These factors in turn depend upon, among other things, increases in literacy, in the purchasing power of the public and improvements in transport--in short upon the development of the country generally.

2. Closer relations between the U.S. and India. The study suggests, on the basis of necessarily subjective analysis, that there is a very considerable degree of correlation between the relative friendliness of editorial attitudes and the amount of American news used. The more friendly a paper's editorial view of America, the more American news it seemed to use. On this basis, closer relations between the two countries would in all probability lead to some increase in the amount of American news used.

III. Types of Stories

During the period studied, approximately 60 per cent of the agency news from America was of international politics and relations. About 10 per cent was news of domestic politics, 10 per cent race relations, 8 per cent economic aid and 3 per cent science and technology. The remainder of the flow was divided 1-2 per cent each among 8 other categories of stories: defense, military aid, economic conditions, culture, education, judicial-legal, disaster and human interest.

Stories of all types are very often so limited to Indian "angles" that the resulting over-all picture of America is even less complete than these figures would indicate.

Most of the stories originate from governmental or other more or less "official" sources, under Washington and New York datelines. There is very little news of the American people themselves, of the views and outlook of the average American, or of what everyday life in America is like.

This imbalance is probably not essentially different in the world news flow elsewhere. Still, it must be a point of concern for Americans who desire to see themselves and their country better understood, particularly among peoples of the non-Western world.

Although Indian editors do not express overall dissatisfaction with this pattern of news flow, many would like to see some changes in it. These changes might well result in papers using a greater total percentage of the news they now get.

Many papers appear to use a slightly smaller percentage of news of international politics and relations than they receive and many editors feel there is somewhat too much of this type of news.

At the same time, many papers use a relatively higher percentage of news of science, technology, educational, cultural and social developments and human interest stories. Numerous editors say they would like more of these type of stories, as well as more news of the people themselves, and of problems common to the development of both the U.S.A. and India.

A small decrease in the relative amount of international political stories from America, and a corresponding increase in news of these types might bring about greater overall use of the present quantity of news flow. However, the importance of an interest in international political news certainly precludes more than a very small reduction in it.

IV. Need of a Feature News Service

The desire of editors for more news of the types described raises the question of whether this sort of story falls within the scope of the world news agencies. Many such stories are not of a spot news type, but features, or somewhere between the two. World news agencies must, by their nature, concentrate on reporting the major spot news of the day, the news that will make the main headlines. Most, though not all, feature or semi-feature type news falls outside the scope of the agencies' general news services.

The USIS supplies a large amount of feature type news to most papers, a very considerable amount of which is used, either with or without identification of the source. If editors have this in mind when they express a desire for more feature type news, it would appear they want more than they receive from USIS, or stories of different types.

The only other American feature news service distributed in India is that of King Features Syndicate, handled by Messrs. Advertising Films of India, Ltd., Bombay. Its material is chiefly comic strips and other non-news items. Occasionally it supplies

special editorial news features, for example a recent series on the memoirs of President Truman. These are offered individually to a few selected, large-size dailies.

This situation suggests the need for a feature news service supplying American news to India, presumably by air mail. Many editors have underscored this need, both in their answers to the questionnaire and in personal talks. But they emphasize that such a service would have to be:

1. Very low in cost.
2. Done by persons with some knowledge of India and some understanding of the Indian point of view, not only of politics, but of the western world generally.
3. Timely, in that articles should ordinarily be keyed to important events taking place in India or America.

These requirements, particularly the first two, seem so difficult to meet that it is hard to see how such a feature service could be feasible at present. One possible way would be for some of the larger Indian papers to pool their resources and set up a one or two-man bureau in Washington, just as many small groups of American papers do for their Washington coverage.

The newsmen could be Indians, or Americans who have some knowledge of India and Indian interests. A partial objection might be that two or three of the largest English-language papers, which compete in some circulation areas, might want only exclusive stories. But the small number of these papers should not make this a major stumbling block.

There seems to be a real opportunity for such a news service. Given the necessary initiative and co-ordinated efforts on the part of interested papers, it might well become a reality.

V. Types of Reporting

Editors want more background news and there seems to be scope for a moderate increase in it. Some of this might appear in the news columns, but most probably would not. It would be used, however, in the preparation of editorials and for the orientation of editors generally.

There also appears to be room for an increase in the amount of interpretation, though the desire for this is less general than for more background. It is especially desirable that interpretive political reporting be done by Indians, or at least not by Westerners.

However, it is doubtful if the news agencies can afford to supply much if any more background or interpretation than at present. Any appreciable increase would presumably have to come from other sources.

The study also suggests that there is scope for more roundup-type stories. More of this type of reporting would be especially useful in helping papers keep continuing stories in focus.

VI. Objectivity

The most often voiced criticism of reporting from America is that only a tiny fraction of it is done by Indian newsmen. Almost all of it comes from Western correspondents, and though these include some Americans, they too are in the minority.

It is much as though, in reverse, the American press had no American correspondents in India, but had to use news reported from India by, say, Burmese or Indonesian newsmen. As a result, the news would not be selected or written with the American reader in mind, interpretation would not be in terms of the American point of view, and some aspects of the Indian scene, which might be of interest to American readers, might not be reported at all. This would be quite an unsatisfactory situation. Just so is the present one to Indian newspapers and to the Indian public.

The problem is world-wide, and affects all countries whose culture, policies or attitudes differ appreciably from those of the Western nations whose nationals own and operate the main world news agencies.

The ideal solution would be for India to have its own world-wide news agency. This will no doubt come about, but at present it is a long way off. For the foreseeable future, Indian news agencies and newspapers will have to rely on their present sources of American news.

If and when finances permit, PTI can reasonably be expected to send a correspondent to Washington and to subscribe to an American news agency service, while retaining its present tie with Reuters. Either step would mean a considerable improvement in

the flow of American news to India, both from the Indian and the American points of view. This prospect will be discussed more fully in the final section of this report.

VII. More Indian Newsmen in America

The need for more than the present staff of two full-time Indian correspondents in America is clear. But equally so are the difficulties in the way of achieving this now or in the foreseeable future. Four problems are involved:

1. The high cost of press telegrams to India.
2. The salary and expenses of correspondents in America.
3. The scarcity of highly skilled, broadly experienced Indian newsmen.
4. Transmission difficulties.

The problem of press telegram rates is the largest. The present charge for ordinary press telegrams from New York or San Francisco to India is $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or 31 naye paise, a word. Considering world rates in general, this is not particularly high. The average rate to India from 37 countries outside the Commonwealth penny-a-word rate is 19.4 cents a word. The rate from America to India is lower than from any of these 37 countries except Burma. But even $6\frac{1}{2}$ cents a word is far beyond the limited financial capacities of Indian news agencies and newspapers. At this rate, a single short news story of 200 words would cost \$13, or Rs. 62.50.

The prospect for any early reduction in the rate does not appear encouraging. UNESCO is working for a lowering of press telegram rates generally. It has made recommendations, which involve revision of the International Telegraph and Telephone Regulations, and which are to be considered by the International Telecommunications Union at its conference tentatively set for the end of 1958.

But at best, it seems that reductions in press telegram rates would be more likely in the many instances where rates are much higher than the present U.S.A.-India one.

A somewhat cheaper rate can be had at present by filing news from the U.S.A. to Montreal and then taking advantage of the Commonwealth rate from Montreal to India. But this indirect routing requires that the sender have an agent in Montreal to receive the telegram and redirect it to Bombay.

Moreover, the cost via this route still amounts to 3.4 cents a word, of which 2.2 cents is for transmission from New York to Montreal and 1.2 cents from Montreal to Bombay. For these reasons, this route is not feasible except in special circumstances.

The salary and expenses of maintaining a correspondent in America are another stumbling block. But this appears to be a secondary difficulty to that of telegram rates. If those could be lowered sufficiently, at least a few of the larger Indian papers feel they could meet the other costs of a correspondent in America.

There is a scarcity of Indian newsmen of sufficiently high skill and broad experience for top-level foreign correspondence. This would perhaps preclude sending more than a very small number of correspondents abroad at present. But if the financial problems could be overcome, it seems likely that a few newsmen of adequate if perhaps not ideal skill and experience would be available.

Transmission difficulties are another factor affecting any around-the-clock news flow direct from America to India. Since the two countries are 10½ hours apart in time, a "dawn-line" or a "dusk-line" is usually somewhere between, causing difficulties in radio communication at some period of the day. The length of the period and the timing of it vary according to the season of the year, and other factors. These interruptions in service are kept to a minimum, but only at added cost.

VIII. Editing of the News

The editing, or more particularly the sub-editing, of news on many Indian newspapers suffers from numerous handicaps. The foremost one is the extremely meager financial resources of much of the press. This results in low pay and overwork of journalists, unstimulating working conditions, in limited means or incentive to improve the quality of their work.

These and other dissatisfactions and frustrations affect journalists' political attitudes and their handling of news. This is perhaps especially true in regard to political news from Western countries.

The press, the government and the journalists' federations are working to improve the position of journalists. If the financial conditions of the press improve, even more substantial benefits should result.

Specifically, it should mean better pay, lighter work loads, and better working conditions for journalists, and more and better newspaper libraries and morgues. An increase in the number of sub-editors can be expected to lead to increased specialization and more time to make use of reference materials. All of these changes should have beneficial effects on the editing of news.

IX. What Americans Could Do

To a thoughtful American, the foregoing picture must necessarily seem far from ideal. The same could probably be said of the flow and use of news between most countries. It is not intended to single out India in this comment, but only that this study has been confined to India. The fact remains that there is considerable room for improvement and the question is what, if anything, Americans can do about it.

Most of the factors limiting greater flow and usage of American news in India appear related to the limited financial condition of the press and the relative state of development of the press and readership. It is difficult to see anything Americans can do, directly, to improve this situation.

There are, however, two areas which do appear to offer at least potential scope for American efforts. These are possible

American efforts to (1) help reduce press telegram rates, and (2) promote the use of an American commercial wire news service in India.

The possibility of lowering press telegram rates depends to a large extent on factors within the communications services which lie beyond the scope of this investigation. A main consideration is whether and to what extent a cheaper rate would be feasible economically. It would no doubt be difficult to effect a reduction, but the probable gain in increasing the flow of American news to India, and the number of Indian correspondents in America, would seem to warrant very considerable efforts.

Widespread use of an American commercial news service in India would mean a great improvement in the flow of news. It also should contribute to a greater understanding of America and Americans. At present, the United Press of America does not distribute news in India, and The Associated Press of America serves only the five papers of the Times of India group, under an exclusive contract.

For several reasons it does not appear possible for an American (or any foreign) news agency to distribute news widely in India on its own, independent of the Indian news agencies. Most important of these reasons is the understandable interest of the government in strengthening Indian news agencies. This logically includes saving them from large-scale outside competition.

Another stumbling block is the shortage of transmission lines for the necessary teleprinter service. This handicap at present

prevents PTI and UPI from expanding their services in some areas. These domestic agencies would almost certainly be given priority in the use of any increased facilities.

Thirdly, because of most papers' acutely limited financial resources, it is doubtful that many papers could afford another news service in addition to one of the Indian agencies, which they must have for domestic news.

For these reasons it seems clear that distribution of any American commercial news service could be possible only through one of the Indian news agencies. This would mean selling its service to one of them, as at present Reuters does to PTI and AFP to UPI. This would bring the American service into competition with Reuters or AFP, but not with the Indian agencies. It would not require additional transmission facilities, nor necessitate papers' subscribing to two news services.

PTI and UPI officials decline to outline their views publicly, but both agencies are thought to be amenable to and interested in the prospect of subscribing to an American news service. Their problem is of cost, since an American service would presumably be in addition to rather than in replacement of their present services. PTI, for instance, would not be able to give up its tie with Reuters, even if it wished, because of Reuters' commercial service, which supplies reports from London and other markets the American agencies do not cover.

Viewed from the Indian side, cost would appear to be the governing consideration. A factor from the American side is the general preference of APA and UPA for distributing their news themselves, independent of the domestic news agencies of any country.

These considerations point up the difficulties in the way of widespread distribution of American agency news in India. At the same time, the probable benefits seem great enough to invite any and every effort America can make to this end.

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