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VOL. 3

NO. 4

NEWSMAN

IN THIS ISSUE

The Truth, The Lie and The Press

Get it First—or Get it Right

First I P I. Asian Seminar

Why We Got Fed up?

Ills of the Indian Press

and other features

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS REPORTERS' GUILD

December 1960

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Wishes
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NEWSMAN

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NEW YEAR



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NEWSMAN

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Volume 3

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ILLS THAT BESET THE INDIAN PRESS

Addressing the I. P. I. seminar for News Editors in New Delhi in November, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, gave out frankly his views on the question of presentation of news in the newspapers in India and called upon the leaders of the profession to take steps to bring about an improvement.

For sustaining India's new and still not fully tried democracy, Mr. Deshmukh said, it was very necessary that the Press should function extensively and efficiently—efficiency in the sense of professional efficiency (i.e.) by the presentation of accurate news and fair views. In addition to it, presentation of news of interest for the reader in the countryside was also important.

Mr. Deshmukh said: "I have noticed a tendency to present news largely with a view to interesting the intellectual or the political person, rather than the average literate citizen. Excessive space is devoted to international affairs or to political squabbles, both of which are somewhat above the head of the ordinary reader and which in all probability do no more than confuse or distort a perspective. There is also a tendency to worship power in the shape of Ministers, with space devoted to every pronouncement of theirs irrespective of its intrinsic public importance or novelty or cogency. I doubt if in these matters there is a real business-like appreciation of what the reader wants. Nor does this defect seem to arise out of any conscious direction by the proprietary interests. If I might venture to say so, it is just callow journalism, which is preferable to the yellow, certainly, but inferior to the mellow type one finds in the more developed countries. I expect

the English dailies of India lead the way here in a spirit of journalistic snobbery, which is imitated by the papers in the Indian languages

Lack of Professional Discrimination

"A similar lack of professional discrimination is observable in regard to reports or speeches in the legislatures. Whilst the coverage for persons in authority is extensive, that for others, however intrinsically valuable their contributions, is usually meagre. There is therefore a violation of both accuracy of news, in its wider sense, and fairness of views, in its implication. A somewhat similar lack of perspective or distortion, often delibe-

own papers, thereby bringing the daily into disrepute.

Danger of Official Frowns

"There is reason to believe that official frowns often bring our papers to heel; I have known atleast two cases in which very well-known English dailies were successfully intimidated by persons in authority by the threat of withholding advertisements—the haemoglobin of newspapers. This leads one to speculate if in the ultimate stages of a socialised economy a genuinely free press can ever flourish. I am inclined to think that in countries like India, where the sapling of democracy is yet to take firm root and where the natural equipoise given by self-restraint, both in speech and action, yet remains imperfect, the advance of any socialistic pattern of government will spell growing restraint on the freedom of the Press via the life-giving channels of advertisement revenues.

"I do not wish to imply that the authorities only are to blame for a trend like this. In an underdeveloped country, everything imperfect is an aspect of underdevelopment, whether it is the government or the public or the Press. In other words such a country has not only the Government but also the Press that it deserves. Frequently, in such a country, there is on the part of the Press, an almost spiteful tendency to run down any good idea or course of conduct or piece of public service, for the sort of pleasure that the hound has in running down a hare. There is, too often, a lack of careful study, of specialisation and of uncommitted balanced thinking. But the working journalist is no better than the country's average citizen. The (See Page 2)

What is wrong with the Indian Press?

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh has listed many ills that beset them.

The views of readers are invited (not more than 1000 words) on the many aspects touched upon by Mr. Deshmukh in his speech published on this page.

—Editor. "NEWSMAN"

rate, is seen in regard to the use of banner head-lines, the unfair conclusion being emphasised by means of tendentious head-lines.

"Then there is the undercurrent of the perpetual struggle between managerial self-interest of the proprietor and the professional conscience of the working journalist, in which the latter finally gives up the ghost. In regard to the recent hullabaloo about an anti-corruption commission, the working journalists initially showed genuine public interest, but the editorials and leaders in many papers threw cold water on the initial enthusiasm of their

THE STATE OF THE BRITISH PRESS

By Ernest Atkinson

London Editor "Birmingham Post"

No journalist can write about the British Press at this moment without his personal feelings being deeply engaged. Two great daily newspapers, the *News Chronicle* and its evening companion, the *Star*, have died. What remains active of their liberal souls is intermingled with the conservative spirit of the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News*.

It is a surprising but not an inconceivable mingling of minds. Liberal and conservative minds have met and fructified each other's ideas in British political and social life before now to no great disadvantage—to the benefit, indeed—of the body politic.

From Page 1

Press, the Government, the University, these are idealised concepts, which have all sorts of nobility and distinction according to the text-books. But in actuality they will be as good or as bad as the society of which they are such important organs.

Task Before Leaders of Profession

"All fields of national activity have natural leaders, and it is for the leaders in each field to charge themselves with the task of bringing about an improvement in their own fields. If there is no improvement, then one may be sure that the failure is that of the leaders. It is for this purpose that self-introspection and, where necessary self-castigation on the part of leaders in every profession or vocation is called for, and this is irrefutable justification for self-discipline through professional bodies, as for instance the Press Council suggested by the Indian Press Commission. Since its establishment is understood to be held up because of the difficulty in persuading the proprietors and the working journalists to look at things from an identical point of view, any amelioration in moves that is to be achieved would have to be through a separate body for proprietors and working journalists respectively."

Newspaper economics is a complex subject. In Britain, where no newspaper—save, perhaps, the Communist *Daily Worker*—has political subsidies to depend on, the matter is really quite simple. The price the reader pays cannot by any manner of means cover the cost. The advertiser covers the difference. The advertiser might think—though indeed there is little sign—that if he could dictate what went into the paper he could make a more attractive paper than the journalists can. In fact, neither the journalist nor the proprietor of a newspaper gives him any encouragement to try.

But the financing of newspapers is such that a newspaper must be able to gear its production costs to what it can earn in pennies from its own particular kind of readership and in pounds from the advertisers who wish to interest that readership, be it larger or smaller, in their wares. Failure, if it comes, is as likely to come from not being able to discern, to serve, even to create, an identifiable body of readers as from any other kind of inadequacy.

Newspapers' Responsibility

This does mean, logically, that the readership must be a group that advertisers are willing to woo. It also means that the newspapers have a responsibility to themselves as to those whose money they wish to attract, to find and distinguish their readerships very accurately and to order their finances accordingly. Where—as many think was the case with the *News Chronicle*—the newspaper seems not to know to whom exactly it is talking, readership will fall off, advertisers will scrutinize the bargain they are getting, and catastrophe may well follow.

It has, indeed, been a matter of remark that the so-called "quality" papers—those that think that newspaper readers have reasonably serious minds interested to know what goes on in the world rather than merely to be entertained—have lately seemed to be stabler than some others.

The *Times*, for instance, which is entirely independent of any outside control or financial support, flourishes with a circulation of only about a quarter-of-a-million; it is prosperous enough to embark on the rebuilding of its offices and plant. Nor does one hear that *The Guardian* or the *Daily Telegraph* are in any trouble.

Provincial Press

One should not leave out, in any discussion of this kind, consideration of the provincial Press. The national newspapers, printed for the most part in London, Manchester and Glasgow, compete with them seriously.

They hold their own, and I must declare an interest here since I am London Editor of the *Birmingham Post* a morning newspaper with a circulation of some 80,000, and the *Birmingham Mail*, an evening newspaper of some 300,000. But it is fair enough to remark that at a time when the goodwill and plant of the *News Chronicle* and *Star* changed hands for £1,500,000 to £2,000,000, these Birmingham papers should have in train a great rebuilding scheme of which but one item is an order for new printing plant costing £2,500,000. And there are other examples of the kind elsewhere in the country.

The characteristic of such papers is not only that they print news of their own regions that the national newspapers would not notice, but also that they consider national issues from non-metropolitan angles. Moreover, the editor—and often the proprietor—of the provincial newspaper is not so remote from contact with his readers as his colleagues on the nationally-circulated newspapers must be. He has to mingle with the other leaders of his community in his daily life and be ready to justify his newspaper's attitudes in his own conversation.

New Sunday Paper

The fate of the *News Chronicle* and the *Star*, following as it did the
(See Page 16)



GET IT FIRST—OR GET IT RIGHT

*The major bane for Editors is the News Agency
"Flash" which turns out to be wrong.*

*Two newspapermen discuss here what can be done
about it.*

The Premature Baby

At 12.15 a.m. on the night of February 16-17, 1960, the teleprinter operator at the UPI Paris office handed the night editor a message which, couched in the usual terms, announced the birth of a baby—the infant prince, who was subsequently christened Prince Andrew—to the British Royal Family. Without checking the origin of the news flash the night editor immediately passed it on along the telex of his clients.

By RENE GUYONNET
"L'Express" Paris

But the news had not come from London. It had been sent by some practical joker with a perverted sense of humour or by a competitor out to discredit the news agency over the telex connecting the UPI Paris office with its provincial clients.

As the night editor missed the developments that normally follow such a news flash, he got in contact with London, where an official denial was issued. The news was "killed" twenty minutes after it had been sent out. Too late. It had already been broadcast from Radio Luxembourg. The next morning *France-soir* had a banner headline across eight columns, which read:—

"Buckingham Palace denies the American UPI's announcement of the Royal Baby"

with the mischievous sub-title
"Prince Philip keeps his head."

Such an incident is by no means isolated. In November 1918 an Agency's Paris correspondent received a deliberately faked message from an agent in Germany, which led it to announce the signing of the Armistice four days too soon. In 1945, as the result of a

"leak" by an American Senator, Associated Press prematurely flashed the news of the German surrender. Recently Agence France-Presse attributed words to Mr. K., which he had never uttered.

These mistakes and many others, which, being less sensational, pass unnoticed, are all due to the need felt by the large press agencies to beat the clock, to give absolute priority to speed—sometimes even at the expense of accuracy.

In its turn this sense of urgency can be explained by sole reference to competition. A great agency is compelled to beat its competitors, to be the first with the news, if it wants to be taken up by subscribers. In other words, it must try to get its message published by clients who are also served by other agencies. At critical moments during the last few minutes before a news broadcast or just before an edition is put to bed—the choice of an agency may be a matter of minutes or even seconds. (It was no accident that the erroneous news of the birth of the Royal Baby was sent at 12.15 a.m.) In such foreseeable events as the launching of an artificial satellite the ticker-tape is sometimes perforated in advance, and the editor in charge, his eyes fixed on the telex, will await the flash that will tell him to go ahead.

How could it be otherwise? With the present organisation of information in the West there is no remedy. As long as agencies are obliged to compete with each other, they must, for reasons of prestige and self-interest, try to outdo their rivals and send news flashes without checking them—a procedure that might take several hours. The only safeguard is the cool head and powers of judgement of an agency reporter. Behind every erroneous piece of news we can almost al-

ways find an "air of excitement"—the end of two wars, the birth of the baby, events which were, in any case, imminent.

The risk arising from such speed psychosis should not be exaggerated. If the news seems improbable it usually is carefully checked. In very important matters the speed reflex is offset by a sense of caution. When the death of Pope Pius XII was announced prematurely by an Italian agency, after the Holy Father had been on his death bed for several days, the great agencies went to a lot of trouble to confirm the news before re-transmitting it. Accuracy is just as essential as speed for an agency. If its reports are inaccurate an agency will lose its clients just as quickly as an agency that is too slow. After the incident of the false announcement of the Royal Birth the UPI Paris office sent all its correspondents in the provinces and North Africa a code which should enable the Paris office to identify incoming messages with absolute certainty.

The Test of Fortitude

Faster communications have posed a problem for newspapers, wire services and radio-TV stations.

Minutes after a prime news bulletin moves from any part of the globe it can be transmitted by high speed radio and teleprinter circuits to any part of the world. Somewhere there's a newspaper going to press or a broadcaster ready for a newscast almost every minute of a 24-hour day.

By JOHN H. COLBURN
Managing Editor
"Richmond Times-Dispatch"

Speed is of the essence and everyone will agree that it should not be sacrificed to accuracy or fairness. Yet there are times when it is, not only by wire services but by newspapers and radio-TV stations.

How can it be prevented?

The answer is a test of an editor's fortitude. He can prevent it and reduce the tendency of his own reporters and the wire services to act too hastily. What he must do is to decide that he must have sufficient information at hand to satisfy himself about the story before it is printed or broadcast.

(See Page 14)

*fair chance
for young
talent*



Some 48,000 children are at school in Jamshedpur, where Tata Steel runs 34 schools—17 of them on two shifts—and assists 122 other schools with recurring or capital grants. Instruction up to matriculation is given in four languages to meet the needs of the cosmopolitan industrial community.

Employees' children are taught free or pay a concessional fee depending on the parents' income. Here, we see Shri Etwari of Monghyr, an operative in the steel works, and his son, Kameshwar Prasad. Kameshwar passed matriculation in the first division in 1959,

qualifying for a university stipend and for a Tata Steel Jubilee scholarship of Rs. 75 per month which will see him through college without any strain on his father's modest resources.

Jubilee scholarships apart, Tata Steel provides assistance in several ways to enable deserving children to take up higher studies. Young talent is thus encouraged and nurtured at Jamshedpur, where industry is not merely a source of livelihood but a way of life.

JAMSHEDPUR

THE STEEL CITY

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

WE GOT FED UP!

By Max Frankel

Member of the New York Times' Moscow Bureau.

Contrary to legend, correspondents leave the Soviet Union voluntarily. They give up the excitement of the "biggest story in the world" and the glamour of frequent display Page on One and, if they are like us, they don't regret their departure.

My wife and I cannot recall exactly when we made up our minds; perhaps it was the day we discovered that a conversation with a Moscow cabbie, which had been an adventure in the first year and a lively debate in the second, turned out in the third year to be just a bore. We no longer cared about touting the beauty and economy of a Chevrolet and were tired of persuading him that Americans did not want war.

Unlike draftees and some Moscow correspondents, we never counted the weeks till discharge and we want to return some day when Russian life and policy are launched on an interesting new tangent. For the moment, we have had enough.

Superficial Courtesy

This is so even though Moscow is surely the most secure of the world's "hot spots." Ordinary Russians almost always greet a correspondent with elaborate, if superficial, courtesy. Official molestation is almost never physical. A correspondent need not be uneasy if his wife is out late and alone—not because there is no crime in the people's paradise but because picking on a foreigner is more than any ordinary Russian hoodlum ever wants to bargain for.

For those so inclined, Moscow could even be a comfortable place these days. Moderate but adequate housing is assigned to foreigners by the Government. So are household employees. No frantic hunting, no advertising, no annoying decisions. Adequate stocks of food are allowed in from abroad, including untaxed cigarettes and liquor.

As for working conditions—well, you could look at it this way: If the Kremlin were to blow up one midnight, you would not even have to get

out of bed. No one would tell you what happened until an official version had been composed for *Pravda* and the censor would blockade all stories until *Pravda* appeared. Ideal. And that's the trouble.

Moscow is truly the place for scholarly contemplation of the news. Right in the midst of the great story, it is nowhere to be had. There's not an official in town—except: Khrushchev—who will tell you anything that hasn't appeared in *Pravda*; and unless it is fit to appear in *Pravda*, even Khrushchev's words will be censored. So instead of chasing the facts, you think about what they might be. And unless you are the professionally thoughtful type—a scholar—there is a point of diminishing returns during service in Russia.

That point comes when you can read the headline of a *Pravda* story and compose the text yourself, with 80 per cent accuracy:

World Series.....Tass.....New York.....The peace-loving peoples' valiant struggle for progress throughout the world is being obscured in the American monopoly press this month by a great hullabaloo over what American sport financiers arrogantly call a world championship. Not only the heroic sportsmen of the Great Socialist Camp but even America's poorer allies are barred from the games.....

The point of diminishing returns is at hand when you have worked hard to strike up a friendship with a young Russian and then find him recoiling from you as from a leper, even in a dense crowd in a public park, because, it develops, he suspects that a promotion or a trip abroad was cancelled as a result of the friendship.

The point is reached not only when the manifestly simple truths about Soviet propaganda and totalitarianism become obvious, but also when you begin to understand the complexities of life in Russia and find yourself unable to communicate them to readers.

A Russian Anecdote

For instance, a Russian friend of ours—a newspaperman who occasionally contributed to an architecture magazine—once wrote a piece praising the design and conception of apartment houses in the United States. To avoid censure for oneness, he capped it with a brief introduction condemning the general lack of taste and skill in American building. Our friend's editor was aghast. Much too praiseworthy, he said; why risk everybody's neck? After much argument, the editor set this condition: Find a responsible and respected person to vouch for the "correctness" of the piece and it would be printed. Apparently this was standard procedure, but our friend did not know where to turn. After weeks of investigation, he found a Soviet expert on American architecture in a "friendship society," a professor who agreed to risk it. When the article was returned, the professor had taken exception only to the introduction, which, he claimed, was unnecessarily harsh and unfair to American architecture. "Enough!" screamed the editor when our friend produced his witness. The article appeared as written and there were no repercussions.

This is one of those Russian anecdotes, illustrating the perverse effect of fear and decency in coexistence, that are the finest illustrations of life in Moscow. A foreigner can learn of these things only in exceptional circumstances and they can never be a part of his report.

It is time to leave Russia when the excitement of travel to remote regions no longer compensates for the annoying presence of official guides with official lies and for the horror of lame interviews with minor officials.

A foreign correspondent in Russia is not only a secret agent in the eyes of the Government; to much less sophisticated Russians he is someone to whom every loose brick must be made seem like an ingenious product of Russian engineering. This defensiveness, betraying a deep sense of inferiority, is in fact a national conspiracy of Fate that has little to do with Communism.

Exercise In Hypocrisy

With rare exceptions, an interview with a Soviet official is like reading the papers, attending a movie or any other public activity—an exercise in hypocrisy. You come away grateful if,

—Turn over

Fed up.....

while the regional economic chairman tells you he has no problems, approves of all orders from Moscow and is overfulfilling every production goal, he at east shows a glimmer of a smile of recognition that he isn't fooling anyone. After all, that is just what he tells his Communist party superiors, too—without a smile. Hypocrisy in Russia is bearable as long as all the participants know they are playing the game.

It is when you are innocently taken in, or when you fight back, stupidly demanding "the truth," that you are contemptible and loathsome in Russian eyes. But once you've learned this game and it is still the truth that you want, it is time to leave.

For a while the problem for us in Moscow was to get some honest-to-goodness Russians, even if they were semi-official types like newspaper editors, to our home for a drink. When they finally came and asked us things about the United States we tried to answer as we would at home, critically, openly, in expectation of reciprocity. In return, we got expert recitations of that morning's private poopsheet from the Communist party propaganda and agitation section. It is when you are no longer angered by this intellectual abuse and unfair consumption of your liquor that you finally know something about Russia; but it is also time to leave.

It could be argued—correctly—that after three years in the Soviet Union we had only begun to understand a great and complex nation. Ominous and cheap rumours spread by the Foreign Ministry's Press Department that our stories were not pleasing the right people were perhaps confirmation of the dawn of our understanding.

But too often this official reaction was merely a tribute to the laboriously developed talent of slipping things by the censor without at the same time confusing the editors and readers at home. The painstaking and time-consuming wrestling with the censor is the true measure of the Moscow correspondent's valor.

Unseen Censors

When next you read of a correspondent who dangled from a cliff to bring you an eyewitness account, or of one who ducked bullets to get his story out, think of the Moscow man, cooped up in a two-by-four cubicle in a stuffy telegraph office, dangling precariously over his typewriter and ducking exci-

In Naga Hills:

Press Party Mistaken For U. N. Mission!

A party of foreign and Indian correspondents visiting Naga Hills areas on December 15 this year was mistaken for a United Nations fact-finding mission by a section of Angamis, one of the major tribes from which Phizo hails. This happened at Khuzuma village, 18 miles from Kohima. As the party reached the village, three Angamis approached and asked whether the Correspondents have been sent by the U.N. The latter answered in the negative and added that they were in no way connected with the world organisation.

The fact that the Correspondents did not belong to the U.N., was not carried to the armed hostiles operating from their hide-outs on the dense jungles overlooking Kohima town. Evidently to register their presence and publicise their activities, some hostiles

moving in the jungles woke up the Correspondents the next morning with sounds of gun-fire. The army unit guarding the school hostel in which the Newsmen were billeted exchanged the fire and silenced the tribesmen.

This is said to be the first time foreign correspondents have been permitted to go to this area ever since military operations against hostiles were launched in 1954.

ADD TO
Your Prestige
by an AD.
in NEWSMAN

sions from unseen censors, rewriting into the early hours to put some meaning and perspective into a propaganda pronouncement for which the home office is holding a Page One slot.

If Khrushchev has just vowed to wipe the United States off the map with 50-ton missiles, the correspondent writes: "Khrushchev threatened tonight....." and an hour later, back from the censor, comes his story with the word "threatened" deleted. He tries again: "Khrushchev promised destruction tonight .." and out comes the promise of destruction. Out, too, comes his third attempt, "rattled 50-ton rockets," and his fourth, "vowed to annihilate." The inspired pre-dawn attempt, "Khrushchev warned tonight," will finally clear, and the correspondent proceeds to repair his second paragraph.

The knowledge that a "warning" is okay when a "threat" is not represents three years of experience on the firing line at Moscow's Tsentralni Telegraf. But three years also breeds the inclination to damn it all and simply write, day after day, that Tass said, Tass declared, Tass emphasized and Tass maintained. It's shell shock and it's time to leave.

The Soviet Government would be happy and the Moscow correspondent

would be reasonably content if his sole ambition were to chase, translate and chastely transmit the official pronouncements, saving his eyes and ears for the occasional spectacle of color that is semi-annually arranged for him with parades through Red Square and on such other occasions when spies are available for trials.

For the "greatest story in the world" is also the greatest secret in the world and the lone correspondent is a poor match for a giant, totalitarian government. The story is only rarely to be had on the scene. The scholars will have to dig out what really happened.

And even when there is a glimmer of insight to be had, the Moscow correspondent must shed all pretense that he is a writer. For then the problem is to avoid a straight-shooting sentence that would reveal what you mean. You must write, "There are indications that the Soviet leaders are eager at all times to share with the world their own high estimation of themselves," when you mean, "They let you write only favourable things."

It is this acquired habit of wilful abfuscation that made it necessary to take so much space to say: "We got fed up."

(Reprinted from Times Home organ
"Time Talk")

ON TRAINING OF JOURNALISTS

By

SYED IQBAL KHADRI

Department of Journalism

Maharaja's College, Mysore University

Most of the professions are overcrowded; yet Journalism is still a free and uncrowded field providing opportunities for social and national services. In India, Journalism has become as great as any other fine art in the country.

A wrong idea has been created among many that journalists are born, not made. Writing for newspapers, magazines, etc. Is not a gift; it is a science as much as music, dancing, engineering, medicine, chartered accountancy, etc., that can be acquired by diligent application and proper guidance. Literary ability is often manifest in the early days of a child's schooling. Properly fostered and accompanied by the temperamental capacity and ambition essential to such a career, this ability may usefully be directed along the path of journalism. Few vocations call more insistently for definite training than that of journalism. It is not a vocation in which one can 'drift' untrained and aspire for expeditious success.

Journalism is an ancient and honourable craft. There is no doubt that almost anyone with intelligence and with a little aptitude can be trained to be a moderately good journalist. A reliable journalistic school can make the road easy for the untrained writer.

In the years ahead of us the power of the Press in India is bound to increase. Papers which are edited with vigour, based on sound principles and the adoption of up-to-date methods of production, will become more and more indispensable. Well-trained men and women able to write are in demand. The demand will increase in future.

When Indian universities offered courses in journalism, their merits were debated. Working journalists generally exhibited pessimism. Now, we find the antagonism has gradually disappeared and an increasing interest in journalistic education is recorded. There is a direct as well as indirect impetus given to education in journalism. Even the sceptical newspapermen have realised that "training" will

certainly preserve the high traditions and standards of journalism.

The first programme of education for journalism in India was introduced in 1938 at the Muslim University, Aligarh. The late Sir Shah Mohammed Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court of India, is credited with having planned the first course of instruction in journalism ever to be offered in an Indian university. This pioneer course was dropped just after two years of its inception. Chief reasons were: the demise of the Founder and the differences of opinion between the authorities and the teacher in charge of the department.

Central Institute

There exist departments of Journalism in the Universities of Punjab, Calcutta, Nagpur, Madras, Mysore and Osmania. The Bombay College of Journalism was established early this year, but it is not yet affiliated to any recognised university. There are proposals for starting department of journalism in five or six other universities viz. Gujarat, Agra, Poona, Gauhati, Karnataka. The Committee on Education in Journalism constituted by the Inter-University Board of India, at the instance of the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, meeting at Mysore very recently under the distinguished Chairmanship of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, has recommended the creation of a Central Institute of Journalism either in New Delhi or Bombay. The All India Newspaper Editor's Conference is actively considering the establishment of a Central Press Institute. Should any one of the moves materialise, it would mean that favourable factors attend the fortunes of education in journalism in India. It is of interest to note that except at Mysore, all the other courses available are post-graduate diploma courses. The distinction of providing the first and the only Degree course in journalism is held by the Mysore University.

Education in journalism India is still underdeveloped and it has to be developed on proper lines. It has also

to adjust itself to a new era. In meeting the problems that will arise, those charged with the responsibility of directing its course have to draw heavily upon the experiences of the past in shaping the plans for the future.

My analysis of the various university courses in Journalism shows:

1. There is plenty of human material available to supply the needs of the journalistic profession, but it has got to be educated and trained along proper lines before it can be moulded and fitted in the profession;

2. On the whole, persons admitted to the journalism courses were and are satisfactory;

3. General improvement can be easily brought about, if higher educational standards are maintained in university departments;

4. Almost all departments functioning in India are faced with problems which are not very difficult to solve. The most important need for the departments is equipments;

5. There is necessity and wider scope to upgrade the journalistic education in the country. Some more universities must be persuaded to pilot courses in the subject;

6. No Indian university is having provision for master's degree in journalism. Efforts should be accelerated to institute all-comprehensive full-fledged courses in the subject;

7. Practical training needs supplementation. To meet the urgency of the situation, "laboratory newspapers" must be encouraged. The schedule of practice-journal, as far as possible, should give the real feeling of the hurry and bustle, the strain and pressure of a typical newspaper office;

Co-operation from working journalists and professional organisations should be extended in all earnestness. The relationship between newspapermen and educationists must gradually become closer. A feeling of common concern and responsibility for the training of future journalists should arise. Journalism teachers should be properly represented in councils,

—Turn over

The Truth - The Lie & The Press

In this the first half of an article titled "The Truth, the Lie and the Press". Mr. Melvin J. Lasky, Former "New Leader" Managing Editor and Ex-editor of Der Monat, and now Co-editor of "Encounter" suggests "it is high time that Journalists who put questions to all the world (and rightly so) put a few questions to themselves.....!"

Ours has been Called the Era of the Journalist, and one does not have to look very far to be impressed and even overwhelmed by the evidence. How powerful are bankers and brokers when a city or financial editor has the confidence of millions of readers who are also investors and shareholders? How effective is the authority of Ministers and Governors when public opinion can only really be swayed by the men who control the headlines and the news? A roving reporter from Germany decides to publish a rash and ill-considered remark of a French general and there is, as a direct consequence, a governmental crisis in Paris and a minor civil war in Algiers. An American correspondent is given a "leak" about alleged *Bundeswehr* military bases in Spain and there follows an important crisis among NATO allies and a serious worsening of Anglo-German relations.

Nor is this a mere matter of occasional scoops and sensations. The press is called, in the ponderous jargon of our day, "the media of mass communication," but the enormous press corps, with its reporters, correspondents, columnists, resident and roving editors experts and special representatives, is no longer a simple "medium." It continues to convey but also, more and more, to control. That a Press Lord has genuine power is, of course, not a new thing. But this power has now become democratized and shared by every once-lowly representative in the corridors of world-affairs.

If their is such a thing as "a power elite," the gentlemen of the press, both in Europe and in America, have been moving pretty close to its center. More often than not, it is they who serve as the watchdogs of democratic institutions—rather than the traditional government committees who offer too little too late. It is they, and not government printing offices, who announce public policies to the nation. It is they, and not party organizers and platform orators, who exercise an influence on popular moods and

electoral voting trends. It is they, far more than any foreign minister, who set the context for the foreign relations which are to be conducted with friends and enemies.

Reportocracy?

We have known, in history, oligarchy and theocracy, plutocracy and rule of the Third Estate. I do not mean to exaggerate and I would not want to venture a prediction about the future of the "fourth estate" as a "reportocracy" or "journalarchy," but the power of the press has grown, in our open, free, democratized and internationalized society, to a historical force of major proportions. A reporter, bearing no authority other than accreditation by a newspaper, wire-service or radio-television network, has become part of the privileged officialdom, in every world capital. Frequently he looms larger, with his pencil and little notebook in hand scribbling the fragments of a story, than the real and famed power-holder on the other side of the desk. An American observer, studying the reporter's growing influence over the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of the U. S. Government, has gone so far (and in this he has had the assent of a Walter Lippmann) as to speak of reporters as "the Fourth Branch of Government."

I do not know whether this is either necessary or inevitable, encouraging or alarming. At the risk of appearing rather pedantic I would submit that this is a subject about which we know precious little: We read what the papers say, but we do not study them; we see too much of them to be able to see what they are doing. We cannot make out the real story for the headlines, or the pattern of things because of the make-up. The Germans have a fine and formidable word for it—*Zeitungswissenschaft*, the "science of the press"—and they make a vague, misty attempt at pursuing it at their Universities. Americans have innumerable schools of journalism, and all at a rather respectable academic level;

but the natural American genius in such things is often to neglect problems of theory, meaning, analysis, for a course of practical instruction. There are also, here and there, a number of press councils which from time to time conduct a hasty investigation into a scandal or a misdemeanor; and there is the beginning of valuable work being done by the International Press Institute at Zurich. But, by and large, we are reading, our newspapers in the dark.

Introspection

The sociologists seem to be everywhere but we have not yet, alas, a Sociology of the Press. Nor do we have from the "insiders," the professionals themselves, that critical, frank and thoughtful documentation of their lives and times which would help illuminate these questions of press,

Contd. from page 7

conventions, conferences, seminars, professional bodies and important meetings. There should be open a way for a period of rapid expansion marked by a quickening of interest both on the part of educationists and practical journalists. Teachers and advanced students of journalism should be encouraged to carry on research work and to contribute to the literature of journalism.

Newspaper offices, professional organisations, information services, news agencies, private and government information departments also must play an important part in the elevation of standards of instruction in journalism.

The Press Commission of India has observed that there are reasonable prospects for those who obtain Degrees or Diplomas in journalism.

Educational preparation is a requisite to success in journalism as in other professions. The schools of journalism, in short, must be increasingly relied upon as the sources of supply from which future journalists are to be recruited.

publicity and public affairs. Contributions to historical and economic science have not infrequently been made by reflective protagonists on the scene of business and politics. Our *Zeitungswissenschaftler*, our "scientist of the papers," has very little on the shelf: A few newspapers and magazines record their fortunes, more or less piously; a few writers and editors assemble their books of adventure and anecdote. Most strange, I think, this professional deformation which blinds them to possibly the most interesting and important story of them all! Not merely *how* they got their story, and *when* and *where*—but also *why*: This is what we want to know. It is high time, I would most urgently suggest, that journalists who put questions to all the world (and properly so) put a few questions to themselves. "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes*," and who shall report on the reporters?

Consider the problem of the newspapers and their relationship to the American phenomenon of McCarthyism. This might almost serve as an ideal case-study in the problem of the "press, publicity and public affairs." A thousand reporters in Washington, D. C., armed with notebooks and cameras, sent this story around the world and it commanded front-page headlines everywhere. In 1953, when the Senator was at the very height of his career, I found myself arguing about "witch-hunting" and "book-burning," "loyalty hearings" and "security charges" in every urban center I visited from Paris and Belgrade to New Delhi and Tokyo. McCarthy was, indeed, "the first American ever to be discussed and described as being himself a menace to the comity of nations and the strength of alliances...the first American ever to be actively hated and feared by foreigners in large numbers."

News is news, I suppose, and as an American I cannot honestly protest the bad publicity. Regrettable only was the note of hysterical fatalism about so many of the dispatches in the world press: McCarthyism was triumphant; American liberty was lost: there was no shred of hope for the half-bewitched, half-terrorized nation. Who among the journalists in those awful and confusing years reported that there was little terror and even less bewitching, that the demagogue who was having a temporary field day would be "ultimately" or "sooner or later" crushed by the traditional

strength of American democratic institutions? And so he was, and I would like to believe that there were occasional twinges of shame and embarrassment on the part of those doom-obsessed observers who were prompted by the melodramatic appearance of things to write off so hastily, so faithlessly, the oldest constitutional republic in the West.

Headlines made McCarthy?

But if the foreign press could, with some justice, be blamed for misleading public opinion, how much more so could America's own press which was, after all, the source of almost all the foreign dispatches. Indeed, the American press has been accused, at home and abroad, of being the "sole responsible agency for the phenomenal rise of McCarthy." Was it the headlines which made and unmade the man? How true and serious an explanation is it to attribute to the irresponsible sensationalism of newspapers

in the end of McCarthyite witch-hunting only to begin hunting for other witches in the bar of Washington's National Press Club or behind typewriters in editorial offices from New York to Los Angeles. Why pick on the press? Why not on the President—who, after all, refused to challenge the Senator from Wisconsin until very late in the day? Why not on the Senate—for 95 other powerful Senators allowed one man to manipulate their procedures and violate their traditions? Why not on the Foreign Service—for what did the diplomats, including the senior representative, John Foster Dulles, do except appease and retreat? Surely any objective inquiry into the causes of McCarthyism would divide and apportion blame and criticism among many persons and institutions: No valid historical explanation can be monolithic. Nevertheless, there remains, I would suggest, a significant difference between the role of the

CAUSE WITHOUT CHARACTER!

the rise and fall (there was no time for a decline) of this amazing Crusader against Communism who, as his recent biographer Richard Rovere says, was "like Hitler, a screamer, a political thug, a master of the mob, an exploiter of popular fears...[who] denounced and accused and blamed and insulted and vilified and demeaned?"

The question and its answer are, to be sure, as complicated as the subtlest inquiries into cause and effect in history, but the very posing of it amounts to a radical challenge to the democratic ideology. It was Thomas Jefferson who proclaimed: "Were it left to me whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter." Not a few contemporary Jeffersonians are less confident, more hesitant. For them the free press is not quite (in the sardonic words of William Faulkner) "that dedicated paladin through whose inflexible rectitude truth shall prevail and justice and mercy be done." How had it acquitted itself in the test case of McCarthyism?

Witch-hunting

But first let me add a word of caution. It would be folly to rejoice

press and the role of these other contributing factors.

McCarthyism was the product of a unique historical situation which is never likely to arise again in the same shape or form. It was, in part "the product of the cold war" (as Joseph Alsop has argued), of the bewildering international tensions of the duel with Soviet Russian power. There was a serious Communist menace, and there had at one time even been a dangerous penetration (whether by agents or fellow travelers) into government and private organizations. There was the war in Korea and its distressing effect on millions of Americans who were at once dutifully militant, guiltily prosperous and politically confused. There was a powerful Republican party, eager to enjoy national power for the first time in a generation and, given the predominantly one-party nature of newspaper ownership, not beyond a conventional bit of opportunistic demagoguery. There was the traditional American (the words are Dickens') "distrustfulness, mean suspicions and unworthy doubts," aggravated by the aftermath of the Alger Hiss revelations (for if this clean-cut

—Turn over

Is The Press Council A Failure ?

Has the Press Council in Britain lived to the expectations that it would exercise effective brake on some of the worst Excesses of popular Journalism?

According to Mr. James Cowley, London Correspondent of the STATESMAN, of Calcutta, it has, in practice, been a failure in this respect.

In his column "London Note Book" in the STATESMAN of November 20, he wrote: "The remarkable achievement of the Sunday Times in topping a million circulation for four successive Sundays is a notable landmark in British Journalism. Before the war a serious Sunday newspaper was lucky if it could count a third of that readership. The Observer with around 7,50,000, affords further encouraging proof of the changing public taste. These two newspapers eschew sensationalism. They have forged ahead by sheer literary merit. The Sunday Times blazed a new trail last weekend when it began publishing John Betjeman's captivating autobiography in verse: *Summoned By Bells*. From what I hear it has given the paper, a fresh circulation surge that should keep it well above the million mark for some weeks to come.

"With the 'quality' papers making the running so spectacularly some regret has been voiced that they hold

themselves aloof from the Press Council whose self-imposed task is to adjudicate on complaints from the public and bring pressure to bear on erring editors, when injustices occur. The Press Council was conceived as a sort of conscience of the Press. In the beginning expectations ran high that it would exercise an effective brake on some of the worst excesses of popular journalism, but in practice it has been a failure in this respect, offending editors more often than not insolently cocking a snoot at Council when they have been brought to book.

"In its annual report just published, the Council makes the point that its authority will be strengthened if more of the 'quality' papers added their weight. Rather sadly, it recalls, that the Council was launched under the chairmanship of Lord Astor, of Hever, chief proprietor of The Times, but since he resigned in 1954 neither the Editor nor the Manager of that paper has belonged to the Council. Nor have the Editors or Managers of the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian, the Observer or the Sunday Times. "Some of these newspaper have at times been critical of the Council, which is their right, but collaboration could be even more helpful than constructive criticism and do more good to the newspapers and the Council alike," says the Report.

(From page 9)

THE TRUTH

Harvard hero was guilty, what could not conceivably be believed about anyone?). There were all those status-conflicts and resentments of a dynamic uprooted postwar society which the sociologists told us had given rise to a "new American right." There was a new and inexperienced President, not very strong in political courage, and foresight, representing a self-satisfied citizenry quite unprepared for libertarian militance and uneasily disposed, after the ideological stress of a "generation on trial," to the sacrifice of available scapegoats. There was a scattered, atomized "liberal left" movement which had not thought its way

much beyond the halcyon New Deal '30s when Franklin D. Roosevelt had recognized the Soviet Union and Communists were accepted as extreme democrats or more radical progressives.

And—last, but as Rovere insists, very far from being the least—there was tail-gunner Joe himself, "the most gifted demagogue ever bred on these shores; no bolder secessionist ever moved among us—nor any politician with a surer, swifter access to the dark places of the American mind." Rovere finds him a man of formidable proportions, a "hero of evil."

Cause without character

In these circumstances, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's "Fight for America" (the title of the manifesto

IPI Decision

An inquiry into the needs of the African Press, studies of the problems of commercial pressure on the Press and of journalists' right to preserve professional secrets are among the programme of activities the International Press Institute will engage in, next year. (1961).

The programme was finalised at a meeting of the executive committee of IPI held in Zurich on December 10 under the presidency of Mr. Donald Tyerman, Managing Editor of the London *Economist*. Newspaper directors from 10 countries participated in the meeting.

Some of the other decisions taken are: to continue the Institute's technical assistance to the Asian Press throughout 1961; to accredit a National Press Committee for South Korea; and to admit individual journalists from Thailand, Togo and Venezuela as members of the Institute.

—o—

he published) went from victory to victory against an opposition which was both disorganized and disoriented. It did not seem to matter that the Crusader against Communism was a relatively very late discoverer of the "Red menace" on the American scene, and that in his brief stormy political career he (1) had accepted Communist votes, (2) had been duped (in the Malmédy affair) by a Communist agent, (3) had no real interest in the subject of Communism and (4) never managed to catch any. It did not appear to be ludicrous at the time that, if Stalinism was indeed a world danger, the McCarthys were vengefully and myopically preoccupied with pink Army dentists, leftist U.S. Information Agency librarians and retired letter-head fellow travelers. Nor did it ever become entirely clear to the excited anti-McCarthyite opposition that, if McCarthyism was to be effectively combatted, it could hardly be done in the company of a "united front" (known, in the phrase of the day, as the anti-"anti-Communists") which refused to face up to the totalitarians on the left. Caught between the hardening of the fronts on both left and right, the "vital center" of American democratic liberalism mumbled, fumbled or kept deafeningly silent. If McCarthyism was a cause without character, anti-McCarthyism was a passion without principle.

(To be concluded)

Guild Get-Together :

Lesson in Co-Existence ! -Beguin & Hermann

Mr. Bernard Beguin of Geneva, representative of the International Federation of Journalists and Mr. Jean M. Hermann of France, President of the International Organisation of Journalists visited the Madras Reporters' Guild on November 26 and spent over an hour in lively conversation with the members.

Mr. Beguin and Mr. Hermann came to India to attend the international seminar organised by the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, in Bombay on November 19-21. They participated in the seminar on "Aspects of Journalism" and spoke on role of Co-operative Newspapers, sources of news, professional secrecy and ethics, rights and obligations of journalists, fair comment and criticism problem of the Press in under-developed and newly independent nations and the role of journalists in the development of international concord and peaceful relations.

At the Guild, both the visitors answered informal questions on the problems of reporters in their own countries as also the prospects of having one world organisation for the journalists.

Mr. Beguin said although the aim of both the I. O. J. and the I. F. J. were the same, the problems of journalists were not the same in all countries.

"We have no quarrels", Mr. Beguin said and added jocularly, "The past one week, since we landed in India had been a great lesson for us in co-existence. We have been living in the same hotel, moving about together and understand each other very well."

Mr. Hermann and Mr. Beguin complimented the Reporters in Madras on having succeeded in establishing a separate organisation to deal with their own peculiar professional problems.

Primate Praises Press

Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing the Canterbury Diocesan Conference had warm words for Reporters.

"They work in a tense world" he said "and do an exacting and difficult task."

He had listened to a memorandum by the Diocesan Publicity Committee, and added "By nature I resent and object to all forms of publicity, but I realise, in the world we have now, that I cannot get on without publicity. If that is so, then the publicity ought to be as good as possible."

"The Church of England has a first-class organ, in the Church Information Office, with Col. Hornby as its Chief."

The Press, he said, had taken the greatest care over handling the story about his visit to Rome. The reports had avoided false alarms and false hopes.

Wisdom

"I would like to express", said Dr. Fisher, "my personal gratitude to the staffs of newspapers, and others who have taken such trouble and shown such wisdom."

The memorandum to which the Archbishop had listened, among other things urged rectors and vicars to give reporters and photographers every tance possible.

—W.P.N.

Col. Mobutu Apologises to P. T. I. Lazarus....

Leopoldville. Dec. 9. Congolese authorities today revoked the expulsion order served yesterday on Wilfred Lazarus, PTI correspondent in the Congo.

The Commissioner of the Interior, of Col. Mobutu's College of commissioners now governing the Congo told Lazarus to-day the expulsion order was "unwarranted" and requested him to stay on in the Congo. He also apologised to Lazarus for "any little trouble" he might have been put to.

The International Press Corps here had earlier represented to their respective embassies and to the Congolese authorities against the impropriety of expelling the correspondent for policies of his Government.

Lazarus was told yesterday that the expulsion order, signed by Col Mobutu, the Congolese Army Chief, was made because of India's continued support of the Lumumba Government and its co-sponsoring of the resolution

not to seat the Kasavubu delegation in the United Nations.

An official had told Lazarus his despatches had influenced the Indian Government policy. The expulsion order had asked Lazarus to leave the Congo by the first available flight or to-day (Friday).

Press Room In Madurai

A Press room has been opened in the Central Telegraph Office, Madurai for the benefit of local and visiting correspondents. The room was opened in November, during the two-day session of the zonal conference of Chambers of Commerce in South India.

Mr. B. S. Padmanabhan of "The Hindu" Madras who covered the conference said he was overwhelmed by the courtesy and help extended by the Superintendent and staff of C.T.O. Madurai to Press correspondents.

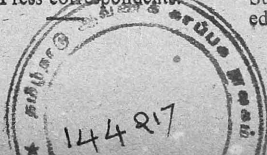
Pesonalia

Mr. R. Sampath, has joined as Staff Correspondent of "The Mail" at Trivandrum.

Messrs P. H. Vaidyalingam, S. Vasudevan, and N. Nageswaran have joined the *Economic Times*, Bombay as Madras correspondents.

Mr. K. Gopalan, Manager, Madras Bureau of the Press Trust of India, has resigned (Dec. 5) to join the Indian News Agency.

Mr. P. R. Padmanabhan, formerly of "Swadesamitran", and till recently Sub-Editor "Navamani", has rejoined "Swadesamitran" as Reporter.





Participants with Messrs E. J. B. ROSE, G. NARASIMHAN and A. G. P. VITTACHI

IPI Seminar A Great Success

By G. VENKATARAMAN, Asst. News Editor "The Hindu"

Twenty-two News Editors and senior Sub-Editors of newspapers from all parts of India participated in the First Asian Seminar of the International Press Institute held in New Delhi from November 7 to November 18. The Seminar proved an unqualified success and everyone who attended it came away with a genuine appreciation that he had added considerably to his store of knowledge and experience in many aspects of journalism.

The sessions were held in the magnificent Vigyan Bhavan, each day providing two 3 hour periods of discussions and "workshops." The weather in the capital was bracingly cool and congenial. All the participants were billeted in Janpath Hotel to enable them to spend some time with their colleagues continuing discussion on points which interested them during regular sessions each day. Small groups as well as individuals also took the opportunity to meet the discussion leaders in their rooms to clarify doubts and go through problems peculiar to their particular newspapers.

The discussion leaders started the ball rolling each day by reading prepared papers on some vital aspect of journalism. The general rule of the Seminar was that not to interrupt would be impolite and this resulted in lively discussions and exchange of ideas. In the workshop sessions the more practical aspects of newspaper lay-out and production were dealt with exhaustively.

A wide range of subjects was covered in the two-week session under the following headings: News Sources; The Active News Desk; News Evaluation; Functional Newspaper Design;

Handling of Mofussil News and Correspondents; Treatment of Speeches, Communiques and Hand-outs; Technique of the Interview; The relationship between Editorial and Management; Reporting Parliament; Political Reporting; Balance between Provincial, National and International News; Following up the News; New Layers of Readership; Treatment of Foreign News; Problems of Editorial Space; Re-writing; Pictures Make News; Picture Display; Photojournalism; Briefing Your Cameraman; A Basic Picture Library; Investigative Reporting; Variety and Balance in a Newspaper; Newspapers and the Law; Women, Children, Humour, Entertainment and Sports as News, Independent Reporting.

The discussions were led by Messrs. E. J. B. Rose, Director of the IPI. A. G. P. Vittachi, Asian Representative of the IPI; E. B. Brook, News Editor, "The Statesman," Calcutta, H. M. Evans, Assistant Editor, "Manchester Evening News," England, V. K. Narasimhan, Assistant Editor, "The Hindu," Madras, Paul Grimes, New Delhi Correspondent of "The New York Times," J. M. D'Souza, General Manager, "The Times of India," New Delhi. A. G. Venkataraman, Assistant Editor, "The Indian Express," Chittoor, Prem Bhatia, Resident Editor, "The Times of India," New Delhi, D. R. Mankekar, Resident Editor, "The Indian Express," New Delhi, Eric Da Costa, Editor-in-Chief, "The Eastern Economist," New Delhi, D. N. Kalhan, Assistant Editor, "The Hindustan Times," New Delhi, Leslie. Hoffmann, Editor-in-Chief, "The

Straits Times", Kuala Lumpur, Vincent Jones, Executive Editor, The Gannett Newspaper, Rochester, New York, Amitabha Choudhury, Assistant Editor, "Jugantar", Calcutta and Y. Kumar, Legal Correspondent, "The Statesman", New Delhi.

During the workshop sessions, the lay-out of most Indian newspapers was discussed without fear or favour with particular reference to examples of both good and bad workmanship, and practical suggestions for improvement freely exchanged.

Mr. G. Narasimhan, Managing Editor of "The Hindu", Madras and Chairman of the India Section of the I. P. I. attended the Seminar in the first week, Messrs. Evans, Vincent Jones and Leslie Hoffmann, who had specially come from abroad for the Seminar, proved able instructors and ungrudgingly gave of their time to resolve the problems of individual participants after the regular sessions were over.

There were stimulating addresses by Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan. The Delhi Press Club and the Managements of "The Hindustan Times", "The Times of India", "The Indian Express" and "The Statesman" entertained the participants at evening parties.

The following journalists attended the Seminar: Messrs. Shantikumar Bhatt, ("Bombay Samachar, Bombay), K. K. Chummar ("Thozhilali Daily", Trichur), R. K. Gulati ("The Pioneer", Lucknow), Jagannatha Gupta ("Hindustan", New Delhi), Deenanath Jha ("The Indian Nation", Patna).

Sambunath Jha ("The Searchlight", Patna), R. K. Joshi ("The Samyukta Karnataka", Hubli), Chandra Kumar "The Aj", Varanasi), Manohar Mahashabde ("Tarun Bharat", Nagpur), I. Mansukhani ("The Statesman", New Delhi), V. K. R. Menon ("Mathroubhum", Calicut), Narendra Mohan ("The Daily Jagran", Kanpur), Debendranath Mohanti ("The Prajatantra", Cuttack), Chintamani Mahapatra ("Eastern Times", Cuttack), K. P. K. Pisharody ("The Malayala Manorama", Kottayam), N. Rajan ("The Hitavada", Nagpur), V. P. V. Rajan ("The Mail", Madras), Dhiren Ray ("Jugantar", Calcutta), R. Seshadri ("Deccan Herald", Bangalore), S. Arunaiaippan ("Nava India", Madras), Shyamrathi Singh ("Navbharat Times", Bombay) and G. Venkataraman ("The Hindu", Madras).

What Makes An Independent Reporter?

Mr. A. G. P. Vittachi, Asian Representative of the International Press Institute listed at a recent seminar in Delhi seven fundamental qualities that go to make an "independent Reporter".

He said that an independent reporter (a) never reveals his sources, (b) never knowingly damages or endangers the job of a public officer who is deprived by the rules from giving information, (c) never lets down his informants by publishing news prematurely or by withholding a significant fact of the information he has received, (d) never allows himself to be personally involved with his sources of information or influenced by pressure groups, (e) never lets down his colleagues in his dealings with his contacts, (f) never distorts facts deliberately to suit his immediate purpose, though he may, on occasion, get his facts wrong and (g) never hesitates to acknowledge his mistakes quickly and graciously.

Besides these, the most vital feature of an independent reporter was that no journalist could ever be really independent unless he was skilled as a professional.

Mr. Vittachi, who was leading a discussion on "independent reporting" said that the main functions of a newspaper was to report, to interpret, to lead and to interest, amuse and entertain. The first function was clearly that of a reporter. The second was also often assigned to the reporter. The third was, generally speaking, the exclusive responsibility of the Editor or some one to whom he delegated this responsibility.

Separation of News and Views

In this context, he recalled that in the first half of this century one of the great principles of British-style journalism was the strict separation of news and views. There was still a large body of newspapermen who felt that the reporter's job was to bring home the fact without mixing up his opinion and it was the Editor's job to interpret the news and give a lead to the readers.

This, Mr. Vittachi said, was a very noble ideal in which many newspapers all over the world believed implicitly. But unfortunately very few of them had stopped to enquire whether in fact the practice in their own newspapers followed that laudable preaching.

In his view, reporters covering a crucial national event did not, and could not, adhere to this principle and practice the strict separation of news and views.

Mr. Vittachi cited the examples of the Indian newspapers covering the Nehru-Ayub canal waters pact and the Ceylon newspapers reporting the schools take-over Bill and said that if the personal factor was excluded from these, reports they would be dull, colourless, uninteresting and empty.

He felt that they should cease to think of the editorial department as being composed of two separate entities—the reporters and the commentators. Nevertheless it was desirable to maintain the chastity of fact as inviolate as possible. This problem could be resolved by having, between the reporter and the editor, a third segment—the interpretative reporter.

Role of Interpretative Reporter

Mixing fact and comment had become increasingly important as it was certainly the most popular feature of a paper. In this segment they should include columnists, specialist reporters, "special correspondents" and foreign correspondents. Very often this segment was made up of men of the general reporting staff and commentators who had demonstrated their knack to nose out facts and place them in significant context.

Particular attention, Mr. Vittachi felt, should be paid to the independence of character and freedom of action of these men (interpretative reporters). He was not suggesting that every columnist and every special correspondent should be allowed to espouse any policy he preferred and attack or defend any cause as he willed.

The kind of independence he was talking about was the ability to resist the overwhelming pressures that were put on a reporter from interested groups outside.

Mr. Vittachi said, "The good reporter is the story reporter who—unlike some of his predecessors in the days when reporters were grouped with vagrants and snoopers—never waits outside doors with his hat in his hand, but walks along with his head high. He might have an air of arrogance but this is better than an air of subservience.

"A good reporter—that is a man with skill for collecting facts, interpreting them and writing them effectively—is capable of being an independent reporter.

"A bad reporter on the other hand must depend on his tongue and such wits as he has to save his skin."

DROPPED

The cases against two staff reporters of *Pakistan Times*, were withdrawn by the Rawalpindi Magistrate on Nov. 21 as the Government had decided to drop the proceedings against them.

The two reporters **Sasrar Ahmed** and **Salamat Ali** were charged with contravention of Official Secrets Act. Mr. Salamat Ali, it was alleged, refused to disclose the source of a news item published in the *Pakistan Times* on the ground that disclosure of the source was against professional ethics.

Several representations were made to the authorities by representative organisations of Journalists in Pakistan pleading that the news report in question was not damaging to the stability of the State and it was not against the interest of the present regime.

“Independence” is not “Irresponsibility”

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance and Information Minister of Madras called upon the journalists to be “independent” and at the same time “responsible”. He was presiding over the seventh foundation day of the Madras Union of Journalists and the decennial celebrations of the I.F.W.J. on November 26.

The Minister said that today, particularly in a democratic set up, a free and an independent Press was necessary. There could be a free and an independent Press only when all the organs or the parts of the Press functioned independently. The word, “independence” should not be misunderstood for “irresponsibility”. The word, “independence” meant a good deal of responsibility. If they functioned irresponsibly they ceased to be independent. The journalists should not get themselves attached to any outside organisation—political or otherwise. That was an absolute and a

(From Page 3)

GET IT FIRST.....

That is what we do locally. Even at edition time, if we get a fragment of information we will not use it until it is fully supported. This may mean that our edition going into a competitive area does not have certain information carried by the opposition.

Newspapers and radio-TV stations fighting for a competitive edge will find this a difficult formula to apply.

Yet, I believe it is an effective formula because it is the only one that will enhance your prestige and standing among subscribers or listeners.

Many has been the time we have been told by our subscribers, “We don’t believe it is so until we have read it in *The Times-Dispatch*.”

Once newspapers and radio-TV stations adopt a policy of checking and double checking before they go to press or on the air it will improve the accuracy of their own local staffs as well as put a premium on the sound reporting by the wire services.

—I. P. I. Report

fundamental necessity in a democracy, he emphasised.

The Minister was all praise for the Madras journalists and remarked that they maintained a balanced view and also walked on tight rope successfully between various political parties and between different political ideologies. The Madras journalists, who were usually being sought after throughout the country, were playing a dominant role not only in Madras State but also

I. F. J. and I. O. J.

No Merger for Sake of “Theoretical Unity”

Mr. Bernard Beguin of the International Federation of Journalists, speaking in Madras recently, expressed his firm conviction that there was need for two world organisations for journalists.

Mr. Beguin, who along with Mr. Jean M. Hermann, President of the International Organisation of Journalists, extended fraternal greetings to the Madras Union of Journalists on the occasion of its seventh foundation day, said that just for the sake of forging a “theoretical unity”, the two organisations could not be merged into one. So long as there were two conceptions of the problems facing the world, two organisations were necessary, he added.

Mr. Jean M. Hermann, President, I.O.J., said that his organisation from its very inception was doing a useful work in improving the material supplied by the member-journalists besides bettering the personality of the journalists.

Mr. Bernard Beguin said the reasons for the existence of two international organisations for Journalists were based on historical facts. In 1947, after the world war, the journalists were separated by ideological differences. The members of I.O.J. were perhaps likely to accept greater amount of control from outside and the activities of the journalists were controlled by the State or by parties, singular or plural. On the other hand

in the National Press throughout the Country. He asked the journalists to continue to maintain the high standard.

Dr. P. V. Cherian, Chairman, Madras Legislative Council, releasing the Foundation Day Souvenir of the M.U.J. on the occasion stated that the journalists occupied a very important place in public life since they influenced the public life of the country through their writing. In support of his view, he referred to the writings and comments of columnists like Walter Lippman, David Martin and others. He advised journalists to report “honestly and faithfully”. He also endorsed the views of the Minister about the capacity of the Madras journalists.

the I.F.J. members stressed on individual liberty. His own personal view was that this responsibility must be assumed by a process of self-discipline on the part of the journalists and not by an outside authority. The Press in socialist camp or in the popular democracy in Eastern Europe had developed a certain amount of respect of their own. And they were no longer completely instruments of the Government and were developing criticism in their own way. The two world organizations would have reasons to exist separately; at the same time they could work towards a common goal.

One factor, which he found very useful, Mr. Beguin said, was that whenever journalists from Eastern Europe met journalists from the West they argued there was always certain amount of interchange of ideas and experience. He characterised this factor as an “important educational process” between the journalists of the two organisations. He was convinced that the existence of the two international organisations could not be discarded just for the sake of forging a theoretical unity, since they were just now thinking in terms of two world conceptions. None of our problems could be solved by one conception only. Both the international organisations possessed something to give to the journalists of India and learn from the latter, he said.

Scholar Turned Journalist

By POLYCRITIC

Mr. Kingsley Martin (63) is retiring as Editor of the *New Statesman* after 30 years.

The following is a pen picture of Mr. Martin by a city journalist who spent a few moments with Mr. Martin in 1955.

Kingsley Martin was 34 when Arnold Bennett selected him for the editorship of the socialist *New Statesman*, then just absorbing the *Nation* and the *Athenaeum*. Under Martin's brilliant editorship, for nearly 30 years, this paper has obtained for it a prestige and a circulation unprecedented in the history of such weeklies. Martin takes legitimate pride in it and says, "I am proud of the fact that the paper has grown in influence and circulation without ever having consciously played down to its audience or become less thoughtful. If it is to be called high-brow, then, the number of high-brows must have enormously increased and that is in some degree our doing."

The First Editor

When the Webbs founded the *New Statesman*, 40 years ago, they chose Clifford Sharp as its Editor. They were wise to make it clear that it was he who was in control of the paper and that in the case of difference of opinion, his was to be the deciding voice. We are told by "Y.Y." that after several heated discussions on crucial questions at the Webbs' house in Grosvenor Road, Mr. Webb used to remark, "Well, Sharp, you are the Editor and you must decide." This editorial independence is kept up even to this day. Sharp who had an instinctive contempt for folly and stupidity was a noble crusader who supported several just and humane causes. He was a fearless and forthright critic and built for the journal a reputation for independence. It soon became the journal of the intelligentsia.

The mantle of Sharp fell on Martin in 1931. Ever since, he has striven to make the *New Statesman* one of the most influential political weeklies of the world.

In the superb caricature of Kingsley Martin, one gets a clue to his personality and character. He is slightly stout of build, and for an intellectual, reasonably cheerful, with a noble aquiline profile, his right hand combing an iron grey mop of hair, seated pre-

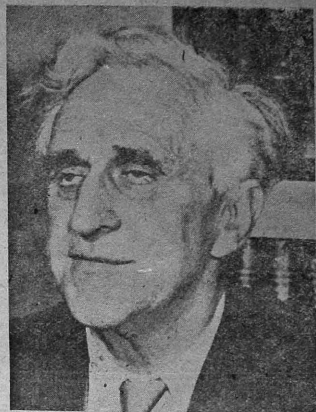
cariously on the edge of a table, reading a sheaf of proofs. It is a severely intellectual face, brimming with vitality of mind and moral courage.

Early Apprenticeship

Son of a Pacifist Minister, Martin went from Hereford Cathedral School to Mill Hill. He was a conscientious objector in the First World War and later served in the French Ambulance unit in France in 1915, before he joined the Cambridge University. After teaching and doing research for sometime, he left for America. Here, he wrote his book, "The Triumph of Lord Palmerston" which created an intellectual stir. For four years, he lectured at the London School of Economics in the Department of Political Science. His radical satirical book, "The British Public and the General Strike", published in 1926, secured him a job in succession to C.E. Montague as chief leader-writer of the *Manchester Guardian* under C.P. Scott, starting at £1,000 a year—more than three times what his lectureship had brought in. From the *Guardian* he switched over to the *New Statesman* and *Nation* as Editor and has continued to serve the journal with devotion and distinction.

The *New Statesman* is beloved, as Martin admits, by a "very high percentage of readers who say that they read the front political part last and agree with it least." But the *New Statesman* is read by people who count and it does make money. The most remarkable trait of Martin as an Editor consists in his ability to sift facts, think clearly, argue his case cogently and write with pungency and wit. It is said of him that he has succeeded in a large measure in the hardest of all writing jobs—"that of making righteousness readable."

If the *New Statesman* exerts a wider influence or commands more respect than any other English weekly in the world, it is largely due to the personality of Martin and his brilliant team of contributors.



KINGSLEY MARTIN

It has attracted such distinguished writers as Shaw, Brailsford, C.D.H. Cole, H.G. Wells, Earnest Toller, Alexander Werth, Arthur Koestler, J.B. Priestley, Rebecca West, Harold Laski, Robert Lynd, Elizabeth Bowen, V.S. Pritchett, Desmond MacCarthy, and that inimitable Sagittarius" (Olga Katzin) noted for her barbed verses.

Besides the leaders, Martin writes the gossip column signed "Critic" which is eagerly read. He does not always toe the official Labour Party's policies and sometimes irritates its leaders. When Mr. Clement Attlee asked what publication he most disliked, he said, "The *New Statesman*".

A Gallant Crusader

There is a rich streak of Puritanism in Martin's make-up which is partly responsible for his moral courage. As a dissenter and Pacifist, he does not make decisions on vital questions quickly and his political friends and comrades had accused him on occasions of vacillation. At this period also it was said of him by an unkind wit that he looked as if he were "on his way to Clarkson's (a wig-maker) to hire a crown of thorns." His pacism suffered a set-back during the Spanish Civil War and he supported the Constitutional Government against Franco and his fascist mercenaries. He denounced Munich vehemently and warned the democracies of the impending dangers of the spread of Fascism and totalitarianism. He was undergoing a severe mental travail during this period, for his sensitive soul revolted against the new barbarism. But all his gloomy

See page 16

PLEA FOR JOINT PRESS CODE

The Indo-Pakistan Joint Information Consultative Committee has held that better understanding between the two countries will be promoted by broadening the basis of facilities given to journalists for reporting on activities in each country.

The Committee has also held that the present procedure in this respect was unduly restrictive.

According to a joint communique issued at the end of a two-day meeting of the Committee held in Rawalpindi in the last week of November, the Committee recommended increased facilities for circulation of newspapers published in each country to promote better appreciation of the achievements of the two people.

The Committee was informed by the Pakistan representatives that the question of the removal of the ban on the entry of three Indian newspapers into East Pakistan was under active consideration.

The Committee, while expressing satisfaction that the press as a whole had tried its best to contribute towards friendly feelings between the two countries, regretted that some newspapers in both the countries had not acted in consonance with the joint Press Code. It felt that the time had come when positive steps should be taken to

promote a more cordial atmosphere by reporting on and reviewing constructive and developmental activities in both countries.

At the inaugural session of the Committee, Mr. Z.A.Bhutto, Leader of the Pakistan delegation pointed out that while there might be infringements here and there of an all-embracing Code in both the countries, the Committee should concern itself more with flagrant violation that caused a sense of anger and animosity between the two peoples. He said that to create a more harmonious understanding, personal attacks on national leaders should be avoided.

The Leader of the Indian delegation, Dr B.V.Keskar agreed that in addition to the observance of the joint Press Code, the press in both the countries should strive to see the positive side of the work that was being done in India and Pakistan. In his view there was an allround improvement, but there was room for further improvement.

The Committee ended its deliberations after achieving a "large measure of agreement" on measures to be taken to create an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding in relations between the two countries.

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KINGSLEY MARTIN.....

doubts were resolved in 1940, by a bomb which blew him off a lavatory seat while he was engrossed in "Mansfield Park." He abandoned his Pacifism and supported the allied cause against Nazi Germany. He has always raised his voice for the cause of the unprivileged and under-privileged. He ceaselessly fought for the freedom of colonial peoples smarting under imperialist yoke. A confirmed Liberal with an innate faith in freedom, he espoused the cause of Indian independence with rare courage.

Scholar-Journalist

Martin is a scholar turned journalist. He is a voracious reader and a prolific writer. He has made a definitive contribution to European and English thought by his seminal studies, and pamphlets.

Among his well-known books and pamphlets may be mentioned: "The French Liberal Tradition in the 18th Century"; "The Magic of Monarchy". "Low's Russian Sketch Book"; "The Press the Public Wants"; "Propaganda's Harvest" and "Truth and the Public."

Martin, like Massingham, Scott, Steed, Spender and Garvin, belongs to the noble tribe of writing editors. You feel the impress of his powerful personality on every page of the weekly.

I cannot easily forget the warmth of his engaging personality and his scintillating talk when I met him in February 1955 after he had addressed a meeting of the Journalists of Madras City. When I produced "Low's Russian Sketch Book" for his autograph, he was pleasantly surprised, and after signing said: "Don't be carried away by the observations I had made about Russia in this book. Conditions are much better now. Anyway it is an exciting experiment and as a socialist I am vitally interested in it." He then alluded to the educative value of cartoons in newspapers and paid a tribute to the genius of David Low, who could more aptly convey in his cartoons a political situation or an idea, than even pages of printed stuff.

From page 2

BRITISH PRESS.....

ending of the *Sunday Empire News*, is not the end of the story for the British Press. A new, serious Sunday paper to challenge the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer*, and possibly others among the popular papers besides, is in preparation already to come out in February—the *Sunday Telegraph*. It has good auguries and is attracting, by all accounts, a formidable staff.

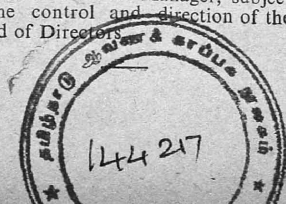
But one may venture the notion, again, that its success will depend, in the present state of enlightenment of the British newspaper reader, on its editor's and owners' ability to identify their readership (even though in a sense they have first to create it), to deal faithfully in service to that readership, and by all this to attract the

financial support it needs. It may not be easy. For cool and honest hands it should not be too difficult.

—B. I. S.

NIGERIAN NEWS AGENCY

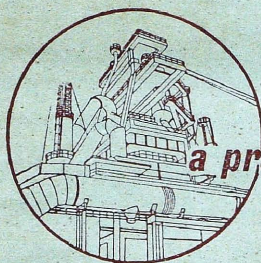
An independent and objective news agency has been formed in Nigeria. The Amalgamated Press of Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, the Nigerian Printing and Publishing Company and the Zik's Press will be the founder shareholders. The agency is being administered by Mr. Kenneth Valpy of Reuters as General Manager, subject to the control and direction of the Board of Directors.





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