

tain, Germany and Italy — have adopted a pragmatic approach recently, and everywhere the new look has failed to have a significant electoral effect. This must evoke either rethinking or a relapse; pragmatism by itself is not enough. And the new look of the Social Democrats is so closely linked with the look of the new leader, Brandt, that their rethinking might extend to him also; His career hitherto has been remarkably similar to that of Adlai Stevenson, and one wonders if the similarity will not last. It might not, perhaps, because no leader with more youth and light in him is available to replace him. In fact, the lack of younger talent should be the most serious concern of the Social Democrats,

Aden: Speeding UK's Exit

BRITAIN is passing through difficult times in her self-appointed task of ensuring the 'containment of China' East of Suez. She has had to watch in embarrassment white her anti-communist bulwark Pakistan openly turned to China for support against India; she has seen the Malaysian Federation begin to break up overnight with the secession of Singapore; and even in the Middle East the Adenis don't seem interested in her benevolent presence in their country.

The trouble in Aden has been going on for some years; the political scene is similar to most in the Middle East, with the additional complication of the presence of the British. The struggle between a feudal (usually royalist) dominant minority and some kind of revolutionary group is the pattern; at present however Aden itself is wedded to a motley collection of 16 sheikhdoms each ruled by a reactionary tribal leader and forming the South Arabia Federation. The revolutionary element is provided by the proscribed National Liberation Front, a terrorist organisation backed by Egypt, which 9 battalions of British and local troops are unable to suppress. The Chief Minister of Aden, Abdul Mackawec, hasn't much truck with his tribal co-leaders; however all are combined for the moment in demanding early independence (promised by the British by 1968). Meanwhile the Opposition parties are quite prepared to use NLF terrorism as a stick to beat the British within their demand for early independence.

Britain has always based her strategy East of Suez on the need for a line of

military bases spaced across the Middle East, which can be used as staging posts to the Far East. However, Aden is one of the few remaining ones, and sees no reason why it should continue to be so. Even when independence is granted, the forging of reactionary sheikhs and more liberal Adenis into some kind of federation is bound to have dire consequences. Britain, having lived by the principle of 'divide and rule' now believes in keeping the federation 'united at all costs to protect British interests'. Britain's interest in the Middle East is in her oil supplies, as the Adenis know; to this end she has a base in Bahrein for the ridiculous rental of £ 250 per annum. Bahrein is already beginning to replace Aden as a staging post; moreover there has been talk of setting up a base somewhere in the Indian ocean. After 6 carefully planned murders in the last few months, culminating in the assassination of the Speaker of the Legislature, none of them solved by the administration, it is clear that Britain must leave Aden quickly and with a good grace.

What Happens to Newspaper Profits?

THE trend and pattern of growth of the press in 1964, as outlined in the annual report of the Registrar of Newspapers, do not provide ground for enthusiasm. The circulation of dailies and periodicals rose by 6.2 per cent (dailies 5.9 per cent) over the year, which was slightly higher than in 1963. Newsprint, which continues to be extremely scarce, remains a severe bottleneck, largely because the targets of domestic production have not been fulfilled, in both quantity and quality. Nine principal dailies owned by large chains or groups increased slightly their share of total circulation from 42 per cent in 1963 to 43 per cent in 1964. The two top groups, *Express* (Goenka) and *Times of India* (Saliu Jain), accounted for 11.6 and 7.2 per cent of total national circulation of dailies — 19.9 and 15.2 per cent, respectively, if only metropolitan circulation is considered.

Ten of the well known dailies allot fifty per cent or more space to advertisements. These include six belonging to large units: *Times of India*, Bombay, (60-40), *Statesman*, Calcutta, (56-44), *Hindu* (55-45), *Statesman*, Delhi, (53-47), and *Evening News*, Bombay, (51-49). These high ratios for advertisements are attributed to the curbs on newsprint supply to the larger units and the pressure of advertisers on them

resulting from their relatively lower rates per thousand copies sold. The resulting prosperity has not, however, been put to the same use. The *Times* has, over the years, utilised its booming profits to start new dailies and a large number of periodicals and to remunerate its shareholders and staff generously. It is difficult to make out from publicly available information the response of other winners of the advertisement sweepstakes. The *Statesman* has not brought out a single new publication, the *Hindu* added a sports weekly many years back; neither pays its staff as well as the *Times* does. That advertisement revenue is not the only, or even the main, stimulant to growth and diversification is apparent from the fact that the Express Group with a total circulation of 11 lakh copies in 1964 (of which English editions account for a little more than 3 lakhs) has a much lower proportion of advertisements — and also a lower price per copy — and its growth over the last ten years has been quite impressive, in spite of comparatively low scales of remuneration to staff. The growth of oligopolist giants or the 'jute press' cannot be attributed solely to their disproportionate share in advertising outlay. The root causes lie elsewhere.

Newspaper circulation is almost wholly confined to the principal urban areas. The metropolitan cities account for one-half of total circulation and most of the remainder is in State capitals and cities with a population of more than one lakh each. Moreover, about three-fifths of the circulation of dailies published from Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras, is outside the respective metropolitan cities; the small decline in this ratio over the last three years is due to ceilings on newsprint quotas and growth of population and incomes in metropolitan cities. Most mofussil towns have no local newspapers and those which have them often tend to value outside news more than local news and are then understandably outbid by metropolitan papers. Local newspapers have limited sources of advertisement revenue and find it difficult to secure printing "machinery on easy terms; at the same time, they have not been particularly distinguished in tapping local advertisement sources, such as courts, shops, cinemas and tender invitations or, for that matter, in training reporters to handle local news. The cry of small newspapers for protective safeguards has still to be re-