

FOREIGN NEWS IN TWO COMMUNIST CHINESE DAILIES

A Comparative Content Analysis

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I. INTRODUCTION

The intent of this study is to compare foreign news reporting in two Chinese Communist newspapers. The first is the *People's Daily*, the organ of the central authorities of the party and the government. The second is the *Ta Kung Pao*, once the most influential independent newspaper in China, now a non-official, but party-controlled, paper.

Theoretically, the newspaper is a vital factor in helping to form public opinion, and the flow of news can promote understanding among peoples in different societies. How does the Communist press in China work toward this end? The pictures of other countries given to the Chinese readers by the Communist newspapers make an interesting study. So, this is the first area the writer would like to examine.

According to the communication doctrine of a Communist country, all mass media should serve the party's interest. Because of the conformity involved with maintaining the

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party line, most papers have the same face and content. For example, it is very hard to tell the difference between the *People's Daily* and the *Kuang Ming Jih Pao* (another non-party paper) if you fail to read their nameplates, as these two dailies' front pages usually do not differ noticeably in their content, size, and headlines. One may ask, why compare the papers in Communist China as there seems to be little, if any, difference? But what about the Communist press outside of Mainland China, such as the *Ta Kung Pao* Hong Kong edition? The writer has been interested in the Hong Kong *Ta Kung Pao* since he studied "How *Ta Kung Pao* interpreted the news about President Nixon's inauguration", in another paper one of the findings was that the *Ta Kung Pao* has been controlled by the Chinese Communist Party, although it is not an official party paper, and has been published in Hong Kong since 1949 when the Communists came to power. The second purpose of this study is to examine the similarities and differences between a paper in Mainland China and another outside of the Mainland. To narrow our focus we will deal specifically with foreign news reporting.

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This study has utilized content analysis to carry out quantitative research and present a useful, factual work. The basic hypothesis is that there are some basic differences between these two Communist controlled papers, centered chiefly in their foreign news reporting. To aid us in our study we will deal with such questions as: Through what different channels did each paper collect its foreign news?

What kind of news was usually emphasized? How about their news geographic distribution? How did they portray their friends and enemies?

The findings of this paper will answer these questions through quantitative analysis in terms of foreign news according to specific sources, foreign news according to categories, foreign news reported on foreign countries and various areas, and the key words and phrases used in headlines.

II. METHODOLOGY

After the two sample papers were selected, the writer chose the entire year of 1970 as the period for study. 1970 was not only chosen because of its proximity, as the University of Minnesota has in its possession all back copies of these two dailies; but also because the Chinese Communists thought 1970 to be a very significant milestone in their own history. The year was the first year after the conclusion of its Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1969). Mao, relying on the army, recaptured supreme power in Communist China. Economically, its growth rate reached ten per cent in 1970.¹ Moreover, the first man-made satellite successfully launched in April, 1970 brought increased respect to the Communist regime. Externally, the Middle East crisis

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1. "The Ping Heard Round the World," *Time*, April 26, 1971, p. 33.

and Indochina war continued. Specifically, the United States expanded the war into Cambodia, and the American student anti-war protest had far-reaching implications throughout the world. These factors presented an opportunity for the Chinese Communists to promulgate their theory of so-called "people's war" and return to the center stage of international affairs. The major trend was revealed by quantitatively examining changes in levels of Chinese attention toward various international actors, as Tretiak concluded in his study that Chinese foreign policy is beginning to "turn out" in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution.² So, this paper, devoted to the analysis of 1970's foreign news in the Communist press, hopes to present some significant findings concerning the news and foreign policy of Communist China.

Sampling

It is worth noting that, unlike the western press, the Chinese newspapers have no difference between weekday and Sunday papers in either content or size. Therefore, in this study, the Sunday papers are included. Samples were obtained through a random process of selection, since such a process is one in which every copy of the population has an equal chance, with known probability, of being included in the sample.

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2. Deniel Tretiak, "Is China Preparing to 'turn out'? Change in Chinese Levels of Attention to the International Environment," *Asian Survey*, March 1971, p. 235.

The writer used the random numbers table of Games and Klare's book³ and drew two samples from each month. In other words, there were 24 samples of each paper. The total sample size of both papers was 48. (see Table 1)

By this procedure we can be reasonably confident that the characteristics of the sample would reflect those of the population. Nevertheless, could the 24 samples of each paper represent the population? Based on the cross validation of random sampling theory, the writer had tested the efficiency of the sample size. First, we drew at random 12 samples from 24 sample papers of the *People's Daily* and named it Group A, and then drew another 12 samples from the whole population of 1970's *People's Daily*, and named it Group B.

Measuring and comparing these two sample groups in terms of newshole, adhole, and foreign news, the writer used this data to make a significance test of foreign news proportion. As table 2 shows, statistically, the result was not significant while we specified 0.05% as the level of significance. This means there was no difference between the two groups' foreign news proportion. The 12 sample group is enough to represent the whole population. Since the larger the sample, the more confidently we can state conclusions about the entire population, the use of 24 samples of each

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3. Paul A. Games & George R. Klare, *Elementary Statistics, Data Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), p. 484.

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TABLE 1
Sampling Chart

	People's Daily				Ta Kung Pao							
	Jan. Sept.	25 7	Apr. Nov.	19 22	May	3	Apr.	5	May	3		
Sunday	Jan. Sept.	25 7	Apr. Nov.	19 22	May	3	Apr.	5	May	3		
Monday	Feb.	16	July	27			Jan. Sept.	5 21	June Oct.	22 19	July	20
Tuesday	Jan. Oct.	2 6	Apr.	28	Sept.	22	Apr. Dec.	28 1	Aug.	11	Nov.	10
Wednesday	June	3	Nov.	25			May	13	July	15	Sept.	30
Thursday	Mar.	12	Aug.	13			Jan. Dec.	15 3	March	5	Aug.	27
Friday	May	15	Dec.	25			March	13	Oct.	30	Nov.	6
Saturday	Feb. July Dec.	28 26 12	Mar. Aug.	21 15	June Oct.	20 10	Feb.	14	Feb.	28	June	6

TABLE 2
Data and Significance Test of Proportion of Sample Groups

	Sample Number	Total Space (Sq. inch)	Adhole (Sq. inch)	Newshole (Sq. inch)	Foreign (Sq. inch)	News (%)
Group A	1	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	411.39	27
	2	1,539.00	35.00	1,504.00	505.93	34
	3	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	429.55	28
	4	1,539.00	32.50	1,506.00	400.50	27
	5	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	595.03	39
	6	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	754.09	49
	7	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	544.98	35
	8	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	252.95	16
	9	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	315.61	20
	10	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	217.35	14
	11	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	458.34	30
	12	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	422.50	27
Group B	1	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	404.89	26
	2	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	57.09	06
	3	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	375.55	24

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4	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	431.40	28
5	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	318.10	21
6	1,539.00	50.63	1,488.37	413.64	27
7	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	444.47	29
8	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	447.55	29
9	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	479.35	31
10	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	350.95	23
11	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	509.56	33
12	1,539.00	0	1,539.00	392.25	25

$$N_1 = N_2 = 12 \quad P_1 = 0.2883 \quad P_2 = 0.2516$$

$$P = \frac{r_1 + r_2}{N_1 + N_2} = \frac{3.46 + 3.06}{12 + 12} = 0.27$$

$$H_0 : \pi_1 = \pi_2 \quad \alpha = 0.05$$

$$H_1 : \pi_1 \neq \pi_2$$

$Z \stackrel{d}{=} N(0,1)$ if H_0 is true

Reject H_0 if $Z > 1.96$

$$Z = \frac{.2883 - .2516}{\sqrt{\frac{.27 \times .73}{12} + \frac{.27 \times .73}{12}}} = \frac{.0367}{0.18111} = 0.202$$

\therefore Don't Reject H_0

$$Z = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{\frac{P(1-P)}{N_1} + \frac{P(1-P)}{N_2}}}$$

paper in this study can give us more confidence in research findings.

Coding

After the determination of sample size, the writer began to read and code them carefully. The procedures consisted of first going over all the issues and checking off the foreign news items; then reading and measuring the items in square inches in a second reading. The coding was made at the same time in terms of its specific source, subject matter, geographic distribution and key words and phrases used in headlines. Finally, the writer went over these two dailies to measure the advertising space in square inches.

Before expounding on these items, a good definition of "foreign news" is in order. Generally, foreign news can be defined as news of events taking place in a foreign country or area, and the foreign dateline is always the first factor considered while we are coding. But it is worth noting that most foreign news in the Communist Chinese press came from Peking, since the official news agency—New China News Agency—checks and rewrites all foreign news, especially news coming from a western news service. So, in this study, the country referred to is the prime factor in determining an item of foreign news. On the other hand, as I mentioned before, the study will examine the portrayal of other countries appearing in the two Communist newspapers. Any news involving Communist China was not considered as

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foreign news. In short, the foreign news contained in this study refers to what happened in a foreign country or area, but not involving Communist China.

Traditionally, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Kowloon and Macao are considered to be a part of China. The news coming from these areas was not considered as foreign news.

An exception was the Cambodian Government-in-exile in Peking, led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. This will be considered as a foreign government. News of this exiled government will be classified under Cambodian affairs.

In Communist newspapers all news stories contain, not only the facts, hut also official opinions. It is very hard to differentiate between straight news and opinion. To combat this, foreign news in this study was expanded widely and includes news stories, editorials, special columns, feature stories, news pictures, news cartoons, etc.

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According to a study by the International Press Institute (IPI) in 1953,⁴ fourteen categories of subject matter were related to foreign news reporting. They included war, politics, foreign relations, defense, economics, culture, education and science, religion, crime, judicial and legal matters, disaster, human interest, social measures, and sports. Not all of these areas are applicable to the Communist press. As an instru-

4. IPI, *The Flow of the News* (Yurich: IPI, 1953), p. 217.

ment of propaganda, the subjects of a Communist newspaper often concentrate on a few major areas such as war, politics and economics. Under the ideology of Communist China, there is no news concerning *defense* by the western countries, but only *Aggression, Plotting, and Crime*. In this study we couldn't find any defense news as categorized by the IPI's definition. As for the *political* news, there were very few primary references to the domestic policy in these two dailies, but there was ample reporting on *foreign relations*, so the writer combined these two categories and widened the meaning of *political* news.

The Chinese Communist newspapers also gave wide coverage to reporting mass movements such as student demonstrations, labor strikes, social conflicts, etc. Of course, we could code student demonstrations as political news, labor strikes as economical news, and racial conflicts as a social problem; but if we did this we would overlook a special characteristic of the Chinese press. Therefore, the category of *Mass Movement* has been added for this study.

Consequently, thirteen categories of foreign news subjects were used in this study. Abbreviated definitions of the thirteen categories follow:

War—includes all stories about military operations and guerrilla activities around the world.

Politics—news about the domestic policies and foreign

relations of countries from which the news originates.

Economic—news from a foreign country concerning that country's economic life and the economic life of its citizens; stories which deal with the management of the affairs of a government or community, private industry or company with reference to its sources of income, expenditures and so on.

Mass movement—a series of organized activities working toward an objective on political, economic, or social problems by a large and specific group of people.

Education, science and technical developments—includes the news of scientific developments and discoveries in any field, and also news of education.

Judicial and legal—news dealing with interpretations by courts, civil suits, and laws, non political or economic in character.

Social measures—stories of welfare and other measures not primarily political in content.

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Human interest—includes a wide variety of feature material on oddities in nature and human temperament, personalities and celebrities, sex, beauty contests, amusement, and so on.

As for *crime, disaster, sports and religion*, they are

identifiable by their titles and by their traditional roles in the press.

Comparing foreign news' geographic distribution in the two Chinese papers was mainly determined by the country referred to, but there are two things that should be first made clear:

While doing research for this study, the writer discovered the need for a *multiple countries* category. This is the case because some news reported an international conference or gave a news analysis including a whole area. For example, the news about the "Indochinese People's Summit Conference," could not be coded under any single country; be it Viet Nam, Laos, or Cambodia. The news analysis about "Arab people's public opinion condemns U.S.-Israel's new crime" could not be classified as belonging to anyone Arab country in the Middle East or North Africa.

Another unique feature was that there was a great amount of news reported on the Palestine National Liberation Organization and its guerrilla activities. Although Palestine is not a political entity in the international community, we will use the term *Palestine* under the area of Middle East for our purposes in this study.

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In accordance with the Chinese Communist's formula, there is just one Viet Nam, one Korea, one Laos, and one Cambodia

(the exception is West Germany and East Germany), and those are North Viet Nam, North Korea, and the pro-Communist factions of Laos and Cambodia. The southern areas and rightist governments all were written off as

III. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Based on 24 samples of each paper in 1970, the *People's Daily* gave a total of 36,817.87 square inches to news, and 118.13 square inches to advertising. The *Ta Kung Pao* devoted a total of 45,508.80 square inches to news and 6,774.20 square inches to advertising. The total space of 24 issues of the *People's Daily* was 36,936 square inches, and the *Ta Kung Pao* was 52,283.00 square inches. This means the *People's Daily* gave 99.68 per cent of its total space to news, and the *Ta Kung Pao* 87.05 per cent. The *People's Daily* only had 0.32 per cent of its total space for advertising, while the *Ta Kung Pao* had 12.95 per cent. (see Table 3)

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It is in advertising that we found the first dissimilarity between these two dailies. The *People's Daily* had very little advertising, and what there was limited to some information about the content of the new issue of *Red Flag* magazine (another [organ of the Communist Party) and schedules c

5. *Hsinhua* Selected News Items, August 31, 1970, p. 9.

TABLE 3

Newshole, Adhole and Foreign News

Newspaper		People's Daily	Ta Kung Pao
Total Space	Square inch	36,936.00	52,283.00
	Proportion	100.00	100.00
Newshole	Square inch	36,817.87	45,508.80
	Proportion of total space	99.68	87.05
Adhole	Square inch	118.13	6,774.20
	Proportion of total space	0.32	12.95
Foreign News	Square inch	9,933.02	5,271.40
	Proportion of total newshole	26.76	11.58

“revolutionary drama” in Peking. If one is familiar with the theory of the Communist press he would not be surprised by this. To the Communist press, advertising is an extravagance of capitalism, one of the ills of a capitalist society, and an outgrowth of the deceitful claims and decadent morals con-

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nected with so-called free competition.⁶

As a non-party paper in Hong Kong the *Ta Kung Pao*, more or less, adopted western styles in its business management; so the *Ta Kung Pao* had quite a bit of advertising. Although we could not determine how large a percentage advertising played in the financial balance, it is a fact that there were about 300 square inches (or 7.19 per cent of its daily space) of advertising in each paper, with the lion's share devoted to shipping schedules.

Of its total newshole, the *People's Daily* carried 9,933.02 square inches, or 26.76 per cent of its total space about foreign news; while the *Ta Kung Pao* had 5,271.40 square inches or 11.58 per cent.

This fact illustrates that the *People's Daily*, as a national newspaper and mouthpiece of the Chinese Communists, should pay more attention to world affairs. Yet the *Ta Kung Pao* has been an instrument of Chinese Communist propaganda outside of Mainland China, and has also served as a local newspaper in Hong Kong (distribution has been prohibited to the people of Mainland China). So, it has carried news similar to that of the western press on many occasions. This is especially true with regard to local news which included all aspects of news, such as sports, crime, local government,

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6. "Advertising in the Communist Press," *East Europe*, September, 1959, p. 32.

and social news.... Foreign news in the *Ta Kung Pao* was relatively less than the *People's Daily*, but very close in some respects to some western newspapers.

A study of 1953 found that the average percentage of space devoted to foreign material in 93 American newspaper was only 8 per cent; European newspapers devoted between 10 and 35 per cent of their issues to foreign news; while Indian language newspapers of India averaged 12.5 per cent.⁷ But this proportion is lower than some Arabian countries. In a study of Arabian countries' newspapers Saudi Arabia was the only one lower, giving just 9 per cent of its total newshole to foreign news; but Sudan gave 20 per cent, the U. A. R. 20 per cent, Iraq 24 per cent, Libya 26 per cent, Jordan 34 per cent, and Lebanon 41 per cent.⁸ These figures prove that the *People's Daily* and the *Ta Kung Pao* both had a reasonable space devoted to foreign news.

Specific Sources of Foreign News

Usually, foreign news in a western newspaper comes mainly from three sources: the news agencies, foreign correspondents, and the special news service syndicates. According to the IPI study of 1953, the news agencies are the

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7. *The Flow of the News*, p. 250, p. 266.

8. I. Abu-Lughod, "International News in the Arabic Press: A Comparative Content Analysis," *Public Opinion*, Winter, 1962, pp. 600-12.

principal source. For instance, they supplied almost three fourths of all the foreign news examined in 105 American newspapers.⁹ As for the two Communist Chinese newspapers, there were even higher percentages coming from the news agencies.

Statistics show (see Table 4) that the *People's Daily* received 95.4 per cent of its total foreign news from news agencies. The *Ta Kung Pao's* total from the news agencies was 83.7 per cent.

The most striking feature in both papers was the authoritative position given the New China News Agency (NCNA), the official news agency of the Chinese Communist Party. The *People's Daily* had 9,401.92 square inches, or 94.7 per cent of its total foreign news, from NCNA; while the *Ta Kung Pao* had 2,680.20 square inches, or 51 per cent.

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In a statement issued in 1957, the NCNA pointed out its duty as "the ear and the mouth of the party, the government, and the people." It continued, "with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, and in accordance with the party line... it shoulders the great onus of speeding up the victory of the Chinese people's socialist case and promoting international peace, friendship and cooperation among the nations of the world."¹⁰ As a matter of fact, the NCNA has had been the

9. *The Flow of the News*, p. 16.

10. Frank Robertson, "Red Agency that Seeks to 'Pierce the Capitalist Blockade'," *IPI Report*, Feb., 1961, p. 6.

TABLE 4

Foreign News According to Specific Sources

News Source	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
New China News Agency (NCNA)	9,401.92	94.70	2,680.20	51.00
Reuters	0	0	739.35	14.00
Associated Press	0	0	635.55	12.00
A F P	0	0	356.80	6.70
Its Own Source	329.80	3.30	515.85	9.80
Western Press (including from newspapers, magazine.)	0	0	293.65	5.60
News Service of Communist Bloc	71.00	0.70	0	0
Unknown	130.30	1.30	50.00	0.90
Total	9,933.02	100.00	5,271.40	100.00

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ear and mouth of the party and government, but not of the people. As Houn wrote in his book, "only through such an agency can the regime control the uniform presentation of

its attitudes and policies.”¹¹

The NCNA performs this function in Communist China under the control of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party. NCNA has the exclusive right to distribute news in Mainland China and receive news from abroad. So, the newspapers are subject to the supervision of the NCNA. It can tell the newspapers to play up or to kill news, and it can, through direct telephone contact, control the situation in Peking very effectively.¹² Moreover, if news comes from a NCNA release, the editor can evade personal responsibility. Therefore, in handling important news, he must run only the stories distributed by the NCNA. This is one kind of safeguard for the news man.¹³

It seems to the writer that the difference between the *People's Daily* and the New China News Agency is simply that the latter supplies the news and the former publishes it, and that is all.

That the *Ta Kung Pao* derived a major proportion of its foreign news from the NCNA might give one proper insight as to who influences the news policy of the *Ta Kung Pao*.

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11. Franklin W. Houn, *To Change a Nation* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 97.

12. Min Chen, "Chinese Communist Press (II)," *Freedom of Information Center Publication*, No. 123 (May, 1964), 4.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Nevertheless, the significant difference between the two papers is that the *Ta Kung Pao* received 32.7 per cent of its foreign news from western news services. These sources included 12 per cent of its total foreign news from the AP, 6.7 per cent from the AFP, and 14 per cent from Reuters.

There was no single item of foreign news coming from western news agencies in the *People's Daily*.

This seems to indicate that the *Ta Kung Pao* has freedom to select foreign news, in contrast with the *People's Daily*. But most foreign news the *Ta Kung Pao* selected from the western news agencies benefited the cause of the Chinese Communists. For example, reports of American inflation, the world-wide anti-war demonstrations, and labor strikes in many western countries have been the main themes in the *Ta Kung Pao's* foreign pages. As is the case with the *People's Daily*, it has never reported any news of a victory by American troops and its allies in the Viet Nam War, nor made any mention of the progress in scientific or technical development in western countries. The news from the so-called imperialism countries has never been completely reported as original copy. According to the directives of Communist China an editor has to select the worst content of an item, add comments and slogans of his own, and then it becomes news from a hopeless country. Under the communication doctrine of the Communists, use of negative news reported by western reporters has been a major tool for its international struggle.

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The *People's Daily* did not use any news from the western news service, but that does not mean there are no western sources used in the Communist organ. In fact, this technique was employed by the NCNA more than by the *Ta Kung Pao*. As far as we know, there is no formal news communication between the press of the U. S. and Red China, but NCNA always utilizes datelines such as "source from Washington D. C." or "source from New York." Since promptness is not an important factor to the Communist newspapers, they had enough time to judge, comment on, and rewrite the news from the American newspapers, magazines, and news agencies for their own purposes.

The *Ta Kung Pao* was permitted to use the western news agencies' news directly in order to meet the audience taste and to give the impression it has an objective and impartial news policy. The same reasoning can explain why the *Ta Kung Pao* devoted 5.6 per cent of its total foreign news to translate some articles from the western press, including newspapers and magazines, while the *People's Daily* had none.

As for the news sources from the Communist bloc, first, we assumed a liberal usage of information from Russia's TASS. But actually, the position of TASS in both papers was totally nil because of the deteriorated relationship between the two Communist giants. The *People's Daily* had a very small amount of news from Communist bloc agencies (0.7 per cent of its total foreign news). Some news pictures from

the Viet Nam News Agency of North Viet Nam, and the Central News Agency of North Korea are used. The *Ta Kung Pao* did not have any news from the news agencies of the Communist world.

It is the writer's opinion that, despite its prestige, the *People's Daily* has virtually no staff correspondents stationed in the various world news centers. The data of this study shows that most writing by staff members consisted of editorials, comments, etc... Not one single foreign news item came from its own foreign correspondents. Therefore, we doubt the official organ of the Chinese Communists its own staff working in foreign countries. As we mentioned above, this work probably was done by the monopolizing NCNA with the *People's Daily* serving merely as a publisher and having no real need for correspondents.

The *Ta Kung Pao* allowed more space (9.8 per cent of its total foreign news) than the *People's Daily* (3.3 per cent) for staff member's writing. But the largest part of this writing consisted also of comments (the paper has no editorial column) or news analysis. According to the content of these writings, its staff merely collected the materials and based their writings on the Communist Party doctrine and policy. This study did not find any news story sent by its own foreign correspondent.

Sometimes both papers presented the news without dateline or any notes indicating where and how the news came. In

this case the writer classified them as unknown sources. There was 130.3 square inches or 1.3 per cent of the total foreign news belonging to the "unknown" category in the *People's Daily*, and 50 square inches or 0.9 per cent in the *Ta Kung Pao*.

Foreign News According to Categories

During the period of this study, both papers devoted their largest portions to political news. The *People's Daily* gave 6,449.46 square inches, or 64.9 per cent of its total foreign news, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 2,88.79 square inches, or 54.7 per cent to its leading subject (see Table 5).

TABLE 5
Foreign News According to Categories

Subject	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
Politics	6,449.46	64.90	2,880.79	54.70
War	1,675.19	16.90	938.15	17.80
Economics	532.42	5.40	726.11	13.80
Mass Movement	1,275.95	12.80	583.50	11.10
Crime	0	0	65.20	1.20

Disaster	0	0	59.90	1.10
Human Interest	0	0	12.75	0.30
Culture	0	0	0	0
Education and Science	0	0	0	0
Religion	0	0	0	0
Judicial and Legal	0	0	0	0
Social Measures	0	0	0	0
Sports	0	0	0	0
Total	9,933.02	100.00	5,271.40	100.00

Most political news stressed the point that "people's war is the only way to achieve people's liberation," "U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of people around the world," and "down with the revival of Japanese militarism in collusion with the U. S. imperialists." Both dailies repeated these three main themes day after day during the period of this study.

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The statistics and the content of the subject were enough to explain the function and the character of a Communist

controlled news medium. As Lu Ting-i, former Director of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the party said, "late or early release of a news item, or its total suppression, should be considered in the light of political significance. Editors and correspondents have two jobs—the scoop on the one hand, and suppression on the other. Some news items must be printed at once and others held back. The correspondents must thus have a good political background, and know what items should be published and what held back, what should be used and what must be killed. Consideration in this respect must be political..."¹⁴ This statement shows clearly the reason for the emphasis on political news.

War news was the second leading subject in both papers. The *People's Daily* gave 1,675.19 square inches, or 16 per cent of its total foreign news to war reporting, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 938 square inches or 17.8 per cent. The largest portion stressed the victory of the people's war in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia; they also gave much space to the guerilla activities in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, India, the Philippines, and the Middle East. As for Africa, Guinea's invasion by the "Portuguese colonialist's mercenaries" was the main theme.

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While the Communists and their friends appear faultless, the stories picture opponents as "strengthening aggression",

14. Houn, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

“committing a new crime”, or “creating new plots.” This is their main technique with regard to war reporting.

Mass movement news was a unique element in the Chinese Communist press. Because Mao believes that to help the people’s struggle for liberation is “our internationalist duty”,¹⁵ the mass media reported and encourage mass movements around the world as one of the supporting works of people’s war.

These two dailies cover considerable range under the category of mass movements. They touch on such things as: the student anti-war demonstrations, labor strikes, people’s rallies, mass protest, racial violence, etc., The *People’s Daily* carried 1,275.95 square inches, thereby devoting 12.8 per cent of its total foreign news to mass movements, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 583. 5 square inches or 11.1 per cent.

The greatest difference between the two dailies is in the foreign economic news figures. The *Ta Kung Pao* devoted 726.11 square inches, or 13.8 per cent of its total foreign news to economic news, but the *People’s Daily*, only had 532.42 square inches, or 5.4 per cent. The conclusion is that Hong Kong is one of the few trading center in South East Asia, and it is also the main channel for trade between Red China and western countries; most businessmen go to Mainland China via Hong Kong. Thus, it is reasonable that the *Ta*

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15. *Hsinhua* Selected News Items, Feb. 16, 1970, p. 2.

Kung Pao paid more attention to economic news. But it is worth noting that, just as in the *People's Daily*, the economic news was used as a battle ground to oppose western countries' economic activities.

Generally, the main focus in economic news was on the collapse of the western economic system, with specific reference to the inflation of the American economy, the increasing of unemployment, the poverty of the common people, etc., Their purpose seemed to be to tell the audiences that conditions everywhere, except in Communist China, were deplorable. This is the image the Communists have tried to project among the Chinese people.

As an instrument of Communist propaganda, the news other than politics, war, economics, and mass movements, was either scarce in comparison to the western press, or absent completely. The *Ta Kung Pao* had a very small portion concentrating on crime (1.2 per cent of its total foreign news), disaster (1.1 per cent), and human interest (0.3 per cent); but the *People's Daily* had no space at all devoted to them. However, as for culture, educational and scientific development, religion, judicial and legal, social measurement, and sports, all were completely absent in both papers during the period of this study. To a Communist newspaper, the people's war is the most important news, and the Chinese people have no need to learn from the outside, since everything in China is allegedly better than other countries. Consequently, almost two years later, no Communist Chinese publication has

announced that Americans landed on the moon.¹⁶

Foreign News Reported on Areas and Countries

In September of 1961, the IPI Report pointed out some interesting trends in the foreign news being published in the press of Red China. It concluded, according to statistical analysis, that developing countries are news in the press of Red China.¹⁷ The figures of that study, of course, will not be denied, but its conclusion may be tested in this study, that is whether or not the developing countries were news in the Chinese Communist press.

Regarding news reported on areas and countries, the two dailies had the same tendencies in reporting, almost equally in proportion, news of the same areas and countries. As Sable 6 shows, most foreign news came from Asia. The *People's Daily* gave 6,214.88 square inches or 62.5 per cent of its total foreign news to Asian countries, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 2,761.40 square inches or 52.47 per cent.

Generally Asia, the largest continent in the world, is usually divided in four parts: the Far East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East. Under this classification,

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16. "What They Saw—and Didn't See," *Time*, May 3, 1971, p. 27.

17. "In Red China Developing Countries Are News," *IPI Report*, Sept., 1961, p. 3.

TABLE 6

Foreign News Reported on Countries or Areas

Countries or Areas	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
Multiple countries	424.26	4.27	220.00	4.18
<i>Africa</i>	486.24	4.87	250.40	4.72
Algeria	28.65	0.29	12.50	0.24
Congo (Brazzaville)	21.00	0.21	0	0
Egypt (UAR)	85.05	0.85	91.30	1.73
Ethiopia	0	0	2.30	0.04
Equatorial Guinea	0	0	21.00	0.40
Guinea	237.94	2.39	84.00	1.59
Libya	15.00	0.15	18.30	0.34
Mozambique	0	0	7.00	0.12
Rhodesia	57.80	0.58	0	0
Sudan	40.80	0.41	6.00	0.11
Tanzania	0	0	8.00	0.15
<i>Asia</i>	6,214.88	62.58	2,761.40	52.47
<i>Far East</i>	1,570.19	15.80	965.45	18.31
Japan	597.46	6.01	649.85	12.32
Korea	854.13	8.60	261.10	4.95

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TABL 6—Continued

Countries or Areas	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
Philippines	30.55	0.31	42.50	0.81
Ryukyu Islands	88.05	0.88	12.00	0.23
<i>Southeast Asia</i>	3,261.03	32.84	1,316.45	24.95
Cambodia	1,244.15	12.53	641.40	12.16
Indonesia	152.50	1.53	17.80	0.33
Laos	268.74	2.71	158.80	3.01
Malaysia	255.10	2.57	58.80	3.01
Singapore	0	0	7.40	0.14
Thailand	177.10	1.78	181.20	3.41
Viet Nam	1,163.44	11.74	251.05	4.76
<i>South Asia</i>	505.39	5.09	77.35	1.46
Burma	109.15	1.10	0	0
Ceylon	37.35	0.38	0	0
India	358.89	3.61	59.60	1.13
Nepal	0	0	17.75	0.33
<i>Middle East</i>	827.27	8.85	402.15	7.75
Israel	0	0	10.40	0.19
Iraq	19.50	0.20	10.40	0.19

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TABL 6—Continued

Countries or Areas	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
Jordan	0	0	17.50	0.33
Lebanon	0	0	25.80	0.49
Palestine	747.47	7.53	299.35	5.67
Southern Yemen	19.50	0.20	0	0
Syria	91.80	0.92	37.80	0.71
Yemen	19.50	0.20	0	0
<i>Europe</i>	951.67	9.53	641.85	12.13
Albania	478.60	4.82	11.00	0.20
Cyprus	10.00	0.10	0	0
Czechoslovakia	0	0	5.10	0.09
France	85.00	0.86	19.60	0.37
Germany (FRG)	37.10	0.37	5.80	0.11
Italy	45.00	0.45	25.80	0.49
Norway	0	0	8.00	0.15
Poland	20.00	0.20	0	0
Portugal	0	0	14.10	0.26
Rumania	97.50	0.98	0	0
Switzerland	0	0	13.50	0.25

TABLE 6—Continued

Countries or Areas	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
Sweden	24.00	0.24	0	0
Spain	17.49	0.17	0	0
Turkey	0	0	4.00	0.07
U.S.S.R.	0	0	172.20	3.27
United Kingdom	136.98	1.37	356.75	6.76
Yugoslavia	0	0	6.00	0.11
<i>Latin America</i>	293.63	3.02	32.25	0.60
Argentina	10.64	0.12	5.50	0.10
Brazil	130.35	1.32	8.75	0.16
Chile	15.99	1.17	0	0
Columbia	43.20	0.44	0	0
Cuba	17.50	0.18	0	0
Dominican Rep.	0	0	15.00	0.28
Ecuador	21.50	0.22	0	0
Peru	6.75	0.08	3.00	0.06
Venezuela	47.70	0.49	0	0
<i>North America</i>	1,533.50	15.44	1,314.80	24.94
Canada	0	0	13.30	0.25

TABL 6—Continued

Countries or Areas	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Sq. inch	Proportion	Sq. inch	Proportion
U.S.A.	1,533.50	15.44	1,301.50	24.69
<i>Oceania</i>	28.84	0.29	50.70	0.96
Australia	28.84	0.29	50.70	0.96
Total	9,933.02	100.00	5,271.40	100.00

the *People's Daily* had 1,570.19 square inches (or 15.8 per cent of its total foreign news) from the Far East, 3,261.03 square inches (or 32.84 per cent) from Southeast Asia, 505.39 square inches (or 5.09 per cent) from South Asia, and 827.27 square inches (or 8.85 per cent) from the Middle East. The *Ta Kung Pao* had 965.45 square inches (or 18.31 per cent) from the Far East, 1,316.45 square inches (or 24.95 per cent) from Southeast Asia, 77.35 square inches (or 1.46 per cent) from South Asia, and 402.15 Square inches (or 7.75 per cent) from the Middle East.

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There is an obvious reason as to why the two dailies give so much space to Asia, and that is news on war. As we mentioned before, the war news was the second leading subject in both papers. In 1970, the Indochina war found the U. S. involved in Cambodia and a world wide controversy ensued. The crisis in the Middle East also brought more

roubles to this mixed-up world. But to Communist China, both are good examples of the people's revolutionary war, and this is why the newspapers pay more attention to areas of wars than to others.

The second area most frequently mentioned was North America. No doubt, an absolute majority of the foreign news was focused on the U. S. The *People's Daily* devoted 1,533.50 square inches, or 15.44 per cent of its total foreign news, to reporting the worst side of the leading power in the western world; but no mention was made of Canada. The *Ta Kung Pao* gave 1,314.80 square inches, or 24.94 per cent of its total foreign news to North America. Within this area news from Canada had had merely 13.3 square inches, or 0.25 per cent of its total foreign news; the rest, 1,301.50 square inches or 24.69 per cent was given to the U. S.

Obviously, the U. S. was the leading country among the countries reported in these two Communist Chinese newspapers. To interpret these statistics properly we need only note the Communist concept which states that "the U. S. imperialism are our common enemy."¹⁸ The year of 1970 was really the most difficult year for the U. S. during the last two decades; the Indochina war caused the largest and the strongest anti-war demonstraticns in American history, inflation led to a continuing rise in unemployment, the racial problem brought

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18. *Hsinhua* Selected News Items, July 6, 1970, p. 2.

more violence, and industrialization led to polluted air and water.... To most Americans, those problems should be resolved by a changing policy; to the Chinese Communists, those problems just prove that "the U. S. is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its deathbed struggle."¹⁹ Therefore, it became the best material for teaching and propagating through the Communist newspapers.

The third leading area was Europe, including the U.S.S.R. There was 951.67 square inches, or 9.53 per cent of the total foreign news, in the *People's Daily*, and 641.85 square inches, or 12.13 per cent, in the *Ta Kung Pao*.

Table 7 shows that Africa, Oceania, and Latin America were fourth, fifth and sixth respectively in the proportion ranking list. Whether the newspapers of Communist China were that willing to report news of the developing countries left a question unanswered. By examining individual countries we can gain more evidence.

Except for the U. S., Asian countries such as Viet Nam, Korea, Laos, Japan, and the Palestinian guerillas held the leading positions in both papers. Besides this, the *People's Daily* paid more attention to Albania, India, and Guinea, while the *Ta Kung Pao* gave Thailand, the U. K., and the U.S.S.R. more space.

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19. *Hsinhua* Selected News Items, Aug. 10, 1970, p. 2.

TABLE 7
Ranking List for Foreign News Reporting on Various Areas

Ranking number	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Area	Proportion of its total foreign news	Area	Proportion of its total foreign news
1	Asia	62.58	Asia	52.47
2	North America	15.44	North America	24.94
3	Europe	9.53	Europe	12.13
4	Africa	4.83	Africa	4.18
5	Latin America	3.08	Oceania	0.96
6	Oceania	0.29	Latin America	0.60

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Of course Cambodia was worthy of more attention in 1970 for any newspaper because of the expansion of the war there. The two Chinese papers not only reported the war in Cambodia, but also the activities of the exiled government in Peking led by Shihanouk. Both papers gave their greatest space to publishing of documents, speeches, letters, and statements of the "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia." The *People's Daily* had 1,244.15 square inches, or 12.53 per cent of its total foreign news, and the *Ta Kung Pao* had 641.40 square inches, or 12.16 per cent concerning Cambodia.

As for the news stories about Viet Nam and Laos, both emphasized the war. Yet comparing their space, the *Ta Kung Pao* gave less than the *People's Daily* to Viet Nam and Laotian news. (see Table 8)

In the Middle East, the Palestine Liberation Organization and its guerrilla activities were the critical topics in both papers. Similarly, it was the fifth leading topic in the two dailies. The *People's Daily* devoted 747.47 square inches or 7.53 per cent of its total foreign news, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 299.35 square inches or 5.67 per cent, to news of the "Palestinian people's armed struggle."

Japan, in the period of this study, was one of two targets which the Communist press attacked other than the U. S.. The main subject in both papers was that Japanese reactionaries were stepping up a revival of militarism and economic

TABLE 8

Ranking List for Foreign News Reporting on Various Countries

Ranking number	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Country	Proportion of its total foreign news	Country	Proportion of its total foreign news
1	U.S.A.	15.44	U.S.A.	24.69
2	Cambodia	12.53	Japan	12.32
3	Viet Nam	11.74	Cambodia	12.16
4	Korea	8.60	U.K.	6.76
5	Palestine	7.53	Palestine	5.67
6	Japan	6.01	Korea	4.95
7	Albania	4.82	Viet Nam	4.76
8	India	3.61	Thailand	3.43
9	Laos	2.71	U.S.S.R.	3.27
10	Guinea	2.39	Laos	3.01

aggression throughout the world. The statistics showed that the *Ta Kung Pao* more than doubled the proportion (12.32 per cent of its total foreign news or 649.85 square inches) devoted to Japan by the *People's Daily* (6.01 per cent or 597.46 square inches). The deviation was the same with regard to the U. S. news in the two dailies. (The *Ta Kung Pao* had 24.69 per cent of its total foreign news devoted to U. S., and the *People's Daily*, 15.44 per cent.) A possible explanation might be that as an organ of the Chinese Communists, the *People's Daily* should give balanced space to various countries, the *People's Daily* should give balanced space to various countries, while the *Ta Kung Pao* should emphasize a few important countries to strengthen the effects of political struggle.

Since the relationship between Russia and Red China has cooled down after 1960's, Communist China has only two intimate friends in the Communist Bloc. These are North Korea and Albania. In this study, the *People's Daily* devoted 854.13 square inches, or 6.01 per cent of its foreign news, and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 261 square inches, or 4.95 per cent, to Korea. But as for Albania, the *People's Daily* gave 478.60 square inches, or 4.82 per cent of its total foreign news, and the *Ta Kung Pao* just 11 square inches, or 0.02 per cent to that country.

The Sino-Soviet split was responsible for the *People's Daily* carrying no single item from Russia, but the *Ta Kung Pao* carried 172.2 square inches, or 3.27 per cent of its total

foreign news on Russian affairs. Most of this was focused on reporting the “serious economic difficulties of Soviet Revisionism.”

Although the *People's Daily* did not carry any news from Russia, this does not mean there is not any news about Russia which involves Communist China. This is so because this study defined its foreign news as “not involving Communist China.” It is worth knowing that there was some news about the relationship between the two red giants.

The United Kingdom was given more space (365 square inches or 6.76 per cent of its total foreign news) by the *Ta Kung Pao* than it was in the *People's Daily* (136.68 square inches or 1.37 per cent). Since Hong Kong is a colony of the United Kingdom, naturally the Hong Kong paper will pay more attention to her.

According to the statistical analysis we made in table 7 and 6, the ranking position in terms of area and country were indicated. From the list of ten leading countries, we get more evidence that war and the “people’s armed struggle” were the main elements of foreign news in the Communist press. News about India, Thailand, and Guinea had a relatively large space for example. The *People's Daily* had 3.61 per cent of its total foreign news (or 358.89 square inches) concentrating mainly on the “progress of the Indian armed peasant struggle.” At the same time, the *Ta Kung Pao* gave 1.13 per cent (or 59.60 square inches) to India.

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The *People's Daily* devoted 2.39 per cent of its total foreign news (or 237.04 square inches) to Guinea of Africa. The main theme was "Guinea people's army wiped out the invading Portuguese colonialist mercenaries." The *Ta Kung Pao* allowed 1.59 per cent (or 84 square inches) for reporting on Guinea.

Along the same line, the *People's Daily* gave 1.78 per cent of its total foreign news (or 177.1 square inches), and the *Ta Kung Pao*, 3.43 per cent (or 181.2 square inches) to events in Thailand. Most news of this area boasted of "the Thailand People's Liberation Army winning brilliant victories."

Words and Phrases Used in Headlines

Under the doctrine of the Communist press, there is no sensational news as the western press has. However, taking a glance at a Communist newspaper one would be surprised at the sensationalism in news concerning foreign nations, especially in the headline-making.

Headlines with the scare-head and largetype on the foreign news pages, are filled with emotional, exciting slogans, which are used over and over. Following are some examples:

—Revolutionary Mass Movements Reach Unprecedented High in Argentina.

—Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun—
Great Truth Inspires Palestinian People.

—To Use Revolutionary Violence Against Counter—Revolutionary Violence.

—Latin American People's Liberation Struggle Advancing Triumphantly.

—American Ruling Circles Going Further Down Road of Fascism.

—Patriotic Anti-U. S. Struggle Develops Vigorously in Philippines.

—South Viet Nam Armed Forces and People Score New Victories.

—Cambodian National Liberation Armed Forces Wipe Out Nearly 1,000 Enemy Troops.

—American Students Hold Powerful Demonstrations Against U. S. War of Aggression.

From these kinds of headlines the writer tried to discover and extract some key words and phrases which are often used in the two dailies.

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After examining and contemplating for some time I chose four key words and phrases that I believe are significant because of their frequent and strategic usage. The writer

checked over the frequency of these key words and phrases, in the related news items, with the hope of connecting these words and phrases to the main concept of the headline. Of course, some headlines did not have these words and phrases, so they were disregarded in terms of our purposes here.

There are two single words and two phrases that can be continually found in the headlines of both papers. They condemned their enemies activities as "Aggression". They labelled their friends' fighting as "Struggle". The leftists, the Communists and revolutionary people always "Score Victories", and of course, the enemy usually is "Wiped Out". This is the basic logic of the Communist's international propaganda.

As Table 9 shows, it is evident that the *People's Daily* used these words and phrases more than the *Ta Kung Pao*. The word "Aggression" appeared 28 times or in 11.5 per cent of its total 224 foreign news items. And the *Ta Kung Pao* mentioned "Aggression" 33 times or in 7.5 per cent of its total 432 foreign news items.

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Moreover, "Struggle" was used 45 times in the *People's Daily's* headlines, or in 18.4 per cent of its total foreign news items. The term appeared in the *Ta Kung Pao* 14 times, or in 3.5 per cent of its total foreign news items.

The phrase "Score Victory" appeared in the *Ta Kung Pao* much less than in the *People's Daily*. The former utilized

TABLE 9

Common Words and Phrases Used in the Headline

Word or Phrase	People's Daily		Ta Kung Pao	
	Frequency	Proportion of total foreign news items	Frequency	Proportion of total foreign news items
Aggression	28	11.5	33	7.5
Struggle	45	18.4	14	3.5
Score Victory	20	8.2	5	1.2
Wipe Out	21	8.6	34	7.8

Remark: The total number of foreign news items in the *People's Daily* was 244, and the *Ta Kung Pao* total was 432.

the term 5 times, or in 1.2 per cent of its total foreign news items; and the latter, 20 times, or 8.2 per cent. As a paper published within a free society, the *Ta Kung Pao* ought to know only the truth could keep the confidence of the readers.

The term "Wiped Out" often is used in war news. Generally, both sides of a battle have some casualties, but the Communist papers only emphasize the fact that "enemy troops were wiped out." The frequency of its use in the *People's Daily* was 21, or in 8.6 per cent of its total foreign news items, the *Pa Kung Pao*, 34, or 7.8 per cent.

From these statistics, one can learn more about how the Communists use the news media as an instrument to organize, stimulate, agitate, criticise and to propel the readers,²⁰ as well as society; and what picture of others the Communist press usually gave to the Chinese people, both inside and outside the Mainland.

Among those pictures of others given out by the Communists is the constant theme of anti-American imperialism. If one paid more attention to the "quotations of Mao", published every day in these two dailies, one would be aware of the unchanging news and foreign policy of Communist China in the last twenty years.

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Mao has a saying, "People of the world unite and defeat

20. Frederick T. C. Yu, *Mass Persuasion in Communist China* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 103.

the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs," which was repeated a good many times in these two papers. In the period of this study, the same quotation appeared in the *People's Daily* five times out of the 24 sample papers; and in the *Ta Kung Pao*, twice out of 24 sample papers. Using the standards of a western newspaper this kind of commentary is unthinkable.

These quotations are not limited to Mao but often include quotes from other fathers of Communism. For instance, on September 22, 1970, the *People's Daily* used 22.13 square inches of space of its foreign news page to quote Engels who said that "one who enslaves a nation will find it impossible to escape from punishment." Another case is October 10, 1970. Lenin's words were quoted in the *People's Daily* foreign news page over 18.75 square inches. The saying is that "there is an important duty to the American revolutionary proletarian, which is to oppose imperialism uncompromisingly."

In short, the Peking regime still stuck to its anti-American news and foreign policy during the period of this study.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Comparing two Chinese Communist newspapers in terms of foreign news could give one the impression that the *People's Daily* and the *Ta Kung Pao*, quantitatively, had some dissimilarities based on statistical analysis, and this confirmed the

writer's hypothesis. However, qualitatively, both papers have been an integral part of the Chinese Communist Government, or of the Communist Party. The figures that I have expressed present some facts that were true, at least during the period of this study.

The *People's Daily* functions as a subsidiary of the New China News Agency, but the Hong Kong *Ta Kung Pao* was permitted to select foreign news from some western news agencies because it exists in a free society.

Both papers gave very large proportions, and were unbelievably similar in content when reporting politics, war, and mass movement news. And the *Ta Kung Pao* paid more attention to the economic news than the *People's Daily*.

"People's War" made news in these two dailies. The U. S. was given the leading position in their foreign news, with Cambodia, Japan, Viet Nam, Korea, the Palestine guerillas, and Laos following.

As for developing countries, Latin American was given little attention by these two papers. It was the same with the countries of Africa except for news reporting the "Guinean people's armed struggle against Portugal."

Both papers used four key words and phrases in their headlines. These included: "Struggle", "Aggression", "Score Victory", and "Wipe Out". Their use was made to strengthen

the image of the Communist Chinese cause for the readers. Obviously, the *People's Daily* was more radical than the *Ta Kung Pao*.

Occasionally, there were some news items such as crime, disaster and human interest in the *Ta Kung Pao*, but not in the *People's Daily*. Foreign news about culture, education, science and technical developments, judicial and legal matters, social measures, religion, and sports were nil in both papers.

These findings prove the function of a Communist newspaper, according to the IPI Report, that "a newspaper did not give news, it gave party directives."²¹

The same findings were present in Oliphant's study. He thought that "the *Peking Review* makes use of distortions, half-truths, misinterpretations, outright falsehoods and quotations out of contest."²² Yet as Lester Markel, long-time Sunday editor of the *New York Times*, said; "we cannot have understanding—and thus peace—among the peoples of the world unless they come to know one another better, unless they have better, truer, information about one another...."²³ From what we have learned in this study, we sincerely doubt

21. "Dateline Peking," *IPI Report*, Jan. 1967, p. 11.

22. C. A. Oliphant, "The Image of the United States Projected by *Peking Review*," *Journalism Quarterly*, Summer, 1964, p. 417.

23. Merrill, Bryan, and Alisky, *The Foreign Press* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), p. 4.

if the reader can get any truth from a Communist newspaper.

During the period of this study, anti-American imperialism was still the leading subject in both papers. The writer agrees with the interpretation of Edelstein and Liu, that the purpose, "internally, was a needed instrument for social control; externally, it permitted the development of a long-range strategy aimed at assuming ultimate ideological leadership both within the Communist bloc and among the revolutionary, nationalist nations."²⁴ But as Oliphant warned, "unless the United States becomes more successful in a struggle for the minds of men, it may well find itself isolated in a hostile world."²⁵

This is an important point, and involves an difficult struggle. Simply, we don't think the American press can fulfill Oliphant's hope, since the ideology of the western press would not allow it to serve as a psychological tool. Actually, the Communist press is merely a tool of political struggle; the slogans of so-called "people's war" and "American Imperialism" both are political issues between the Communist giant and western powers. The challenge should be met by the western political leaders courageously.

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24. Edelstein & Liu, "Anti-Americanism in Red China's *People's Daily*," *Journalism Quarterly*, Spring, 1963, p. 195.

25. Oliphant, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

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