

# NIEMAN REPORTS

THE NIEMAN FOUNDATION AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Vol. XLVIII No. 3 Fall 1994

FIVE DOLLARS

## Reviving the Labor Beat

What Should and Can Be Done to Report  
On Workers and Their Jobs In the New Economy



David Halberstam

Innocents Abroad

*“...to promote and elevate the standards of  
journalism in the United States”*

—Agnes Wahl Nieman, the benefactor of the  
Nieman Foundation.

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## The Lowell Mellett Award

The Pennsylvania State University has announced that Nieman Reports has been named the winner of the 1994 Lowell Mellett Award for Improving Journalism Through Critical Evaluation.

Named in honor of the distinguished Scripps-Howard editor and syndicated columnist who died in 1960, the award recognizes outstanding contributions to the improvement of print and broadcast journalism through responsible analysis or critical evaluation. Nieman Reports was cited for "exemplary coverage" of religion in the Summer 1993 issue, "God in the Newsroom," and of health care in the Winter 1993 issue, titled, "Covering Health Issues."

One of the judges, Dr. Sharon Dunwoody, noted that "this single issue, multi-author strategy, if done well, promotes a depth of understanding that is almost impossible to achieve in any other format."

The Mellett judges also gave two special citations. Kevin Barnhurst, a faculty member in graphic arts at Syracuse University, was cited for his book, "Seeing the Newspaper." Helen Benedict, Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, was cited for her book, "Virgin or Vamp."

In addition to Dr. Dunwoody, who is Evjue-Bascom Professor, School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin, the judges were Charles J. Bierbauer, senior Washington correspondent for CNN; Mike Stanton, Executive News Editor of The Seattle Times, and Bill Woo, Editor of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The awards will be presented at a ceremony on October 27 at The National Press Club in Washington. Bill Kovach, curator of the Nieman Foundation and Publisher of Nieman Reports, will present the Mellett Lecture following the awards ceremony.

Partial support for this year's awards and Mellett Lecture was made possible by a gift from Penn State alumnus George T. Richards of Granby, Connecticut, in memory of his father, Bart Richards, former Editor of The New Castle (Pa.) News.

# The Old and Future Labor Beat

*A Veteran Reporter Complains That the Press Is Ignoring Blue Collars and Unions Speaking for Them*

BY MURRAY SEEGER

There was a time when reading the Tuesday Page One "Labor" column in *The Wall Street Journal* was a required exercise for many reporters. There, every week, the bible of business printed short items of interest to those of us who covered labor. There were tidbits from the various government agencies dealing with workers and workplace issues, academic studies on wages and benefits and a couple of insider items about trade unions.

No more. A scan of recent "Labor" columns revealed items about a professional counseling firm, businessmen who rent convertible cars on their "work" trips, corporate policies toward personal telephone calls (at home and on the road) and the foreign cities least expensive for expatriate American families.

The column is still called a "report on people and their jobs in offices, fields and factories," but the slug is quaint; except for an occasional item, the column ignores blue collars, farmers and organized labor.

Hardly anyone covers labor any more. Instead, we have reporters assigned to "workplace issues" who work in the business editor's domain. Their copy competes for space with market, trade and corporation stories. In Washington, organized labor is an adjunct of the political and Congressional beats where the word "union" is sliding with "liberal" into the dustbin of history.

In focusing on "the workplace," reporters have devoted reams of copy to brokers, engineers and managers who are able to articulate their problems and who closely resemble modern journalists in education and social back-

ground. Much less attention has been given to the mechanics, clerks and laborers who are the main victims of recent economic dislocation and to the unions that are their surrogates.

The printed and electronic media have played down one of the great stories of this era, the decline of workers' real income and the further elevation of upper-income Americans. The implications of this widening of social and economic gaps escape many editors even though it means their readers have less money to buy their newspapers or new, high-tech electronic services, or the products they advertise.

The U.S. Census Bureau in June reported a sharp increase between 1979

and 1992 in the number of persons earning less than the poverty-level annual wage of \$14,228 needed to support a family of four. In 1992, 18 percent of full-time workers earned less than \$13,091, a 50-percent increase over 1979 when 12 percent of workers were in that group.

Poorly educated women comprise a large proportion of these working poor, but the share of men in that trap grew 83 percent in those years; the female share was up 16 percent. Nearly half of the group is between 18 and 24.

Another study released last December showed that between 1979 and 1991, average, after-inflation wages paid high school graduates fell 12 percent.



*Murray Seeger, a 1962 Nieman Fellow, has joined us here at Lippmann House as a special advisor on a number of administrative details, including the Nieman aspects of the current university-wide Harvard fund-raising campaign. Murray will also work with other professional organizations to increase the reach and the circulation of Nieman Reports. In Cambridge, Murray will also work as director of media programs for the Conflict Management Group. Murray has landed at Harvard after bouncing halfway around the world. He wrote for *The News* in Buffalo, *The Plain Dealer* in Cleveland, *The Times* in New York and *Newsweek* from Washington. For *The Times* in Los Angeles he wrote from Washington, Moscow, Bonn and Brussels, with a speciality in economics. Bored in the West, he went to Singapore to write and edit for *The Straits Times*. He opened doors and windows as Information Director of the AFL-CIO and Assistant Director for External Affairs of the International Monetary Fund. His wife reports that he still likes to travel.*



This photo of the 1937 painting *Employment Agency* by WPA artist Isaac Soyer is reproduced by permission, Collection of Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

College graduates' wages remained stable while those paid to individuals with two years' graduate work rose 8 percent. The disparity in pay between high school graduates and college graduates went from 38 percent to 57 percent in that period.

Labor Secretary Robert Reich, who released the study, observed: "A society that lives with a very large gap between the well-educated and everyone else makes for an unstable society."

The long-term risk is the creation of a rigid three- or four-level class structure from which America escaped with the development of a mass middle class and firm belief that each generation could live better than its predecessor. Trade unions were major builders of the working middle class and the dream of ever-upward mobility.

Joe Klein of Newsweek recently suggested that we may never see again "a country where a single semi-skilled factory worker can comfortably support a family." Does that mean a return to a working class of men and women living in company-owned housing, trudging off to minimum-wage jobs in order to compete with workers in India or Bangladesh?

What about all the newly created jobs? The Washington Post found that between 1989 and 1993, "new growth" companies added a half million low pay jobs and a million average wage jobs while cutting more than a million high wage jobs. The net gain was 459,000 new jobs at either low or average wages.

In a country where nearly every social and economic group is organized, only the labor movement provides political representation to these lower paid workers regardless of their membership or non-membership in a union. Organized labor is the one lobby that campaigns for raising the federal minimum wage, which is the lifeline for many of these working people.

The contemporary press, with a few exceptions, covers them as an amorphous, anonymous group, not as working men and women who want their children to fulfill the American dream. Alfred Balk, who teaches journalism at Syracuse University, summed up the journalistic treatment of workers' issues last year in *Nieman Reports*:

"Day-to-day coverage tends to be a business-as-usual recording of layoffs, corporate downsizing and wage and job-opportunity shifts as if these were

recession phenomena little related to something greater. This clouds comprehension of an economic upheaval that is far more than a recession—it is a revolution."

There was a time when the labor beat held front rank. It attracted first-class reporters, produced great human-interest stories on a broad front of social, economic and political issues and brought readers to newspapers. Blue-collar shift workers were major subscribers to the big afternoon newspapers in Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo and Chicago; the morning papers with their stock tables were for the white collars.

A good labor reporter not only recorded what was happening to men and women on their jobs, but also reported on the developments within unions, communities and politics. Union contacts led to other stories in City Hall, the State House and Congress.

In The New York Times Washington Bureau, Louis Stark, a pioneer on the beat, "knew every union leader in town and all their political dodges," James Reston recalled in his memoirs. The Times fielded A.H. Raskin, Stanley Levey and Ralph Katz on the beat at its peak while Joseph Loftus carried on in Washington. Every national news organization and industrial city had a labor beat.

The Wall Street Journal assigned a stream of good reporters to cover labor, including John Grimes and James Gannon. The Associated Press had Norman Walker and the United Press International had Frank Swoboda. Bill Eaton worked the beat for The Chicago Daily News and Eugene Roberts covered labor for The Detroit Free Press. Harry Bernstein served a long tour with The Los Angeles Mirror and Times and continues to contribute a column. Archie Robinson represented U.S. News & World Report.

Henry Fleisher, a long-time publicist for unions, recalled how he was on the telephone "all day, doing nothing but public relations," for the old Congress of Industrial Organizations. "It was the best job I ever had." The 1955 merger of the CIO and American Federation of Labor drew massive coverage; The New

York Times printed the text of the new AFL-CIO Constitution.

Now, the AFL-CIO counts no more than 15 "regulars" on the labor beat, according to Information Director Rex Hardesty. At the National Labor Relations Board, "I would have to stretch to count a dozen," David Parker, the NLRB spokesman observed.

The Wall Street Journal and Business Week are the current leaders in national labor coverage. Tony Horwitz of The Journal received an award from John Hancock Financial Services this year for two articles that described the impact of job layoffs on managers and low-paid laborers.

In the early 1980's, the AFL-CIO and Ford Motor Co. ran a series of Washington seminars for reporters interested in collective bargaining and other workplace issues, but they were discontinued for a lack of applicants. The Nieman Foundation has awarded Louis Stark Fellowships to eight journalists since a fund for that purpose was created in his honor in 1959. None have been awarded recently for the study of workplace issues because of a lack of qualified applicants.

Labor reporting has declined in parallel to the perception that organized labor is declining as a dynamic, mass social and political movement. Membership in unions has declined dramatically in proportion to an expanding work force, but the actual number of union workers is remarkably stable. In 1992-93, the AFL-CIO collected per capita payments for 13.3 million members of affiliated unions compared with payments for 12.6 members in 1954-55. There may be another million members for whom the affiliates do not pay per capita dues.

In addition, there are hundreds of thousands of other workers in other collective groups that bargain for contracts and improved working conditions but are ignored by the press. When all of the dues-payers are multiplied by the number of family members, retirees and sympathizers, no matter how one plays the numbers game, the organized labor movement is still the largest single, multi-faceted social force in the United States.

## We're Missing Good Stories

By LYNDA McDONNELL

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
Stark Nieman Fellow 1980

In most newspapers these days, far more ink and energy go to stories about career planning and temp jobs than to pieces about labor unions and wage settlements. It's easy to see why. Career stories are useful to employers as toppers for their Help Wanted ads. With luck, the articles help a few readers pick their way through the unstable landscape of the employment world. Labor unions are widely regarded as an anachronism, an endangered species, and most damaging of all for attracting news coverage, a dull irrelevance.

Are we correct in that judgment? Union membership showed modest gains even during the hostile Reagan/Bush years, when membership in AFL-CIO unions rose from 13.6 million in 1979 to 13.9 million in 1991. Virtually the entire gain came among state, county and municipal employees, however, and most of the big public employee stories I can recall from recent years have been negative—teachers' strikes, lazy or corrupt union officers, excessive wage settlements. Public employee unions retain great influence over state and local elections. But with the electorate's conservative tilt, many Democrats running for national office prefer to be seen as cool to unions.

Even as unions fight rearguard actions to protect jobs, add members and retain political influence, we write of inflated corporate salaries, the disappearing middle class, and declining wages for unskilled workers. The crudest sort of power analysis suggests a connection between the two. Too often, we fail to explore those linkages. We accept the loss of manufacturing jobs as inevitable. We assume that rising rates of divorce and out-of-wedlock births reflect moral rather than economic weakness. We dismiss

The disdain for organized labor reflects other changes occurring in American society that are reflected in conduct of the media. Newspapers, which still set the agenda for serious electronic journalists, have become an elite form

of unions' arguments against NAFTA and immigration as misguided and self-serving. Above all, we ignore them.

There are some notable exceptions. Some of the country's most esteemed journalists—William Greider, Donald Barlett and James Steele—have documented how wealthy individuals, corporations and lobbyists use their increased political and economic power to turn tax laws and other public policies to their advantage. In these analyses, unions are portrayed as institutions with little power against the assault of corporate greed and the global economy.

With so few of us paying attention to unions, it's impossible to know what we're missing—what imaginative organizing efforts, what creative contract settlements, what attempts at cooperation with unions in other countries, what unholy pacts with managers. Our coverage of work largely reflects the rampant individualism of the 1980's, advising individual workers how to get and keep jobs while ignoring the institutions that seek to organize individuals into a collective force. Our neglect may be one reason for the public cynicism about the ability of workers, communities and citizens to work together to do anything positive. It definitely is one reason why many union leaders are wary when journalists express an interest in them.

In this splintered age of communication, with electronic bulletin boards and home faxes and channel-surfing, the individual journalist's power to shape public perceptions is limited. But our ability to define the news, our opportunity to help make sense of it, our commitment to fairness, our responsibility to challenge the comfortable and conventional are powerful tools. We can use them effectively to cover labor unions, so long as the comforts and conventions we challenge include our own. ■

of media, moving away from a former loyal mass audience to cater to the social and financial interests of a smaller, older, richer class of readers.

"Citizens now perceive the press as

*Continued on page 21*



*The riggers in these photographs work at the Fontana Yards in San Bernadino, Calif. The older man said he chose the black man as an apprentice because he was best qualified. A short while ago a minority would not have been chosen.*



*Drywallers at the Los Angeles police building protesting the arrest of 150 strikers in the summer of 1992.*



*Drywallers on picket line during six-month strike in Los Angeles.*

The cover photograph of workers shoring up the Central Artery after the Los Angeles earthquake early this year, as well as the pictures on pages 8 and 10 and on this page, were taken by Slobodan Dimitrov, a freelance specializing in labor documentation. Since 1991 he has been the Photography Program Coordinator for the Angel's Gate Cultural Center in San Pedro, Calif.



# Can American Media Tell The New Labor Story?

*Ford Executive Says It's No Longer a Triennial Battle Over Contract, but a Daily Report of Cooperation*

By PETER J. PESTILLO

Reporting on the American labor scene has never been more challenging. For labor-management relationships appear to run the gamut from love-ins in one company to slugfests in another, from employees buying out the company to foreign transplants keeping out the unions.

Yet a trend is emerging, a trend that can best be understood by what I like to call Seward's Theorem. William Seward, Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of State in 1862, suggested a way to avert the impending Civil War. Seward's alternative was to "declare war on France." It wasn't that Seward had been snubbed by a head waiter in a Parisian restaurant. No, he correctly reasoned that an outside threat would unify the American people, bringing internal factions together to survive.

While Seward's Theorem was never seriously considered, there is ample evidence to suggest it would have worked then, for it is working now. A growing number of unions and managements are joining forces in an unprecedented awareness that the survival of each is dependent on the other against a common external challenge.

President Bill Clinton has called international competition "the economic equivalent of global warfare"—economic warfare that comes complete with a mounting casualty list. Steel, textiles, electronics, toys and automobiles have been seriously impacted by an invasion of high-quality, low-cost competitive products. Perhaps the greatest casualty is the American standard of living as

high-paying jobs in the industrial sector are lost or threatened.

If Seward's Theorem holds true, this overwhelming external competition should inspire tremendous motivation for internal cooperation. It has.

Consider the American auto industry, arguably once the most adversarial of all union-management cultures. In 1946, for example, the United Auto Workers struck an automaker over one penny. Neither side budged throughout an acrimonious four-month strike. The strike, of course, was not about one penny, but about principles, yet it revealed just how intractable those positions could be. During the next 30 years, the lines in the sand became trenches. Collective bargaining was when the collection of grievances and contract violations were resolved by donny-

brook.

Labor reporting established its perspective during this prolonged adversarial era, which could be summarized in a word—conflict. Find the conflict—the strikable issues—and one had the story. And conflict was not particularly difficult to find. For collective bargaining was a media event, with high drama of threats and counter-threats leading up to negotiations, table-pounding rhetoric during strikes or barely averted strikes, and then the post-bout report with clear-cut winners and losers.

Then came the invasion—imported cars that rose both on their merits and on a tidal wave of economy-car demand following the second oil embargo in 1979. The media began predicting the demise of the American auto industry,



*Peter J. Pestillo has worked with labor for a long time, including 15 years with Ford Motor Company, where he is Executive Vice President of Corporate Relations. Before moving to Ford, he was Vice President/Employee Relations for the B.F. Goodrich Company, and held industrial relations positions with the General Electric Company. He represents Ford on the boards of directors of Rouge Steel Company; N.H. Geotech n.v., the holding company for Ford New Holland and Fiat's worldwide tractor, farm and industrial equipment operations, and Hertz Corporation. He holds a bachelor's degree in economics from Fairfield University in Connecticut and a law degree from Georgetown University in Washington, where he is a member of the bar. He is also a graduate of the Advanced Management Program of the Harvard Business School.*

taking our measurements, ordering pine boxes, writing obituaries.

At Ford, more than 100,000 employees were permanently laid off, and the company lost more than \$3 billion in a three-year period. What was abundantly clear was that this wasn't just a cyclical downturn. Ignoring global competition would be tantamount to buying a pine box on the installment plan.

The United Auto Workers distinguished itself by stepping up to the crisis, by joining with Ford in an employee-involvement effort that would lead to dozens of innovative joint programs to improve quality and working conditions while reducing costs. The tone of collective bargaining was radically altered.

Beginning in 1982, employee participation and Ford's leadership in profit sharing began to establish common bonds and much needed mutual trust. In 1987, for example, the UAW and Ford went beyond the sacrosanct contract deadline, and for the first time there was no new deadline

set, no production stoppage, only negotiators agreeing to continue to work out differences, each confident that they could. In 1993, the UAW and Ford established the first ever collective bargaining provision without an expiration date. Union and company agreed to simply work together and do whatever necessary to achieve continuous improvement, presumably forever.

One of the greatest challenges jointly addressed was education. An older work force had to be trained in new work methods and technologies. And eventually every Ford facility developed a Learning Center, which became the nerve center of improvement activities. Today there are no fewer than 20 joint UAW-Ford education programs in which



*Piledrivers clearing debris at pier in Newport Beach, Calif.*

employees can learn everything from statistical process control to decision making to retirement planning. And while the national average for involvement in adult education hovers at 3 percent participation, nearly 17 percent of all Ford hourly employees now take advantage of continuing education programs throughout the year.

If you could have attended a typical graduation ceremony at Ford's Louisville Assembly Plant last year, you would have seen a truly exciting event. Employees wearing caps and gowns furnished by the company stepped up to receive high school equivalency certificates, bachelor's degrees, several master's degrees, and two Ph.D.'s paid for by union-company programs.

UAW leaders have become full participants in virtually every aspect of Ford's American operations. Union leaders meet with senior executives every quarter where the most competitively sensitive product plans and strategies are openly discussed. And not once has this trust been violated by an information breach.

The result of all of this, and more, has been the evolution of a non-adversarial culture. Ford has not had a national strike for more than 15 years. And local contract strikes, once prevalent in Ford's 70 U.S. plants, now are exceedingly rare. Only two strikes, neither of them lengthy or debilitating, have taken place in the last 15 years.

The bottom line is that Seward's Theorem is working for Ford. Union and management together are beating up on the outside competition, not on each other. Ford quality is now clearly world class, and Ford's plants are recognized as among the most productive, and cost effective, in the American industry. Ford is gaining market share, and, in fact, Ford's gains are in almost direct proportion to Japan's American market losses over the last five years.

Ford, I like to think, as the leader of the American auto makers, is setting a trend in labor-management relations. During the course of the year, Ford is now visited by more outside company union and management leaders looking for the competitive success story than by labor reporters.

The new trend is obvious. What is not so self-evident is what new role media will, or actually can, play in this emerging new labor climate. Yet the question remains whether media, accustomed to reporting dramatic conflict almost exclusively, can appreciate

and report on the far more subtle interplays of a cooperative environment.

Cooperation is far more complicated a story to tell. Yet there is no question that the media have a significant role to play in communicating labor issues to concerned, and critically involved, publics. Clearly, some long-standing labor reporting mindsets must be altered for ethical and accurate reporting to take place in a rapidly evolving era.

First, and perhaps foremost, the labor reporter can no longer assume conflict. To assume conflict in all cases is to distort actual events, and negatively influence outcomes by polarizing participants.

Let me give you an example. Prior to the most recent bargaining agreement at Ford, an experienced business reporter asked at a joint union-management education meeting if health care would be an issue. I said that since all of us were concerned about health care, it certainly would be discussed at the bargaining table. The morning headline read: Cooperation Today; Health Care Conflict Tomorrow.

This was not a tabloid journalist, simply someone who preferred to find trouble. What he did not understand is that one of the most positive changes in recent years is that both sides can raise subjects for open discussion now, without them becoming irreconcilable bargaining issues.

Often table discussions lead to joint agreements to explore an issue further, and to road test ideas before they go into full-scale production. During the latest collective bargaining session, for instance, day care was discussed, and a pilot program was set up at Ford where 10 plants in a concentrated manufacturing area all share the same day care facility.

Some aspects of traditional collective bargaining remain, of course, yet even these must be viewed in light of new-found cooperation. There are, for instance, four considerations that continue to frame labor negotiations. They are theater, law, politics, and economics.

Theater still exists. Leaders on both sides continue to use drama to explore issues and set the stage for negotia-

tions. "Never" never means never at the outset of negotiations. The labor reporter has to be sensitive to the differences between posturing and actual positions. At some critical point in every negotiation, theater stops as both parties go into closed-door sessions. There is nothing nefarious about this. There is no conspiracy. Theater is complete, and serious negotiations take place.

Law is an inherent aspect of a contractual bargain. Much of what the early union movement struggled to achieve is now part of a broad series of laws governing the collective bargaining process. Yet the legal aspects of collective bargaining also are being reinterpreted. We are, after all, dealing with working relationships. It's like a marriage which, if based on mutual trust, does not need a narrowly defined, complicated prenuptial agreement.

Triennial contracts have evolved into umbrellas, under which flexibility is encouraged. The UAW and Ford, for example, established educational benefits for spouses outside of the formal contract wording. Recently, union and management joined forces in an effort to persuade government to establish an Empowerment Zone for the inner city of Detroit.

The contract no longer fixes specific behavior, but provides a living document to jointly fix common competitive, and even personal, problems.

Politics is equally integral to negotiations. Union leaders are elected, therefore they must campaign, addressing their constituents in the media as often as possible. Corporate management needs to be ever cognizant of politics, and never say anything that will undercut union leadership. In a genuine partnership, the company should be as concerned about having a strong union leadership that can speak for the majority of represented employees. It's either a win-win or a no-win scenario.

Economics is the fourth aspect of labor negotiations, yet never least. After all, if you botch a legal, political or theater issue, you just pay—that's economics. That 1946 penny still has value here.

Yet an entirely new vernacular is

needed to cover labor economics. Profit sharing, guaranteed job security through wage forbearance, and pay for performance, express the language of unions and managements attempting to address the larger issue of competitiveness, while compensating and rewarding each employee's contribution.

Every plant, every component that the plant makes, must be cost and quality competitive if the company is to offer the public genuine value, sell products and maintain jobs.

Ford's recent history is resplendent with stories of union and management overcoming competitors' advantages to save their plants and jobs. One of the most recent, and possibly most dramatic, is the Mustang story. While Mustang was clearly an icon with the public, the corporation had to face the question of whether to drop it because of the tremendous costs involved with launching an all-new generation. Alex Trotman, now Ford Chairman, personally stopped by UAW Local 600 to explain the challenge of saving the Mustang, and to enlist union leadership's cooperation. Manufacturing costs were a significant consideration, because the Dearborn Assembly plant where it was built was among the oldest and least efficient in the company. The UAW joined the effort to save the Mustang, and in the next few months union members proposed scores of innovative improvements. In all, some 700 of those proposals actually went into the plant. The Mustang, and the plant, were saved by this cooperative effort.

Economics today must be viewed in the macro sense of competitiveness. Every Ford employee is regularly informed of how well his products are doing in comparison with its rivals. Everyone understands what the great labor pioneer Samuel Gompers said half a century ago: "Profit is not the enemy of the worker. A company that makes no profit is the worker's enemy."

To the realities of negotiation—theater, law, politics, and economics—a new aspect has been added that significantly impacts labor reporting.

When media people ask how often they should cover labor-management activities, they generally are thinking

that it would be during collective bargaining, triennially. I tell them try daily. With dozens of joint programs and cooperative efforts going on daily within the umbrella of a broad contract, significant changes are now taking place daily. And this requires regular coverage, not just episodic "dropping in."

Unfortunately, media are paying less attention to labor issues than ever before. That may be because of media's own limited economics, or that daily cooperation doesn't make tabloid headlines.

Whatever the reason, media remain fixated on triennial negotiations. What seems like half the press corps descends on each company on the first day of contract talks, resulting in a feeding frenzy that provides a moment of theater, yet little insight into the issues and even less awareness of the greater unfolding drama.

This tendency to superficial coverage is further complicated by news organizations which are themselves cutting back on specialized beat reporting. More often than not, the labor reporter now wears multiple hats, covering general business and often general assignments, along with labor.

Perhaps union and management must take responsibility here, as well. We have become so focused on internal communications that we may not be keeping the media fully informed of incremental triumphs as they develop. We don't do enough "backgrounding."

Internally, unions and companies agree on three fundamentals to ongoing success, which are communications, communications, and communications, in that order.

Media, union and management need to do a far better job of communicating what are truly exciting stories behind the seeming new tranquility. Granted, there are still enough adversarial union-management situations around to deny the trend toward cooperation, and to continue to focus on conflict. Yet these death-grip conflicts are anachronisms. They are not the future. For in an era of intense global competition, no company or union in conflict has a future. By attrition, the cooperative stories will be the only stories.

## An Editor Meets Union Men

In his famous memoirs, William Allen White related his experience with workers who took part in a 1922 national strike against the Santa Fe system that was sparked by the company's attempt to install a company union. "The men didn't like it," White wrote. "They wanted to join a union that would be recognized by the Railway Brotherhoods, and when the strike was called the leaders of the Emporia shopmen came to the Gazette office to talk the thing over with me.

"I assured them that we would print the news, that we would always give them a chance to present their side through the Gazette, and that when any statement came from the railroad we would show it to them and print their answer with the statement, which was only fair. I could not advise them one way or the other about striking, but if

they struck we certainly would not criticize them and would see that they had every chance to present their case to the people of the town and county. They struck. We printed the news."

The workers asked local merchants to post signs saying, "We are for the strikers 100 percent." The governor told merchants to take down the signs and White challenged the governor on First Amendment grounds. White put this placard in his office window:

"So long as the strikers maintain peace and use peaceful means in this community, the Gazette is for them 50 percent, and every day which the strikers refrain from violence, we shall add 1 percent more of approval."

The governor's suit against White was withdrawn although the editor was prepared to carry his case to the U.S. Supreme Court. ■



*Piledrivers working at pier in Newport Beach, Calif.*

Yet cooperation is not necessarily dull copy. If we take the broad perspective, these new labor-management stories of cooperation are an expression of a genuine American renaissance—come-from-behind stories that tell of the tremendous resilience of a people.

To tell this competitive story will require media to reach new depths,

and, frankly, to do a lot more work. As anyone in union and management will tell you, cooperation is a lot harder work than confrontation ever was. Yet if these stories are told, then media will make cooperation easier, and may have a profound impact on America's competitive future. ■

# The Growing Problem of Workplace Safety

*Although Millions Are Killed or Injured Annually,  
Press Gives Little Attention to the Subject*

BY FRANK SWOBODA

**T**wenty-three years after Congress approved the Occupational Safety and Health Act, millions of American workers continue to be killed and injured on the job every year.

Peg Seminario, director of safety and health for the AFL-CIO, estimates a worker is killed, injured or made sick on the job every five seconds. The U.S. Department of Labor reports that in 1992, the latest statistics available, there were 2.3 million workplace injuries serious enough to require time off from the job. About a million of the injuries involved strains and sprains that kept employees off the job for six weeks or longer.

No one really knows the impact of health hazards on the job. With the latency periods for cancer anywhere from 20 to 30 years it is often hard to trace the cause of illness back to the job site.

Despite the grim statistical evidence that job hazards continue long after the passage of OSHA, press coverage of worksite health and safety issues is sporadic and most often nonexistent. The one exception is repetitive motion injuries which have ridden into newsrooms nationwide on computer keyboards. But even here the coverage tends to focus inward with little attention paid to the

slaughterhouses, packing plants and assembly lines where repetitive motion injuries outpace the incidence among office workers.

At a time when the three R's of the workplace—**Reinvention**, Reengineering and Rightsizing—have captured the headlines of workplace coverage, little attention is given to the continuing and growing problem of workplace health and safety unless the story involves a record government fine or a particularly gruesome fatality.

The death of a young Ohio worker crushed by a machine that was accidentally turned on while he was inside repairing it or the packing house worker whose wrists locked up so bad after a shift on the "disassembly line" that he couldn't bend his fingers enough to drive home occasionally make their way into the news. But not very often.

Occupational safety and health was a major concern of organized labor in last year's legislative debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement and the successful fight by organized labor several years ago to include labor standards such as health and safety among the sanctionable trade violations by nation's doing business with the United States. But very little coverage of these debates focused on anything but the horse-race politics involved. It was hard to find a story that dealt with the fear of workers—union or non-union—who worried that without health and safety protections they might lose their jobs to countries that paid little attention to such niceties. Or perhaps worse, that their own employers, under increasing international competitive pressures, would cut corners with the health and safety of employees in the U.S.

Now, nearly a quarter of a century after labor and its supporters in Congress thought they had dealt with the problem, the unions and the business community have squared off for another major legislative battle over occupational safety and health. Call it OSHA II. The battleground is the Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act or COSHRA as it has come to be known. And health and safety, cost or unwarranted government intrusion seem to have little to do with the almost unanimous business opposition to the bill being pushed by organized labor.

With approximately 2,000 inspectors to keep tabs on six million workplaces, the average business can expect to get a visit from an OSHA inspector once every 87 years. To remedy this, labor is proposing that every employer with 10 or more employees be required to set up a joint labor-management workplace committee that would inspect the worksite for potential hazards, investigate accidents and recommend actions that should be taken to correct any problems.

Labor sees the bill as a way to strengthen health and safety protections in the workplace. The business community, at least as it's represented by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, sees the legislation as nothing more than a blatant attempt by unions to gain an organizing foothold among the 85 percent of the workers who do not belong to unions.

*Continued on Page 23*

*Frank Swoboda, Louis Stark Nieman  
Fellow 1975, is national labor reporter for  
The Washington Post. He has covered labor  
and related economic issues from Wash-  
ington since the mid-1960's for United Press  
International, Business Week and The  
Baltimore Sun. During the 1980's he took  
10 years off reporting to work as an editor  
for The Washington Post.*

# The Vast New Labor Beat

## *Reconfiguration of Workplace Issues Offers Opportunities For Media to Expand Its Coverage*

By JOHN T. DUNLOP

Louis Stark of The New York Times introduced me to the labor beat during the eras of the War Labor Board (World War II) and the National Wage Stabilization Board (Korean War), both involving stabilization of wages and salaries and resolution of labor-management disputes. I worked directly with the chairman and vice-chairman of the War Labor Board, and President Truman appointed me a public member of the Korean Board.

Stark was interested in the way organizations worked, the way key people thought and behaved, and the circumstances shaping decisions and their timing. An isolated spot story was not his major interest; his quest was understanding. He was a respected expert in a field of strong labor and management personalities and intense labor-management conflict and related political strife.

In the 1970's as director of the Cost of Living Council for President Nixon, as Secretary of Labor for President Ford, and Chair of the Pay Advisory Committee for President Carter, I initiated a weekly seminar for regulars of the Washington press. The first 20 minutes were devoted to presenting a written paper on an underlying problem or development in process that was not spot news. The purpose was to provide systematic factual background for emerging economic and labor-management issues. This period was followed by the usual give-and-take of a press conference on the issues of the day.

Now, publishers and editors, and probably the readership public, appear to be uninterested in the old labor beat. They believe unions maimed the newspaper industry as illustrated by the New

York strikes of the 1960's, that unions are of little consequence and outdated as demonstrated by the decline in the percentage of the workforce in labor organizations, and the lack of high-class drama in the conflict and personalities of current negotiations.

This shift is illustrated by the simple press release announcement of the settlement of the agreement renewals between the General Electric Company and the International Union of Electrical Workers and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers on June 30th, in stark contrast to the hoopla and attendant flock of reporters who once covered some of the most contentious negotiations 25 years ago.

Despite the significance of the current issues, the parties have learned that intense press attention complicates negotiations, and the press has learned that mature parties usually renew their agreements in processes that require privacy.



I recall how strongly Tony Lewis of The New York Times objected to my enunciating the view at a Nieman dinner that collective bargaining operated under the Heisenberg principle that measuring or reporting, as the process took place, changed the process and distorted the negotiated results. He argued the public's right to know at each step, a sort of private sector open-meeting law. The results of negotiations are, of course, to be reported after ratification; to reveal the details as negotiations proceed imperils the integrity of the collective bargaining process.

There is, however, a new labor beat, and its contours may be largely identified by the Fact Finding Report of the Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations, issued June 2 by Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown, which I chair.

*John T. Dunlop has worked for every president since Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dunlop's favorite: Harry S. Truman because he surprised the world with his decisiveness and because he accomplished a lot. Dr. Dunlop has accomplished a great deal, too, since he started at Harvard in 1938 in a teaching fellow position. Now Lamont University Professor, Emeritus, he was Chairman of the Department of Economics 1961-66 and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences 1969-73. As a government adviser he has chaired innumerable committees. As an author he has written extensively, often on labor-management relations.*

## Workplace Changes

The American workplace and workforce have been changing very rapidly in a number of respects with significant impacts on worker-management and union-management relations. Among the most consequential of these developments are:

- The long-term decline of the rate of growth of productivity makes it difficult to enjoy rising standards of living and limits the feasible increases in wages and benefits that firms can pay and their international competitiveness at any given exchange rate of the dollar.

- An increased globalization of economic life, reflected in trade, capital and immigration, requires that firms face competitors whose workforce receives different levels of pay and work under different rules than in the U.S.

- A new industrial composition of employment demands workers with different skills and responsibilities and has contributed to the decline in the number of high paying jobs for manual workers.

- The occupational structure has shifted toward white-collar jobs that require considerable education.

- The increased role of women in the workforce challenges traditional work arrangements and raises demands for flexible working hours, job sharing arrangements, child care benefits and parental leave.

- Immigration links American wages and working conditions to those in source countries, particularly developing countries.

- The gap in earnings between higher paid and more educated or skilled workers and lower paid and less educated workers has increased greatly in the U.S. The stagnation of real earnings and increased inequality of earnings is bifurcating the U.S. labor market, with an upper tier of high wage skilled workers and an increasing "underclass" of low paid workers.

- Americans put in more hours of work than workers in other advanced countries except for Japan.

- The growing number of "contingent" and other non-standard workers poses the problem of how to balance employers' needs for flexibility with

workers' needs for adequate income protection, job security and the application of public laws that these arrangements often circumvent.

- Government regulation of the workplace has expanded enormously, leaving less room for local parties to determine workplace rules that best meet the needs of their situations.

## Worker Participation

Employee participation arrangements extend to one-fifth to one-third of the workforce; they take a variety of forms under collective bargaining and in non-union workplaces, including: quality circles, employee participation teams, self-managed teams, safety and health committees, gain sharing plans, information sharing forums, employee ownership programs, joint training programs, etc.

These arrangements are often reshaped; some are short-lived while others tend to persist. Workers appear to desire to participate in decisions affecting their jobs. Some programs that are sustained over time and integrated with other organizational policies appear to improve economic performance and productivity. But truly "high performance" workplaces are probably limited to no more than 5 percent of workplaces.

The AFL-CIO has recently warmly endorsed such cooperative partnerships under collective bargaining, and substantial programs are effective under agreements at, among others, AT&T, Xerox, and the Ford Motor Company. Employee involvement plans in non-union settings exist in Texas Instruments, Toyota (Kentucky) and Eastman Kodak, among others.

Numerous questions arise as to the comparability and relative performance of employee involvement plans in the two settings. Serious questions abound as to the legitimacy of some of these plans under existing labor-relations law. But a great deal is going on in workplace management methods, worker-management relations and union-management cooperation that deserves public understanding.

## New Challenge: Mexican Labor

BY DIANNE SOLIS

Wall Street Journal—Mexico  
Stark Nieman Fellow 1990

The traditional labor beat as we knew it in the 50's, the '60's and the '70's is gone. Gone are the stories on unions such as the Teamsters, the United Mine Workers and the United Farm Workers. As we move into the Information Age, it's been replaced by issue stories that don't easily fit the old perimeters of the labor beat, such as the carpal tunnel syndrome, the glass ceiling, sexual harassment, and child care.

But some of the old labor challenges still exist. For example, organizing the unorganized. Today that issue plays itself out on a larger stage through the globalization of labor. For those of us reporting for U.S. audiences, we're now examining one of the tightest integrations of two labor markets in the world. And the integration of the U.S. and Mexican labor markets is likely to increase as the North American Free Trade Agreement propels the commercial integration forward. ■

## Labor-Management Relations

In the arena of conventional labor-management relations, while the principle of providing workers a free choice as to whether or not they wish to be represented by a union, uncoerced by management or unions, is established in law, some employers discharge workers for seeking representation and collective bargaining.

Employer unfair practices in representation processes, relative to the number of elections, have increased appreciably over the years. Further, unions are able to win collective bargaining agreements in only two-thirds of the establishments where they win representation elections.

American employers are far more hostile to union representation than employers in other Western countries. The reasons for this conduct need to be widely understood.

## Changes In Workplace Law

One of the most notable changes in the American workplace over the past few decades has been the wide variety of legal rights and protections promised to individual employees by both federal and state law. These include minimum wages and maximum hours, a safe and healthy workplace, secure and accessible pension and health benefits once granted, adequate notice of plant closings and mass layoffs, unpaid family and medical leave and bans on wrongful dismissal.

These and all other employment terms and opportunities are to be enjoyed without discrimination on account of race, gender, religion, age or disability. Implementation and enforcement of legal rights against non-complying employers requires litigation in ordinary courts or proceedings before specialized agencies.

There has been a vast explosion of such litigation; employment law cases have increased 430 percent in the two decades, 1971-91. This litigation tends to be slow and expensive. Higher income employees tend to resort to such processes more readily, while low-paid workers, unless represented by an advocacy group, may be unable to achieve their rights.

The political process tends to provide little funding for enforcement, and there may be little compliance with some statutes in some communities. In the Los Angeles women's clothing industry, a Labor Department study showed that out of 69 workplaces all but two were in violation of federal or state employment laws.

This state of affairs has led to proposals for alternative dispute resolution procedures (ombudsperson, mediation, arbitration) in lieu of litigation. But the design of such procedures and providing them with a legitimate status is a difficult and complex undertaking.

By contrast, Western European countries tend to have labor courts with labor and management involvement that operate more rapidly and with less legalistic processes. Dispute resolution over public rights is likely to see significant developments in the period ahead.

## The New Labor Beat

This new configuration of labor issues involves the performance of the economy, the internal governance of business and unions, workplace employee participation, the labor market and its outcomes in wages, benefits and types of jobs, government agencies and labor-management relations from the workplace to the board room (with union-selected directors), and the exploding field of employment law, regulation and litigation, health and safety and workers' compensation, health benefits, and the international field of labor standards and the activities of U.S. parties to deal with overseas competition and their concerns with outsourcing and human rights.

This is a vast new labor beat—much larger in scope than the old beat that persists in only a few cities such as Detroit—requiring new understanding by publishers, editors and reporters as well as new sources in many fields.

Reporting on developments as broad as the Commission's scope is lodged in the business pages of the press which have been expanded in lines and reporters. The question naturally arises whether business editors are well positioned to evaluate or calibrate labor-management, worker-management or union news.

The focus on developments of the American workplace and workforce in a global setting opens up a vast field for inter-related reports, touching the largest public. Labor organizations, collective bargaining and political action should not be ignored, but they are to be portrayed in a larger universe and not always in a setting of conflict.

Consider the global perspective: a new range of activities need not be cynically portrayed as "protectionism" or only increased prices for American consumers. The Levi Strauss company action to specify standards for outsourcing—no prison or child labor products—was a signal development. European community and International Labor Office actions in these areas should not be ignored.

There are many managements and labor and management parties to collective bargaining that would welcome

a scrutiny of their workplaces and employee participation plans. All of us need to understand why they were instituted, how they work, how performance is measured, what changes them or eliminates them, and what are their differences in union and non-union settings. A variety of academic research centers would provide a measure of support and a form of dispassion.

A challenge needs to be put to the Industrial Relations Research Association (IRRA), which brings together nationally, and in 40 chapters around the country, members from business, labor organizations, state and federal government agencies and academia. What, if anything, has it done to encourage responsible reporting and interaction with print and media reporters? The new labor beat needs to be better understood among the first-line gatekeepers for access to press pages and air time.

The American workplace has changed dramatically since labor reporting emerged as a distinct beat. As women have sought outside employment, a much higher percentage of the population is in the labor market. The political process has assured individual workers (not through their labor organizations) a vast array of benefits and new legal rights and protections. The country requires and expects a cooperative workplace essential to quality, productivity and competitiveness. The workplace is the centerpiece of the performance of American society.

In a recent New York Times Magazine symposium Michael Kinsley said, "I suppose everybody in the media wants three things. You want it to be true; you want it to be interesting; you want it to be important." There is a lot of all three in the new labor beat. ■

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*I am indebted to Frank Swoboda of The Washington Post for helpful comments and for his paper, "The Evolutions of Labor Reporting in the United States," presented at a workshop sponsored by the Institute for Labor and Management of Sogang University, Seoul, Korea, January 28-29, 1989.*



# The Quick and Easy Story

## *Union Leader Cites Success of Heckling a Rally in Shaping Coverage by Television and Newspapers*

BY NANCY MILLS

In Nashville a few weeks ago I once again had the opportunity to manipulate the press—a skill learned in my years as a local union leader. While this finely honed skill produced a short-term public relations success, the experience simultaneously raised significant questions about the role and responsibility of the media in our complex society.

I was in Nashville with a group of Service Employees International Union local union presidents from around the country to visit an unusual union/management partnership—the Saturn Corporation. We noticed a front-page item in *The Tennessean* announcing that former Operation Rescue leader Randall Terry was going to be holding an “Impeach Clinton” rally on the front steps of the Tennessee State House across the street from our hotel that same afternoon. About a dozen of us decided that we did not want that rally to go unchallenged and so at the scheduled time we walked across the street.

What we saw was a very small gathering of people (the next day’s paper reported 40-50 but that probably included our 12 protesters). We had almost decided to return to the hotel, but then noticed two television cameras, two reporters (one TV and one wire service) and a still photographer. We knew then that the story would get some play. The fact that a doctor and one of his escorts had been killed at an abortion clinic the day before had already

insured that Terry’s activities would get more and different press attention than it would have otherwise. But we knew that the press loves conflict. The opportunity was there to create that conflict and change the story again. It worked. All it took was some chanting and some heckling.

That night’s TV coverage was not about the “Impeach Clinton” rally. Nor was it the voice-over of the reporter talking about the murders the day before. It was instead about how the rally was disrupted by supporters of the President’s goal of health security for all Americans who held Terry’s hate-mongering responsible for the recent violence and murders at abortion clinics. The viewers saw our small hand-clapping, shouting band overwhelm Terry. “Health care now!” and “Who did you murder today?” drowned out the calls for the President’s impeachment.

The television coverage did not surprise us. We knew that we had added drama to the event. What we had done was create conflict. That’s what news coverage is often about. And we had done it in a way that made that conflict easy to report, complete with dramatic visuals.

We were stunned by the next morning’s newspaper, however. Terry was the major front-page headline. And the accompanying large, over-the-fold color picture showed a close-up of one of us pointing a finger at him. The photo was captioned “Shouting ‘Health care now,’ Rosemary Trump of Pittsburgh tries to outtalk Randall Terry during an appearance at Legislative Plaza...” We had accomplished our aims.

On reflection, however, it seemed all too commonplace. Newspaper journalism can often not be distinguished from the superficial coverage of TV. It all too



*Nancy Mills started her career in the labor movement in Washington 20 years ago as a hospital ward clerk. She's now back in the hot air city as the Service Employees International Union's Coordinator for Worker Participation Programs. In between, Nancy served as a local union staffer, as an elected leader of a 12,000-member public and health care local union in Massachusetts, as a member of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO Executive Council, as a member of the SEIU International Executive Board, and as a frequent wine and cheese partaker at Nieman Fellow seminars.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY BILL BURKE, PAGE ONE PHOTOGRAPHY, INC.

often goes for the quick and easy story. In Nashville we had provided proof-positive of the conflict between Terry and the health-care reform forces. That proof-positive of newsworthy conflict is not so easily found in daily labor reporting. For most of our group, local press coverage of labor news is limited to strike reportage despite the paucity of strikes nowadays. In the media's rush to cover the most obvious, acute conflicts, the more significant, persistent conflicts go unreported.

The level of conflict between labor and management in our rapidly restructuring economy is significant. There is also significant conflict within the labor movement about what the proper union response should be to that restructuring. And yet this newsworthy conflict gets almost no media attention.

It is not the usual union/management conflict about what share of the proverbial pie the workers are going to get. It's about how or whether unionized workers will participate in efforts to enlarge the pie or even to write the recipe.

This conflict has intensified in the last decade because pressures that transformed union/management relations in the declining (and highly unionized) industrial sectors have spread to other sectors in our economy—communications, health care and government for example. For some industries, it's about how American workers will respond to globalization of production. For others, it's about how workers will respond to privatization or other new cost pressures.

From labor's view, restructuring can be boiled down to one basic choice: workers are either assets to protect, invest in, and develop for greater productivity or are costs to be minimized or even eliminated. This choice will decide the economic future of our nation.

Every day in almost every unionized workplace, unions try to force the asset alternative. We do it during contract negotiations; we do it in grievance procedures; we do it when responding to management-initiated work process changes; we do it when proposing our own forms of greater say in the design and delivery of work; we do it even—or

maybe especially—during strikes. This battle goes largely unreported, however, for it seldom surfaces into the kind of visible conflict that generates easy stories. It's real conflict nevertheless. And its result has significant implications for American workers—union and non-union alike. Sometimes the consequence of the conflict is a changed workplace. Sometimes, no workplace.

Not surprisingly, there is conflict within organized labor about how best to force any specific employer to make the "correct" choice. Is it by highly regulating and restricting management's control over the workforce or by giving the workers' representatives (the union) more say in how the business is run? The Saturn/UAW experiment opted for the latter choice.

There is conflict within unions about how to balance the labor movement's commitment to improve conditions for a particular unionized workforce and its commitment to the rest of a union's membership in the same industry. For example, does labor's time-hallowed goal of industry-wide wage standards help or hurt labor's cause? The Saturn/UAW experiment indicates that providing some part of compensation in the form of risk and reward sharing does indeed produce greater worker investment in the success of the enterprise. It may also lessen solidarity with other autoworkers however—a potential perhaps even more damaging to labor's ultimate aims.

There is conflict within unions about how more worker participation in heretofore management-only prerogatives will impact our organizing programs. In union settings, will it weaken labor's resolve to organize the "competition's" workforce or create greater membership investment in raising the wage floor of their employer's competitors? Will government endorsement of these practices in non-union settings create management-dominated alternatives to unions or will these developments be "pre-union" organizations?

These conflicts are real. Both the union/management conflict and the intra-union conflict are newsworthy. But because they don't erupt in picket

## Gallup Through the Years

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of labor unions?"

	Approve %	Disapprove %	No Opinion %
1991	60	30	10
1988	61	25	14
1988	59	30	11
1985	58	27	15
1981	55	35	10
1979	55	33	12
1978	59	31	10
1973	59	26	15
1967	66	23	11
1965	70	19	11
1963	67	23	10
1961	63	22	15
1959	68	19	13
1957	76	14	10
1953	75	18	7
1949	62	22	16
1947	64	25	11
1941	61	30	9
1939	68	24	8
1936	72	20	8

lines, heckling protesters, or corpses (at least not lately), the media doesn't often cover them.

While there may not be a Saturn Corporation in every media outlet, the vast economic changes that produced this groundbreaking UAW/General Motors partnership are everywhere. Where these economic changes occur, unions and managements struggle over the response. And where unions and managements struggle, so too do union members struggle internally to arrive at a unified position. Neither employers nor unions may be eager to publicize these conflicts, but it is important that the nation know they are going on.

The American people have a large stake in the outcomes of these struggles. It's a good opportunity for enterprising journalists to go beyond the easy story.



## Louis Stark: the Reporter Who Blazed the Way

For more than a quarter of a century Louis Stark covered labor for The New York Times. At a farewell dinner in the fall of 1951 when he left Washington to become an editorial writer in New York, his colleagues paid homage to him. Fred Perkins of Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance put it this way: "We regard Louis Stark as the pioneer of labor reporters. He has made the daily affairs of labor unions sought-for news among the newspapers."

Here is how Stark described his reporting philosophy to those dinner guests:

I was offered the choice of covering Wall Street for The Times, at first. And I said: "Thank you very much. I think I'd like to pass it up." I was asked if I would like to specialize in the very important and complicated transportation problem in New York City—which is still a problem and Page 1 news. And I thanked them and passed that up. And why they chose me for the third one, I don't know. But they did. And I'm very glad that they did. It was a pioneer effort. I was not the first one there; but it was a pioneer effort.

And very early in the game, I learned one thing. And that was to take no part whatever; to be under no temptation whatever to take sides in an inter-union dispute. I had seen one or two other labor reporters who were very strongly biased in favor of people whom they liked. And I felt that not only were they doing themselves a disservice, but in the long run they would rue the day. I remember one man, whose name I won't mention, who was so biased in favor of the A.F.L. United Garment Workers that when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was formed as a split-off and began to make news, he would never go up to Sidney Hillman's office. But he would use the stuff in his paper by rewriting the City News Association. Well, that was such an obvious thing to learn that it didn't take anybody with



Louis Stark

any great brains to learn it. And I think perhaps I can pride myself on the fact that in all these terrible inter-union disputes—perhaps there's nothing quite as bitter as an inter-union dispute—I meticulously kept away from offering any advice and from making any suggestions whatever. Not that I have refrained from offering counsel, but only then if I were asked to do so. I never volunteered advice to any trade union leader on his problems.

Of course, I have been very timorous for a very good reason. And that reason is a simple one that you will appreciate. No matter how much I myself might know about his particular problem, I could never in the world place myself in his position. And this goes for the industrialists who have asked me for advice, too. I could never place myself in the exact place of the individual who has the responsibility for acting. He was responsible, the trade union leader, to his people; the industrialist to his board, the president and to his associates. I, as a newspaperman, was completely devoid of this kind of responsibility, despite whatever kind of imagination I may have had. I could never really completely place myself in his position. And therefore, as I say, I always approached such a task with a great deal of diffidence. ■

In 1961, Joseph A. Loftus, now deceased, became the first Louis Stark Fellow. He was the Washington Labor Correspondent for The New York Times.

Other Stark Fellows at the Nieman Foundation were:

1967—Ken W. Clawson, now retired, labor reporter for The Toledo Blade at the time of his Fellowship.

1975—Frank Swoboda, national labor reporter, The Washington Post.

1976—Maggie Scarf, freelance.

1978—Danny Schechter, Co-founder, Globalvision; producer.

1980—Lynda McDonnell, writer, The St. Paul Pioneer Press.

1983—Huntly Collins, AIDS reporter, The Philadelphia Inquirer.

1990—Dianne Solis, reporter, Mexico, The Wall Street Journal.



Joseph A. Loftus

# A New Kind of Reporter

*Younger and More Culturally Diversified Writers*

*Discover Stories That Were Never Covered*

By RAY ABERNATHY

Being a labor flack, I'm not overly familiar with good news, but I know it when I see it and I think I saw it last June in a three-page Time magazine takeout, "Unions Arise—With New Tricks" by staff writer George J. Church, with help from reporters Bernard Baumohl, William McWhirter and Suneel Ratan. Pegged on a 200,000-member 1993 uptick in union ranks, an increase in successful strikes and the "put-in-their-face style" of graduates of the new AFL-CIO Organizing Institute, the Time piece was artfully disguised as a disgustingly even-handed presentation of the woes and wins of unions. However, there was no missing the rampant optimism of the concluding sentence: "But after the savage buffeting of the labor movement over the past 30 years or more, even interrupting a funeral procession marks a noteworthy change."

"Yikes!," I thought, as I started scratching around for my little-used file of "good news for labor" clippings. "When was the last time anybody wrote anything this good?" To my surprise, my little folder was stuffed. Using the standard qualitative research method of most high-price labor consultants, I spread the articles out on the floor in chronological order and discovered what can only be described as a minor torrent of labor resurgence predictions bubbling up from the news media, which for years has been hanging carloads of crepe on the labor movement.

For the month of May, there was "Union Organizers Are Using Hard-Nosed Tactics," a front-page article by David A. Sylvester in the normally union-cool San Francisco Chronicle. In April, The New Republic broke a decidedly optimistic story by John B. Judis, "Can

Labor Come Back? Why the Answer May Be Yes," citing as reasons for hope the rise of Ron Carey and the "New Teamsters," a baker's dozen of outlandishly pro-labor cabinet and subcabinet appointments by President Clinton and new leaders who are in direct contrast to the leadership of "colorless" AFL-CIO president Lane R. Kirkland. A month earlier, The Wall Street Journal devoted a coveted front-page position to a highly complimentary 2,100-word story by Michael Ybarra on how the Service Employees Union Justice for Janitors campaign is running circles around archaic U.S. labor laws in organizing Hispanic office building janitors.

Mind you, all this good news, or at least high-level attention and positive comment comes at a time when things aren't going particularly well for organized labor. For 1992, only two of the 93 labor unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO reported a net gain in member-

ship, the latest gloomy gate clipped in a downhill slide that has seen union membership decline from 35 percent of the American work force in the 1930's and 40's to just over 15 percent today. The 1993 membership pickup cited by Time unfortunately consisted of a what we think is a paper increase of 400,000 public employees, offset by an actual real-body decrease of 200,000 private-sector workers. This year, hopes for a new day for labor under Clinton have been clouded over by the passage of NAFTA, disintegration of support for legislation prohibiting the permanent replacement of strikers, two Supreme Court decisions chilling nurse organiz-

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*Ray Abernathy is a partner in the labor consulting firm Abernathy & Mitchell and he admits that most of the quotations and ideas in this story are shameless attempts to promote his clients.*



ing, a lukewarm "finding of facts" from a commission appointed by the President to undergird a major push for comprehensive labor law reform, and prospects (at least at this writing) for a national health-care plan only a insurance company CEO's mother could love.

Nevertheless, my clipping file analysis confirmed a genuine reversal of labor-bashing by the nation's newspapers and magazines, one which probably started last August right where every inexplicable national trend seems to start: Southern California. The conservative Los Angeles Times cast the first bouquet in what became a war of nose-gays with a 2,500-word "Column One" by urban affairs writer Sonia Nazario titled "For This Union, It's War," and followed by the sub-head "Protesters scream and bang drums. Recruiters sneak into buildings. Decried by critics, the militant tactics of the Justice for Janitors campaign have been wildly successful in uniting those who clean L.A. high-rises." Determined not to be red-hot out of paperboxes in the City of Angels, The Times' leftish intown competitor, LA Weekly, followed with a 3,500-word Dave Garcia cover story, "True Grit: clocking time with janitors organizer Rocio Saenz," chronicling the adventures of an intrepid, mediagenic 90-pound Latina who daily defies the dragons of the city's business community. The Times counter-hugged with a Labor Day series including "Unions Trying Out Fresh Tactics," by veteran staff writer Stuart Silverstein and "New Militancy Seen Among County Workers" by new staff writer Carla Rivera.

By November, labor-lovers in the media were granted a brilliant five-day strike by 20,000 flight attendants that cost American Airlines \$160 million and dominated the nation's daily newspapers with sympathetic stories. Included was a worker-friendly front page treatise by The New York Times' curmudgeonly workplace reporter Peter Kilborn ("Strikers at American Airlines Say the Object Is Respect"), a second sympathetic Times tome by Dirk Johnson ("Behind Glamorous Image, Flying Working Class") and a third by Sunday "At Work" columnist Barbara Presley Noble ("Will These Contract Talks Fly?"), a support-

## Coverage Decline Traced To Corporate Media

By DANNY SCHECHTER  
Independent TV Producer  
Stark Nieman Fellow 1978

A year after my Harvard year, this labor fellow became a labor story. A newly formed mega-media corporation marched into WBCN, the radio station I worked for in Boston, announcing that they were taking over and that 19 of us should pack our bags. Suddenly my Nieman pedigree meant nothing. In their eyes, I was just one more name on a downsizing plan.

Fortunately, our union included everyone—disk jockeys, salespeople, as well as those of us in the news department—and had a special feeling for the station and community. We went on strike. It lasted three weeks, and remains one of the most successful in the history of broadcasting in that, with listener support, we won our jobs back. The company then, quite

ive analysis by L.A. Times staff writer Donna K. Walters and a pal-sy paean by syndicated columnist Judy Mann ("Air-to-Ground Sisterhood and Support"). In the aftermath of a settlement brokered by President Clinton, flight attendant leader Denise Hedges and her members were turned into instant heroes for an icon-starved labor movement by laudatory pieces penned by Kilborn ("Strike is Called Victory For Women, Not Unions"), another New York Times story by Allen K. Meyerson ("Cool Astute leader Takes Flight Union to Victory"), another column by Mann ("Coffee, Tea and Solidarity") and uppers by Robert Kuttner ("So You Thought Unions Were Obsolete") and Washington Post business writer Martha Hamilton ("Attendants Other Gain: Respect").

By December, the "good news for labor" phenomenon was creeping up the California coast like an enveloping Santa Ana. Ralph De La Cruz in The Long Beach Press-Telegram with "Results Mixed As Unions Rebound." Laurel Kenner in the Torrance, CA Breeze with "Still Showing Signs of Life: Unions Made Gains in '93, Turn to New Approaches." By February, gusts of change

smartly, hired the strike leaders as their managers. Over the years, the corporate vision of what the station should be replaced the one we had. Howard Stern now rules the airwaves. The union is gone. The BCN News Department is a memory, as is the labor reporting it was, in part, known for.

Shrinking labor beat coverage is a function of the growth of corporate media power. Companies that care little about their workers have no interest in providing visibility to worker concerns elsewhere. And the market-driven media system and consumer culture they've spawned marginalizes unions—and the principles of solidarity and social mission some once upheld. No wonder they are shrinking, too—in power, influence and appeal.

Too often it takes a pink slip to wake them—and us—up. ■

were blowing all the way up to Seattle, with Post-Intelligencer Pacific Rim Reporter Evelyn Iritani writing about the activities of the AFL-CIO's California Immigrant Workers Association and the labor federation's new Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance ("It's a New Day for Unions: Labor Steps Up Efforts to Open Membership to More Women and Minorities)."

Now good news is always welcome, and my first reaction to all this was, "Holy solidarity, we're baaaaack." Trouble was, I couldn't figure out where we had been. Lots of good things (right along with lots of bad things) have been happening in labor all along and our actual membership numbers and corresponding political clout have been stable for several years. The Justice for Janitors Campaign and the California Immigrant Workers Project have been doing revolutionary work since 1985, the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute since 1989. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has been successfully taking it to southern organizing targets for years. And "corporate" campaign tactics have been spreading like kudzu since consultant Ray Rogers first coined the phrase during the J.P. Stevens cam-

paign more than a decade ago.

Why now? What's suddenly changed? What's so new?

I already had an idea of what was happening, but I needed to confirm my hunch. I decided to consult the AFL-CIO's curmudgeonly Director of Information, Rex Hardesty (we think of him as our Peter Kilborn, only older and more grumpy). Hardesty was once a sports writer, which is just one rung up from labor writer, so I thought he might have a clue or two. Instead, he grumped over the phone that at his age, nothing was new and furthermore he had no intention of considering the notion that the labor press was changing its stripes. He did observe that most of the new organizations and campaigns being cited by the "good news" couriers had come out of the AFL-CIO's widely heralded 1985 report, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions," and reminded me that it had been published on the watch of his boss, the same Lane R. Kirkland pilloried as particularly palefaced by *The New Republic*.

Unable to support my story premise with my first source, I did what any good reporter or journalist would do: I sought out other sources.

Bill Hamilton, who just completed a 13-year hitch as Vice-President of Public Affairs for Planned Parenthood, once was administrative assistant to volatile AFSCME president Jerry Wurf, so I thought he would certainly know good news from bad.

"It's environmental," said Hamilton, who now heads a public affairs consulting firm with the optimistic name "Evergreen." "You've got a new Labor Department and a new President and labor officials who've been hiding out for the past 14 years are in an atmosphere where they can function. As for reporters, a lot of them who would like to see a revitalized labor movement now feel free to look for vital signs. You can now write about labor and not be laughed at, but you still have to scrounge for examples and most of the examples they are using have been around now for years."

Andy Stern is Assistant to the President for Organizing at the Service Em-

ployees Union, one of the two AFL-CIO unions reporting membership growth at the 1993 AFL-CIO Convention and the leader in NLRB elections that year with a 61.4 percent win rate in 158 contests. He, too came down on the side of environment.

"It's not that new things or different things are going on, it's that more of them are happening on a national scale," Stern opined, citing the Teamsters Diamond Walnut corporate campaign and the UAW's inside-outside juggernaut at Caterpillar as examples.

Rob Clayman of Guerrieri, Edmond & James is bargaining counsel for the Association of Professional Flight Attendants and the person most responsible for setting the stage for the successful American Airlines strike. Clayman espoused an historic turning point theory.

"It was the strike, our strike," he self-effacingly volunteered. "We captured the imagination of the press and the public. We started getting a few good stories prior to the strike. When we won, I think a lot of reporters took it as a sign of revival."

Hamilton, Stern and Clayman agreed on two major points: yes, there's a new perception and no, there's nothing new going on to justify the perception. Stern even suggested the resurgence stories might be part of a plot by union-busting attorneys and consultants to stir up business.

With my premise still in the pits, I decided to call David Chu, one of the original evil geniuses behind the Justice for Janitors campaign. Chu is younger than me, Hardesty and Hamilton, and he gives a much better soundbite than Stern or Clayman.

"It's a generational thing," Chu said without hesitation. "All the old dinosaurs, the cynical labor reporters, are either dying off or their beats are being eliminated. These stories are being written by younger people, female and minority reporters. There are a few campaigns out there that are really resonating and the climate for a labor rebound is better. Working stiffs are angry and they really need a voice and the younger reporters are willing to give it to them. These are people who actually grew up in communities where

people work for a living."

"Criminy!," I whispered to myself as I raced back to my office, "Talk about out of the mouths of babes!" I pulled up my story list and highlighted the names of the writers.

Bernard Baumohl? Suneel Ratan? Ybarra, Nazario, Garcia, Rivera, De La Cruz, Iritani? Judy Mann, Barbara Presley Noble, Martha Hamilton, Laurel Kenner? With the exception of *The New York Times's* Kilborn, Johnson and Meyerson, *The L.A. Times's* Silverstein, *The Chronicle's* Sylvester, and *Time's* Church, all the names of "good news bears" were either decidedly ethnic or decidedly female. Not a single writer on the list was one of the disappearing breed we call "labor reporters" (Kilborn rejects the sobriquet and Judis meanders all over the liberal map). Could it be that when it comes to labor reporters and labor beats, less is better? Is it possible that unions and workers are getting a better shake from the working press because working reporters now come from backgrounds where people really work?

I called my friend Steve Askin—former Washington Bureau Chief of *The National Catholic Reporter* and one of the labor writers who disappeared—and he agreed my conclusion might be accurate. He ran a computer check and came up with a final astounding "good news" example, an editorial from *The Nation* turning the NAFTA defeat into "more prominence [for labor] in the national discourse than has been evident for many years—decades, even."

*The Nation!* For me at least, the mystery of the missing newness and the puzzle of the inexplicable resurgence were solved: there are no new "good news" labor stories around, just a phalanx of new, younger more culturally diversified reporters out disinterring old stories that never got covered before. The slug isn't "good news for labor," it's "new reporters are good news for labor." And if it's true that life imitates art, perhaps there's a real rebound in store for unions.

That's assuming, of course, that journalism qualifies as art. ■

## Some Ideas for Labor Stories

*Here are some ideas for articles that labor reporters could develop:*

- The organizing contest among three unions among ground employees of USAir and by the Steelworkers at AKSteel (formerly Armco). There are unions that are growing, especially the Service Employees International Union and United Food and Commercial Workers, who are using new, sophisticated organizing tactics.
- Why public employee unions win about 85 percent of the representation elections they participate in while private sector unions are fortunate to win 50 percent?
- How corporations avoid recognizing a union and bargaining for a contract after workers have voted for union representation or have "won" a strike as the flight attendants at American Airlines did.
- While managers usually get credit for improving efficiency through changes in work rules and practices, what is the union record in cooperating? Academic studies have shown union workers to be more productive than nonunion workers.
- In an era where serious strikes are rare and labor-management cooperation is rising, why are some companies, such as Caterpillar, locked in an interminable dispute with unions?
- As with many other employee buyouts, United Airlines was losing money when its workers won control. There are good stories in other, less-known employee ownership experiments such as Avondale Shipyard in New Orleans where workers saw their investment of \$282 million dwindle to \$92 million. One result was that 5,000 unorganized workers voted for union representation.
- Broad economic reporting to explore issues such as the true minimum unemployment rate that the U.S. can carry without excess inflation. Must economic policy making be held captive to the bond market? Why is there such a fear of growth?
- Most experts agree greater productive investment, education and training are essential to creating decent jobs and reducing welfare rolls in an expanding population. Why are we floundering in creating policies that will accomplish those goals?
- One way to close the competitive wage gaps between the U.S. and less-developed countries and to reduce the demands for foreign assistance is to encourage the growth of overseas unions. There are human rights stories waiting to be told in countries where workers are abused and fledgling unions are repressed.
- The Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times and U.S. News & World Report recently exposed employers that abuse immigrant labor by paying less than legal minimum wages. Why do papers wait for official inspections to lead them to such stories?
- Reporters have failed to expose the work of labor contractors who supply strike breakers, consultants who break union organizing campaigns and other groups that interfere with worker and union rights. "Union busting is a field populated by bullies and built on deceit," Martin Levitt wrote in "Confessions of a Union Buster," published last year.
- By ignoring unions, most of the press last year overlooked the biggest recent scandal in the higher reaches of organized labor. The Wall Street Journal revealed the wild, illicit spending by Edward Carlough, former president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, but other papers have failed to follow up leads of broader malfeasance.

—Murray Seeger

## Old and Future Beat

*Continued From Page 5*

part of the insider's world," David Broder, senior political writer for The Washington Post and one of the few national reporters who keeps in regular touch with labor leaders, has observed. "We have, through the elevation of salaries, prestige, education and so on among reporters, distanced ourselves to a remarkable degree from the people we are writing for and have become much closer to the people (experts and politicians) we are writing about." Broder cited a 1992 debate over the extension of unemployment benefits to two million workers that was covered by The Post as "a tactical battle between Bob Dole and George Mitchell" and between Congress and the President.

"The one perspective that is missing from these stories is the viewpoint and stakes of the two million people who will or will not get a supplemental unemployment benefit," Broder continued. "Why? Because most of us don't know these people. They are not our friends."

William Greider observed in the book "Who Will Tell the People" that the death of urban afternoon newspapers caused the loss of a "singular angle of vision." "Newspapers do still take up for the underdog, of course, and investigate public abuses, but very few surviving papers will consciously assume a working-class voice and political perspective."

The Washington journalism establishment repeated itself in covering Congressional passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement. After ignoring the AFL-CIO as politically irrelevant, these media mavens were surprised to find that NAFTA was nearly defeated by organized labor's opposition.

"The Washington press has an increasingly corporate perspective," Greider commented. "They identify with status quo ideology. The press could not bring itself to take the labor opposition to NAFTA at face value. In another era, 20 years ago, the press would be

out talking to these people. Now it's all done through focus groups and public opinion data."

Speaking of the "political elite," Richard Harwood wrote in *The Post*: "We socialize with them, talk the same language, have the same interests, live in the same neighborhoods, share life styles, schools for our children, clubs and poker games. It is no wonder that the pictures of the world we present to the newspaper audience and the spin we put on them are, in the strict meaning of the word, the 'propaganda' of the ruling class."

Slaves to consistency, the sheep-like press pays little attention to the grassroots campaigns for President Clinton's national health plan conducted by unions and the American Association of Retired Persons joined by the American Medical Association. More attention has been paid to the lobbyists for business.

Clearly, the outlook of reporters and editors has changed over time. In my generation, the Greider-Broder-Harwood era, we worked with many great reporters who had no college degrees, but great instincts and feelings for working people. My own attitude was sharpened by three summers' work in the huge Lackawanna Works of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., where at 18 I became a member of the United Steelworkers of America. My education among 16,000 steelworkers was equal to, and perhaps superior to, what I learned later among 12,000 students at the University of Iowa. But today's problems are greater than those cited by a bunch of old guys grouching about the "good old days."

By ignoring any real concerns of working people, newspapers have accelerated a broad trend against reading of any printed news. Workers who leave home in the morning without reading a newspaper come home and watch the evening television news. Instead of making their publications more interesting to workers, publishers and editors are desperately trying to book passage on the new electronic information highway where their fellow travelers will only be upper income.

On the other hand, all media organs

cover issues of minority and women's rights, partly because the newspapers, networks and local stations have responded to pressure to make their staffs more reflective of society as a whole. The younger journalists make sure their bosses are sensitive to issues of individual rights while collective rights are put aside.

The new journalists, with few exceptions, do not see workers' rights as an issue of civil rights even though organizing and joining unions are rights protected by the Constitution and 60-year-old federal law. The "me" generation will complain of personal mistreatment without taking the logical response: collective action.

Workers in a broad perspective are often patronized and their grievances treated as economic and social phenomena. Younger journalists have exaggerated views of the skeletons in labor's closet—corruption, rigid work rules, bloated payrolls. They view organized labor as a monolith, not as a collection of idiosyncratic units; they do not recognize unions' interests as workers' interests.

Politicians and business leaders express their concerns for workers by competing to get credit for "creating jobs" through public and private developments. They rarely differentiate between minimum wage, hamburger-flipping or high-paying construction jobs, or managers' work.

Workers and their representatives are left out of the equation unless their political support is needed to win approval. After the developments are completed, few reporters will on their own initiative measure if the promised employment and revenue benefits are delivered.

To sample workers' opinions, contemporary reporters and editors are not being seen in a workers' bar or pushing door bells in Hamtramck. The preference is for "focus groups" where workers' opinions are diluted by a larger, sociological cross-section of people.

National polls usually measure labor opinion as a byproduct of a general survey. A typical poll snaps a "snapshot in time" of American opinion by contacting 1,200 or 1,500 homes nation-

wide. To find the opinion of labor, the pollsters extrapolate the statistics of the subgroup "union households" in the same sample. This supplies a distorted result because the demographics of the union universe are much different from the profile of America.

Editors and publishers who meet casually with representatives of minority and women's organizations will rarely meet on the same terms with union leaders. Few emulate the legendary, conservative, managing editor of *The Buffalo Evening News*, A.H. Kirchhofer, who regularly ate lunch with Joseph Molony, regional director of the Steelworkers union, to get a different perspective on community life, or the more famous William Allen White who thought it essential to meet railroad union men in his office 70 years ago.

While viewing organized labor overall as a waning force, media managers fear unions as a threat to the control of their enterprises. There is a national trend toward more on-the-job worker-management cooperation in other businesses, but in media enterprises labor relations are stuck in an antediluvian rut.

Publishing and broadcast executives ignore the paradox of claiming free speech and free press rights from the First Amendment for themselves while avoiding or denying the equally valid free assembly clause that established the right for workers to organize unions.

Media corporations were delighted when a key item on the 1994 AFL-CIO legislative agenda, a bill that would outlaw the practice of hiring permanent replacements for workers who exercise their legal right to strike, failed to pass in the Senate. A majority in the Congress supported the bill, but it failed because the White House and labor could not muster the 60 votes needed to shut off a filibuster by anti-union senators.

"It is nonsense to say that workers in our democratic country have the freedom to strike without fear of being fired when they can be 'permanently replaced,'" Harry Bernstein wrote in *The Los Angeles Times*.

On the other hand, *The Washington Post*, acknowledging that it used "per-



manent replacements" to break a strike 20 years ago, editorialized against the bill and in favor of status quo bargaining: "An obdurate company risks a strike; obdurate workers risk replacement. Most of the time the balance works."

The issue may return as part of a wide reform of labor law that is the aim of The Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations headed by John Dunlop, a former secretary of labor and retired Harvard University professor of economics. But a major overhaul of terms affecting both labor and management will depend on the partisan makeup of the next Congress. Most likely is a continuation of the political deadlock that has existed for decades. The unions' enemies are in the minority in Congress and cannot move labor law further backward; without a "super majority" of 60 in the Senate, unions cannot win reform.

Meantime, the NLRB is likely to get new attention from the press if its new chairman, William B. Gould IV, a former Stanford University Professor of Law, achieves his goal of "bringing the board back to the center" after it was "increasingly politicized" under 12 years of Presidents Reagan and Bush. Because NLRB orders can be appealed interminably through the courts its enforcement authority is weak. The new chairman has suggested giving the board new strength by writing broad new rules instead of letting the federal courts write law one case at a time. Among the proposals likely to be examined by the new NLRB are rules that would permit unions to hold "equal time" meetings with workers when employers hold anti-union sessions in business hours. Gould has supported granting unions bargaining recognition on the basis of signed cards, a short cut that would eliminate the cumbersome process of NLRB elections.

A revived NLRB could be rediscovered as a source of human interest as well as hard news stories. These mostly concern venality of employers and provide examples of justice delayed and denied to workers. For instance, Fieldcrest Cannon has been ordered by the NLRB to pay back wages of \$3.5 million and to rehire 14 workers fired during a 1991 organizing campaign

staged by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Certainly, the era of mass organizing and frontal confrontation between labor and government or big business has passed along with the charismatic labor personalities such as Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers and John L. Lewis of the Mineworkers. Still, there are good "workplace" stories awaiting broader discovery.

It is a mistake to concentrate workplace coverage on unions, but it is a bigger mistake to ignore them. Modern reporters with their lack of historic memory have failed to see the internal dynamics within unions to see how they have given strength to the civil rights movement and enrolled minorities in numbers at least double their proportion in the overall population. Once slow to join unions, women now represent a substantial portion of all members and have moved into key staff positions although they are under-represented at the elected-officer level.

While the hierarchy of the labor movement seems tired and aged, there is a new generation of younger, innovative leaders working directly on workers problems at regional and local levels. This is where some of the best "workplace" stories can be found.

Unions have always limited their contacts with the press. They are not equipped to finance the kind of public relations and marketing campaigns their enemies mount. Instead of looking for p.r. types to guide them, reporters should read union newspapers that report labor activities at every level.

The organized labor movement stands out for its broad agenda in an age of single-issue, narrow interest politics. Despite its troubles, the labor movement enjoys a consistent, positive reputation as measured over nearly six decades by the Gallup Organization.

As Robert Kuttner, one of the few national columnists who can be called a liberal, concluded recently: "Labor remains the most potent counterweight to the increasing intellectual, ideological and political dominance of organized business and concentrated private wealth." ■

## Workplace Safety

*Continued from page 11*

Peter Eide of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce summed up the concerns of business in an article he wrote for the Scripps Howard News Service. The committees required under COSHRA, he said, would be "the union organizers dream come true."

Lost once again is the issue of worker safety and health.

The Clinton Administration, in the meantime, is picking up where the Bush Administration left off in OSHA enforcement. Forced to "do more with less" under federal budget constraints, the Labor Department is essentially continuing the sort of show-trial approach that began late in the Reagan Administration: Find a particularly bad actor, fine the daylights out of it and hope the fine serves as a deterrent to other employers who might want to skirt the law. This is much the same enforcement approach as the farmer who puts a scarecrow out in his fields.

OSHA's lack of enforcement capabilities may become more acute as the agency now debates the need to regulate cigarette smoke in the workplace. OSHA supporters, while supporting the regulatory effort, express fears that if the agency gets involved in the issue its investigators will become little more than smoking police, leaving the government with little time to deal with many of the more serious hazards of the workplace.

OSHA reform, like labor-law reform, is apt to become an issue for the next Congress. But unless there is a change in the coverage of most newspapers and broadcasters, coverage of the debate will take place entirely within the halls of Congress and involve a single issue: politics.

Enterprising editors and reporters might find a refreshing change of pace and a wealth of stories if they ventured out to worksites in their area and took a look at the problem firsthand. It might even have an impact on the debate. ■

# Innocents Abroad

*Or How a Corps of Young, Underpaid Reporters Sought  
The Truth in Saigon in a Different Age*

BY DAVID HALBERSTAM

The first and most important thing about that group of reporters in Saigon in the early Sixties was how small it was. I thought of it when I watched the American troops landing in Somalia on the beach which had already been taken over by what seemed like television cameramen and correspondents in regimental strength.

Our press corps was nothing like that. Depending on the day of the week, and whether someone was in Hong Kong for a week of vacation, it might have been five or six members. There was a three-man Associated Press bureau of Malcolm Browne, Peter Arnett, and Horst Faas. United Press kept sending wires to its man, Neil Sheehan, asking him why AP kept beating him with photos; the answer was hardly a difficult one—AP had a full-time photographer, Horst Faas, quite possibly the greatest photographer ever to work for a wire service, a man who was to win two Pulitzer Prizes. UP had no staff photographer. The UP bureau was Sheehan. Nick Turner covered for Reuters, Simon Michau for Agence France Presse. Because France had lost Vietnam, the agenda and story for Michau was quite different. I, for The New York Times, was the first full-time special correspondent for an American newspaper.

We had, I think, in so different an age of journalism, where print was still more important than television, an additional advantage over those still to come. The norms were still the norms of print. We did not have to compete with the camera. The camera was derivative of us. That fact meant that journalism in those days was less driven by the norms of

television and entertainment. The camera responded to us, rather than the other way around. Even the early generation of television reporters who worked there, like Peter Kalischer and Bernie Kalb, more often than not had roots in print and worked stories much like print reporters.

There was a kind of innocence about who we were and what we did. We had no idea how high the stakes were and how many important enemies we would make, and that the better we did our jobs, the more controversial we would become. Though we became celebrated for that reporting, we did not seek fame. The fame came to us quite involuntarily, first when we were attacked by our critics, and second when we were able to withstand the attacks. The idea of being a celebrity journalist or a media figure could not have been more distant; indeed in those days one did not talk about the media, and the idea of a new kind of fame, generated by the rising power of television, was still largely unknown.

What we all wanted was to cover a big story. Because of that desire we had been drawn like a magnet to Vietnam. It turned out to be a great story, even better than we expected when we had first arrived.

There was not a day when you went out in the field that you could not find the story—either because of the war, or perhaps equally important, because of the absence of the war.

We did not seem, at first, likely bets for fame. Peter Arnett has written his own memoir about bouncing around in the subculture of East Asian journalism for a few years, like a kind of semi-

employed journalistic hitchhiker, before landing in Saigon where he became the war's great reporter. Neil Sheehan got there with almost no experience (he became experienced very quickly by simply following Homer Bigart around) largely because he was available in Tokyo, which meant that when the UP sent him to Saigon it was



PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE PROFFEN

*David Halberstam has come a long way from his cub days on a small paper in Mississippi, from his development period on The Tennessean and even from his controversial years on The New York Times, where he became famous for his coverage of the Vietnam War. Described as "a journalistic Moses come down from a Mt. Sinai of 3-by-5 cards," Halberstam has written 14 books. His latest, "October 1964," is reviewed in this edition of Nieman Reports.*

a much cheaper flight than one from New York.

Not only were we extremely young—the average age was probably about 28 and Mal Browne was the doyen at 31—but in the great tradition of all young reporters, we were poorly paid. When I arrived there, having spent most of the previous year in the Congo, my salary had reached, as I recall, the grand total of \$12,000 a year, and Neil, in the penurious tradition of UP, made all of \$100 a week. Only when I was with Sheehan did I feel rich. The idea of the journalist as celebrity or star seemed very distant.

Rarely I think has any small group of reporters been so harshly criticized for doing its job. Almost all of the criticism was in some form or another ideological. It existed at every level. At the top, President Kennedy wanted to pull me from Saigon in a fit of irritation over a policy which was unraveling, President Johnson said that we were traitors to our country, and seemed to think that because Peter Arnett was a New Zealander, he was also, ipso facto, a Communist. The criticism of us came from the Pentagon, the State Department, and from much of the Saigon headquarters.

To be honest, the criticism from the highest level, people like Kennedy and Johnson, was never particularly bothersome, and never hurt very much. Their world was Washington and for us it could not be more distant; we did not care what anyone in Washington thought of our reporting. Washington was an alien place filled with people who were making political calls; by contrast we saw ourselves as covering something real. We were, in the arrogance of the young, utterly confident of how good our sources were. What bothered us were two things: first the constant assaults and investigations of the Saigon command when it tried to find out who our sources were and, of course, its attempts to punish them. That hit close to home.

And what also bothered us were the bitter assaults on us by some of our colleagues. Some of that collegial criticism was, it seems to me, ideological in base, and perhaps even more of it was generational—an older generation,

which had greater reservations about challenging the words of ambassadors and generals. The collegial criticism was extremely painful. These, after all, were not merely colleagues, but often colleagues with famous reputations, gathered in earlier wars, like World War II and Korea.

I remember meeting Dick Tregaskis who had written "Guadacanal Diary" during World War II and who had been a great, albeit distant, hero to me. I took him to the Mekong Delta on several occasions and even took him to see my most favored source, John Paul Vann, in My Tho. There Vann, in one of his most brilliant performances, laid out chapter and verse on how the war was not even being fought, and why; his briefing, which I thought dazzling seemed not to touch Tregaskis at all. He was sure we were winning and that Vann was just a difficult contrarian. On the way back to Saigon Tregaskis turned to me and said, "If I were doing what you're doing, I would be ashamed of myself." We traveled the rest of the way to Saigon in complete silence. That one hurt; in some ways it still does, much more than the assaults on us by two Presidents.

Looking back, the idea that such modest reporting caused such a great cause célèbre, seems almost ludicrous. What was always at stake was our right to do what we were doing, whether it was unpatriotic by the standards of a more simplistic era, and whether we had the right to go against the flag, as our older colleagues saw it. Our accuracy was never really in question, not from anyone serious about finding out whether the war was being won. In time this was labeled a press controversy by those, like Time magazine, which had a vested interest in endorsing the war and reporting it optimistically, but it was never a press controversy: it was a controversy between those levels of American officers and CIA officials in the field trying to report accurately, and their superiors in Saigon who were committed to policy. That was the dispute, the field against Saigon, not reporter against reporter.

The more I think of it, the more I am inclined now to believe that there was

an advantage in being a part of so small a press corps. I think that it is a great deal harder to do serious journalism in an age where the technology is so sophisticated and where there are so many reporters out working a big story. In a press corps that small there was time to be careful, time to check out stories, and time to vouch for things, whether for information, or equally important, the people giving you the information. A large press corps seems to me to have built-in dangers—the larger it is, the more dumb rumors there are, and the less time there is to try to check them out.

The technology then was, comparatively speaking, quite primitive, even for print but also, more dramatically, for broadcast journalists. The old ways of filing, I suspect, makes for more careful journalism. My sense is that in an age with an almost open-ended capacity to broadcast live and in color from all over the world, an age where the technology is often more powerful than the reporter involved, and where the very existence and power of the technology—the live footage—is more and more the defining aspect of the story, that at the very least, the editing function suffers badly. There is less time (and I suspect less perceived need) to edit. Just getting it on is enough.

Our technology in those days gave us the best of both worlds. We used cable—telex—to reach New York.

The Times in those days still tried to get us to send in what were called mailers, stories that were not breaking ones, which you mailed home. We all learned quickly that if you mailed in a story, the foreign desk immediately deemed it of little value and rarely used it.

I could reach The Times by cable, but when the foreign desk cabled me back, I could say that I had been out of town and had not received the paper's cables for at least a day. I greatly enjoyed this freedom from checking in and responding to editors.

For broadcast reporters the difference between then and today is far greater: the television people in those days operated not unlike the Pony Express. They worked for 15-minute news

shows in black and white. There was no satellite. They would go out in the field with their cameramen, cover their stories, bring back the film and send it out by plane to Hong Kong, and thence to the States.

I have come over the years to believe that one of the best things about a press corps like the one in Saigon is that good reporters make each other better, that they push each other, and that the independence of one, and the courage of another become contagious. Gradually everyone in the group becomes better, tougher and more independent. I think that explains why so much good reporting came out of the group. What I remember most was how hard we worked the story. We were always in the field or out around Saigon. The competition was fierce but extremely honorable. There was always time to check things out. There was enough time to vouch for what you wrote—either you had seen what you wrote firsthand or you could personally vouch for the person you had talked to.

We had great sources. John Vann was the prototype, and because of Neil's book, "A Bright shining Lie," the most famous, but there were other men just like him who were every bit as knowledgeable.

None of us were in the office very much. We were always working, whether in Saigon, where we created a vast network of sources, or in the field. We learned that in the field, even if there was not an immediate payback, even if there was no story at first, you were creating a wide network of sources, and that you were learning other things, giving yourself a better backdrop against which to interpret the breaking news. What we were upgrading every time we went in the field was our judgment, which was no small thing, and even on slow days we were creating the network of sources.

One example. When I first arrived I set out for I Corps and DaNang. The stories I got out on that trip were of marginal value, but I made a few friends, most notably Colonel Bryce Denno, the senior adviser to the First Vietnamese Division headquartered there. We liked each other, spent a good deal of time

swapping notes on the problems of the war and kept in touch when I returned to Saigon, talking frequently on the Army line. A few weeks later he called to tell me that his men had come up with a very high Vietcong defector, a colonel, at that time the highest officer who had defected. Watch out, Colonel Denno warned me, I think there's going to be a press conference and they may try and sell you a bill of goods with him. He had defected for a variety of personal rather than political reasons, Denno said. In the private briefing they had held with the colonel, Denno said, the defector had spoken of the South Vietnamese Army with great contempt; they were poorly motivated and led.

Just as Colonel Denno said, a few days later there was a showcase press conference in Saigon where the VC colonel was presented. In a carefully scripted performance, he said the ARVN (Army Republic Vietnam) was the wave of the future and that was why he had defected. I did not file the story. My skills were not considerable enough then. Perhaps if I had been more sophisticated, I might have been able to do the story and somehow splice in what the Colonel said in the secret briefing in DaNang, but I held back for fear of burning Colonel Denno.

By chance a few days later I was scheduled to see the American Ambassador, Frederick E. Nolting. We were both quite innocent about our evolving relationship in those days. He was innocent in that he not only believed in the policy, and the victory which lay just ahead, but also that I would dutifully write down everything he said about the victory and would not deviate from his point of view. To that end, as an act of faith to a hierarchy which no longer existed, he always seemed to wear a white suit. I, in turn, being more innocent, thought that American ambassadors and generals would put the truth above everything else in a country where young men were dying. I had just spent more than a year in the Congo and I had had an easy relationship with the American Ambassador there, Ed Gullion. He knew I could move around the country more readily than he, and hear things that he didn't hear, and we had often

swapped information after one of my trips in the country.

This was not to be true in Saigon. Just before our meeting I had spent a week in the Delta and had picked up nothing but pessimistic reports. The war was not being won; it was not even being fought. I volunteered some of this to Nolting. He became quite irritated at first, and then as I, in my innocence, kept plunging forward, he became angrier and angrier. Soon his face was flushed. He got up from behind his desk, with the great flag of the United States behind him. It is a scene I still see, the white suit, the red face, the American flag. "How dare you challenge the word of my men like Paul Harkins?" he demanded. (Harkins then being the commander of MACV, and quite possibly the single most poorly informed person in the country.)

He asked if I had covered the press conference of the VC colonel. It was something of a shout. I said I had not. "You come in here and challenge the word of our generals, but you don't even cover the most important press conference we have this year! Get out! Get out!" By that time I was at the door, as angry as he was, and I shouted back that I had not covered the goddamn press conference because it was all goddamn lies and the colonel had already said in his secret briefing that the ARVN were incompetent. And then I was gone.

Later that day John Mecklin, the Public Affairs Officer, called Bill Trueheart, the Deputy Chief of Mission, to ask how his day had gone. "Oh, almost perfectly—other than the fact that the Ambassador of the United States of America threw the correspondent of The New York Times out of his office. Just another day in the life of the Government of the United States in Saigon."

And so I left his office, significantly less innocent than when I entered it. ■

# Spain's Private TV Stations Invigorate News Coverage

By ANDREW DAVIS

With a mournful look on her face the Spanish television host leaned toward the grieving father and asked, "Fernando, what is the pain like of losing your daughter? I want you to share your pain with us."

A rather delicate question to ask on live television to a man who had only hours earlier discovered that his 15-year-old daughter had been brutally raped and murdered. The plethora of this type of reality show is probably the most obvious and macabre manifestation of the change in Spanish news and public affairs programming since private television first hit the airwaves in late 1989.

In little more than four years the privates have caused an informational earthquake in what had been a highly stable television landscape dominated for more than 30 years by TVE, the television arm of Radio Television Espanola (RTVE), the state-run monopoly. Along with the first wave of monopoly breakers—Spain's six regional public stations—the young privates are changing the way Spaniards see the world and how they see themselves. Many may not like what they see, but they continue to tune in at an average rate of nearly 3.5 hours per day per capita, one of the highest rates in the European Union.

I think I fall somewhat below average, but in the past 16 months I have watched my fill of Spanish television, and I have seen how this new competition is invigorating news programming but also exposing some frayed patches in Spain's tightly knit social fabric.

The three new private stations consist of two commercial networks and a pay TV service. Tele 5, partly owned by Italian media mogul and now Italian

Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, devoted little resources to news, but its innovative format helped earn respectable ratings. Tele 5 incorporated a series of well-known commentators to analyze and offer opinions on events of the day. The station also offers the most sensational of all the new reality shows. In one of its most popular programs, the Truth Machine, controversial figures are quizzed by a panel of well-known guests and then strapped into a lie detector. John Wayne Bobbit even made a recent appearance. Bobbit picked up a hefty fee, but the machine accused him of lying when he claimed he didn't force his wife to have sex with him the night of her ultimate revenge.

Antena 3 began investing heavily in news programming after a management shuffle in 1992. The station hired a well-known anchor from TVE to head its news and subsequently convinced other popular anchors to jump ship. Its investigative unit recently broadcast slick documentaries on a failed coup attempt in 1982 and another on the CESID, Spain's CIA.

Canal +, the pay station, launched a low-budget news operation that relies heavily on news feeds and a handful of reporters to produce a nightly news show. The station also broadcasts Peter Jennings on World News Tonight and its newscast is probably the most American in style.

Per capita, Spaniards read fewer newspapers than just about any other nationality in the European Union and have always had a healthy appetite for television news. TVE's daily news broadcasts consistently finish among Spain's top-rated programs. TVE's Informe Semanal, a news magazine similar to 60 Minutes, enjoys solid ratings after more

than 20 years on the air. The public network broadcasts more documentaries in a month than American commercial stations air in a year. Debate programs, a kind of Spanish talk show, were already prolific when Phil Donahue was just cutting his teeth.

The debates generally feature a host and a variety of well-known guests who expound on issues of social import, but



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always with a curious Spanish flair. One popular debate program featured a regular striptease segment as a means of offering an intermission from the more weighty matters of the discussion. That was on the public, not a private, station.

On the daily front the advent of the privates has infused newscasts with the energy of dozens of young, inexperienced journalists determined to challenge TVE's deferential style of government-sources-know-best reporting. Several national anchors are less than 30 years old and the average age of the reporters at the private stations probably hovers around 28.

The privates are also throwing money around, offering fat contracts to well-known journalists from TVE who are only too eager to bite the hand that has fed them for decades. The competition has also forced more real-time and live reporting, something TVE could afford to neglect when it was a monopoly. TVE enjoyed that luxury for the better part of 30 years.

General Francisco Franco, Spain's former dictator, established TVE in 1956. During his nearly 40-year reign Spaniards were forced to view the world through Franco's fascist window. After his death TVE eventually came under the control of Spain's Socialist government, which has been in power since 1983. Charges that the Socialists manipulate the news as much as Franco did are exaggerated, but the partisanship evident in TVE's news ranges from mildly subtle to incredibly blatant.

Unlike many other European public broadcasters, TVE is a commercial station and became flush in an advertising market where they were the only game in town. TVE's news operation enjoyed virtually unlimited resources. The network still maintains full bureaus in 13 countries.

But four years and a few privates can make a big difference. Last year the public entity received a more than \$200 million bailout from the government, ostensibly to cover the costs of Radio Nacional and the other non-television operations. Even with the subsidy, the network has run up a deficit of more than \$1 billion in four years.

With the new competition stealing

both audience and ad revenue, TVE could not afford to maintain the high ground. The network programmers began to mix it up with the privates in creating increasingly more sensational programming. The influx of reality shows from the U.S. and Italy didn't stop at the doors of the privates. TVE's *Quien Sabe Donde* (Who Knows Where), which recreates and tries to solve missing person cases, is consistently Spain's most popular program.

TVE did have some competition prior to the privates. Over the past decade six regional public stations were launched. Like TVE the stations sell ad time and are also heavily in debt, despite subsidies from the regional governments. The first two on the air were located in Catalonia and the Basque country and were launched to encourage the use of the Basque and Catalan languages that had been suppressed by Franco's centrist regime. The news department at TV3 in Catalonia even has a grammar correction desk to check the copy of reporters who may not have mastered written Catalan.

TV3 is probably the most sophisticated of the regionals. The station's mission was to promote Catalan, but that did not mean producing a regionally focused newscast. The station covers Catalonia more closely than TVE, but also maintains three foreign bureaus and correspondents throughout Spain. From the outset the station was determined not to imitate TVE.

"What the direction of TV3 wanted to do was to look for personnel that hadn't worked on Television Espanola so as not to repeat the same vices of a television that had a monopoly," said Guillem Roig, of the station's original news staff.

Roig was typical of the new staff. He was an engineer with no experience in journalism but was selected in a tryout and taken on as a television reporter. The station hired French and American consultants to help them structure their news operation and design programming different from TVE. The station was also launched at a time when betacams were becoming commonplace. With the lighter cameras, TV3 crews were much more mobile than the bureaucratic TVE, which often sent out

five-person crews of a cameraman, soundman, reporter, producer and driver.

The Madrid regional station is one of the youngest and initially the most innovative. Telemadrid was staffed by a cadre of young, aggressive reporters who traded more on their drive than journalistic skills. Telemadrid tried to personalize the news and their reporters constantly did standups. They chased breaking stories and did live reports, whenever possible tripping up the slow-moving national network.

News directors and reporters relished risk taking. The station began broadcasting months prior to the Persian Gulf War. The news directors were searching for ideas on how to differentiate their coverage from their resource-rich public cousins at TVE. With the bombs already falling, one of the news directors asked 29-year-old anchor Rafael Luque if he were willing to stay on the air. Luque was up to the challenge and the station spontaneously suspended all programming and advertising and presented 50 hours of uninterrupted Gulf War coverage gleaned from a mix of their own reporters and the international agencies. Luque anchored the first 12 hours.

"Toward the end I was falling asleep between the various video reports. It was absolutely frightening. You don't have the same reflexes or capacity to react. They are giving you orders and you are incapable of coordinating what you are hearing with what you want to say," Luque said.

The new stations have not made much of a dent in the ratings hegemony of TVE news, but they have curtailed TVE's ability to set the news agenda and have leveled the playing field when it comes to political coverage. In June last year the privates had their first shot at covering a national election campaign. The privates scrutinized the issues facing Spanish voters and the growing discontent toward the Socialist government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez far more closely than did TVE.

But the real innovation was the broadcast of two debates between the candidates for prime minister. Having the privates on the scene created the neces-

sary leverage to force Gonzalez to the debating stage. The debates forever changed political campaigning, and exposed the real powers-that-be at TVE.

Antena 3 held the first debate and mounted a production that was a cross between a political event and the Academy Awards ceremonies. The station used 25 cameras to film two men debating. There were cameras in the parking lot for their arrival; cameras in the hallways of the station as they posed for the press and then walked to the makeup room. They even had cameras in cities all over Spain to show their viewers just how empty the streets were during the broadcast.

Gonzalez is a charismatic and telegenic politician and most pundits expected him to tear up his rigid and whiny opponent Jose Maria Aznar. The debate received a nearly 62 percent audience share which meant that more than 25 percent of the entire population tuned in to watch the candidates' oral sparring in a race that was considered too close to call. Aznar surprised the Prime Minister and by the end of the night it was clear that Gonzalez had suffered a serious setback.

As is all too common in Spanish news, each station tried to manipulate the news to promote itself at the expense of the news itself. Antena 3 did one report on the debate. The story did not center on the content, but simply talked about audience figures throughout the debate. Tele 5's report did little more than plug the upcoming debate. Canal + did the most substantive report. The station mentioned the themes talked about in the debate and described the public reaction with data from a survey painting the magnitude of the Aznar victory, a survey conducted by a firm controlled by their parent company.

TVE said nothing. It was the first prime-ministerial debate in the country's history and the most watched program since the privates had been on the air and TVE made no mention of it. Its lead story concerned a skin transplant for a child burn victim. During its election coverage it focused on secondary candidates on the stump and failed to mention Aznar or Gonzalez. TVE closed the election coverage with a two-

minute interview with a popular Spanish pop star who blabbered on about how important it was to vote for the Socialists. It was the most blatant example of pro-government manipulation I have seen in my time here.

Unfortunately, the diversity of the competition has not helped improve the production quality of the news reports themselves. Spain has a vital tradition of radio and many of Spain's television journalists hail from radio or even print. Far too often these journalists consider images as window dressing, or, as American broadcast journalists often say, as wallpaper to be thrown up after the script is in place.

If you turned off the image during a Spanish news broadcast you could follow the events of the day perfectly because the pictures don't tell the story, the script does. Spanish journalists have not learned how to use images to tell stories, the approach that American broadcasters consider the key to good television journalism.

Reporters often voice-over an entire piece never using any natural sound or sound bites. As often as not a speech or a press conference will be shown with the reporter, not the subject, telling the audience what the speaker was saying. File footage is rarely used and images often don't match the script at all.

To their defense, Spain's principal news broadcasts are at 3 p.m., which doesn't give reporters much time to cut pieces on the day's events. However, the 9 p.m. broadcasts are not noticeably better.

Maybe a slickly produced newscast is a lot to expect in a competitive news environment that is really only four years old. Most reporters and editors I spoke with said improving the use of image was a top priority, but I have seen little evidence of any change.

Spanish news will probably remain in a state of flux for some time as the young stations define their image and weigh the importance of news programming. Whatever the final result, TVE's monopoly on both content and style is as much a part of history as the Franco regime and should continue to give way to the upstart regional and private stations. ■

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# Speaking in Tongues

## *More Foreign Correspondents Know Language Of the Country They Cover*

BY STEPHEN HESS

“Anything less than total fluency hinders ability to eavesdrop, the key to good reporting,” writes Marc Fisher, *The Washington Post's* correspondent in Bonn and Berlin in 1992.

Murray Fromson, who covered Asia for many years for *The Associated Press* and then CBS, found that not speaking a country's language “meant you could always get the main story, but usually missed the subtleties and nuances of everyday life.”

According to Catherine Manegold, a *Newsweek* correspondent in Tokyo when I interviewed her in 1991, information reached her through filters: Either she had to rely on English-speaking sources, a special group in itself, or on interpreters, who might be selective in what they were passing along, especially if it did not reflect well on Japan.

Fisher, Fromson and Manegold were responding to my questions for a book about American foreign correspondents that the Brookings Institution will publish next year.

Some experienced practitioners, such as Nicholas Daniloff, contend that “although languages are not unimportant,” there are other qualities that are even more important for foreign correspondents; he cites “curiosity and concern about the world.” Most American news organizations prefer to give overseas assignments to staffers who have proved themselves as reporters, rather than those with area and language expertise. Still, many foreign correspondents most admired by other foreign correspondents—Serge Schemann, Bill Keller and David Remnick; Garrick Utley; Jackson Diehl and Edward Cody—are said to be good with languages.

Historically, however, Americans

have had a reputation of not being linguists. They have been preoccupied at home, where other skills are more valued, and geographically there usually has been a good deal of space between them and the need to know other peoples' languages.

(Our survey reflects the greater language skills of non-U.S. citizens: Of 653 Americans who are or have been foreign correspondents, 21 percent claim to speak four or more languages at various levels of proficiency; the comparable figure is 38 percent for the 114 past and present foreign correspondents who are citizens of other countries.)

It is not unexpected, then, to expect American foreign correspondents to be disadvantaged at a trade in which language ability should be a core skill.

All 774 journalists surveyed were asked to give their foreign language history, indicating level of ability: Level 1 (able to order a meal), Level 2 (able to understand TV news), Level 3 (able to conduct an interview); and the year they began to learn each language, which, when matched with other information, tells whether the skill was acquired at home, at school, through special training and experiences, or on the job.

The new breed of foreign correspondents are less likely to be linguists—that is, to have a knowledge of many languages. A third of those who became foreign correspondents before 1970 claim some ability in four or more languages; this drops to a fifth for the next generation.

(The mean number of languages spoken has declined steadily: 1960-69, 2.8 languages; 1970-79, 2.6; 1980-89, 2.4; 1990-92, 2.3.)

But today's journalists are more apt to be proficient in the language of the country to which they are posted. The trend is: number of languages down, most useful language up.

This table compares language proficiency-at-post for journalists who had once been foreign correspondents with those who were foreign correspondents in 1992 when the survey was conducted.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS'  
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY BY POST

Proficiency Level	Pre-1992 834 Posts %	In 1992 294 Posts %
0	22	11
1	14	10
2	13	12
3	51	67

An additional 25 percent of all assignments (excluded from these tabulations) are in countries where English is an official language. Half are in Great Britain, followed by Hong Kong (14 percent), South Africa (8), India (6), Canada (5), and The Philippines (4).

The same trend can be traced by the age of foreign correspondents. For those in their 50's, the mean level of proficiency in the languages of their post is 1.8 (maximum 3), with 2.0 for those in their 40's, 2.4 for 30-something reporters, rising to 2.5 for foreign correspondents under 30.

Women exceeded men by 11 percent at Level 3 and are more proficient in every major language except Arabic. (Men are also twice as likely to have no knowledge of the language of their post.) Yet there are not enough women correspondents to account for more than a modest rise in these scores. The



upward movement is not primarily driven by changes in demographics.

Rather, it is more useful to look at how and where languages are learned: Through formal schooling, through special training before overseas assignment, through experiences abroad before becoming a foreign correspondent, and on the job.

Of these possibilities, which, of course, need not be mutually exclusive, university schooling seems to have least effect—at least when averaged. Foreign correspondents from “not selective” schools even had a slightly higher Level 3 ability than those who attended “highly selective” institutions. Nor were there differences between public and private colleges. Journalism majors were slightly less proficient than those who concentrated in the humanities and liberal arts.

Level 3 percentages: 61 at “not selective” schools and 57 at the “highly selective.” 57 at private schools and 55 at public schools; 53 for journalism majors and 59 for those in humanities/liberal arts. The same trend is reflected in tabulations relating to the number of languages spoken: no significant differences between respondents who went to “highly selective” and “not selective” schools or private and public schools, but humanities/liberal arts majors, compared to journalism majors, are more than twice as likely to speak four or more languages to some degree of proficiency.

The one notable distinction is that those who know “exotic” languages are much more likely to have gone to elite universities. Sixty percent of our respondents attended top-rated institutions, whereas 92 percent of those who speak Japanese, 88 percent of the Chinese-speakers, and 80 percent of the Russian-speakers are from these schools.

More news organizations now give reporters language training before sending them abroad. From only 11 percent of those who began their foreign correspondent careers pre-1960, the figure rises to 16 percent for first-time foreign correspondents in the 1960's, 21 percent in the 1970's, and 24 percent in the 1980's. The wire services have the best record, the TV networks the worst.

(The mean number of months of special training for wire service reporters is 8.9, magazines 6.9, newspapers 5.3, television 4.0.)

The Associated Press paid for Bryan Brumley to attend graduate school at Georgetown before assigning him to Moscow and then paid for two years of language training during his tour there (1990-1993). But the average time of correspondents who are given language training in advance of overseas postings is 25 weeks, adequate perhaps for the Romance languages and German, but not sufficient to learn Korean, Japanese, Chinese and Arabic.

(By comparison, the U.S. State Department provides diplomats with 24 weeks for Romance languages and German, 88 weeks for Korean, Japanese, Chinese and Arabic.)

Language skills seem to relate most to extended experiences abroad before becoming a foreign correspondent. Sixty-three percent of those who spent “significant” time overseas had Level 3 proficiency, which is only the case with 44 percent of those without such experience. Most notable are those who speak Japanese at Level 3 (96 percent of whom had spent time abroad) and Chinese (89 percent). Types of experiences vary: Henry Kamm, *New York Times*, was born in Germany in 1925 and lived there for his first 15 years; his son, Thomas Kamm, *Wall Street Journal*, grew up in France and other countries where his father was posted; Paul Wedel, *United Press International*, learned Thai in the Peace Corps; Ron Moreau, *Newsweek*, learned Vietnamese while performing alternative service to the draft in the Mekong Delta; Anne-Marie O'Connor, *Cox Newspapers*, went to work for an English-language daily in Mexico City; Bernard Wolfson, *Knight-Ridder Financial News*, spent his college junior year at the University of Barcelona, Spain, taught for a year at a boarding school in Zug, Switzerland, became a graduate student in Bologna, Italy, and interned with an ice cream company in Sao Paulo, Brazil. For each example, dozens of others could be chosen, foreign correspondents who spent time abroad with their parents or



PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSEL AUSTIN

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went overseas after college to study, write, serve in the military or peace corps, or just bum around—and learned languages.

Learning on the job, however, can be a special challenge. As Caryle Murphy of *The Washington Post* notes from Cairo, “This is a 12-16 hour a day job. There is no time to learn Arabic now.” But those who have a foundation in the post’s language, our data show, will improve markedly over time. While 38 percent of the reporters at a post less than a year are proficient in its language, 75 percent are proficient after 5 years. Language skills, then, should be factored into determining the most useful length of an overseas assignment.

The problems that can arise from language deficiencies must be addressed country by country. They are not a matter of averaging. The following table rank-orders the language abilities (Level 3 and none) in countries that have had at least 30 postings in our survey:

	Country	Level 3	No
		Proficiency %	Proficiency %
High	France	93	3
	Argentina	93	3
	Mexico	91	5
	Austria	81	13
	Germany	73	13
	Italy	70	13
Middle	Russia	58	21
	China	52	29
Low	Israel	37	53
	Japan	28	49
	Poland	26	65
	Vietnam	24	69
	Lebanon	15	70
	Thailand	14	77
	Egypt	5	80

There are some obvious explanations, of course. Reporters in Vietnam were primarily there as war correspondents and many news organizations limited the assignment to one year. The low number of Hebrew-speaking foreign correspondents in Israel reflects, in part, the high number of Israelis who speak English. Weekly foreign ministry briefings are conducted in English. Indeed, the journalists I interviewed there were much more likely to regret that they didn't speak Arabic than that they didn't speak Hebrew.

The difference between proficiency in Chinese (52 percent) and Japanese (28 percent) also bears some relationship to those countries' English-speaking populations at elite levels of government, business, and the media. When I asked Paul Blustein, a business reporter in Tokyo for *The Washington Post*, how he manages without speaking Japanese, he pointed to five English language newspapers published there each morning—English editions of four major Japanese dailies and an independent, *The Japan Times*. He noted, quite correctly, that no American city produces that many general-circulation English language papers.

At the other extreme in Tokyo, there are a number of Japanese-speaking correspondents who are linguists trained

to be journalists, graduates of a special program for that purpose at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. One graduate, Leslie Helms of *The Los Angeles Times*, is a third generation American born in Japan. He went through high school there, then came to the United States for university study. I asked him if a telephone caller would know that he isn't a native Japanese. He replied, "After 10 minutes." The explanation is that he does not use one form of the language he feels is so deferential as to be demeaning and a Japanese would notice after 10 minutes.

The more countries covered, the less likely a reporter will be able to speak a country's language. Lance Gay of the Scripps Howard News Service says there are more than 130 languages in his territory. Warsaw tends to be a hub for covering Eastern Europe. Blaine Harden, who was headquartered in Poland from 1989 through 1992, also reported on Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Hungary, "and a bit of what used to be East Germany." He estimates that he spent 70 percent of his days away from home base. Peter Maass works out of Budapest, Hungary, but 60 percent of the time he is in other Balkan countries, where he says his "knowledge of Russian helped me get a quick grasp on the fundamentals of Serb-Croat, my French helps me with Romanian, nothing helps with Hungarian, except an interpreter." David Jackson of *Time*, whose territory included 20 countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Persian Gulf (1986-89) and later Korea south to Indonesia (1991-92), writes, "I can order breakfast in a lot of languages, or get a hotel room, but I don't consider myself proficient in any of them."

So long as the U.S. press remained Eurocentered—or, more accurately, Western-Eurocentered—the language skills of American journalists usually have been adequate. French, Spanish, and German are taught in most U.S. schools and easiest for English-speakers to learn. Dora Jane Hamblin, who covered Europe for many years for *Life*, says, "The French were a pain in the neck about their precious language."

But journalists are not expected to be academicians. Level 3 ratings in the 70-90 percent range (even if they are self-ratings) suggest that Americans have more talent than they have been given credit for.

The two languages of middle competence, Russian (58 percent) and Chinese (52 percent), have different reasons for their ranking. Improvement in Russian over the years is the result of the media's catching up to the importance of the Soviet Union in the Cold War era. By 1990, the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, at New York University, calculated that all but six of the 49 men and women in the U.S. press corps in Moscow had received language training before being posted, 18 for more than one year, and, additionally, 10 held advance degrees in Soviet or international studies and 10 more had done some graduate work in those areas. Chinese-speakers, on the other hand, reflect not the centrality of the assignment so much as reporters sharing what Stanley Karnow has called "a peculiarly American passion about China." Certainly in the 1990's there were a large number of U.S. correspondents, including Todd Carrel (ABC), Mike Chinoy (CNN), Nick Driver (UPI), Susan Lawrence (U.S. News & World Report), Lena Sun (Washington Post), and Kathy Wilhelm (AP), whose entire careers seem to be directed toward getting them to Beijing.

This is much less the case in Tokyo. A 1991 survey of 32 correspondents concludes that while the number of those "who speak the Japanese language reasonably well has increased substantially over the last 10 years," most still "find it next to impossible to conduct a serious interview in Japanese." The record in Arabic is worse. In our survey of 774 foreign correspondents only 10 claimed they could interview in Arabic.

English may be the universal language of air traffic controllers, and protesting mobs around the world write placards in English, yet there remain languages that American correspondents must not leave home without. ■

# Annals of a Libel Suit

*Troubles Continue for Janet Malcolm of The New Yorker  
As She Faces Retrial of Jeffrey Masson Charges*

**O**n October 6, the second trial of the \$7.5 million libel suit of Jeffrey Masson, who was dismissed as the \$30,000-a-year Projects Director of the Freud Archives, against the writer Janet Malcolm of The New Yorker is scheduled to begin in San Francisco. The suit has drawn journalistic attention primarily because of Malcolm's practice of taking remarks Masson made at different times and putting them together in long soliloquies, a merging procedure Masson insisted distorted his statements and she defended as a "tradition" and a "convention" at The New Yorker.

Another point at issue is her reliance in some cases on her memory for direct quotations as she wrote the article months later. In most cases Malcolm relied on tape recordings of her face-to-face and telephone interviews. From these tapes, and from handwritten notes she sometimes made, she typed out the material on which she based her 48,500-word profile of Masson. The two articles, titled "Annals of Scholarship: Trouble in the Archives," ran in the December 5 and 12, 1983 issues of The New Yorker and eventually were put in a book titled "The Freud Archives."

At the first trial last year, a jury, while exonerating The New Yorker, decided that Mrs. Malcolm had defamed Masson in all five of the quotations at issue. (Originally there were 22.) In considering damages, the jury decided against damages on three of the libelous quotations and could not agree on the amount of damages for the two others. Judge Eugene Lynch ordered a retrial.

As a setting for the second trial, the following excerpts from the first trial provide a flavor of the accusations by Masson and Malcolm's defense.

## *The Excerpts*

These excerpts of the Masson-Malcolm libel trial are based on the official transcript. To reduce the text to a reasonable length—the complete text runs to hundreds of thousands of words—entire sections were omitted. Questions as well as answers were trimmed by reducing repetitions, common in trials, to a minimum, and eliminating rephrasing of statements, often made in mid-sentence. This 18,000-word version is designed to provide an accurate picture of the journalistic questions involved in the suit.

## Text of the Five Quotations

*The jury decided the following two quotations were libelous and damages should be awarded:*

1. "Maresfield Gardens would have been a center of scholarship, but it would also have been a place of 'sex, women, fun.'"
2. "'I know it's painful for you, but you could just live with it in silence.' 'Why should I do that?' 'Because it's the honorable thing to do.'" Well, he had the wrong man. [Masson said people read this passage to mean that he was dishonorable.]

*The jury decided the following three quotations were defamatory but could not agree on damages:*

1. "[Kurt] Eissler and Anna Freud told me the same thing. They liked me well enough 'in my room.' They loved to hear from me what creeps and dolts analysts are. I was like an intellectual gigolo—you get your pleasure from him, but you don't take him out in public."
2. "They will want me back, they will say that Masson is a great scholar, a major analyst—after Freud, he's the greatest analyst who ever lived."
3. "That remark about the sterility of psychoanalysis was something I tacked on at the last minute, and it was totally gratuitous." [Masson insisted that he had explained to Malcolm that he put the last phrase in the speech because he really believed that psychoanalysis was sterile.]

## Excerpts From Transcript Of the Masson-Malcolm Trial

### Direct Examination Of Masson by Morgan

Q.—Let's start now with the first time you met Janet Malcolm. Where did that take place?

A.—I first met her at the lobby of the Claremont Hotel [in Berkeley, California].

Q.—Tell us what took place at that time.

A.—We sat down in an alcove of the lobby, and I asked her if she could tell me a little bit more about what she expected to do, and how she was going to work and how we would meet, and what would happen.

Q.—Tell us what was discussed between the two of you in that regard.

A.—Well, she told me that she was going to tape-record our sessions, and was that all right with me. And I said yes, of course and she explained that she was not totally familiar with tape recorders so I would have to

forebear a little bit with her, but that she thought it was a good method of making certain that everything I said would be accurately quoted, would be quoted verbatim, and she would have this record, the tapes, and it would be both good for me and for her, allow her to play them back and hear exactly what I said. And I said that was excellent. That was one of my concerns, too, because it was a complicated story, and I wanted to make sure she got it right.

Q.—Mr. Masson, I'm going to read to you a part of the magazine. I'm reading on page 65.

At 11 A.M. On November 1, 1982, I came down to the lobby of the Claremont hotel, in Berkeley, where I had arrived the night before, to meet Jeffrey Masson for the first time. A young-looking, well-built man with a mass of curly graying hair, wearing jeans and a denim jacket and tinted aviator glasses and carrying a leather shoulder bag, greeted me cheerfully and immediately confessed to a problem. Another woman whom it was important that he see had, as it happened, also arrived at the Claremont. Would it be all right if we sat in the lobby for a few

### Cast of Characters

- Bostwick, Gary L.—Attorney for Malcolm.  
Botsford, Gardner—Malcolm's husband and editor of the articles.  
Cammell, Denise—Girlfriend of Masson.  
Eissler, Kurt—Psychoanalyst and Secretary of the Sigmund Freud Archives in New York.  
Freud, Anna—Daughter of Sigmund Freud.  
Kenady, Charles W.—Attorney for The New Yorker.  
Khan, Masud—Psychoanalyst.  
Lynch, Eugene F.—Federal District Judge in San Francisco.  
Malcolm, Janet—Writer for The New Yorker.  
Masson, Jeffrey M.—Former Projects Director of the Sigmund Freud Archives in New York.  
Miller, Alice—Psychoanalyst and supporter of Masson.  
Morgan, Charles O. Jr.—Attorney for Masson.  
Stahl, Fritz—Sanskritist and friend of Masson.

minutes and waited for her? She was Alice Miller, a Swiss psychoanalyst and the author of a book entitled "Prisoners of Childhood," which was a best-seller in Germany and had recently come out in translation here. Alice Miller, Masson explained, was his only remaining supporter. "I am persona non grata in the analytic world, a pariah," he said, with the air of one stating a mildly irksome and yet somehow not unamusing fact. He continued, with a rush of words.

I am going to stop there for a moment, Mr. Masson and what I am going to ask you when I get through is if this next group of statements were made by you when you met with Janet Malcolm in the lobby for the first time.

"Analysts won't speak to me anymore. They avoid me on the street. They are afraid to be seen with me. A year ago, they were fawning on me—they were giving me huge grants, they were inviting me to speak at their institutes. But when Anna Freud and Eissler dropped me no analysts would touch me. They see me as a dangerous person. They are terrified of my ideas. They are afraid I will destroy psychoanalysis—and they are right to be afraid. I have discovered that Freud wasn't honest. I'm writing a book called "The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory." And when my book comes out, there is not a patient in analysis who will not go to his analyst with the book in hand and say, 'why didn't you tell me this? What the hell is going on? I want an explanation. This man is telling me that there is something profoundly wrong at the core of psychoanalysis. Jesus Christ! If this is really true, what am I doing here?'"

Did you make those statements at that time?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—Are there other passages which I just read that you never said to Janet Malcolm?

A.—Yes, there are.

Q.—Would you identify them for us?

A.—Yes. I did not tell her that I was a pariah. I did not say "they avoid me on the street." I did not say "analysts won't speak to me anymore." I did not say "they are afraid to be seen with me." I did not say "a year ago, they were fawning on me." I did not talk about huge grants. I did not say "they see me as a dangerous person." I did not say "they are terrified of my ideas." I did not say "they are afraid I will destroy psycho-

analysis—and they are right to be afraid." I did not say "I have discovered that Freud wasn't honest." I did not say "I'm writing a book called 'The Assault on Truth.'" The next portion is stitched together from different conversations. I did not say "this man is telling me that there is something profoundly wrong at the core of psychoanalysis." But I said something similar later. That's all.

Q.—Let me now go to page 85 of the magazine. And it states there:

Masson paused to take a few appreciative bites of his baked-goat-cheese appetizer.

Q.—Did you have baked-goat-cheese appetizer?

A.—No. I don't like goat cheese.

Q.—Let me also go to page 98 of the magazine, and again down at the bottom it says:

Masson swallowed a few mouthfuls of the striped bass with fennel that had been lying untouched on his plate.

Did you have striped bass?

A.—No. I don't like fish.

Q.—I want to cover something else now that's in the article that purports to be a conversation that took place at lunch. I'm reading from page 93 of the magazine, and again it's down near the bottom. And you're talking about Freud, or at least this is writing about Freud's house. And I'm quoting:

"It was a beautiful house, but it was dark, and somber and dead. Nothing ever went on there. I was the only person who ever came. I would have renovated it, opened it up, brought it to life. Maresfield Gardens would have been a center of scholarship, but it also would have been a place of sex, women, fun. It would have been like the change in 'The Wizard of Oz,' from black-and-white into color."

Did you make those statements at lunch?

A.—I did not.

Q.—Did you talk about what you would do at the Freud house at any time with Janet Malcolm?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—When?

A.—It was either Saturday or Sunday, the next day.

Q.—When you were talking about the house, did you ever make

the statement that it would have also been a place of sex, women, fun?

A.—I never did.

Q.—You have listened to the tape, haven't you?

A.—Yes, I have.

Q.—[Reading from transcript of tape recording] Was this the conversation that you had with Janet Malcolm regarding the house?

Malcolm: It looks physically, physically it looks nice in the pictures I've seen.

Masson: Oh, it's a beautiful house.

Malcolm: Yeah.

Masson: But it's dark and somber and nothing went on in there. Boy, am I going to renovate it and open it up, and the sun would come in there—and the sun would come in and there would be people and—well, that's what it needs, but it's an incredible storehouse. I mean, the library, Freud's library alone is priceless in terms of what it contains: all his books with his annotations in them; the Schreber case annotated, that kind of thing. It's fascinating.

Q. Is that the statement you made to Janet Malcolm?

A.—Yes, that is it.

Q.—What I want to do now is go back to the magazine. And I am going to page 100. Quote:

"Then I met a rather attractive older graduate student, and I had an affair with her. One day, she took me to some art event, and she was sorry afterward. She said, 'Well, it's very nice sleeping with you in your room, but you're the kind of person who should never leave the room—you're just a social embarrassment anywhere else, though you do fine in your own room.' And, you know, in their way, if not in so many words, Eissler and Anna Freud told me the same thing. They liked me well enough 'in my own room.' They loved to hear from me what creeps and dolts analysts are. I was like an intellectual gigolo—you get your pleasure from him, but you don't take him out in public."

Was that statement ever made at the luncheon?

A.—No.

Q.—And you've listened to the tape of the lunch?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And is there anything on the tape about any intellectual gigolo?

A.—No.

Q.—You have listened to all of the tapes, haven't you?

A.—Yes, I have.

Q.—Is there anything where you have used the term intellectual gigolo on any of the tapes?

A.—No there is not.

Q.—All right. Now, did you tell Janet Malcolm about this event with the graduate student?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—Okay. Did either Dr. Eissler, Anna Freud ever say you were like an intellectual gigolo?

A.—No, of course not.

Q.—The rest of the statement:

"And, you know, in their way, if not in so many words, Eissler and Anna Freud told me the same thing. They liked me well enough 'in my own room.' They loved to hear from me what creeps and dolts analysts are. I was like an intellectual gigolo—you get your pleasure from him, but you don't take him out in public."

Q.—Did you ever make that statement at any time?

A.—I never did.

Q.—What I want to read [is] from the transcript:

"But it was wrong of Eissler to do that, you know. He was constantly putting various kinds of moral pressure on me and, 'Do you want to poison Anna Freud's last days? Have you no heart?' He called me: 'Have you no heart? You're going to kill the poor old woman. Have you no heart? Think of what she's done for you and you are now willing to do this to her.' I said, 'What have I done? You did it. You fired me. What am I supposed to do, thank you? Be grateful to you?' He said—"

This is Eissler again—or it's Masson reporting Eissler:

"Well, you could never talk about it. You could be silent about it. You could swallow it. I know it's painful for you but just live with it in silence.' 'Fuck you,' I said, 'why should I do that? Why? You know, why should one do that?' 'Because it's the honorable thing to do and you will save face. And who knows, if you never speak about it and you quietly and humbly accept our judgment, who knows that in a few years if we don't bring you back?' Well, he had the wrong man. Really, I mean, that's just not, not for me. And that's what Sidney Furst told me to do: 'Jeff, don't make a fuss. Just be quiet about this. Don't sue anybody. Go home. Give Eissler some time. In a few years he's gonna be gone anyway. We Board of Directors, we'll give you anything you need. We're never going to cause trouble.' It's not, you know, it's not, you know, my way of doing things. And it wasn't. Even—if they

could have pointed to one thing I did that I could say, you know, that I could feel ashamed of."

That's all I'm going to read.

Q.—Will you tell the jury why you feel that that part is in any way defamatory to you?

A.—Well, because in the magazine article, it says that I did not consider myself an honorable man. He had the wrong man. Because it was the honorable thing to do. Well, he had the wrong man. In fact, what I told Janet Malcolm is that I couldn't be silent about these new findings and these discoveries. And if they wanted me to not talk about it, not publish it, not say anything to anybody about this, just be quiet and humbly accept their opinion, and eventually they'll give me back my job, well, they had the wrong man. And that's very different. And people have thought, well, you've admitted that you're dishonorable, and that's not what it said on tape.

Q.—Was it after dinner you went to Mr. Stahl's house? Do you recall anything that was discussed at that meeting?

A.—Yes, I do.

Q.—What do you recall?

A.—I remember telling her that I was a private asset for the psychoanalysts in San Francisco but a public liability. That they liked to talk with me, but that they felt I was too junior within the hierarchy of psychoanalysis but then would be seen with me publicly, that that was very hurtful to me because I was trying to establish a practice and get to know people here.

Q.—Wednesday, you met with Janet Malcolm again?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—And did you discuss the New Haven meeting at that time? At that time was there any discussion about "I don't know why I put it in there?"

A.—Yes, there was.

Q.—Tell us what was discussed.

A.—Well, she asked me: What were the circumstances under which I put in the last sentence in that paper saying that I thought psychoanalysis was sterile? And I said that I did remember that it was because I believed it was true. And she said, I see. And I went on to explain I really do believe that, I believe it's true,

and I realized that nobody would agree with me and that it was possibly a gratuitously offensive way to end a paper to a group of analysts, but that I really believed it.

Q.—Did you ever at any time ever say to her, I don't know why I put it in?

A.—I never said that, no.

Q.—Between November of 1982 and May of 1983, did you talk to her?

A.—Yes, we spoke.

Q.—And was that over the telephone?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—Were any of those ever recorded?

A.—Yes, they were.

Q.—And they weren't recorded by you, were they?

A.—No.

Q.—They were recorded by her?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—When did you go [to New York]?

A.—We went on Saturday May 7th, I believe.

Q.—Where did you stay?

A.—At the Gramercy Park Hotel.

Q.—How long did you stay there?

A.—Two nights, Saturday and Sunday.

Q.—Then where did you go?

A.—Well, Janet Malcolm had invited me and Denise to stay at her house with her husband. So we moved to their house on Monday.

Q.—You told us about two times that you were alone with Janet Malcolm; is that correct, while you were there?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—At either of those times, did you ever say to Janet Malcolm that when you were going to take over the Freud house, it was going to be a place of sex, women, or fun?

A.—I did not.

Q.—At either time, did you ever say to Janet Malcolm that, in so many words, Eissler and Anna Freud regarded you as an intellectual gigolo or words to that effect?

A.—I did not.

Q.—Was either of those ever discussed?

A.—No.

Q. Did you at either of those times ever make the statement to Janet Malcolm that after your book comes out, analysts will say, after Freud you're the greatest analyst that ever lived?

A.—I never did.

Q.—Did you ever make that statement?

A.—I never made that statement. I never believed that statement.

Q.—After you were in New York with Janet Malcolm, did you have any further conversations with her in which she asked you any information or interview with you?

A.—Yes. But far fewer than before.

Q.—In any of those conversations, did you ever talk about sex, women, and fun?

A.—No.

Q.—Did you ever talk about intellectual gigolo?

A.—No.

Q.—Did you ever talk about after Freud they'll say I'm the greatest analyst that ever lived?

A.—I did not.

Q.—Did you ever talk about "I don't know why I put in that last statement" about psychoanalysis being sterile?

A.—I never did.

Q.—And did you ever talk about the conversation you had with Eissler where he was asking you to be silent when you were being fired?

A.—I did not.

### Cross-Examination Of Masson by Bostwick

Q.—Mr. Masson, you say that you did not say that Anna Freud and Kurt Eissler treated you like an intellectual gigolo; isn't that right?

A.—I said I didn't use those words.

Q.—What proof do you have that you didn't say those words?

A.—Well, I know I didn't say them. I'm the person who's supposed to have said them. I remember quite distinctly I have never said that. I don't believe that I have ever said it to anybody. It's not an expression I would ever use.

Q.—That's the only proof you have; isn't that right?

A.—Well, we have the tapes and they're not on the tape. And I remember very clearly at the breakfast meeting which this is supposed to have been said.

Q. That is the only proof that you have is your memory that you didn't say it; is that right? Now what proof do you have that you didn't say that Maresfield Garden would be a center of sex—a center of scholarship, but it would also be a center for sex, women, fun?

A.—Well, I know I never said that.

Q.—So, you know that?

A.—I know that.

Q.—That's the extent of your proof?

A.—I remember it and it's not on tape.

Q.—You have nothing else though?

A.—Such as?

[After Morgan objected the exchange ended.]

### Cross Examination Of Malcolm by Morgan

MORGAN—I'll call Mrs. Malcolm as an adverse witness.

Q.—How long have you been a writer?

A.—Since the mid-early to mid-60's.

Q.—Let me ask you now if you agree with this statement:

When we read a quotation in a newspaper, story or in a text, such as say the text of this case in your article, we assume it to be a rendering of what the speaker actually, not probably, said. The idea of a reporter inventing rather than reporting speech is a repugnant, even sinister one.

Do you agree with that statement?

A.—I agree with that statement.

Q.—You wrote that statement, didn't you?

A.—I did.

Q.—Who was William Shawn?

A.—The late William Shawn was the Editor of The New Yorker magazine.

Q.—You recall Mr. Shawn saying, "We do not permit composites, we do not rearrange events, we do not create conversations," don't you?

A.—I do not recall him saying that, no.

Q.—Is it your state of mind that as a writer, you can create composites?

A.—My understanding of the composite is it is a character based on many other char—it's not one person, you're putting someone together. I have not done that in my work.

Q.—And it isn't permissible in your opinion, is it?

JUDGE LYNCH—In nonfiction; is that what you're talking about?

MORGAN—Yes.

A.—I have not thought about whether I thought it was permissible or not.

Q.—All right, fine. Would you agree that it is not permissible in nonfiction to rearrange events?

A.—It depends on what you mean by that.

Q.—Was it your state of mind when you wrote these articles, that you could take one event that occurred at one particular time and another event that occurred at another time, and compress them together and report it as one event?

A.—Well, I would not take riding a car and have it going on within a lunch in a restaurant, no. I would not put two events going on simultaneously that had taken place separately.

Q.—And would you also not take a telephone conversation in let's say February, March, April of 1983, and a luncheon in October of 1982, and then report them as one event?

A.—The events themselves, no, I would not. If I'm following you, I would not have the conversation on the telephone as a conversation going on in the restaurant.

Q.—That would be misleading, wouldn't it?

A.—It would be impossible.

Q.—All right, fine. Do you agree that you don't create conversations?

A.—I read that you do not invent quotations. But the word "create" is a complex one. And if you're talking about this problem of translating speech in real life into what is writ-

ten in a text, then some kind of creation, I would say, does take place. There has to be—you could call it creations; you can call it editing. There are many words you can use about what goes on in this process of taking this thing called speech which is very sloppy, very redundant, very repetitious, very all over the place, full of uhs and huhs... Sometimes we say the opposite of what we mean, and then something has to be done, I believe, by the writer to render it into a readable quotation.

Q.—Are you saying that if a person says something is black and he really, in your mind, think he means to say something is white, that in your opinion it's perfectly proper to write that he said it was white?

A.—If in the context of the conversation it's clear to me that he misspoke, the way sometimes somebody will call Mr. Masson Mrs. Malcolm, and we know what he meant, I will take the liberty of making that change from Malcolm to Masson or black into white.

Q.—And when you do that, it's something that you do consciously and deliberately as a professional in your field; isn't that right?

A.—If you're talking about whether I correct people's Freudian or other mistakes, yes, I do.

Q.—I am going to ask you to go to page 93 of the first [installment] of the article and we'll read from down at the bottom:

"It was a beautiful house, but it was dark and somber and dead. Nothing ever went on there. I was the only person who ever came. I would have renovated it, opened it up, brought it to life. Maresfield gardens would have been a center for scholarship, but it would have been a place of sex, women, fun. It would have been like the change in 'The Wizard of Oz,' from black-and-white into color."

Now you reported in this article that the entire statement was made by Mr. Masson at a lunch at Chez Panisse, is that correct?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—That's not true, is it?

A.—That's right. Yes.

Q.—All right. The statement that "it would have been a place of sex, women, fun. It would have been like the change in 'The Wizard of Oz,'

from black-and-white into color" was never said by Mr. Masson at the Chez Panisse, was it?

A.—That's right, it wasn't.

Q.—You created a conversation that didn't take place at that point, didn't you?

A.—No. I did not create the conversation.

Q.—Okay. Let's go to page 100 of the magazine and again, you were still reporting that this quote I'm about to read took place at a luncheon at the Chez Panisse, is that correct? This is the intellectual gigolo one.

Q.—Yes.

Q.—Again, and the quote I'm interested in:

"Then I met a rather attractive older graduate student, and I had an affair with her. One day she took me to some art event and she was sorry afterward. She said, 'Well, it was nice sleeping with you in your room, but you're the kind of person who should never leave the room—you're just a social embarrassment anywhere else, though you do fine in your own room.'"

That statement wasn't made at the Chez Panisse, was it?

A.—This one I don't know. I don't remember where it was made.

Q.—Wasn't it made in a telephone conversation some time after you left Berkeley?

A.—That's possible.

Q.—All right. And then if I go on with the quote:

"And, you know, in their way, if not in so many words, Fessler and Anna Freud told me the same thing. They liked me well enough in my own room, they loved to hear from me what creeps and dirts analysts are. I was like an intellectual gigolo—you get your pleasure from him, but you don't take him out in public."

That was not said at the Chez Panisse either, was it?

A.—He did not say that at the Chez Panisse.

Q.—So this entire quote was created by you to make it appear that it was said at the Chez Panisse, is that correct?

A.—I don't understand which entire quote you're talking about.

Q.—The one I just read to you.

A.—The one you just read, yes.

Q.—It is your contention, is it not Mrs. Malcolm, that Mr. Masson said to you the intellectual gigolo sometime in May of 1983 at your house in New York?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right. You know that the statement about the graduate student did not take place in your house in New York; isn't that right?

A.—Yes.

Q.—So what you've done now is you've taken two conversations, one of which is disputed, but two conversations and put them together to make one, right?

A.—Yes. This process of compression you have just described I do throughout my piece.

Q.—And when you did that, this wasn't a mistake, was it?

A.—No, it was not. It was an intention.

Q.—It was done deliberately, wasn't it?

A.—It was done intentionally, yes.

Q.—Let's go to page 119. The quote I'm now addressing myself to is:

Masson sidestepped my question. "You're right, there was nothing disrespectful of analysis in that paper," he said. "That remark about the sterility of psychoanalysis was something I tacked on at the last minute, and it was totally gratuitous. I don't know why I put it in."

I want to address you to the last sentence. "I don't know why I put it in." That's not on any tape, is it?

A.—No.

Q.—It's not in any note, is it?

A.—Not that I know of in reviewing the papers for this case.

Q.—All right. You have no support for establishing that that statement was ever made, do you?

A.—No, I believe I do have some support.

Q.—Okay. Do you recall when we were much younger back in 1986 that I took your deposition in New York?

A.—I do.

Q.—All right. And do you recall that at that time that you were under oath to tell the truth?

A.—I do.



Q.—Did I ask you this question back in 1986 and did you give this answer? Question—Do you have any notes, records or memoranda of any statement by Mr. Masson where he said quote: "I don't know why I put it in." Answer—No. That one I cannot substantiate.

Did you give that answer back in 1986?

A.—Yes, obviously I did. But—

Q.—All right.

A.—The reason I answered it differently now is because I realize it was an important piece of evidence that I left out, which was my memory. And if you go on reading the deposition probably I do refer to it. I hope I did.

Q.—Let me ask you this, Mrs. Malcolm. Would you agree, that at least as far as the events that occurred back in 1983 and 1982, that your memory was much better in 1986 than in 1993?

A.—No, I would not. Memory is very funny. And sometimes you remember some things many years later that you hadn't remembered quite close to the event.

Q.—Okay. So now again, reading from your article, page 128, you wrote:

Eissler had no business extracting that promise from me. He was always putting moral pressure on me. "Do you want to poison Anna Freud's last days? Have you no heart? You're going to kill the poor old woman." I said to him. "What have I done? You're doing it. You're firing me. What am I supposed to do—be grateful to you?" "You could be silent about it. You could swallow it. I know it's painful for you, but you could just live with it in silence." "Why should I do that?" "Because it's the honorable thing to do." Well, he had the wrong man.

Now Mrs. Malcolm, first, you did delete an expletive that was uttered by Mr. Masson in this particular conversation, didn't you?

A.—I or my editors did. I know it was deleted, yes.

Q.—Okay. Will you agree that as part of the same conversation and following the word "because it is the honorable thing to do," Mr. Masson told you: "And you will save face. And who knows? If you never speak about it and you quietly and humbly accept our judgment, who knows that in a few years if we don't bring

you back?" You do agree that he made that statement, don't you?

A.—I do.

Q.—Now you were the one that deleted that part, weren't you?

A.—I believe so, though it could have been an editor. I have no recollection of it, though reviewing the manuscripts now, I have come to the conclusion that I took it out.

Q.—Fine. And incidentally, when the editor takes out something, that's something that is gone over with you and you have the final say?

A.—I think the question was a little complicated. Would you break it up a little?

Q.—Sure. Sure. When you write for publication you prepare a manuscript, don't you?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And once you complete the manuscript, do you present it to somebody at The New Yorker for acceptance?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And who is that? Or who was it?

A.—At the time this article was written it was William Shawn.

Q.—And he was the editor in chief?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Once Mr. Shawn accepts the article, then does somebody else go to work on the article besides you?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Who?

A.—In my case it was Gardner Botsford, my husband.

Q.—What was his function?

A.—To prepare the piece for publication, to work with all the other readers of this manuscript. At the New Yorker many people work on a manuscript—checkers, grammarians, copy editors, libel lawyers.

Q.—What was the function of Mr. Botsford in working on it?

A.—Mr. Botsford went through it line by line, and edited as he went along, removing some things, making sentences grammatical that weren't grammatical, moving stuff around that he felt belonged in one place rather than in another.

Q.—Now in your case, when Mr. Botsford, your husband, would

determine he wanted to move something around or delete it, he would talk to you about it, wouldn't he?

A.—His procedure usually is just to do it, and then I would see what he has done, and then we would discuss it.

Q.—If you had a disagreement, you would voice that disagreement, wouldn't you?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And unless there was some legal problem with it, if you wanted it the way you wrote it, you could prevail, couldn't you?

A.—No.

Q.—Okay. The part that was left out, that was not a mistake, was it, it was done deliberately?

A.—It was an intentional cut, yes.

Q.—When you take something out of the middle of a conversation, in writing your story, once you've completed that, you take a look at it to see if the paragraph says what you wanted it to say?

A.—Well, throughout this piece, this was a continuous process of editing and of reducing an enormous amount of speech to a manageable text.

Q.—Right. But once you do it, and as you do it, you look and you say to yourself, okay, now, that says this and that's what I want; is that right?

A.—Well, I do different things with different parts of the piece and also this process begins much further back than at the stage [when] this part was taken out.

Q.—You tape-recorded most of your interviews with Mr. Masson?

A.—I did a great deal of talking with Mr. Masson, and I did a great deal of tape-recording, but I don't know if most of our conversation was tape-recording.

Q.—Would you look at exhibit 23 please? What is it?

A.—It's a letter by me to The New York Times Book Review.

Q.—All right. And was the occasion for that letter to The New York Times that you were unhappy with a letter that Mr. Masson had written to The New York Times?

A.—The occasion was a letter that Mr. Masson had written to The New York Times which I was very un-

happy about. I was unhappy about it the way I have been very unhappy in this courtroom for the last three days listening to him tell lies about me, like the lie about me interviewing him on a nude beach, or never having talked with me in the Claremont. It was a letter that made me very, very angry. It's a letter that said that I had met with him a few short hours, and we know that that's not true. I was very upset by that letter.

Q.—I want to go to the second paragraph where you say:

The portrait, in fact, is based on more than 40 hours of tape-recorded conversations with Mr. Masson, which began in Berkeley, California in November 1982, during a week of interviews, and continued on the telephone over the following eight months.

That you dictated, didn't you?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And then at the end you said:

I would be glad to play the tapes of my conversation with Mr. Masson, to the editors of the Book Review whenever they have 40 or 50 short hours to spare.

You dictated that also?

A.—I did.

Q.—All right. Did you tell in your dictation to The New York Times that some of the quotes such as intellectual gigolo and sex, women, and fun, were not on tape?

A.—When I dictated this letter to The New York Times, I was very, very upset and very angry because my book had been reviewed recently, and here comes this letter saying the whole book is made up and not one true thing in it. I don't have Mr. Masson's letter here now, but I could read it to the court. He made terrible accusations against me, and I reached for the closest piece of evidence I could find, and the most persuasive, which were my tape recordings, which I wanted to show that I had actually met with him. I hadn't just met with him for a few short hours. I had met with him for many hours. And I stressed in my letter that I had tape-recorded conversations with him, and I did not have room to talk about other methods of interviewing him.

Q.—I see.

A.—It's an incomplete letter, but the reason for it was to try to show

my readers and the readers of The Times that this man is a liar.

Q.—Then is your answer you did not dictate to The New York Times that some of the quotes were not on tape?

A.—That is right. I did not put that into my letter.

Q.—And is your reasoning that you didn't have enough space?

A.—I was told I did not have much space when I was given permission within a few hours to dictate this letter, and so that it would get in two weeks later.

Q.—I see. And somebody told you, you can't put in here about the fact that some of the quotes are not on tape because you don't have enough space?

A.—No.

Q.—When you dictated this, you didn't omit that part because there wasn't enough space, did you?

A.—No.

Q.—Maybe we should ask something about how you operate when you're going to interview. One of your tools was the tape recorder; is that correct?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And you used the tape recorder so at least you've got the exact words that the person said even if you don't use them, right?

A.—That is a strange way of putting it, but... That "at least" stops me.

Q.—Let me ask this question, Mrs. Malcolm: if you're interviewing people and you're going to quote them, don't you want to know the exact words they say?

A.—I want to hear the exact words they say, certainly.

Q.—All right. And if I understand what I believe you're saying, is that you're saying, I may hear the exact words, but I may not write the exact words. Is that correct?

A.—I don't think we've gotten into that. I didn't say that, no.

Q.—Then I'm asking you right now. Is one of the reasons why you want to hear the exact words so that you can, when you write, write the exact words?

A.—No, I do not want to write the exact words.

Q.—And now, so we don't have any misunderstanding, your last answer said: I don't want to write the exact words. Do you mean that?

A.—I mean... Well, I mean I don't want to write a transcript.

Q.—But do you want to be able to change the words that the speaker is uttering when you write?

A.—I want to have available to me as much as I can of what I'm going to write, and either by having a taped transcript or excerpts of taped transcripts, or notes, or clear impressions, I can write my quotations.

Q.—Now in your 20 plus years of experience, you have learned though, haven't you, that if you have to rely on your notes, they are not always very accurate?

A.—No, I would not say that.

Q.—Then are you saying to us that you can sit down in an interview with somebody, and as you're listening to them, you can write notes and those notes will be verbatim of what the person says?

A.—No, they will not be verbatim the way the tape recorder is verbatim. Not in that sense. No. But when I'm taking notes, they can be very accurate, and I trust my notes.

Q.—But you don't trust your notes more than the tape recorder, do you?

A.—Yes, I do.

Q.—All right. Fine.

A.—More than? No, I trust them as well as the tape recorder.

Q.—If you had a note where the witness said it was black, and you listened on the tape recorder and you heard the witness say it was white, you would take the tape recorder's version, wouldn't you?

A.—I would.

Q.—Do you write notes as the person is talking?

A.—I sometimes do.

Q.—All right. When you were interviewing Mr. Masson, did you ever write notes as he was talking?

A.—I did on several occasions.

Q.—Other than taking notes while Mr. Masson was talking, did you have any practice as far as Mr. Masson of making notes after an interview?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And did you do that while you were out in Berkeley?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And was this a time when you also were using the tape recorder?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Did you ever make some notes after an interview with Mr. Masson where you hadn't used a tape recorder?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Can you identify any of those occasions?

A.—Right now nothing comes to my mind.

Q.—Let's go back to the magazine again. And the part I'm going to start out with is the quote:

"I am persona non grata in the analytic world, a pariah," he said, with the air of one stating a mildly irksome and yet somehow not unamusing fact.

Now, Mr. Masson didn't make that statement to you at that time, did he?

A.—Yes, he did.

Q.—You have no tape recording of that, do you?

A.—No.

Q.—Do you have in your notes any reference to Mr. Masson's saying that at that first meeting?

A.—No.

Q.—Mr. Masson said: "I am persona non grata" in your presence on another occasion, didn't he?

A.—Mr. Masson said it in my presence at this meeting as well as at other meetings. What I say he said there, he said there. He came with his rush of words and said all these things. And I couldn't believe it. Again, just the other day in court, he said I never said that and all we talked about was that my quotations would be verbatim and on tape. That was a big lie. I did not tape-record it and I did not take notes on it because I knew we would return to it, which we did many, many times. And I could have...It's very fresh in my mind, this conversation, when I wrote the piece. I could have written it from memory. I chose to go through the tapes and use his exact words rather than my recollected words.

Q.—Didn't you tell us a moment ago that you didn't have a tape of this first meeting?

A.—Not of this one, but I have a tape of many other meetings where he talked about how he was a persona non grata. We already heard in this courtroom him talking over and over again about the same things. And this is a very good example of his tendency to return to subjects and make it possible for a writer who has been talking to him for months and months and months.

Q.—You will forgive me now, Mrs. Malcolm, but how many times did Mr. Masson say to you "I am persona non grata"?

A.—Many times, or a number of times.

Q.—And forgive me now, but what would be many, or a number?

A.—I would say at least twice.

Q.—How many times have you heard it on the tape recorder?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Isn't it just once?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—We go on with the rest of that statement as you say in your words:

He continued with a rush of words. "Analysts won't speak to me anymore. They avoid me on the street. They are afraid to be seen with me. A year ago, they were fawning on me—they were giving me huge grants, they were inviting me to speak at their institutes. But when Anna Freud and Eissler dropped me no analyst would touch me. They see me as a dangerous person. They are terrified of my ideas. They are afraid I will destroy psychoanalysis—and they are right to be afraid. I have discovered that Freud wasn't honest. I'm writing a book called 'The Assault on Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory,' and when my book comes out there is not a patient in analysis who will not go to his analyst with a book in hand and say, 'why didn't you tell me this? What the hell is going on? This man is telling me that there is something profoundly wrong at the core of psychoanalysis. Jesus Christ! If this is really true, what am I doing here?'"

Is it your testimony then that Mr. Masson said all of this to you on this first occasion as you met in the lobby?

A.—Yes, it is.

Q.—And you told us now a moment ago that this was startling to you that a perfect stranger would come up and say that, right?

A.—Did I say this now?

Q.—Well maybe it was my paraphrasing. Forgive me. Did this have any impact on you that this stranger would come up to you and come out with this rush of words as you describe it?

A.—It probably didn't have as much impact on me as it might have if I had not talked to him on the telephone several times. But on the telephone he also was very...like that. So I was not startled as you have described me saying I was.

Q.—But it is correct, is it not, that when you went back to the hotel room that night, or whenever you wrote the notes, you didn't mention any of that, did you?

A.—You mean my impression of him? No. Because I had already taped this lunch where I already had a great deal of more rush of these words, and I was on my way to collecting a great deal of material from him.

Q.—So, the answer is you did not write it down in any notes, did you?

A.—These rush of words I did not try to reconstruct then, no.

Q.—When did you try to reconstruct this rush of words from this first meeting?

A.—When I wrote my article.

Q.—When was that?

A.—Spring and summer of the following year.

Q.—So, are you saying to us then that sometime in March or April or May of 1983 was the first time you tried to reconstruct this rush of words?

A.—I don't remember.

Q.—Well, do you have any recollection of trying to reconstruct this rush of words before March or April or May of 1983?

A.—I just don't...I don't remember writing...Writing pieces, that all kind of mercifully goes.

Q.—I am sorry, I didn't hear that. What did you say?

A.—That the process of writing just goes. You forget what you do when you're writing. Or I forget exactly what went on when I'm writing a piece.

Q.—When you say you forget, what do you mean by that? You forget what you do?

A.—No.

Q.—But are you saying to us whatever it is, you just can't remember when it was that you attempted to reconstruct the conversation that took place in the lobby?

A.—When exactly I wrote each part of the piece, yes.

Q.—Mrs. Malcolm, I want to read to you a part of what you quoted in this rush of words. And it's the statement:

"And when my book comes out there is not a patient in analysis who will not go to his analyst with the book in hand and say, 'why didn't you tell me this? What the hell is going on?'"

That's not a verbatim statement of what Mr. Masson said in the lobby, is it?

A.—The whole thing is not verbatim. As you know, I did not tape it, so it's not verbatim.

Q.—And one of the things that I neglected to ask; when you write notes, when you're taking notes, you use shorthand?

A.—No.

Q.—What, do you write long-hand?

A.—Yes.

Q.—So obviously that's pretty slow and cumbersome, isn't it?

A.—I wouldn't call it slow and cumbersome, no.

Q.—In other words, if I were to talk to you, you could keep up with me as I keep talking with you?

A.—I could write very quickly, yes.

Q.—And actually that quote I just read to you, is what you say was said at your home in New York; isn't that right?

A.—I right now don't remember which quotes were from which source.

Q.—Mrs. Malcolm, you recall that your deposition was taken on October 26th, 1992 in New York?

A.—I remember there was a recent deposition, yes.

Q.—Do you remember that a Mr. Kleven from my office was there and asked you questions?

A.—Yes.

Q.—I'm going to ask you if these questions were asked of you by Mr. Kleven and if you gave these answers under oath.

Question—Do you recall a memorandum in which Mr. Shawn stated, quote: "We do not permit composites. We do not rearrange events. We do not create conversations."

Answer—I remember there was something published about that.

Question—Where was that published?

Answer—I think it was in the New Yorker, but I may be mistaken.

Question—And did you take that to be some sort of a policy statement on behalf of the New Yorker?

Answer—No, I didn't.

Question—What did you take that to be?

Answer—A response to criticism.

Question—It was not any sort of a directive to the writers not to do those particular—

Answer—That's right.

Question—actions?

Did you give those answers?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—Does that now refresh your recollection of having seen or heard the comments by Mr. Shawn?

A.—About where I was then, yes.

Q.—And is it your testimony that when Mr. Shawn made that statement, you did not regard that as the policy of The New Yorker magazine?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And did you feel that you were authorized as a staff writer to make composites, rearrange events, or create conversations?

A.—I've never felt authorized to do anything. It isn't the way The New Yorker works. Language like that isn't used there. When I write these long pieces, I follow conventions and traditions based on things I have read by people like Joseph Mitchell and A. J. Liebling of that generation, and my colleague Jane Kramer. And there are all kinds of long pieces published in The New Yorker that I have read over the years, and such authorities I feel I have for writing, I get from these conventions and traditions.

Q.—Well, these conventions or traditions you're talking about, are they contrary to those statements by Mr. Shawn?

A.—I think I really have to see Mr. Shawn's entire statement to be able to answer that yes.

Q.—Well, can you tell us whether these conventions that you're talking about allow composites?

A.—I believe there have been in the past, there have been composites in the magazine to protect the identity of people.

Q.—Is it your understanding that these conventions that you refer to allow a writer to rearrange events?

A.—I don't know what that means.

Q.—Well, let me ask you, Mrs. Malcolm: When you told us that you write Mr. Masson makes a certain statement at a lunch in Chez Panisse, and now you tell us that he didn't make that statement in Chez Panisse but back in New York at another time, do you call that rearranging events?

A.—One of the conventions operating here is that when you interview a person for a long time over many months, it's regarded as one long interview. And since you can't put in your piece, or you choose not to put in your piece every telephone conversation you've had and every place he said the parts of what you're going to have in your monologue or dialogue, that it may be compressed into one monologue that will take place in one place rather than in all these different places that you pieced it out of.

Q.—My question to you is: Do you call that rearranging events?

A.—No, I don't.

Q.—Do you call it creating a conversation?

A.—I don't think I would put it that way, no.

Q.—You, however, do, in your writing, take different events and, as you say, compress them into one and represent to the reader that it is one event, right?

A.—I compress. I take the things that subjects have said to me over a long period of time, and put them into these conventional monologues.

Q.—And so to answer my question, you do compress them and make them into one event, don't you?

A.—I wouldn't say that I make them into one event, no. I make them into a monologue, yes.

Q.—And you don't tell the reader that these are two separate conversations at two separate times, do you?

A.—I don't tell the reader that this at this moment he actually told me

this on the phone to amplify something when we were talking there. I do take the liberty of putting it into that conversation, yes.

Q.—Has that been your practice for a number of years?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Is it your belief that that is the practice at *The New Yorker* magazine?

A.—Yes. Among the writers that I know that I've spoken to.

Q.—All right. And these are all writers for *The New Yorker* magazine?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And your husband obviously knows you do this compressing, doesn't he?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Nobody at *The New Yorker* has ever said you shouldn't do it; is that right?

A.—That's right.

Q.—At least the people you come in contact with at *The New Yorker*, to your knowledge they're aware of this practice?

A.—Some of the people that I have spoken to are not freaked out by it.

Q.—I gather some people are freaked out by that, that practice. Let's go back to 1983, '84. That was a practice back at that time by some of the writers of *The New Yorker*, wasn't it? It has been for a number of years, hasn't it?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Again, restricting ourselves to let's say the early 1980's, were you aware of some people that were freaked out because of this compression practice?

JUDGE LYNCH—you mean writers, other writers for *The New Yorker* is that what you're talking about?

MORGAN—Well, anybody with *The New Yorker*, anybody affiliated with *The New Yorker*.

A.—No.

Q.—Who were the people that were freaked out at this practice?

A.—I can't think of any and I really don't know why I used that term.

Q.—Okay. Fair enough. Let's go onto the luncheon, and I guess the

thing obviously we must discuss, did you ever make a note that Jeff Masson had goat cheese for an appetizer?

A.—No.

Q.—All right. When did you sit down to write that Jeff Masson had goat cheese for an appetizer?

A.—I don't remember.

Q.—All right, but are you telling us, Mrs. Malcolm, that whenever it was, the next spring or whenever it was that you started to write this, you remember that he had goat cheese for an appetizer?

A.—I evidently did. I don't remember it now.

Q.—Or were you just making it up?

A.—I was not making it up. No.

Q.—You're certain he had goat cheese?

A.—I would not make up what people ate.

Q.—So you're certain?

A.—I'm certain that I would not make up a detail.

Q.—All right. And the same with the striped bass. Are you certain he had striped bass?

A.—Again, now I have no idea what he had.

Q.—Let me show you a part of the conversation from the tape. Mrs. Malcolm, what I have put on the board here is what Jeff Masson said about the Maresfield Gardens at the lunch at the *Chez Panisse*; isn't that correct?

A.—I don't remember what he said at *Chez Panisse*.

Q.—Well, in preparation for this trial have you listened to any of the tapes?

A.—No.

Q.—Have you looked at any of the transcripts?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right. Now you know, don't you, that Jeff Masson did not say at the *Chez Panisse* that it would be a place of sex, women, and fun?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right. And what Jeff Masson said at the *Chez Panisse* on tape is:

"But it's dark and somber and nothing went on in there. Boy, I was going to renovate it and open it up, and the sun would come in and there would be people and—well, that's what it needs, but it is an incredible storehouse. I mean, the library, Freud's library alone is priceless in terms of what it contains: all his books with his annotations in them; the Schreber case annotated, that kind of thing. It's fascinating."

That's all he told you about the house at the lunch at *Chez Panisse*; isn't that right?

A.—If you say so.

Q.—I'm not asking if I say so. I'm asking you if that's all he said.

A.—I don't remember.

Q.—In any event, whether it is at the *Chez Panisse* or in Berkeley, that's all the information you got from Jeff Masson while you were in Berkeley about what he was going to do at the Maresfield Gardens; isn't that correct?

A.—I don't know. We have already now have some confusion, so I certainly will not consent to that.

Q.—Well, Mrs. Malcolm, you know, don't you, that at no time did Jeff Masson use the terms sex, women, and fun when you were out here in Berkeley?

A.—I know that my notes from the talk we had in New York were the basis of the quotation in my piece. But I know he talked about what he was going to do when he moved into the house at Maresfield Garden many times in Berkeley and over the telephone. I have a recollection of many, many conversations about it and what happened here just exactly describes the process I use. It doesn't matter where he said it in our continuous dialogue, it's that he said that he was going to do different things in the house and then when I wrote it, I selected some of the things he said which seemed to be the most characteristic, the most expressive, his kind of talking at his best, and at his most interesting. The thing about the Wizard of Oz was very interesting to me. And I made that selection out of many things he said about what he was going to do.

Q.—Why did you tell the readers that the statement that the Freud home would be a place of sex, women, and fun was said at lunch at

Chez Panisse when it was never said at Chez Panisse?

A.—As I described, the convention of taking things that people say over a long period of time and putting them in one monologue is what I felt was right to use. It was like doing a painting where you do sketches for a year and then you don't put all your sketches into the final painting, you have a final painting set in one place. And this is the process that I have been describing to you.

Q.—So, you are saying to us that you can take any statement at any time from anybody and assign a date and a place and a time for it, even though it's false; is that correct?

JUDGE LYNCH—You mean that the statement is true but the place and time in which it was said is not the same place and time that it was actually said?

MORGAN—That's my question.

JUDGE LYNCH—Okay.

A.—I would object to the word false, and I would say that you can do it if it doesn't change the meaning of what is being discussed. If where it is makes no difference in the meaning, then it's okay to do it. If it somehow gives a misleading impression, if you're in a car and you say to somebody watch out, don't run into that person, and then you put it into a restaurant and it sounds as if you're being crazy, then, of course, you're changing the meaning.

Q.—Is there anything in that quote that I read to you from which you draw from that statement the meaning that Jeff Masson was going to use the Freud home as a place for sex, women, and fun?

A.—I believe in the quote it does not say that Jeff Masson was going to use the place for sex, women, and fun. I think it reads it was going to be a place of sex, women, and fun. Something like that.

Q.—What you wrote, Mrs. Malcolm, was:

"I would have renovated it, opened it up, brought it to life. Maresfield Gardens would have been a center of scholarship, but it would also have been a place of sex, women, fun."

Q.—Let's move on then. Do you understand the five quotes that are being tried in this case?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right. At your luncheon at Chez Panisse, did you get any information that in any way formed the basis for any of those five quotes?

A.—Well, the basis of three of them were notes, and one of them was my memory, and the other one we know was a tape recording, the one about the wrong man.

Q.—So, the basis for the three of them are notes at a meeting that takes place in New York; is that correct?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—So that there was nothing that was said at the Chez Panisse that in any way helped you to make those quotes; is that correct?

BOSTWICK—I will object, your honor, it's vague and ambiguous.

JUDGE LYNCH—Well, I don't know that it is. Do you understand it?

MALCOLM—No, I don't understand it.

Q.—Well, let me do it this way rather than my keep reading the quote—we just look at the magazine. Let's go first to page 93 at the bottom. My question is: Did you get any of that information from the luncheon at Chez Panisse? And that's the one for the sex, women, and fun. Was there anything said at the luncheon that you used to create that quote—or let me give you a better word, to report that quote?

A.—Well, as I've said, that quote is the quote from notes from another occasion. We established that.

Q.—The entire quote; is that right?

A.—The quote: "Maresfield Gardens would have been a center of scholarship, but it would also have been a place of sex, women, fun. It would have been like the change in 'The Wizard of Oz' from black-and-white into color" comes from my notes.

Q.—And that's from a meeting you say in May of 1983?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right. Fine. Then if we go to page 100, which is the intellectual gigolo quote. Would you agree that there is nothing from the tape of the Chez Panisse lunch that was used in creating this quote?

A.—That one I don't remember what the source of that was.

Q.—Okay. Then we will go to page 119 that starts out with, "Masson sidestepped my question." And then it ends with, "I don't know why I put it in."

Q.—Is there anything that was said at the lunch at Chez Panisse that formed any part of that quote?

A.—That one too, I don't remember what the source was now.

Q.—You don't have any recollection of getting it from the lunch, do you?

A.—I neither do or don't.

Q.—Okay. Then let's go to page 128 and that quote starts with, "Eissler had no business extracting the promise from me" and it ends with, "Well, he had the wrong man." Did you get any of that information from the lunch at Chez Panisse?

A.—That, too, I don't remember.

Q.—Okay. Then we will go to the one in the second installment which starts with, "A few days after my return to New York, Masson, in a state of elation telephoned me" and it ends with, "analysis stands or falls with me. The basic complaint is they will say that Masson is a great scholar, a major analyst—after Freud, he's the greatest analyst who ever lived." Did you get any of that information from the lunch?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Now, was it around this time that Mr. Masson made the statement to you that analysis stands or falls with me?

A.—I don't know when he said that.

Q.—All right. When he did say it though, didn't you say to him, "Well, that's pretty grandiose," or words to that effect?

A.—Yes. I said that's a very grandiose thing to say.

Q.—And didn't he say to you: but it's not me, it's the documents I found?

A.—Yes.

Q.—But you didn't report that, did you?

A.—I felt that was an even more grandiose thing to say.

Q.—I see. So, you decided to delete the statement where he says:

"It's not me, it's the documents." Is that correct?

A.—I chose not to publish the whole thing.

Q.—Did you also around this time discuss the quote dealing with the firing and the honorable man?

A.—Again, I don't know when that was discussed.

Q.—Did you ever tell him that you were using the tape recorder so as to assure the accuracy of your reporting?

A.—I think once there was something I read in the transcript about that this would help me to get the story straight to have this record of our talk.

Q.—So is your answer yes, Mrs. Malcolm?

A.—I certainly never told him what he keeps saying here as if it was a commercial, that I told him the tapes would be verbatim, and that they would be read back to him. I never said anything like that.

Q.—All right.

A.—I have never said that to any subject of mine.

Q.—My question now is, is your answer, yes, that you did tell him that use of the tapes would ensure the accuracy of your reporting?

A.—I didn't say would ensure the accuracy of my reporting, that it would be helpful.

Q.—Did you receive any information in these telephone conversations that you used as the basis for any of the five quotes that are involved in this lawsuit?

A.—I can't tell you that now.

[Counsel projects on screen a transparency of Malcolm note of talk with Masson in New York]

Q.—This purports to be some note that you took when you talked to Jeff Masson while he was visiting your home, is that correct?

A.—It does not purport to be. It is.

Q.—Now, you took the notes in your kitchen, is that right?

A.—Yes. Several pieces of paper, yes.

Q.—And the paper was where?

A.—In a drawer of a table where the telephone sits.

Q.—All right. Now, the notes, themselves, where are they?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—What happened to them?

A.—You mean the handwritten notes?

Q.—The handwritten notes. What happened to them?

A.—I don't—I don't know.

Q.—Did you throw them away?

A.—I might have. But I don't—I don't know.

Q.—Did you lose them?

A.—I don't know. If I lose them, I—I... I don't make any special efforts to keep notes. So I wouldn't say I lost them. I just don't know where they—where they are. When I gathered up the material to send it to The New Yorker, they evidently weren't among this material.

Q.—Did you send these notes to the New Yorker at some time?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And you don't know what happened to them thereafter. I'm talking about the original handwritten notes.

A.—The original handwritten notes I did not send to The New Yorker.

Q.—I'm going to read from your deposition taken on December 9, 1986, in New York.

Question—Did Mr. Masson ever tell you that he was like an intellectual gigolo to Kurt Eissler?

Answer—I don't think he used that expression.

Question—But you conveyed to the readers, did you not, that Mr. Masson was saying to you that he was an intellectual gigolo to Kurt Eissler as well as Anna Freud, isn't that right?

Answer—Yes.

Question—Mr. Masson never said that to you, did he?

Answer—He didn't say that word, no.

Q.—Did you give those answers under oath back in 1986?

A.—I said that. And the word that I'm referring to there, the jury should be clear about, is—the word we're referring to is "Eissler."

Q.—Let's now talk about the article itself, and let's talk about the five quotes. So we're dealing with the quote that "I don't know why I put it in." Now, this wasn't discussed

at your meeting in New York, was it, in May of 1983?

A.—I don't believe it was.

Q.—And the statement: "That remark about the sterility of psychoanalysis was something I tacked on at the last minute, and it was totally gratuitous." There is no tape recording of that, is there?

A.—Well, I remember there's something on tape where he's talking about it being gratuitously offensive.

Q.—My question is: When you put quotation marks, do you intend to represent to the reader that is actually what the speaker said?

A.—Yes.

Q.—There is nothing on any tape that has the same words that you have in a quote there, starting with: "That remark about the sterility of psychoanalysis was something I tacked on at the last minute." Is that right?

A.—I don't know anymore.

Q.—Well, you haven't seen it on any—or heard it on any tape, have you?

A.—I—my knowledge of these tapes is—is not great. I didn't write my article from the transcript that Mr. Masson prepared.

Q.—Well, but what you did, though, did you not, was you took off of the tape and wrote in long-hand what you wanted to take from the tape.

A.—What I might want to take from the tape, and—

Q.—Fair enough.

A.—together with notes and my recollection, based.... is what my quotations were in the piece.

Q.—But there are no notes for this quote, are there?

A.—I don't know why I put it—any parts. It came from a very good memory I had then.

Q.—There are no notes as to that, are there?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Well, have you ever seen any, Mrs. Malcolm?

A.—I know that last line was a memory.

Q.—Well, didn't Mr. Masson say to you: I said it because I believed it?

A.—Sure. I do remember he said that.

Q.—And that's all he ever said to you; isn't that right?

A.—No, that's—that's not right. What this quote is about, is about why he put that particular ending on a speech which was quite bland and uncontroversial. And it was only the ending about the sterility of psychoanalysis that was something that the analysts got excited about. And that's what this passage is about—the discrepancy between the lecture itself, and the ending, which offended a lot of people. And we discussed this several times. And one of those times he said: I don't know why I put it in there and I remembered it. And I put it in.

Q.—Mrs. Malcolm, was that the same time he used the word "gratuitously"?

A.—I don't know what time it was. It was discussed many times.

Q.—Well, are you going to tell—or are you telling us then that this quote is a patchwork of different words now that Mr. Masson had used on different occasions?

A.—This quote, like many quotes in this piece, is—it's a compression and a distillation of our whole interview. It's—it's not a transcription, a verbatim transcription, if that's what you're asking me.

Q.—Well, I am asking you that. (Reading from transcript of tapes):

Masson: Until the last sentence I think they were quite fascinated. I think the last sentence was an in, possibly, gratuitously offensive way to end a paper to a group of analysts.

Malcolm: What were the circumstances under which you put it, do you remember or what?

Masson: That it was, was true.

Malcolm: Yeah, yeah. I see.

Masson: As simple as that. I really believe it. I didn't believe anybody would agree with me.

Malcolm: Um-hmm.

Q.—Mrs. Malcolm, would you agree that the part we just read from a tape recording is completely inconsistent with what you wrote in the *New Yorker*?

A.—I wouldn't say it's completely consistent. It's a different mood. He's talking about it in a different way, which I chose not to quote.

Q.—Well, he's talking about it in a way where he's telling you exactly why he put that last statement in; isn't that correct?

A.—He's saying that this was the way he felt at the time he was talking to me then, when he put it in. At another time he said: I don't know. I don't know why I did it.

Q.—Why don't you tell us when and where Mr. Masson told you that he didn't know why he put that last statement in?

A.—I no longer know that. I only know that when I was writing the piece that phrase was fresh in my mind.

Q.—Do you have any note that supports what you are saying?

A.—I have no note of that.

Q.—Do you have any recording that supports what you are saying?

A.—No, I don't.

Q.—Was anyone else present when Mr. Masson said to you: I don't know why I put it in?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Let's go now to the one that deals with "intellectual gigolo." A gigolo is a man who sells his sexual favors; right?

A.—It's got a lot of definitions. I think in my deposition I said something like that. But since then I've—I've learned that it means a male escort actually in—in —

Q.—But you weren't aware of that back when you wrote the article, were you?

A.—I don't think I really went into what it meant. I was quoting what Mr. Masson said.

Q.—When you wrote the word "gigolo" in relation to Mr. Masson didn't you consider the impact that would have on a reader?

A.—I considered that this was what he wanted to say about his relationship with Anna Freud and Kurt Eissler. And he was complaining about how they were treating him.

Q.—My question is: Did you consider what impact the use of the word "gigolo" in relation to Mr. Masson would have on the reader?

A.—I have trouble with this question, because I don't think what my reader is going to think as—as I write.

Q.—When you used the word "gigolo," didn't you think that that would expose Mr. Masson to ridicule?

A.—No, not at all.

Q.—I see. Nothing that would create ridicule by a person indicating he was a gigolo; right?

A.—No. Because I thought he wasn't talking about himself; he was talking about them. He was talking about the way they regarded him, and the way they were treating him and he was bitter about it. He said: This is the way they look at me.

Q.—Let me—let me read to you now from your deposition.

Question—What did you understand the term "intellectual gigolo" to mean?

Answer—It had to do with giving them pleasure.

Question—Is that your understanding of the term?

Answer—I know what the word "gigolo" means.

Question—What is your understanding of the word gigolo?

Answer—I believe it is—there is a younger person who is having a sexual relationship with an older person.

Question—It is basically a form of prostitution, isn't it?

Answer—Yes, I guess you could call it that. It is sort of selling your sexual favors. Something like that. It has a sexual connotation, yes.

Question—You decided to put that after the statement by Mr. Masson of a sexual encounter he had had; is that right?

Answer—Right.

Question—You felt that fairly represented what Mr. Masson was saying; is that correct?

Answer—I did.

Q.—Now, I'm going to read from page 14 of [the] transcript.

Malcolm: Yeah, well, you know, you said something which I was just reminded of when you were talking, when you quoted that girl who said she liked sleeping with you but she didn't want to have anything else to do with you, when you said something about how the analysts thought you were—uh, that you were this private asset but a public liability.

I'm going to stop there for a moment. Now, you're the one that's making the connection there; is that right?

A.—I'm—sure. Yeah.

Q.—Now, I'll go on with the quote.



Masson: Yes, yeah. That's true, yeah.

Now, Mrs. Malcolm, do you equate out of those statements from Mr. Masson that he is some sort of a gigolo?

A.—No. I—I don't understand what you're asking me. This makes no sense to me at all.

Q.—Have you read the transcripts?

A.—Yes, I have.

Q.—Have you read them all?

A.—Yes, I have.

Q.—Have you seen anything in any of those transcripts of tapes where Mr. Masson refers to anybody calling him an intellectual gigolo?

A.—No, I don't recall that.

Q.—So the only place that you can say you heard "intellectual gigolo" was on this meeting this morning in New York, the date you can't recall; is that correct?

A.—Yes. I know that this is in the notes that I took of my meeting.

Q.—So you're not even certain if he said it there, are you?

A.—I'm certain that if it's in my notes he said it. When I take notes, they're based on what people say.

Q.—Surely. Mrs. Malcolm, if you look at your notes, the only note you have is that he was giving Anna Freud a good time, right?

A.—Well, you may notice [what] I'm talking about: It was transfers love. It was a *folie à trois*, which means—He was kind of a folly, or foolishness, a delusion of three people; me, and Anna Freud, and Eissler. And this is I think this—when I was writing the piece, I think I must have gone back to that idea; that he was talking about both of them: she liked to hear that analysts were such creeps, et cetera. I was giving her a good time. "And I was like an intellectual gigolo" follows. And I believe it does refer to the three of them.

Q.—Are you telling us what Mr. Masson actually said? Or what you are summarizing?

A.—I'm saying what he actually said. And what I wrote down as he talked.

Q.—All right. So you put down what you thought he meant, not what he said?

A.—No, no. I put down exactly what he said. I'm now interpreting your misinterpretation.

Q.—What we're looking at, Mrs. Malcolm, is what you are saying what Mr. Masson actually said; correct?

A.—That's correct.

Q.—And you're saying that's what you wrote down.

A.—That's right.

Q.—But then you go on with the article and you say: "And, you know, in their way, if not in so many words, Eissler and Anna Freud told me the same thing." Mr. Masson never made that statement, did he?

A.—If it's in my piece, he made it. I write from the three sources that I've mentioned. From my notes, and from tape transcripts, and my memory.

Q.—Well, but, Mrs. Malcolm, is there anything in your typed notes that ties in the graduate student with—the intellectual gigolo?

A.—From all the sources I used to prepare the piece, I really don't—I don't know. I don't have access to specifics now.

Q.—Well, Mrs. Malcolm, you went through your notes that you typed, and nowhere in those notes is the statement by Mr. Masson: "And, you know, in their way, if not in so many words, Eissler and Anna Freud told me the same thing." That's not in your notes.

A.—I don't—I don't know, Mr. Morgan, if it [is] or isn't.

Q.—Do you want to look at them?

A.—All my notes?

Q.—The notes you made that you typed up after the meeting in your home in May of 1983?

A.—Oh, I see, those notes. Because, see, when I wrote the piece, I worked from a whole bunch of typewritten notes. That—those were my tools. The typewritten notes from many sources.

Q.—Mrs. Malcolm, other than the typewritten notes that we've looked at today, are there any other typewritten notes that deal with intellectual gigolo?

A.—I don't know of any.

Q.—Other than the typewritten notes, are there any handwritten notes that deal with intellectual gigolo?

A.—Also, I don't know of any.

Q.—Aren't you telling this jury that the only time you heard the words "intellectual gigolo" purportedly took place in May of 1983 in your home?

A.—Yes. That's right.

Q.—And the only, only records of—if anything, are the notes that we looked at this morning regarding those conversations.

A.—Of—of that section, yes.

Q.—And, Mrs. Malcolm, aren't you the one who tied in the graduate student with "intellectual gigolo" in your piece?

A.—I don't understand your question.

Q.—When you wrote your piece, you had a story that Mr. Masson had told you about a graduate student; right?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And you also had some notes that you say Mr. Masson said that Anna Freud and Dr. Eissler—to them he was like an intellectual gigolo.

A.—Yes.

Q.—They're entirely separate conversations, aren't they?

A.—Yes.

Q.—One took place in a telephone conversation.

A.—Yes.

Q.—One apparently took place—or at least you say it took place in your home in New York.

A.—Yes.

Q.—You put them together in your article, didn't you?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You did that so you could create this sexual connotation of sleeping with another woman. Is that right?

A.—In answer to your question—if that's a question—no, that was not my idea in compressing these conversations.

Q.—Then why were they compressed?

A.—They both seemed to talk about the things you do in public and in private. That's—that's the important thing and the treatment—the treatment of Mr. Masson by these people, and his kind of bitterness about it, in both cases. He felt used

and exploited, and I thought it was something that should be in the piece. And I chose to put it in.

Q.—But you put it in and you tied them together, as if Mr. Masson was saying both of them one after the other, didn't you?

A.—Well—

Q.—You used that language.

A.—We talked about this. This is a—the technique of compression and of not publishing a whole transcript is one I used throughout my piece. And this is an example of the way the piece was written. Yes.

Q.—But you're misleading to—the reader as to what Mr. Masson had said, aren't you?

A.—No, I do not believe this is misleading to the reader at all.

Q.—Well, did Mr. Masson ever say that the events of the graduate student was in some way like the "intellectual gigolo" concept?

A.—I gather from what I've written here that I was satisfied when I wrote the piece that this was a connection that was in his mind. Yes.

Q.—That's not my question.

A.—I'm sorry.

Q.—My question is: Did he ever say that?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Well, you know he didn't, don't you?

A.—No, I do not know that.

Q.—Have you ever seen any document where he makes the connection between the graduate student and any concept of intellectual gigolo?

A.—Not during this lawsuit.

Q.—Lastly, wasn't the information you had that Mr. Masson was not an intellectual gigolo?

A.—I don't know how to answer this. I'm sorry.

Q.—Well, did Mr. Masson tell you that he was offered money to be quiet and forget about his dispute?

A.—Yes, Mr. Masson told me he was offered \$30,000 as a kind of, I don't know, severance pay, when he was dismissed from the archives. And that he sent it back.

Q.—Wasn't the word "hush money"?

A.—I think he did use that term about himself.

Q.—And what did he tell you?

A.—I don't remember, except your use of that term has refreshed my memory.

Q.—Didn't he tell you that he wouldn't take the money?

A.—Oh, yes.

Q.—That he felt it was improper?

A.—He told me he didn't take the \$30,000.

Q.—Let's go on now. "Maresfield Gardens would have been a center of scholarship, but it would also have been a place of sex, women, fun." Again, that's not in the tape anywhere, is it?

A.—No, it's not.

Q.—Mr. Masson did tell you on tape what he would do with the home, didn't he?

A.—Yes. He talked several times in various conversations about his plans.

Q.—And one of the times he told you he was going to renovate it, open it, and the sun would come in, and there would be people. And that's basically it; right?

A.—No. He talked about what he and Masud Khan, who would also—he related there about the parties, and passing women on to each other on one occasion; and on another occasion he told me about what he told an Italian journalist. So those two I remember. And there were others.

Q.—Let's take Masud Khan. Did you rely on that in writing the quote: "sex, women, fun"?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—You didn't rely on it at all; is that right?

A.—I wrote it in addition to that quote. In my original manuscript I had quoted that one.

Q.—And you took that out, didn't you?

A.—My editor took it out.

Q.—Because you couldn't support it, could you?

A.—I think I could support it. It was in the tape transcript. Wasn't it?

Q.—Do you have anything on tape that you used as the basis for writing "sex, women, fun"?

A.—No.

Q.—Other than the same pieces of paper that you've typed up for this meeting in New York City, is there any other document where Mr. Masson is purported to say that the house would be a place of sex, women, and fun?

A.—No, I have no other document. That document was a very good source for me.

Q.—Didn't Mr. Masson also say at one time that he would have music, people, and food in the house?

A.—This—this quote I don't remember. But it sounds consistent.

Q.—Did he also say that he would open it up to the world as a real and proper research center?

A.—I think I do remember that one. Yes.

Q.—And that's on tape, isn't it?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Lastly, we know that you wrote that he said this in Berkeley, and he never said it in Berkeley; right?

A.—Yes.

Q.—We've heard the tape of Mr. Masson when he talks about the private asset and the public liability. We've heard the tape about the story of the graduate student. We saw your notes about the intellectual gigolo. Now, is it your testimony that under good journalism practice you can put all those events into one conversation as if Mr. Masson was saying them to you all at one time?

A.—I used this technique in this piece of compressing a very long interview with him that took place over months in different places. And—

Q.—And does it have a name? This technique?

A.—I don't know of any official name for it. Words like inflation, or compression, or monologue, dialogue, can be used about it. But I don't know of any way to characterize it. It would be nice if there was a term for it.

Q.—Well, is it in any textbooks or anything, that you can put all these things together and say it's one conversation?

A.—No, I would say rather it was a kind of convention or tradition

that—certainly at the magazine where I work.

Q.—At The New Yorker.

A.—At The New Yorker.

Q.—In other words, The New Yorker knew you were doing this thing?

A.—I don't discuss my techniques with people at The New Yorker or with the editors. I have a sense of it from reading other writers, writers like Joseph Mitchell, where there are very long monologues, very long, sometimes for many, many pages of people talking. And, as you read it, you can really figure that it wasn't really said in this perfect English, all at once. But again always, in each case, each writer does it differently. And I do it, and I know other writers that I respect do it, where it doesn't change the meaning, where the person has said something, is not what it's about. There are situations where meaning could be changed by change of location. But I think in this case it wasn't.

Q.—And when we talked about the intellectual gigolo, and you wrote in there, and Mr. Masson said in the case of Anna Freud it was like the same, that doesn't change any meaning in your mind?

A.—No, it doesn't.

Q.—You talk to your husband about this compressing, don't you?

A.—Not until this lawsuit.

Q.—In the process of preparing this article was there a question raised on the galleys as to whether any part or a certain part of the article was on tape?

A.—No, not on any galley that was given to me.

Q.—I'm showing you a blowup of a—of a galley. Down at the bottom, off to the right there, alongside of "sex, women, fun," there's a slash and a question mark, and the words "on tape," underlined. What does that indicate?

A.—That means that somebody has written that in. That's what that means.

Q.—Well, do you know what the purpose was for writing that in?

A.—Since this lawsuit, I've learned what that was. At the time I didn't—I never saw this galley.

Q.—Well, let me ask you, did your husband ever ask you whether the statement "sex, women, and fun," was on tape?

A.—Yes, he did.

Q.—And did you tell him it was not?

A.—Yes, I did.

Q.—Did he then ask if you had any notes of a conversation in Berkeley in which "sex, women, fun" was uttered?

A.—No, he did not.

Q.—Other than the notes you have, or the typed notes for the meeting in New York with Mr. Masson, did you rely on anything else for the statement of "intellectual gigolo"?

A.—Saying "I was like an intellectual gigolo," came from my notes.

Q.—That was the only thing you relied on for putting that statement in the article; is that correct?

A.—Yes.

Q.—The article that has "the greatest analyst" and then ends with "analysis stands or falls with me now." The last part of that quote: "Analysis stands or falls with me" was not said in New York, was it?

A.—That's right. Yes.

Q.—And that's the only part of that quote that's on tape, isn't that right?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And that's the one where, right after it, Mr. Masson says: "It's not me; it's the documents."

A.—No, that's not—I don't think you have the quote right.

Q.—Well, I'm not talking about what you wrote. I'm talking about what actually took place.

A.—Yes. But I—I looked in the transcript since our last meeting, and that's not what he says in the transcript.

Q.—You tell us what was said after Mr. Masson said: "Analysis stands or falls with me."

[After Bostwick objected Morgan said, "I'll pass it."]

## Direct Examination Of Malcolm By Bostwick

Q.—When you wrote this, how did you know that he had said words touching on all of these subjects in this conversation that you quote him as saying?

A.—At the time I wrote it I remembered what he had said.

Q.—Mr. Morgan has asked you questions about the exact words and where they came from. And he has shown you that the exact words come from four or five perhaps different places. Why did you do that?

A.—Because when I was writing, though I knew, I remembered that he had talked about these subjects, I did not remember the exact words, and so in order to give his authentic expression of what he had said, I used the words he said when he came back to this subject as he did throughout our interview, and represented that rush of words that way.

Q.—Is there anything in that quotation there that touches on a subject that he didn't touch on in his actual conversation with you in the lobby?

A.—I don't see anything, no.

Q.—Was there something about Mr. Masson's narrative style that you had to pay particular attention to?

A.—Yes. The narrative style was that things came out in a rather chaotic way. He talked about a lot of things all at once. He was very discursive, very—he wandered about, and he was sort of trying to tell too many things at the same time. He was also kind of contradictory. So, while I felt he was a wonderful talker and I loved his images and his metaphors, I also had to work hard to try to get the story straight because he was all over the place.

Q.—In order to get the story straight, I would like you to describe why you had to use the technique that you called compression or conflation when you were dealing with Mr. Masson?

A.—Everybody, we all talk in a way that isn't a straight line. We all digress, we all contradict ourselves, but I think he, more than other

people, wandered about, and had also much more to say than other people. It took him—it took me many months to actually get this story about how he had come into psychoanalysis and how he had left it. And so it was really the only way to tell his story And to have him express himself to choose among the many thing he said and then present them in some kind of a logical, rational order so he would sound like a logical, rational person.

Q.—Did you ever consider just taking the quotes from the moment you walked into Chez Panisse and he asked the maitre d' for a seat, and you went downstairs and plugged in, did you just think about ever just letting him represent himself from that point forward?

A.—No, I never did.

Q.—Why not?

A.—Because it would not have been a readable piece if I had done that. It would have made no sense at all, and nobody would have published it.

Q.—Did you ever consider any other way of dealing with the quotes other than taking them from different spots and what he actually said and putting them together?

A.—No, I did not.

Q.—Why not?

A.—In his case—there are other characters. I have not quoted them, I have paraphrased what they have said because they're not good speakers or they don't like to talk. Sometimes when I interview people who are rather quiet and don't talk very much, or don't talk well, I will report what they said rather than quoting them directly. In the case of Mr. Masson, speaking is an essential part of his character. If I'm going to write about him and represent him as he is, it should be in the act of speaking and that's why I made that choice.

Q.—I would like you to look at the "greatest analyst that ever lived" quote.

Q.—Were you trying to say that he said he was the greatest analyst that ever lived?

A.—No, I was not.

Q.—What were you trying to say by putting those words within quotes in that passage?

A.—Well, I was quoting him saying that analysts were craven and hypocritical bunch who would go whichever way the wind blows. And because other people were acknowledging him and buying his book, which had then become a best seller, then they would be joining this group acclaiming him and saying he was the greatest analyst that ever lived. Certainly if you read it, you see he's not saying that at all. He's saying what they're going to say when this event occurs.

Q.—I would like to talk to you about the quote "I don't know why I put it in." Yesterday you were talking about the fact that you had some knowledge of whether Mr. Masson believed that psychoanalysis was sterile. What were you trying to say when you put the words "I don't know why I put it in" in the quote?

A.—I was trying to say that he didn't know why he put that particular ending to that particular paper, which didn't go with the paper. There was no question that they didn't believe it or not, but this discrepancy between the blandness of the paper and the conventionality of the paper, which no analyst would have objected to and that provocative ending, and that's what it referred to, not that there is no question of what he believed or didn't believe.

Q.—Do you remember talking to him about that distinction between the blandness of the paper and the shocking ending?

A.—Yes, I did. And this was a discussion that we had several times because that ending was quite fateful for him. It was an important element in his downfall at the archives. So we did talk about it.

### Direct Examination Of Malcolm By Kenady

Q.—On the day that you sent off that second half of the article, what was your view about the truth or falsity of the quotes that you put around the words "I don't know why I put it in"?

A.—No, he said them. And I felt that they expressed what he thought and what he wanted to say.

Q.—I would ask the same thing about the quotes you put around the words "I was like an intellectual gigolo"?

A.—Again, he said those words, and they were an authentic expression.

Q.—And was that true of the other three quotes as well, wrong man, sex, women, and fun, and the greatest analyst?

A.—Yes.

### Cross-Examination Of Malcolm By Morgan

Q.—Now let's talk a bit about the relationship between you and the fact checker [Nancy Franklin]. You told us that you gave her letters from which you quoted; is that correct?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Why did you give those to her?

A.—So she could see that the quotation was accurate.

Q.—Okay. Did you give her any of the other sources of your quotations other than the letters?

A.—I did not give her sources of any verbal quotations, no.

Q.—Okay. Did you ever have any conversation with Nancy Franklin about any quotes that did not come from the letter?

A.—No, I didn't.

Q.—She never asked you any questions?

A.—No. ■

# Football Games at Time of Tragedy

**For when the One Great Scorer comes  
To write against your name  
He marks not that you won or lost  
But how you played the game.**

It has been 30 years since the public revised the adage of famed sports writer Grantland Rice into a question: "What's more important, to play or not play the game?" The following article, written a few days after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, has never been published before. It deals with the ethical views of football coaches and sports writers.

BY LOUIS GELFAND

**G**od forbid America should ever have to confront the nightmare again. But the sports page debate during the 48 hours following President Kennedy's assassination is worthy of a pause for reflection.

Sports writers were divided into three groups, two based on ethical values and tastes, one seemingly without either. One group thought sports should contemplate rather than play football that weekend. They questioned the motives of the second group, which saw no sin in playing games in the interim before the national funeral. The majority of writers formed the third group, who mechanically reported the postponements and the scores, and thus saw nothing good or bad.

Among the most outraged about the games that were played was Ed Comerford, sports editor of *Newsday*.

"In a period of profound national mourning the little world of sports has not emerged with glory. The business as usual brigade, unwilling to close its box offices even for the assassination of a President, stands indicted as vulgar, heartless and arrogantly self-centered by even the most generous of interpretations."

Joe Williams of *The New York World Telegram and Sun* demurred:

"I couldn't see where I would be profaning the martyred President's

memory or committing a crime against human decency if I turned up at the Stadium to watch the Giants play the Cardinals. Grief is not something you wear on your sleeves. It is a personal thing, and what you do and where you go at such a time is just as personal. This is your business and yours alone and you are answerable only to your conscience."

About 80 percent of the football games were canceled, or postponed until Thanksgiving. The National Football League staged its regular seven-game schedule and 338,447 people showed up, including a sellout 62,992 at Yankee Stadium. None of the seven were scheduled in Dallas, where Kennedy was shot, or in Washington.

Of only 31 college football games played, half were in the South, and none in the East or on the Pacific Coast. One game, Oklahoma at Nebraska, got running room on Page 1 of most Sunday sports sections. The schools, or rather, their coaches and football player-students, were competing for a New Year's Day trip to the Orange Bowl in Miami.

The fact that Bud Wilkinson, Oklahoma's coach, rumored to be a U.S. Senate candidate, and director of President Kennedy's youth physical fitness program, permitted his warriors to play was not overlooked.

John Carmichael of *The Chicago Daily*

News hinted that Wilkinson had assurance from some high government officials to play.

"No college football coach was closer to President Kennedy than Wilkinson. It could be assumed, therefore, that he had some assurance from Washington that to play the game would be entirely in keeping with the late President's wishes."

Doc Greene of *The Detroit News* quoted Wilkinson's assistant, Jay O'Neal:

"We've talked it over and we think JFK would have wanted us to go on with it."

Greene added, scornfully:

"Medal of Honor winner Joe Foss, Commissioner of the American Football League, promptly postponed all of the games scheduled in his league on Sunday."

The governor of Nebraska, Frank Morrison, had asked university officials not to play. After hours of consultation the school's Board of Regents issued a

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*Lou Gelfand is ombudsman at The Star Tribune of Minneapolis and St. Paul. He once took sports seriously enough to write, with Harry Heath, a college textbook on sports writing, "How to Cover, Write and Edit Sports" (Iowa State University Press, 1959).*

statement indicating it had conducted a spontaneous imitation of the Gallup Poll:

"The Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, deeply sorrowful about the death of President Kennedy, believe the people of Nebraska wish to have the Nebraska-Oklahoma game played as scheduled. This will be done."

It was done, and Nebraska won, 29-20. The people of Nebraska, presumed to be ambivalently sad and ecstatic that their team won, got no solace from Sec Taylor, Des Moines Register columnist:

"None of the writers who sat near me...felt like writing. This wasn't because Nebraska won, for most of the writers were neutral observers. It was because of the weekend of gloom and sorrow incident to the assassination....His death brought home the insignificance of a football game or its result in the great plan of things—how little a game or its outcome means to events and things of moment in the future or the present."

The scrapbook of Pete Rozelle, president of the National Football League, probably omits the column of Red Smith of The New York Herald Tribune:

"For that exercise in tasteless stupidity there is neither excuse nor defense, as nothing could illustrate more clearly than the banal, empty phrases with which Roselle sought to justify the decision. It was 'traditional,' he said, for athletics to compete in times of national calamity. If so, this is a brand new tradition grown up since the last time a President was assassinated.

"Football was Mr. Kennedy's game," Pete went on, aggravating the sick feeling at the pit of the stomach. "He thrived on competition."

Thank God he didn't add, "This is how he would have wanted it."

Syndicated columnist Jimmy Cannon said, "The National Football League acted as if this was another Sunday, and put their players to work."

After the games the athletes talked. Two professionals crisply supplied the consensus. Bob St. Clair, San Francisco tackle, said, "I cried when I heard Mr. Kennedy had been killed. I really didn't want to play." Y.A. Tittle, New York

Giants quarterback, lamented: "When all those guys pile up on you, you don't have time to think of anything else."

Some tricky rhetoric developed over what John Fitzgerald Kennedy would have wanted them to do, obliterating the ethical approach.

Vince Lombardi, Green Bay Packer coach, said, "Knowing what the President stood for, I think he would be the last person to want the game canceled." Dr. Vernon Alden, president of Ohio University, whose team defeated Marshall on the controversial Saturday, said, "I agreed that in the spirit of Kennedy's endeavors for the youth of our land, we would play the game." Forest Evashevski, University of Iowa athletic director, unabashedly said he knew how JFK would have felt. "I served as President Kennedy's physical fitness advisor for the Peace Corps. I know the President would have wanted the [Iowa-Notre Dame] game to be played because it represents the ideals which he advocated."

Evashevski and Edward Krause, Notre Dame athletic director, announced the night before the game that it would be played. But in the morning the presidents of the two institutions opted for moral principles. The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame and Virgil Hancher of Iowa overruled their athletic directors. The game was canceled.

The Illinois-Michigan State game was advertised in the Saturday morning newspapers as "on." The winner would go to the Rose Bowl. The universities issued a joint statement, saying the game would be played "in the best national interest and tradition." They gratefully did not pronounce it a matter of ethics.

While thousands began the trek to East Lansing, protests cascaded. When the postponement came a railroad station agent at Battle Creek turned around a special train from Chicago filled with Illinois rooters. Highway patrols in Michigan and Illinois stopped cars with Illinois license plates to inform them of the postponement.

Coach Duffy Daugherty of Michigan State had said Friday night, "I don't know anything that could be a more moving tribute than to have 76,000 people who will be at the game take

time together to remember what a great loss our country has had."

After the postponement, coach Pete Elliott of Illinois said, "It will be better to play on Thursday because football will be in its proper perspective by then."

Gus Schrader of The Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette was sensible if not out of order. "We would have liked to have seen the high schools, colleges and universities go ahead with all their games with net proceeds contributed to the U.S. Olympic Fund."

If there was a national mood, Morton Moss of The Los Angeles Herald Examiner seemed to have captured it:

"Production suddenly grinds to a halt in the sports dream factory. There is a shortage of heroes. They've evaporated. So have the villains. It is possible that all the excitement was generated over a ball flying beyond a fence, a ball carted across a field chalk line, a ball arching off the head of a club. Yes, it's possible, and it will happen again. But, certainly not for a while, anyway. A period of time must pass before the demands of brutal reality can be absorbed or sidestepped or pushed into a deep corner of the mind." ■

# Out There, New Rules Are Like the Old

## *Survey of Hometown Papers by Columbia J-School Students Finds No Weakening of Standards*

BY STEPHAN D. ISAACS

**H**ave the old rules changed? Is it OK, these days, for a newspaper copy editor to seek election to the town council of his suburb? Have newspaper publishers, terrified by declining household coverage, taken to insisting that editors and reporters get more involved in civic organizations? Can a reporter march in the abortion rally and write about it the next morning?

These and related questions were posed by the Ethics Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at last year's annual meeting.

"It's like we're all lost, wandering around in the desert, and nobody has a map," said one member. "Nobody knows what the rules are anymore, if there still are any."

The 200 members of the Class of 1994 at the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University sought to find answers to such questions.

In their "Critical Issues in Journalism" class, each was asked to scrutinize a hometown newspaper, radio or television station in pursuit of the answers.

Their findings, a trove of information, cover a range from the large to the small, from, say, Russian student Natasha Lebedeva's analysis of ABC News to German student Mark Pitzke's analysis of the Upper Dauphin Sentinel, a 8,366-circulation weekly in Millersburg, Pa. (international students got to pick something close at hand), from Tyrone Ahmad-Taylor's and Elaine Tang's pieces on The New York Times to Jeffrey Gremillion's on The Times of Acadiana (a weekly tabloid giveaway in Lafayette, Louisiana), from pieces by Canadians Lisa Granatstein and Philip Klint on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to

Charles Tanowitz's on tiny WRKL-AM in New City, New York, and a delightful assortment of pieces on such daily papers as The Thousand Oaks (California) News-Chronicle (circulation: 22,289); The Manhattan (Kansas) Mercury (circulation: 12,141); The Woodland (California) Daily Democrat (circulation: 11,326); The Monroe (Wisconsin) Evening Times (circulation: 6,962); The Rawlins (Wyoming) Daily Times (circulation: 3,959), and The Livingston (Montana) Enterprise (circulation: 3,350) and such weeklies as The Park City (Utah) Record (circulation: 6,400) and The Two River Times of Red Bank, New Jersey (circulation: 8,000; owner: television celebrity Geraldo Rivera); and a fascinating piece by Robert Jameson on the newspaper he looks to as his hometown paper—The Daily Racing Form.

What the students uncovered does not comprise scientific research. Indeed, their effort was individual and journalistic, and in no way yields a statistical sample of American journalistic practice.

But the diverse spread of their inquiries leads one to conclude that, despite the rumblings, no substantial weakening of traditional resolves to beware involvement in organizations is occurring. If anything—from this sampling, in any case—the reverse seems to be the case.

This certainly is reflected in the new and tougher "Declaration of Ethics" that the Associated Press Managing Editors is now trying to get adopted. On this subject, it says:

D. INDEPENDENCE. A newspaper must maintain its independence so that it is free of obliga-

tions and impervious to pressures that would obstruct its ability to make news judgments in the public interest.

1. Conflicts of interest. Journalists should avoid actual and apparent conflicts of interest.

a. Actual conflicts are economic, personal and political relationships and activities that impede the ability to make all journalistic judgments on the merits and in the public interest.

b. Apparent conflicts are relationships and transactions that undermine the credibility of the journalist or the newspaper, by creating in the mind of a fair-minded, disinterested observer the belief that the journalist's private interests conflict with journalistic duties.

2. Community involvement. Journalists are encouraged to be involved in their communities to the extent that such activities do not create actual or apparent conflicts of interest or otherwise raise questions about the impartiality of news coverage.

a. Journalists should not be involved in the news that they cover.

b. Journalists should avoid activities that could compromise their newspapers, even in situa-

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tions where they are not directly involved in coverage. For example, they should avoid:

- Signing petitions or participating in demonstrations.
- Serving outside the newspaper in a decision-making capacity or as a fund-raiser in organizations that can be expected to, or actually do, generate significant news.

The students found that the toughest policies discouraging community involvement existed at larger newspapers, such as *The Washington Post* and *Philadelphia Inquirer*. On the other hand, editors and reporters cannot avoid intimate involvement in all sorts of civic organizations in some small communities. But not all. At the tiny Idaho Mountain Express, which serves the towns of Ketchum, Hailey and Sun Valley, for instance, Robin Sias found standards as tough as any in North America. "The community demands detachment on the part of the staff," she quotes editor and publisher Pam Morris as saying. Morris, two full-time reporters and one part-time reporter all "disengage themselves from the intimate community as much as possible," writes Sias. "It's a source of conversation among reporters here constantly—they would like to be more removed," said Morris."

A number of editors and writers in all size markets who were questioned by the students reported that, in the spirit of trying to be good citizens, they had joined community organizations, but quickly discovered they were being steered into being public relations operatives for the organizations. Many have since quit the organizations.

A surprising (to me, anyway) number of political reporters and editors volunteered that they had registered as independents, to avoid any appearance of being politically partisan. Often they had done so, they said, even though they realized they had partially disenfranchised themselves, especially in locales where a political primary usually determines the ultimate outcome of a contest.

No one questioned goes as far as Leonard Downie, Jr., executive editor of *The Washington Post*, who tries to obviate his having any "rooting interests" by no longer voting at all.

Some members of the ASNE Ethics committee had posited that newer, more advocacy-oriented reporters might have changed journalism—that some newer reporters and editors are concerned more with bringing about change than in reporting fairly.

The students' reports showed quite the contrary—that, more so than their elders, newer, younger reporters seem to feel that, by becoming journalists, they had taken on powers that required them to surrender some of their rights of citizenship.

So, in answer to the Ethics Committee members' plea, what are the new rules? They appear pretty much to be these:

- Yes, it's OK to join the PTA at your child's school.
- Yes, it's OK to vote.
- But no, it's not OK to run for city council, or to be president or p.r. chair of the PTA. And it's probably not OK to give money to or raise money for any organization, and it's probably not OK to carry a banner for Banning the Bomb or any other cause that your news organization might cover.

The new rules sound pretty much like the old ones. ■

In the following columns, students report on newspapers in Ketchum, Ida.; Lowell, Mass.; Millersburg, Pa.; Monroe, Wis.; Santa Cruz, Calif.; McAllen, Tex.; Syracuse, N.Y., and Lincoln, Neb.

## In Ski Country Detachment Is Difficult

BY ROBIN SIAS

It is nearly impossible to remain anonymous and detached in the valley. The valley is Blaine County, nestled among the Boulder, Sawtooth and Pioneer mountain ranges in southeastern Idaho. It includes the towns of Ketchum (pop. 2,500), Hailey (pop. 3,500) and the famous ski resort Sun Valley (pop. 1,000). Spend a month in Ketchum and you'll recognize many faces at Atkinson's, the local market. Spend a year there and you will be on a first-name basis with most of the locals. Settle for many years and you cannot walk down the street or drive down the highway without waving to many people.

In terms of recreation, downhill, cross-country and telemark skiing dominate winter activities, fly-fishing, mountain biking and hiking, summer. Most people in the valley are politically active. Almost 80 percent of Sun Valley residents and about 90 percent of Ketchum residents were registered to vote in the latest mayoral election. Environmental concerns dominate local life. The issues of public lands, hunting, fishing and conservation shape activist concerns. Six local and national environmental groups have permanent listings in the phone book and there are also many grass roots organizations.

Serving Blaine County is *The Idaho Mountain Express*, with a circulation of 11,000 to 12,000, including 1,700 out-of-town subscribers. A weekly, it is distributed free every Wednesday morning. The paper includes school, political and business news of all towns in Blaine County, a sports section and the Guide, the arts, entertainment and recreation section. A staff of 12 includes two full-time and one part-time reporter.

Pam Morris, the editor/publisher of the *Mountain Express* and an 18-year



veteran of the paper, considers her position a "quasi-public job."

The lack of anonymity and the constant struggle for distance from their subjects is the writing staff's primary concern. "It's a source of conversation among reporters here constantly—they would like to be more removed," said Morris.

Since it is nearly impossible to blend into the community, the paper has stringent regulations about the staffs' relationship with area residents and newsmakers. Although the rules are unwritten, Morris makes certain they are understood and enforced.

A reporter cannot cover an organization to which he/she belongs. If this becomes an issue, the reporter must quit the organization; rarely will Morris change a beat.

No matter what a reporter does in his/her free time, someone will find out and comment on it, said Susan Bailey, the editor and writer of the Guide. "If I belong to Ducks Unlimited, people would see me as pro-hunting," said Bailey. "If the opposite side has a story, people would question my reporting." Even in personal matters she tries to stay apart from the community. "I would prefer to seek legal counsel or therapy outside the area," said Bailey. The town is too small for the activities of reporters not to go unnoticed. Bailey does not belong to any community groups except her condominium association. "It's a big point from my ethical standpoint not to join groups," she said.

Dan Eagan, who reports on public lands and county government, said he has a relatively easy time remaining anonymous, simply because he is new to town and has worked at The Mountain Express only a year and a half.

Reporter Kristan Watkins has discovered the difficulty in being a long-time valley resident and reporter. "It's tough to live in Hailey, be married to a local business owner and have two kids in the town that you cover," said Watkins. Watkins had to disassociate herself from the community and relinquish her public relations job at the Hailey Library when she started at The Express. Her coverage of Hailey includes the activities of the strong community library.

She agreed with Morris that her membership on the board was a conflict of interest. While she said she could intellectually isolate her work for the library with her job as a reporter, she said, "It looks bad to the public."

Reporters may not attend public hearings or meetings as citizens. "We have to be very careful when switching between our citizen hat and our reporter hat," said Morris. "If a reporter attends a meeting and voices an opinion, people think it is the paper talking." Bailey decided to stop attending town meetings. "It's awkward to even be at conferences to gather information for myself. People think I'm there for the newspaper," she said. She added that it is impossible for people to distinguish her job as reporter from her interest as a resident, so she makes it easy for everyone by staying out of any situation that may be misunderstood.

Staff members are also forbidden to accept freebies of any kind. Movie tickets, meals and other perks are paid for by the paper. "We don't want to mislead people by making them think we'll cover their story because they've given us something," said Morris. She said in a small town it is imperative not to become a public relations or advertising agency for local businesses.

The rules of the newspaper only recently became stringent. In the years it took Morris to work her way from typesetter to reporter to publisher, the newspaper's administration and reporters have become more serious in separating their roles as town residents and their jobs as journalists. In the mid 1970's, the paper's publisher held a second job as a member of the city council. This situation would today be unimaginable. Yet at the time, no one complained about this woman's obvious conflict of interest. "Now the community demands detachment on the part of the staff," said Morris. People are much more aware that newspapers are supposed to be objective and if a journalist serves in another capacity in town, objectivity is lost, said Morris.

Morris had to walk a fine line when her husband served 12 years as Ketchum's mayor while she was editor of the paper. "The community made it

known it did not like the connection between the city of Ketchum and the newspaper," said Morris, and she had to work stringently to ensure the paper's coverage of that office was fair. She said she was successful in doing so, and that the paper even sued the city council while her husband was in office. The case involved the city council refusal to give The Mountain Express legal notices to publish. These notices, which announce local lawsuits and legal actions, are a source of revenue for the paper. Morris won the case.

Staff members must steer clear of endorsing political candidates. Staff members may not paste political bumper stickers on their four-wheel drives. Nor may they post signs endorsing a candidate in their yards. Watkins, whose husband is involved in local campaigns, ran into problems four years ago when her husband spear-headed a mayoral campaign and placed a sign in their front yard. "I got 10 phone calls complaining about that sign," said Watkins. Morris also received complaints at the office and the sign came down almost immediately.

However, there is no policy against voting in an election. "It's ludicrous not to vote," said Eagan. "Voting is about as personal as your diet."

Other small-town concerns also create problems for reporters. Morris said she was faced with a particularly sticky situation when two of her reporters lived with someone the paper investigated for voter fraud. In this case, rather than making the reporters move out of the apartment, the story was assigned to a third writer.

Bailey also faces special problems as the editor of the Guide. In a resort town where new restaurants, bars and art galleries are as ubiquitous as the outcroppings on the ski mountain in the spring thaw, Bailey is limited in what she can include. Since she controls the content and size of the section and must personally choose what to cover, she is inundated by friends and acquaintances constantly pitching stories that are in their interest. She tries to stay as removed as possible and does not accept any freebies. She does not disprove of outside writers from travel

or skiing magazines accepting free meals, however.

Bailey said one of the most difficult aspects of her job is covering Ketchum's 30 art galleries. "They [gallery owners] think I'm their press agent, that I'm here to publicize them," said Bailey. She attempts to keep coverage fair by writing about the monthly gallery walks sponsored by all the art galleries in town and gives each exhibit roughly the same amount of copy.

Much of what runs in the Guide is dictated by space, rather than ethical concerns, said Bailey. "If some gallery has a particularly interesting show, or a business is something different and I have room for a longer piece, I'll run one," said Bailey. "It's a matter of luck who gets the long stories. It comes down to that." She said she still gets many complaints, usually in person, about including one group to the exclusion of another.

Some community involvement is allowed, however. Julian Brown, Morris's third reporter, joined a back country rescue team with her support. "This gives him a strong tie to the community," said Morris. "We want people covering the community who care about the community." Eagan is considering joining a forest service program where rangers take skiers on a tour of Bald Mountain. He does not consider this a conflict of interest because the guide program is innocuous and he cannot see ever having to write about this aspect of the forest service.

Watkins said that knowing and understanding her audience and community is imperative. Watkins has two children in the Blaine County schools and feels she covers education more thoroughly and more intelligently than she would if this were not the case. "The school board members know me and I know the beat," said Watkins. "It helps me to have kids there." The fact that she has a personal stake in the valley's education system has not elicited complaints from readers.

Although Bailey strongly believes in removing herself from town activities, she has acted in a local theater production. She did not see her participation as a conflict of interest with her work as

entertainment reporter. The biggest problem she encountered were actors' egos. "Some people in the play thought I ought to put a big picture in of them because they know me," said Bailey. Even when she appeared on the front page of the Guide in a cast photo no one complained to the paper. Bailey chose to do the play because she wanted to get a perspective on theater from in front of the curtain rather than from the first row.

One policy that helped Bailey separate her work from her recreation is that no local theatrical productions are reviewed by the paper. "We've had big problems reviewing plays," said Bailey. "When we reviewed two plays a few years ago we got letters to the editor saying if you can't say something nice, don't say anything. I had people coming up to me in the supermarket and making nasty comments. We decided it wasn't worth it." Now every new production is summarized in the paper before it opens.

Membership in national organizations constitutes a gray area for the staff. "They can make contributions to the American Cancer Society or Friends of Animals," said Morris. "They just can't sit on the board of directors." She sees a distinction between financially supporting a cause and serving an active role on behalf of that cause.

Watkins was caught in an awkward situation due to her relationship with pro-choice groups. While she belongs to Blaine County for Choice and the National Organization of Women and her name is on the mailing lists, Watkins does not attend these groups' meetings. A few years ago when national legislation was pending on the abortion issue, she was assigned to write a story on pregnancy care in the valley including coverage of a local crisis pregnancy center. "Everyone knows I'm totally pro-choice," said Watkins, yet she was assigned to cover the center run by a fundamentalist church that uses scare tactics to dissuade women from having abortions.

"There is no such thing as an objective story," said Watkins, and her piece on the center she admits was biased. Reaction to the article was strong and

the minister in charge of the center wrote scathing letters to the editor. "I would have had much better footing if it wasn't for my loose affiliation with Blaine County for Choice," said Watkins.

Other small-town ethical concerns abound. Last month, the paper ran a photo of the scene of an auto accident where a baby had been decapitated and others died. The photo only showed the wreckage of the car, yet many people complained. "People think you're insensitive to the family," said Watkins. "It's too small a town." Yet she said the reasons the photos are run are to elicit action. A similar photo showing an accident victim being dragged off a dangerous mountain pass caused so much outrage the city put up guard rails. She said she hopes the picture of the accident will eventually force people to make the highway safer.

Blaine County reporters must constantly think objectively about their choices of stories, their approach to these stories, and what they are and are not choosing to include in the paper. Since most people at least recognize the established writers, Watkins, Morris and Bailey are inundated with story ideas. Should the innovative out-of-town sculptor get more copy than the local watercolorist who advertises in the paper? Should a reporter write a negative story about a neighbor who just happens to be mayor of the town? Does an education reporter criticize the principal of her children's school? Morris says yes.

The citizens of the valley demand the paper be fair and require it as one of its primary purposes to expose conflicts of interest in community leaders, said Morris. "In a small town, everyone has a conflict of interest," said Watkins, and it is the paper's job to expose those conflicts. When a city councilwoman was writing a grant for a major corporation, which was a conflict of interest with her public job, The Mountain Express published the story and the woman ceased her extra-council activities. "We attack people constantly," said Watkins. "We have to live what we preach." ■

## Informal Policy Guides Lowell

By MARY BOYLE

About a year ago, Dana Francis, a reporter who covers education for The Sun newspaper in Lowell, Mass., went to her editors with a request.

A local homeless shelter had invited her to join its board of directors. As a Lowell resident with an interest in the community, Francis was honored and wanted to join.

"I thought it could have made me more a part of the community," she said.

But the executive editor and the assistant managing editor both told Francis that she could not join the board because it could lead to a conflict with her reporting duties. Francis declined the invitation.

In retrospect, she said the decision was probably the right one. "I understand how it could have possibly become a conflict, even though it [the homeless shelter] didn't have anything to do with my beat," she said.

But she also said she wished The Sun had had a written policy to define whether she could join the board. "Nothing was spelled out," she said. "It was all unclear."

The Sun is one of the oldest family-owned and run newspapers in the country, founded in 1878 by the great-grandfather of the present editor, John H. Costello Jr. Its daily circulation of about 60,000 covers 20 towns in northern Massachusetts's Merrimack Valley and southern New Hampshire.

Without a formal policy outlining answers to ethical questions that journalists face, such as whether a reporter can join a local executive board or run for office, individual conflicts and problems are considered and decided upon as they arise, editors and management of the paper said.

The system works for the paper, according to several top editors and four reporters who were interviewed. But most of the reporters and editors also

agreed they would prefer to have a written policy, especially in light of The Sun's longtime presence as the city's only newspaper.

According to Alex Costello, the associate editor, the paper's main unwritten policy is simply that reporters remain objective in their coverage. "After that, it's left up to the individual to use their discretion and judgment," he said.

The Sun places a lot of confidence in its reporters to make the right decisions when faced with questions such as whether to accept a bottle of wine at Christmas from a source, run for elected office or join a parent-teacher association.

In place of a policy, the reporters interviewed said they use their conscience to navigate some of the murky ethical decisions that journalists face each day. All the reporters also said they have chosen not to belong to any kind of organizations or community groups to prevent the people they cover and others in the city from learning their political and social leanings.

"The causes that people align themselves with are always indicative of where their loyalties and sympathies lie," said Linda Hervieux, a reporter who covers the courts and has worked at the paper for four years. "I always consider how my actions will be perceived by the people I cover."

James Campanini, The Sun's managing editor, said he recently decided to turn down an invitation to join the executive board of a Boys Club in the town in which he lives, 15 miles south of Lowell and out of the paper's circulation area.

Campanini explained that board members tended to be politicians and business people. And although the club had no apparent ties to the Lowell area, he did not want to start relationships that could lead to future conflict.

Campanini said he also wanted to avoid being asked for newspaper-re-

lated favors from board members. "I think it's just better to avoid those situations altogether," he said.

Christopher Scott, who has been at The Sun for 10 years and covers one of Lowell's larger suburbs, said maintaining anonymity on one's beat is one of the difficult aspects of being a reporter.

But Scott also said reporters should be free to join local organizations or even run for office outside their beats, if they wish. Such an experience could improve future coverage of related issues or events, he said.

"I'd draw the line at participating in something in the town you cover," Scott said. "But I have no problem getting involved in other places. The experience could be valuable on a professional level in another town."

Scott and Francis agreed that reporters do not have to isolate themselves in a community to do their job.

"This country was formed on participation," Scott said. "Just because you're a reporter doesn't mean you shouldn't live."

Despite the lack of a written policy, The Sun has had few ethical dilemmas with its reporters in recent years, according to editors.

Neither Alex Costello or Campanini could recall incidents in which reporters made poor ethical decisions that led or could have led to conflict or trouble for the newspaper.

"Historically, our reporters have been good at ferreting out their decisions in different situations," Campanini said.

One reporter agreed. "I think there's a fairly good culture at The Sun and the reporters have a good understanding of the way they should act," said Glen Johnson, a political and investigative reporter who has worked at The Sun for almost four years.

But Hervieux warned it takes only one poor ethical decision by a reporter to tarnish the reputation of the newspaper and the staff. "Just one choice that's not in the best interest of the paper and it could cause trouble for everyone," she said.

Editors and reporters agreed that the paper would be better served with a written policy, especially now, when the media is being more closely scruti-

nized by its often disgruntled and diminishing readers.

"For a newspaper to have respect and credibility, they need to maintain the same standards that they hold for the news figures they cover," Johnson said.

Editor John H. Costello said a lack of personnel has deterred the formation of a policy, but that he would also like to see one instituted.

"This is something we're striving to get accomplished to help reporters with the process and help the paper maintain its reputation," he said.

As a family-owned newspaper with deep roots in the community, The Sun does not claim to be a silent observer in Lowell, Alex Costello said. The paper is involved in several citywide charitable and educational events, such as holiday fundraising and the hosting of a spelling bee for students.

Alex Costello, who also writes the paper's editorials, acknowledged that while some journalistic purists might argue The Sun is too involved in city affairs, he disagrees.

"A paper like this is more than just a newspaper," he said. "It's part of the fabric of the community. If we have a chance to make Lowell a better place, then we have that obligation."

Alex Costello said The Sun is able to successfully walk the fine line between community participant and objective observer.

"We get involved in local issues and at times there is a discomfort zone when you have to kick some of the big players in the paper," he said. "It may be hard, but we still do it. It may make the relationships more sensitive, but you still do your job."

In fact, John H. Costello said he thinks it's helpful for reporters to occasionally socialize with the people they cover to find out what's really going on in the community.

"In a place this size, it's helpful to go out to lunch or go golfing with some of these people, as long as objectivity is maintained," he said.

Interviews with Sun reporters revealed a wide range of opinions regarding ethical decisions faced by journalists. Scott, for example, was the only

one of the reporters interviewed who said he preferred not to have a policy that could dictate how or where a reporter lives his or her personal life.

"I'd consider it an intrusion of my private life if we had a policy like that," he said.

Hervieux and Johnson, on the other hand, were adamant that The Sun needs a policy that among other things, prohibits reporters from joining most organizations. Membership not only clouds objectivity, but can lead to alliances with other group members that can make fair reporting difficult, they said.

"Objectivity is skewed by the people you do business with, the people you hang around with and the people you associate with," Johnson said.

Hervieux, Johnson and Francis also said that reporters should not register with either of the two main political parties. Instead, reporters should cloak their political beliefs by registering as an "independent" voter.

"I don't want the people I cover to know what I am," Hervieux said of her political affiliation.

Regarding the acceptance of gifts from sources, the reporters said they don't need a policy to make the right decision.

"Any self-respecting reporter would reject favors like that," Scott said. "We're not here to curry favor."

Alex Costello said another item he would place on a policy list of no-no's for reporters is donating money to political campaigns they are covering. But he also said he would not mind if a reporter gave money to a race that he or she is not covering. "I think most reporters think of themselves as pure as the driven snow and wouldn't do this anyway," he said.

As a political reporter, Johnson said he is particularly careful to avoid decisions or actions that could be construed as unethical or inappropriate by the elected officials, business leaders and others he covers.

"In this day and age, the press must hold itself up to the same standards as the people who fill its pages," he said. "If the press doesn't do this, it's hypocritical and will only hasten the defect of our readers to other media." ■

## All in the Family In Millersburg, Pa.

BY MARC PITZKE

**I**n Millersburg, Pa., there is no getting around the Kocher family. For generations they have lived there, and they seem to be involved in every business in town.

City and state records show the Kochers own, or manage, a cattle farm, a coal company, a food company, a supermarket, a catering service, a bank, an investment corporation, a construction firm, a printing firm, a nursing home, and a hardware business. Their names also appear in key positions of a multi-corporate health provider and a homeowners association. There even is a Kocher Road in Millersburg.

It may come as no surprise that The Upper Dauphin Sentinel, the only newspaper in this town of 3,000 in the rural heart of Pennsylvania, is owned and published by Ben L. Kocher. Movie material? Maybe. But then, of course, Ben L. Kocher is not Citizen Kane.

Yet it is an unusually tight web linking Millersburg, its businesses and its newspaper. Sentinel reporters write about events in a town practically owned by their boss and his family. They pretend to be observers in a community so small that it inevitably turns them into actors. Rated by professional standards, The Sentinel is a journalistic conflict of interest in itself.

That does not seem to bother the management. "All The Sentinel wants," says Kocher, "is to create a positive attitude toward our community."

The Sentinel is published once a week, on Tuesdays, serving Dauphin, Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties. The 32 pages contain all the visible ingredients of a serious local newspaper: news, features, sports pages, classified ads. Yet, unlike so many other American newspapers, The Sentinel has no ethics code, no written rules of conduct, no written advice of any kind on

how its journalists are supposed to avoid professional conflicts of interest.

"We don't need written rules," says Kocher, who bought the 109-year-old paper in 1970. Indeed, there are no guidelines on whether The Sentinel's three editors and 20 freelance writers may or may not engage in community organizations. Says Kocher, "I myself make sure that my people don't get too heavily involved in what they're covering."

Which, however, seems hard to avoid in Millersburg. In the edition of Oct. 5, 1993, almost every article dealt with issues that affected the Millersburg residents and the private lives of The Sentinel staff: fire prevention week, local effects of a new state harassment/stalking law, consolidation of two long-established Roman-Catholic parishes, the new senior citizen home, the homecoming football game at the Upper Dauphin Area High School.

"We don't have problems with conflicts of interest," Kocher says. "Only once, a couple of years ago, we had to pull a reporter off a story. It was about the school board and she was getting much too emotional about it."

How Duane Good, Lori Norris and Lon Zeiders, the three full-time editors and writers, deal with this policy, can only be guessed. All telephone calls to The Sentinel were diverted to the publisher's office. "It's sufficient if you talk to me," Kocher said.

Judged by their work and official documents, at least two of the three editors seem to reconcile—and mix—with ease their profession with their, or their employer's, community involvement.

Not only did Zeiders edit the five sports pages, he also shot three of the six photographs that bore a byline in the Oct. 5 issue. Photography is Zeiders's second occupation: he owns Millersburg's only photo shop, Baker Photography, according to Pennsylvania State Department corporate partnership records. Zeiders could not be reached for comment.

The front page of The Sentinel's Oct. 5 Homestyle section was devoted to an \$800,000 architectural project in the new senior center. "Millersburg seniors

to get new home," the headline read. In an interview with editor Good, John Minnich, the senior center's advisory board chairman, complained about the lack of funds for the building.

Serving on the center's advisory board is, among others, Leon E. Kocher, the publisher's father and director of the local branch of Community Banks, Inc. Good mentioned this at the end of his article.

Official records reveal another connection between Community Banks and The Sentinel, besides family relations: they are linked by a 1991-95 bank loan for Kocher Enterprises Inc., the paper's publishing company owned by Ben Kocher.

"It's where the news is," said a promotion advertisement on page 2 of the Oct. 5 Sentinel. "Inside" news from communities, mostly consisting of church events, can be found in six columns written by freelancers. "That's this gossip kind of stuff," Kocher says. "Who went where on vacation, who enlisted for the army, what's the church choir doing. The columnists basically write about their own friends and neighbors."

And often they write about themselves. Devona Graeff began and ended her Oct. 5 column, "Millersburg Memos," with religious and moral counsel. Mina Buffington used her editorial space, "Elizabethville Echo," to wish her granddaughter "happy birthday" and her daughter and son-in-law "happy anniversary." Linda Crabb, reporting from Lykens, wrote about Sentinel editor Good, who spoke at the recent Lykens area senior citizens' meeting; Crabb concluded her short chronicle with a revealing mix of observers and actors: "The people of Lykens can be very proud of our local fire company band." And Edith Umholtz made clear her close association with the Williamstown Historical Society when she announced an open house to benefit the society by saying, "We will accept all or any items you have related to our town."

But it would be wrong to conclude there are no regular journalistic standards at The Upper Dauphin Sentinel.

For example, there is a corrections/clarifications column on page 2. It states, "The Sentinel strives to print accurate, complete information." On Oct. 5, "corrections/clarifications" included the names of 21 Millersburg businesses that had contributed money to the purchase of books for Halifax area middle school students, but had not been mentioned in a previous article. One of these businesses was Community Banks.

There are also some strict rules on what may appear in The Sentinel and what may not. "I don't want a word about alcohol, tobacco, astrology, the occult or pornography," says Kocher. ■

## Community Links High in Monroe, Wisconsin

BY DAVID BAKER

**A**s news editor for The Monroe Evening Times in southern Wisconsin, Mary Jane Bestor reads a lot of press releases. As a member of the Monroe Theater Guild, she writes them.

Who receives the releases Bestor writes? "Us," she said. "That's pretty much it."

The Evening Times is Monroe's only paper. Its coverage focuses on local sports and schools and city and county government. Although Monroe's population is just 10,300, according to the Chamber of Commerce, the paper is widely read throughout rural Green County and neighboring northern Illinois and lists its circulation as 72,000.

The paper has no formal ethics code limiting involvement of its five editors and three reporters in Monroe's public life. It does, however, encourage its staff to join community organizations.

"You have to encourage them to get involved, to become visible members of

the community," Editor Judie Hyde said. Hyde is the vice president of the theater guild's board of directors and also sits on the board of the Monroe Arts and Activities Center.

Hyde and others at the paper view joining organizations as a near-necessity for covering a small town. "When you're doing things in groups, you understand people better," said Bestor. "You learn how the town thinks. And you get some dirt you wouldn't get otherwise."

Reporter Jim Culver first moved to Monroe when he joined The Evening Times staff last June. He immediately started playing with a softball team. "I needed to cultivate friendships and contacts and learn about the city," he said. "And I couldn't have done that as quickly as I did without joining some group....I'd be left out of the loop if I didn't get involved."

Last month Culver, who covers county politics and the courthouse, started working with the local chapter of Habitat for Humanity. "I just wanted to pound some nails and saw some lumber," he said, "and somehow I became the publicity director for the chapter." He, too, will soon submit press releases to his own paper.

"I haven't had a chance to give anything to our office yet," he said. "I may very well feel uncomfortable writing a release and then handing it to our news editor."

Hyde said that the conflict of interest Culver and Bestor face is minimal since the paper won't let them cover their own groups. In fact, Hyde discourages her reporters and editors from involving themselves in organizations they might encounter in the course of their work.

The distinction between which forms of involvement are and aren't permissible can be blurry. Hyde considers membership in political organizations acceptable, to a point. "If they pay the dues but don't become active, that wouldn't be a problem," she said. "We would draw the line at running for office."

Hyde notes that Monroe's only other media outlet, radio station WEKZ, hasn't

held itself to the same standard. "One of its top managers was a member of the city council for many years," she said. "It gave them inside information that we obviously didn't have."

Hyde said that in her 14 years at the paper, she has yet to face a situation in which an Evening Times reporter's activities outside work threatened to compromise his or her journalistic fairness. She isn't certain how she'd handle such a test. "If we had a pro-life movement here and a reporter got involved, I don't know what I'd do," she said.

But if a policy of community involvement carries with it ethical risks, Hyde insists that it can improve a paper. "We're not as removed as you might be if you lived in a big city," she said. "If you have to go and sit in a coffee shop next to the guy you wrote innuendo about, you have to be accurate....You're in a constant one-on-one relationship with the people you write about."

That proximity to the readers, Hyde believes, forces small-town papers to pay more attention to accuracy than do larger papers. Culver says that since Monroe readers tend to know most of the people mentioned in the paper, they are quick to spot mistakes. "I've been called a number of times when I've messed up someone's age or their address," he said. "Everyone reads the paper."

While the tight link between small-town newspaper readers and reporters can be uncomfortable for reporters when they err, Bestor insists that "it makes us, as reporters, more approachable."

Hyde says that the paper has occasionally considered defining that reader-reporter relationship in a formal ethics code. She says the Wisconsin division of The Associated Press is currently writing an ethics code which the Evening Times will examine when it's finished. "If it looks like something we can adapt and adopt, we may use it," she said. Hyde added, however, "I don't think we need it." ■

## Discipline Barred By State at Paper In Santa Cruz

BY ADAM PIORE

Steve Shinder, the Wire Editor for The Santa Cruz Sentinel, was relaxed and well-rested when he walked into his editor's office in August of 1992. He had just returned from a scuba diving vacation in Mexico and had made a decision.

For several months, on weekends and after work, Shinder had been compiling a database on Northern California media outlets for the Northern California Clinton campaign. Now he wanted to take a leave of absence and work fulltime for the Clinton campaign.

As he stood outside the office of Managing Editor Tom Honig, Shinder says he had no reason to believe that there was anything wrong with his activities.

"Nobody had ever done anything like this before. But I didn't think that there'd be a problem," said Shinder. "I was doing the database on my own time.... I was very aware of the potential for bias and I was very careful not to let it interfere with my work at The Sentinel."

Shinder might not have been so relaxed if he had known what was to follow. His career was about to take a turn for the worse. Although he was told he could have the leave of absence he was suspended without pay and transferred to the copy desk. "I did it more as a signal that that could not be tolerated," said Tom Honig, The Sentinel's Managing Editor.

"We frown on any partisan activity in the community and we ask that our reporters come get permission so that it won't appear to be a conflict of interest....[The Shinder] case seems to me to be exactly what this rule is geared for. He had already done some work for them and had publicly discussed his interest in working for the Clinton cam-

paign."

Unfortunately for *The Sentinel*, Shinder did not like the rule and neither did the State Labor Board. The board ruled *The Sentinel's* actions illegal and forced the paper to expunge disciplinary letters from Shinder's file and give him back pay.

Today, Steve Shinder is a speech writer for the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington. At *The Sentinel*, however, the repercussions of his actions are still being felt. *Sentinel* editors have lost all power to prevent reporters from joining outside organizations, although they say they discourage it.

Dan Regan, the publisher, was forced to circulate a memo informing staffers of their right to join outside organizations as specified in the California Labor Code.

"We had a meeting a few days after [Shinder] had taken his leave of absence and we were told that we shouldn't join groups and political organizations," said Martha Mendoza, who covers city government and other city news.

"A few weeks later that was taken back and management said 'it's OK to join groups but we really don't recommend it, but do it if you want—of course you can, but we don't think you should.'"

Honig contends that this is not a problem. "Most of our reporters aren't too interested in joining outside organizations. Everyone sort of shares the ethic not to be attached," he said. "Frankly it really doesn't come up."

While *Sentinel* staffers interviewed said they would never consider working for a political campaign, most, including Honig, said they did belong to outside organizations.

- Honig is a member of the local museum board and the Friends of the Long Marine Lab.
- Jon Robinson, who covers the University of California at Santa Cruz and the environment, is an ardent surfer and a member of the Association of Surfing Professionals.
- Martha Mendoza belongs to the Wilderness Society, the Nature Conservatory, the International

Mountain Biking Association and Sigma Delta Chi, a women's journalist society.

- Kathy Krieger, the county government reporter, belongs to a quilting society.
- Steve Perez, the court and crime reporter, belongs to the California Chicano News Media Association.

All five say their outside involvement has not interfered with their ability to report objectively, although several acknowledged that conflicts have come up.

"If I'm concerned about being objective because I feel strongly one way or the other, I'll let someone else at the paper read my article and ask them to keep my bias in mind and tell me if it's objective," said Mendoza. Others, like Jon Robinson, said that interests and community involvement can sometimes color the stories a reporter chooses to report, but it does not necessarily interfere with the ability to be objective.

"I surf, therefore I cover water quality more than I might, but it doesn't change my read on the issue," said Robinson. He added, however, that he has avoided joining certain environmental surfer advocacy groups he believes in, because they are political.

"I don't want to feel like I owe the Surfrider Foundation an article because I'm a member," he said.

While most staffers agree that coverage is generally objective, there is disagreement as to how outside involvement affects the quality of the newspaper.

"Martha's into biking so she's always writing about biking. Jon Robinson's into surfing, so he's always writing about surfing. That's nice but not everybody cares about biking and surfing," said Steve Perez.

Still each staffer interviewed stressed the need to protect *The Sentinel's* image as an objective source of news in the community. Most said they would avoid community organizations that might tarnish that image.

"In my opinion it's a question of public perception. To my mind that is really key. Most people I work with are capable of being fair. We have some

churchgoers, some atheists and I would expect they would cover religious issues in the same way," said Honig.

"We don't want anything to appear as a conflict of interest. And that's why we try to discourage community involvement." Other reporters have taken this idea a step further. "Every once in a while around town, people will say to me 'What do you think about this?' And I say 'Hey, I don't get paid to think. I get paid to report the facts and keep myself free of baggage,'" said Perez. "I try to keep myself free of any baggage that might allow people to say 'You didn't report this fairly because you belong to this organization.' I don't think I'd be serving the readers."

Not one reporter interviewed said that he had joined an organization to keep in touch with the needs of the community.

Some local critics say *The Sentinel's* understanding of issues has suffered as a result. Conn Hallinan, a professor of journalism at the University of California at Santa Cruz, said that *The Sentinel's* coverage of local politics often misses the boat. "With *The Sentinel*, there are always two sides. It's always black and white," said Hallinan. "But the politics of Santa Cruz are very complicated. Often you don't have two sides, you have 14 sides. You have the university people, the local environmental people, the anti-growth people. The town is deeply split. And the only way to make any sense of it is to become part of the process. They're not a part of it so they don't understand it."

But *Sentinel* reporters contend that they are able to keep in touch with the needs and interests of the community without joining community organizations.

"This is a small town. I go to the grocery store and run into a person on the planning commission and he bends my ear for about half an hour," said Kathy Krieger. "I talk to people at my daughter's basketball game. Unless you live like a hermit, I don't see how you can help but be out there feeling the pulse of the community."

*The Sentinel's* circulation has hovered around 39,000 for the last five years. ■

# Feel-Good Stories Are Matter Of Principle at Monitor In South Texas

BY ANNA BORGMAN

**D**aniel Cavazos is the young and talented editor who led the charge three years ago to revamp *The Monitor*, a parochial South Texas newspaper based in McAllen. Cavazos is the heart and soul of the paper's new philosophy of making the community feel good about itself. To him it is a matter of both principle and practicality.

"We're trying to blend the traditional responsibility of journalists with a reflection of the culture and the value of the Mexican-American tradition," Cavazos explained. "I don't think that's pandering. I think it's just being smart."

For too long, Cavazos said, South Texas newspapers have been owned, edited and reported by outsiders. The Rio Grande Valley's three newspapers, all owned by California-based Freedom Inc., have been profitable. But, at least until recently, none has reflected the fact that 90 percent of the paper's potential readership is Hispanic.

"I've heard comments that up until a few years ago, you could look at *The Monitor* and never know it was in deep South Texas; it could have been in Iowa," Cavazos said. "Just common sense would say that any paper in any community should reflect the community. This paper never had."

As a matter of principle, Cavazos believes a local newspaper is charged with making a community feel good about itself and with showing residents that "it's on their side, that it's going to be watching out for them, that it's going to tell them bad things but they're going to hear some good things as well." But community reporting, Cavazos quickly added, is also good business at a time when newspapers are facing more and more competition.

The traditional journalist, discon-

nected from the community, is "disastrous" in an area like South Texas, where residents identify deeply with their region and their culture, Cavazos asserted. "I think it's rather outdated in a time when so many media are bombarding us. At one time, when there were only newspapers, you could get away with it.

"Today, I think you need to make newspapers marketable and aim them at specific audiences. Some say that's pandering; I say that's just diversifying a newspaper's appeal."

The *Monitor's* reporting of the Tejano music craze two years before it was covered by *The Dallas Morning News* is a perfect example to Cavazos of the rewards of being tuned in to the community.

Metro Editor Marcia Caltabiano said, "I think for too long newspaper people wrote for other newspaper people and were not providing a service. We went along patting ourselves on the back, and I think that's why newspapers are in the trouble they're in."

The *Monitor* recently started a teens page, a family page and a women's page, all in the hope of allowing readers to see themselves in the newspaper and increase circulation. Caltabiano also pointed proudly to a recent pop-culture piece that she argued onto the front page. The subjects were soap opera characters Luke and Laura of *General Hospital*.

"The readership loved it. We have to stop looking at the back row of editors' desks and saying why do we care? We have to look out the window and say why do *they* care?"

John Weimer, the paper's prize-winning former Business Editor who is now studying at the University of Chicago, questions if *The Monitor's* appeal to readers has gone too far. Weimer said Cavazos constantly urged him to bal-

ance traditional business reporting against the community's ability to understand what it was reading, and that he does not believe the result was necessarily better reporting.

Cavazos discouraged, for example, monthly articles on economic barometers like unemployment and retail sales. Instead, Weimer said, he was urged to cut out numbers and statistics and do softer people-oriented business stories.

"A truly good newspaper is a compromise between education and playing to the public," Weimer said.

Then Weimer stepped out of his reporter mode into a discussion of the financial realities of newspapering. Every reporter and editor interviewed did the same.

"Some of it is fluff, but a lot of readers would rather see their name in print than anything else," Weimer said. "I tend to look at it from a strategic perspective. Even if it is fluff, if the stories hook the people, that's great."

Dave Harmon, *The Monitor's* health and environment reporter, said he has never received any specific directives to go out and get in touch with the community, but he tries to do so because of the paper's "obvious" philosophy, with which, he said, he happens to agree.

Harmon noted that before Cavazos's arrival the paper pandered to the McAllen area's largely Anglo women's groups and library boards. Now a special page covers each community once a week. The pages have no advertising and spotlight, say, a high school student who migrated north as a farm worker and now is headed to an Ivy League school. The pages also serve as a catch-all for items of community interest—briefs on public hearings, listings of small-business award winners, mentions of school plays and church bazaars.

Patty Sandoval-Bazzani, a 31-year-old Mexican-American who grew up in McAllen and edits the paper's new special sections, said she was excited to see *The Monitor* move away from traditional beat reporting and "stenographic writing" into the "realm of relevant debate."

Sandoval believes *The Monitor* is still grappling with the issue of whether or



not it is an "activist paper."

"I don't think there's anything wrong with having an agenda as long as it's fair," she said. "I don't think there's anything wrong with advocating for livable conditions for South-side people" (residents of the city's poorer, mostly Hispanic area).

She agreed that pro-community coverage helps sell the product. "Obviously there's the money. It's a business. There's always that element. People need to be able to recognize themselves and feel some ownership in the paper."

But she, too, questions whether the paper is succeeding in doing a balancing act. "It's almost as if they're forfeiting the newspaper's responsibility" as watchdog.

There are clear benefits to the paper's shift in approach. Circulation climbed 4,000 in the last year to about 40,000 daily and 47,000 Sunday. Cavazos hopes the paper will be a 55,000- to 60,000-circulation daily in the next five years. That still falls far short of the paper's potential. The Monitor is located in the sixth-largest newspaper market in Texas with a population of 400,000.

The Monitor's low market penetration is due in part to the language barrier (the paper will soon begin a Spanish-language weekly edition), in part to the fact that larger families mean more readers share one copy and part to the paper's inability so far to write some of the hard news stories that really affect people's lives.

Overall, there is no question that the new Monitor is vastly superior to the old one, and, it could be argued, the best newspaper on the U.S.-Mexico border and perhaps in South Texas. But the question remains: In a community racked by problems—environmental threats, gang violence, drug trafficking, a dismal educational system—does feel-good reporting best serve the community? ■

## Syracuse Teen Reporters Face Ethical Conflicts

BY KEN BAKER

**A**s the Syracuse Herald-Journal attempts to attract young readers through its teen correspondent program, the paper faces a set of ethical conflicts that may undermine its journalistic credibility.

In October, 1989 the 88,000-circulation paper began publishing "hj" magazine, a special weekly section for teens with articles written by high school students whose beat is their own school. The teen correspondent program was started to produce news that is relevant and interesting to young readers. Students are paid for each of their published articles.

The Herald-Journal was one of the nation's first daily newspapers to experiment with assigning teens to cover their peers and, in some cases, teachers and administrators. The number of correspondents writing for "hj" has grown to 50 students covering 30 Syracuse-area high schools.

Four years after the program's start, Herald-Journal editors and teen correspondents interviewed reported that holding high school students to the same ethical standards of regular staff reporters was unrealistic.

"Someone who's 16 or 17 can't easily step outside of their high school environment and report objectively," said David Clary, 19, who was an "hj" correspondent for three years while in high school. "To be objective...requires a tremendous amount of maturity that most teens don't have." Clary and other current and former teen correspondents cited numerous instances of ethical conflicts that interfered with their reporting.

Correspondent Jared Paventi, 16, said he has avoided critical stories be-

cause he was ostracized by students and bullied by administrators after they learned that he planned to write about a well-liked cross country coach's threatening a student with a starter's pistol.

"The principal called me into his office and suggested I didn't do the story," said Paventi, who has published 25 articles in the paper. "My reputation at school could have been sent into the toilet if that story ran."

Herald-Journal youth editor Mike Hirsch, acknowledged the ethical conflicts his teen correspondents face.

"It can be awkward for the correspondents because often they are reporting on subjects that the schools don't want the public to know about," said Hirsch.

The paper has published teen-written stories in "hj" and other sections on such typically controversial topics as teen pregnancy, abortion and gay rights.

Hirsch said that when there is a potentially divisive story he will assign a staff reporter.

"They aren't experienced enough to stand up to people who often time will be deciding their grades," said Hirsch.

When teens have tackled controversial stories, they have often received pressure from those around them.

"I was getting a lot of harassment from the administration for one of my stories," said Julie Zajac, a senior at West Hill High School. "The principal threatened censorship."

The intimidation was in reaction to a story she did two years ago reporting on a theft of \$100 in candy from the school's booster club by members of the boys' basketball team.

Zajac said students, parents and school administrators criticized her for writing the story. "They just want nice stories written about their school."

"It's a lot of stress for a teen to go through. It would be easier to report on people I didn't know," said Zajac. "It's tough to do some stories when you have to face those people every day."

She said the experience was worthwhile because it made her realize she didn't want to be a journalist. "There's always someone who's going to be mad at you," said Zajac.

David Clary said that not only has intimidation affected correspondents' news judgment, but their "being too close" to people and events around them leads to a self-censorship.

"When you're in high school you're desensitized to things like drinking," said Clary, who is currently a journalism student at Syracuse University. He added, "A lot of the writers were public-relations oriented. It's advocacy journalism."

Larry Richardson, the first "hj" editor and now a foreign desk editor, said he originally hoped that having students "reporting from the inside" of the schools would yield more insightful stories than staff reporters could produce. But, he said, more often than not the students wrote "soft" news stories.

"The students we accept into the program are college-bound types who usually don't hang around the trouble-makers," said Richardson. "So we normally don't get juicy stories like about who is carrying guns to school because our kids don't know about it."

He added, "There's a tendency for kids not to write about sex and drugs."

However, Hirsch said the program has produced some provocative stories the paper would not have gotten without a teen correspondent. One example he cited occurred last spring when one of his correspondents reported that her school stopped reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

"She asked her principal why they stopped and he said it was because many African-American students didn't believe America had liberty and justice for all," said Hirsch.

The story, which Hirsch turned over to a staff reporter, received national attention and was the subject of discussion on talks shows such as the Rush Limbaugh radio show.

## Appearance of Conflict Weighed in Lincoln, Nebraska

BY LARS ANDERSON

**A**lthough The Lincoln Journal has no formal rules that police or regulate the private behavior of its staff, the evening newspaper does have a two-pronged unwritten policy. The informal directive urges reporters to use common sense to avoid joining groups that may create conflicts of interest, while at the same time coddles the desire of the staff to be involved in the community. The guidelines, de-

When Richardson realized the special ethical issues that confronted teen correspondents he created a set of guidelines. In it he told the students that it is not their job to ruin or protect their school's reputation, and to always be fair in their stories, rules all journalists are urged by most educators and management to follow.

But although it is needed, Richardson said, Herald-Journal staff reporters do not have a similar set of written guidelines. Rather, he said, most ethical guidelines are done post-mortem. "I only hear about ethics in staff meetings," Richardson said.

Richardson said that having students, rather than staff reporters, covering the schools potentially reduces the paper's integrity. "The perfect way to cover schools is to have a staff reporter walking each hall in every high school, but we don't have the resources to do that," Richardson said.

He stressed that the paper must hold teen correspondents to a high journalistic standard, or risk tarnishing its image.

"If we as a paper don't have credibility in the eyes of readers, then we have nothing." ■

signed to insure fairness in reporting and to preserve a lifeline to the public, have been implanted in Lincoln for 30 years.

The first aspect of the policy requires reporters to avoid the appearance of a conflict of interest. Craig Swanson, the Editor of the newspaper, which has a circulation of 40,000, said that what constitutes a conflict of interest is assessed case by case.

"There are many gray areas where it's difficult to determine whether or not there is a true conflict," said Swanson, "but we want our reporters to come and discuss potential conflicts with the editors."

One steadfast policy forbids a staff member to serve in a local public office. "Historically, we have stayed away from letting the staff serve on boards or groups that are direct recipients of tax funds," said Bob Moyer, The Journal's city editor. The Journal is flexible, however, in accommodating the political aspirations of staff members.

"We have had people run for office," said Moyer, "and we allow them to take unpaid leaves of absence where their job will be preserved for them."

The Journal views public offices outside the immediate community of Lincoln through a different prism. While it normally depends on the circumstances in each case, the Journal has allowed service in public positions if the employment has no traceable impact on the ability to be fair.

For example, a member of the Lifestyles desk, C.J. Shepard, recently ran for School Board in a rural community outside of Lincoln. Since the elected position wasn't part of her beat, and the office was a relatively obscure and unpublicized one, the paper allowed her to campaign for the position while maintaining her job.

Although not as visible as running

for office, political bumper stickers on cars or political signs in yards can be just as harmful in creating a conflict of interest, Swanson said. If the political material refers to a particularly generic issue, like abortion, then Swanson said that the paper doesn't consider the stickers or signs pose a problem. But for local elections and issues that attract considerable attention, like a mayor's race, The Journal insists that signs and stickers not be posted by staffers.

One of the more rigid Journal rules concerns the depth of a reporter's involvement in organizations that they cover on their beats. In order to safeguard against the possibility of biasing the coverage, beat reporters cannot become active or vocal members of an organization or institution that they report on. Swanson said this rule especially applies to political parties and for-profit, private organizations.

For community groups, like the PTA, the issue of applying the "activist" rule becomes more cloudy. "We would consider allowing an education reporter to be a member of the PTA," said Swanson, "and I probably would frown on it, but as long as they didn't take on a vocal role I would most likely allow it."

The same line of reasoning applies to a staffer who becomes a member of a special-interest organization, like the National Rifle Association. "I have no problem with someone belonging to an organization like the NRA," said Swanson, "but I would ask that their involvement be kept at a minimum. They can join, but we don't want them doing things like organizing rallies."

When it comes to being involved in the Lincoln community, however, the second prong of The Journal's policy encourages the staff to be active. The paper wants the staff to participate in community activities so reporters have a sense of the community's pulse.

"Personally, I like to see the staff out and involved in the community," said Swanson. "We are private citizens who shouldn't hide behind professional barriers, and plus, we also gain something by being a part of the community."

One advantage of having the staff planted in the affairs of the community is that it engenders story ideas. Swanson

sits on a United Way board and he said that he often comes away from meetings with ideas that eventually blossom into articles.

"When we can't cover the United Way meetings," said John Rood, a Journal reporter, "Craig becomes our eyes and ears and tells us if there are any possible stories coming out of the meeting."

The real impetus, however, behind the community involvement aspect of the paper's policy comes from the desire to grant the staff discretion in leading normal lives as citizens in a community. In other words, The Journal is hesitant to establish arbitrary guidelines regulating the staff's private behavior.

"We have to recognize that we live in the community," said Moyer. "We don't set boundaries on the staff, but we try to manage the policy by looking at the circumstances involved in each case," he said.

In the paper's recent history, managing the unwritten policy hasn't been a problem. Larry Pierce, a Journal reporter, said that for the six months he's been on the staff there haven't been any cases where the informal policy has been activated.

"To tell you the truth," said Pierce, who covers education, "I didn't know we even had a policy because there haven't been any circumstances where it might apply."

Though some reporters think the policy affords too much latitude in community involvement, most on the paper's staff think it's a fair, adequate policy.

"The reporters do a good job of policing themselves," said Rood. "Most of us are bright enough to know what to do and not to do, but if there is a potential problem it's easily resolved by simply talking with an editor," he said.

The litmus test editors use when assessing the possibility of conflict is appearance. If there is an appearance of conflict when a reporter or editor joins a community organization corrective action is taken. While these measures largely depend on circumstances of each case, they can range from switching a reporter's beat to not allowing an editor to work on stories where bias might be perceived.

"The key issue for us," said Swanson, "is to recognize and be aware of the potential for conflict. And if we see one, we have to remove ourselves from the loop, so to speak." ■

## Freelance Articles Do Editors Treat Contributors Fairly?

## Read Morton Mintz in the Winter Edition Nieman Reports

# Hyphenated Americans

*Blacks Can Make Special Case for Afro- or African-  
But Use Is Irrelevant and Divisive*

HARRY ASHMORE WAS EDITOR OF THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE IN 1957 WHEN GOVERNOR ORVAL FAUBUS PRECIPITATED A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS BY CALLING OUT THE STATE MILITIA TO DEFEY A FEDERAL COURT ORDER TO DESEGREGATE LITTLE ROCK'S CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. ASHMORE WENT ON TO WRITE EXTENSIVELY ABOUT CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. HIS NEW BOOK, "CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS: A MEMOIR OF RACE AND POLITICS 1944-1994," WAS PUBLISHED MAY 17 BY PANTHEON BOOKS. HERE, SLIGHTLY TRIMMED, IS THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE AT THE END OF THE BOOK.

Only a small minority of white Americans were actively involved in the evolution of the inclusive policies that opened the mainstream to middle-class blacks. The reaction of the rest was determined by attitudes reinforced, or modified, by the impressions conveyed by newspapers, magazines, television, and books.

Media coverage became a determinant when the political rebellion launched by the Dixiecrats in the aftermath of World War II reopened the public debate over legal and de facto segregation that had been dormant for 50 years. The moral issues posed by racial discrimination became inescapable, and for the first time black leaders empowered by the civil rights movement were speaking out in their own right. This guaranteed a deeply emotional response by members of both races. I don't think I overstated the case when I wrote:

The issue holds the undisputed American course record for public and private ambivalence. Nothing in our national experience remotely compares with the unresolved racial dilemma for the production of bloodshed, emotional trauma, rank injustice, supercharged rhetoric, dubious theology, unsound academic research, bad legal theory, and perverse political practice.

As one fated by place of birth and choice of profession to deal with manifestations of the race issue, I was soon aware of the limitations this imposed on the written record, including my own contributions to it. Prior to the 1950's most of my writing was pub-

lished in newspapers as reportage or social and political commentary tempered by policies determined by those with whom I shared editorial responsibility. Since then I have published 14 books and numerous articles in national magazines that dealt, directly or in passing, with racial issues.

The books most frequently quoted or paraphrased here ["Civil Rights and Wrongs"] are ... cast in the form of thematically related essays: "An Epitaph for Dixie" (Norton, 1957), "The Other Side of Jordan" (Norton, 1960), and "Hearts and Minds: The Anatomy of Racism from Roosevelt to Reagan" (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982). All were focused on the effect of the civil rights movement on the changing contours of race relations.

I have left unchanged the style of racial identification in passages taken from these works. The evolution in the treatment of the minority in publications of general circulation is important as a reflection of the rising consciousness of blacks, and as a demonstration of the ability of the black leadership to impress their feelings on the editors and publishers who determine linguistic usage.

Until the 1960's blacks usually were portrayed in print and on radio and television by demeaning stereotypes that certified their inferior social status. When I was breaking in as an apprentice journalist, the style sheets in effect on most newspapers designated members of the minority as "negro," with a lower-case "n." "Colored," having been incorporated in the title of the NAACP back in 1913, was acceptable, but "black" was proscribed, along with such palpably offensive terms as "nigger," "darky,"

and "coon."

The first change in usage in response to black complaints I can recall resulted in the capitalization of "Negro" to put it on a par with racial terms such as "Irish," "Italian," and "Japanese," which were often hyphenated with American. Next came a demand for courtesy titles. The general practice called for the full name of an adult in the first reference, and thereafter the surname was preceded as appropriate with an abbreviated professional or political title, or "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss." But except for professional titles, Negro surnames were denied this mark of respect.

As usage became less formal these courtesy titles were eliminated for all males but were retained for white females. The offense implicit in their denial to even the most respectable Negro matron was compounded by the fact that colored females were rarely mentioned at all. News relating to family affairs was confined to what were then called "society" pages, and these remained unassailable bastions of white supremacy.

The psychological effect of these public marks of social inferiority was a matter of special concern for civil rights leaders, who recognized that raising black consciousness was essential to their cause. Ralph Ellison, who chose "The Invisible Man" as the title for a novel depicting black life at mid-century, noted that "Negro Americans are in a desperate search for identity. Their whole lives have become a search for the answers to the questions: Who am I? What am I? Why am I? and, Where?"

The proliferation of young black writers in recent years added an edge of anger to their depiction of an implacable white majority—which to some degree is refuted by their own entry into the publishing mainstream. Their work, like that of their white contemporaries, is usually charged with sexual overtones and fits readily into an expanding market for the literature of alienation.

The result has been a marked revision of the standards of style and taste in publications of general circulation. The demands of blacks were followed by those of women when they began to

organize in political factions. White women had been accorded a respected, even revered, place in American society, but as feminist leaders adopted the confrontational tactics of the civil rights movement they demanded an end to special treatment. The titles "Miss" and "Mrs." reserved for them denoted a marital status that did not apply to the increasing number of divorced women, professionals who chose to retain their maiden names, and those who rejected any implied restraint on their sexual freedom of choice. Thus the newly coined "Ms." came into being, although it has fallen out of favor as the demand for equal treatment with males led to the elimination of the last vestige of the courtesy title.

But the evolution of color- and gender-blind media treatment ran counter to the use of bloc identification as a source of political leverage. This has made it difficult to act upon the premise that any identifiable group is entitled to determine its proper designation. Some blacks, seeking to enhance the ethnic identity they previously downplayed, demand to be referred to as "African-American" or "Afro-American." American Indians, after being geographically displaced for five centuries, have introduced "Native American." The lack of satisfactory terms to cover the variety of recent immigrants from nations to the south and west of the United States has left editors divided between "Hispanic" and "Latino" and facing uncertain distinctions between "Asian" and "Pacific Islander." And the homosexual rights movement, having gained acceptance for "gay," now has factions that have reinstated "queer" and "dyke" for their satirical shock value.

In this form of protest against discrimination, as in most, blacks can make a special case. The injustice and psychological harm done by the traditional white imputation of inferiority to African ancestry was translated into social and legal sanctions of a different order than those applied to others not born to the prevailing culture; only blacks have constituted a permanently identifiable minority. But the effort to exalt an African identity remote in both time and space is largely a political gesture di-

vorced from the reality facing a people whose forebears arrived here with the first settlers. It is as irrelevant, and as divisive, as if the minority with which I am identified insisted on being called "British-Americans."

Like most aging writers, I have a curmudgeonly reaction to revisions that reduce the precision of language, and this volume will provide evidence that I have generally lagged behind the avant-garde of linguistic liberation. Abandonment of the smug and prudish Victorian standards that were still in effect when I became an editor has resulted from movements I have generally supported. But I am not sure whether this has enhanced, or diminished, the quality of the political dialogue on the central issues of race.

As one who has had to deal with contemporary events without the benefit of moral certitude, I can only offer in expiation of the ambivalence some readers will doubtless ascribe to this work the dictum of the Nobel laureate Czeslaw Milosz: "You cannot strive for coherence where coherence is not possible. Today, in our time, somebody who doesn't learn to live with contradictions is lost." ■

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### Correction

In the summer edition of *Nieman Reports*, the transcript of the conference on new technologies misspelled the names of Catherine Giradeau, Audiotext Editor of The San Jose Mercury Center, and Tracie Cone, a reporter with The San Jose Mercury News.

# Professors Weigh Impact of New Technology

Nieman Reports asked journalism professors how the new technologies would affect newspapers. Here are their responses.

## Micro-Targeting Of News Emerging

CAROLYN CLINE

Visiting Professor of Journalism  
University of Southern California

The new technologies have a profound meaning for journalism, for we are experiencing the emergence of a new medium, not merely a new delivery system.

Already, the commercial on-line services are easy enough for computerphobes to use, and these systems have become a new communication tool for delivering information and providing new outlets to interest groups, marketers and users. Case studies abound regarding the use of networks and bulletin boards for special-interest groups and advertisers.

But will these replace newspapers? No. Typical consumers do not automatically turn on the computer the way they do the TV and radio. Computers do not go well with morning coffee. However, the new technologies will be—and have been—adopted by major target audiences: the educated, the affluent, the opinion leaders, the activists.

Newspapers will have to adapt. The role of the editor as gatekeeper will change when consumers can design their own newspapers, research their own background information and use the medium for two-way communication. Media are already adjusting with on-line delivery systems and CD-ROM editions.

We may be at the age of micro-targeting news and advertising to meet the specific needs of small target groups, or even individuals. News can be defined by the individual consumer and then chosen from the larger menu provided

by the news organization: grade school lunch menus, city council minutes, shopping information from the local mall.

The challenge for the news media will be to adapt to the demands of the technologies and the audiences, to remain responsive to the readers' needs and wants and to deal with the information explosion. ■

## A Lost Opportunity For Dominance

RALPH L. LOWENSTEIN

Dean, College of Journalism  
And Communications  
University of Florida

The electronic newspaper will gradually evolve as an entirely new print medium. It will be more local in nature than current electronic newspapers. Its initial audience will be upscale, as innovators of new media always are, but will quickly attract the generation already comfortable with computers.

Just as newspapers changed with the evolution of radio, and radio changed with the evolution of television, the traditional newspaper will change even more with the evolution of the electronic version. For a time, the traditional newspaper will be better at presenting display advertising, and it will certainly retain an older audience well into the 21st Century.

I see today's electronic newspaper as very primitive compared to what it will be in the future. Tomorrow it will be portable, inexpensive, encyclopedic, and much more user friendly than it is today. I think it will be supported totally by advertising, much as television and radio are now.

Electronic publishing is so inexpensive that it will reintroduce raging com-

petition into daily newspaper journalism.

Newspaper companies should have been the inventors and dominant distributors of the electronic newspaper—but lost the opportunity through the senseless and wasteful battle with the telephone companies. ■

## Papers Should Change, Not Cling to the Past

JONATHAN FRIENDLY

Director, Master's Program in Journalism  
University of Michigan

This fax comes to you directly from my home computer, which I used yesterday afternoon for the benefit of a visiting Cambodian journalist to prowl Nexis for news from Phnom Penh. I also used the University of Michigan computer to search our library catalog for Cambodian periodicals, then went on the Internet for similar information from the city in which he will soon be working. So I have no trouble envisioning an easy, low-cost, broad-based system for citizen-driven information searching that would supplement present mass media offerings.

But the crucial issue is whether a large public will demand information, and I'm pessimistic about that. While our richest schools are teaching pupils to use new technologies to seek facts on their own, poorer schools can't afford the equipment or the most savvy teachers. Nor is it clear that corporatized bureaucracies want or reward independent curiosities that use data to challenge comfortable status quos. And the history of mass media institutions—with the possible exception of the telephone company, which provides individual interactive information to large

numbers of people—is that they cling to what they are doing in the form they are doing it while the rest of the world moves on.

Smart information/entertainment/education providers will seize the opportunities to deliver their services in the most economical and market-dominating ways. It will make sense for a newspaper, for example, to offer classified ads as a full-text searchable service or to provide data-intensive listings such as sports agate, recipes and stock quotes by interactive cable rather than on environmentally troublesome newsprint. The networks will stick with same-time, least-common denominator programming but cable, possibly in partnerships with newspapers and film/video studios, will develop more entertainment and information services for individual viewers.

It is not a question of whether present readers, viewers and listeners "desert" existing services, but whether the media companies provide new, more effective ways to serve the sons and daughters of present users. ■

## Newspaper Trend To Continue Down

RICHARD H. LEONARD

Lucius Nieman Professor of Journalism  
Marquette University

I have the following opinions on the impact of new technologies on journalism, print and broadcast:

1. Computer-based information systems will obviously make more news available to more people than ever before.

2. This availability will not result in a significant increase in newspaper circulation because viewing television is easier than reading, which requires thinking. There is no evidence that high technology will raise the intellectual aspirations of the mass communication audience.

3. Newspapers will continue their present trend away from hard news to soft features and entertainment in a spirited effort to compete with televi-

sion for the public's attention. Television will increase the time it gives to news broadcasts.

4. Home delivery of news and advertising by facsimile, words on television or computer screens, and other means will further diminish the information function of traditional print journalism. As Cathleen Black, CEO of the Newspaper Association of America, has observed: "Computer information services and interactive television forever changed the comfortable world of newspapers." ■

## As Heidegger Advised, Determine the 'Essence'

ALLEN W. PALMER

Department of Communication  
Brigham Young University

In the early 1980's, while attending graduate school, I took a temporary job with a major bank in California. I was stationed in a bank lobby and tried in vain to teach customers how they could do their banking at home over a personal computer. Except for a few curious on-lookers, there were very few interested customers. It was a good idea at the wrong time. My experience there reminded me of a striking lesson, one we are reluctant to recognize in communication history—we have been woefully unsuccessful in plotting the course of new technologies because it is virtually impossible to predict how they will be socially and culturally reinvented by the people who use them. In the vernacular of the classroom: there are simply too many uncontrolled variables.

We don't use the telephone or radio the way their inventors intended. Most innovations which were good ideas and introduced with considerable fanfare, such as home banking by computer or the video phone, simply misfired; many others which were almost afterthoughts, like the photocopy machine, the fax, and the ATM, have had a great impact on our business and personal lives.

Should we be startled to discover an "information superhighway" being con-

structed to our doorsteps? It is a metaphor which seems so obvious because, again, culturally it just "fits." Even so, no one knows what it might signify for the old economic and political orders, or how to harness it. Will it displace the newspaper, radio or TV? Or will they adapt? We simply can't know in advance. Such is the lesson of technology.

We might say, however, in a general sense, that technology is more than the sum of its tangible parts. As Heidegger framed it, every technology has its "essence." Innovations which succeed in adapting to people's lives are those which make metaphorical sense in the fuller context of their everyday needs. Tell me something about people's needs and I will understand their machines. ■

## Will Papers Give Up News for Amusement?

CHRISTINE OGAN

Professor of Journalism  
Indiana University

Just as newspapers adapted to meet the competition from radio and radio adapted in the face of television's popularity, so too these media will meet the challenge coming from computer-based information delivery. Though newspapers are now involved in as many as 2,700 electronic ventures in some form or other, they remain less satisfactory to readers than the ink-on-paper format.

Roger Fidler, director of Knight-Ridder's Information Design Laboratory, is working to perfect an interactive technology that more resembles the traditional newspaper in format, portability and design, but its price and its need to be linked to a digital data delivery source may preclude its mass success.

To be sure, the new interactive computer-based technologies appeal to a group of people—a growing number of people—who are excited by the idea of accessing vast amounts of information previously unavailable. But these users are mostly affluent, mostly well-educated, and mostly professionals. The big question is whether these technolo-

gies will diffuse to as wide a population as that which adopted the VCR. To do that, they will have to be attractive to the mass audience, an audience that at present is not interested in more information, but less; an audience that wants to be entertained rather than informed. Newspapers have already figured that out. And that is why we find less information in the daily press.

What may happen is that the information-seekers will migrate to the on-line services while the entertainment-seekers form the niche market for the traditional newspaper. What a very sad demise for such a great institution. ■

## New Media Demand More From User

JOHN E. NEWHAGEN

College of Journalism  
University of Maryland

"Ease of use" has two components. The first resides at the media-user interface, while the second has to do with information search complexity. The assumption that new interactive media technologies will be "easier" frequently only considers the first.

The user interface is where information is physically embodied. Newspapers use ink on paper. On-line services use the phosphorous coating on the computer screen. At this level, the newspaper is much "easier" than popular wisdom might propose, while the computer interface has a long way to go.

Research complexity is a topic that has not received as much attention as interface design. Here, there are constraints on "ease" that transcend media. Interaction implies user input in the retrieval process not present in traditional mass media. For a newspaper, data retrieval means picking the "database" out of the shrubbery in the morning. For television, it means zapping the remote. However, computer-based interactive systems demand that the user make a series of recursive decisions. From this perspective, data retrieval becomes an exercise in problem solving, and increased database complexity

implies increased effort.

Ease of use per se will not draw folks away from traditional mass media. Further, there is a real limit to the ease of use that can be designed into a computer interface. Even with a "user friendly" interface, interactive data retrieval inherently demands more effort than the passive scanning process associated with mass media.

Some people will be drawn from mass media into the interactive environment by the prospect of being able to execute user-controlled searches in vastly larger databases, not by ease of use. This kind of activity can already be seen in the Gopher or Archie facilities on the Internet. However, to the degree that such an enterprise inherently involves expertise and effort, only a relatively restricted group may be equipped and motivated to participate.

The bottom line? The rich may only get richer, with access determined more by societal variables, such as education, than it will by technological factors, such as interface design. ■

## Little Interest Seen In the New Media

DAVID M. RUBIN

Dean, S. I. Newhouse School of Public Communications  
Syracuse University

The American people already have available a far broader range of information, delivered in the traditional ways, than they care to access. Given sufficient funds and motivation, any American can become astoundingly well informed simply by reading and watching and listening to the existing media. There is no reason to believe that a new interactive delivery system, no matter how user-friendly, will convince persons uninterested, or marginally interested, in public affairs to tap into this flood of data. The likelihood is that persons whose living depends on information—particularly those in finance, management, education, and politics—will take advantage of new data services, while

the majority of the population will not. This will accelerate the bifurcation of American society along information lines: the Knowing, and the Know-Nots. The negative implications for democratic self-government are obvious.

Journalists will still perform a primary information gathering function. They will, however, have to become more skillful editors to help their audiences select information of real value. In addition, journalists will have to develop new packaging skills; that is, they will have to learn to deliver information not just as text, or as video packages, but as multimedia packages combining text, graphics, still pictures, and full motion video. To the extent this requires a new way of thinking or a new creative process, this will have to be taught. Over a period of time, print and electronic journalists will receive the same training and become indistinguishable in their reporting and delivery skills.

Until our primary and secondary schools emphasize reading, writing, a curiosity about current affairs and an appreciation for participation in the democratic process, many Americans will see no reason to make use of computer-based information systems. ■

## Risk of Obsolescence Of Papers Is Real

WILLIAM E. SMITH

Assistant Professor  
School of Journalism  
Northeastern University

People's desire for frequent, intelligently edited summaries of what's happening in the world will never go away. In that sense, news-as-we-know-it will always be with us. But newspapers may not always be trucked through the streets in the middle of the night, and more broadcast news may be retrieved over the Internet than sent over the airwaves.

It may be years before computer



screens are as convenient to read as a newspaper page, but the risk of obsolescence for the traditional printing press is real.

Computer-based delivery systems promise news that users can customize, that will instantly provide more depth upon request and that will be available on demand. The same computer can let people respond to news that interests them and help establish a sense of community among people with shared interests—something print and broadcast media do only with great difficulty.

The core skills of inquisitiveness and story-telling ability will always have value, but journalists need to adapt the way we package our product to fit the new delivery systems.

This will require much experimentation. There will be unexpected failures, and successes. It will be very exciting. ■

## By 2050, a Joining Of Print, TV and Radio

ED SYLVESTER

Professor, School Of Journalism  
Arizona State University, Tempe

Jurassic Park author Michael Crichton offered a doomsayer's view of the future of mass media in a speech to the National Press Club last April. It could have been a response to Nieman Reports's question. He said: "To my mind, it is likely that what we now understand as the mass media will be gone within ten years. Vanished, without a trace." He made it clear he referred to The New York Times and the three major networks as well as more innovative enterprises such as CNN.

He says the arrival of interactive TV, the ability to witness major events firsthand via C-SPAN and the promise of movies and other video broadcasts on demand, along with the multimedia news offerings of the so-called information superhighway, will make the mass media the 20th Century's dinosaur. The amount of information available to consumers directly means they no longer will need journalists to select and filter

information for them.

The question seems rhetorical at first: Who needs a messenger when you can watch the battle yourself, whether it's on the military field, as in the Persian Gulf, or before Congress or among pro- and anti-abortionists on the street?

But the answer is: The same consumers who forgo having their own wire-service machines in the living room. If there were a demand, United Press International would have been in better shape 10 years ago.

First of all, the need for news filters *increases* with the amount of vital information to which one has "direct access." When all news was truly local, everyone was a messenger; when distant events began having major local impact with increased frequency, a skilled messenger was needed. But that was only the beginning. The professional news editor was in many ways a creature of the telegraph. Before that invention led to "instant communication" 150 years ago, many newspapers ran all of whatever they had, setting local stories and correspondence serially until pages filled, then going to press. The telegraph made available more news from around the continent (and soon from around the world) than any newspaper could possibly run; it took a seasoned individual to sort it for proper quality and quantity. And of course, one publisher's audience or readers, real or perceived, might have very different ideas about what should be emphasized and what dropped, which was why different kinds of news judgments became marketable.

Since 1990 I've taught a course in precision journalism. We search on-line databases, cruise the Internet and gorge on firsthand information by the gigabyte. I have spent many, many hours doing the kind of on-line information-gathering to which Crichton alludes. In an hour on the 'Net, I've never gotten more useful information than I could have gotten in 10 minutes if I'd known where to look and how much of each monster file would prove relevant—and that's a *good* hour when nothing crashed. Looked at another way, any major university library contains most of the important information in the

world, and many, like our own, are fully cataloged on-line, but people still become scholars by spending years learning what is relevant to very specific purposes and where it can be found, and being a professional librarian is more demanding than ever before and promises to be more so.

We are learning to use Mosaic and some of the other new network tools that will help in structuring such searches, and I'm sure that the near future's "knowbots" will provide the 21st Century's challenge to the journalist and the librarian. But rather than those professionals fading into history, I think it's far more likely that by mid-century, readers and viewers will have merged into users of the "news tablet" envisioned by Roger Fidler of Knight-Ridder. That slender news tablet, as he sees it, will initially look like today's Page 1, but will offer "television," "radio," and "print" news interchangeably. I'm sure the user's knowbot model 2050 will pull in relevant information fitting a predetermined user profile from sources of every variety in matrices not now imaginable. But that is begging the question: How will you know a typhoon destroyed the rice crop in a corner of Southeast Asia, the event that would set in chain the gathering of relevant information? Who is going to put "soccer riot in Manchester" out there for knowbots to find? Who is going to order out video cameras in quiet backwaters or re-edit the video of what had been a soccer game so that its news value changes entirely? What new invention can conceivably convey as many different kinds of sensory information in such an integrated fabric as human language in print, so that the busy Internet cruiser will even have a clue that he or she today needs information about something that yesterday was not important?

Taking the long view, I think there will be an ever-increasing demand for people with news instincts (a sense of where news might lie), news judgment (the ability to weigh relative importance), skepticism (a distrust of the obvious) and an insatiable curiosity about what's going on, especially just out of view. That demand will be fueled by the ex-

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# Change, Respect And Great Journalism

*Following are excerpts from an address by Tim J. McGuire to the Organization of News Ombudsmen at its meeting last May. McGuire is not only Editor of The Star Tribune, the Newspaper of the Twin Cities, but also its General Manager, Reader Customer Unit.*

There's a sign hanging in my office that says "The Future Is Change, And That's All That's Certain." Exciting to some, scarier than hell to others.

The 90's are different. We can slap backs and regale each other with tales of the good old days and decry political correctness until the last wine glass is empty. But those days were not what we pretend. They were full of racism, sexism, cronyism. Some people were on the take. And the journalism, it wasn't all that good either.

The Golden Days were metal plate. There are more high-quality stories in our newspapers today than there were 25-30 years ago.

The 90's are different, and you ain't seen nothin' yet. Change is the name of the game. And if it hasn't come to your paper yet, just wait a minute. Change is inevitable on three fronts: societal, technological and marketplace.

Radical societal changes have occurred over the last 20 years. Readers are confronted with lots more information, from TV to magazines to cable channels to specialty material. There's a lot more to sort through than just the daily newspaper. Readers are more self-centered these days and they want more usefulness out of newspapers—they have little time for things that don't interest them—it must be relevant.

Technological changes are obvious to some, and not so obvious to others. Jeff

Greenfield's quip that if journalists don't get on the stick they're going to become road kill on the information superhighway is right on. Interactive TV, on-line services, cyberspace, the increasing reliance on videos, mad dashes for alliances with phone companies and cable companies are all going to affect our industry and the newsroom—the place with the information. That information is going to be crucial to the technological age. We have it—other people want it.

The marketplace has changed too. No longer can newspapers keep pushing advertisers for ever-increasing rates. Newspapers have been almost solely dependent on advertisers for profits. We need to change that. We have to do our job better so that more readers are more willing to pay for information even though they've historically been reluctant to pay much for information. We have to create more value in the paper and in new products to get more revenue from readers and reduce our dependence on advertisers.

We have to understand our best customers are those who value information the most. We can't be pandering to the edge of the market, those so-called potential readers and the at-risk readers. We definitely need to be inclusive but we must not threaten the needs of dedicated readers who want information, who value it, and who are willing to pay for it.

All of this led me to believe my newspaper had to change. And along with my management team, we've built a change process that is focused around seven goals.

Those seven goals are:

1. To become a more reader-focused newspaper.
2. To become more journalistically excellent.
3. To become more diverse in our newspaper and in our newsroom.
4. To enrich job satisfaction.

5. To become faster, more flexible, and more efficient, especially when it comes to adding initiatives and dropping old ones.
6. To gather, prioritize and present the news, no matter the channel.
7. To build community and communities.

If we can build better content, a better designed paper and a better organizational structure around those seven goals, we will effectively meet the societal, technological and marketplace challenges of the next twenty years.

Because I am talking to ombudsmen, I'm going to focus on the first two goals we've set for The Star Tribune change process: becoming more reader focused and becoming more journalistically excellent.

A lot of folks in our business think those two goals run smack dab, head-on into each other. Lets face it, reader focus has gotten a bad name. To a lot of people reader focus means USA Today. To some people it means six-inch stories. It means splashy, uninformative graphics. And to some it means a lack of



*Tim J. McGuire*

substance. It means that dreaded phrase, *dumbing down*.

Not only is that characterization wrong, it's patently unfair, and it is incredibly disrespectful of the readers we serve every day. Our readers are sophisticated, penetrating, and hungry for accurate, intelligent information with perspective, context and analysis.

Oh, I know some of them get awfully hung up on their own self-interest sometimes. Al Gunther from the University of Wisconsin took a look at eight groups: Democrats, Republicans, blacks, Hispanics, Catholics, born-again Christians, labor unions and working women. He found that all of those groups said that press coverage of these groups was very fair. But when asked about press coverage of their own group, they all said coverage was very poor.

That self-interest is more a symptom of our lost sense of community than an indication of the shallowness of our readers.

We've all got a choice to make here. We've got to decide if being reader focused means that the Visigoths are seizing American newspapers or if it means readers are what we're all about—the reason we're in this business. If they are, then we have to rededicate ourselves to effective storytelling, we have to rededicate ourselves to truly connecting with readers, we have to rededicate ourselves to building community by stimulating public debate.

Reader-focused newspapers have to listen to readers. And listening doesn't just mean classic research. Listening means saying to people, "talk to me about your needs, your concerns." Asking them a bunch of prescribed questions that we've decided on is research, but it's not sincere listening.

We've been listening and researching a lot lately and I'm here to tell you this elitist belief that reader focus means short stories, fluffy stories and tabloid journalism is flat wrong. Sure, readers want entertainment and sure readers want to read about Tonya Harding and Nancy Kerrigan. But they want to read it because it tells a fascinating story about good and evil, about corruption, about the human spirit, about the weird human psyche and that's the story we need to tell.

Every focus group we do shows a tremendous reader need for insight, explanation and depth about things that interest them personally. Bob von Sternberg, a top reporter and a deep thinker in our newsroom, recently attended a set of focus groups which examined people's reaction to different storytelling forms. Bob was terribly impressed with how people focused on stories that interested them. Bob said in a memo, "I was shocked at what an unbreachable wall between us and the readers is implied by the idea that interest is their starting point, period. If they ain't interested going in, you ain't gonna hook'em."

We've also learned readers want an easy flow through the paper so they can spot what interests them. They want to be able to read the essence of some stories quickly. They want chronologies and maps and summaries so they can find out just enough to be smart at the watercooler. When Harry walks up and says, "did you read about such-and-such," people don't want to be stupid, but they also don't want to have to invest 30 minutes to be able to have that conversation.

We've also found readers expect to have certain news and information in the paper even though they're not interested in it. Reader focus does not mean four-inch stories. It means analysis, depth and context presented well; presented in pieces that are manageable and pieces that will tell readers whether or not they want to pursue this story. And it means that if a story is only worth six inches it should be six inches.

It's time we started appreciating that most readers value us and in fact, want more information than we give them. Readers are challenging us to present more information, better, to tell stories better and to start identifying with who they are. They see us as elitist, too liberal, arrogant and hung-up on dumb stuff.

Why would that be? Let's face it, what's wrong with many American newspapers is what started out as good stuff. We've allowed fundamental values to be perverted into prescriptions and myths.

Let's start with storytelling. Von Sternberg, in his memo to managers and staff said this about those focus groups he attended. "Loud and clear

people kept telling us something very simple and powerful—tell me a story. Tell me a story I can follow, that has something they called flow. Doesn't seem a stretch to interpret that as lucid, plain prose that doesn't clunk or wrap itself in jargon and euphemism. It seems an endorsement of storytelling, pure and simple."

Bob's words can be a call to action for newspaper storytellers. We'd be incredibly effective if we think about telling stories the way we'd tell them at the water cooler. But in fact, the prescription is that we pack stories with so much information, with so much insider jargon they become dense and unmanageable. When we write 65-word leads that get every possible element in the lead, are we telling stories? I think not. I think we've moved from telling stories to regurgitating facts in a dense, stifling way that puts off readers.

Independence. All of us argue vigorously for the independence of newspapers and newsrooms. I've fought some tremendous battles in my career over independence and I know you have too. Independence is good. But the prescription has too often become arrogance and aloofness. Too many of us have decided that to be independent we have to be obnoxious, arrogant and totally disconnected. It is arrogance and aloofness, not independence that keeps us from even becoming involved in church activities or school activities. And its aloofness and arrogance, not independence when we refuse to talk to circulation or advertising.

The watchdog role. Most of us believe deeply that newspapers have to be the watchdogs on government and society. We have to make sure the poor, the oppressed and the middle-class are not picked on by the powerful elite or by the government. Those lofty goals and aspirations inspire me and get me out of bed in the morning.

The prescription is that we've become bulldogs without any perspective. We become so hung-up on the watchdog role, we lose our sense of context. We lose the ability to say that's a big transgression or that's a small transgression. If we're going to be trusted and respected by readers and achieve journalistic excellence, we have to focus our watchdog role on things that matter to the community, on things that will

make the world a better place. Things that will stimulate debate about important issues and not about silly, frivolous issues. We have to have a sense of the whole not just the parts.

And we have to take responsibility for what we've wrought. We cannot continue to tear down communities and tear down structures without at least writing about and sometimes convening meetings about the solutions. We've got to leave readers with hope if we're truly going to be successful, responsible journalists. We can't beat them down and tell them their world sucks day in and day out if we don't give them a way out. We must become community builders.

In this day when we no longer seem bound by a sense of the common good in America, by a sense of community, by the things we share, rather than what makes us different, we need to stimulate and lead dialogue. The sense of common good is deteriorating and we have a special obligation to be the community glue.

So, can reader focus and journalistic excellence coexist? Obviously what I'm saying is that they are one and the same thing. Newspapers exist to serve readers, to communicate with readers, to illuminate the world for readers, to stimulate public debate among readers.

Change in American newspapers is inevitable, but it cannot be superficial. We can't just move desks around or

order people into teams or change the copy flow a little bit. Making the paper prettier is not enough either.

We need to make newspapers true changing organizations which have a fundamental respect for its customer, the reader. We have to react to the ways readers are changing and to the way their world is changing. We have to respect our readers as intelligent gatherers of information who have a need for usefulness, have a need for information about subjects that interest them, and genuinely want their community and their world to be a better place to live.

If we have that respect for readers, better journalism will be the result. We will write clearer headlines, we'll tell stories better with less jargon, with more humanity and more excitement. We will present information in ways that will work in a newspaper, that will work in on-line presentations, that will work on CD-ROM or interactive TV. If we respect our readers we will work at becoming more diverse and understand once and for all that our readers aren't all just like us. If we really respect readers we will join hands with them and help them build their community and help them build their own communities of interest too.

Great journalism can only come from a fundamental respect for our readers. ■

## By 2050

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plosion of "raw information." Why not call the people who rise to that demand editors and reporters?

It's when taking the short view I agree most with Crichton, reading his comments as a call to arms rather than a fatal prognosis. Like him, I'm angered by the number of by-lined, major news organization stories that have no more behind them than a skim of clips and a few setup questions to obvious sources. I think most newspapers are missing incredible opportunities to lead the way into this new information age, because managing information in unmanageable quantities and varieties at a dead run is the

defining skill of the daily journalist.

When I read a story about discoveries that aberrations in a few particular genes lead to several of the deadliest forms of cancer, a box in my newspaper should tell me where to go for supplementary information of every kind. Or at least, by dialing in via modem, I should be able to get such a list, along with the entire New York Times News Service story, which my local editors probably wisely cut in half, and the entire Associated Press and Reuters versions these editors judged not equal to that of The Times. Some papers are taking steps in that direction, notably in the West, such as The San Jose Mercury-News, Orange County Register and Albuquerque Tribune. ■

## Nieman Media Conference Now on Internet

The Nieman Foundation Conference on Journalism and the New Information Technologies, reported in the summer edition of Nieman Reports, is now available on the Internet through Nando.net, the on-line information service of North Carolina's News & Observer Publishing Co.

The on-line report of the conference includes complete text transcripts of the sessions, background information, Stan Grossfeld's photos and the comments of viewers on the Internet. Entering the first page of the conference report, the reader sees some quotations, a summary, and a list of contents. The key words in this material appear in blue type that are hypertext links to other parts of the report. When the user selects any key word, the computer branches off and retrieves the appropriate article or photo. This ability to branch and retrieve selectively lets the reader explore the material to any desired level of detail.

Nando.net's report of the Nieman Conference was prepared by Bruce Siceloff, Online Editor, and Melanie Sill, Nieman Fellow 1994, who posted the conference material on a part of the Internet known as the World-Wide Web (WWW).

To visit the conference on-line, readers must have access to the Internet and a WWW browser. One popular browser for Macintosh and Windows computers is called Mosaic. A browser is software that allows the user's computer to show the text, pictures and sometimes the sounds and videos on the WWW. The address (or URL) of Nando is <http://www.nando.net> on the World-Wide Web. After exploring the Nieman conference on-line, readers are invited to post their comments about the conference or the way it is presented on Nando by sending e-mail to [nieman@nando.net](mailto:nieman@nando.net). ■

# FALL READING

## Newspapers and the Resurgent Protestant Ethic

Strike, The Daily News War And The Future Of American Labor

Richard Vigilante.

Simon & Schuster. 320 Pages. \$23.

By RICHARD F. SHEPARD

For newspaper people to cover a newspaper strike in their hometown is a sticky, even unpleasant chore. One knows people over "there," one has an attitude about the publisher, the unions, the paper itself. Yet, the fact that it is a newspaper strike gets it more space in the press than would be allotted were it another sort of strike, even in a more vital—may heaven forgive me for even mentioning such a self-hating phrase—industry.

Yet, it takes a good deal of straight reporting to do the job beyond cavil—it is not like covering other strikes where your rectitude may be gauged by the fact that you drew equal opprobrium from both sides. I remember when we at The New York Times returned to work after the nearly four-month strike in the winter of '62-'63. It was a bitter time and it is to the credit of the management that they received us graciously. But mere appreciation turned to sheer admiration when the paper published a full account of the strike written by A.H. Raskin. Abe had also been honoring the picket lines, but he had followed the developments, as might be expected of a great labor reporter who may have been out of work but was never off the job. It was an honest recap, flaying management and labor as required and I know of no bitter complaints that ensued. That was respect, indeed.

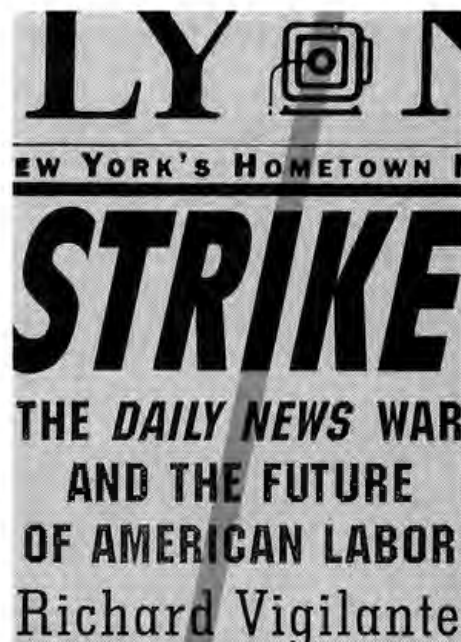
Nowadays, the labor beat is mori-

bund, in part perhaps because it was so often confused with being a strike beat. That's like confusing a foreign correspondent with a war correspondent. Although major strikes have diminished, the question of labor, in new forms, continues as a matter of concern for the public. That is why it is rewarding to have a play-by-play account of The Daily News walk-out published as a book, "Strike," written by Richard Vigilante.

"Strike" is not a Raskin-type review of a specific labor incident set into the background of an industry. Mr. Vigilante has placed his painstaking and fascinating retelling of the troubles at The Daily News into the context of a philosophical and moral disquisition on the metamorphosis of labor in America, of ethical changes that he sees brought about in the workplace by the introduction of new devices in the post-industrial age; we are 180 pages into the 320-page book by the time the strike gets under way.

It is provocative, therefore it is controversial. There will be those who challenge his premise, that the workingman's ethic has been transformed by the new machinery to one stemming from the Protestant all-work morality, replacing the outmoded union solidarity, hate-the-boss relationship that characterized the wage slaves of the numbing uniformity in the old brutish machine age.

Mr. Vigilante supplies the reader with an indispensable background to this



pathetic episode, a strike that started in late October, 1990, and ended in March, 1991, with the purchase of The Daily News from the Tribune Company by the British highbinder, Robert Maxwell. Ironically, the unions gave as many concessions, or in some cases, more, to the new owner than the old owner had demanded. The struggle was not so much about pay raises or benefits as it was about control of hiring, which in the case of some powerful unions, left little discretion to management.

The author recaps the rise of The News from its founding in 1919 by Joseph Medill Patterson, one of two heirs of The Chicago Tribune, "a millionaire and child of privilege with a genuine passion for democracy and such a deep dislike for the social class into which he was born that he spent much of his life trying to leave it." The egalitarian, juicy style of The Daily News reflected his biases and his editorial and

marketing genius created the first urban tabloid.

Patterson died in 1946, just as television and the migration to the suburbs were making inroads on downtown dailies. During the next generation, because of slothful management and a weak New York economy, *The News* slumped. The Tribune Company put *The News* up for sale in 1982 and found no buyers. The Company, re-invigorated, sent Jim Hoge to New York as *News* publisher. Hoge tried to get the unions to give concessions, had some early success but ran into union resistance when he asked for still more. The *News* workers were dispirited and untrusting, feeling that they worked for a paper the Tribune Company no longer wanted and that, it appeared, nobody else wanted either. The unions felt that the concessions they had given had helped the Tribune Company make financial gains that were not reflected in improvements or commitments at *The News*.

Mr. Vigilante fields the teams of players with colorful portraits that will indicate the tempo of their performances. Charlie Brumback, CEO of the Tribune Company, an accountant filled with religious fervor to return profits to the stockholders and filled with a moral horror of paying people not to work, i.e., the featherbedding union practices that were contributing to the bleeding of *The Daily News*. Jim Hoge, believer in public relations who lost faith in compromise when the unions rejected his appeals for their cooperation based on a mutuality of confidence they had little reason to trust. Robert Ballou, the renowned labor lawyer with the tenacity of a first-rate trial lawyer and the singularity of purpose of a chess player unmoved by anything except the moves in play. Ted Kheel, the unions' labor consultant, who may have miscalculated the other side's strategy. The mixed bag of union leaders, some militant, some willing to negotiate, even on "non-negotiable" issues.

The game plan on the part of the unions was to avoid a strike, an evasion that would give management no ex-

cuse for shutting down the newspaper altogether. The plan on the part of the Tribune Company was to eliminate union control of production at *The Daily News* and to introduce the same flexibility that it had found so profitable in its state-of-the-art printing plant in Chicago, Freedom House. Mr. Vigilante visited Freedom House and is ecstatic over its cleanliness, its efficiency and the contentment of its workers, almost all non-union and some hired as hourly employees, and all who kept busy on their own initiative with extensive switching of jobs unhampered by work rules. He was repelled by a visit to *The Daily News* plant which he found dirty, inefficient and manned by laggard craftsmen whose time was killed by goofing off at the local bar.

There were possibilities of settlement by negotiation, Mr. Vigilante writes, but then an incident with the drivers, like the assassination at Sarajevo that ignited the first World War, started this ugly strike that drew in all the unions except the printers, who had already signed a long-term contract that guaranteed their own disappearance from the newspaper scene.

"[And] after the larger metaphysical war was over, one that pitted one of America's largest and most successful communications companies against not only its own unions but against the national labor movement, almost everyone agreed that it was the violence alone—the real war—that finally settled the question of who would control *The Daily News*," he writes in the book's first paragraph.

The violence that did exist and was palpable and fearful, although no one died in the conflict, was wrought by the drivers who threatened newsstand dealers, *The News*'s main source of sales, and beat up the imported well-trained legions of strikebreakers. By the time the tale of the strike has been dramatically told in these pages, Mr. Vigilante returns to this theme, of how New York, a city, he says, that lives with violence, did nothing to interfere with a mob terrorizing "innocent immigrants" (the news dealers, many of them from the Indian subcontinent), and depriving

"citizens of a democracy from buying the newspaper of their choice," a strike that allowed the "mob union" to hang on to its "rackets, the unworked overtime, no-show jobs, and blatant featherbedding."

"But that is what happened, and New York, and the mayor, the cardinal, the governor, the state attorney general, the Manhattan district attorney, the police force, the federal Justice Department, the press, the entire labor community, even the business community, effectively acquiesced."

A strong indictment indeed. Without minimizing the evil of violence, one *New Yorker* is inclined to reply, "Guilty, with an explanation." The violence was instrumental but it was not necessarily conclusive in winning "victory," no matter how Pyrrhic, for the unions. The moral factor that Mr. Vigilante so urgently puts forth in other respects, would not have permitted the "tolerance" that he deprecates if the city and those accused did not feel a moral balance in the union's favor, despite the bloody drivers' tactics. If the city and its people were sufficiently aroused to feel that the basic cause was wrong, surely they would have adopted the same outrage that they brought to bear on such incidents as Howard Beach and other racial incidents. New York has indeed been a union town and the spectacle of outsiders coming in to break strikes was a disheartening one.

But Mr. Vigilante's main themes go far beyond that and his ideas are too complex to shrug off, or even to challenge intelligently without devoting the same amount of study to it as he has. Unions are necessary, he states, but they must be organized differently than they are now so that they will be able to punish errant employers without burdening those who are pushing the envelope of productivity and profit, conditions that benefit all hands. But unions and management in the new world of post-industrial era must relinquish an adversarial tradition and realize that only by working together, in the fashion prescribed by W. Edwards Deming, can this utopian goal be attained. Mr. Vigilante is convinced that an old ethic has been re-introduced by virtue of the

new machines that think like men and contrast with industrial-era gear that made men think like machines.

"It is not popular today to say that ethnicity affects character," he writes, telling of Irish predominance in production unions as well as Italians and Jews in the drivers' union. "But if this is a story, as I partly believe it to be, of a resurgent Protestant business culture going to war with a decaying Catholic one, then we cannot entirely ignore these questions."

He sets the ethnic issue into a context of ancestral oppressions, and he cites its conflict with the Puritan heritage of individualism limited by the rigor of its own ethic. This, then is the struggle, Mr. Vigilante feels, that is pitting an archaic union against a resurrected business dynamic.

One criticism, from a journalist's point of view, is that the case of The Daily News and its owners and its unions, could apply to almost any other industrial product or marketing program. Newspapers are different, at least that's the way we who work on them feel, and the hate-the-business scenario that the author detects in the old assembly-belt life did not necessarily apply in newsrooms. Newspaper people that I have worked with may have sniffed at management, or detested administrations, but mostly they loved their occupation and the newspaper they were employed by: What hurt was when the paper was not living up to whatever it purported to be.

As for New York and the Puritan ethic—it is worth remembering that the first large foreign-language immigration to this city, as Dutch New Amsterdam, spoke English and were refugees from the Puritan ethic they had run across in New England. "Strike" graphically covers its subject and presents the many perspectives that accompany such confrontations. More than that, it sure does give you a lot to chew on. ■

*Richard F. Shepard retired in 1991 after 45 years at The New York Times during which he was copyboy, clerk, reporter and editor. He is working on a book for the paper to mark the centennial celebration of the acquisition of the newspaper in 1896 by Adolph S. Ochs.*

## 5 Devices of That Humorist in Miami

Dave Barry Is Not Making This Up  
Dave Barry

Illustrations by Jeff MacNelly

Crown. 244 Pages. \$20.

BY HOWARD SHAPIRO

Stand aside, because I am now about to journalistically explode, and when you're buried this far back in Nieman Reports and you plan to detonate, the first 77 pages make an enormous mess. So if you're one of those Niemans who has gone on to acquire a fine collection of Japanese prints or a priceless display of four decades of your own byline or something on that order, get to a safe haven before continuing to read.

What I'm about to attempt is an explanation of why, in spite of all the odds—deadlines, banal subjects, very little space, readers with no time, readers with no sense of humor, readers (me, for instance) who are rarely in the mood for wisecracking after mentally downloading all the mayhem and upheaval on Page One—why, with all these devils stabbing at his heels, Dave Barry is extremely funny.

Explaining this is at least as good an idea as explaining a joke, and with the same potential for success. I'm going to plow ahead, because the main thing I learned in a year at Harvard was that even if something cannot possibly be done, it cannot possibly be done with a lot of class.

For those of you who need an introduction to Dave Barry, you probably live in a backwater community with only a throwaway weekly or you've done something really outrageous with your time, like not reading newspapers and going instead, say, to the opera. In 1981, when Dave Barry and his wife Beth lived in suburban Philadelphia, he freelanced a piece about the travails of natural childbirth to The Philadelphia Inquirer. I remember reading it when it ran in The Inquirer's Sunday magazine, and thinking it was a hoot. In fact, the



piece—"Father Faces Life: A Long-Overdue Attack on Natural Childbirth"—appears in this, which is either his 13th book if you believe the rather non-committally labeled "Also by Dave Barry" page, or his ga-zillionth book if you believe your own perception that a new Dave Barry collection salutes you on every visit to the bookstore. Dave Barry is to book retailers what Ed McMahon is to junk-mail collectors.

Anyhow, this piece was not the first he had written, but it played a significant role in launching Dave Barry's career, which he has largely made at The Miami Herald. If you sit down and read an entire Dave Barry book in one night—this qualifies your mind to be cooked the next morning for breakfast as cornmeal mush—you can see that many of the devices he's employed in the 13 ensuing years were obvious in that first piece. Astonishing fact: They still work.

This may lead you to believe that

Barry is arguably the most widely read, successful humor writer in America today because he's found a formula. You would be correct. I posited this to an *Inquirer* editor who has worked with Barry. Positing is something you do after deadline, and so is going home, which was much more important to this editor at the time. "Huh?" she said, both feet out the door. She eyed me as though I were a dustball at the corner of her VDT. "Of course Dave Barry has a formula!"

See? I knew I was right.

I don't really believe that having a formula means that Dave Barry sits down, looks at his keyboard and says to himself, "First, I have to do this and next I have to do that and then, I throw in this device and write it to this particular cadence." Dave Barry's formula comes out quite naturally through his voice, and in fact the formula may actually be nothing more than his voice—a solid voice that never changes, piece after piece, never reaches too high into the sphere of complex thought, never drops too low into utter silliness. It's a sensationally balanced voice, and what makes it so engaging is that you buy right into it because the voice is so reasonable. I wonder whether this is a guy thing, because Dave Barry's voice possesses both the vulnerability and the strength that composes a sense of macho. But I know he has plenty of female readers, even though his pieces sometimes border on locker-room subjects. Come to think of it, that's a sexist observation because I haven't a clue about what subjects abound in a women's locker room, so if you want to write me and let me in on it, I'd be happy to know.

Here are five of Dave Barry's best devices:

1. Surprise readers in mid-sentence. In a piece called "Watch Your Rear," Barry writes of "a recent alarming incident wherein a woman, attempting to use her commode, was attacked in an intimate place—specifically, Gwinnett County, Georgia—by a squirrel." The book contains many examples of this device, which never loses its charm.

2. Bury your lead. A piece about circumcision starts off with a mini-essay about community standards. A piece

about the fashion craze for ripped jeans promises, in the lead, to be about a new marketing ploy that could make Barry rich. The ploy turns out to be, really, his punch line, so it comes at the very end.

3. Exploit everyday subjects. Lyrics that drive you crazy. Burglar alarms. Sneakers.

4. Storm off in a tangent. Because most of us think in tangents—but we rarely expect to read them in a short piece—this device is one of Barry's most enduring and endearing. I will not give any examples here, because all you have to do is go into the bookstore and thumb through this book (the same way you read *The Weekly World News* in the grocery line, and I know you do, so don't even try to protest) and you'll find 10 examples in 10 minutes.

5. Use contractions sparingly. I'm not sure why this works for Dave Barry and for no one else, but you'll see very few apostrophes in anything he writes. This would tend to stiffen things up, but mixed with street language, it serves him perfectly.

Well now I've done it: I've begun to make Dave Barry academic. So let me just say that in small doses (three or four columns a reading), Dave Barry in book form has my sides hurting. This is partly because he has the luxury of picking his best pieces for a collection—the ones that really hit—and in this volume, he has chosen well. At one point, my wife rushed up to the study to see whether the children were crying, only to find that the sound was coming from me, in fits of laughter. (The piece that prompted the hysterics is called "Consumers from Mars." Read it.) Few essays went by without eliciting at least middle-level chortles. And one of them—an article written, obviously, on a you-gotta-write-no-matter-what deadline—is a somber account of his son's bicycle crash. It has that same sturdy, trusty voice and works wonderfully. Which tells me that for fun or not, this voice is real. ■

*Howard Shapiro, Nieman Fellow 1981, is the cultural arts editor of The Philadelphia Inquirer.*

## About Journalism

Barry Bingham: A Man of His Word, Samuel W. Thomas, editor; an oral history, 235 pp, The University Press of Kentucky, \$25.

Bylines in Despair: Herbert Hoover, the Great Depression, and the U.S. News Media, Louis W. Liebovich, 256 pp, Praeger, \$52.95.

Certain Trumpets: The Call of Leaders, Garry Wills; the nature of leadership through portraits drawn mainly from American history, 336 pp, Simon & Schuster, \$23.

Conversation of Journalism: Communication, Community, and News, Rob Anderson, Robert Dardenne, and George M. Killenberg, 206 pp, Praeger, \$49.95.

Language Shock: Understanding the Culture of Conversation, Michael Agar; cultural differences reflected in language, 284 pp, William Morrow, \$22.

Makes Me Wanna Holler, Nathan McCall; autobiography of The Washington Post reporter, 404 pp, Random House, \$23.

News Over the Wires, Menahem Blondheim; history of the telegraph and flow of information, 1844-1897, 305 pp, Harvard University Press, \$39.95.

Shooters: TV News Photographers and their Work, D.M. Lindekugel; the world of electronic news-gathering photographers, 192 pp, Praeger, \$49.95.

Trade, Industrial, and Professional Periodicals of the United States, Kathleen L. Endres, editor; profiles of 70 business periodicals, 467 pp, Greenwood Press, \$99.50.

Vance Packard and American Social Criticism, Daniel Horowitz; biography of social critic, 375 pp, University of North Carolina Press, \$34.95.



## If Learned Hand Had Been on the Supreme Court

Learned Hand

Gerald Gunther

Alfred A. Knopf, 818 Pages, \$35.

BY FRED GRAHAM

**T**his is how much some Supreme Court Justices know about the news media:

- Chief Justice William Rehnquist, when reproved by *The New York Times's* Linda Greenhouse for issuing a week's stockpile of decisions all on one day, advised: "Just save a few for the next day."

- Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg told the Senate Judiciary Committee that if TV cameras were permitted into the Supreme Court, she would be concerned "about distortion because of the editing, if the editing is not controlled."

- Justice Harry Blackmun backed out of a law school commencement speech because the university had not informed him of its policy of allowing full media coverage of the proceedings.

The fact is, the subtleties of most industries are more than Supreme Court Justices could be expected to master, and they know it. The Court explicitly restrains itself from second-guessing the decisions of government regulators on such mundane matters as chicken-plucking or outdoor toilets, because the justices concede they're too far removed to know what they're doing.

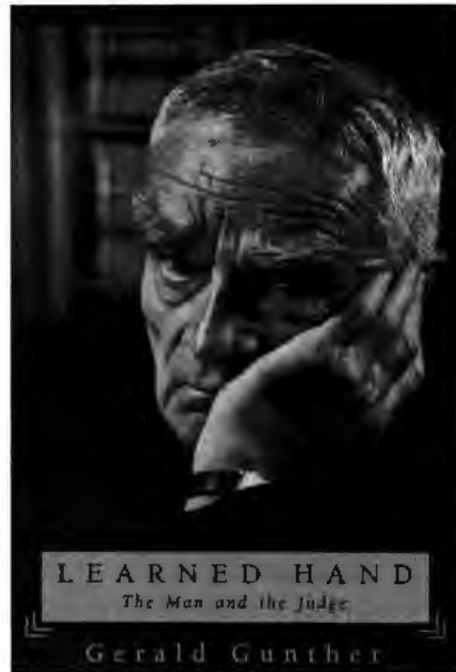
But regarding one industry—the news media—the Supreme Court is in some respects the ultimate regulator, because the Court has the final word on what the First Amendment means. For that reason, journalists sometimes do cringe at gaps in judicial understanding of the news media—and marvel at the difference it seems to make in a judge's First Amendment enlightenment when the judge has had some experience with journalism.

Learned Hand was a judge of consid-

erable journalistic experience, who demonstrated a nurturing philosophy of free expression that was a half-century before its time. And because Hand is widely considered to be the most accomplished judge never to have made it to the Supreme Court, it is intriguing to consider if his First Amendment wisdom can be credited to his Fourth Estate experience, and what this may say about the desirable traits of those who are chosen for the high bench.

Count Bismark defined a journalist as a person who has missed his calling, and Gerald Gunther's biography of *Learned Hand* suggests that Judge Hand almost did just that. When he was a young and frequently bored U.S. District Judge in the early 1900's, Hand fell in with a clique of trendy young journalists (Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, Walter Weyl) who were launching a progressive magazine, *The New Republic*. Judge Hand met frequently with the editors, helped hire the staff, wrote commentaries (often anonymously), and fended off entreaties to leave the bench and become an editor-columnist.

Hand remained a judge, but he also retained his understanding of journalism and his admiration for free expression. That gave him a penetrating perspective when the government attempted to ban from the mails a self-styled "revolutionary journal" called *The Masses*. The Justice Department said the magazine's cartoons, articles and poems were threatening the war effort on the eve of World War I, but Hand understood that *The Masses* was not read by any actual masses, but by a literary elite that would clearly not be



inspired to rush out and scuttle a troop ship or avoid the draft. Judge Hand ruled for the magazine. He said the government could not ban speech or writing just because impressionable types might react by acting illegally, but only if the words actually incited others to break the law.

Alas, Hand had achieved wisdom a half-century too soon. His decision was overturned, and the Supreme Court didn't get around to adopting his view until the liberal days of Earl Warren. In another case, Hand ruled that a book shouldn't be banned as obscene simply because it might upset a young or sensitive reader, but only if it violated the standards of society as a whole. It was

*Continued on Page 86*

## When We Were Young and Disturbing the Press

Where The Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media

Susan J. Douglas

Times Books. 340 Pages. \$23.

BY EILEEN MCNAMARA

Susan Douglas has not so much written a book as she has thrown a pajama party for those of us who were teenage girls in the Sixties. To read "Where The Girls Are" as a 40-something female is to remember yourself in Baby Dolls setting your hair in beer cans with Dippity Doo while watching Gidget on TV or listening to the Supremes on Top 40 radio.

In this sometimes hilarious and often insightful look at popular culture, Ms. Douglas, a professor of media and American studies at Hampshire College, gives meaning to the songs we sang, the clothes we wore and the mixed media messages that confused but shaped a generation of middle-class, white American women.

Would we be good girls or bad girls, we wondered when The Shirelles sang "Will He Still Love Me Tomorrow?" Did we want to be mature like Cathy or mischievous like Patty, those relentlessly perky identical cousins (?) on The Patty Duke Show? Did we want to wear white lipstick and vinyl go-go boots like Jean Shrimpton or no makeup and blue jeans like Joan Baez?

What Douglas writes of Beatlemania—that just because it seemed silly doesn't mean it wasn't serious—is, in fact, the theme of "Where The Girls Are." There is research here, and analysis, to be sure, but "Where The Girls Are" is no academic tome. No detached observer, Douglas has written her first-person narrative in the irreverent vernacular of the soda shop, not the measured tones of the ivory tower. Boys have "butts," her Sixties housewife-mother was "pissed off" at her lot in life, Spiro Agnew was a "sleazeball."

Reading this book feels like a reciprocal act, like sharing a kitchen conversation with a friend who has known you since junior high. You alternately laugh out loud, nod knowingly or cringe with embarrassed memory at our adolescent selves. (OK, maybe there was some social significance to our identification with the anti-authoritarian and androgynous Beatles, but how does that explain my infatuation with Herman's Hermits?).

This very appeal hides an obvious weakness of "Where The Girls Are," however. Ms. Douglas has identified so closely with her topic that she may have unwittingly narrowed her audience. Citing popular songs but omitting the lyrics, she presumes a familiarity with an era that readers 15 years her junior or senior do not have.

"The reverberations between the news and our music accelerated, so that the real commentary to the images we saw wasn't what the newsman said, it was the lyrics to 'For What It's Worth,'" she writes, for instance. I was a Buffalo Springfield fan in 1968, but would my mother recognize the title of Stephen Still's protest song? Will my daughter in 10 years when she takes this book off my shelf?

Still, Douglas makes no inflated claims for her research. If anything, she has a surfeit of disclaimers, some of them delivered in that self-deprecating tone all too familiar to accomplished women a little embarrassed by their own brains. "I'm not a shrink (although I play one in my job)," she quips at one juncture. Hers is a subjective account of girlhood, she is careful to note; it may not ring as true for blacks or women too poor to have been as influenced by

## Where the Girls Are



television.

Douglas is both biting and convincing about the role of fashion magazines and advertising in the oppression of women. But she is at her best when writes about the schizophrenia those messages produced. While male commentators would have the public believe that the women's movement pitted "radical bra-burning feminists" against "happy housewives," Douglas knows it has never been an either/or world. We might have loved that Joan Baez didn't style her hair in a flip, but that didn't mean we weren't going to wear lipstick to the prom. We might have subscribed to Ms. but we still read Vogue on the commuter train.

Most valuable and most disturbing of all, "Where The Girls Are" documents the dismissive and defensive way in which the largely male mass media reported the rise and development of the women's movement in the United States. Even those who lived through this period will be appalled to read Eric Sevareid's commentary on the Women's Strike for Equality in 1970. Dismissing the movement as led by "aroused mi-

## Enlightening Reading for Reporters

9 Highland Road: Sane Living for the Mentally Ill

Michael Winerip

Pantheon. 451 Pages. \$25.

BY MADELEINE BLAIS

Michael Winerip of The New York Times took a leave of several years to immerse himself in the world of 9 Highland Road, a group home for the mentally ill in suburban Glen Cove, Long Island. He happened on the story initially as a beat reporter sent out to cover the hardly surprising objections of residents of Glen Cove at a public meeting. Typical was a chiropractor who said that group homes usually fail and usually do more harm than good. And, even if that statement wasn't true (a contention amply disproved in Winerip's compassionate, even-handed account), he thought they should be prevented from moving to Highland Road because of its "steep hill, a dangerous hill and there is a lot of traffic. These patients will come out, they're on heavy medication, somewhat disoriented, probably out of touch with reality." He was afraid they might slip in the icy roads.

It was only through the heroic persistence of Linda Slezak, the director of the group home, that the house was eventually purchased and populated with a motley group of individuals, often courageous, sometimes disgusting (Jasper, at nearly 370 pounds, refuses to bathe, which is of course one of the symptoms of his illness), but for the most part oddly endearing.

The word "nimby" is popularly used to describe a phenomenon known as "not in my backyard," the frequent cry of the heart, and sometimes pocket-book, of residents of neighborhoods who want to protect their peace of mind and/or economic interests from group homes filled with people who are, speaking euphemistically, different. Among the people leading the battle against 9 Highland Road was the Glen

minorities... already well off by any comparative measurement," Servareid insisted that "the plain truth is, most American men are startled by the idea that American women generally are oppressed."

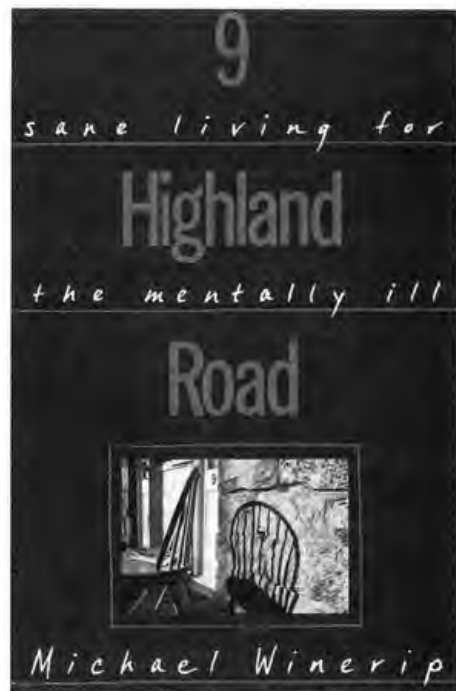
So was The New York Times. The country's paper of record noted that "traditional groups" like The Daughters of the American Revolution, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Junior League, which "for decades had championed women's rights," were "facing a challenge from a movement that many considered bizarre, alien and totally unacceptable," a movement led by women they thought "ridiculous exhibitionists" and "a band of wild lesbians."

The image of bra-burning itself was nothing more than a creation of the press. Not a brassiere was torched at the Atlantic City boardwalk protest during the Miss America pageant that gave rise to a metaphor that, Douglas writes, "trivialized feminists and titillated the audience at the same time."

For all its focus on the popular culture of the past, "Where The Girls Are" is a book for the 90's. Twenty-five years ago, Douglas writes, "the biggest difficulty for feminists was that the most basic and pernicious forms of female oppression did not lend themselves to visual documentation. Women's real grievances—the burdens, the frustrations, and inequities in their lives—occurred behind closed doors. Unlike the civil rights movement, there was no war footage, or photographs of napalm burning people's skin. There were just these women, most of whom looked OK on the outside but who were, on the inside, being torn apart. Feminists had to make the private public, the invisible, visible, and the personal political. This was an extremely difficult assignment, especially with a media increasingly hooked on dramatic, violent pictures."

That challenge certainly has not gotten any easier. ■

*Eileen McNamara, a freelance, is a 1988 Nieman Fellow. Her book, "Breakdown," is now going into paperback.*



Cove mayor. It is a point of wonderful irony in Winerip's account that shortly after Glen Cove lost its last legal appeal objecting to the house, the deputy mayor called Slezak asking for special consideration for admission of the daughter of a long-time municipal employee who suffered from manic depression and drug dependency. Several weeks later she moved in.

Daily journalists who toil in the pressure cooker of news with a shelf life of 24 hours or less may wonder if this is the kind of book that speaks to their concerns. Lacking the luxury of several years to devote to a project, they may rightfully inquire whether a book like Winerip's will help them do a better job with their more hurried assignments.

I would recommend this work to any reporter covering any aspect of social services, which means that with the exception of arts critics and some sports reporters, it would provide wise, enlightening reading for just about every staffer. After all, so much of what we call news is nothing less than mental illness

on parade. A perfect case in point is the attempted suicide of one of the residents of 9 Highland Road after he has moved out, a success story, into his own apartment. A bright, musically gifted man, one of six children in an intact, caring family, he begins to decompensate while living on his own. Winerip captures Stan's dissociative state in a description of a visit to his airless boiling apartment on a sweltering day when the air conditioner is broken but Stan is so paralyzed by his thoughts (God is telling him to jump off the balcony) that he neglects to open the windows. Stan's jump made the inside pages, as Winerip recounts:

"On a day when *Newsday's* two lead stories were about country workers being put on furlough because of budget cuts, and William Kennedy Smith looking the judge in the eye in Palm Beach and pleading not guilty, an inside story on Stan appeared under the headline *MAN FALLS 4 STORIES*. It said police had ruled out foul play 'but were still trying to determine how Gunter fell,' and gave a number for anyone to call with information."

Winerip does not romance mental illness nor its victims in the way that Oliver Sacks often does in his writing ("Awakenings" and "The Man who Mistook his Wife for a Hat") or on a more personal note Suzanne Kaysen did to some degree in her memoir "Girl, Interrupted." He shows how annoying some of the patients are, how repugnant (one night Jasper sneaks into the fridge and eats a four-foot sub being saved for a party the next day; the outside of his trousers often reveal fecal stains), how frustrating they can be.

For these people, life often is truly one day at a time.

"Maintaining is progress for these people," says one of their social workers in an insight which, though true, can be discouraging in a society like ours, dedicated in its very soul to betterment, mobility, forward and upward motion.

In its highly favorable review of "9 Highland Road" in the Book Review section of *The New York Times*, Winerip's home-base paper, the critic said that this book "transcended jour-

nalism" through the skilled use of various narrative devices, including the juggling of several compelling story lines at once. He was especially drawn to the story of Julia, a woman who suffered from multiple personalities, and he said that the book in his view entered the realm of literature. While I don't disagree with this assessment, I object to the notion that elegant, well-researched, pleasingly presented nonfiction is inherently inferior to fiction or poetry and by its very nature less literary. Other than the contract with the reader that the material in a nonfiction account has a factual basis in reality, there is no worldly reason why a writer can't use metaphor and dialogue and even, as Hemingway always put it, descriptions of the weather. Nonfiction of the sort that Winerip attempted in this work has an absolute obligation to tell its story as well as possible. Otherwise, it is in the position of betraying its sources, not in the sense of revealing something told in confidence but of not revealing in the most compelling way what has been entrusted to the author to tell.

Writers, according to Pete Hammill, are charged by the tribe with remembering, and writers who are journalists as well are charged with remembering not simply their own stories but also with recording and preserving the stories of others. As Winerip notes in his acknowledgments, "While a novel comes out of your own head, a work of nonfiction comes out of everyone else's head and by the time it is done, an awful lot of people are owed a serious debt of gratitude."

Here's a perfect example of how a journalist can demonstrate a phenomenon through dialogue, in this case the kindness of several members of the house toward a woman given to self-mutilation (connected to the sexual abuse by her father when she was a little girl) who has to go to the hospital for treatment of a gash in her arm that will require 18 stitches to close. Their banter was good-hearted, filled with the kind of casual authority you would expect of people discussing a favorite restaurant or nice hotel:

"I'm sorry you're not feeling well," said Stephen.

"Where are you going, Teresa?" one of the men asked quietly.

"Don't know," she said.

"Long Island Jewish is really good," he said, his voice rising from nervousness. "They give you hamburg and a salad for lunch. You can have chicken. It's really good, you have a choice."

"It is good," said Marie. "I was there."

"The hamburgers are thick," said another.

Teresa wanted to know if you could smoke.

"No. But you can step outside for a smoke. It's no big deal. I was there twice. I got better there. It's a good place."

Anyone reading this book is likely to chose a favorite among the residents of 9 Highland Road. Mine was Anthony, whose mother refuses to see him (he'd changed too much from the nice boy she liked to remember of his early childhood). Winerip visits his childhood home in which his room is preserved as it was in the 70's, when he last knew health, with tapes of Beatles and a poster of Julius Erving in mid-jump.

One day when his sickness is especially disabling, Anthony hears bizarre voices for six hours. An attentive group home worker asks him to reveal what they are saying. Anthony reports:

"They were talking about wearing their shorts up above their knees. But the sexual innuendo was there. I'm not going to be able to defend myself because I can't remember any exact examples. See, I'm just a boy, I don't look like a man for some reason. I don't look like my father. Here's something. She made fun of the size of my penis. All sexual innuendo. She said about the fish under the sea and looked at my eyes watering. She was making fun of my eyes watering—you see it?—fish under the sea. As if I'm not a man. I'm going to get even."

Winerip writes that for the social worker "listening to Anthony's explanations when he was psychotic was like trying to understand one of your dreams the next morning. You know the transitions and logic make sense when you're dreaming them, but afterward, when you lay them out step by step, the rational thread connecting each scene is

missing. It was as if in Anthony's damaged, schizophrenic brain, this subconscious dream world leaked into his waking, conscious mind, making his thoughts and speech dreamlike.

Anthony's father is stark in his articulation of what it is to be the parent of a child like Anthony:

"No one laughed in this house for years."

"While current popular theory on the origins of schizophrenia holds that there is a genetic predisposition for the illness which is activated by a stressful crisis, most thoughtful professionals know that is a guess," writes Winerip, who asks Anthony's father what he thinks brought on his son's sudden wish for isolation at the age of 14, a brooding downward spiral. There had

been earlier stress, a breech birth, a childhood disease which caused easy bruising, an incident at the dentist when he was nine and vomited during anesthesia and almost choked to death, hideous acne at puberty. But there were pluses as well: good grades, Little League, playing drum in the school band, family trips on a cabin cruiser.

There were awful scenes.

"I'm not proud of this," says his father, "But sometimes I had to throw him out of bed to get him moving."

Anthony's father talks about the torture of the cyclical nature of the disease, how a parent hopes a child will get medication, maybe enroll in a couple of classes, find some kind of work, avoid the hospital. But no matter how much one tries to convince oneself it won't

happen again, "you realize it will sooner or later. It's not easy to function under these circumstances. There were times at the beginning, when Anthony first got sick, I couldn't function at all. All I could do was mow the lawn. Anything I didn't have to do, I didn't do. Did you ever take a good look at the parents who have mentally ill children? Maybe only another person who's been through it can see it. It's a beat-up type of look. It doesn't have to be a physical thing. It's an emotional thing you can see in someone's eyes." ■

*Madeleine Blais, Nieman Fellow 1986, is a Professor in the Department of Journalism at the University of Mass. in Amherst. Her book, "In These Girls, Hope Is a Muscle," will be published in January by Grove Atlantic Press.*

## The Definitive Account of Watergate

Watergate

The Corruption of American Politics and the Fall of Richard Nixon

Fred Emery

Times Books. 555 Pages. \$27.50.

BY JOHN HUGHES

Some while ago I was interviewed by a young journalism student on a college newspaper. She wanted to discuss trends in modern journalism. Inevitably the discussion led to investigative reporting. I gave her my views about the kind of dogged patience a good investigative reporter has to have. We discussed the commitment in time and money a news organization must make to the project. We talked about the unrealistic post-Watergate rush by journalism students to become Woodwards and Bernsteins. I mentioned Kay Graham's post-Watergate concern that the pendulum had sometimes swung too far in the direction of investigative reporting, at a cost to other areas of journalism. I offered my own post-Watergate view that we need journalists who are sturdy skeptics of what officials tell them, but not cynics of

everyone, and everything, in government.

She seemed to understand, and get it all down right, then added: "Let me just ask you one question. What exactly *was* Watergate?"

At the 20th anniversary mark of Watergate and Richard Nixon's resignation in disgrace, Fred Emery's long look back is useful reading for those of us who were around at the time, and essential study for that new generation that—to my astonishment—was unborn at the time.

Emery and I spent several years rattling around Southeast Asia as foreign correspondents, including an extended period in Indonesia during the 1960's when the Communists attempted a coup, tortured and murdered the army's high command, and the country teetered on anarchy until then President Sukarno was deposed. As The Christian

Science Monitor's correspondent in the area, I thought I worked long and hard. But Emery, The London Times correspondent, was indefatigable. At the end of a difficult, sweaty, and occasionally dangerous day, he was always heading off into the Javanese night, following up one more lead, chasing one more interview. He has brought this exhaustive energy to bear on his Watergate book. After Asia, he went on to be The Times bureau chief in Washington for seven years, throughout the Watergate story. Now with the British Broadcasting Corporation, he has conducted extensive research and interviewing, not only for his book, but for the paralleling TV series which aired on the Discovery Channel this summer. The research turned up intriguing new material. One piece was a document which escaped the conspirators' shredders and lay untouched in the National Archives for

## A Tough Old Editor

Ask Harvey, pls.  
Edwin R. Bayley.  
Prairie Oak Press. 112 p. \$9.95.

Anyone who has set foot in a newsroom knows that reporters regularly grouse about editors. Here is a book showing that an editor of the old irascible school can bring the best out of reporters. Such an editor was Harvey Schwandner, City Editor of *The Milwaukee Journal* from 1946 to 1959. With the aid of former members of *The Journal* staff, former political reporter Edwin R. Bayley has collected reminiscences that give truth to the hackneyed "legendary editor."

The book can be purchased for \$9.95 from Prairie Oak Press, 821 Prospect Place, Madison, WI 53703. ■



20 years. Written two-and-a-half months before the Watergate break-in, it links H.R. Haldeman and John Mitchell to a \$300,000 budget for Gordon Liddy's "intelligence operation." This pre-knowledge of the break-in was consistently denied in all the court trials and Congressional investigations.

Emery also had access to Haldeman's files and handwritten notes, including much detail not included in the recently published "The Haldeman Diaries."

The simple answer to the question: "What exactly *was* Watergate?" is that it was a third-rate burglary by Republican operatives into Democratic party offices in Washington. It was the cover-up, the revelation of hush-money paid to conspirators, the lying and obstruction of justice by high officials in the White House including President Nixon himself, and the disclosure that the break-in was part of a wider campaign of illegal harassment, that galvanized and revolted the country and caused Nixon to resign in the face of certain impeachment. It is all this that Emery chronicles so effectively and with overwhelming documentation.

After 20 years, it is easy to forget how critical was the constitutional crisis when, near the end of the Watergate saga, the Supreme Court ordered Nixon to hand over 64 subpoenaed tapes of White House conversations about Watergate matters. What if Nixon had defied the court? What would Congress have done? What if Nixon had ordered the armed forces to surround Congress? Defense Secretary James Schlesinger must have pondered that prospect. He instructed the Joint Chiefs that any orders to the military from the White House were first to be referred to him. Henry Kissinger says in Emery's book that White House chief of staff Alexander Haig canvassed an idea that "it might be necessary to put the 82nd Airborne Division around the White House to protect the President."

Though such prospects may sound inconceivable today, the examples of Irangate and Whitewatergate show that we are not yet purged of wrongdoing by presidential loyalists in defense of an incumbent president.

Over-zealous officials believe that preserving their president and his policies may justify any means, including

the unethical and the illegal. They forget that such means demean the presidency and, if allowed to go unchecked, undermine the constitution they swore to uphold.

There are, of course, good and honest men and women in government. In the Watergate affair, some refused to lie. Others, tortured by what was going on, leaked bits and pieces of the story to journalists or responded to journalistic prodding.

The *Washington Post's* Woodward and Bernstein were out front, initially, without a lot of competition from other news organizations. The White House was amazed, at Nixon's first press conference after the break-in, at the lack of follow-up by the White House press corps. Contempt, manipulation and deceit characterized the Nixon White House's treatment of the press. "Hostile" news organizations were threatened, while officials sought to co-opt "friendly" ones. The White House tried unsuccessfully to plant on *Life* magazine fake cables implicating President Kennedy in the assassination of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem.

There was talk of a "covert entry" operation into Las Vegas newspaper publisher Hank Greenspun's office and safe to find material supposedly of political interest. Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt discussed an assassination attempt on columnist Jack Anderson. Nixon is heard on one of his tapes saying "We'll have [William] Buckley write a column and say...that he [Howard Hunt] should have clemency."

The press did not depose Richard Nixon. That was done by a combination of factors operating as part of the democratic system—law enforcement officers, individuals of conscience, Congress, a brave judge (John Sirica), the Supreme Court, and others. But without the scrutiny of the press, and its amplification of the tawdry story for the American people, the outcome might have been different. ■

*John Hughes, Nieman Fellow 1962, is former editor of The Christian Science Monitor. He now is Director of the International Media Studies Program at Brigham Young University.*

## A White Woman's Lonely Campaign Against Apartheid

In No Uncertain Terms:  
A South African Memoir  
Helen Suzman  
Alfred A. Knopf. 300 Pages. \$25.

BY BARNEY MTHOMBOHI

**H**elen Suzman is at last telling her story. Her courageous and at times lonely campaign against apartheid in the all-white South African Parliament earned the respect and admiration of the world. Her autobiography is a panoramic sweep of that troubled country's history. Unfortunately, this is not as good a book as it should have been. The journalist searching for an understanding of what shaped her will find few clues.

Suzman arrived in Parliament as a newly elected and assertive National Party was putting into place its now-reviled policies, and retired as the sun was setting on apartheid. With the heady changes now taking place in South Africa, we sometimes forget how hopeless the situation was 10 or even five years ago. Suzman had a front-seat view of the tragedy and crusaded to stop the country from tearing itself apart. She occupies a unique place in South African politics: a Jewish woman who shook a staid male-dominated political establishment that was not only racist and sexist, but also still reeking with the foul odor of anti-Semitism. (F.W. de Klerk's National Party, which has ruled South Africa since 1948, supported the Nazis during World War II.)

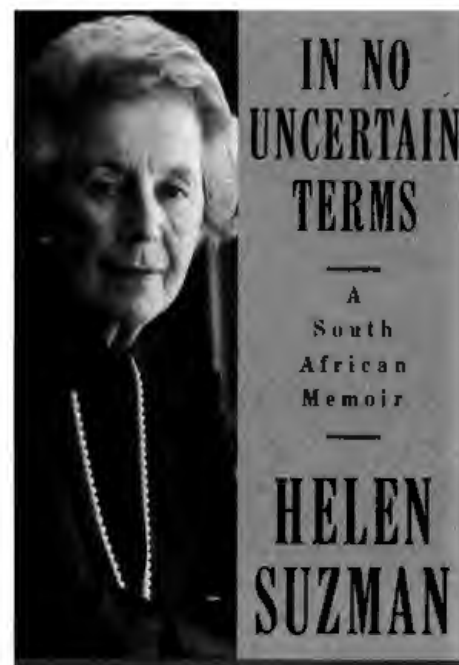
She was there when the momentous events that shaped modern-day South Africa took place: the Sharpeville shootings in 1960. The uprisings led by schoolchildren in Soweto in 1976. The assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in the chambers of Parliament in 1966. The Information Scandal, which for the first time in the country's history, brought down a sitting prime minister. And she was there

protesting loudly during the repressions of the 1980's.

Throughout all these years when black organizations were outlawed and their leadership was either in jail or exile, Suzman became the voice of the voiceless; she represented more than just her white constituents of Lower Houghton, a posh suburb to the north of Johannesburg. You had to say only "Helen" and everybody knew whom you were talking about. Every problem, from the forcible removal of black families from so-called white areas, to education to housing to the notorious pass laws, landed on her tiny shoulders.

Brutal prison conditions were dear to her heart and she came to know intimately most of the players now shaping the destiny of South Africa through her work with political prisoners. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, who knew Suzman well through her regular visits to the maximum security prison on Robben Island where he was incarcerated, writes in the foreword that the autobiography is "not only a journey through a remarkable political life, but has provided us with a powerful insight into the struggles that have taken place in white politics in South Africa."

Helen Suzman was born Helen Gavronsky in Germiston, just east of Johannesburg, on November 7, 1917, "the day of the Russian Revolution," she notes. Her father, Samuel, had emigrated to South Africa from Lithuania with his elder brother Oscar to avoid being drafted into the Czar's army and to escape the pogroms. The brothers could speak neither English nor Dutch but they soon established themselves in



business and eventually invested in land and property. They married sisters, also emigrants from Eastern Europe.

Suzman says she inherited from her father his stamina, his love of animals and his enjoyment of a scotch and soda in the evening. Fortunately for South Africa, she did not inherit his politics. "My father was not imbued with liberal ideas," she writes—an understatement if there ever was one. Gavronsky embarrassed his daughter by donating to a fund run by Verwoerd, the man who perfected the policy of apartheid.

In 1953, when she entered Parliament, Suzman was one of only four women MP's in her party. She soon discovered that her views were out of sync with the general flow of her party's philosophy. The United Party, which had ruled the country during World War II, was defeated by the pro-apartheid National Party in 1948 and had hoped to return to power in the general election of 1953. But when a more assertive National Party won with an

increased majority and set about applying its apartheid policies, United, which was then the Official Opposition, decided to play along. This decision caused a lot of soul-searching among a group of young MP's, including Suzman. She and 11 other MP's resigned from United in 1959 and formed the Progressive Party.

The next year, when 69 demonstrators were killed by police in Sharpeville, Verwoerd called a snap general election. All Progressive candidates except Suzman were defeated and she came into her own. The National Party had begun to apply its apartheid policies after coming into power in 1948, but crude repression did not begin until the Sharpeville shootings. The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress were banned and hundreds of people detained without charge. Hundreds more went into exile. With the official opposition siding with the government, it was left to Suzman to oppose the government's crackdown against black opponents.

It was at this point that journalists found Helen Suzman especially useful. Laws prevented newspapers from reporting on many areas of government such as defense, prisons and the police. The only way to get around the censorship was to have Suzman raise the matter in Parliament. Then the story could be told safely. In some cases that was the only way to keep the South African public informed on crucial issues, especially those relating to the activities of the security forces.

In her decades in Parliament, Suzman outlived five prime ministers, but she reserved all her contempt for P. W. Botha, de Klerk's predecessor. She has kind words for de Klerk, for obvious reasons, and she implies that she had the first inkling of the fundamental changes that he was about to make. De Klerk, she implies, finally listened to the advice that his predecessors had spurned for decades. She tells of a meeting in his office to say good-bye on her retirement from Parliament. "I thought the meeting would be brief. Instead, we chatted for about 40 minutes, mainly about the future. My final words to him were, 'Don't forget that checks and balances are necessary to prevent abuse of

power by the majority.' 'Ah!' said de Klerk, 'I see you have become a Nat.' 'Not at all,' I said. 'You have become a Young Prog.'"

The book, as Mandela says, is a stroll through South African politics. But it is a letdown in some respects. Such a colorful and distinguished career deserves more than a mere recitation of events and conversations. What made a young white woman from a conservative background undertake such a crusading role? And, having undertaken that crusade, why has she never been able to forge alliances with black groups operating outside the Parliamentary structure? Nor does she speak of an issue that isolated her from the mainstream of black opinion: the question of economic sanctions. She strongly opposed sanctions and disinvestment as weapons on the basis that they would

not work and would hurt blacks. Her opposition led many anti-apartheid organizations to question her commitment to fundamental change.

At times, she seemed caught between two immovable forces: the powerful racist structure and the mass of black people whose aspirations she championed and yet seemed somehow to have difficulty embracing. That, perhaps, is the fate of South African liberals, including Suzman.

The reader closes the book somewhat dissatisfied. Suzman has not told us who or what made her who she is. We are left to speculate. A proper book on Helen Suzman is yet to be written. ■

*Barney Mthombhozi, a 1994 Nieman Fellow, is Day Editor of The Sowetan in Johannesburg.*

## If Learned Hand

*Continued from Page 79*

40 years before the Warren Court got around to accepting that.

Does this prove that a required course in Journalism 101 might render judges less ham-handed about the First Amendment? Perhaps. But biographer Gunther, who lays out all those juicy details about Learned Hand's early flirtation with journalism, doesn't draw the conclusion that it produced his progressive First Amendment views. In fact, most of the book is about Hand's decisions in various other areas of the law—in which Hand was consistently perceptive and smart, too. The result is a full-bodied portrait of Learned Hand, which may tell most journalists more about a turn-of-the-century jurist than they want to know.

But if this book doesn't cinch the case that Presidents should favor journalists for the Supreme Court, it does at

least provide ammunition for that proposition. (There was once a tongue-in-cheek boomlet to put Lippmann on the Supreme Court—and more recently, Justice Potter Stewart, a former editor of The Yale Daily News, overcame an otherwise conservative judicial philosophy to produce a series of enlightened First Amendment decisions.) And the book does seem to support President Clinton's early intention—since neglected—to appoint to the Supreme Court individuals who have wide experience in the affairs of the world, and whose decisions might be enhanced by having actually experienced what they are judging. ■

*Fred Graham is Chief Anchor and Managing Editor of Courtroom Television Network.*



## The Legacy of a Concerned Photographer

Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism

Howard Chapnick

University of Missouri Press. 369 Pages. \$49.95 Cloth. \$24.95 Paper.

BY LESTER SLOAN

Every aspiring photographer should have a Howard Chapnick in his life. And if that's not possible, then a copy of his book, "Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism," is the next best thing.

Chapnick has befriended, assisted, championed, or promoted some of the most prominent names in photojournalism, collecting along the way a treasure-trove of information, antidotes and tips about photographers and their art of taking photographs.

"The photograph is ubiquitous," says Chapnick, "it is integral to every facet of the human experience. Photography is a universal language, communicating across the boundary of illiteracy that isolates much of the world's population." It is to those who speak the language of photo images, the photojournalist, that his book is dedicated.

For the last 50 years, Chapnick was associated with the photo agency "Black Star," which represents some of the finest photojournalists in the profession. In the minds of many, Chapnick was "Black Star."

He is a man who draws his inspiration, not by doing, but also by assisting and guiding the doers. This book is, in many respects, his legacy. In it, he shares the rewards and knowledge that comes from dedication, commitment and hard work, "the ingredients" for a rewarding career in photojournalism.

The photojournalist is, by Chapnick's assessment, a front-line historian. The photographic image is "transcendent, having replaced cave paintings and artists' interpretations of events, as a way of visually telling a story."

"The twentieth century belongs to the photojournalist," says Chapnick, but

the camera in the hands of a fool reeks havoc. A pictures' content and its power to communicate, is shaped by the content of the photographer's consciousness, conscience and intellect.

If the camera is his instrument, then the photo essay is the score of the photojournalist. Carefully crafted, and imbued with the realism, intellect and love of an receptive eye, photography has quite literally changed the world. In science, anthropology, history; in just about all arenas of man's endeavors, documentary photography has given us greater insight into the world in which we live.

Documentation for its own sake, while valuable, runs the risk of being style over content. But in the hands of the "Concerned Photographer," in the words of Chapnick, "those who choose humanity over self-interest, feeling over dispassionate observation," goes the greatest responsibility and honor; and it is they who share Chapnick's "philosophy of journalism."

It was Cornell Capa who coined the phrase, labeled and identified "Concerned Photographers." In 1966, he set up The Fund for Concerned Photographers, out of which The Center of Photography was established in 1974. "It is a concern for mankind that connects their work; it's not their style," according to Capa.

Chapnick took up the gauntlet of his friend and mentor, and has devoted more than 50 years to identifying, exposing and promoting the work of these "witness-artists." His book charts the course of 29 careers in photography, and in the process, sheds some light on the personal dedication, commitment, and pursuit of excellence that characterize their work. Some of the names

### TRUTH NEEDS NO ALLY



Inside Photojournalism

Howard Chapnick

are legendary, others are legends in the making: Margaret Bourke-White, Sebastiao Salgado, W. Eugene Smith, Bill Eppridge, Donna Ferrato, James Nachtwey, Annie Leibovitz, the Turnley brothers. All have answered and accepted the challenges put forth in the 16 questions Chapnick asks of those who "want to be a photojournalist."

The timid air heads need not apply; nor will the visually illiterate, ill informed slackers find refuge here. Chapnick asks the tough questions: "Are you willing to give up your personal life? Do you have boundless energy? Do you believe in yourself? Do you love your work? Are you a concerned photographer?" If the answers to most of these are no, then close his book and save yourself some time and money. If yes, then Chapnick, at his avuncular best, will guide you to the gateway of a new profession. Chapnick, quite literally, instructs you on all the fine points of launching a career in photojournalism. From the preparation of a portfolio to the "common sense" of

dress for your interview, he gives the reader not only the benefit of his experience and observations, but those of some of the finest editors in the business.

His book offers career options: newspapers, wire services, freelance opportunities, as well as the prospect of getting hired in today's competitive market. And unlike many books in this genre, Chapnick encourages the development of the photographers' verbal and writing skills to complement a career in photojournalism.

There is no place for "Animals" in Chapnick's pantheon of photojournalists. The disheveled character, lacking in personal hygiene, introduced for comic relief in TV's *The Lou Grant Show*, is out of step and place in Chapnick's world. You don't have to cover a riot in black tie, as Dennis Brack did in moving from the White House to the mean streets, when necessity dictated, but in the real world you are judged first by your appearance then your pictures.

The section of Chapnick's book dealing with women and minorities I found most interesting. Here the book takes on the impersonal style of a questionnaire, instead of the hands-on interpersonal discourse found in other chapters. While it doesn't take away from the salient points made by the individual photographers, it is here that I feel Chapnick is an observer and not a participant.

One of the sweeter touches of Chapnick's book is the chorus of voices introducing every chapter. The fact that they are not all photographers, but span the arts and the ages, says much about the author. Inspiration comes from many sources, and the photojournalist who hopes to address the concerns of mankind must also be a good listener.

Scholarship and erudition are as much the cornerstones of photojournalism as "communication and content." By his example, Chapnick teaches us this and shares what the pioneers of photojournalism possessed: an insatiable curiosity and appreciation for the arts.

Chapnick's book is not only good reading for the beginner, but for the

working photojournalist. It a wake-up call for those who find themselves caught up in the competitive world of journalism, where photographers are considered mere "content providers."

Redirection sometimes comes with re-commitment. "Photography," says Cornell Capa, "is in danger of losing its own self-respect as well as the trust and confidence of viewers in its veracity and artistry."

Photojournalists must continue to find effective ways to finance personal projects, free from production demands and controls exercised by the mass communication media. Chapnick provides a short list of foundations, grants and awards dedicated to this end. But he also encourages the working photojournalist to sharpen his skills by attending workshops, and being open to informed critiques.

Howard Chapnick embraces a set of ethics that should be the very underpinnings of the journalistic community. The race for dollars and newsstand sales have, of late, resulted in the compromise of these ethics. "To be persuasive," said Edward R. Murrow, "we must be believable. To be believable, we must be credible. To be credible, we must be truthful."

Chapnick encourages photographers to embrace the challenges of the future and not succumb to the cumulative effects of runaway technology and a journalist community that sells pictures by the pound. Developing a photojournalist aesthetic, a style to which editors will respond and make the photographers' work stand out, is just one way of surviving in a "point-and-shoot" world. But, as his title suggests, truth must remain our ally.

In the early years of my career, I had the occasion to sit and listen to Howard Chapnick. In the interim years, I've not had the advantage of his counsel. His book provides me with another opportunity to renew our acquaintance, and I welcome it as I would a long lost friend. ■

*Lester Sloan, a 1976 Nieman Fellow, is a Newsweek photographer.*

## Legal Rules On Armed Conflict

The Laws of War  
W. Michael Reisman  
and Chris T. Antoniou  
Vintage Books. 448 pages. \$13 pb.

This collection of documents on international law provides the key texts of the world's attempts to agree that certain actions are morally and legally unacceptable. It is a book that will be a valuable resource to reporters dealing with wars, war crimes, terrorism and guerrilla raids.

It offers extensive excerpts from documents ranging from the 1868 Declaration of St. Petersburg to the 1993 Interim Report of the Commission of Experts on Alleged War Crimes in the former Yugoslavia. It deals with the United States arrest of Manuel Noriega and the Israeli deportation of Palestinians from occupied territories.

The Introduction by the editors, W. Michael Reisman, Hohfeld Professor of Jurisprudence at Yale Law School, and Chris T. Antoniou, a 1992 Yale Law School graduate now practicing law in Washington, raises cautions about quick judgments regarding an enemies actions. For example, they write "it is quite possible" that Iraq's release of crude oil into the Persian Gulf and setting oil wells ablaze were not a violation of the law of war. "The case is somewhat comparable to the United States use of Agent Orange and other defoliants in Vietnam."

The authors also note restrictions placed on coverage of the military operations in the Falkland Islands, Grenada, Panama and the Persian Gulf War and the skill with which military spokesmen presented "their conceptions of what the law of war prescribes, focusing attention, as best they could, on certain issues and attempting to deflect it from others." The authors conclude that the consequences "on the application of the law of armed conflict and on the corpus of the law may prove to be substantial." ■

## The National Pastime as a Symbol of Society

October 1964

David Halberstam

Villard Books. 380 Pages. \$24.

BY KEVIN B. BLACKSTONE

**T**ime was when America could take itself to the ballpark and leave its troubles behind. It didn't, after all, call baseball its national pastime for no reason. The game of summer was an escape, if only momentary, from the struggles of society.

Baseball was that in the First World War and the Great Depression. It was that during the Second World War and the Cold War.

Baseball always appeared insulated from what went on outside its arena. That was as it should be, America thought. Baseball was a retreat.

Then came Jackie Robinson. And, adds David Halberstam in his latest book, "October 1964," came rock 'n roll, television and big contracts.

The game, Halberstam said, wasn't the same any longer. Baseball wasn't a pastime anymore. It was "the times," and times changed.

For Halberstam, the watershed season in which baseball was forever changed wasn't 1947, however, when Brooklyn Dodgers executive Branch Rickey integrated the modern version of the game with Jackie Robinson. Instead, Halberstam argues, it came 17 years later, 1964, seven seasons after Robinson retired.

Halberstam's is a neatly packaged premise for a 30-year anniversary reminiscence. It is spiced with memorable anecdotes from some of sports more colorful characters. It also includes what seem to be departures from Halberstam's thesis. And, one could argue that much of the point Halberstam seeks to make, especially the impact of racial change, already had taken place.

The 1964 baseball season concluded with the St. Louis Cardinals defeating the New York Yankees in the World

Series, hence Halberstam's newest title. Halberstam saw it as the turning point, the white power team that had come to define baseball finally falling to a team heavily dependent on speed and athleticism of black players. Billy Cox, the Dodger's third baseman who lost his job in 1953 to Robinson, would argue the turning point in baseball came much earlier. "I don't mind them (black players) in the game," he reportedly said upon losing his job, "but now they're really taking over."

Nonetheless, Halberstam underscores his argument by pointing out that the Yankees ruled baseball in the '50's and early '60's. The New Yorkers won 13 pennants and nine World Series between 1949 and the start of the '64 season.

It wasn't, however, their success alone that made what the Cardinals would do to them so noteworthy. It was the manner in which the Yankees achieved their success.

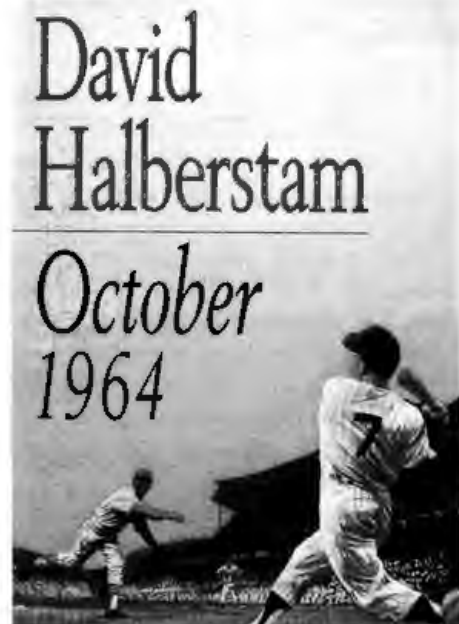
They employed the game's most revered player, Mickey Mantle.

They were a product of the game's most revered manager, Casey Stengel.

They wore shirts and ties and spit-polished dress shoes.

They sported crew cuts. And, they constructed and maintained their dynasty the old-fashioned way, with white players only. They still deflected, rather than reflected, the changes outside the ballpark.

They weren't moved by the civil rights movement despite being a team of the so-believed enlightened North that played just a homerun or two from the ground-breaking Brooklyn Dodgers. They remained unaffected by the rhythms of the Beat Generation, though it was challenging the status quo just a



subway ride away in Greenwich Village. They were slow, too, to comprehend the impact of television, although much of the technology was being developed in their front yard.

The Yankees were, indeed, the best franchise in baseball. Furthermore, they represented what was thought to be right and good about America. They didn't need change, they were sure, and didn't desire to do anything differently.

Yankees owner George Weiss didn't want his players seen going or coming from work without at least a sport coat. He not only didn't want black players on his diamond, he didn't want black fans, whom he considered rabble, following them into his stadium. "Now Tom," Halberstam quoted Weiss issuing an order to his chief scout, Tom Greenwade, "I don't want you sneaking around down any back alleys and signing any niggers. We don't want them."

Most of the American League, the half of baseball in which the Yankees resided, emulated the most successful franchise. For the most part, it left the National League teams to scour the

South for black players. It couldn't care less that black players had come to earn the National League's Most Valuable Player award season after season. That wasn't the way the American League was going to do business. It was going to do business the Yankees' way. That wasn't how the Yankees won and won and won.

That was the backdrop that made 1964 what it was for Halberstam. It was a societal clash. It was a showdown of the status quo against the future, the establishment against the revolutionaries.

The Cardinals, of course, were the revolutionaries. They had picked up Branch Rickey's initiative with vigor. They looked for the best players anywhere they could. Colleges, be they black or white. Minor leagues, be they black or white. High schools, be they black or white.

Their owner, Gussie Busch, realized early on some value from America's melting pot. He owned a St. Louis brewery, Budweiser, and more black people bought his beer than any other in the country.

Halberstam noted that Busch was stunned on his first visit to spring training not to see any black players. "Where are our black players?" he demanded. A coach responded the team had none. "How can it be the great American game if blacks can't play? Hell, we sell beer to everyone."

The Cardinals, from that point, reflected what was happening in America. They didn't fight it. They joined it.

Without question, it was integration that was the strongest agent in bringing baseball into the 20th Century. Halberstam, however, gives heavy credence to television, too, leaping back into his sweeping 1993 cultural history, "The Fifties." He suggests that the additional money television brought to baseball that showered down on young players created tension between the old guard and the avant garde. Certainly, it did. But the magnitude of that tension diminishes in comparison to that that integration brought.

Baseball's heroes were America's biggest heroes. Mickey Mantle was idolized like few before him, Halberstam

pointed out. Young boys got their hair cut like him. They trotted to the outfield or around the bases as he did. They even took note of the way he doffed his batting helmet, always from the back. America didn't want to lose that image. It didn't want the national pastime to give way to cultural diversity as had popular music. This it wanted to preserve.

One Jackie Robinson was fine. America could probably live with two or three, even, but not on the same field at one time as the Cardinals, Giants, Dodgers and a few National League teams had done.

It didn't want any of its sons imitating a member of the Giants black Murderer's Row, Willie Mays, Willie McCovey or Orlando Cepeda. It didn't want its sons taking after Hank Aaron when they had The Mick. It didn't want its clubhouses turned over to the leadership of a black man.

All of that, however, is what the turbulent '60's ushered into baseball, just as the period had into society at large.

The Yankees, as Halberstam illustrated, continued to walk into the wind. Eventually, they acquiesced to getting a black player, but only one who would stand out only because of his color and ability, not because of his mind.

"[Elston] Howard, the first Negro to gain a place on the Bomber machine," Halberstam quoted from "The Sporting News" at the time, "was chosen for the situation *sui generis* because of his quiet demeanor, his gentlemanly habits and instincts, and his lack of aggressive attitudes on race questions. He came to the Yankees determined to achieve the position he now occupies, not as a crusader."

The Cardinals, on the other hand, sought the strong-willed Bob Gibson. He was out not only to be the best pitcher, but to prove a point. He spoke his mind and others, too. He challenged authority and eventually became it.

He was mad that the Cardinals, despite their willingness to brave a new path, had signed him for much less than they had white players of equal or less ability. He was upset they left him in the minor leagues while promoting white

pitchers who hadn't shown as much promise.

When Gibson finally came up, he made sure to put everyone in their place, no matter how uncomfortable he made white teammates, even friendly ones like Tim McCarver.

"There's a colored guy waiting for you. He says he's got a date with you," McCarver once informed Gibson, Halberstam related. "Oh," responded Gibson, "What color is he?"

Elston Howard and Bob Gibson. They represented the difference between the Yankees and Cardinals as much as owners George Weiss and Gussie Busch or Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy, or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Black Muslims.

That was the struggle that so defined the 1964 season, Halberstam argues. 1947 represented tokenism, though maybe not to Jackie Robinson and those black Americans who watched him with pride.

Black players not only changed the way the game was played to one with speed and base running rather than simple brute strength, but altered how America came to regard their capacities. Gibson was mentally tough enough to win the deciding game of the 1994 series. He was strong enough to be respected by his clubhouse peers, black and white, as their leader.

His teammate, Bill White, was intelligent enough, too, to garner similar respect. White, not surprisingly, eventually became president of the National League, baseball's first black presiding official.

Another teammate, Curt Flood, went on to challenge baseball's restrictive labor policy by filing a lawsuit that went to the Supreme Court. He lost, but his effort paved the way for the free agency system now intact in baseball and every other major professional team sport.

Funny thing, the Yankees didn't win another World Series until the next decade, care of a defiant black superstar named Reggie Jackson. Times did change for America's pastime, indeed. ■

*Kevin Blackstone is a sports columnist for The Dallas Morning News.*

# NIEMAN NOTES

COMPILED BY LOIS FIORE

## Where There's Smoke, There's News

*In August, hundreds of forest fires burned out of control in the Western U.S. We asked Bert Lindler, who "chased smoke" most summers when covering outdoor recreation and national resources for The Great Falls Tribune in Montana, to give us some guidelines for covering forest fires. Lindler, now Editor of research publications for the Forest Service's Intermountain Research Station in Ogden, Utah, and 1984 Nieman Fellow, filed this report:*

BY BERT LINDLER

**T**he deaths of 17 firefighters in Colorado and New Mexico have made forest fires big news this year. Although such accidents are infrequent, forest fires are not. And since the West has been dry as leaves crumbling underfoot, fires there are likely to continue to make national news this year.

Firefighters' bright yellow shirts make for great color photos, especially when flames billow in the forest behind them. But one of the biggest stories—often untold—is that during wetter years firefighters aren't always needed. For as long as lightning has sparked the sky, fires have opened ponderosa pine stands, prepared gardens for colorful wildflowers, and set the table for elk, deer, and woodpeckers. Periodic fires also clean up deadwood that could fuel a catastrophic fire if allowed to build for decades. Fire managers may use fire to fight fire, igniting fires under carefully controlled conditions (called prescriptions) to reduce the chance of catastrophes.

The firefighting business has its own lingo. Here are some tips to help you translate:

- Wildland firefighters work to "contain" a fire. Then they "control" it. A fire is "contained" when it has been surrounded by firelines, narrow paths where firefighters or bulldozers have cleared away all the fuels. Fires are "controlled" when all fires that might jump the firelines are out. Firefighters who extinguish the final flames and use water to soak smoldering embers are said to be "mopping up."

- Airplanes and helicopters help fight fires but can't do the job alone. Air tankers drop brightly colored fire retardant, water mixed with fertilizer that slows a fire's advance. Helicopters help move crews and equipment in rugged terrain. Using buckets slung beneath their bellies, helicopters can dip water from lakes and dump it on areas troubling firefighters.

- Crews using chain saws, pulaskis, and shovels build firelines in steep terrain, where access is difficult, or where environmental impacts need to be minimized. Pulaskis are specially designed firefighting tools with an axe on one end for chopping and a mattock on the

other for digging. Bulldozers can build firelines more quickly when conditions are suitable for their use.

- Fires usually "lay down" at night when the air becomes relatively cool and moist. They burn intensely during the early afternoon when temperatures are high and humidity is low. Fire crews sometimes work at night when the fires are resting.

- Under some circumstances, nothing can stop a fire. Firelines only stop fires burning along the ground. Once fires start burning through the tree tops (crowning), or are whipped by heavy winds, they can throw sparks far ahead, starting new fires (spotting). Such fires can jump firelines, interstate highways, or even rivers. Firefighters generally wait for a change in weather before tackling these fast-moving fires head-on.

- The number of acres reported for a particular fire may not tell the whole story. Firefighters usually know how many acres are inside the fire's perimeter before they know how many acres actually burned. Only half of the area

within the perimeter may have been burned; fires often skip over lush green vegetation or stands of younger trees.

- Forests are burned, but rarely destroyed. Save "destroyed" and similar adjectives for buildings and timber. Fires are part of the life of the forest.

- Rural homeowners share the responsibility for fire protection. Narrow, winding roads are rustic, but may be too narrow for emergency U-turns by pumper trucks ("engines" in firefighting parlance). Homeowners may stack their deck with firewood, nail wood shakes to the roof, and leave trees overhanging the roof. When they do, firefighters face an impossible task.

- The best writing about firefighting is "Young Men and Fire," by Norman McLean (1992, University of Chicago Press). One of the best histories of forest fires is "Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildlands and Rural Fire," by Stephen Pyne (1982, Princeton University Press).

If you're sent to cover a forest fire, remember to:

- Go prepared for dirty, dangerous work. You will need high-top leather boots with heavy soles. Tennis shoes or lightweight hiking boots don't provide enough protection around fire. If you are taken to the fireline, you will be given a hard hat, special fire-retardant clothing, and an emergency fire shelter. The fire information officer will help you stay out of danger.

- Keep the things you need with you, possibly in a day pack. A water bottle and snacks may come in handy. Expect delays.

- The incident commander (known as the fire boss in the old days) is in charge at a forest fire. Fire camps are run like military operations; safety and putting out the fire are the first priorities. Be assertive, be persistent, but to the degree possible, be patient. A little patience may lead to cooperation. It's worth a try.

- The air space above a fire is usually closed to private aircraft to reduce the risk of collisions. Don't endanger lives to get a picture. If you want aerial photos, check with the fire information officer.

- The best way to learn about forest

fires is to write feature stories when fires are cool. You will develop contacts who can help you when fires get hot.

- Features are easy to find in Missoula, Mt., where smokejumpers are trained (call Dale Dufour, 406-329-3091) and researchers have spent decades studying wildland fire (call Dave Tippetts, 801-625-5434). Boise, Ida., is home of the National Interagency Fire Center, the command post that coordinates wildland firefighting nationwide (call 208-387-5457).

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### 1939

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**Frank S. Hopkins**, 86, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer April 25 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington.

Since 1975 Hopkins had been Vice President of the World Future Society. In 1968 Hopkins retired from the State Department, where he was Director of the Office of U.S. Programs and Services in the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs. He spent 16 years in the Foreign Service, as Consul General in Melbourne, Australia, Consul in Martinique and U.S. Information Agency Director in Stuttgart, West Germany. In the U.S., he was Deputy Director of the Foreign Service Institute and the State Department representative to the Army War College.

Hopkins began his career in the 1930's as a freelance and as a reporter for *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* and *The Baltimore Sun* papers.

He leaves his wife, Louis Lang Hopkins of Bethesda, and three children from his first marriage.

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### 1951

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**Sylvan Meyer** and Seymour C. Nash's book, "Prostate Cancer: Making Survival Decisions," will be published by the University of Chicago Press in late September. Meyer is a surviving prostate cancer patient and Nash is his urologist. The book traces, from the patient's

point of view, the experience from the first symptoms to early diagnosis to life after treatment. The book includes a guide to the latest treatments, techniques, and findings.

Based on four years of research, the book, Meyer says, "...is the most comprehensive...on prostate cancer extant, for layman or doc, and it goes deeply into the current hot controversies in the field."

Meyer was Editor of *The Gainesville (Georgia) Times* and *The Miami News* and was both editor and publisher of *South Florida Magazine*, which he founded in 1975.

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### 1952

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On June 9, Shirley Harrison, wife of **John Harrison**, died of septicemia at Mercy Hospital in Iowa City. A celebration of her life was held August 15 at the University Athletic Club. She and Harrison met in 1957 in Oakland, Iowa, when she came for her first teaching assignment and he was associated with his father in publishing the weekly *Oakland Acorn*. Harrison wrote us about her:

She had undergone breast cancer surgery in August, 1985, but enjoyed seven years during which we traveled widely—to Siberia, Soviet Central Asia, Yugoslavia, and much of central and western Europe—including frequent visits to our favorite city, London.

Shirley taught for 40 years in the high schools and universities of Iowa, Ohio and Pennsylvania. She was a member of the English faculty at Penn State from 1961 to 1978.

Her pleasure in our year at Harvard was unbounded and she left some imprint for future Nieman wives by insisting that they should be entitled to sit in on more than the one class that had been suggested before 1951. She reveled in the association with Archibald MacLeish, Walter Jackson Bate and others, sharing with me the great experience that undergraduates called "Brunch with Brinton"—Professor of History Crane Brinton—over the noon hour in Sever Hall.

Since our retirement to Iowa City in 1978, she had been active in the University of Iowa Museum of Art.

1963

**William Eaton** has become curator of the University of Maryland's Hubert H. Humphrey Journalism Fellowship Program. Eaton, Congressional reporter for The Los Angeles Times Washington bureau, succeeds Professor Ray Hiebert.

Eaton spent 11 years with The Chicago Daily News Washington bureau before joining The Times Washington bureau in 1978. He won the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting in 1970, and was The Los Angeles Times Bureau Chief in New Delhi and Moscow.

Maryland's College of Journalism administers a graduate-level study program and professional training experience for leading journalists from 17 countries. This year, the professional training program will include 16 Humphrey Journalism Fellows, with Eaton coordinating their activities and teaching a weekly seminar that focuses on the press in a democratic society.

1969

**Richard Longworth**, senior writer for The Chicago Tribune, won the 1994 Overseas Press Club award for best newspaper interpretation of foreign affairs for a series on the United Nations and its problems in meeting the military, humanitarian and diplomatic demands of the post-Cold War world.

1974

**Ned Cline** writes to report there is, indeed, life after editing and managing a newsroom. After a dozen years as managing editor of The News & Record in Greensboro, he has returned to writing for that paper. As Associate Editor, he writes daily editorials and a twice-weekly opinion column on state and local issues. "I just write about issues that affect people in their daily lives and topics they care about and can do something about," Cline said of his new role. "It's wonderful. I recommend it. All editors and managers should try it."

1976

**Robert Fiess**, founding member of GEO magazine in France (circulation: 570,000 copies a month), Chief Editor until 1990 and then Editor, is now managing Prisma Presse Academy for magazine journalism. Fiess explains: "Every year the Academy recruits 10 journalists about 30 years old, with at least five years professional experience, to train them to magazine journalism specificities and to prepare them for taking on positions with editorial responsibilities.

"Selected by means of a competitive entry examination, the fellow journalists, before joining the Academy, have gained experience in different kinds of press (daily, magazines, professional and broadcast); they receive \$2,000 a month and have no obligation to join Prisma Presse once the training is completed. The first program started last May."

Prisma Press is the second magazine group in France with an annual revenue of 500 million dollars and edits 11 titles in France (women's, leisure and economic magazines, and a TV guide). Prisma Presse is a sister company of Gruner+Jahr, which in the U.S. last June bought the women's magazines group of The New York Times Company.

Fiess will hold two jobs, as manager of the Academy and editorial counsel to Axel Ganz, President of Prisma Presse and Gruner+Jahr International.

Fiess says he was inspired by his Nieman Fellowship to create this one year, high level professional program.

1982

**Chris Bogan** and co-author Michael English have a new book out called "Benchmarking for Best Practices: Winning Through Innovative Adaptation," published by McGraw Hill. The book is an outgrowth of his company, Best Practices Benchmarking & Consulting, which he started in 1992. Bogan says, "All roads lead back to the newsroom. I find that after a number of years away from newspapers, my company is now advising a growing number of newspapers and media companies. We specialize in providing best-practice informa-

tion, research and consulting services for American and international companies. Business is exciting and I'm delighted to be working with newspaper companies again. In August we will be relocating our corporate and personal headquarters from Lexington, Mass., to Chapel Hill in the Research Triangle Park area of North Carolina."

Bogan's wife, Mary Jo Barnett, is a marriage and family therapist. They have two children, Evan, who is in the second grade, and one-year-old adopted son, William (Will) Forrest Thoreau Bogan.

1983

**Gilbert Gaul** and Neill Borowski of The Philadelphia Inquirer were awarded the 1994 Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting for a seven-part series on the abuse of tax-exempt status by nonprofit organizations. The series, "Warehouses of Wealth: The Tax-Free Economy," received the \$25,000 Prize from the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center of the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard. The Prize is given to journalism promoting more effective and ethical conduct of government by disclosing excessive secrecy or instances of commendable government performance. Gaul and Borowski's series was also cited by Investigative Reporters and Editors, the Loeb Awards, and was a finalist in the national reporting category for the Pulitzer Prizes. The series was republished as a paperback by Andrews & McMeel in a slightly expanded version in late 1993. Gaul previously won Pulitzers in 1979 and 1990.

Two Fellows were finalists, among others, for the Goldsmith Prize: **Athelia Knight** (1986) of The Washington Post and **Peter Brown** (1982) from Scripps Howard New Service.

1986

Karly René Finison was born August 3 to **Carmen Fields** and husband Lorenz Fenison. Fields, who is Press Secretary for Boston's District Attorney says, in her objective opinion, their daughter is "simply gorgeous." She can be reached at 15 Day Street, Cambridge, 02140; 617-864-3954.

1988

**Michele McDonald**, photographer for *The Boston Globe*, was in Ecuador last summer participating in a nonprofit book project sponsored by the University of Missouri and various organizations in Ecuador. Thirty-eight photographers from around the world—including Japan, India, Italy, France and about 12 from the U.S.—spent a few weeks shooting pictures in assigned areas of the country. McDonald's assignment took her to Quito, the capital; she also visited the Galapagos Islands. The subjects of some of her photos were Ecuadorian families, women's prisons and shopping malls. The money made from the book will go to a foundation to help Ecuadorian documentary photographers. The first edition of the book will be published in Ecuador before Christmas and will eventually be available in six or seven languages.

In June, McDonald won three first place awards from the Boston Press Photographers Association.

Rachel Edralin-Tiglao, wife of **Rigoberto Tiglao**, stayed with McDonald for a few days while she was here for her daughter Andrea's graduation from Mt. Holyoke College. In The Philippines, Edralin-Tiglao manages an office that deals with battered women's issues. While in Boston she spent time at Boston City Hospital to look at their programs for battered women, including how they handled men who batter. The Tiglao's address in The Philippines is 63B Madasalin Street, Teachers Village, Quezon City.

1990

**Dave Denison** stepped down in August as Editor of *The Arlington (Mass.) Advocate*, a weekly newspaper owned by Harte-Hanks Community Newspapers. After almost two years as Editor and an immersion in local community journalism, Denison reports that he is seeking to turn his attention back to state and national political writing. He is a former Editor of *The Texas Observer*.

On August 20, Denison married Alice

Ledogar in Brewster, Mass. Dave met Alice, who is Deputy Director of the Conservation Law Foundation in Boston, during his Nieman year.

1991

**Tim Giago**, Publisher of *Indian Country Today*, has expanded that newspaper with a Southwest Edition. Published for the first time on July 20, the Southwest Edition offers a "distinct voice of advocacy for the sovereignty of South-west Native nations," Giago said.

In his announcement, Giago said the expansion comes "at a critical time in the news industry when countless newspapers around the country are closing. In contrast, *Indian Country Today's* weekly readership has risen to more than 75,000 and is expected to jump with the expansion."

Southwest Edition's managing editor is Navajo journalist Susan Lewis. Based in Scottsdale, Ariz., the paper is published each Wednesday and covers news, issues, arts and culture of the 21 Indian nations in Arizona as well as others in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah and Southern California.

Giago said he does not feel that the new edition competes with other Native newspapers, and believes that "each tribe should have its own community newspaper."

1992

**Dai Qing** spent June and July at the Humanities Research Center at the Australian National University in Canberra. In July, she was in Perth, on the west coast of Australia, for a conference on "Environment, State and Society in Asia," where she was one of four keynote speakers.

**Michael Ruane** writes to say that he has been appointed to the Knight-Ridder Washington bureau to cover a beat called the changing military. "We're moving to the Chevy Chase section of Washington the first week of August and I start work August 8. The assignment is for three years. For the last two years, since returning from our Nieman, I have been *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* roving feature writer covering the state of Pennsylvania."

**Seth Effron** writes of his effort to pry loose some information from the North Carolina legislature:

In October 1993 I launched a request from the North Carolina legislature for information (computer tapes) on the legislature's computerized bill status and bill text files—all matters of public record. I wanted the information to expand the kinds of information my news service, which is a division of *The News & Observer Co.*, of Raleigh, offers. While there was never much of a question that the information I'd requested was public record, some members of the state legislature didn't want to give it to me on computer tape. For six months the legislature stalled on meeting my request.

Finally, in March of this year, the legislators who didn't want to give me the information, thought they'd come up with a solution to circumvent my request while still appearing to be making the computerized information public. They decided to put the bill status and bill text information onto the Internet, and update it on a daily basis. In that way anyone with access to the Internet could get the information for free. As a result, I feel like (as I told Art Eisenstadt of *The Winston-Salem Journal*) "I lost the battle, but I feel like I won the war. Putting the system on the Internet is sort of a cumbersome way to do it, but it's far, far better than nothing. The information is available far more widely than it ever was before."

As a result of my request, information about what the North Carolina state legislature is doing, for the first time, is easily and widely available outside of Raleigh. It is the most significant advance in making information about the state legislature available to the public. Until now, to get information on the text of a bill or its status, people had to call the legislature and ask a librarian to look up the information. To get the text of a bill, it had to be mailed. As more and more public schools and libraries get connected to the Internet, more people will have access to this, and other information, regardless of whether they can personally afford to subscribe to an on-line Internet service.



## *A Scoop and a Leak, Japanese Style*

Before returning to work, Atsushi Yamada, senior staff writer, The Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo, a 1994 Nieman Fellow, dropped off this reminiscence of his youthful days as a reporter.

BY ATSUSHI YAMADA

When I was a cub reporter of economic affairs, I covered the Ministry of Finance. One day I was having a discussion with the Director-General of the Banking Bureau about the structural reform of financial institutions when he suddenly mumbled, "I think it's about time that all mutual banks ought to be upgraded to become ordinary banks, don't you?"

At that time mutual banks in Japan were classified as small- and medium-sized financial institutions. These banks were based in regional cities but were vulnerable due to competition from major city banks. Mutual banks had been demanding that they be upgraded to the rank of ordinary banks because they were seen to be a rank lower. However, at that time, a number of scandals involving mutual banks had surfaced: management dictatorship by one family owner, bankruptcy resulting from careless lending due to questionable connections with politicians, etc.

I responded, "I'm sure upgrading will be necessary later on, but do you really think the time has come? I think the immediate task is to improve their business management, not change their classification." The Director-General said, "Maybe you are right," and our discussion shifted to other issues.

A week later the headline "Ministry of Finance to upgrade mutual banks into ordinary banks" appeared in Yomiuri, a major competitor.

One of my senior colleagues and chief of monetary reporting asked me,

"Is this story correct?" I replied, "I think this story is misleading. There are such views in the Ministry of Finance, but at present this [view] will not be accepted by society. When I met with the Director-General of the Banking Bureau, we discussed this issue, but I told him that rather than upgrade the mutual banks' classification now, it was more important to upgrade the quality of management. And he agreed." The senior colleague was astounded and responded, "The Director-General was not asking for your comment. He was making a hint that Asahi newspaper should write about it, and you missed it. It's as if you trampled on a special privilege."

The Director-General of the Ministry of Finance's Banking Bureau is the highest authority in the Japanese financial industry. He certainly would not be looking for the opinion of a cub reporter. Of course it was a leak. But I protested to my senior colleague, "I don't think mutual banks should be upgraded now. I can't believe that it will pass Parliament." The senior colleague continued, "Your opinion is not being asked for. The question is what the Minister of Finance is thinking. Your job is to follow that."

I can recall this incident of more than a decade ago as if it happened yesterday. It was a shock to me because it clarified what Japanese newspapers want from a reporter—not insight, but the ability to acquire information.

There may be some difference in degree, but to be close to what you are

covering is what is demanded of any journalist throughout the world. In Japan, the "press club" is a base for such a purpose. Press clubs in Japan are established within governments and agencies, political parties and industries, and information is released through them. Press releases, regular press meetings, off-the-record briefings and interviews all provide reporters with the latest information. In addition, there is a common practice of "night rounds." Reporters do the rounds, approaching their contacts in their homes in the late evening. High-ranking government officials are busy during the day, and while in their offices, where there are many visitors, their comments tend to be official and superficial. At home, the same officials are more relaxed, thus more frank. Although visiting people late at night is considered impolite, it is important for reporters to establish a close relationship in which they can make late night visits.

One might think that the contact would find this to be a nuisance, but politicians and high-ranking officials often use these night rounds to manipulate information, to leak news.

When I was making one night round to the director in charge of insurance, he told me, "I am thinking of lifting the ban on life insurance company investment in land." During the inflationary period just after the oil crisis, the life insurance companies competed to buy land and were criticized for driving up the price. The Ministry of Finance even-

tually restricted life insurance companies to investment in office buildings only.

I said life insurance money might rekindle a real estate price surge. But he continued to insist, saying "Land prices are now stable. I am sure the life insurance industry is not so stupid as to take the same road again."

After this conversation, I wrote a story for the morning paper, "Ministry of Finance to lift ban on life insurance investments in land—land price surge anticipated." No official announcement was made, so I asked the director and he told me, "I am sorry. The opposition was too strong."

My article had been used as a "trial balloon." Among policy makers, leaks to induce newspapers to write about delicate issues in order to monitor reactions and finally make a decision are often used. Since night rounds are unofficial, there is an unwritten law not to make direct quotations. Therefore, the official's responsibility is not questioned even when government policies change. Reporters who write "incorrect" stories are merely embarrassed.

The officials who leaked the "incorrect" information will not be criticized, but they do take on a moral obligation to the reporter to give a scoop at the next opportunity. This connection as "accomplices" further strengthens the overall relationship between reporters and those in power. The problem is that the initiative often rests with the providers of information.

Leaks are based on the official's judgment of how and under what circumstances information is released, and to which reporter. The authorities and power brokers constantly measure reporter credibility and loyalty within the context of this close relationship. Information is always in the hands of those in power, and within a structure where journalists compete for information, the information holder is free to select both media and reporter. The prime concern is: What kind of article will be written and will it reflect the powerholder's intention? Will it cause trouble?

When I was first transferred to the regional bureau in Aomori Prefecture to cover the police, I learned that the

police had secretly arrested the mayor's brother to investigate a graft case. Both the chief of this case and the head of the Aomori Prefecture Police Bureau were high-ranking police officers from the Police Agency. After I made many night rounds, they revealed to me that the arrest was in fact true, but they asked me to wait for a few days before writing an article. The chief said that the case was still uncertain, but as soon as it became certain, he would get in touch with me. A few days later, he telephoned me and, at a meeting, said "the younger brother confessed that on behalf of the mayor he had received money from a construction company. The construction company has also come forward. We are going to investigate the mayor himself." The headline in my newspaper the next day was "Bribery in construction of city hall—Mayor's brother arrested."

The mayor resigned from the post, but was not indicted. Although the mayor's brother confessed that he had received money, he had no official authority to choose a construction company, and the mayor said that he himself had not been aware of it. The police were unable to prosecute.

Later I was told by one of the prosecutors, "The police also understood that that case was difficult to prosecute, but they went ahead with the arrest." The mayor was supported by the Socialist and Communist parties. Liberal mayors were beginning to increase in number and he was at the center of this movement. The citizen's movement opposing regional development in Aomori Prefecture was gaining strength, and the police were irritated. At the national level, the right and left were increasingly in conflict. And all this at a time when it was not unusual for ambitious police officers to attempt to drag down a controversial mayor. While the scandal was in fact true, had the newspaper not publicized it, the mayor might not have resigned. The police may have decided their goal could be achieved through a newspaper article, even if they were unable to get an indictment in the case. Ironically a liberal mayor had been harmed by a scoop in *The Asahi* newspaper, one of the most lib-

eral papers in Japan.

Reporters compete for scoops, and for scoops they rely on leaks. The important point is why the leak was made. It is rare for people to approach journalists motivated by good will alone. There is a reason behind every leak, a hidden truth. But readers have no way of knowing what it is.

When I read "All the President's Men" during my cub reporter years, the question of what post "deep throat" had and what his intentions were in leaking information haunted me.

In industrial countries, where members of media are not threatened by physical danger, journalists must be wary of the skillful manipulation of information. Though the relationship between the media and those in power is not clearly hostile, members of the media are vulnerable nonetheless. In all that we write, we must forever consider that which motivates the informant, not only to avoid later embarrassment, but also to act responsibly toward a reader who is not aware of the conditions under which our information has been gathered. I feel strongly that that is our moral obligation. ■



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