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ANDRZEJ WROBLEWSKI looks forward to forging new relationships with Eastern European Journalists; a beginning was made at the Prague Conference.

ROBERT CLARK sees newspaper readership dwindling and bottom-line journalism too far to the fore.

CECILIA ALVEAR envisions changes in television and foresees a renaissance for Hispanics in that field.

HENNIE VAN DEVENTER believes Afrikaans newspapers promoted issues for change in National Party politics.

DONALD M. MURRAY explores a "new" career — writing — after a long, long stint in the city room.

LOUIS M. LYONS AWARD
GIVEN TO COLOMBIAN JOURNALISTS.

BOOKS

REVIEWS by: H. BRANDT AYERS, JOEL KAPLAN, and MURRAY SEEGER.

The Impact of Public Opinion Polls

Bill Kovach

Do they shape or measure opinions?

This past May, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Bill Kovach, Nieman Foundation Curator, gave this talk at a meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

At the APOR meeting 10 years ago I talked about a user's view of the polls. I talked then about my experience as an editor of *The New York Times* and of the enormous benefit which *The New York Times*/CBS poll had brought our reporters and readers, especially during political campaigns — how our own polling capability had freed us from dependence on self-serving analysis by candidates; had given us an independent check upon the course and integrity of the campaign process.

We had, it seemed, achieved at least

The tools of persuasion and manipulation are awesome and they are cynically used. . . . these tools are used to measure prejudice, but never to plumb understanding or the level of awareness behind the opinion.

a part of the dream of progressive reformers that a disciplined, scientific approach to public opinion surveying would free the voice of the people from control by subjective party bosses and the tyranny of the smoke-filled room. Democracy of permanent referenda; constant accountability.

I know some of you were at the meeting because when my article appeared on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* last year, raising questions about the use of public opinion surveys by the press, I received a number of letters asking how I squared that article and that speech.

It was a troubling question. Consistency is not a hallmark of daily journalism, but now that I've shifted to a more academic setting it is a characteristic which seems to receive more attention. So I dug out my old speech and must admit I was relieved to find the roots of my present concerns in that speech. And they are clearly concerns which have only grown with time. As I put it then:

"All in all I guess it's safe to say that I have become a believer in the careful use of polling in my work and fully understand the value of it as a tool to construct a better and more informative story. However, there are some things that disturb me still and these troubling thoughts have grown with the proliferation of polls in daily journalism."

Briefly, the concerns I listed then were:

First, the use of political polls as horse-race reporting devices — to

A study . . . found that almost 50 percent of the political stories which ran in three newspapers 22 days before the 1988 presidential election cited poll results.

. . . from September '87 through January '88, 113 horse-race polls were published on the Republican candidates and 123 on Democrats — before the primary season officially began.

focus on who's ahead at a given point in the campaign.

Second, the impact on the sequential primary process by which presidential candidates are chosen — an impact I feared could frustrate the democratic process as poll results created unrealistic expectations of performance or whipsawed public emotion by creating an almost daily contest of popularity which

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Journalists of All Post Communist Lands, Unite!

Andrzej Wroblewski

American Editors meet their East European counterparts; both sides listened and learned.

Andrzej Wroblewski, Nieman Fellow '83, editor-in-chief of *Gazeta Bankowa*, Warsaw, was at the meeting of the East-West Journalists Conference held on July 1-5 in Prague.

In his own words — in his own way — he tells his story. Mr. Wroblewski's perceptive thoughts about East European journalists and publications and his analysis and suggestions are given below.

The East-West Journalists Conference was sponsored by the Nieman Foundation and the Center for Foreign Journalists.

Western reporters rediscover the East. The secrets of political life, of economic structures, of previously hidden military affairs, mysterious sources of culture, have to make up for the decades of isolation.

They also rediscover their Eastern colleagues. Sometimes working on the same frequency, sometimes on a completely different one. Some would

define their task not in terms of "informing," but rather in terms of fighting, which — no matter how good the cause is — is a distortion of our trade.

It is not surprising that the West rediscovers the East. What is surprising, though, is that the East rediscovers itself. Except for some accidental connections, journalists from one country of the region hardly know any colleagues from the other countries.

In the Communist controlled past there were "fraternal visits": for example, three reporters from Hungary (preferably one from outside the capital, one from broadcasting media, one woman) would go for a week to, say, Bulgaria (one "May Day" collective farm, one "Red Banner" mechanical factory, one "Bulgarian-Hungarian Friendship" high school) to fill out annual reports on international cooperation in both countries. Such visits would not leave any personal relations to survive the collapse of Communism — perhaps because the very people who were most important then, are the least important now, when the ability to write counts more than party affiliation.

When I received from the always dear to me Nieman Foundation the invitation to attend the East-West Journalists Conference to be held in Prague, I thought: what an irony! It was to be held in the same city where the headquarters of the Communist-dominated International Organization of Journalists was, in the same city which was the target of "frater-

Although I know Eastern Europe pretty well, I was astonished to hear how its journalists differentiated. Some complained of worries which others have long forgotten . . .

nal military assistance" in 1968! And my first joyous thoughts were not to feel a Nieman again, not to discuss our trade's problems, not to stroll wonderful streets of Prague's old town I like so much — but to be able to forge new relations with fellows across the border.

Although I know Eastern Europe pretty well, I was astonished to hear how its journalists differentiated. Some complained of worries which others have long forgotten (e.g. in Romania you feel a heavy hand of party control, while in Poland the Communist Party ceased to exist at all), but, in turn, more "liberated" countries have to deal with new challenges (of mainly financial nature), which the others have not had to deal with so far.

Since there was virtually no free market in any Eastern European country, there was no need for advertising. The media were supported by sub-

It is not surprising that the West rediscovers the East. What is surprising though, is that the East rediscovers itself.

sidies, which gave some leeway (besides administrative and political control) to governments. Ads, mainly classified ones, were something a real journalist looked down at. So that when, during the conference, "the business of print journalism" had come on the agenda, most Eastern Europeans did not know what it meant.

The speakers differed on the issue of how dependent a journalist (or his paper, broadcaster, publisher) should be on his/her government. In Europe, the respect for the authorities has traditionally been bigger — let alone in the countries, where almost everything belonged to the state. So the gap between Americans, who perceive governments as a necessary evil and Europeans, who believe that a Communist state may be wrong, but the state as an idea of a nation's organization is right, was wider than expected.

One of the challenges to be confronted was the attempt of foreign publishers to enter new markets. Prominent American colleagues were not especially fond of Western media moguls who appear in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest: Murdoch, Maxwell and Springer. It is much easier to resist them, however, when one is not financially prone. The editor of an independent Hungarian daily, *Datum*, Ivan

obvious that a real exchange of experiences and ideas would mutually help journalists.

The idea was ready to be developed. During a coffee break I said to a Russian and a Slovak colleague that it is a shame we needed Americans to get us together and they agreed. I felt that someone should discuss the idea of another gathering. Why not me, I thought, and wrote an outline of the agenda.

But before I give it here, let me add that despite the fact that all the Eastern European nations were minted with the same ideology for four decades, they did not love each other. Regardless of ethnic animosities (Hungarians in Romania and Slovakia, Germans in Poland, or Poles in Lithuania and Ukraine), there is a natural reluctance to be trained by anyone. How does one avoid the danger of national sensitivity, when some nations have embarked on the freedom road earlier than others and have more to contribute? How to leave space for individual decisions, but at the same time to aim at common resolutions?

Meeting all these requirements would probably take a month for a staff of experienced diplomats. I had an hour and my two hands. And here is what I produced:

European post-Communist countries (including the Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria).

Proposed time and place: October '90. Bratislava, Slovakia.

Proposed agenda:

- how independent are we, and how independent we think we should be?
- are our publishers organized — monopolistic — controlled by political bodies?
- are the laws protecting the media, and especially the journalists, sufficient?
- in case of an abuse of those laws — should we react internationally?
- old challenges (censorship, party control)
- new challenges (cost, technology, distribution, ads)
- foreign investment — how to cope with it?

Proposed addition: the outcome of this conference survey. (footnote: Everette Dennis, from the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University asked questions leading to interesting findings. Why should we forego his findings?)

Proposed ground rules: every national group comes with translated documents dealing with our questions (like the media laws, journalists association code etc.), and possibly with written answers, so we could edit a common document or a resolution. Every national group gets 10 — 15 minutes for an oral presentation.

A careful preparation is essential to save time and, consequently, expenses of the meeting.

Write on the back or tell me what you think.

First came the Russians to say that they were not, unfortunately, a post-Communist country yet, but if Soviet journalists join the international community, that may speed up the collapse of the system.

Then came an Estonian to say that he and his countrymen will be happy to attend, but as an independent nation, not as a part of the Soviet group. The Lithuanians and Latvians also said this.

"And to us!" — quickly added a

One of the challenges to be confronted was the attempt of foreign publishers to enter new markets. American colleagues were not especially fond of Western media moguls who appear in Eastern Europe . . . It is much easier to resist them, however, when one is not financially prone.

Baba, had to suspend publishing because he had no money. In such a case an editor might strike a deal with a wealthy person if one came along.

It was becoming more and more

A Draft of the Consulting Meeting Agenda

Semi-formal meeting of 2-5 representatives of independent journalists' unions, or groups from all

continued to page 24

A Threat in the 90's: Bottom-Line Journalism

Robert P. Clark

Equitable salaries, more news, less "advertorials" lead to a principle — quality pays.

Robert Clark, Nieman Fellow '61, gave this lecture at Slippery Rock University, Pennsylvania. He was there teaching the subject of ethics as part of an issues in journalism course. Mr. Clark is a news/editorial consultant. Before retiring from Harte-Hanks Newspapers, he was that organization's vice-president.

We are living in an age of greed.

That's not news to you, I'm sure. And greed is not new. It is as old as time. But these days it is so obvious!

When, up to now, did a junk-bond king (or anyone else) draw compensation of \$550 million in one year? When, before now, did a Wall Street firm pay its executives \$260 million in bonuses, then promptly declare bankruptcy?

We are also living in an age of new attention to ethics.

Time magazine frequently carries a section labeled ethics. The business schools are making it a part of their required curricula. So are the schools and departments of journalism.

Journalism has had its codes of ethics at least since 1922, when one was adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Almost every organization in journalism has its ethics code or its statement of principles.

But we in journalism are facing a somewhat new problem in ethics — a problem that is not really addressed



From newspaper consulting to academia — this past February Mr. Clark also taught a "self-constructed course" at Baylor University entitled "So You Think You Know What Makes a Good Newspaper."

in any of our codes. It is the problem of bottom-line journalism.

When I talk about journalism, I mean primarily newspaper journalism. That is my field, not broad-

cast or other forms of communication, although the bottom-line syndrome is certainly not limited to newspapers.

Newspapers, of course, are business

enterprises. They must be profitable or they will not stay in business.

But making money is not the *chief* role of the press — or shouldn't be. The press has a special mission that is guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The press has been given freedom from government control because it is vital to the functioning of a democracy.

When . . . did a junk-bond king (or anyone else) draw compensation of \$550 million in one year? When . . . did a Wall Street firm pay its executives \$260 million in bonuses, then . . . declare bankruptcy?

But where is it said that a newspaper should not at the same time make a profit of 40 percent a year? It may surprise you to know that some newspapers actually keep 40 cents of every dollar they take in, before taxes.

You won't find this in the codes of ethics. What you will find are passages like this, and I quote from the American Society of Newspaper Editors Statement of Principles (which supplanted the Code of Ethics in 1975):

"The primary purpose of gathering and distributing news and opinion is to serve the general welfare by informing the people and enabling them to make judgments on the issues of the time. Newspapermen and women who abuse the power of their professional role for selfish motives or unworthy purposes are faithless to that public trust."

When I was executive editor of *The Courier-Journal* and *The Louisville*

Times (1971-79), our profit margin dropped to between 2 and 3 percent! A margin that low presents a problem. There was fear that some members of the Bingham family, the owners, would want to sell their interests to get a better return elsewhere.

So costs were cut, rates were raised and the return increased. Later, family members got into a bitter squabble and the newspapers were sold. Now Louisville is part of the Gannett empire of 83 daily newspapers, including *USA Today*.

Over a span of three generations, the Louisville newspapers established a tradition of serving the public welfare. The Bingham family published distinguished newspapers. And the motive was not primarily money, but public service.

With public service *came* money, and the family is now very wealthy. Which is one of my premises tonight: that quality journalism leads to financial success. Too many newspaper owners, I fear, believe that shorting the readers on quality is the road to a nice bottom line.

Too many newspaper owners . . . believe that shorting the readers on quality is the road to a nice bottom line. It is sometimes said that the owner of a newspaper has a license to print money.

It is sometimes said that the owner of a newspaper has a license to print money. Most papers don't make the 40 percent profit I have mentioned. The average is closer to 20 percent —

still a handsome return for any business.

In the past 10 years newspapers have been among the brightest stars in the firmament of American business. For example:

. . . Lord Thomson of Fleet, who built one of the largest journalism empires . . . admitted that he bought newspapers to make money. "I'd be a fool otherwise, wouldn't I?" he said . . .

The Dow Jones Industrial Average of stocks rose 240 percent in the 80's. Standard & Poor's average of 500 stocks rose the same amount. But newspaper stocks, as represented by 17 publicly traded companies in *Editor & Publisher* magazine's stock index, rose 465 percent — almost twice as much as Dow Jones or Standard & Poor's.

The stock of two of the nation's leading newspaper companies — *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* — rose 1,295 percent and 617 percent, respectively, in the 80's. Another newspaper company, Capital Cities/ABC, rose 1,097 percent.

Now you may recognize that the three companies just mentioned are not exclusively newspaper companies. *The Washington Post* owns *Newsweek*, four TV stations and more than 50 cable TV systems. *The New York Times* owns a string of smaller newspapers, plus magazines and broadcast properties. Capital Cities/ABC owns several large newspapers and the American Broadcasting Company.

These companies have diversified. But they remain primarily in the communications business. And communications as a whole has been highly profitable.

With this profitability has come a surge in the growth of newspaper chains or groups: newspapers buying newspapers, and increasing their profits even more.

Groups bring to mind shareholders, Wall Street and — of course — bottom lines.

The Gannett Company, with its 83 daily papers (also TV, billboards and other media properties), is very proud of the fact that its quarterly earnings have always exceeded those of the year before.

Fifty years ago, 83 percent of American daily newspapers were independent — primarily owned by individual families. Now, 75 percent are group-owned. The picture has completely reversed.

Is this bad? Not necessarily. Some of the nation's finest papers are in groups: *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*. I should add that these papers were originally family properties and started their own groups, rather than being absorbed by outside chains.

who built one of the largest journalism empires, freely admitted that he bought newspapers to make money. "I'd be a fool otherwise, wouldn't I?" he said, according to John Hulteng in his book, *The News Media*.

There are certainly good

forming a group. They felt that absentee ownership was detrimental to what a good newspaper should stand for.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors reported recently on a study of group and independent

... I'm sure you know some of their names: Rupert Murdoch. Robert Maxwell. Time Warner. Some are not so familiar to Americans: Richard Mohn of Germany. Jean-Luc Lagardere of France.

newspapers and bad newspapers in both categories — independent and chain. Groups often improve the newspapers they buy. But there are also dangers to be aware of.

For example, there is the movement of editors and publishers among group newspapers. A chain paper may have several publishers and editors over a short period of time. That's not good for the local community, since editors and publishers should be well informed about the place where they live and work.

newspapers. Two hundred thirty editors were questioned, half from independent papers, half from group papers. Their thoughts included these:

The editors of independent papers were more satisfied with their newsroom budgets — and with their other resources — than were the editors of the group papers.

Nine out of 10 editors of independent papers believed that groups were more concerned with profits than with individual newspapers or their communities. Six out of 10 of the group editors felt the same way.

More than eight out of 10 independent editors thought that concentration of ownership threatens freedom of the press. Seven out of 10 group editors felt the same way.

Overall, the editors saw independent newspapers as having a better understanding of their local markets. The independents were seen as having more flexibility in making decisions, as being more involved in their communities and as having less turnover of key people.

The group papers, on the other hand, were seen as having better career opportunities and more sharing of ideas. They were seen as getting less pressure from advertisers and special-interest groups. And they were seen as having greater access to outside experts to help solve problems.

We in journalism hold the First Amendment to be sacred; nothing must happen to change it. But ... the American people began to feel ... that the press was not performing as it should. ... the public felt that the press had become too powerful, or that it had too few voices.

But some groups — with large numbers of newspapers and large total circulations — have reputations as being dedicated not to good journalism but mainly to the bottom line.

The first Lord Thomson of Fleet,

When I was in Louisville, the Bingham family often looked for opportunities to develop new communications enterprises. But the Bingham family steadfastly refrained from buying newspapers elsewhere — from

Howard "Tim" Hays, Jr., editor and president of the Riverside, California, *Press-Enterprise*, is one of America's distinguished newspaper owners and a former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He warned, on a panel at the society's convention recently, of three dangers of group ownership:

We in journalism hold the First Amendment to be sacred; nothing must happen to change it. But let's say that the American people began to feel — for whatever reason — that the press was not performing as it should. Let's say the public felt that the press had become too powerful or that it had too few voices.

Mohn of Germany. Jean-Luc Lagardere of France.

These giants of the media, says Bagdikian, can control the public image of national leaders. Those leaders, as a result, fear and favor the political agendas of the media giants. Furthermore, these giants help establish the social, political and cultural attitudes of more and more people.

I would point out that American newspaper groups generally give their individual newspapers freedom to set their own "political" agendas — that is, to cover the news as they think best (within their budgets, of course) and to take their own editorial positions.

But central control can be exercised in many ways. Ownership, obviously, can express its own strong views. It can limit manpower, space, money, travel. And it always retains the power to hire and fire.

Let's look now at another, very sobering, development in newspaper journalism. It is this: *Fewer people are reading newspapers.*

The decline in readership has been gradual but steady. Twenty-three years ago, in 1967, nearly three-quarters of American adults said they read a newspaper every day. Two years ago, only half did. (The percentages were 73 in 1967, and 51 in 1988. The figures are from the National Opinion Research Center at the University of

... you college students and many of your professors have grown up on TV. Young and old are getting more of their news from television — quick news, news in brief.

1. "Excessive rotation of editors"
2. "The impact of corporate culture," which tends to make all the newspapers in a group similar to all the others.
3. "Too much supervision" from group headquarters regardless of community needs.

Hays urged that the subject of group ownership be kept on the agenda of newspaper organizations — that group ownership continue to be discussed so that its problems can be dealt with.

There are other dangers of growing chain ownership that Hays and others have expressed.

One is that the high prices frequently paid to buy newspapers means that operating costs may have to be cut drastically. News staffs may have to be reduced. The space given to news may have to be cut. Otherwise the new owner cannot make that nice return on investment that he bought the paper for.

Another danger, mentioned by the editors in the survey, is that as the number of owners decreases, so does the number of separate news and editorial voices. Freedom of the press itself may be jeopardized if too few people are in control.

Do we dare think that the First Amendment could be changed? God forbid! But amendments *have* been repealed, as we all know.

Ben Bagdikian is a journalism educator and a frequent critic of the growing concentration of power in the mass media. He wrote a cover article in last June's *The Nation* entitled "The Lords of the Global Village."

In it he said that a mere handful — five to 10 — corporate giants predict that by the turn of the century they will control most of the world's most

... more women are working, along with caring for their homes and families. "No time to read" is a frequent answer when newspapers ask people why they have dropped their subscriptions.

important newspapers, magazines, books, broadcast stations, movies, recordings and videocassettes.

I'm sure you know some of their names: Rupert Murdoch. Robert Maxwell. Time Warner. Some are not so familiar to Americans: Rienhard

Chicago.)

So in slightly more than 20 years, every-day reading of newspapers fell nearly a third.

The picture was worse for young adults — those between the ages of 18 and 29. In 1967, two-thirds of young

adults (67 percent) read a newspaper every day. By 1988, only 29 percent did — a plunge of well over a half.

Why is this happening?

Well, young adults — you college students and many of your professors — have grown up on TV. Young and old are getting more of their news from television — quick news, news in brief.

make even more money. Has it occurred to anyone in the business to wonder whether there might be a connection between these two trends?"

Morton pointed out that newspapers were now having to contend with local competition that never amounted to much before: not only radio and television but shoppers, free weekly newspapers and direct mail.

A 1990 M.A. candidate in a Florida university business school said that she was juggling four offers ranging from \$40,000 to \$60,000 a year.

People are busier than they used to be. Many more women are working, along with caring for their homes and families. "No time to read" is a frequent answer when newspapers ask people why they have dropped their subscriptions.

There are other reasons. People are moving more than they used to. They have fewer roots. Many of them are strangers in their communities — not interested in local news and therefore not in their local newspapers. Immigration is increasing. The number of minorities is increasing. Illiteracy is increasing. All these factors affect the readership of newspapers.

Are newspaper owners worried about these trends? You bet. They talk about getting their papers more in tune with reader interests — giving readers what they want, being nicer to their subscribers, making their papers brighter and easier to read, perhaps providing more entertainment and less news.

John Morton, a former reporter who is now a newspaper-stock analyst, posed a \$64 question not long ago in the *Washington Journalism Review*. It was this:

"Year after year, the proportion of the population reading newspapers continues to drop, and year after year newspaper companies continue to

His point was that owners had been devoting too much of their attention to profitability, and not enough to their own "strategic investments." That didn't mean, he said, buying other newspapers, but instead investing in "higher pay, bigger staffs, bigger news holes, more and better journalism, more and better market research and promotion."

One way to help keep profits up is to keep salaries down. And newspaper salaries, in general, are pretty disgraceful. A beginning reporter on a small daily — under 10,000 circulation — starts, on average, at \$13,350 a year. On a somewhat larger paper — 20,000 to 30,000 circulation — the average is \$16,000.

Television news, by the way, pays no better at the start. But you've heard about some of the salaries young lawyers and MBAs, right out of

college, can command! A 1990 master's candidate at Florida A&M's business school told *The New York Times* that she was juggling four offers ranging from \$40,000 to \$60,000 a year.

Many of us in journalism go into it for the love of it — and for the chance to help society, maybe — certainly not for the money. But think how many more bright young people we could attract, and keep, if we paid decent salaries. And how much better our newspapers would be.

There are several other worrisome aspects of bottom-line mentality on newspapers.

One is the growth of what we call "advertorials." These are the sections in a newspaper that look like news, but are really advertising. Sometimes they are labeled advertising, sometimes not. But they're made to *look* like news even though someone is paying for them.

I had a difficult time when I became editor of the newspaper in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1979, getting the news and advertising clearly separated. I remember a large cigarette ad, usually in color, that ran right in the middle of the TV listings! The ad director thought those ads were great. I thought they simply said to readers, we care more about money than we do about you.

And how about the utter trivialization of the news that we saw when Donald Trump decided to toss over Ivana for Marla? "Best sex I've ever had!" blared forth a New York tabloid, quoting Marla. Talk about trash TV! What about trash newspapering!

Is this bottom-line journalism? Of

These are the sections in a newspaper that look like news but are really advertising. Sometimes they are labeled advertising, sometimes not. But they're made to *look* like news even though someone is paying for them.

course. Beat the other newspapers. Sell more papers. Imitate the *National Enquirer*. What's wrong with a few more dollars in the till?

There's another bottom-line threat, and it's a serious one: the invasion of journalism by money-laden people who don't know the first thing about what a good newspaper stands for.

The latest example is the attempt by Rober Bass to gain a controlling interest in the *St. Petersburg Times*.

The *Times* is one of America's outstanding newspapers. It regularly makes the lists of "top ten" papers. Bass is a billionaire investor whom Gene Patterson, former chairman of the *St. Petersburg Times*, describes aptly as "A classic 1980's-style bust-up corporate raider."

Bass was able to gain a foothold in the *Times* ownership by buying out two nieces of the *Times*'s founder, Nelson Poynter. Bass has now gone to court to try to increase his share of the profits and then, according to Patterson, take over the company.

Control of the *Times* now rests with the Poynter Institute for Media Studies. This is a tax-exempt organization that sponsors training courses and seminars for journalists. It is highly respected in the newspaper world.

Florida's attorney general has entered the case on behalf of the institute. He had this to say: "It is important to Florida public policy to protect charitable institutions from attack from profiteers."

Now let me quote the late C. K. McClatchy, another respected West Coast newspaper editor and owner. He said in a lecture two years ago:

"I fear the day when newspaper people are no longer in charge of newspapers . . . To make a gross generalization, one can say that good newspapers are almost always run by good newspaper people; they are almost never run by good bankers or good accountants." (See *Nieman Reports*, Summer 1988).

McClatchy added:

"I fear it is just a matter of time before newspapers will be considered the same as any business, a fit prize

for investment by interests that do not care about the principles of good journalism."

I'll give several of the major newspaper groups credit for thinking along the same lines. Their chief executives are often former news people. Publishers these days often come from the ranks of editors — a departure from the more traditional pattern of promoting from the business departments such as advertising.

Finally, what can be done to slow the trend toward bottom-line journalism?

Several suggestions have been made. One is to limit the number of newspapers that any one owner can have. Another is to revise the inheritance laws so that families can more easily pass their papers on to their heirs. (Many independent papers are sold to groups to raise the cash that will be needed for inheritance taxes.)

Tim Hays of *Riverside* has sug-

There's another serious bottom-line threat, the invasion of journalism by people who don't know the first thing about what a good newspaper stands for. The latest example is the attempt by Robert Bass to gain a controlling interest in the *St. Petersburg Times*.

But when a Robert Bass attempts to take over a newspaper, you can be pretty sure that he will not put the local editor in charge.

The pressure to maintain or improve the bottom line can have a marked affect on a newspaper's quality.

Let's say that a paper has a single editorial writer, and that the job is abolished in order to save money. Where will the editorials come from now?

Either another hard-working staff member has to do double duty, or the paper may turn to those free editorials that come in the mail. There are such things, and they come from companies or organizations that are happy to see their views in as many newspapers as possible.

Or let's say the newspaper has to stop covering the state legislature — or even the local school board. Making a good profit may well mean doing the least a paper can get by with and still call itself a newspaper.

gested that journalists discuss a "bill of rights" for editors, based on some proposals made in England. Such a bill of rights would guarantee editors the right to engage in investigative journalism, the right to reject advice on editorial policy, the right to criticize the paper's own group and the like.

This sounds a bit weird, but some British papers have contracts with their editors guaranteeing them just such rights. They are allowed to function as editors, in other words, not as part custodians of the bottom line.

It has also been suggested that journalism schools and departments of communication become more active in critiquing the press. If newspapers are not fulfilling their proper role, who is better equipped to sound the alarm than our schools and departments of journalism?

All these suggestions are worthwhile. But most of all, the owners of newspapers need to realize, and to

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There *IS* Room at the Top

Cecilia Alvear

Hispanics — prepare now for vital decision-making roles in TV.

Cecilia Alvear, Nieman Fellow '89, gave this talk at a conference of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists in San Francisco. The meeting was titled "Visions for the 90's."

Ms. Alvear, an NBC News producer based in Burbank, California, discussed television's past and by gazing into a crystal ball — a covered light bulb — disclosed a few salient predictions about its future.

Visions for the 90's. An intimidating title. Journalists as a rule are better at explaining what has happened than at predicting what will happen. When called upon to assume the role of seers, broadcast journalists have been known to resort to witty aphorisms such as "It remains to be seen," "Only time will tell" or if you cover trials and have a deep knowledge of the law, "The jury is still out." That doesn't necessarily mean that we lack the "vision thing." However, just to be sure that my vision of the future is correct I brought along this high definition receiver. That's right, a crystal ball tuned to a direct broadcast satellite.

But before we peer into the future we should take a look back at the decade of the 80's because it dramatically changed television news as we knew it. Since TV's early days, the three network news divisions had 'owned' TV news. The networks set the journalistic and technical standards and the rest of the world followed. But during the 80's the dominance of the network news was challenged by a number of factors. Among them:

1) The growth of cable alternatives



A picture-taking session with Fidel Castro took place at one in the morning just after an interview that had started at 10 P.M. Ms. Alvear traveled to Cuba with a team from NBC News.

and particularly the emergence of CNN which taught the broadcast world, among other lessons, that TV news can be profitable and that there is a market for around the clock news coverage.

- 2) The increasing use of VCR's at home. Viewers can watch what they want when they want it.
- 3) The remote control device which enabled viewers to switch channels at will with minimum effort.
- 4) The acquisition of all three TV networks by major corporations who no longer looked at their

news divisions as a sacrosanct loss leader but demanded that they earn their place in the company's portfolio.

The interplay of these factors has resulted in an erosion of viewership for both network and local news. In 1976 the networks had a 91 percent share of the prime time audience. Today they have 61 percent. Cable has taken two-thirds of the audience the networks have lost. They have also taken a proportionate share of the revenues.

Faced with falling revenues, the networks reacted by instituting cost



In April 1984 on the San Juan River, an NBC crew covered the retreat of Commander Zero from San Juan del Norte on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua. With Ms. Alvear are correspondent Mike Boettcher, soundman Alex Triboulard and cameraman Hermes Munoz. The photo was shot by a UPI photographer who was heading up river with the retreating contra guerrillas.

saving measures. Facing up to "the new economic realities" is the new credo. "Doing more with less," becoming "meaner and leaner".

Just in the last week CBS announced an overhaul of their News Division which would, among other things, limit the amount of overtime pay technicians can receive by "pooling"

When it comes to international news many local stations are sending their anchors to cover them rather than relying on the network correspondents.

them and using them indiscriminately in news, sports or entertainment. NBC News reported it must trim its budget by \$3.5 million. Of the three network News Divisions, ABC is the only one that reports a profit.

To add to the networks problems, their relationships with their affiliates have become more complicated. In the not too distant past the affiliates covered local news and took their national and international news from the networks. In the last few years Cable technology gave the affiliates opportunities to get these services elsewhere. TV stations can now subscribe to CNN or other Video news services, and, through regional satellite networks, they can also exchange coverage with other stations, and get their stories on Cable stations. When it comes to international news many local stations are sending their anchors to cover them rather than relying on the network correspondents.

So against this background, what is the future of the network news operations? Pessimists wonder whether they have a future. Some speculate that by the mid 90's we will only have two out of the three Network News operations. Optimists, on the other hand, believe that the reports of the demise of Network News are greatly exaggerated. That we as a nation still need an "Electronic Town Hall Meeting" where everybody can tune-in which the networks provide and that they still deliver a higher quality fare than most local stations. What the networks do, say the experts, is change. Become more like "Nightline" and do in-depth analysis of the most important story of the day.

The idea of change or diversification is definitely in the air. CBS for instance, is involved in billion dollar acquisitions of rights for sports events. This is the way CBS' chief executive, Laurence Tisch, is hoping to attract the viewers back to CBS. Tisch is also looking at a possible collaboration with CNN, particularly in foreign news coverage.

It is . . . a brave new world out there shaped by technology and economics — forces over which we as journalists and Hispanics don't seem to have a lot of control.

NBC, which already has cable ventures, believes that one way to stay ahead of the market is to join forces with Cable and Satellite companies. It recently announced a joint venture with Cablevision Systems Corp.,

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An Afrikaner Editor's View of the Afrikaans Press

Hennie van Deventer

Getting to know fellow South Africans leads to harassment of the news staff.

At a time when power sharing was still totally unacceptable in South African government circles, Afrikaans editors of a previous generation like Piet Cillie, Shalk Pienaar, Willem van Heerden and Willem de Klerk used their newspaper platforms to point the way to a shared future for all the people of South Africa. Their papers were Government supporting, but they had the courage, and they won out in the end. Government policy is now light years away from that of the 60's and 70's.

Ton Vosloo, NF '71, now the managing director of Nasionale Pers, the largest Afrikaans publishing house, and one of a handful of past Nieman Fellows in the Afrikaans press establishment, caused a stir in 1981 through his then revolutionary argument that a South African government will inevitably have to talk to the African National Congress. He was reviled, but in 1990, a decade later, that has happened, changing the



Marius van de Wall, *Die Volksblad's* photographer, became the target of right-wing bullies armed with quirts and sticks to use for disrupting a protest march by blacks that never occurred. Instead, the weapons were used to beat the press photographer.



Hennie van Deventer, NF'77, is editor of Die Volksblad and on the board of directors of Nasionale Media Ltd. He attended the 1988 London conference on the press in South Africa arranged by the African-American Institute, the Nieman Foundation and the British Association of Editors.



whole international perspective of South Africa.

A question is whether the Afrikaans newspaper — which has intimately been involved in the systematic development of the political thinking of Afrikaans leaders — had anticipated the important announcements made by President F. W. de Klerk on February 2 of this year.

An answer, obviously only on behalf of my newspaper and myself, is that de Klerk, with one quantum

leap, took South Africa further down the road than had been predicted in the columns of *Die Volksblad*. An important destination had been arrived at much earlier than had been expected. If South Africa is not afflicted by a major disaster it can arrive far quicker than the previously accepted timespan at the next destination: that of real negotiation about a constitution.

Informed Afrikaners and leading Afrikaans newspapers have been



All sizes and all ages drove to Brandfort in the Orange Free State province in all sorts of vehicles — pick-up trucks seem to dominate — to stop the marchers who never showed. The mob's anger was turned against the photographer who was not only beaten, but the straps of his camera were used to strangle him into unconsciousness.

perceiving a shift from previous National Party positions from the beginning of the 1980's. It had become clear at the end of the previous decade that the white dream of black political aspirations being realised only through the black homelands drifted towards disaster.

At work, among sensitive Afrikaners, was a quiet force — the awakening of the visible injustice brought about by political manipulation.

Afrikaans newspapers do not make policy, but they can claim credit for having strengthened the Government's hand to act while at the same time, they prepared readers for greater acceptance of unavoidable realities. In the months immediately preceding February 2, opinions were voiced in Afrikaans publications concerning sensitive policy issues such as the release of Nelson Mandela, talks with

the ANC, the guillotining of the notorious Group Areas Act and other obstacles in the way of negotiation.

In the opinion of one English language journalist, James McClurg, who wrote in the *Cape Times*, a Cape Town morning newspaper in opposition to the Government: "When historians turn their eyes on this era, will they reserve a chapter for the contribution on the *verligte* Afrikaans press towards change in South Africa? If not, an injustice will have been done."

Mr. McClurg said that his words did not imply that the people, who publish Afrikaans newspapers, are unnaturally perfect. They are not visionaries and some of them have succeeded better than others in discarding old myths, but "that they have succeeded at all, given the pressures to which they have been

subjected, is a mark of courage." (*Cape Times*, February 9, 1990).

The Afrikaans newspaper in its role of a pathfinder of Afrikaans thinking, has led to a wholesale alienation of that group which still refuses to accept reality and who still blindly follows a dream of white domination or white separatism.

The Afrikaans newspaper has become one of the primary targets of right-wing resistance and its representatives have been physically assaulted. A young photographer of my paper, a diabetic, was attacked at Brandfort, a small rural town in the province of the Orange Free State, by an agitated mob of right-wing bullies wielding pick-handles. It landed him in the intensive care unit of a hospital. They used the straps of his camera to strangle him until he became unconscious and very nearly lost an eye.

In the mining town of Welkom, the satellite office of *Die Volksblad* was fired upon. Reporters there were hounded from meetings. Threats of boycotts, intimidation of agents and newspaper vendors and talk of the mass burning of a freesheet, published by *Die Volksblad*, necessitated police protection. Senior editorial staff members are harassed at home by threatening telephone pests. It is a painful price to pay for nothing more diabolical than to fight for freedom for Afrikaners to communicate with their fellow South Africans on a basis of equality.

The anti-newspaper sentiment among right-wing elements — and a feeling of hate among the more radical rightists — is very severe. The unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, the release of Nelson Mandela, and the fear of being overwhelmed by a black majority manifests itself in an intense hatred towards the newspaper.

The Afrikaner journalist refuses to be intimidated. He will use all convincing arguments to assist in bringing the South African political situation to its only workable destiny: that of new alliances, a negotiated settlement and permanent peace. □

Writing After a Career of Writing

Donald M. Murray

As the poet said — "... the best is yet to be."

After a lifetime of writing, what should an old newspaper person do in retirement? Write.

I've found writing more satisfying than fishing, more challenging than golf, more fun than rocking. Writing after writing has made my retirement the best period in a fortunate and satisfying professional life.

Like most Americans I have spent a life of deferred gratification: after the war, after college, after marriage, after divorce, after remarriage, after the kids are through college, after the mortgage, after, after, after. . .

I was afraid that *after* wouldn't come, especially after the heart attack and bypass, and then I was afraid I wouldn't find writing fun when I didn't have to do it. Not to worry. I have found writing more satisfying than I could have imagined.

The column I do for *The Boston Globe* guarantees I'll never be bored. Waiting for my wife at the supermarket I hear old codgers medical news — column; living my own medical news and

gulping my way through a barium swallow — column; noticing the change from porch to patio — column; observing our own houseguests — column; reading a clipping about a scheme to build a hotel *down* in a quarry in my hometown — column.

Writing these essays on what I see, hear, experience, think and feel multiplies my old reporter's awareness of the world around me, and deprived of staged media events, I rediscover the extraordinary in the ordinary.

Writing justifies an obsession, and we all need a couple of obsessions or two. My obsession is with how writing is made, and writing allows me to explore that obsession. If sailing or eating or traveling or tennis or photography or hiking or bridge or gardening were my obsession, I would enrich my enjoyment by writing about it.

plating my own private life, writing of my childhood, the Great Depression, the War. Willa Cather said, "Most of the basic material a writer works with is acquired before the age of fifteen." I believe that, but journalism often denies it. My first typewriter at *The Boston Herald* had the capital I filed off. Now, I can deal with the capital I.

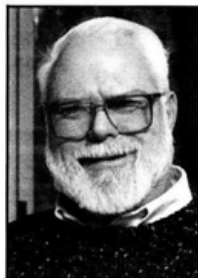
The writing craft gives me the blessing of concentration. When I go down to my office to write I study my New Hampshire woods, a delight to a kid brought up looking at the rear end of an Amoco station, I select Monteverdi, Mozart, Zelinka, or Ellington from my CD collection and tune in; but when the writing takes off I do not see the woods or hear the music, I am lost in the writing.

I write what I do not expect to

Overhearing the exchange of medical news in a supermarket, houseguests, clippings, all are grist for a *Boston Globe* column.

Donald Murray writes an "Over Sixty" column for *The Boston Globe*. In 1954 he won a Pulitzer Prize for his *Boston Herald* editorials. He writes and publishes

poetry and is the author of 20 books including novels and textbooks on writing. He is Professor Emeritus at the University of New Hampshire where he developed a journalism program.



We oldies like to reflect on the patterns of accidental events that changed our lives, trying to find reason in personal surrealism, legend and myth in chaos and disorder. Writing allows me to reflect on where I have been and what it all means.

At the edge of 66, I find it more pleasurable to look back rather than ahead, and after covering the public lives of others I find myself contem-

write. That's what writing should be. Too often in journalism we must write what editors, readers, and ourselves as reporters expect. We see through the lens of traditional journalism but writers see through the lens of language, their writing surprises them. The best photographers often find their best pictures in the darkroom; the camera saw what the photographer did not see. As I write

the word, the line, the paragraph reveals far more than I expect. I write in surprise and delight at the unexpected.

time, makes sure we don't take our writing — ourselves — too seriously. I used to walk on air on my first by-lines when I went home after mid-

wasn't time to turn a phrase — well, maybe one phrase but rarely two. Newswriting is efficient, energetic, lean, but it stays too often on the surface. In writing after writing you have the opportunity to take that fine discipline and use it to probe below the surface, to deliver feelings and thoughts as well as information.

The greatest impediment for most of us is the pose of professional detachment with which we have armored ourselves as journalists. We report, and for many of us I am afraid that implies a denial of thinking and feeling. Most writing — especially non-fiction — published in magazines and books has a strong point of view and that is difficult for one trained to objectivity.

Even more difficult for many of us is to confront our feelings as they arise from the page. When the writing goes well we are surprised by what we feel and what we think. That is the territory of good writing, but it is terrifying ground for those who have lived comfortably in the city room. To write, to really write, is to expose yourself to yourself and to your reader.

I am too well married to keep a diary and in a journal I become a pompous, New Hampshire Camus with straw sticking out my ears, so I call

I wanted to be a poet when I graduated from college . . . now I am grateful there were no jobs as great poet, just one job: "Copy!!!!!"

My writing desk is my therapist. The other day I made a list of the books I wanted to complete in the immediate future. Nine! And I am almost 66. Such *chutzpah!* I felt depressed, aware of my mortality. No symptoms, but then there were no real symptoms before I had my heart attack.

My thoughts were morbid, and so rather than putting them aside I confronted them by writing. Donald Barthelme advised, "Write about what you're most afraid of." When I needed and fought a hearing aid I wrote about how others are not enunciating the way they used to — and purchased my hearing aid. This day as I think about death I write a poem: "The Last Day of My Life." When I finished, I found myself cheerily chatting with neighbors and realized the poem had driven away despair.

I write with ease, the result of working half a century at my trade, spending an apprenticeship on old style rewrite — when Scoop shouted "Get me rewrite" he often got me.

I am not too old to take care when I edit, but I am too old to fight my draft; I have learned to allow language to lead me to meaning. I listen to what I am saying and find the evolving text, if I am attentive, will tell me what to say and how to say it. The old discipline was whipped into me by old green eyeshades at the horseshoe desk who were masters of sarcasm and public humiliation.

Newspaper training provides the habit of productivity and, most of the

night. The cleaning crew used the first edition on the floor. It was a good lesson.

We have a well developed curiosity, know how to see what is and what is not, can ask good questions and ferret out information. We know how to cut out and what to leave in; we write with specific detail; we serve a lean portion of information; we appreciate the active voice.

We also have experience backstage, in the locker room, in the senate cloakroom. As a reporter I have flown off a carrier deck, witnessed a spinal operation, shared bourbon with an important senator, gone undercover as a mental patient [no problem there], glimpsed life from thousands of angles as all journalists have.

"Never a day without a line" said Pliny . . . to write you have to learn to sit. I try to sit without intent or expectation.

We can draw on our training and experience when we are retired. I wanted to be a poet when I graduated from college but now I am grateful there were no jobs as great poet, just one job: "Copy!!!!!"

On rewrite I produced, on a busy night, 35 or 40 stories. How did we do it? Cliches and stereotypes. There

the 8 x 10 spiral notebook a daybook. It is always in the briefcase I have by my chair or slung over my shoulder when I walk to lunch, or tossed in the car when I drive. The one beside me now is #73.

Here are notes; ideas; things overheard, seen and read; drafts;

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Colombian Journalists Honored With 1990 Louis M. Lyons Award

Colombian journalists were the recipients of the 1990 Louis M. Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism. Many journalists in that country have been killed while covering stories on drug warfare.

Last September *El Espectador*, the daily newspaper in Bogata, Colombia, was bombed by terrorists. The newspaper's president, Louis Gabriel Cano, said that a number of writers and editors and business employees on the paper have been murdered or forced into exile.

Fernando Cano, Nieman Fellow '91, editor-in-chief of *El Espectador* accepted the award in behalf of the Colombian journalists.

The newspaper President's brother, Guillermo Cano, editor-in-chief of *El Espectador*, was killed because of his crusading columns against drug lords and their agents. Other journalists have had their homes bombed and their children threatened. Mr. Cano's newspaper has been a prime target because of its editorials against drug traffickers and its coverage of stories on that issue.

A human rights group in

New York — the Committee to Protect Journalists — has documented the killings of 20 reporters and editors in Colombia by agents of drug lords in the last five years. However, Mr. Cano and other journalists working in Colombia estimate that 50 news organizations workers have been slain.

During a telephone interview with the Nieman selection committee in Cambridge, Mr. Cano said, "Journalists in Colombia are working under the worst censorship in the world — the threat of death."

In his nominating letter, I. Roberto Eisenmann, Jr., Nieman Fellow '86, editor of *La Prensa* in Panama, wrote, "Mr. Cano has lost his brother and several of his associates to the narco-mafia assassins, and recently suffered a major bombing to the paper's installations which caused \$2.5 million in damages, seriously jeopardizing the paper. Yet Cano struggles on, realizing that if his newspaper fails in its efforts his country's institutions might crumble, giving way to narco-mafia dominance . . . his courage is especially inspiring for our profession."

Last year the award was won by Helena Luczywo, an editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, an in-

dependent daily newspaper published in Warsaw. Other recipients include Monica Gonzalez, a journalist with *Analisis* in Chile; Zwelakhe Sisulu, Nieman Fellow '85, executive editor of *The New Nation*; Violeta Chamorro, President of Nicaragua, who, at the time of her receiving the Lyons Award, was publisher of the Nicaraguan newspaper, *La Prensa*; Tom Renner, an investigative reporter for *Newsday*; American correspondents who covered the war in Indochina; and CBS correspondent Edward R. Morrow.

The Lyons Award carries an honorarium of \$1,000. Ann Marie Lipinski headed the committee of Nieman Fellows '90 who selected the Colombian journalists for the award.

In speaking for the committee, Ms. Lipinski said, "Journalism was a dangerous business in many parts of the world this past year — from Tiananmen square to Bensonhurst, Queens — but the committee and many journalists nominating for the award felt the Colombians had paid a particularly high price and shown a special courage in covering this important story." □

The Impact of Public Opinion Polls

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campaigns attempted to control.

Finally, whether the increased use of polling in the process was creating a closed, self-feeding system which reduced rather than expanded the public dialogue by including in the debate only those questions which attracted pollsters and campaign managers.

is reflecting and re-reflecting the same images.

The real shift in the political campaign of 1988 was the degree to which the independent judgement of the editors and reporters covering the campaign was neutralized by campaign strategies and tactics. This domination may best be represented by the

attempts to counter this process of using public opinion to round up and herd voters like so many cattle, with the liberating force of information? To use these tools of measurement more effectively and creatively to balance appeals to emotion and prejudice with knowledge which offers understanding and balance?

Increasingly our use of technology — the computer, television, demographic targeting — permits individuals, isolated in their private places, to respond to direct appeals. Less and less is it necessary for citizens to attend public places and meetings in which his or her interests are put into a public context — are required to relate to the needs and desires of a neighbor. The context within which personal opinion must contest with public responsibility. Such personal isolation, which encourages selfish concerns and threatens democracy with a mean-spirited Balkanization — a competition for power uninspired by a sense of community or common good.

Advertising by candidates — fine-tuned on a daily basis, when necessary, by continuous tracking polls and combined with the ability to create targeted audiences about whom increasing amounts of information is known — offers constantly expanding opportunities to manipulate public opinion on the basis of narrow, tightly focused and highly emotional issues.

And into this volatile atmosphere the American press contributes what? Essentially a measure of the relative success of the manipulations. A study by Gary Orren at Harvard found that almost 50 percent of the political stories which ran in three newspapers during a period of 22 days preceding the 1988 presidential election, cited poll results. During the four months

... the print press seemed bewitched by the made-for-television nature of the campaign and offered reams of copy about the staging of events, the manipulation of candidate behavior and the crafting of personal images. How is a citizen to make an intelligent decision on the basis of such understanding?

And I must report tonight, I do not believe those fears were misplaced. If the 1988 presidential campaign did anything it fundamentally challenged the hope that public opinion surveys would strengthen the public's informed participation in the process. In the high tech political Star Wars of 1988 what the political process produced for the people was either a paid advertising media visit with old friends or the product of a reported media which was mesmerized by and incredulous of the extent to which campaign organizations were capable of dictating the context within which the electoral decision would be made. We may have been able to blow away the smoke which filled the rooms in which political decisions were made. But we have replaced it only with a carnival side-show house of mirrors in which a potential voter is hopelessly trapped in a disorienting hall which

extent to which the dominating themes struck early during the campaign — Willie Horton and The Pledge Of Allegiance — began as paid advertisements, but became the focus of the news reports. A paid media based on focus group analysis of emotional appeal in the end determined the news agenda.

The tools of persuasion and manipulation are awesome and they are cynically used. And just as we use many public opinion surveys to measure the most obvious questions, these tools are used to measure prejudice, but never to plumb understanding or the level of awareness behind the opinion. The political system adjusts its messages to appeal to these measured emotions in order to move the opinion in one direction or another — suppress or increase its intensity.

But where is the system which

from September 1987 through January 1988, 113 horse-race polls were published on the Republican candidates and 123 on Democrats — all before the primary season officially began.

Each of these stories arguably came at the expense — in time, thought, energy, resources and space — of a story which could provide basic information about the state of our society, about the issues confronting us, about the alternate solutions which might be considered, about the true state of our personal tax burden or the military budget or the quality of education.

The question now is whether the press has the time or the will to concern itself with its contribution to education and understanding.

In most news organizations the journalists who plan campaign coverage are, by-and-large, a sandlot pick-up team which comes together annually at best (usually only quadrennially) to plan a strategy for covering "this year's elections."

And when they do they are stepping into a world in which the opinion researchers, advertising strategists, public relations packagers have been working day and night for the preceding year or two or three under the prod of competition to find new and better ways to sell an idea, create a demand, understand a market. Even the best most dedicated journalist under such circumstances, is a babe

manipulation is recruiting from the most successful marketing and advertising companies in the world. They even have now an advanced training school — The Graduate School Of Political Management in New York — a school which features disciplined academic study in polling, political management of the media, campaign advertising and promotion, demographic targeting, and "using polling information and orchestration of the news." A school whose funding by Philip Morris and Ford Motor Company reflects the growing commitment to and investment in the process of political manipulation by corporate America.

In a correspondence from my friend Adam Clymer pointing out inconsistencies in the article I had written for the *Times* last year, Adam said:

"[T]he best reason for public opinion polling on issues lies in the nature of our society, i.e. a Democracy. I think people do have opinions and more thoughtful ones than a lot of their governors believe. I think the people should have something to say about how they are governed . . ."

As with much of what Adam believes about journalism generally and polling specifically, I emphatically agree with that observation. But I find myself increasingly concerned with the role of the press in a self-governing society to provide the information upon which those opinions are based.

the process and the course of the campaign — the dynamics and thus the excitement and entertainment value inherent in campaign coverage.

Public opinion surveys could be of enormous benefit to a responsible news organization's approach to all coverage, not just campaign coverage. But not the way we use public opinion surveys. Not simply to learn who is ahead and how this or that issue is cutting.

In 1988 the print press seemed bewitched by the made-for-television nature of the campaign and offered reams of copy about the staging of events, the manipulation of candidate behavior and the crafting of personal images. How is a citizen to make an intelligent decision on the basis of such understanding?

Into the vacuum left on reporting issues of substance the public opinion survey is thrown. But to determine what? What issues seem to be important; how many agree with the Bush or the Dukakis position; what racial, ethnic, or regional appeal each candidate has and so forth. My question now is: How much is a bushel basket full of such data to a voter? What clue does this give a potential voter on the ability of one or the other to manage the S&L crisis or to address the quality of American education?

Our democracy is not merely a matter of registering preconceived notions and opinions of individuals. That approach was rejected in the design of our Government in favor of a representative system by which the matters of Government would be debated and issues resolved by consensus achieved by compromise. Responding to opinion in terms of its public impact not its private attraction. Most public opinion surveys now conducted by news organizations, in effect, record private opinion and the consumers confuse the results with public thought. Few surveys examine the depth of understanding behind an opinion or the context of an opinion. When, for example, was the last time you saw a report on political opinion which required a

I believe it is the journalists' role to inform public opinion. That in a self-governing society the daily press is the only widely available system of education we have.

in the woods at the beginning of each campaign he or she covers.

And while journalists are trying to pull together yet another AD HOC system, the system of political

And here is the nub of my criticism of the use to which the press has now put the instrument of public opinion sampling:

The focus is too narrowly fixed on

response to the same question in more than one context? Questions which require the respondent to consider the consequences of an opinion?

I will admit to being narrow-minded, even simplistic, in my concept of the journalists' role in a Democracy. I believe it is the journalists' role to inform public opinion. That in a self-governing society, the daily press is the only widely available system of education we have. If the voters are to receive the information they need to make informed choices on issues which confront them, it must come from the press.

To fill this role — which I believe is the only one which justifies the protection given the press in the Bill Of Rights — then the press must know the extent to which opinion is based upon prejudice, emotion or information. The press must know what information the public needs in order to make more informed judgments. For that opinion — informed or not — is likely to be transmuted into a political position from which laws and policy will be fashioned. To the extent that the opinion is fathered by prejudice and ignorance so too the law or policy will harbor the same public poison.

So I worry that our current use of public opinion surveys does much less than it can to fulfill the public purpose to which political coverage is committed. Rather, because it focuses on the surface movements of opinion rather than their informing depths, I am afraid the press is unwittingly a part of the process of manipulating opinion devised by the political campaigns; that by concentration on a constant measuring of the success or failure of a campaign we have become a sort of extended focus group — another in the corridor of mirrors in the campaign fun house yet again reflecting the same light in a closed system — not introducing new lights to the process.

It is part of the old question: Do opinion polls shape opinion or do they measure opinion? I think a compelling argument could be made that

in the absence of strong and sustained reporting on the facts underlying an issue — say the demonstrated record and reputation of the Massachusetts Prison Furlough System or the environmental records and alternative approaches of the two candidates competing in 1988 — polls can and do shape and create opinion.

And by measuring campaigns in terms of the questions they ask of themselves, I am concerned that the independent polling strategy, which I felt 10 years ago had freed the press of dependence upon the subjective reading of polls by campaign organizers, may now be making the press an even more integral part of the strategy of the imaginative campaign manager.

ing pool of Americans who begin each day with some sort of shared knowledge and understanding of events and issues and experiences.

It is imperative to the continued health of self-government that the press compensate for this trend. That the daily reports keep filled the common pool of information and shared experience of the body politic. In this endeavor public opinion surveys could be of enormous benefit to a responsible news organization's approach to all coverage, not just campaign coverage.

Consumers of news, I am convinced, look to the daily press for information which they can use. Information which helps make a confusing and complicated world a little easier to

Hannah Arendt has said: "Freedom of opinion is a farce unless factual information is guaranteed."
Judge Learned Hand has said: "We have staked everything on the rational dialogue of an informed electorate."

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Judge Learned Hand had said: "We have staked everything on the rational dialogue of an informed electorate."

As the fragmentation of American society hurtles ahead, we are increasingly becoming a nation of individuals who share less and less common information. Advertisers — purveyors of information designed to influence our taste and our economic behavior — seek to fix us, like insects impaled in a collection tray, as part of a narrowly defined group with set prejudices, tastes, and desires. As these groups become more clearly separated one from the other — narrowly focused vehicles to reach them with tailor-made messages are designed. The result threatens a constantly shrink-

understand, to confront. A news report which very simply helps them make it through the day. During the election season the potential voter depends even more fundamentally upon the daily press. To help editors design such news reports, public opinion surveys can be key tools. But not the way we use them now. Not simply to learn who is ahead or the appeal of this or that issue.

What is missing from our use of the tool is the key ingredient of context — upon what information or misinformation is the opinion based. What do the people know about the issues? And knowing this the press can then perform its most vital function — providing the information for enlightened self-government. □

Writing After a Career of Writing

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diagrams; pasted-in clippings or print outs from my computer. One person who looked at my daybooks was surprised there was no sign of struggle. I would have been surprised if there were. Writing is too important for me not to make it play.

As journalists we pursued those events our profession has declared important — elections, demonstrations, speeches, hearings, three-alarm fires — now, as writers, we can cover those events of real importance.

In my column, my conceit is that I am covering aging the way I would cover Lebanon or South Africa. I report the black humor of the aging, the companionship of the daughter who died ahead of us, the by-pass, the memories of Depression food. I often feel that what I report now is more important in the human scheme of things than the Senate defense budget hearings I once attended.

In the half-light of the X-ray room, dressed in a wrinkled housecoat, left alone with a gaggle of machines, I think back to my last hospital adventure and try to recover the strength of experience and the strength of acceptance.

Sometimes the line appears in the draft. I was writing about the crazy idea to put a hotel in a quarry when I heard from my page: "There is no need to improve the quarries. They are authentically spooky places, ugly and frightening." I was surprised and just wrote easily, letting the writing come and heard "We need ugly and frightening just as . . ." that was my line that led to the significance found in the writing.

I write out loud and listen to discover what I have to say and how I may say it. *Nulla dies sine linea* — "Never a day without a line," said

discipline to keep me going but a way of delaying judgement until the draft is finished. I don't tell myself I wrote some good — or lousy — prose today; I tell myself I wrote 584 words.

And its amazing how the 500 words pile up. I average a good newspaper clip, 500 words a half hour, and my novel is coming right along, half-hour after half-hour.

Although I write full time, I find I must write in small chunks — a paragraph, six or eight paragraphs, a page or three — and when interrupted I follow the practice of stopping in the middle of a sentence so that when I return it is easy to complete the sentence and re-enter the writing. A column is usually written at a sitting — forty-five minutes, give or take fifteen. I work ahead of deadline and if it doesn't flow easily I punch delete and try something else.

Rewriting is a joy, an attitude that may surprise many first draft news writers. Revision is not correcting, but re-seeing, and as I rework my pages I am instructed by my drafts in what I have to say and how it may be said.

Now I am writing — and publishing — the poetry I dreamt of writing when I was an undergraduate. I am halfway through my third novel, and a mystery is pacing back and forth off stage, waiting to be written. I have just proposed my seventh book on exploring the writing process and soon will be revising three of the earlier ones. And there is always the column to prime the pump.

Aging newspaper persons are blessed with an escape route — no nineteenth hole; no slimy, flopping fish to bop on the head, no glum staring at the TV game shows in the retirement home — but every morning a blank page — or screen — and the possibility of surprise. □

Even more difficult for many of us is to confront our feelings as they arise from the page.

A column usually begins with a line — a fragment of language that contains the tension that will unleash a draft. Waiting to take my barium swallow recently I scribbled in my daybook, "In the half-light of the x-ray room (machines) I recover the strength of acceptance and the strength of experience." Sometimes the line becomes the lead, other times it appears down in the text, occasionally it disappears completely but the writing it sparked remains. In this case the column begins:

Pliny. To write you have to learn to sit.

I try to sit without intent or expectation. When the writing comes I race to get it down and suspend judgment. What I think is great is often not; what I think stinks often is what is published. On long projects I set a reasonable quota of words — say, 500 — or time — say, half-an-hour — and try to achieve that minimum day in and day out, but have learned to forgive myself when I miss a day. The compulsive counting is not only a

There *IS* Room at The Top

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Rupert Murdoch's news corporation, and Hugues Communications. They plan to launch a \$650 million high power satellite, the world's most powerful space based transmitter. Subscribers will use tiny receivers — 12 inches square — to pickup the signal. The system, expected to be

For one thing it will further fragment the already fragmented market. But it could mean good news to consumers in that they will have more choices. Also it would make it easier to target special groups.

But Satellite technology is very expensive — and some people want to

out there shaped by technology and economics — Forces over which we as journalists and Hispanics don't seem to have a lot of control. The way things are now, we are looking at an industry that is contracting, not expanding. There are fewer employees at the Networks and their affiliates. TV news has always been a competitive environment, it is even more so now.

Before 1970 there were almost no Hispanics in TV. During the last 20 years we have seen our numbers increase slowly, we still don't reflect the percentage of our population, but our presence is felt. You will find Hispanics in visible anchor or reporting positions at the local TV stations in the cities with large Hispanic populations. It is not enough, but it is an advance and it will continue during the 90's. At the network level the opportunities are even more limited, but given the international scope of their operations they look at us as an asset in that most of us can function in two languages. But journalistic and language skills will not be enough in the 90's. Knowing about cost control and technology will be part of our bag of tricks. We will not only have to gather the news we also have to know

Creativity is going to be the order of the day in finding broadcasting jobs. . . . We should prepare ourselves now to go into the editorial and managerial positions where the decisions on what to cover and who to hire are made.

launched by 1993, would deliver up to 108 channels. Direct Broadcasting Television or DBS as the system is called is not without opposition. Mostly from Cable operators who fear this will do to Cable what Cable did to Broadcast TV, and from local stations who worry about a system that can deliver programming directly into a viewer's home bypassing the middleman, so to speak. The backers of Sky Cable claim that they want to complement Cable and local stations not to replace them. In fact who will provide the programming for all those channels isn't clear yet.

According to one Sky Cable executive, "When viewers of the mid 1990's come to their TV sets they should be able to pursue varied interests as easily as by going to the newsstands or the library. Movie channels, music channels, weather channels, medical channels" The plan calls for enlisting 3 to 4 million subscribers within the first few years of operations. Many industry people are skeptic as to whether this system can really work.

bring TV down to earth. AT&T is working at being freed from legal restrictions which forbid telephone companies from transmitting pictures. Bell is conducting research in fiber optics which would greatly enhance TV delivery through telephone lines which are already installed in most American homes.

Other research is aimed at transforming the TV viewer from a passive

. . . despite dazzling technology, without thought, without substantive programming — television is nothing but wires and a box.

to an active participant. Yes, interactive TV is already being tried out in Canada and some test areas of the United States.

It is definitely a brave new world

the best way to transmit them at the lowest possible cost.

Creativity is going to be the order of the day in finding the broadcasting jobs. If we want to work for the tradi-

tional news operations we should start looking beyond reporting and producing. We should prepare ourselves now to go into the editorial and managerial positions where the decisions on what to cover and who to hire are made.

We should also explore other options. If the technological projects now underway succeed, they will provide more outlets for "narrowcasting" that is delivering TV programming to

smaller groups. Therefore we should all look at the possibility of going into programming ourselves. That way we will generate jobs, have control over content, and who knows — maybe we will even make money.

I have spent a long time talking about technology and economics but there is another, perhaps more important, aspect to what we do and that will not change in the 90's. Above all, we must continue to be good jour-

nalists and burn with the same enthusiasm and desire to tell good stories, to explore grievances, to look for corruption and expose it, to search for breakthroughs in science, to report on the arts. Because, paraphrasing Edward R. Murrow, despite all the dazzling technology, without thought, without substantive programming — television is nothing but wires and a box. □

Journalists of All Post Communist Lands, Unite!

continued from page 5

The East Germans demanded to be enlisted as well. They want to save . . . a part of their identity, and not be swallowed by West German media moguls. Everybody had one question: Who will pay for our meeting?

young Ukrainian man, representing (informally) a 50-million nation, also on its way to a national awakening.

The Romanians were not sure about their journalists association, which is controlled by a neo-Communist government. "Why do you not found another one?" — I suggested, since it was the Polish experience. Under the martial law, military rulers disbanded us and created a new union. We ignored it and now we coexist with them. If there can be a multi-party system, why not a multi-association?

The East Germans demanded to be enlisted as well. They want to save at least a part of their identity, and not to be swallowed by West German media moguls.

Everybody had one question: Who will pay for our meeting?

A very good question. During the past years, our associations were maintained by state subsidies, membership fees were a small part of the budget. Mutual visits, international conferences, festivals of party newspapers — all that was paid for by the governments.

But now, we did not want to replace Communism with democracy in order to have other newspapers maintained

by the state. We wanted to introduce a market economy and get rid of the subsidies altogether. So "the situation was clear, but the pocket was empty", as the saying goes. Who will pay?

Here, unexpectedly, our American friends came up with an answer. The same foundations which paid for the Prague conference, just may pay for another — although Americans can be there as observers only.

If all this happens, it will be proof that the media are indivisible and that lack of media liberties in one country threatens the integrity of the media in all the others. Conversely, a free press is a better warranty of a country's stability, than the army, police, and diplomacy. I will be happy if the conference in Bratislava confirms my belief — that in order to let our readers understand our countries, we must first comprehend ourselves. □

If all this happens, it will be proof that the media are indivisible and that lack of media liberties in one country threatens the integrity of the media in all the others.

A Threat in the 90's: Bottom-Line Journalism

continued from page 11

practice, one major tenet of any successful business: *quality pays*.

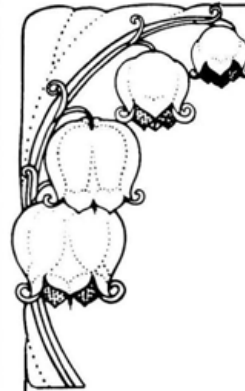
American car makers have recently learned that lesson. The Xerox Corporation learned it when it found that in 10 short years, Japanese companies and others had cut Xerox's 86 percent share of the world market for basic copiers to just 16 percent.

market checkout lines — if you have to. But if newspaper publishers will invest in their products, will look to the salaries of their employees, will give their readers more and better news, not less, I am convinced they will enhance their chances for a successful bottom line.

These owners will also be discharg-

satisfactory measure."

Amen. It was true 30 years ago and it is true today. □



Publishers often come from the ranks of editors — a departure from . . . promoting from the business departments such as advertising. But when a Robert Bass attempts to take over . . . he will not put the local editor in charge.

The New York Times, which won its 61st Pulitzer Prize, has known this secret of quality all along. So has *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, the *St. Petersburg Times* and a long list of other high-quality newspapers. For them, quality has paid off, handsomely.

I did a study two years ago for the American Newspaper Publishers Association of 28 successful newspapers — newspapers with strong reputations for good journalism. In almost every case the circulation of these papers had grown, some dramatically, over the previous five years.

The study, entitled "Success Stories," was published in a 100-page booklet that went to publishers and journalism schools. It demonstrated one clear point: that quality and success go hand in hand.

Poor quality can also be successful; look at those papers by the super-

ing their responsibility as custodians of a free press. The framers of the Constitution did not guarantee newspaper owners any profits. They promised only freedom to print, with the belief that such freedom would enhance the functioning of the republic.

Let me close with a comment made nearly 30 years ago in a lecture at Columbia University by the late Mark Ethridge, who was then publisher of the Louisville newspapers. I have always remembered it.

He said:

"Give me a newspaper that prints the news fully, fairly and fearlessly, interprets it intelligently and comments upon it vigorously, and I will take my chances that those other things for which publishers are responsible — fiscal soundness, economic independence and public acceptance — will be added in

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(See page 33)

THE BOOKSHELF

Investigative Journalism in China's Dictatorship Extracts a High Price

**A Higher Kind of Loyalty:
A Memoir by China's
Foremost Journalist**

Liu Binyan. Translated by Zhu Hong.
Pantheon Books, 1990. \$22.95

by H. Brandt Ayers

Though I have never met the famous Chinese journalist, Liu Binyan, our lives briefly touched in 1987 during his last troubles with the Chinese authorities. So, it was fascinating to spend a few days with him through his memoirs, *A Higher Kind of Loyalty*.

It was fascinating and appalling.

Though told with hum-drum humility, his story of the 27 years spent in a professional purgatory very close to hell is a sharp reminder to American journalists and readers alike.

It should strip the self-congratulatory smugness from United States journalists who go after a minor misfeasance at the county courthouse with the bravado of Woodward and Bernstein on the trail of Watergate. And it ought to shame readers who insist that their local newspaper should be a pureed and neutered mound of convention and conformity.

Liu Binyan's story is one helluva story but before setting out on his hair-raising tale, there are a few observations about the overall import of the book — its surprises and disappointments — that need to be made.

The narrative itself eloquently makes the point that corruption of Party officials reaches further out and further down than most Western

reporters have been able to make clear. What experiences shaped the psychology of these adamantly despotic Party officials? Liu quotes an unnamed writer's informed guess:

They had lived in cave dwellings for generations, never having seen a house. One can imagine how they felt after the liberation, when they entered the city of Xian with its multistoried buildings and cars. They must have thought this was what Communism meant. They held all the reins of power and took their privileges for granted as a reward for their hard struggle. They had no use for culture or science, no use for intellectuals; in fact, they saw them as a threat to their own authority. Hence their dislike of and discrimination against intellectuals.

Liu also makes it plain that the power of the hardliners has always been a lot closer to the surface than amateur China observers, like myself, had guessed. Conservative dogmatists dragged down one Party chairman after another; first, the man who did his best to protect Liu, the late Hu Yaobang. When Hu was brought low, Liu went down with him. Then, the hardliners got rid of the man who (one can read between the lines) was persuaded to let Liu leave the country to accept a Nieman Fellowship [NF '89], Zhao Ziyang.

What was disconcerting about the book was Liu's deliberate or unintentional failure to deal with significant policy changes and declarations from

leading figures that interested China-watchers use to frame recent history.

For instance, what about the "responsibility system," the agricultural policy that came with Deng's rise in 1979 that allowed peasants to keep part of their profits. Wasn't that a really significant change? Does rising rural income in an agricultural nation pile up demand that ultimately will create economic and political pluralism? Liu does not take up this question.

Neither does he analyze the meaning of Deng's pragmatic quote, "It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice," nor several other familiar intellectual hand-holds like the "one nation, two systems" declaration aimed at Hong Kong and Taiwan. I would have been interested in his interpretation of a front page editorial in the Party newspaper, *People's Daily*, which intrigued me on a 1984 reporting trip to China which said, "One cannot expect the works of Marx and Lenin, written in their time, to solve today's problems."

But what does come through is the life of a doggedly meticulous investigative reporter whose courage in the face of despotic stonewalling is beyond the imagination of most American reporters. Hardline Chinese Communists made sure his distinguished career was a short one.

He was 32 when he was first stripped of membership in the Communist Party, the open-sesame for any professional career, and sent to the countryside to work as a peasant. He was 59 when his Party membership was restored.

The crime that cost Liu his youth was not just early and rather mild investigative reporting for a literary journal and the newspaper which employed him, *China Youth News*,

his real crime was idealism.

He wanted his party, the Communist Party, to be better than the exploitative and corrupt Guomindang (Nationalist) Party of Chiang Kai-shek. Liu's most serious crime was to take Mao Zedong at his word. He believed Mao's February 1957 speech reiterating his policy of letting "a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

Liu wrote a letter directly to Chairman Mao and, thus, earned the great man's personal enmity. In the letter he warned Mao that:

A privileged clique has formed itself within the Party. Its members are above supervision by the Party or the people, and have evolved into a new aristocracy.

The young journalist became one of a million foolhardy souls coaxed by Mao's "hundred flowers" speech to express their honest views. They were among the brightest and best of China but they made the mistake of questioning the prevailing orthodoxy. Dissent couldn't be tolerated. Mao was willing to cut out a section of his nation's brain to silence it.

So, among the million under a similar sentence, Liu and 16 other "rightists" from *China Youth News* were sent to the mountains of remote Inner Mongolia for reform through manual labor. Here's how Liu describes their sudden turn of fate:

A year before, these same men had been so elated, caught up in the expectations of democratization, as promised by Mao Zedong. They had had such visions of the future, such enthusiasm to live life to the fullest, such determination to leave a mark on history. And now, they were being sent to exile, a herd of dumb creatures, their souls left behind.

For 13 years, off and on, Liu was separated from his family doing hard manual labor. His initial chore was to carry seed and manure in buckets hung from a pole on his back (60 lbs.

at first, 120 lbs. later) up the mountain to the cultivated terraces.

He was a witness in the countryside to the great tidal follies unleashed by Mao which were nearly national suicide. First came the "Great Leap Forward" (1958-1960) in which China was supposed to advance 100 years industrially in a single year. Peasants left crops rotting in the fields to attempt to make iron in backyard furnaces.

The result of that policy and of the ideological madness of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) was famine in which millions starved to death. Liu himself experienced the torture of malnutrition. He writes that he was "willing to do anything" for food.

Eventually, his sentence was lightened. He rejoined his family in Beijing and was employed dragging a cart of "night soil" (human excrement) from the city to a farm run by *China Youth News*. That involved ladling out the sewage pits of his work unit and filling the wooden tub in his two-wheel cart. He would then haul the 600-pound load to the farm.

Finally, on Jan. 24, 1979, he was pardoned and began exposing official corruption as an investigative reporter for the Party newspaper, *People's Daily*.

Corruption evidently was wider and deeper than the Western press knew. Provincial officials were worse than Huey Long. They used police power to squelch the local press and Party factions and enrich themselves at public expense. Oppose the Party boss and wind up in jail or a mental asylum.

Party hardliners in Beijing could not stand Liu's brand of journalism which was so popular that handwritten copies of some stories were sold on the streets of towns and cities far from Beijing. Eight years to the day from his pardon, Liu was banished from the Party again.

After 27 years of hard and humiliating labor in a jail without walls, how did he summon the courage to practice the kind of journalism that got him in trouble again? He says, "Perhaps, never having

known the sweet taste of honors and the advantages they bring with them, I had no fear of losing them."

There were many who were afraid for him, however. One of them was the reporter and China authority, Harrison Salisbury, whose persuasiveness Liu credits for winning permission to leave the country for his Nieman year.

Harrison was persuasive in a number of ways. When I called him in the summer of 1987 before leaving for China with a group of editors, he asked if we would discreetly inquire about Liu's status with any officials we met.

At the conclusion of a meeting with Vice Premier Zhang Jin-fu in the Great Hall of the People, I asked him about our "well-known and highly respected colleague, Liu Binyan." With a mega-watt smile, Zhang replied, "Ah, old friend Liu. I saw him on the street the other day and he looked very well."

As we were leaving the Hall, a reporter from *People's Daily* whispered, "Thanks for what you said about Liu Binyan." If those and other inquiries we made helped even marginally to get Liu to the United States, where he is now, I would be very pleased. They were, for me, a cost-free tribute to a nonconformist who ennobles our craft.

H. Brandt Ayers, Nieman Fellow '68, is the editor and publisher of The Anniston Star in Alabama.



The Kissin' Cousin Kinship Between Muckraking and Investigative Reporting

Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions

Robert Miraldi. Greenwood Press Inc., 1990. \$39.95

by Joel Kaplan

There are at least two ways to view the investigative reporter of 1990. One way, strongly suggested by Robert Miraldi, is that investigative reporting is simply the logical extension of muckraking.

Miraldi, a reporter turned journalism professor, tries to chart the progress of advocacy journalism from its early muckraking era through the period where rigid standards of objectivity ruled, through the post Vietnam Watergate era of investigative reporting. The book is part of the Study of Mass Media and Communications series and hence, is rife with footnotes and contains an extensive bibliography.

Despite the book's academic nature, it is clear that Miraldi wants it to be useful for working journalists as well as for those who study journalists. He says that if his book were to be made a movie "it might be called 'Lincoln Steffens Meets Bob Woodward.'" But then Miraldi goes on, in excruciating detail, to show how investigative reporting today differs from the muckraking of the early Twentieth Century.

That difference, boiled down to its most basic premise, is that the early muckrakers were really activists and reformers who had specific agendas. They wanted to make major societal and political changes and they used the persuasive power of the written word to effect those changes.

It's different now, Miraldi asserts,

because the notion of objectivity as the cornerstone of American journalism has settled in and so modern reporters can no longer wear their personal feelings on their computer terminals.

Instead, those reporters are constrained by such basic journalistic conventions as objectivity and fair play. And his thesis is that except for the brief period around the Watergate scandal, there is no real muckraking left in American journalism.

"Throughout the 1970s, with investigative reporting teams being created on most major urban dailies, muckraking was in vogue," Miraldi writes toward the end of his 175-page book. "Then came the crash. By 1981 Pulitzer Prize winning muckraker Bob Porterfield could declare: 'A lot of newspapers don't want to put out money to cut reporters loose for in-depth stories. The volume of hard investigative journalism has dropped off considerably.'"

"Today, muckraking is not dead, but certainly it is not breathing very hard. Activism, along with much of reform, largely left the mainstream press during the Reagan years and returned again to the journalistic fringes." While that may be Miraldi's view of investigative journalism in 1990, there is clearly another perspective that goes untouched in his book.

This view comes from the trenches, and can easily be seen by anyone who wants to attend a conference of investigative reporters or sift through hundreds of entries in the Pulitzer Prize competition — and not just those entered in the investigative reporting category. What one sees today is that investigative reporting is sweeping the newsrooms of this country.

What once was a fine art performed

by a few old fellows in the dusty basement of the Recorder of Deeds office has become a standard of excellence in print and television newsrooms. Today teams of reporters use innovative approaches, particularly computers, to set a new standard for what was once called muckraking.

Don't tell today's investigative reporters that they lack passion or idealism. In today's world, reporters spend months and sometimes years understanding the intricacies of the federal tax code to show the breaks that a few politically connected businessmen receive. They delve into such highly technical issues as AIDS to prove that the scientist who claimed he discovered the virus never did.

Other reporters get into the tough, gritty details of showing the inadequacies of health care in the federal prison system, that the mayor of Detroit is secretly involved in the sale of Krugerrands and that the sheriff's office in Cook County, Illinois is helping the mob cover up some murders.

Miraldi's book is excellent insofar as he gives the history of muckraking in this country. Where he fails is when he tries to compare it to modern day journalism. Perhaps Miraldi's problem is that he has a flawed theme to begin with. He believes muckraking failed because it ran into the birth of objectivity as a requirement for professional journalists.

"Quite obviously, these are different interpretations about the function of the journalists which mirror a longstanding dispute and debate in journalism, pitting proponents of a professionalized, objective, restrained and technically efficient journalism against those advocating a socially responsible and activist brand of reporting," Miraldi writes.

"This raises the question of whether the journalist should be an observer of or a participant in the social process. I am interested in the interaction of these two approaches to journalism; objectivity, which might better be called observer neutrality, and muckraking, an activist and

reform-oriented school of journalism."

What Miraldi fails to see is that objectivity is not the natural adversary of investigative reporting, fairness is. No reporter, be they a member of a newspaper's spotlight team or the Associated Press reporter covering the White House, is objective. Every reporter brings his or her own biases, preconceived notions and life experiences to a story.

This holds especially true for investigative reporters who delve into subjects for long periods of time. If reporters investigate a corrupt congressman for nine months, chances are they know he is a crook long before their first article in a series makes it into print. It is foolish to hide behind the guise of objectivity.

But the real test for the investigative reporter is to be fair. To frequently and prominently give the congressman his say. This means that the investigative journalist must quote the congressman extensively, even if what he says is false. It means that the investigative reporter must frequently call the congressman for comment, even if the congressman does not return the phone calls immediately.

And it especially means that the reporters inform the congressman what is to be written about him, so that he has adequate time to respond and is not ambushed when he first sees the story in print. Those are some of the requirements of today's investigative reporters.

That indeed is different from the early muckrakers, whom Miraldi points out, routinely refused to allow the facts to get in the way of a good story. "They were creative artists, journalists with a literary bent, who painted a portrait of people and institutions with a brush that mixed facts and fiction," he says.

But Miraldi is being naive when he insists today's reporters cannot be true muckrakers or have a social conscience because they are bound by standards of objectivity. His primary evidence for that conclusion is the 1974 work of *The New York Times* reporter John Hess, who thoroughly

and convincingly documented pervasive fraud and mistreatment by the nursing home industry in New York City. Miraldi believes that what Hess did — writing 100 stories in six months documenting the abuses — was not enough.

"Despite months of activist reporting, his prerogatives were limited by the professional standard of objectivity imposed on reporters," Miraldi says. "Hess could present his 'facts,' but not his opinions.

"Does a journalist function best when he eliminates his 'values' and presents only the 'facts,' tells what has happened, without passing judgment, without attempting to make the 'facts' show a solution? With trepidation, I must say no."

Later, in the conclusion of the book, Miraldi writes, "Reporters cannot advocate or even fully explore solutions on their own, and that is a limitation that is stifling."

Again, I think Miraldi misses the point. If the investigative reporter does his job, the facts will speak for

themselves. Solutions do not need to be proposed by the reporter. That's what the Editorial Board is all about.

Miraldi's central thesis is that over the past century, two traditions of journalism have evolved: muckraking and objectivity. The result of that collision is a hybrid that prevents journalists from serving a meaningful and progressive purpose.

While I agree that those journalistic traditions have collided, I believe that the outcome has been a positive one for American society. Today we do have the muckrakers. But they back up their prose with facts, not fiction, and they endeavor everlastingly to give the objects of those facts the ability to respond. □

Joel Kaplan, Nieman Fellow '85, was a member of the Chicago Tribune's investigative reporting team. He is currently a fellow at Yale Law School and is co-author of the newly released book, Murder of Innocence, The Tragic Life and Final Rampage of Laurie Dann.

He Wrote as He Pleased Facts Short, Truth No Matter

Stalin's Apologist Walter Duranty: The New York Time's Man in Moscow

S. J. Taylor. Oxford University
Press, 1990. \$24.95

by Murray Seeger

In the seven pre-glasnost decades, American news organizations sent about 300 men and women to report from Moscow. Some stayed longer than others and some had greater professional success than others.

These correspondents now form a loose fraternity that has just one common theme: a life-changing experience in attempting to fathom and report that great complex of the

Soviet Union.

A wise social host knows never to invite two members of this clique to the same function for fear of inciting one of two possible incidents. Either the Kremlinologists will so dominate the conversation that all other guests will be bored to tears, or the "experts" will develop an argument that draws a wet blanket over the entire company.

One possible topic for the old Moscow hands is the career of Walter Duranty, the most infamous character to cover the Moscow beat and the greatest embarrassment ever to *The New York Times* and to the history of the Pulitzer Prizes.

If his work had not been so filled with intellectual dishonesty, Duranty's

life story would make a marvelous Hollywood scenario. There is the boyhood of wealth turned to want; proper English education; women, booze and drugs; trench warfare in France, and then 20 years in Moscow in the first days of Stalin's bloody rule.

S. J. Taylor, described only as "a writer living in London," spent 10 years pulling together the many strands of Duranty's life to complete this comprehensive biography. She has delved far beyond the well-known facts of the reporter's long Moscow career to give us a full portrait of the life and times of "The Great Duranty", who had more influence on American attitudes toward the Soviet Union than any of the other 300 who covered the same turf.

When Duranty died in Orlando, Florida, in 1957 at 73, Ms. Taylor observes that he still had loyal friends including Walter Kerr and John Gunther. But there were other, equally-renowned journalists who recalled that Duranty was "the correspondent who compromised the ideals of his profession, who concealed the truth to further his own aims.

"They would remember him as he was portrayed in the obituary in Time. By that estimation, he would remain the No. 1 Russian apologist in the West."

Scanning Duranty's career backward for 70 years from the heady atmosphere of a new Russian revolution is not easy. Trying to measure the work of the Moscow correspondents has never been simple and Duranty is the most complicated case.

The old Moscow hands can usually be fitted into a few niches. There are those for whom the assignment was the launching pad for great careers. Others arrived, did bread-and-butter work and moved on with little notice.

There were a few, especially in the early days of revolutionary fervor, who came to Moscow filled with enthusiasm to witness what they expected to be a great success in "scientific socialism". They were encouraged by the many "parachutists" who came for short visits and found

every element of Stalin's world a great success.

Some of these old lefties later became virulent righties.

There were a handful of correspondents who married Russian women and found themselves compromised, at least moderately, in that their wives were not allowed to leave the country and this acted as a restraint on journalistic adventurism.

The best reporters went to Moscow filled with curiosity and energy to find all they could about the immense, diverse country that claimed to have performed an historic social-economic-political miracle. Most of them left with deep disgust for the system and sympathy for the people who were its victims.

It took six months for most reporters to gain confidence to write about the Soviet Union. Most reporters hit their stride at one to two years. After three, most were anxiously waiting for their next out-trip and looking for a new, more salubrious assignment.

A reporter could not believe what the government or party said and until the 1970's had few alternative sources. The first openings came with the development of the Jewish emigration and political dissident movements that produced a few brave individuals who were willing to give correspondents first-hand evidence of the system's many failures.

Among the Americans there were correspondents who tackled the Kremlin as if they were covering Washington, Paris or London. They challenged the barriers and often gained the grudging respect of the Soviet officials for their diligence and ability to occasionally break through to discover nuggets of truth.

Some naive reporters tried to patronize their hosts, buying vodka-drenched lunches and writing with gloves on their hands. For those willing to float with the currents, life could be quite pleasant; swimming upstream could be painful.

There were lots of parties and life could be tolerable when you could

import essentials from such civilized outposts as Helsinki and Copenhagen.

One lesson from Ms. Taylor's diligent research is to show how little official Soviet policy toward foreign journalists changed from Duranty's 1921 arrival in Moscow until Mikhail Gorbachev started altering things seven decades later.

The censorship that bedeviled the earlier generation was ended in the 1960's. Meantime, electronic surveillance became more sophisticated and the techniques of intimidation against journalists more sophisticated.

A policy of favoritism toward major news organizations and those correspondents who appeared "friendly" was in place in the 1920's as it was 50 years later.

There was always plenty to write about from Moscow. The test was how much credence a reporter gave official sources and how courageous and innovative he or she was in going beyond the dubious content of the official media.

Walter Duranty did not fit the convenient niches. While he became a cheerleader for Stalin, Duranty was by no means a communist. He lived with a Russian woman who bore him a child and who probably informed on him to the secret police.

While the Timesman harranged and argued with the censors, he also patronized officials and was rewarded with an unprecedented two personal interviews with Stalin. He was permitted to have the first automobile for a journalist and made frequent trips out of the country, especially to Berlin and to the Riviera where he had a home and a wife.

He was a hero to the intellectual left and a denizen of the 21 Club when he was in New York. For the anti-communists he was responsible for making *The New York Times* the "Uptown Daily Worker".

Duranty came to *The Times* in the old fashioned way: he walked into the Paris Bureau in 1913 with the bones of a feature story. The material had to

be re-written but it made Page One with a co-byline.

A short, loquacious man, Duranty had already developed the disarming charm that made him a popular figure in the Paris cafes and helped him seduce countless women of various nationalities until his final days in Florida.

Born in Liverpool of a merchant family that had fallen on hard times, Duranty attended Harrow and Bedford before entering Emmanuel College of Cambridge University on a scholarship. His classical education showed in his conversations and writing through his entire life.

But Duranty never worked in New York or on any newspaper before finding the key to *The Times* staff in Paris. He made himself so useful that the paper sent him to cover the French Army front in World War I.

When the fighting ended, however, he was barred from the Paris Bureau by Correspondent Charles Selden who found him "unreliable and tricky." Selden wrote New York that he "should hate to work with him or be responsible for him on any phase of the correspondence or business of the Paris office."

Duranty's war coverage had been considered first rate so the editors sent him off to Riga, Latvia, where the western press and governments had established listening posts for covering the ongoing revolution and civil war in Russia.

When the new communist regime permitted the first group of American correspondents to travel to Moscow in 1921, Duranty was in the group. He was to stay or visit regularly for *The Times* until 1940.

The newspaper had been seriously affected by a 1920 report by Walter Lippman and Charles Merz that claimed *The Times's* reporting about Russia was distorted and inaccurate. In two years, the article in *The New Republic* related, *The Times* had reported 14 times that the Lenin regime was collapsing and six times that the prophet himself was dead, retired or jailed.

The new man in Moscow found he and the rest of the journalistic cadre had been scooped on the big story of the day, a widespread famine, by the flamboyant, one-eyed Floyd Gibbons of the *Chicago Tribune* who did not wait for official clearance and arrived early in Moscow with a chartered airplane.

Reporting from Riga had been notoriously unreliable since it depended on the flotsam coming over the border from Petrograd. But *The Times's* managing editor, Carr Van Anda, started questioning Duranty's copy within a year after his arrival in Moscow.

The first serious questions were raised in *The Times's* office by Duranty's coverage of the trial and execution by the Bolsheviks of Father Butskevish, a Roman Catholic priest accused of spying for Poland. Duranty wrote only one story on the 1923 trial and suggested the priest was guilty; if sentenced to die, the sentence would be commuted.

The Times was forced to use Associated Press copy on the story. At first Duranty blamed his failure on the official censors, but later in a rare confession admitted, "I mishandled the whole trial."

In his history of *The New York Times, Without Fear or Favor*, Harrison Salisbury, Duranty's successor in Moscow, observed: "It was this kind of reporting by Duranty which, over the years, was to stimulate angry controversy surpassing anything which later arose over Herbert Mathews or any other *Times* reporting including my trip to and reporting from Hanoi during the Vietnam war."

In his most famous book, *I Write As I Please*, Duranty added: "My New York office dealt with my shortcomings more in sorrow than in anger, but I realized that I had failed them and asked myself why."

The answer, whatever it was, did not change Duranty's style. He continued to soft-pedal the evidence of the growing use of terror and ignored, for two years, the evidence of the next and more severe famine that struck

the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1930's when Stalin set out to destroy private farming.

Meantime, Duranty had made himself the center of foreign social life. He had lost the lower part of one leg in a train accident during a visit to France but discovered that only enhanced the romantic aura he had created.

In Moscow, some of his colleagues were jealous of his advantageous position as the keeper of a salon. Duranty was also allowed to file long stories, often dictated to a secretary, while others were forced to keep their dispatches to brief cables shouted over the telephone or telegraphed to London.

In New York, a persistent dispute continued between factions within *The Times* about Duranty's writing. He was coming under high level scrutiny when the Pulitzer Committee awarded him a prize in 1932 for his reporting on the great successes of the Soviet economy based on the phony official figures. No one dared fire or transfer a Pulitzer Prize winner.

Duranty's strategy had been to pick Stalin early as the likely winner among the post-Lenin contenders for leadership and he won his bet. From then on, Stalin could do no wrong.

The crimes others were discovering were the crimes of underlings: the violence and suffering were typical for the people of Russia. In other words, Duranty was an elitist who admired autocracy especially when applied to backward people as he considered the Russians and other Slavs.

Ms. Taylor does well to track this arrogant, cruel streak in Duranty's personality to his youth and the influence of a writer from South Africa, William Bolitho Ryall, who was his earliest mentor. Once Duranty was convinced that he was right, there was nothing that could change his mind.

In March 1932, Duranty responded to New York's queries on stories others were carrying about famine that "to the best of my knowledge there is no famine anywhere although

partial crop failures (occurred in some regions." Others fought against the authorities in order to see for themselves; Duranty stayed in Moscow.

The impact of Duranty's rose-colored reporting was to delay, in large part until after World War II, an objective examination of Stalin's personality and assessment of his horrific crimes. The correspondent was credited with developing the impetus for the United States to give belated, official recognition to the Communist government in 1933.

The Times finally eased Duranty out of Moscow in 1934, but he returned to report on visits until 1940. He was never given another visa by Moscow. But he peddled his soft line in many magazine articles and books and on the national lecture circuit. Other writers quoted him as an authority and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* used his articles in its sections on the Soviet Union.

After leaving Moscow, however, Duranty's life took a slow, steady down curve, painfully described by Ms. Taylor. He never saved any money and he had to live on his wits and charm for many years. There was no pension from *The Times* and Duranty had to beg money from friends like John Gunther. Arthur Hays Sulzberger responded to a request with a personal check for \$2,500 a month before Duranty died.

There have always been critics who claimed that Duranty was bribed by the Soviet disinformation specialists, but no serious students of the period believe that. He was an egotistical dissembler whose only real success in life came as *The Times*'s man in Moscow. Once he sold a line from that height he could not repudiate it.

That line brought him attention and immense psychic rewards as a hero to the intellectual American left whose delusions he reinforced. *The Times* is still embarrassed by its inept handling of this correspondent as attested in an editorial note carried in the same edition that printed a review of Ms. Taylor's book.

Duranty "was fascinated, almost mesmerized by the harsh system he described," Karl E. Meyer wrote. "And having bet on Stalin's rise in the 1920's, Mr. Duranty remained loyally partial to his horse. The result was some of the worst reporting to appear in this newspaper."

Ms. Taylor has covered all the angles in the complex Duranty story in a thorough, workmanlike fashion. She clearly has no first-hand Moscow experience, which is just as well since

she does not fall into the trap of boring her readers with a superior knowledge beyond her raw material. □

Murray Seeger, Nieman Fellow '62, reported from Moscow, Bonn and Brussels for the Los Angeles Times from 1972 to 1981. Mr. Seeger also reviewed the following book; he spent two years as a senior editorial consultant for The Straits Times in Singapore.

Two Americans "Discover" New Found Lands

The Four Little Dragons: Inside Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore at the Dawn of the Pacific Century

Brian Kelly and Mark London.
Simon & Schuster, 1989. \$21.95
Touchstone will publish a paperback edition in November, 1990. \$12.95

by Murray Seeger

American journalists pride themselves on an ability to go anywhere and cover any story. This is an essential conceit since few publishers, except for a few top grade organizations, have a program to prepare reporters to go overseas for either short-or-long-term assignments.

Of the various areas from which Americans report, Europe is the most popular and best reported. Latin America and Africa were given short shrift until recently when Central America became Page One news.

Asia also got little attention except for a hardy group of China specialists and a handful of writers based in Tokyo. Southeast Asia, after Vietnam, has lately been a moveable story, alternating between Bangkok and Manila.

But every month, it seems, another publication or another writer of the

post-Vietnam generation "discovers" the Pacific Rim, a newer term that can cover a vast area from Vladivostok to Auckland. It is fashionable now to talk of the "Century of Asia" or, as these two authors insist, "the Pacific Century."

With typical American bravado two residents of Washington D.C., Mark London, a lawyer, and Brian Kelly, editor of the slick, local magazine, *Regardie's*, set off a couple of years ago to discover "The Four Little Dragons." This book is the result.

The product of their 18 months of travel may amuse and educate an American audience. For Asian residents, however, the book will be a disappointment. It has a breathless tone as if it was based on tape-recorded notes taken day by day as the reporters rushed from meeting to meeting. Their research is heavy on the night side of Asia and light on the dayside.

The conclusions that they draw about South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore are valid enough, but their work is hardly original. They found what they were told they would find in each country.

It is refreshing that the two make no pretense of superior knowledge — their research about their targets was

rudimentary. "As a group they could be the most successful countries in the world, and I barely knew where they were," Kelly confesses in his introduction.

Throughout the book, the authors reveal how slipshod was their advance research and firsthand reporting. About Singapore, for instance, they found that the official languages were English "along with Mandarin Chinese and Tamil." So much for "Majulah Singapura."

They spend a great deal of time complaining that they could not get a personal interview with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. But in discussing the Prime Minister they describe him as "diminutive," one of the least applicable adjectives one can imagine.

In leaving South Korea, the authors admit that they "invoked White Man's Privilege" to jump an exit cue, claiming they were diplomats. It is tasteless stunts like that that give Americans and other "Europeans" such bad reputations in a non-white world.

The book was written in the manner of instant journalism so that many passages are already out of date. As an after-thought, the authors tagged on a brief chapter about Thailand, since it is a "developing dragon," and an epilogue to bring some earlier sections up-to-date.

Perhaps some American readers gain some important impressions from this book. And Asians may be amused to read its quick pace and glittering generalities. □



LETTERS

The Author Refutes a Review

In his thoughtful review of my book, *W. Eugene Smith: Shadow & Substance* ("Portrait of a LIFE Photographer," Spring 1990), photojournalist Steve Kagan declares that "... the author side-steps the ethical issues raised by some of Smith's practices. . . ." Yet nowhere in Kagan's review do the words "art" or "artist" appear. In my book I state unequivocally that the conflict between journalism and art, between prose and poetry, was one of the many schisms — and perhaps the major one — that Smith spent a lifetime trying to bridge. As I wrote in my preface, photography for Smith was "the art of illusion." "Should a journalist dedicated to facts," I asked, "allow himself to make art — with all the manipulation that entails — in the pursuit of higher truths?"

In 1948, even before the publication of his seminal "Country Doctor" essay in *Life*, Gene Smith wrote for the Photo League newsletter: "The majority of photographic stories require a certain amount of setting up, rearranging, and stage direction to bring pictorial and editorial coherency to the pictures. Here the journalist photographer can be his most completely creative, and if this is done for the purpose of a better translation of the spirit of the actuality, it is completely ethical." Kagan evidently

does not agree. But he shouldn't be surprised to learn that Gene Smith spent the remainder of his working life living up to, and sometimes exceeding, his own publicly stated standards. As Smith further wrote in that same 1948 manifesto: "To have his photographs live on in history, past their important but short lifespan in a publication, is the final desire of nearly every photographer-artist who works in journalism." It was Smith's quest for perfection that drove him to the "extremes" decried by Kagan — and it was those very extremes, I submit, that often allowed Smith [to] raise his work to another level, creating images that "live on in history."

No, I don't condone fabrication in photojournalism. Yes, I do appreciate art, wherever I find it. The job of a biographer, as I define it for myself, is to let the life tell its own story in a clear and compelling manner. Biographers are, or should be, journalists. As Gene Smith's biographer, my objective was not to pass judgments, but to help readers to experience directly the troubled and troubling life of a complex subject. I wanted readers to make their own discoveries, to reach their own conclusions — as reviewer Kagan has.

It is my firm belief that the meaningful answers are those you discern for yourself.

Jim Hughes
Brooklyn, N.Y.

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NIEMAN NOTES

There is a certain kind of reporting that was for years denied to newspaperwomen — covering and writing sports stories. Now when I read the sports pages I see the bylines of female journalists who are covering golf, tennis, yachting, swimming and mountain climbing. There is even a female novelist who augments what may be an already swollen bank account with magazine pieces — panegyrics — on prize fighting. The sound of a cracked rib, the sight of a bloody nose, a swollen lip, cauliflower ears, calls forth from her word processor a spate of real nice high falutin' literary terms celebrating that sport.

Although there have been football and baseball stories written by female journalists, some newswomen seem to concentrate more on how difficult it is to enter a locker room to interview a sweaty bruiser and be treated as one of the boys.

How many newspaperwomen were covering the World Cup in Italy? I mean actually covering what was happening on the field and using and understanding such terms as penalty kick, offside, free kick — I do not mean covering feature stories — the crowds, the clothes, the celebrities, the plethora of pasta that may have been consumed, the Italian magnate who winged it to Rome, Milan, Turin, Florence, Sicily and Sardinia and so caught most of the games. No, no, I mean the actual field play.

Which brings to mind a sportswriter by the name of Paul Gallico (1897-1976) who wrote a book Called *Farewell to Sport*. It was published in 1938; it was 346 pages long; it was a hardback and it cost \$2.75. And only those critics with crossed eyes and perpetual sneers quibbled. The book is out of print, but every sportswriter who finds a copy and reads it today, will be a better writer tomorrow.

His *arrivederci* to sports writing became a *salute* to writing novels, short stories, articles and children's books. He wrote a book a year.

Paul Gallico lived abroad. First in London, moved to Liechtenstein, and finally Monaco — that was final, he died there. He was a rare one.

Three reviews written in 1938, about

his book, *Farewell to Sport*:

Robert Van Gelder, *The New York Times*, April 10, 1938: "... this is one of the best books on sports that I have ever read. It is racy, thoroughly readable and steadily interesting."

J. R. Tunis, *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 23, 1938: "... he is one of that small circle of writers who are the despair of us pedestrians; he cannot be dull. . . . he is always entertaining."

My favorite review is from a godly critic, E. D. Jones, *Christian Century*, August 10, 1938: "I commend this book as good reading for preachers, theological professors and editors of religious journals, since it deals with a world which religious leaders are not likely to know much about at first hand. And it was a lively world, peopled by arresting personalities who are anything but demigods; a world in which red, raw animalism, deceit, ferocity and perfidy commingle with courage, gallantry, determination, pluck and the grimmest kind of perseverance."

It takes all kinds to read a first-rate author.

—1940—

VOLTA TORREY writes that he has returned home from a Palo Alto nursing home, that he is "now trying to learn to type again," and that he would like to hear from old friends. He says he is sharing his home "quite happily" with a Polynesian husband and wife. The Nieman Fellow enclosed a poem written by his late wife, Geneva Torrey, that had appeared in the University of Nebraska's literary magazine, *The Prairie Schooner*, titled "Away Goes Jonathan Wheeler!" It is "A Poem for a Small Boy" that tells of his adventures on wheels as he progresses from a carriage to a three wheel bike, skates, a two-wheeler, a car, and in the last stanza, a plane where "wings lift Jonathan off the ground!"

Mr Torrey's address is 1335 Hopkins Avenue, Palo Alto, California 94301.

—1947—

Another great good deed from a Nieman Fellow — SIMEON BOOKER, Washington bureau chief of the Johnson Publishing Company, sent Nieman Notes the July 26 issue of the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* that had printed an account of a tribute to CLARK PORTEOUS, a Nieman Fellow '47 Classmate. The account was given on July 25 in the House of Representatives by Congressman Don Sundquist of Tennessee. A Clark Porteous Day was held in Collierville in honor of Mr. Porteous's 80th birthday and his years as a Tennessee journalist.

First, a part of Mr. Booker's letter:

"Years ago, we covered the Emmett Till case in Mississippi. He . . . represented the Memphis paper. I . . . represented Johnson Publications. . . . our Nieman year at Harvard brought us together. We teamed up in news gathering and came away the real champions!"

Congressman Sundquist's remarks as reported in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*:

Clark Porteous has been a newspaperman for six decades. During his 47 years with the Press-Scimitar in Memphis, he covered the politics of the Crump machine, served his country as a combat correspondent during World War II, covered the big flood control projects that tamed the Mississippi River, was there at the onset of the civil rights movement, witnessed the space program come to the Mid-South, wrote about Rock and Roll and a Memphis legend named Elvis Presley. . . .

From 1981 until 1988, Clark edited the Collierville Herald, for whom he remains an associate editor . . .

Clark Porteous Day in Collierville July 10 is an expression of how people feel about this wonderful man whose friendship and support I am proud to have.

I ask that the Collierville Herald's account of Clark Porteous day be reprinted in its entirety in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*.

The story followed with this headline:
"Clark Porteous Day Brings Praise From High Places."

At the reception Mr. Porteous, who is considered the dean of Tennessee reporters, was presented with Mayor Bill Morris' Shelby County Meritorious Service Award; only eight have received this honor. Clark Porteous is the second journalist to receive the meritorious award.

FRANCIS P. LOCKE's account of a six country tour in three-and-a-half weeks under the aegis of the National Conference of Editorial Writers appeared in the op-ed page of the *Press-Enterprise* in Riverside, California.

The "group of active professionals" traveled to Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Warsaw, Bucharest and Moscow. In each city they talked "with people in the streets" and met with those in professional careers including journalists, economists and scientists. They also held meetings with government officials and political leaders including two presidents — President Jaruzelski of Poland and President Rutel of the Soviet Federated Republic of Estonia, and they spoke with Ambassador Jack Matlock in Moscow and Ambassador Shirley Temple Black in Prague.

In his op-ed piece, Mr. Locke details pithy comments about the countries, including the obstacles faced by their populations and the assets of each society.

He considers that Central Europe and the Balkan countries need an enormous amount of assistance from the United States. . . . "The Bush administration is genuinely sympathetic and has taken some promising initiatives — but few which cost much money. Most Europeans are unhappy with the hesitancy." Mr. Locke closes with: "While we exhort the struggling Europeans to accept years of drastic austerity, to make do with frozen wages and doubled prices of bread, many here express outrage at talk of paying a dollar more for a bottle of whiskey, a dime more for a gallon of gas, or an extra quarter for a pack of cigarets. Vengeful voters threaten to "punish" President Bush for concluding, in effect, that new occasions do teach new duties, that events have blown away the rationale for a do-or-die stand for "no new taxes." A few weeks in Central Europe and the USSR might alter some perspectives."

—1952—

JOHN M. HARRISON'S promise to send a copy of the book he had written about his Father — Jack Harrison — was fulfilled — it arrived in the Nieman office in late May.

The book, titled *The Nickel Machine*, and published by the Maecenas Press in Iowa City, tells about the life of a boy growing up on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, moving to Illinois where he worked as a printer on a weekly newspaper; another move to Oakland, Iowa, where Jack Harrison bought an interest in the weekly newspaper, the *Oakland Acorn* — the office where the "nickel machine" was installed. This piece of machinery was called that because the Harrison children were told their weekly allowance — a nickel — was made possible because of the day and night workings of that printing press. Jack Harrison soon became sole owner of the *Acorn*.

The Nieman Fellow recounts his Father's newspaper career during World War I, his involvement in politics, his years in the Iowa legislature, and his election as mayor of Oakland where he was described as "a person who got things done and on time." Names and events from the past crowd this book about Jack Harrison: LaFollette, Coolidge, Frank Lowden, the Klan — Jack Harrison's editorials were vociferously against that organization — the Fall-Sinclair-Dougherty case, and again his editorials were biting.

The volume is a saga of times past; of a journeyman printer turned editor, publisher, and politician. And it will find a place on a book shelf in the Nieman Foundation library.

The paperback book may be ordered by sending a check or money order for \$9.95 to Baskerville, P.O. Box 526, Iowa City, IA 52244.

The many journalists and government friends of CHARLES MOLONY will be saddened to read of his death. The news has lately reached the office of the Nieman Foundation. The following obit is reprinted from the May 23rd issue of the *Lexington Herald-Leader* in Kentucky.

Charles Molony, 78, a former correspondent for the Associated Press in Lexington and Frankfort, and a retired public affairs officer for the Federal Reserve, died May 11 in

Boston.

Molony, a native of Savannah, Ga., received his law degree from the University of Georgia and practiced law briefly before joining the Associated Press. He served the AP in Frankfort, Lexington and in Washington, D.C., where he covered the U.S. Treasury Department.

Molony later joined the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve and served as its public affairs officer until he retired in 1972 to Lexington.

Molony is survived by his wife, Thelma Knox Molony of Lexington; a stepdaughter, Marcia Knox of Pleasant Hill, Calif.; a stepson, G.M. Knox of Walnut Creek, Calif.; and three step-grandchildren.

Contributions are suggested to the American Cancer Society.

—1956—

Under Nieman Notes, the Spring 1990 issue of Nieman Reports told of the retirement of JULIUS DUSCHA from the directorship of the Washington Journalism Center. Now, DONALD J. STERLING, JR., a Classmate, sends us a notice about Mr. Dusch's special citation award presented to him by the Society of Professional Journalists for his lifetime service to American journalism. The citation was given to him at a dinner held on June 5.

We think this should become a mighty nice habit — Nieman Fellow Classmates looking after one another and seeing that credit is given where credit is due. Frequently, that is how news about Fellows is disclosed to Neiman Notes.

—1962—

EUGENE L. ROBERTS, Jr. has retired from *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; Mr. Roberts was the executive editor and president of the Knight-Ridder newspaper, his retirement became effective this past September 1. During his tenure *The Inquirer* won 17 Pulitzer Prizes — when he joined the newspaper it had never won a Pulitzer.

Mr. Roberts plans to travel and eventually teach at a university. He will remain a consultant to Knight-Ridder Inc. He came to *The Inquirer* from *The New York Times* where he was national editor from 1969 to 1972. Before that he covered the Civil Rights Movement in the South, and the Vietnam War.

Two Nieman Fellows, separated by an hiatus of nine NF Class years, have been named Fellows at the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University. The Center is part of the John F. Kennedy School of Government.

HENRY RAYMONT, NF '62, is at the Center for the academic year '90-'91. He has undertaken the comparative study of the press and television coverage of the American invasion of Panama last December from the viewpoints of the United States, West Germany and Mexico. Mr. Raymont, who retired from *The New York Times*, was Latin American bureau chief for the newspaper and he also covered cultural news in New York.

JAMES SQUIRES, NF'71, at the Center for the Fall term, is the Laurance M. Lombard Visiting Professor. He is teaching a course examining the change in the press that has taken place because of computer technology and a shift from private to public ownership. Formerly, Mr. Squires was the executive vice president and editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.

—1967—

PHILIP MEYER is the new vice president and president-elect of the World Association for Public Opinion Research. He recently completed a term as president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research; he will be the third person to have headed both organizations.

The two associations were founded after World War II to improve the use of sample surveys and related social science methods. Mr. Meyer teaches journalism at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

JAMES R. WHELAN has received Chile's highest award given to foreigners. The government of that country awarded

Mr. Whelan with the Order of Bernardo O'Higgins who is considered Chile's liberator from Spanish rule. The award ceremony was held in the Chilean Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Whelan was cited for his extensive knowledge and writings about Chile and for his 1989 book, *Out of the Ashes: Life, Death and Transfiguration of Democracy in Chile, 1833-1988*. Chile's leading newspaper, *El Mercurio*, said that with the sole exception of the works of Chile's own two leading historians, Mr. Whelan's book is "without question, the most complete history of our country published in this century."

Mr. Whelan, who heads Capital Communications International, based in Arlington, Virginia, has informally advised President Bush on Latin American affairs.

—1970—

In the Winter 1989 issue of *Nieman Reports* J. BARLOW HERGET described his clean-sweep victory for a seat on the Raleigh City Council, and in the North Carolina magazine, *Business*, Mr. Herget ploughs into the maelstrom of financing a political campaign. With all the foresight of Archimedes and Euclid he went deep into the matter of campaign spending, receiving hints from office-holders and those who want to hold office.

In his magazine piece, Mr. Herget explains the intricacies and expense of running a campaign. Both the increased population and growth of North Carolina cities and the increased cost of media advertising are important factors.

Mr. Herget also used yard signs, bumper stickers, direct mail, buttons and cards to influence voters. His photograph in *Business* magazine shows him wearing a straw boater and a campaign button saying — I know Barlow.

But all the work and the spending was made worthwhile. Not only did he win, but there was a hidden bonanza — the office-holder now has his "own free parking space downtown."

WALLACE TERRY's account of what happened on a certain day in Vietnam that bonded forever the friendship of two reporters, one, white, one, black, was

published in the July 1 issue of *Parade* magazine. Mr. Terry was in Vietnam for *Time* magazine. There, he met Zalen B. "Zip" Grant, then, also on *Time*.

Mr. Terry's story stresses the day when five correspondents piled into a jeep to cover an outbreak of fighting in Saigon that "sounds like the Tet offensive all over again." In the Chinese area of Saigon — Cholon — the five reporters were fired upon by the Viet Cong. Four were killed, one escaped.

Mr. Terry and Zip Grant, who was now with *The New Republic*, set out to find the bodies of their fellow correspondents. Hours later, and on their own, they found them, "Our four comrades who died doing their job." He continues with:

"Before that day, only 12 journalists had died in the Vietnam war. By the end of the war, 59 would lose their lives or be declared missing."

In this moving piece, he writes in his next to the last paragraph, "Zip and I found what many soldiers, black and white, discovered in Vietnam. A bonding took place, as much for us as it did for the soldiers who risked their lives to pull comrades out of the line of fire or out of burning helicopters."

—1972—

JOHN S. CARROLL and his Kentucky newspaper, the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, received the highest of accolades from Berea College — the President's Medallion and a Citation written by John B. Stephenson, President of Berea, commending Mr. Carroll and his staff for their series on Kentucky's public schools. The liberal arts college in Berea, Kentucky, mainly draws its students from Appalachia.

The stories, titled "Cheating Our Children," stressed political abuses in schools, especially those schools located in poor neighborhoods.

Mr. Carroll, who is the executive vice president and editor of the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, explained that more than 1,800 letters concerning the stories were received and seven other Kentucky newspapers republished the series.

Two paragraphs only in the Citation were modestly singled out for reprint by Mr. Carroll, but Nieman Notes considers that the entire citation to John Carroll and the *Lexington Herald-Leader* deserves to

be published. It reads:

Just as ordinary mortals do, journalists must also dream of success. To the lesser members of this guild, just as with lesser members of other professions, success no doubt takes the form of mere prizes, awards, and pecuniary emoluments. But to the greater, the goal is no less than to change the world through the strategic use of ink, and therefore the reward and the sign of success for these can be no less than to see the world change for the better and know that one's ink had something to do with it.

Well, here is a man, and a newspaper organization, that must feel success very keenly. For by means of the recent series of articles in the Lexington Herald-Leader called "Cheating Our Children" editor John Carroll and his committed staff of reporters, photographers, and editors have contributed mightily to the planning of major reform in Kentucky's education system.

Seldom has there been a more even-handed, hardhitting, persuasive set of voices on behalf of the truth about the school system in our Commonwealth. Seldom has there been such unyielding persistence as shown by this newspaper, which kept the unpleasant educational facts and the challenge implicit in them before us day after day, week after week, until the public and the politicians responded. Seldom has an entire population been so thoroughly and well informed — and so moved to new understanding and action — as was the reading public of Kentucky during this series.

And seldom, perhaps not since the first constitutional revision took place in this state in the last century, has so much change and reform in education been promised as is now promised by the new educational legislation worked out by our General Assembly and the Governor, largely because the people of the state, newly informed and insensed, insisted on wholesale change and demonstrated for the first time their clear willingness to pay for it.

To be sure, the success of this reform effort was the result of an orchestrated effort involving numerous organizations and individuals, many of whom, including Judge Ray Corns and Dr. Robert F. Sexton, have been recognized on this platform. But many orchestras

have played the tune of educational reform in the past, and few in the concert audience seemed to listen. This time, the song was taken up by the people, and their voices were heard abroad in the land: "No more cheating our children." The difference was John Carroll, editor of the Lexington Herald-Leader, and all the other hard-working people at that newspaper, who deserve our recognition today for achieving that kind of success which comes so rarely: Through their strategic application of ink to a crucial issue, they changed this part of the world for the better.

I am therefore pleased as President of Berea College to bestow the President's Medallion on John Carroll, and, symbolically, on all those at the Lexington Herald-Leader who contributed to the series, "Cheating our Children."

—1976—

JÁNOS HORVÁT has been selected as a fellow for 1990-'91 at the Gannett Center for Media Studies, Columbia University.

Mr. Horvát, who is senior advisor, Hungarian Television — *Magyar Televizio* — in Budapest, has chosen as his research project the topic, "The Year of the Domino: Media Coverage of Events in Eastern Europe."

Fellows at the Gannett Center live in New York City and work full-time on their research projects that may be published or used as problem-solving materials. They also attend seminars with media professionals and scholars and teach as visiting scholars at Columbia University.

EVERETTE E. DENNIS, Nieman Fellow '80, director of the Gannett Center, explained, that "... the fellowship period is the chance to participate in the intellectual life and resources of the Center, Columbia University and New York City, the world's media capital."

—1980—

A note from ATSUSHI KUSE informs Nieman Notes that he has been named

vice president of Dentsu Burson-Marsteller in Tokyo. Before this position he was in the Tokyo office of Gavin Anderson & Company. His note continues with news about the work he has been doing at Gavin Anderson and will continue to do at DBM. He says: "I'll pursue the same professional career of international public relations and public affairs counselling. My involvement in US-Japan relations will never come to an end. I'll continue writing columns and analysis for several publications on the bilateral relations and international affairs."

DANIEL PASSENT has moved with his family from Warsaw, Poland, to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and he enthusiastically says, "It's great to be back."

Mr. Passent is the editor of *The WorldPaper* with offices in Boston's World Trade Center. *The WorldPaper* is a monthly that is distributed to newspapers and magazines in 22 countries throughout the world as an international affairs section of the publications. The newspaper's slogan is "Attuned To Our Times — Providing the inside story about the international scene."

In a letter to Nieman Notes Mr. Passent says "I did not cut my ties with *POLITYKA* in Warsaw, where I am still writing my weekly column." Mr. Passent has been with *The WorldPaper* since this past May.

ROBERT TIMBERG, on leave from his newspaper, the Baltimore *Sun*, to write a book, took part in what he referred to as "media bashing" sessions." Marine officers were "students" in training sessions on what the media do and what the marines should do when they appear on TV; the sessions were held in Quantico, Virginia. The account of the meetings was given in a June issue of *Editor & Publisher*.

Mr. Timberg explained to the marines that journalists require more than "puff" stories. "Things need to happen. We have to put in things that are interesting," he said. His remarks were in answer to a question asked by a major concerning the press stressing stories about military errors in order to make the service look bad. The journalist also told the marine officers that their problems are real, and he added, "I hope you recognize the problems of the press are real too."

A letter from Mr. Timberg arrived for

Nieman Notes giving a succinct and most interesting account of his work brought up-to-date and of the book he is presently writing. He says:

"I've been working on my book since June 1988, when I began what was supposed to be a one-year leave of absence from the Baltimore *Sun*. Since June 1989, I've been a fellow at the Wilson Center here in Washington, which is probably the next best thing to a Nieman.

To fill in some gaps since I left Cambridge in June 1980: After the Nieman, I opened a one-man Washington bureau for the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, which I was working for when I received the Nieman. A year later, I was hired by our sister paper, the Baltimore (morning) *Sun*, for its Washington bureau. From July 1981 through March 1983 I covered Capitol Hill, then did investigative reporting, primarily in the area of political action committees. I covered the White House from March 1983 through May 1988 when I began my leave of absence.

My book focuses on five prominent Naval Academy graduates. They are Oliver North and James Webb, class of '68; Robert (Bud) McFarlane, '69, and John Poindexter and John McCain, class of '68. North needs no introduction. Webb is a best selling novelist and former secretary of the Navy. McFarlane and Poindexter were two of Ronald Reagan's national security advisers swept up in the Iran-contra affair along with North. John McCain, currently a U.S. senator from Arizona, was a prisoner of war in North Vietnam for five and a half years.

All five men knew each other and, to varying degrees, their lives have intersected from Annapolis on. Thus, I'm writing five entwined biographies in which I'm attempting to trace echoes of the Vietnam War in their personal and professional lives. That, at least, is the thumb-nail sketch.

I've enclosed a copy of the March 1988 *Esquire* article that we discussed on the phone. Though it focuses on just two of the five — Webb and North — it should give you a pretty good idea of some of the

themes I intend to explore.

I can't remember how long it's been since I've been in touch so I should mention that I married Kelley Andrews, who was a student at the Kennedy School when I met her in 1979, and that we have a son, Sam, who is five."

The story in *Esquire* magazine tells of the Naval Academy years and afterward of Oliver North and James Webb. It is titled "The Private War of Ollie and Jim." And it more than whets the anticipation for Mr. Timberg's book about the quintet of Naval Academy graduates.

The author, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, was a Marine Infantry officer in Vietnam.

—1981—

An exuberant account of a "mini reunion" crowned with champagne that was as bubbly as the spirits of the Nieman Fellows and their guests was faxed to the Nieman office by HOWARD SHAPIRO of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The party was planned by DAVID LAMB and his wife, Sandy Northrup, and JIM STEWART and his wife, Jo Stewart. Both Fellows were in Washington: Mr. Lamb, *Los Angeles Times*, was joining the Washington bureau of that newspaper; Mr. Stewart was leaving the Washington bureau of the Cox newspapers to join CBS. The reunion was held in an Arlington, Virginia restaurant.

In gist, Howard Shapiro's message says:

"Sandy decorated the banquet room with an array of balloons, confetti, and lapel buttons. GERALD BOYD bought the champagne and gave the evening's finest toast: "I just hope whatever it was that made us special, we don't lose . . ." Thirteen of us sat around the large table for hours and traded gossip and told tall tales, recalled our year at Harvard and generally basked in each other's company.

In addition to Gerald, David, Sandy, the Stewarts and myself and my wife, Susan Kershman, the reunion celebrators were ROSE ECONOMOU, DON MCNEILL and wife, Sandra Allik, MICHAEL HILL, and PETER ALMOND and wife, Anna.

NANCY WARNECKE RHODA, who wasn't able to come in from Nashville, sent a special treat — a collection of candids taken in and around Lippmann House and at Nieman events during 1980-81, as well as a picture puzzle of 16 unidentified portraits of beer and cheese speakers during our year. Throughout dinner we tried to complete the who's who — we're still not sure whether one of the two shots is of Helen Sussman or Barbara Tuchman, or whether the two women are really the same person, after all — and the class candids were a hoot, awakening old anecdotes and spurring us to compare 1990 waistlines and hairlines with the mid-career images.

Jim Stewart read messages from several classmates who couldn't come: ZHAO JINGLUN and wife Suchu Zhang, DANIEL SAMPLER and wife Pilar, MASAYUKI IKEDA, MUSTAFA GERSEL and wife Nuran. A few days after the reunion David and Sandy mailed to each class member an updated address list, a perfect piece of journalism covering the evening and a group picture of the party."

—1982—

JOHANNA NEUMAN has been assigned to a new post at *USA Today*. She is now the foreign policy specialist for that newspaper. Before this assignment she was the senior White House correspondent; she had covered the White House since 1984 and had recently served as president of the White House Correspondents Association.

Ms. Neuman's husband is Ron Nessen, vice president for news at the National Broadcasting Network and NBC Radio. Mr. Nessen was the former press secretary for President Gerald Ford.

—1984—

Before leaving for Berlin where she, her husband Andreas Huyssen, and their two

sons, Daniel and David, are now, NINA BERNSTEIN sent a message to the Nieman Foundation office that says:

"A hasty note to let you know that Andreas and I are off to Berlin for a year, I to report on Germany and Eastern/Central Europe for *Newsday*, Andreas to work on a book during his sabbatical from Columbia. Daniel and David will be attending Berlin's Kennedy Schule, where we expect them to learn German and play soccer. Andreas has already accepted invitations to lecture in London and Hong Kong and I expect to be on the road quite a bit in Europe, depending on how the news breaks . . .

We hope Ms. Bernstein will find time from her new assignment to give Nieman Notes additional news of her and the rest of the family.

An announcement from NANCY WEBB and Richard A. F. Shafer tells the interesting news of the birth of Cameron Creal Webb, who arrived on June 30 weighing nine pounds, five ounces. His brother, Ariel Shafer, age two, gave Cameron a vociferous welcome.

—1988—

EMILY O'REILLY's letter with news straight from Dublin arrived in the late spring. First things first:

A birth announcement — on April 12, Ms. O'Reilly gave birth to a daughter — Jessica. And as Ms. O'Reilly writes, Jessica "is already intent on wrapping her daddy around her little finger." The father Stephen Ryan — makes no move to escape this bondage.

Further news involves the careers of wife and husband. Emily O'Reilly has been named "political correspondent for the national daily *Irish Press* newspaper, the first woman ever to be appointed to such a position on any daily Irish paper." And she also says that Stephen is the design editor of a new weekly publication — the *Sunday Business Post*, "and is getting great praise for his work."

In the letter, a more somber note is relayed. The Nieman Fellow writes "the only blight on the horizon was that our lovely little cottage was burnt out three weeks ago. Happily we weren't at home at

the time — but we lost everything; clothes, books, and lots and lots of Harvard mementoes."

Ms. O'Reilly requested a class list of Nieman '88, which was sent to her. She also said that mail sent to their last home address "is forwarded to our temporary abode." We hope to hear more of the family, the move and their new address.

A visit from Raquel Tiglaio to Lippmann House brought welcome news of the family. RIGOBERTO (Bobi) TIGLAIO is the Manila correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a weekly magazine based in Hong Kong that has an international readership. He is covering stories on economics and political news relating to economics. Mr. Tiglaio is the former business editor of the *Manila Chronicle*. And there is one member of the Tiglaio family who will, for sometime, turn into a resident of New England — Raquel and Bobi Tiglaio's daughter, Andrea, has been admitted to a Seven-Sister college and has already started her Fall semester at Mount Holyoke College.

The Meeting in Prague

Nieman Fellows were among the American journalists at that famous meeting in Prague where the other shoe was dropped.

The East-West Journalists Conference, sponsored by the Nieman Foundation and the Center for Foreign Journalists located in Reston, Virginia, was co-chaired by Bill Kovach, NF '89, Curator of the Nieman Foundation and Tom Winship, President of the CFJ.

The gathering of journalists from Eastern Europe and editors from a part of the Western World heard Michael Zantowsky, President Vaclav Havel's press secretary and one of the principal speakers, say that journalists who reveal the names of informers and collaborators who helped the country's secret police, would be jailed.

His speech produced a spate of news stories, op-ed columns and editorials in American newspapers.

Comments and columns appeared in several publications including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Editor & Publisher*.

The overwhelming surprise of the journalists at Mr. Zantowsky's comments "fell like red meat before the American journalists," said Bill Kovach and Tom Winship in a joint op-ed piece in *The New York Times*.

The authors described the reaction of the American press and also that of the East European journalists at the conference.

The two American journalists considered that "How quickly newly liberated Europe can come to understand the value of a fully free press depends on how much support the American press establishment is prepared to give — not in weeklong conferences and bromides but in direct financial and technical assistance. . . ."

Before the meeting adjourned, editors and news executives from the United States proposed measures and offered suggestions to their counterparts that might help the East European press to an unaccustomed freedom.

U.S. journalists and news executives at the Prague meeting included: Ben Bradlee, executive editor, *The Washington Post*; Shelby Coffey, editor, *Los Angeles Times*; Everette Dennis, NF '80, executive director, Gannett Center for Media Studies, Columbia University; Katherine Fanning, former editor, *Christian Science Monitor*; Ed Fouhy, Concord Communications Group; Author David Halberstam; Dave Laventhol, *Los Angeles Times* publisher and Time Mirror president; Burl Osborne, editor, *Dallas Morning News* and president of ASNE; Norman Pearlstine, managing editor, *Wall Street Journal*; John Seigenthaler, NF '59, chairman and publisher, *Nashville Tennessean*; Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., deputy publisher, *The New York Times*; Sander Vanocur, senior correspondent, ABC News, and John Vinocur, executive editor, *International Herald Tribune*.

Helena Luczywo, managing editor of the Polish newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, was among the East European journalists who attended the meeting. Ms. Luczywo won the 1989 Louis M. Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism. She was chosen by a committee of 23 members of the 1989 Class of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University.

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