

# NIEMAN REPORTS

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# Cry Havoc

In the city of Zurich, a steep lane leads to Lindenhof park, overlooking the Limmat River. Children's laughter is bright on the air as they rise and fall in swings; placid groups of chess players hunch over their boards; far below, the chuffing of distant water traffic adds to the toy-like dimension of boats cutting white wakes on the blue surface. Across the river, winding streets and weathered buildings are spread before a backdrop of snow-covered Alps.

According to legend, the park is the scene of a notable military event. At the end of the thirteenth century, the army of Albert, son of Rudolph of Hapsburg, had besieged the city. The Swiss defense became weakened, so the women remaining in the area put on the armor of soldiers and stood in numbers at the cliff's edge. From afar they appeared to be a formidable foe. The invaders felt great fear and retreated, thus establishing the heroic stature of many nameless women in the pages of Swiss history.

To a present-day visitor, strolling along the heights and looking down on the site of the attempted attack, the ancient event has integrity, so strong is the illusion of power over the commerce and life below. The traveler, still panting from the steep climb up the roadway, had been sitting, an hour beforehand, in a crowded hall. Journalists, gathered at an annual Assembly of the International Press Institute, had listened to reporters from all over the world describe in matter-of-fact tones how their newspapers or radio stations had been banned, news offices closed, bombed, or burned, and colleagues threatened and jailed. The brand new IPI member, sobered by the dreadful litany, sought relief at the end of the meeting and went for a walk. The panorama from the hilltop provided a momentary antidote to anger and frustration.

In the nine years since that assembly, press freedom has continued to deteriorate in nearly every part of the globe, and IPI members annually have heard variations on this theme with mounting crescendos.

IPI's current report on worldwide suppression of media states that their organization issued more protests in 1983 than at any time since its founding in 1951. Turkey was cited as the "most offensive" to journalists, with countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, South, Central, and Latin America, and Asia as close runners-up.

In the past year journalists have faced criminal offenses, tortuous travel conditions, ambushes, and have suffered bodily injury and death. Among the suspicious fatalities were two Americans killed in Central America, "when their car hit a land mine, or as others suggest, were hit by a rocker." Eight journalists were murdered in Peru.

In covering volatile countries, the report said, it is not only impossible for reporters to appease either side of political factions, it is also deadly.

"Journalists working in cities and towns face an equal danger from right and left wing death squads. Factions who dislike a particular point of view published in a newspaper frequently turn to the bullet or the bomb as a means of expression.

"In many cases, pleasing one side means displeasing the other, with the result that reporters are left in the middle."

Striking a new note, this year's report asserted that in the United States, "the Administration of President Ronald Reagan continued its assaults on freedom of information in 1983."

A voice from another quarter was heard when a spokesperson of the American Society of Newspaper Editors denounced the Reagan proposals for media

control as "peacetime censorship of a scope unparalleled in the country since the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1791."



This issue of *Nieman Reports* includes contributions that reflect the tightening bonds of suppression. Anthony Lewis, in his Lovejoy Award acceptance speech, alerts us to the subtle — and overt — dangers that encroach upon today's media. Jack Foisie looks back on the compatibility of press-military relations during World War II, and rues the current adversarial stance. Jack Burby, one of two journalists among some 70 corporate and military administrators, returns to the classroom to confront these and other related complexities.

The impersonality of parliamentary procedure is brought closer by two travelers. Jan Stucker in Greece and Peggy Simpson in South Africa talked with people they met and describe how recent legislation bears on citizens' personal lives.

Bruce Stannard of Australia gives us a look behind the scenes of covering America's Cup races. Frank Van Riper writes about a writer on tour — himself.



The need to act is urgent. Beleaguered journalists must put on their armor and stand guard on the heights to sound the alarm against those who would batter the stronghold of words, and put them in fetters.

—T.B.K.L.

# NIEMAN REPORTS

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Cover photograph: A pasqueflower blooms; the peaks of Glacier National Park rise in the distance. By Bert Lindler (NF '84).

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# Cold Warriors in the Classroom

Jack Burby

Harvard polishes up its intensive program for the military brass.

There is no limit, apparently, to what Harvard University is prepared to teach. It recently enrolled the whole earth in a course on avoiding nuclear war. There is no guarantee of credits, let alone graduation.

The announcement of the project received little notice outside of Harvard's own publications, perhaps because so grandiose an idea as preventing the unthinkable must seem unprintable except "here at Harvard."

But you can get a different view from survivors of another little-noticed Harvard project at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, a short walk from Harvard Square on land where MBTA subway cars spent the night back when Nieman men outnumbered Nieman women.

The few hundred survivors, which Harvard insists on calling alumni, have for the past five years spent part of each summer listening to and talking back to many of the faculty members who will work on the nuclear project. At least some of the survivors would say not only that it is worth a try but also that the JFK School has a head start in the right direction.

The idea of the nuclear study came from President Derek Bok. Responsibility for implementing the notion that Harvard can teach the world how to stop living dangerously is in the hands of Graham Allison, Dean of the JFK School. The research will be financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, not in a lump sum but at the rate of about \$500,000 a year. Notice of cancellation of the next year's grant presumably would join the hands on the clock of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* as a sign to take cover.

The head start comes from the Executive Program in National and International Security, a two-week session of

intellectual aerobics at the JFK School that jogs — on a schedule more like boot camp than classroom — from war games to morality in international relations to the First Amendment and beyond.

Allison promoted the program at the Pentagon in 1977 with an argument that Washington's Cold Warriors would benefit from being lifted above the humdrum of warhead and troop deployments, diplomatic maneuvering, and global snooping for a new look at each other and at the world they arm to save.

Most of the students work in or around defense or diplomacy. Last summer two newspapermen showed up — Morris Thompson, the Latin America correspondent for *Newsday*, and me. For two weeks, we watched some of Harvard's best prowl back and forth in carpeted amphitheaters, provoking questions, and ducking pat answers while they slashed away at the world's most elaborate and elegant blackboards.

Why? Douglas M. Johnston, Jr., the first director of the program who left after last summer's session to become a private consultant, says the goal is to change perspectives, partly by challenging stereotypes, partly by forcing students to puzzle out how they would act if they were in someone else's shoes — from Soviet boots to State Department loafers.

There were days last summer when the process worked so well that it was like standing in front of a floor plan in a shopping mall on which the bright-colored square that says "You are here" was in 83 different places.

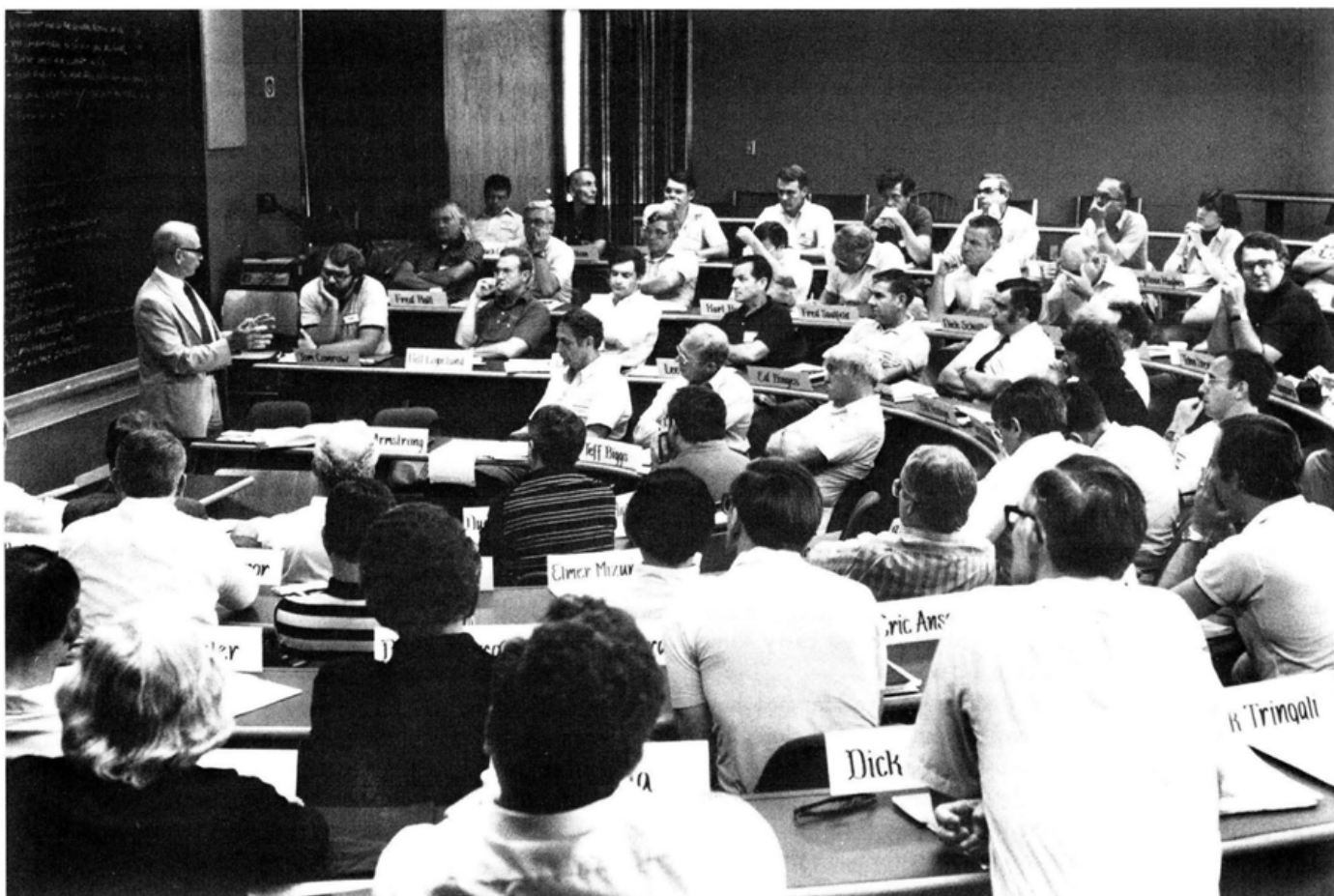
Some of the new perspective came from a crimson loose-leaf binder, three inches thick, crammed with case studies, required reading that started at the end of nine-hour days in and around classrooms and sometimes ended as early as midnight. Case studies on economics, world energy, ethics in foreign policy, game theory, strategic nuclear planning, Vietnam, the best twelve-page primer on Marxism-Leninism ever put through a copying machine, what makes Congress tick, and on into the night.

It is easy to know what the Cold Warriors think they get out of the sessions. An Air Force general, strolling back to the barracks at the Harvard Business School the last night of boot

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Jack Burby, Nieman Fellow '60, is assistant editor of the editorial pages, The Los Angeles Times. He attended the Executive Program in National and International Security at Harvard University as part of his project to reevaluate American foreign policy.





*General John W. Vessey, Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, illustrates a point.*

Martha Stewart

camp, said eight times if he said once: "What a class act."

Evaluation papers that each class fills out on the last day of school are cluttered with superlatives — excellent, exhausting, stimulating, crucial. What the United States gets out of the exercise — at room, board, and tuition of some \$2,700 — is a more complicated question. The program survivors are far enough up the career ladder to influence decisions. There may be no answer. Not being waterproof, new perspectives can disappear in the first light rain or at the first conference dominated by people with old perspectives.

Thompson and I went through a two-way stretch with the other students — a U.S. Senator, Jeff Bingaman (D) of New Mexico, thirty-one admirals, generals and commodores, twenty civilians in various defense-related jobs at the Pentagon, the Office of Management and Budget, the Defense Intelligence Agency and other offices, seven C.I.A. officials (an overt count), two State Department people, seven executives from defense-oriented businesses, four people from the U.S. Information Agency, three Congressional staff members, and five ranking civil servants from the FBI and customs, among others. Being modest, none suggested that they were there because their bosses considered them comers, future agency heads or members of the Joints Chiefs of Staff. The best guess is that they

will be.

With one hand, the JFK faculty was pulling them out of government for a broader view. With the other, it pushed the two journalists deeper into government and particularly into the seemingly endless point and counterpoint of strategic planning. For someone who had always written about urban affairs, state budgets, environmental protection, and other harmless domestic subjects and left the outside world to the foreign side, it was an end to innocence. Never again will it be possible to make snap judgments about new weapons systems or the defense budget on the basis of what the good guys and the bad guys in Congress think about them. National security is something you think your way through, not feel your way through.

Perhaps the fact that it took two weeks at Harvard to learn such an obvious lesson accounts, at least in part, for the way the two journalists felt the first few days. Count Rostov described the feeling in *War and Peace*, riding into his first battle after a round of farewell parties, hearing real bullets whip past his ears, saying: "Why, they are shooting at me. Me, whom everyone loves."

Hostility is probably too strong a word. Suspicion, perhaps, a sense that newspapers are trouble-makers, if not subversive

then at best irresponsible — an invisible line between “them” and “us” that Secretary of State George P. Shultz would later paint in bold colors and President Reagan would obligingly walk along in a later press conference.

Archibald Cox, charter member of a Nieman mutual admiration society long before Watergate, delivered what we journalists smugly judged would be the clinching argument on the question of press freedom with a typically logical and understated lecture on the lengths to which the First Amendment protects even the foolhardy. The Harvard Law Professor (and fired Watergate Special Prosecutor) took care to make it clear that there were cases in which publications might, in his judgment, cross the line, but that the judgment was not his to make but that of the courts and the Constitution.

Is printing information about the imminent departure of troopships protected by the First Amendment? Is clear and present danger a factor? *Progressive Magazine's* venture into publication of a blueprint for a nuclear warhead? The First Amendment, Cox concluded, is as protective as the Supreme Court says it is and so far the First Amendment has not lost a fight. Surely, we thought, a living legend must carry some weight. Would Abraham Lincoln lie to you?

Next day came Arthur R. Miller of the Harvard Law School, Socrates with fangs, using case studies to explore, first with a panel of working journalists and then in a case study with students playing roles, why journalists act as they do.

The first of Miller's scripts involved a report that a head of state of some importance to U.S. policy was on the C.I.A. payroll. For ninety minutes, Miller played devil's advocate with the panel of working newspeople, all of whom — as I recall — held out for publishing the report regardless of the fact that it might embarrass America abroad.

Miller badgered his panel, questioning, among other things, whether loyal Americans would print or broadcast what they proposed to print and broadcast, forcing them to explain themselves. More than once, the right of readers and viewers to know how their government operates ended with a kind of indignant: “We are Americans, too.” The gist of much that was said was that there were no simple rules for journalists like those in a training manual. Close calls are always more agonizing for the press than for government. When it was over, a general strolled by. “Okay,” he said. “Now I understand. There is a code. You do have values. I may not like it, but I can live with that.”

The second exercise involved a theoretical nuclear power plant, taken over by hypothetical terrorists demanding that the imaginary local paper print an anti-nuclear manifesto or see the plant blown up in a suicide mission. The student-editor stubbornly insisted on printing both the story and the manifesto. Miller offered one last convincing reason for not doing so. The imaginary President was on the telephone, promising to deliver a super-SWAT team with a secret weapon so efficient that it would wipe out the terrorists, guaranteed, in eighteen hours. All the President asked is that the editor withhold the story until the team finished its work. The imaginary paper met its deadline, despite the familiar heckling about the notion

that newspapers would cover anything sensational to boost circulation, that defying the President was possibly un-American, certainly a menace to an orderly society — as though any such society still existed. Why publish? It was left, at the end, that there is not only freedom to print but freedom to read and newspaper readers had a right to know that they were in some danger of being blown to smithereens and to use that information to decide whether they might like to be elsewhere.

Fortunately for Thompson and me, the journalism lectures came early, the questions at coffee breaks about why journalists are so negative trailed off, and we were reasonably free to concentrate on the things we had come to learn.

By and large it seemed that the journalists had won and that everybody now understood how the free press works and why it is important to let it work that way. As Daniel Schorr once put it, they had forgiven us our press passes. Some weeks later, it became apparent that in journalism as well as in the Army, winning means the war, not the skirmish. Morris Thompson, my classroom colleague, was one of the half-dozen correspondents rounded up and put under house arrest on Grenada for trying to break through the press blackout.

So results take time, but it remains true that seeds were planted at Harvard last summer that will, with luck, yield a good crop one of these days. One morning Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Professor of Government, opened ninety minutes of lecture and debate by suggesting that former President Jimmy Carter pioneered human rights as a basic element of American foreign policy. He paused for dissent. There was none. “By a vote of 300-1,” Nye continued, “Congress cut off trade with Russia in 1903 because of the immigration policies that covered Jews during the pogroms.” The silence was broken only by the sound of stereotypes popping and perspectives bending.

Nye did not stop there. The point was not that there are surprises for too casual readers of history but that there is such a thing as national character and that it shows up time and again in shaping national policy. Why, Nye wanted to know, did Congress act as it had?

“We don't like people sticking sticks in other peoples' eyes,” said a one-star general.

“As in Guatemala?” Nye teased.

“As in in Guatemala,” the general nodded.

“You're on to something,” said Nye. “For good or bad, we are a moralistic people.”

Just how moralistic was another matter and Nye offered no yardstick, only some things to think about. How do you balance morality against more tangible interests? Citizens of the United States, for example, feel strongly about women's rights. Yet we deal with oil-rich Saudi Arabia, where women have no rights.

Ernest R. May, Professor of History, soft-spoken Virginia gentleman, lectured on the importance of getting history right if you intend to use it as a factor in making decisions. A basic text for one class was a 1965 staff memorandum to Lyndon B. Johnson saying, in effect, that the United States would not

suffer the fate of France in Vietnam because Americans supported their war and the French did not. The memo included not a word about the fact that the French public, too, once cheered the war on and then turned against it, nor any suggestion that the same thing could happen in any democracy.

Francis Bator, Professor of Political Economy, lifted the dismal science to Shakespearean heights, declaiming macroeconomics for an audience not much given to thinking about the workings of the system many had risked their lives to protect. Michael Nacht, Associate Professor of Public Policy, persuaded his classes, with a sure comedic sense of history and statesmanship, that Americans are not as good at thinking small as at thinking big — as in head-to-head with the Soviet Union. To cure that, he split the class in two, half to approach a problem as Israelis, half as Palestinians. It worked. Thomas C. Schelling, Littauer Professor of Political Economy, tried and failed, through no fault of his own, to lead his classes through the intricacies of game theory; four possible choices of action for three parties somehow turned out to involve nine billion possible outcomes. How that happens remains a mystery but it was a useful glimpse of what the world is up against in a nuclear age when the possible outcomes must run into the trillions.

The heavy stuff came from Albert Carnesale, Professor of Public Policy and Academic Dean of the School, counting warheads and launchers, tracing successes and failures at arms-control bargaining tables, making it all seem perhaps desperate but somehow not hopeless, even surrounded by nuclear insiders to whom the phrase “dropping a bomb” comes out as “initiating a lethal occurrence.” A dreary way to spend even part of a summer, perhaps, but, in its curious way, encouraging. On the next to last day, the shooting down of Korean Airliner 007 would shatter the academic curtain that Harvard tried to draw around its Cold Warriors. Within weeks, Pershing II missiles would be operational in Europe; the last arms control conference between the Soviet Union and the United States would break up.

**B**ut the broad net that the faculty had cast over the precarious process of making decisions, the intense detachment with which scholars approach problems, the sense of caution and curiosity that went along with the dedication of the Pentagon contingent made it seem possible that Americans actually can think, not blow, the world out of its predicament.

Asked later how the grim turn the world was taking would affect next summer's program, Robert J. Murray, who took Johnston's place, said drily: “Well, it certainly won't make it any less useful.” And, he added, the school was not likely to run out of new case studies soon. Murray was once Undersecretary of the Navy and later Dean of the Navy War College.

That sense of prudence at the Pentagon showed up best in a Carnesale class where the Cold Warriors had tiptoed through a hypothetical case study searching for a way to preserve the anti-ballistic missile treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. When it was over, Carnesale said: “There's a lesson here on stereotypes. When our regular stu-



*Joseph Nye, Professor of Government, teaching final exercise. The author, in the middle row, is second from right. Martha Stewart*

dents are cast in this case as generals, they say, ‘Great! Burn up the treaty and let's go.’” The JFK security program has been criticized as a cozy session between two elites, one intellectual and the other military, who concentrate on managing tensions rather than making armies and battleships and Defense Conditions 3 (global nuclear alerts) simply disappear.

On the surface, there is something to that. The students in each class are not the only ones deeply involved in defense strategy. Much of the faculty itself has been actively involved in arms control, in the Pentagon, in the White House, either as employees or consultants. Some still consult, to the point where lecturers once or twice had to stop halfway through sentences to avoid blurting out something classified.

Despite the critics — who can hardly be blamed for wanting something more hopeful than tension management — the Harvard program has its priorities right. Building better barriers against the accidental use of weapons, shaping arms-control proposals to squeeze out all incentives to be the first to launch missiles, improving communications to take more of the guesswork out of knowing who is planning to do what to whom is, realistically, the best the world can hope for, at least for now.

There is a more valid criticism. Two weeks a year at the rate of eighty-three students at a clip is not enough. At that rate, it would take 23,000 years or more just to run the Pentagon through. And who know how much longer to get the White House into one of those carpeted amphitheatres? The world probably cannot wait that long.

Perhaps the grandiose Harvard course in avoiding nuclear war will be a shortcut, building on the foundation that has already been put together by Allison and Carnesale and Nye and their colleagues. The entire world would not have to troop through the JFK School to learn the lessons that the national security program can provide. At the risk of writing something positive, this survivor of the class of 1983 will settle for that. □

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# Setting the Record Straight

**S**hortly after the Winter '83 issue of NR was published, the editor received phone calls from two readers, both in dismay after seeing the misinformation contained in the article, "The Demise of the Buffalo Courier-Express," by Donald Hetzner.

Stanford Lipsey, the current publisher and president of The Buffalo News, and Elwood M. Wardlow, managing editor of The Buffalo Evening News, 1969-79, have graciously offered these letters of correction.

The editor regrets this lapse in accuracy and the attendant inconvenience, and wishes to thank both gentlemen for setting the record straight. Their emendations follow.

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STANFORD LIPSEY  
PUBLISHER AND PRESIDENT  
THE BUFFALO NEWS

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**D**onald Hetzner's story on "The Demise of the Buffalo Courier-Express" in the Winter edition of *Nieman Reports* contained a number of inaccuracies that call for correction.

Perhaps the most serious is Mr. Hetzner's statement that "the *News* was making press runs of 250,000 to 300,000 Sunday papers. A hundred thousand or so papers were then distributed through normal channels; then the rest, upward of 100,000 newspapers, were picked up by trucks and sold as scrap paper. Thus, the *News* could claim press runs in the neighborhood of 280,000."

The truth is that *News* press runs totally reflected actual net paid circulation well within the industry norms of allowing for both street sale returns and very limited carrier sampling.

After two weeks of a 280,000 introductory distribution, the December 1977 net press runs averaged 188,369, with net paid circulation averaging 165,726. Absolutely no claims were made for anything beyond those figures. Every week, the publisher of the *News* reported his good faith estimate of net paid circulation.

Mr. Hetzner writes that "rumors regarding the insolvency of the *Courier* and its demise were spread by *News* employees; advertisers were guaranteed that the *Buffalo News* Sunday edition would reach 280,000 western New Yorkers; advertising rates for the newspaper were set unrealistically low; and the price was set at a ridiculously low thirty cents per copy."

While Mr. Hetzner lists in some detail the injunctive order issued by Judge Brieant against the *News*, he fails to report that ruling was unanimously struck down by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals seventeen months later.

The language of that decision serves to correct Mr. Hetzner's errors:

"... There was no evidence that the *News* had disparaged the *Courier* or that its top management had caused or intended to cause dissemination of rumors of the *Courier's* expected demise.

"... It (the *News*) clearly put advertisers on notice that the guarantee (280,000) was for a minimum of four weeks. . . . There is no evidence to support. . . that this was predatory.

"... Advertising rates for the (280,000) guaranteed Sunday were the same as for the previous weekend edition." This meant the rates charged advertisers were the same as they had been paying for essentially comparable circulation since the third quarter of 1977 audit indicated 290,691 circulation for Saturdays.

"... The *Courier's* case that the *News* was engaged in an attempt to monopolize was undercut by. . . inability to find that thirty cents was an unreasonably low price. . . . It was also the same price at which the *Toronto Star* was selling its new Sunday edition."

Mr. Hetzner writes, "There is no doubt the predatory behavior of the *Buffalo News* financially damaged both the *Buffalo News* and the *Courier-Express*." The Court of Appeals made several references specifically rejecting any predatory acts by the *News* including the summary statement: "We likewise see no basis for concluding that the *News* was proposing to engage in predatory acts."

Circulation of the *Sunday News* prior to the closing of the *Courier-Express* was not 157,000, as reported by Mr. Hetzner. ABC audits for the second quarter of 1982 (the last full quarter



before the closing) show 205,177 circulation.

Mr. Hetzner draws other faulty assumptions from his employment as a consultant to the survey firm hired by the *Courier-Express*. But as a journalist, what I find most disturbing about his article is that accurate information was available from a number of sources just for the asking. □

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ELWOOD M. WARDLOW  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR  
AMERICAN PRESS INSTITUTE

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The "Buffalo Case Study" in the Winter edition of *Nieman Reports* is a perfect example of a near-sighted professor trying to find his way through a forest.

In this case the author (History Professor Donald R. Hetzner of the State University College at Buffalo) gets lost. Buffalo and both its newspapers (the defunct *Courier-Express* and the surviving *News*) deserve better.

I don't have the time or patience to prepare the detailed "correction" that should be written to rebut Mr. Hetzner's errors of fact and lack of perspective. I would, however, like to make three points to let NR's readers know there is more to the story:

1. The *News* was more successful than the *Courier* because it was a better paper. Professor Hetzner can wallow in plot theories forever, but he cannot change that fact.

In 1957, the year both newspapers reached their circulation peaks, the *News* sold 298,000 daily and the *Courier* 175,000. Twenty years later both had slipped — the *News* was down 30,000 to 268,000, and the *Courier* was down 50,000 to about 125,000 (and even though the *Courier* had a Sunday monopoly, its Sunday edition was down 43,000 from its peak of 315,000).

In the mid-1970's the patterns were these: Circulation of the *News*, a six-day afternoon paper, exceeded that of the *Courier* by about two-to-one in the city and almost three-to-one in the suburbs; it was one-to-one in the outer areas, where the *News* ran into nine other afternoon dailies.

In relative terms, the *News* pulled away from the *Courier* during those two decades — at a time when most other afternoon metros were beginning to wither (and those publishing only six days were beginning to die).

The reasons have to do with quality of product, of service, and of staff. The *News* was doing the job by any standard of judgment — and particularly in the judgment of Buffalo-area readers.

2. Much is made by Professor Hetzner of "predatory behavior" contributing to the *News*' survival. What he is doing is quoting the *Courier*'s side of an antitrust suit filed late in 1977, after the *News* introduced a Sunday edition. What he obviously regrets is the outcome of that suit. Whereas the initial federal judge issued an injunction tightly restraining the *News* in marketing its Sunday edition, on the theory that it might injure the *Courier*, an appeals court roundly denounced that line of thinking and voided the injunction. The appellate judges felt that "predatory behavior" could not be assumed, and that competition was to be encouraged rather than throttled by the federal courts.

Thereafter the lawsuit became dormant until its dismissal by agreement of both parties in the fall of 1982.

3. If the *News* wasn't predatory, why did it start a Sunday edition that alarmed the *Courier*?

The answer is simple. The *News* started a Sunday edition to assure its own survival. Through the 1970's the paper's profitability eroded rapidly although circulation and ad lineage remained fairly steady. As the indicator edged toward red, it was obvious that something had to be done. A Sunday paper eventually was chosen as the best answer.

Did Buffalo need a second Sunday paper? It seemed so. In assessing other markets with two Sunday papers, we found that combined Sunday circulation averaged 24 percent higher than combined daily circulation. If that fairly uniform pattern held true in Buffalo too, the combined daily circulation of about 390,000 could be projected to a total of 480,000 for the two Sunday papers. Since the *Courier* was selling only 272,000 (underusing the market by about 200,000 copies), that seemed to offer opportunity for the *News*. (The projection was close; 440,000 would have been a better guess.)

Was the advent of the *Sunday News* injurious to the *Courier*? In the first two years of competition the *Courier*'s Sunday circulation slipped only 4 percent, and advertising lineage stayed roughly even; thereafter, although new owners were making great improvements, their efforts were cruelly undercut by the recession and the paper stopped publication in September 1982.

I lived through that time as a managing editor of the *News* from 1969-79. I worked with a truly fine group of newsroom and corporate associates. We thought we were doing a good job, and it never occurred to us that our professional successes would one day be slurred by statisticians imputing unworthy motives or unfair practices. Given our own quest for survival, and that forthright decision of the appellate court, I doubt that any of my associates feels guilt. Nor do I. □





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# The Critical Role of the Press: Issues of Democracy

Anthony Lewis

New and subtle dangers threaten the freedom of the American press.

**W**e are here because, nearly 150 years ago, an American newspaper editor defied a mob. Elijah Parish Lovejoy would not give up his opposition to slavery — or his right to express that belief. He paid with his life. I am honored and touched that Colby College has chosen me to help celebrate the Lovejoy tradition.

What is that tradition? The committee concerned here at Colby speaks of “the Lovejoy heritage of fearlessness and freedom.” But those words convey a different meaning, a different urgency to every generation. There are no mobs hunting abolitionist editors today; the American press is far more established than when Elijah Lovejoy moved his printing press from Missouri to Illinois in search of freedom to publish; judges have built the First Amendment into a house of many rooms. But there are new dangers to freedom, subtler but no less threatening than a lynch mob.

My subject is those new dangers: the challenges that Elijah Lovejoy would confront and resist today. Let me say first that when I speak of freedom of the press, I do not mean freedom for a special, favored class. In my view the First Amendment is not a device to protect the business of publishing or those involved in that institution alone. It is a safeguard for our whole constitutional system.

That was the profound purpose that James Madison saw in the constitutional guarantees of free speech and a free press. Madison was an influential member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and he was the principal author of the First

Amendment and the other nine in the Bill of Rights. When a Federalist Congress in 1798 passed the Sedition Act, making it a crime to publish false statements about political leaders that would bring them into disrepute, Madison protested. The act “ought to produce universal alarm,” he said, “because it is leveled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.”

Think about that phrase: “the right of freely examining public characters and measures.” The language sounds a bit antique, but the idea remains at the heart of the American political culture. Under our republican system of government the people of the United States are its ultimate sovereigns, and they have an essential function in the system: to examine and criticize the work of those who temporarily govern the country.

In other words, more is involved in the First Amendment speech and press clauses than the value of self-expression, important as that is: the right of the soapbox orator or the editor to speak his mind. The working of our political system is involved. For the premise of that system — the Madisonian premise — is that free debate on public issues, however inconvenient it may be for the ruler of the day, improves public policy. Judge Learned Hand put it: The First Amendment “presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all.”

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*Anthony Lewis, Nieman Fellow '57, is a syndicated columnist of The New York Times and a Lecturer on Law at Harvard University. Last November he was named the 31st recipient of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award of Colby College in Maine. The text of his acceptance speech is above.*



**A** great Supreme Court decision of modern times, familiar to us all, really made the point about the larger significance of First Amendment freedoms, though not everyone has so understood it. I refer to *New York Times v. Sullivan*, the leading libel case decided in 1964. The Court held that the Constitution barred a public official from recovering libel damages for a false statement about him unless he could prove that the statement was made with knowledge of its falsity or

in reckless disregard of the truth. The press has often treated that decision as *its* victory. But it was much more than that. Justice Brennan, writing for the Court, quoted Madison on the essential role of free public discussion in a democratic society. He noted that public officials are immune from libel suits for what they say in the course of their duties. The same must be true, he said, for "the citizen-critic of government: It is as much his duty to criticize as it is the official's duty to administer." Madison's premise still applies.

If the fundamental freedom involved in these issues is that of the people at large, as I believe, not of reporters and editors and publishers as a special class, how should we in the business see ourselves? What is our role in the Madisonian system? I think the best modern answer was given by another member of the present Supreme Court, Justice Powell. In our free society, he said, "public debate must not only be unfettered; it must also be informed." And "an informed public depends on accurate and effective reporting by the news media. No individual can obtain for himself the information needed for the intelligent discharge of his political responsibilities. For most citizens the prospect of personal familiarity with newsworthy events is hopelessly unrealistic. In seeking out the news the press therefore acts as an agent of the public at large. . . . By enabling the public to assert meaningful control over the political process, the press performs a crucial function in effecting the societal purpose of the First Amendment."

Notice that Justice Powell talks about the importance of the press in obtaining information for the public: that is to say, facts about public issues. That may seem obvious to us today, but it is a great change from the past. In Elijah Lovejoy's day, and really for a hundred years after, the struggles over freedom of speech and press turned on the right to express opinions. Lovejoy and hundreds of others were persecuted for beliefs that were considered subversive by authority or that offended the prejudices of the mob. The early Supreme Court cases on freedom of speech, the ones that called forth the transforming dissents of Holmes and Brandeis, were all tests of the right to argue unpopular beliefs: socialism, the religious ideas of the Jehovah's Witnesses and so on. The Supreme Court and the rest of us gradually came to understand the First Amendment as assuring freedom for the crankiest, the most irritating opinion: as Holmes said, "freedom for the thought that we hate."

Today the issue is facts, and that battle is far from won. Reporters and editors who try to provide our sovereign citizens with the information needed to understand and control public policy face menacing obstacles. Two are particularly serious, and I think are growing worse. They are the threat of libel suits and the fanatical effort of the present United States Government to censor information about its most important policies. I list those two threats to freedom of the press in ascending order of danger.

**L**ibel first. It is a battle that seemed to have been won for freedom nearly twenty years ago, when *New York Times v. Sullivan* was decided. This country, Justice Brennan said,

has "a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials." But the way libel cases have been going lately is certainly inhibiting the American press.

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## The libel burden may affect not only the press but local citizens expressing their minds.

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*The Wall Street Journal* recently described the effect of a single libel suit today on the paper that Elijah Lovejoy founded: the *Alton, Illinois, Telegraph*. In 1969 two *Telegraph* reporters got a tip that underworld money was going to a local builder. They wrote a memorandum to a Justice Department investigator in an effort to check the story. The local builder sued for libel in the memo, which he said had led Federal officials to cut off his credit — the memo only, I emphasize, because the *Telegraph* never published a story on the matter. A local jury awarded the builder \$9.2 million in damages. In order to appeal, the paper was required by Illinois law to put up a bond of more than \$10 million. It entered bankruptcy proceedings. An Illinois appellate court then refused to hear the appeal, saying the case belonged in bankruptcy court. Last year the *Telegraph* settled for \$1.4 million.

The headline at the top of *The Wall Street Journal* story was "Chilling Effect." The story said the *Alton Telegraph* had just about stopped looking into wrongdoing by officials — and the *Telegraph* is a paper whose investigative work once led to the resignation of two Illinois Supreme Court justices. Inside the paper, there are all kinds of cautionary rules to ward off heavy libel damages in future. Reporters check with editors before writing letters; reporters' notes are kept to a minimum and often destroyed, to prevent their use by libel plaintiffs. When someone called recently and said there was misconduct going on in a sheriff's office, the editor decided against investigating the story. "Let someone else stick their neck out this time," he said.

I do not need to tell you that the chilling effect of libel suits is not limited these days to the *Alton Telegraph*. It has affected many press enterprises, small and large, print and broadcast. *The Milkweed*, a tiny monthly that reports on the milk industry in Madison, Wisconsin, was sued for \$20 million by a milk cooperative for publishing a story, based on government files, about the coop's finances. *The Milkweed* is a one-man operation — Peter Hardin is the owner and one-man staff. It took much of his income and months of his life to fight that suit. He won, but at a terrible cost. The libel burden may affect

not only the press but local citizens expressing their minds, as a case here in Maine has just shown. Three couples in Cape Elizabeth wrote a letter to the police chief complaining that a policeman who was their neighbor had threatened their children and showed a violent temper were sued by the policeman for libel. Last month a jury awarded the policeman \$52,300 in damages for that citizens' letter.

At the other end of the scale there is General Westmoreland's \$120 million suit against CBS over a program charging that he and his staff juggled figures on enemy infiltration during the Vietnam War to make things look better than they were. The costs of that suit are going to be in the millions, whoever wins. And the potential damages are surely inhibiting, even to an enterprise as large as CBS. I have often wondered where

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Every aspect of that war [Vietnam]  
was and is the subject of bitter  
political debate.

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libel plaintiffs get those enormous figures in the damages they claim to have suffered. I had a chance recently to ask General Westmoreland's lawyer, Dan Burt, where the \$120 million had come from. He said he figured that there were 40 million viewers of the program, and if it were a regular movie they might have paid \$3 each.

The more serious point about the Westmoreland suit is the issue of fact to be decided: What were the correct infiltration statistics in the Vietnam War, and were they juggled. I ask myself — I ask you — what such an issue is doing in a courtroom. Should a jury be deciding "the truth" about Vietnam? Every aspect of that war was and is the subject of bitter political debate. In my judgment there is no discrete "truth" to be found by a jury. Under our system — our Madisonian system — such issues are to be decided politically, not by a legal process that may, that almost certainly will, discourage critical debate.

Journalists, like other groups, tend to exaggerate their problems. When they say the First Amendment is crumbling, as they sometimes do, I am skeptical. But I think there is reason for concern about the trend of libel cases these days: the outlandish damages claimed and often awarded by juries, the burdensome cost of defending against the most worthless claim. And now there is doubt about the continuing availability of what has been the last essential protection against outrageous libel judgments: strict review of those judgments by judges of higher courts. The Supreme Court has just heard arguments in a case in which a libel plaintiff maintains that appellate judges should have no power to overturn what he won in the trial court unless it is "clearly erroneous." He won at trial on what I regard as a far-fetched claim, with no showing of any

actual injury. If he wins in the Supreme Court, the victory that freedom appeared to have won in *New York Times v. Sullivan* will have been undone. It is serious.

But the more serious threat to freedom, the one that should concern us urgently as journalists and citizens, is the secrecy campaign being carried on by President Reagan and his Administration. I use the word campaign deliberately. We are all aware that in the last three years the Federal Government has taken steps to increase secrecy. But I am convinced that they are more than isolated steps. They reflect a methodical, consistent and relentless effort to close off the sources of public knowledge on basic questions of national policy: to upset the Madisonian premise that American citizens must be able to examine public characters and measures.

We have a dramatic example at hand: the exclusion of the press from the invasion of Grenada. I make no point here of some special privilege for reporters; I do not believe in that. The point, rather, is the one made by Justice Powell: that in the modern world the public necessarily relies on the press to find out what is going on. To keep reporters away from Grenada was to keep the public ignorant, and that was exactly the idea. Moreover, it worked. This is not the place to argue the merits of the invasion, the need for it. But the Reagan Administration was able for a week to control most of the facts bearing on those questions, to assure that during that crucial period the public heard only its version of events — and formed a lasting judgment on that basis. And so we heard that U.S. forces were bombing and shelling with surgical precision and thus had avoided causing civilian casualties — only to learn at the end of a week that a mental hospital had been bombed. We were told by the admiral in charge, Wesley McDonald, that there were at least 1,100 Cubans on Grenada, all "well-trained professional soldiers"; at the end of the week the State Department agreed with the Cuban Government's estimate that fewer than 800 of its nationals were on Grenada — and said only about 100 were "combatants." President Reagan said that the Soviet Union had "assisted and encouraged the violence" in Grenada, the bloody *coup*, but there is simply no evidence of such a Soviet role.

I take those few examples from many in an important story by Stuart Taylor Jr. in *The New York Times* of Sunday, November 6. It filled a full page inside the paper — I wondered myself why it was not on page 1 — with careful, meticulous reporting of the inaccurate and unproven statements made by Administration officials during the Grenada operation, and of the facts concealed. But will public awareness ever catch up with the truth? I doubt it. The reporter who has covered Ronald Reagan longer than anyone, and with a good deal of sympathy, Lou Cannon of *The Washington Post*, wrote:

"Reagan & Company believe that they won a pair of glorious victories on the beaches of Grenada two weeks ago. The first was the defeat of the ragtag Grenadian army and band of armed Cuban laborers. The second was the rout of the U.S. media. Reagan's advisers are convinced that the media are vir-

tually devoid of public support in their protests of both the news blackout of the invasion and the misleading statements made about it."

Yes, indeed. The President and his men have good reason to feel that way. Anyone in the press who thought the public loved all of us and our business — and you would have to have been pretty silly to think that — must have been disabused in the Grenada affair. John Chancellor said his mail was running 10 to 1 against the protests that he voiced against the exclusion of reporters, and I think that was not untypical. Standing up for the proposition that the press has a right — no, a duty — to examine the officially-stated premises of a war is not going to be easy. But then it was not easy for Elijah Lovejoy to stand up to the mob in Alton, Illinois.

I do not mean to put overwhelming emphasis on Grenada. It is part of a pattern whose significance is much greater as a whole. For example, President Reagan's preference for secret wars is not limited to Grenada. He is encouraging and financing one against Nicaragua, and doggedly resisting Congressional efforts to end the covert character of that war. We have learned lately that he has also undertaken a secret military plan of significance in the Middle East: to finance a special forces unit in Jordan that would deal with trouble throughout the region.

Secrecy in government more generally has been an objective of the Administration from the day it took office. The President, by executive order, has broadened the system for classifying documents; under the new rules and attitudes thousands of documents of the 1950's are being withheld from historians. The Energy Department is proposing to punish the disclosure of all kinds of *unclassified* information related to nuclear energy — some of it, such as plans to dispose of nuclear waste, information that has been and should be subject to public debate. The Administration has greatly weakened the Freedom of Information Act by bureaucratic devices in administering it. By executive decisions it has kept Americans from traveling to Cuba and protected us from the dangerous opinions of such would-be visitors as the Rev. Ian Paisley of Northern Ireland and Salvador Allende's widow.

**B**ut the most important single action by President Reagan to insulate the government from informed criticism was his order last March imposing on more than 100,000 top officials in government a lifetime censorship system that would make them, even after leaving government service, submit for clearance substantially everything they want to write or say on national security issues: books, articles for newspaper Op Ed pages, even fiction. Before Cyrus Vance or Henry Kissinger could write about a disaster in Lebanon or an invasion of Grenada, he would have to submit to censorship — very possibly by officials of a politically different Administration.

The practical consequences of such a censorship system would be forbidding. The C.I.A., with a much narrower system focused on a single agency, has had a burden clearing manuscripts and has often been accused of delays and arbitrariness. How will it work when not one but many different agencies

## ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY



**B**orn in Albion, Maine, and a 1826 graduate of Colby College, Elijah Parish Lovejoy was an editor who crusaded against slavery. He published strong anti-slavery views in the *Observer*, a weekly in St. Louis, and continued his crusading journalism in Alton, Illinois, where mobs destroyed three of his presses.

Lovejoy was killed the day before his thirty-fifth birthday while guarding another new press; he is considered to be the first martyr to freedom of the press in the United States. In his life and in his death, he helped to advance the cause of abolition in the North.

To honor and preserve the memory of Elijah Parish Lovejoy, since 1952 Colby College has annually selected a member of the news profession to receive the Lovejoy Award. The recipient may be an editor, reporter, or publisher whose integrity, professional skill, and character have, in the opinion of the judges, contributed to the country's journalistic achievement.

The thirty-one previous recipients of the award include six Nieman alumni:

1953 — Irving Dilliard, NF '39, editorial page editor, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

1959 — Clark R. Mollenhoff, NF '50, reporter, Cowles Publications, Washington, D.C.

1963 — Louis M. Lyons, NF '39, Curator, Nieman Foundation

1967 Edwin Lahey, NF '39, chief correspondent, Knight Newspapers, Inc., Washington, D.C.

1978 — Clayton Kirkpatrick, editor, *The Chicago Tribune*, and Jack Landau, NF '68, director, Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

1983 — Anthony Lewis, NF '57, syndicated columnist, *The New York Times*; Lecturer on Law, Harvard University.

(Positions listed are those held at the time of the individual's selection for the award.) Lovejoy Selection Committee Emeriti Members include Dwight E. Sargent, NF '51, and John Hughes, NF '62. □



are involved in looking over the same proposed article or book? When a daily newspaper is waiting for a timely piece? What professors or journalists will be interested in a few years of government service — that traditional and useful American role of the in-and-outer in government — if the result would be to tie them forever to a requirement that they submit much of their work to censors before anyone else could see it?

You might think that such concerns would be on the minds of the Federal officials planning this massive censorship structure, but I do not think they are: not at all. The planners of the Reagan censorship will be entirely content if former officials are effectively unable to write for *The New York Times* or *The Boston Globe*, if manuscripts are tied up for years in a censorship labyrinth, if independent-minded men and women are dis-

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### Where is the legal authority for the President of the United States to impose a lifetime censorship system on officials apart from Congressional statutes?

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couraged from going into public service. They *want* to reduce public discussion of national security issues, and they are focused on that aim with fanatical purpose. They want the power to decide those issues themselves, in secret.

Notice something about the secrecy measures I have mentioned: Every one of them was taken without asking Congress for legislation. Where is the legal authority for the President of the United States to impose a lifetime censorship system on officials apart from Congressional statutes? In my opinion there is none. Why didn't this President ask Congress for such a system if it was urgently needed? The answer is evident: He knew he could not demonstrate the need, and he knew Congress would say "no" to the idea. And the same evasion of Congress is there in so many other instances: the covert war on Nicaragua, the use of bureaucratic devices to cripple the Freedom of Information Act, the refusal to invoke the War Powers Act in Lebanon or Grenada. That consistent practice — the attempt to exercise power by Executive action — shows again that more is at stake here than freedom of the press. The integrity of our constitutional system is at stake.

What can we do about the campaign for secrecy in government? There is a tendency in liberal America, and I am not immune from it, to look to the courts to save us from dangers to liberty. But in this situation it would be folly to rely on judges. The reason is simple. The Reagan Administration's secrecy measures are cloaked in claimed needs of national secur-

ity, and judges are extremely reluctant to take a hard look at such claims. The Supreme Court, for example, told by the Executive that Philip Agee, a C.I.A. renegade, was threatening the country by his speech-making abroad, upheld the revocation of his passport in an opinion saying that Mr. Agee was not engaged in "speech." Where there is talk of "national security," we cannot expect the Supreme Court to do much for the First Amendment — and even less if there is a second Reagan Administration and Justices William Clark and William French Smith join the bench.

Some lawsuits are unavoidable. But the press should certainly not rush into them with any great confidence in this area — not, for example, try to bring a test case challenging the exclusion of reporters from Grenada: an idea that I have heard is under discussion and that I think would fail disastrously.

What else, then? I think there is no alternative to fighting the threat of repression in the arena of Congress and public opinion. And despite the public's skepticism about the press these days, I believe there is hope in such a battle. The Senate, a Republican Senate, has recently adopted an amendment barring implementation of the lifetime censorship order until next April 15, while Congress studies it. There is a concern, a sensitivity that can be reached — *if*. The *if*, in my judgment, is a convincing demonstration that what is involved is not just a fight between the press and the rest of the country, a fight between Us and Them, but is a struggle to preserve the rights of all citizens in a democracy.

The press has not always been effective or even adequately concerned about issues of democracy when its own ox is not being gored. You may see bigger headlines when a newspaper loses a case in the Supreme Court than when the President issues a sweeping order designed to impose on government a system of prior restraint just like the English press licensing system that the Framers of our Constitution thought they were excluding forever from this country. To my astonishment, a columnist in *The Wall Street Journal* actually welcomed the Reagan censorship order as "a fine idea."

But I think editors and reporters mostly now do understand that freedom is indivisible, that the press weakens its own safety if it cares only about itself or separates itself from the public interest in free and informed debate. A complicated and deadly serious challenge faces those today who would follow the example of Elijah Parish Lovejoy. □



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(see page 16)





# Press-Military Relations

Jack Foisie

Compatibility between correspondents and the military and naval brass during World War II was a mutually useful tie. Today it is polarized.

Excluding the American press from accompanying American soldiers, sailors and marines into action in Grenada has caused the expectable flap. Is the presence of war correspondents a democratic requirement during the initial phase of a military operation? Is first-wave reporting essential to the maintenance of America's free press?

The decision to impose a news blackout, other than reports from the military commanders themselves during the first two days of Grenada action, has since been debated by many people. According to a *Los Angeles Times* national poll, the American public has — after the fact — supported, or at least condoned, the unprecedented White House decision to manage the news for 48 hours in a military operation of major political (if apparently minor military) importance. But those queried in the same scientific sampling opposed by a 2-1 margin the Reagan Administration's announced intention of making the news blackout a precedent for future combat operations.

Many questions are raised by this issue, among them the present state of American journalism in both printed and televised form, and the hazards of reporting the news under the lenient provisions of the First Amendment. The American press is being accused of growing arrogance. There is said to be an increasing distrust of our output by the reading and viewing public. Are we less responsible than in yesteryears?

Having been overseas for *The Los Angeles Times* now for almost twenty years, except for brief (and delightful) exposure to the home front during periodic leaves, I prefer to leave to others more qualified the analysis of where American newspaper, radio, and television ethics and performance stand today. What I am concerned about, and have some working knowledge of, is how the attitude of the military toward the press has changed since, say, World War II.

In that massive conflict, a fairly large pool of reporters was

considered a burdensome but acceptable adjunct on beachhead invasions and bombing strikes and aboard warships. General Mark W. Clark, the Fifth Army commander in Italy, personally briefed correspondents in detail before an attack and then ordered his corps and division commanders to make sure that reporters viewed all the frontline action they wanted. (General Clark was not shy about personal publicity, either; he had his head telegraphers insert "General Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army" into the dateline of the correspondents' otherwise tight cable-lease.)

There was censorship, of course, during World War II, but it meant that giving correspondents advance knowledge of an operation, so they could position themselves for the action, involved no security risk.

But for other reasons as well, correspondents were usually accepted and sometimes sought after. Generals came to sense that a reporter's presence could buoy troop morale or at least provide a bit of laughter. How often has an incredulous GI said to a correspondent, who suddenly appeared in his position close to the enemy, "You mean you *want* to be here?"

Ernie Pyle altered war reporting by writing more about GIs than generals. He became such a morale builder in the European Theater of Operations (and on the home front, also, for his columns gave readers a better understanding of a soldier's life in combat) that the Navy practically kidnapped him to the Pacific to write about sailors and marines. Pyle was killed in the Pacific from a sniper's bullet. It is the risk of the job.

During the Korean War, most commanders still accepted the necessity of war correspondents. Although General Douglas MacArthur's early experiment with "voluntary censorship" proved to be unworkable, the formal censorship which followed made the military-press relationship more cooperative.

At the risk of being drummed out of the correspondents' fraternity, I believe a degree of censorship always is acceptable in wartime, even preferred. It shifts the judgment for "not endangering lives" to military professionals; it gives all correspondents an even start in this competitive business; and it makes troop commanders a lot more ready to talk candidly

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*Jack Foisie, Nieman Fellow '47, is Johannesburg correspondent for The Los Angeles Times in South Africa.*

to newsmen.

Where the workable relationship between reporters and the military began to sour was in Vietnam. It serves no purpose now to rehash arguments about whether the war could have been won, nor to debate how much blame should be assessed to the press for contributing to the home front discontent which eventually made it politically necessary to get out of Vietnam.

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## Ernie Pyle altered war reporting by writing more about GIs than generals.

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A number of factors, however they came into focus, opened up monumental distrust between the military and the press in Vietnam. Formal censorship may have solved some of the problems from the military's point of view. But General William Westmoreland didn't believe it was practical because the censoring would have had to be done by the South Vietnamese to maintain the facade that the Saigon government was still in charge.

The advent of television coverage was another factor. Even if the cameras were only on the fringe of battle, it was the first time in war reporting that combat, with all its horror and hardness, was brought into American homes each evening. Adding to the public's distrust was a decision, made by an impatient President Lyndon Johnson and equally impatient Pentagon generals, to use body counts as a yardstick for measuring progress in the war. Since wars basically are won by occupying enemy territory, the numbers game was patently false. Daily reports were often manipulated as they went through channels.

Even the initial figures taken from platoon commanders gathered in a dugout at dusk were often fiction — what infantryman counts bodies during a fire fight? But realistic reporting of the body-count fallacy and other issues which arose during the Vietnam conflict came to be considered negative and unpatriotic by the high command.

The Korean War ended as a stalemate. The Vietnam War was a defeat, and those who commanded and fought it stubbornly and bravely were bitter over the death of good men for naught. Somehow the press became a scapegoat-of-sorts. That seems to be the origin of present-day distrust as far as war-reporting goes.

Some majors and young colonels of Vietnam are now in major command positions. General John Vessey, now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is reported to have said to the President before the Grenada invasion: "If I do this, I'm not taking the press with me," according to Richard Beal, a National Security Council staff member. "We had too many problems with the press in Vietnam," he quotes Vessey as saying.

A total exclusion of the press in the initial phase of the Grenada operation was, in my opinion, a mistake. Press pools, in which only a few reporters and television crews go to represent — and report back to — the many colleagues left behind, is never a desirable alternative to full press coverage. But a pool arrangement would have been a suitable compromise in Grenada.

It is heartening to hear that Winant Sidle, who as a brigadier general was by far the most effective of a succession of army press chiefs in Saigon, has been brought out of retirement to recommend a proper press policy to the Pentagon. For whatever the imperfections of a free American press (and the imperfections are many) and of the conduct of any military operation, the fact remains that members of the military and civilian correspondents have complemented each other very well in the past. I hope the rapport, tempered, of course by healthy skepticism, can be re-established. □

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# The First Lady of Greece and Women's Rights

Jan Stucker

Social change and acceptance of the new order still are in the infancy stage.

**I**n the village of Agiassos on the ancient Greek isle of Lesbos, about thirty women crowded into a back room at the local art museum. A tall, blond woman, speaking fluent Greek, welcomed the village women and thanked them for coming. It was a feminist consciousness-raising session, American-style, and leading the discussion was Margaret Papandreou, the American-born First Lady of Greece.

Several hundred women, their husbands, and their children turned out on the cobblestone streets of the picturesque village to greet Mrs. Papandreou when she recently visited the town to establish a chapter of the Women's Union. Her presence convinced them all to attend a family planning meeting in the town's only amphitheater. The omnipresent "worry beads," used by Greek men and women alike to lessen tension and stress, clicked noisily during the session, conducted by Mrs. Papandreou and a female gynecologist from Athens. "Many Greek men don't want their wives to learn about birth control," Mrs. Papandreou said later. "They are afraid it will give the wives too much freedom."

In the whitewashed houses and the fertile fields, where donkeys are still used for transportation and farm work, changes in the role of women come slowly. Most (80 percent) of the 14 percent of Greeks who are illiterate are women. Many women never leave the villages of their birth.

"I spend most of my time visiting the rural areas," said Mrs. Papandreou. "I try to get the rural women to do most of the talking. There is a great deal of uncertainty among them whether they can actually *do* anything. When they tell me they



*Andreas Papandreou and his wife, Margaret, at their home in Athens, Greece, shortly after learning of his political victory in the general elections, October 1981.* AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

have to get permission from their husbands to come — and they always do — I feign surprise. I ask why. At the meeting in Agiassos, a middle-aged woman answered, 'Because we're oppressed.'"

The women's liberation movement in Greece, launched by Mrs. Papandreou and other feminists just ten years ago after the overthrow of the military *junta*, is getting considerable help from high places. Illinois-born Mrs. Papandreou, 60, wife of Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and co-founder of one of the largest feminist organizations in the nation, is using her position and influence to try to improve the lot of women in her adopted country.

"When people ask where I get the energy," she says, "I answer that it's the motivation."

Her husband Andreas, 64, a former American citizen who came to power attacking the United States, won a stunning election victory in October 1981, as the standard-bearer for PASOK, the Panhellenic Socialist Party. Promising sweeping changes, including radical measures that would take Greece out of the Western Alliance, Papandreou captured 48 percent of the vote. Women voted overwhelmingly for him. Now the Papandreous say they are trying to fulfill campaign promises to female voters. In a traditionally patriarchal country where few women worked outside the home until recently, the First Couple have their work cut out for them.

The Papandreou Administration began by introducing legislation. In the past two and a half years:

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*Jan Collins Stucker, Nieman Fellow '80, is editor of Business & Economic Review, a quarterly journal published by the University of South Carolina College of Business. She also is a free-lance writer.*

*At the invitation of the Greek government, she visited Greece in October with eleven other American women journalists to see what progress has been made on women's rights in that country.*

• The equivalent of the Equal Rights Amendment was signed into law;

• The institution of civil marriage was established for the first time;

• The United Nations International Convention on the abolition of all forms of discrimination against women was approved by the Greek Parliament;

• For the first time, Greek women farmers (whether heads of households or just members of farming families), were awarded a small pension (\$40 per year);

• Adultery was deleted from the list of penal offenses;

• The Family Law of Greece, which formerly was tilted almost totally in favor of the male, was revised drastically. Under the new law, the dowry was abolished; wives and husbands equally decide all matters concerning their marital and family life; the woman must keep her maiden name when she marries; the man no longer bears alone the financial responsibilities of marriage; in cases of divorce, the courts decide on custody of children according to their best interests. (Under the old law, in a no-fault divorce, children under the age of 10 were awarded to the mother, but after age 10, the father was given custody of the son.)

In addition, the post of Special Adviser to the Prime Minister on Women's Problems was created, and was filled by Sue Antoniou, an Athens lawyer. In March 1983, the first Government Department was set up for the promotion of equality of the sexes, a nine-member commission called the Council for the Equality of the Sexes.

Free family planning programs are being established in cities and towns throughout Greece. More than 180 state-operated child care centers have been opened. Classes teaching adults, especially older women, how to read and write have been started throughout the country. (To make sure the husbands in rural areas permit their wives to attend, however, the classes usually are billed as "sewing and knitting" instruction. Reading and writing, plus discussions about equality of the sexes, are slipped in.)

Still, the majority of these changes are statutory only and largely symbolic. Social change and acceptance of the new order still are in the infancy stage, particularly in the countryside. That's why Mrs. Papandreou spends months each year traveling throughout Greece, lending her name and popularity to the feminist cause and thereby trying to hasten its acceptance.

"I have great faith in Greek women," Mrs. Papandreou said. "When they are strong, they are really strong." But not everyone is enthusiastic about the outspoken First Lady. "She may speak Greek," a woman lawyer from Athens confided to reporters during a private dinner at a local restaurant. "But she is not Greek. She can't really understand our problems, the problems of Greek women, and I sometimes resent her speaking for me." The woman gave no particulars for her complaint.

Backlash from the political right against the feminist lobby is said to be building, too. To date, Prime Minister Papandreou's Socialist Party (PASOK) has supported the changes doggedly, spurred on by the First Lady's well-publicized activities, the presence of 20 women (6 percent) in Parliament, and the ap-

pointment of three women to high-ranking cabinet posts, including actress Melina Mercouri. "They think there is political gain in doing things now for women," said Mrs. Papandreou. But the rightist elements apparently are ready to move against the feminist changes if public support wanes and the time seems appropriate.

For her part, Mrs. Papandreou has always been a political activist, first in her hometown of Elmhurst, Illinois (where her father was a mechanic and her grandfather once ran for the State Senate on the Socialist ticket), later at the University of Minnesota, where she majored in journalism, edited the school newspaper, and was active in the Democratic Farm-Labor Party. She kept up her political activities after graduation, going door-to-door canvassing in 1946 to help Hubert Humphrey become mayor of Minneapolis.

In 1948, Margaret Chant met Andreas Papandreou, then an expatriate Greek economist, in the waiting room of a dentist's office in Minneapolis. They were married in 1951, and lived in the United States for eight years after their wedding. They and their four children spent a year in Athens in 1959 when Andreas, who was teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, won a Fulbright fellowship. His enthusiasm for his native land was reawakened, and the family returned permanently in 1963. Imprisoned for eight months in 1967 by the military *junta*, Papandreou later was exiled to Sweden and then to Canada. He and his family returned to Greece when democracy was restored in 1974.

Since then, Margaret Papandreou has been as determined about her causes as her husband is about his. She co-founded the Women's Union of Greece, a women's rights organization, in 1975. Today it is the largest such group in Greece, with 15,000 members and 135 chapters throughout the country. She is especially active in the countryside of Greece, where "Greek women are just coming out of the Middle Ages," according to Eleni Arnopoulos-Stamiris, director of the Mediterranean Women's Studies Institute in Athens.

Mrs. Papandreou recently visited the village of Petra, where the first all-women agro-tourist cooperative in Greece has been established. The Greek government, which is directing the project, sends teachers to help the farm wives learn English and provides money to paint and refurbish tourist homes. The women, all farmers' wives, have legally incorporated to rent rooms in their houses to tourists who come to enjoy the vast olive groves, shady pine woods, sandy beaches, and picturesque monasteries of Lesbos. But unlike previous years, when most of the "bed and breakfast" profits went to the man of the house — even though it was the women who always looked after the tourists — now the money will go directly to the women. Mrs. Papandreou asked the women what they planned to do with the money they earn. Buy furniture and clothes and do some traveling, they replied, many hoping to take trips for the first time ever outside Greece.

Still, feminists say despite signs of change in Greece, the role of women has not essentially changed. "A woman must still prepare dinner every night even if she is the main breadwinner," sighs Sue Antoniou, the Special Adviser on Women. □



# Passengers On A Train

Peggy Simpson

## Afrikaners and the new constitution

**J**OHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA — The Afrikaners on the 25-hour train trip from Cape Town to Johannesburg talked readily to an American tourist about the impact of the new constitution which white voters so resoundingly approved in late November.

Their conclusion: It would provide a better deal for Indians and "coloureds" of mixed race; it would strengthen the government's hand in removing blacks from cities — and from South African citizenship, entirely; and the white world would remain much the same, thank you.

The referendum on the constitution was still a hot political topic at the time of this early December train ride, soon after its unexpectedly high margin of approval by white voters. The results dominated the news. (*The Sunday Times* praised it as a significant and positive reform; *The Express* condemned it as an unmistakable ratification of racial separation and apartheid.) The subject sparked intense debate at most gatherings.

For the ruling National Party and Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha, it was an enormous victory, one that not only revealed the Afrikaner ultra-rightists as less potent than thought but which highlighted splits within the bloc of presumably more "liberal" English whites as well.

The Afrikaners on the train were pleased by the result, and then some.

"We got a big margin and that's good," said a 77-year-old Afrikaner grandmother returning home after visiting a daughter in Cape Town. "It will mean an improvement for the Indians and the coloureds," who will be considered full citizens for the first time, gaining representation in Parliament with the creation of two additional (but separate from the white) chambers of government.



As the grandmother talked on, reminiscing about an Indian girl she played with as a child ("We ate out of the same picnic basket; we went to the parks together. . . She was the daughter of my mother's maid."), she never once mentioned the referendum's impact on blacks, who comprise nearly two-thirds of South Africa's population but cannot vote, own land, live outside of black-designated areas, or travel freely.

Several hours into the trip, the visitor again brought up the issue of the referendum and this time asked the elderly Afrikaner to assess its effect on blacks.

"Oh, we won't be dealing with them any more," she said. "They won't be with us any more. They'll be in their own countries."

She said this matter of factly, with no trace of either malevolence or glee. She accepts on faith that that Botha can and will carry out his plan to strip South African citizenship from the vast majority of blacks and declare them citizens, instead, of 11 separate "independent" nations being carved out of 13 percent of the country's land.

South Africa is the only country in the world that recognizes the four, of the planned 11, homelands that have been declared independent nations so far.

Blacks remain not only without a vote but with no mechanism for an arms-length voting representation under the new constitution. Although some Botha supporters alluded to a "secret agenda" by which the lives of the three million urban blacks would be improved under the new constitution, liberal whites campaigning against it predict that a new and harsher era of apartheid has begun.

On the train, the elderly Afrikaner appeared anxious to demonstrate to the outsider that the new system would be a big step forward for the country's minorities — but to do that, she had to exclude blacks from that definition. Otherwise, the numbers don't work: The whites would be overwhelmed by any semblance of a parliamentary system based on "one person, one vote." She was sure Botha would make the new system work out well.

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Two other Afrikaner women sharing the train compartment were less sanguine. The issue of blacks and their role in today's South African society brought out unconcealed hostilities. An hour out of Johannesburg, a tall, dark-haired 35-year-old mother of five pointed out the gold mine in the distance where her husband worked, and then the town where she and most

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## Few whites have enough substantive contact with blacks to measure their hostility to the referendum vote.

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mining families live. With considerable bitterness, she told the visitor that the government subsidized "five bus lines to Johannesburg for the blacks but not one for the whites."

Asked why, since whites presumably had far more political clout than the non-voting blacks, the government had not been persuaded to start a bus line for whites, the woman simply shrugged.

The elderly Afrikaner interrupted, intent on soothing over the emotional storm so the American wouldn't get the wrong idea, suggesting gently, "Isn't it, probably, that the whites mostly have cars and that they could easily get rides with each other so they don't need the buses?"

The younger woman grudgingly agreed, but, supported by a third Afrikaner in her late 20's who did not speak English, made plain that she felt lower-middle-class whites were suffering unduly because of money spent on blacks.

In an outburst reminiscent of resentful comments during the civil rights revolution in the United States over the past two decades, the Afrikaner mother said, "The government gives everything to the blacks. You should see their houses. They're better than ours lots of times."

Such is the stuff of white resistance in South Africa: Blind faith among many that Botha can protect them from black encroachment, physically, economically, and politically, but with some whites already up in arms at concessions recently made to the estimated three million blacks living in black townships near such white cities as Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg.

Few whites have enough substantive contact with blacks to measure their hostility to the referendum vote or hear blacks' caustic condemnations of white liberals. Blacks contend liberal whites who supported the referendum did so not because they saw it as a beginning reform but because it was a way to hold onto their privileges as long as they can.

Some blacks say President Reagan is a dirty word in their communities — even more so since he became the only world leader to praise the results of the referendum; other Western heads of state said they would wait to see what reforms actually

transpired. But the Afrikaners on the train praised Reagan and applauded his invasion of Grenada.

"He had to attack those Cubans before they spread Communism everywhere else," the 77-year-old Afrikaner said.

Some Afrikaner newspapers have editorialized that Reagan's Grenada raid is a boon to South Africa, giving Botha more room to step up attacks on anti-Botha guerrillas based in neighboring countries without fear of moralistic sermons from the United States.

Only one Afrikaner encountered during the long train trip expressed any qualms about whether the new constitutional experiment would work; he seemed bothered it might not be equitable. (No blacks, coloureds or Indians were permitted in the whites-only portion of the train or its dining cars.) This man, a tall, lanky, 30-year-old civil engineer, stood in the aisles soaking up the dramatic scenery from the famous vineyards outside Cape Town to the desolate, arid tableland of the Karroo, and the gold mines outside Johannesburg. During hours of conversation over bottles of wine, breakfast in the dining car, and much shared landscape-gazing, the engineer described himself as a moderate — a stalwart supporter of Botha's Nationalist Party. He contrasted himself to the "radical liberals" he said wanted a "one man, one vote" change for blacks and to the old-line Afrikaners, such as his father, who opposed the referendum because it cracked the pure white supremacy position by enfranchising Indians and coloureds.

The engineer, nevertheless, was somewhat troubled, he told the outsider. He worried that the constitution didn't make a start toward some semblance of political representation for blacks, which he thought had to happen, someday. His boss, however, had called him in to make sure he was voting "yes" on the referendum, stressing how it would be best for the country — and how much business it would mean for the company. His company has government contracts to upgrade facilities in black townships — for instance, to bring electricity to the million black residents of Soweto, outside of Johannesburg, in an improvement that began after the Soweto student riots of 1976. His father vehemently opposed this spending of government money on blacks, the engineer added. The company also is building a new black township outside of Cape Town where the government plans to relocate more than 35,000 blacks it will oust from their jerrybuilt town of Crossroads, where shacks are fashioned out of not just tin and plywood, but, increasingly, out of sky-blue sheets of plastic. Periodically, the government sends bulldozers at dawn into Crossroads to rip apart the flimsy structures, but hundreds more families keep arriving from their impoverished, drought-plagued tribal homelands, lured by hopes of jobs in Cape Town.



*continued on page 25*

# Windward Was Easy

Bruce Stannard

## Covering America's Cup Races: A Report from an Australian Journalist

**F**ourteen hundred journalists and photographers from eight countries gathered in Newport, Rhode Island, last September to cover the historic America's Cup series which was to see an end to the New York Yacht Club's unbroken 132-year hold on yachting's supreme trophy. The longest winning streak in the history of sport ended when *Australia II* won the best of seven series, 4-3, after being down 3-1. I covered the Cup races from the beginning of the challenge and defense elimination races at the end of July to the climactic seventh race at the end of September. Being able to distinguish the sharp end from the blunt end automatically qualified me as a "yachting expert." It meant that even more ignorant colleagues came to me in a kind of confessional.

"Now look here, old chap," a very distinguished British Broadcasting Corporation correspondent whispered. "What's windward?"

Windward was easy. That, I told him, was the direction from which one could hear the Australians swearing. Windward was everywhere.

I should have been a bit more serious. The same BBC man, live via satellite, got it hopelessly wrong when, in the last race, he told tens of millions of British television viewers that the American yacht *Liberty* had thrashed *Australia II* and would retain the cup. Not quite right, as it turned out.

God knows I'm not a yachting expert. I just happen to have messed around in boats all my life. It was enough to get me by. And the rest? Well, I came across British and Australian reporters who, perhaps because they didn't know enough to get a decent story together, simply sat down and made one up. I was forever answering telephone queries from editors who thought I'd been scooped on some outlandish yarn.

The trouble with being an Australian journalist in Newport was that when the Aussies Down Under were wide awake, we were supposed to be sound asleep. Not that I did much sleeping. I came to loathe the telephones (three of them) that rang incessantly night and day. When *Australia II* looked as if she would go the way of every other America's Cup challenger since 1870, no one wanted to know. Once she began her extraordi-



*The America's Cup, polished and ready for delivery to Australians, sits in the trophy room at Marble House, a Newport mansion of the Gilded Age.*

*Courtesy The Newport (R.I.) Daily News*

nary comeback (from 1-3 to 4-3) the whole world wanted a piece of the action. I learned to cope with four or five hours sleep. I filed for *The Age*, Australia's top broadsheet in Melbourne, *The Western Mail* in Perth, Western Australia, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation including daily radio broadcasts and television reports via satellite.



*Jubilant Australia II crewmembers acknowledge crowd after winning sixth race and tying series, 3-3.*

*Courtesy The Newport (R.I.) Daily News*

Meanwhile I was writing a 70,000 word history of the Cup competition. Toward the end of the book, the publisher's couriers used to rush in and rip copy out of the typewriter.

It would be a mistake for non-yachties to assume that the America's Cup was merely a boat race. If it had been, I could have relaxed and enjoyed myself, but it was, in fact, like a great political story where two implacable enemies come out each day to try to rip each other apart. The Australian camp was led by Alan Bond, a brash and enormously wealthy land developer and a natural resources magnate. Bond's designer, Ben Lexcen, a whimsical genius with no formal education, had come up with a revolutionary keel shape that featured delta wings flared at its base. The New York Yacht Club, which had held the Cup against all comers for 113 years, was absolutely convinced that the winged keel had not been rated fairly. If the Australian boat had been rated according to the NYYC view, it would have had to take what might have been a crippling penalty in sail area. The New Yorkers realized that, for the first time in the modern history of the Cup, a boat threatened to end their grip on the yachting world's most illustrious trophy. They launched an intensive campaign to block the Aussies, taking their case all the way to yachting's Supreme Court, the International Yacht Racing Union. It was an action which could have led to the Australian boat's disqualification. The Americans attempted to have Dutch scientists and naval architects sign affidavits claiming the winged keel as a Dutch

and not an Australian design. I discovered, after much telephone "leg work" all over Holland, that many of the Australian design theories were developed and tested in Holland, but the Dutch insisted that the concept belonged to the Australians. The legality of the winged keel concept for 12-meter yachts was finally ratified by the IYRU at its annual general meeting in London last November.

I had covered the America's Cup series in 1970, 1974, and 1977. I was therefore in a position to foresee and resist the inevitable attempts to draw journalists into competing camps. You could be for the Aussies or for the New York Yacht Club but you couldn't be neutral, partisans told (or, in some cases,



*Liberty, in the foreground, moves up under Australia II to steal her wind during the second race of the Cup series. Liberty won.*

*©1983 John Hopf*

threatened) the huge press corps, many of them novices at nautical race coverage. The Australians were pretty adept at threats. The line was: "Either be nice to us or get off the dock." I had particularly vivid memories of an Australian attempt to have me roughed up and tossed in the water after some especially critical pieces of mine had appeared back in 1977. This time, I continued to offer criticism and somehow managed to stay on the dock. Alan Bond had all my copy telexed back to his Newport headquarters on a daily basis so that he could keep tabs on me. As for the New Yorkers, I believe I was the only Australian reporter (and there must have been 150 Aussies in that throng of 1,400 journalists) who sought the NYYC point

of view. Their arguments against the keel, always forcefully and eloquently put by Vice Commodore Emile "Bus" Mosbacher Jr., were run in full in *The Age* in contrast to the coverage in Australia's big city tabloids which adopted an almost hysterical tone at the height of the winged keel controversy.

There were seven yachts (three from Australia and one each from Canada, France, Italy, and Britain) seeking the right to become the 25th Cup challenger. I covered all the elimination races as well as the American defense selection trials and broadcast both the challenge finals (*Australia II* and Britain's *Victory* '83) and the America's Cup races live to an audience that stretched throughout Australia and New Zealand to the islands of the South Pacific and up through Southeast Asia. The potential listening audience was put at more than 100 million.

It's difficult, even now, to grasp the extraordinary impact those broadcasts had on people. For the first time in twenty years, as a journalist who has worked all over the world, I received hundreds of letters from complete strangers who simply wanted to say "thanks." One woman wrote to confide that she had been sitting in bed listening to one of the most dramatic moments in the last race when she somehow ripped the sheets. Another wrote that she had pulled great holes in her stockings as the tension mounted. At one stage, I babbled non-stop for something like four and a half hours. Like PBS, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation has no advertising breaks; because so many people were tuning into the ABC radio commentary

and at the same time turning the sound down on the television sets, the producers in Sydney dared not allow me to take a break for fear of losing their audience.

The day *Australia II* won was the day Australia came to a halt. Everyone from the Prime Minister on down seemed to be awash in a sea of champagne. Even as I write this in Australia, months after the event, the euphoria and the unabashed national pride in winning the Cup is still very much in evidence. My only regret is that it won't be held next in Newport, surely one of America's most beautiful cities. I'd grown fond of those three-month summer sojourns down among the clams and the lobster and the swordfish. I guess I'll have to settle for Perth's crayfish instead. □

*Bruce Stannard, Nieman Fellow '83, is a writer-at-large with The Bulletin, a weekly magazine in Sydney, Australia. His most recent book, The Triumph of Australia II, published in December, had a pre-publication sale of 27,500 copies.*



*American supporters watch the final leg of race on television in Louis Vitton tent, Newport.*

*Courtesy The Newport (R.I.) Daily News*



# T ★ O ★ U ★ R

Frank Van Riper



## Book-plugging can be humbling.

I had planned to spend my vacation in Italy. Instead, I wrote a book and spent my allotted three weeks traveling across the country promoting it. All things considered, I'd rather have been in Florence.

Going on a book promotion tour, I found, is not unlike covering a political campaign. There's an awful lot of hanging around airports, an awful lot of overeating, and an awful lot of listening to the same thing over and over again. Only this time, it was I, not some candidate, jabbering the same stuff day after day, trying to make it sound fresh while putting the brain on autopilot. But answering the same questions over and over, or shuddering at how fat I looked on TV monitors, wasn't the worst part of three weeks' travel and more than sixty interviews. The worst part was having to play second fiddle — not, fortunately, all on the same occasion — to a rat, a mindreader, and a pregnant gorilla.

Book-plugging can be humbling.

It didn't help that people I knew kept asking when I was going to appear on "Merv" or "Johnny" or the *CBS Morning News*, as I finished the final chapters of my book, a biography of Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio). And, I have to admit, hobnobbing with TV's All-Stars seemed like nice compensation for six months of sitting before a word processor. But my publisher's PR agent quickly brought me down to earth.

"Forget about 'Merv' and 'Johnny,'" she said. "Why should they bother with you if they can get Glenn himself?" Why, indeed?

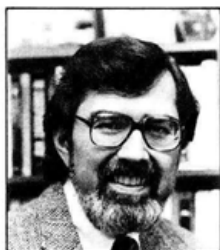
Instead, I found myself booked onto a succession of local television and radio shows, from New York to L.A., none of which seemed destined to make the broadcasting Hall of Fame. The TV shows, especially, were like Holiday Inns — all bland furniture and plastic ferns coupled with bland hosts with plastic smiles. One of my first such appearances was in my own city, Washington, D.C., on something called *Fred Thomas in the Morning*. Fred was a nice enough guy, a former local news anchor, whose show aired in what seemed like the pre-dawn. Fortunately, the shows were taped three at a time in the afternoon and I found myself waiting in the studio with half a dozen other people also peddling books. One was Cathy Guisewite, pushing the book version of her widely distributed comic strip, "Cathy." With far more aplomb than her newspaper *alter ego*, she made sure to remind viewers she'd be autographing Cathy Dolls at a local department store and signing books at a local bookstore.

On my particular day's show, I was preceded by someone in an American flag necktie whose book was called *A Nation Saved — Thank You, President Reagan*. Immediately before my spot, there was a snappy little segment about a kid in California who made model trains for his pet rat to ride. The last shot before they came to me was of the rat chugging around the tracks in a Plexiglass railroad car.

Johnny Carson, eat your heart out.

Shows like these left me with the kind of "What the hell am I doing here?" feeling that made the few intelligent shows stand out like diamonds on velvet. Fred Fiske, the grand old man of public radio in Washington, was a pleasure to talk to — low key, thoughtful, and well prepared. (He had read the book.) Boston's *David Brudnoy Show* was also good, but for different reasons. Brudnoy's off-the-wall questions on his call-in program and his antic view of politics and politicians made the time fly. He even managed to knock himself off the air for a few minutes when, caught up in the saga of John Glenn's friendship with the Kennedys, he asked if it were true that they were great "cocksmen." Immediately after he said the word, Brudnoy's eyes went wide and he looked to his engineer to

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excise the offense before it was broadcast, the whole show being held on seven-second delay to screen the phone callers (but not the host, mind you). The engineer, however, sitting behind glass in the control booth, was too engrossed in her book to hear the naughty word, so it sailed out onto the night air.

In Glenn's home state, I got my first and only taste of live television, on *Braun & Co.*, a mid-day show in Cincinnati that is broadcast before a studio audience. This time my warmup was The Amazing Kreskin, a "mentalist" who made figures appear on a blackboard. Or something. Actually, Kreskin wasn't the best part of the show. The best part was watching the host, Bob Braun, segue from "concerned interviewer" to shill. He did his own commercials and had a woman stagehand crouching out of camera range to hand him a succession of products that he cheerfully plugged. Bob was a trouper. He kept up his patter even when a package of chicken parts bled on his camel's hair jacket.

This is not to say I didn't meet "biggies" on my tour. Next to staying in Chicago two nights so I could get my laundry done, probably the biggest kick of the tour was meeting Henny Youngman. He followed me on the Channel 11 news in New York one afternoon.

"Henny," I said, "It's great to meet ya."

"Here, want some insults?" he answered, not missing a beat (naturally). Sure enough, from out of his pocket came a pamphlet of "101 Insults from Henny Youngman."



Then there was the time in L.A. when I met actor Jon Voight. Or the San Francisco talk show where I shook hands with jazz great Oscar Peterson. Or the two different times I ran into photographer Yousuf Karsh (whose book features a photo of Sophia Loren. No dope, Yousuf.)

Mostly, though, the people I met were the terminally blow-dried who had a hard enough time pronouncing my name, much less reading my book. Often, they simply fed back to me the "suggested interview questions" that my flack had sent them.

I shouldn't complain, though. It got me publicity, maybe sold a book or two, and it actually was fun. Still, it's hard to be serious when your precious five minutes of airtime is preceded (as it was in Columbus, Ohio) by the latest bulletin on Bridget, the local zoo's pregnant gorilla. □

## Passengers On A Train

*continued from page 20*



The engineer was shocked, then pleased, upon hearing that the American tourist actually had been to Crossroads and seen its rutted paths and cheek-by-jowl shacks. He was convinced that a stranger's firsthand observation would bear out what to him was an obvious conclusion: that Crosstown showed that blacks clearly were incapable of handling their own affairs, that the overcrowding and poor sanitation there proved the rural-to-urban migration of blacks must be stopped — and that the government had to "do for" the blacks already there by relocating them to Khayelitsha, a pristine, orderly new settlement, albeit one much further from their jobs in Cape Town. When told that a Crossroads woman leading the "We won't go" faction had said the new town was in the middle of the desert, that bus fare into Cape Town would more than double and that the housing costs would be ten times that of the admittedly ramshackle Crossroads quarters, the engineer was temporarily taken aback.

But not for long.

Khayelitsha would not look like the desert once the government planted some trees, he insisted, and the new houses obviously had to rent for more than shacks because they'd have more facilities, possibly even indoor plumbing. And, then, in a flareup similar to that expressed by the 35-year-old Afrikaner mother, the engineer said the people at Crossroads weren't that poor, anyway. "You can go in there and find all kinds of Mercedes stuck behind those tin shacks," he told the visitor. "You just didn't see them."

For the most part, though, this Afrikaner seemed genuinely convinced he and the government were doing right by the blacks — but he also was anxious to know what the traveling American concluded at the end of her 10-day visit. He was astounded that, at the end of the train ride, the visitor planned to pick up a rental car and drive to the black township of Mamelodi, outside of Pretoria, for a reunion with a black couple, Nieman colleagues met several years ago at Harvard University.

While expressing fear that the outsider might rush to negative conclusions about South Africa ("We've had a lot of that"), he also wanted to know what the judgment was.

"Please write what you find out," he said in parting at the Johannesburg station. "Maybe I don't know everything. Maybe there's something more I could learn." □

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# BOOKS

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## A Baedeker for Inquiring Journalists

### The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques

Edited by John Ullmann and Steve Honeyman. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1983, \$17.95

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by William Marimow

For aspiring reporters, whether they hope to cover a beat or emulate Woodward and Bernstein's Watergate exploits, *The Reporter's Handbook* is an invaluable guide to the public records, documents and sources that form the backbone of investigative reporting at its best.

For a young reporter, covering the core news beats like labor, education, and City Hall, the handbook should be a valuable tool in accelerating and enhancing one's ability to master a new subject and a new set of sources while trying to produce accurate and analytical daily and project stories.

For the more experienced reporter, embarking on a project in an unfamiliar subject area, the handbook can expedite one's way through an agency — the Federal Drug Administration, for example — and its recordkeeping system, thereby eliminating days or even weeks of figuring out where to start.

This is not to suggest that purchasing the handbook, written under the sponsorship of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. (IRE) and edited by John Ullmann and Steve Honeyman, will magically transform an energetic, ambitious first-year reporter into a seasoned investigator. Nothing can substitute for experience, and this reviewer, for one, firmly believes that learning to be a skilled reporter is a process that can occur only through on-the-job osmosis and not in a simulated newsroom at a

university or by reading about the techniques of the nation's foremost investigative reporters.

However, the IRE handbook clearly was conceived not as a substitute, but a supplement, to that experience. As John Ullmann, a former executive director of IRE, wrote in his preface, the purpose of the handbook is to "explain how and why to investigate a wide variety of subjects, then list the most useful records or documents associated with each topic, and explain where to get them and how to use them."

To accomplish that mission, the editors, with the full backing of IRE, recruited 53 of America's best known investigative reporters — Clark Mollenhoff, Donald Barlett, James Steele, and Jonathan Kwitney, among others — to write and edit selections on the subject most familiar to them. (Here, I should declare a personal conflict of interest in reviewing this handbook: I am an IRE member, and one section of this book reviews a 1977 story that I coauthored in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* about criminal violence by Philadelphia police.)

The book's 16 chapters are divided into three major sections. The first is a primer on locating, securing, and using a myriad of public documents: the second explains in depth how to research an individual's background; and the final section deals with backgrounding institutions such as government agencies, private companies, and universities. Most chapters provide not only step-by-step guidance on how to find pertinent rec-

ords but also several examples of how those records can be converted into valid news stories.

Elliot Jaspin, a reporter with the *Providence (R.I.) Journal*, raises the reader's consciousness with a section on the records of bankruptcy court, which, because of their complexity, can seem intimidating to even the most seasoned reporters. The records, he points out, not only provide a treasure trove of story leads but also provide a list of the company's creditors, all potential sources for the enterprising reporter.

One document, which Jaspin suggests the reporter obtain, is known as the "205 examination," in which the bankruptcy petitioner is questioned by the attorney for the creditors to determine whether the financial failure is legitimate or fraudulent. Moreover, Jaspin informs us that if a reporter wants to observe the questioning in person, "There is case law to support access by the public." Then, just to prove his point and help a reporter confronted with the problem, Jaspin cites the specific case. It is kernels of wisdom, experience, and useful arcana like these that make the handbook a helpful tool for any reporter.

One extremely valuable chapter, by Maile Hulihan, a reporter in *The Wall Street Journal's* London bureau, reviews everything (perhaps even more than everything) a reporter has ever wanted to know about the Freedom of Information Act, a law which, as Ms. Hulihan points out, has been underutilized by reporters. The chapter explains the law, its loopholes and exemptions, the appeals process, and the factors to consider if it appears that a lawsuit is the only means of extricating the desired documents. In addition, the chapter concludes with a sample request letter and appeal letter that could serve as a model for reporters using the Act for the first time.

Despite its overall worth, the handbook is not without its flaws, even

though its problems seem more like peccadilloes compared to the public service provided by the book. However, one would hope that a book written and edited for investigative reporters would, above all, be accurate, precise, and well-edited. Thus, it was disappointing to one reader, who was not reading with the meticulousness or skill of a copy editor, to find an overabundance of harmless, but nonetheless factual errors, such as: referring to Philadelphia's largest newspaper as *The Enquirer* instead of *The Inquirer*; stating that Ed Guthman won a Pulitzer Prize for his investigative stories about the Teamsters Union instead of his stories on the victims of McCarthyism; giving *The Inquirer's* Barlett and Steele credit for winning a Pulitzer Prize for public service for their analysis of the

Philadelphia court system. In fact, that series did not win a Pulitzer, but the two reporters did receive journalism's top prize for a 1975 series on the IRS and its selective enforcement procedures.

Because of its value to reporters and editors, the handbook ought to be updated and reprinted on a regular basis. And one hopes that the next time around the copy editors and the fact checkers will be as fastidious in their work as the reporters, for whom this handbook was written, should be in theirs.

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William Marimow, Nieman Fellow '83,  
is a reporter for The Philadelphia  
Inquirer.

munication, the author advises a woman to offer her hand for a firm handshake, pointing out, however, that society expects the woman's touches to be delicate and ladylike. She also tells women how to correct vocal patterns to avoid sexist stereotyping. Such good advice should be possible everywhere in the book; unfortunately, it's not.

The book contains significant flaws. The basic problem is that language use has changed in the last five to eight years, at least publicly, and the author fails to acknowledge that. This book belongs more to the past decade than to the present.

Moreover, the author holds some preconceptions about language use that are debatable but fails to identify them as such. For example, "A woman allows herself to be called 'girl,' in the same breath with a man's being called a 'man.'" That's the woman's problem, one could argue, in not pointing out the discrepancy. Also, no longer it is the "usual compromise," as the author states, to use "chairman" for the man but "chairperson" for the woman. Rather, "chairman" and "chairwoman" are used as is "chairperson" and just "chair" (which is inelegant and suggests one needs four legs).

In other places, Sorrels also errs: For example, "brotherhood," "brotherly love," and "the brotherhood of man" hold connotations as warm and encompassing words, but, the author tells readers, "sisterhood," "that old sister," and "that weak sister" do not possess warm connotations. Certainly the last two do not, but "sisterhood" and "sisterly love" can and do. The author simply did not choose parallel phrases. Also, she presumes that women who work outside the home are pink collar workers. She does not consider women who are climbing occupational ladders to status and success, nor does she address them. This makes the book less valuable in the classroom, of course.

Her statements pertaining to journalistic style are outdated. She seems to be unfamiliar with current news operation practices regarding forms of address, courtesy titles, and sexist modifiers. Nor does she realize that "women's sections" have been renamed and revamped to

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## Inclusive Language For All

### The Nonsexist Communicator: Solving the Problems of Gender and Awareness in Modern English

Bobbie D. Sorrels. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983, \$8.95 paperback

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by Barbara Straus Reed

**D**r. Sorrels' book helps readers develop and deepen their commitment to nonsexist communication and suggests ways to make nonsexist language the standard for day-to-day communication. It could be used as a supplementary textbook in writing and speech classes.

The book is worth reading and owning, especially for teachers. Sorrels' embellished manual contains eight chapters; the most valuable are three through eight. They include exercises in overcoming sexist language plus sets of guidelines. The author provides sexist phrases, then offers a nonsexist way of saying the same thing. Of real use are the applications sections. Exercises first ask readers to underline sexist terms in

passages, then rewrite them in nonsexist terms. Two appendices prove valuable as well. The first contains a list of sexist symbols, possible alternatives and a referral to the section in the back where the subject is examined; the other suggests solutions to the exercises.

One piece of Sorrels' advice goes against the grain for most journalists. She recommends never directly quoting the sexist words of others, but summarizing or paraphrasing instead. She gives a variety of sex-neutral salutations, one of the more difficult areas for sensitive writers. She clearly explains the correct use of "girl," "women," "madam," and "lady." She says it is incorrect to say "the salesman and the saleslady." "The salesgentleman and the saleslady" is correct, according to Sorrels.

Also, in a chapter on non-verbal com-



carry expanded coverage of national trends and other material of interest to women (and to men). Sorrels still defines "women's news" as beauty contests, recipes, style shows, and the like. And she has not noticed that society pages — where they still exist — have adopted nonsexist policies, such as requesting photographs of the bride and the groom or of the engaged couple.

The book contains omissions, too, one in a section about interviews. The author provides guidelines for those conducting interviews, but gives no advice to those being interviewed. At times an interviewer brings up marital status, spouse's income, childbearing plans, and even birth-control methods. Recognizing that these questions are inappropriate in all such situations, Sorrels should have offered help for women who too often encounter these problems.

Also omitted are recent titles in the "selected bibliography" at the end of her book. All entries but two date to the mid- or early-1970's. Then, too, the author should have included references to specific studies throughout the text.

Also, she advises women in the office not to display pictures of their husbands or children. Why not? Her advice to wear only dark business suits also seems a bit grim and dated.

Sorrels seems to be angry with the academic community and indicates its members are the most intransigent in making changes in language.

Not until academic leaders engage in the cause of nonsexist communication will it become the norm. Unfortunately, too many of them worship tradition to the detriment of women's psyches. Many who study communication want to...shake academicians into removing the bias that pervades their work....

Can Sorrels still be distressed, or is this another example of dated material?

These flaws in the book may result from the author's own experiences. Bobbye D. Sorrels "has published extensively" on topics related to women; four are listed in the bibliography. Also, the book informs us, she speaks to community and academic groups often and

has testified before government committees on women's rights and women in business. The reader is not told Sorrels' occupation or affiliation, although an academic connection is suggested since one of her pieces cited in the bibliography was published in an academic journal. She carries the title "Dr.," but in what field or discipline?

Her book is a reprint of a privately produced work, published by Communication Dynamics Press under another title and with her former surname. In fact, Dr. David E. Gootnick, who suggested and published the original book, holds the current copyright.

In summary, *The Nonsexist Communicator* could have been more effective and powerful had the writer observed the way we now live and speak

and updated her material accordingly. Nevertheless, it has value, especially in its applications to the practice of nonsexist language.

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## Free Speech and the Electronic Age

### Technologies of Freedom

Ithiel de Sola Pool. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England, 1983, \$20

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by Gerald B. Jordan

**T**he law, moving with its traditional deliberative speed, simply has not kept pace with technological innovations in communications. What was good for Gutenberg won't necessarily sit well with Sony.

The debate, of course, grows windy as it ages. Newspapers, rightful heirs of First Amendment freedoms, are reluctant to welcome broadcasting into the First Amendment fold that remains the province of free speech and free press. But, the broadcasters ask, what's going to happen to the "press" as it, in fact, borrows more heavily from broadcasting technology to deliver the printed word? Satellite delivery of images for the printed pages of nationally circulated newspapers — *The Wall Street Journal*, for

example — already poses questions about the future mode of operation and distribution of the press.

Television network news executives go to the wailing wall in each election year and sob endlessly, if not convincingly, about the troubles they incur in simply arranging political coverage because of restrictive federal regulation. The networks argue they cannot cover candidates in the way that the print medium does because broadcasting must comply with the Fairness Doctrine and the Equal Time provisions.

The smoke from debate of that question — often between print and broadcast news organizations — has fogged the air beyond the point of clear views on the subject. Perhaps the primary obstacle is that broadcasting remains a dominant entertainment medium and

those who care enough to enter the debate on the side of the print medium cannot take broadcasters seriously. A more cynical viewpoint might be that as companies dominate in the print medium and grow fat with the profits of monopoly operations in significant cities, the last thing they want to do is give a competitive inch to what they call (in published columns written by television critics) broadcasting monopolies.

Despite the omnipresence of television in this society and the history of the print medium, it is shortsighted to pit them as sole adversaries over a constitutional question of freedom of speech.

Ithiel de Sola Pool, Ruth and Arthur Sloan Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has written a book that is essential to any discussion on the application of First Amendment freedoms to broadcasting technology. His book, which carries the pre-title, "On free speech in an electronic age," is called *Technologies of Freedom*. It is, as with Professor Pool's other books on communications, impressively thorough and detailed. What the MIT scholar does on each point is step back to the origins. He will not, for example, even speak of the term "common carrier" without going back, in the United States, to the formation and early operation of the Post Office.

His point, though sometimes drawn out in lengthy academic explanation, is quite simple: No discussion on communications can be offered without tracing back to the root of the technology and following its growth, development, and the policies which shaped it. But Professor Pool tips his hand early when he brings the phrase "communications policy" into focus for the book's discussion.

"The phrase 'communications policy' rings oddly in a discussion of freedom from government. But freedom is also a policy. The question it poses is how to reduce the public control of communications in an electronic era. A policy of freedom aims at pluralism of expression rather than at dissemination of preferred ideas," he writes.

*Technologies of Freedom*, for instance, points out appropriately that the print medium, which is protected by the

government's hands-off policy in the First Amendment, in turn benefited greatly by a helping hand from the government on such matters as copyright laws and favorable postage rates.

In the burgeoning days of broadcasting, government necessarily stepped in as a traffic cop to sort out the conflicts of interfering signals and, in doing so, became an arbiter of taste in awarding broadcast licenses. And the same broadcasting companies, who now want government out, appealed to government to kick the telephone company out of broadcasting.

These nuggets from U.S. communications history are examples of the mother lode of information unearthed after exhaustive research by Professor Pool. The background is equal to the task of



allowing the reader to understand the sophisticated components of communications today. Professor Pool spells out what often, and loosely, has been called the electronic revolution:

"A process called the 'convergence of modes' is blurring the lines between media, even between point-to-point communications, such as the post, telephone and telegraph, and mass communications such as the press, radio and television. A single physical means — be it broadcasting, the press or telephone — can now be provided in several different physical ways. So the one-to-one relationship that used to exist between a medium and its use is eroding. That is what is meant by the convergence of modes.

"The telephone network, which was

once used almost entirely for person-to-person conversation, now transmits data among computers, distributes printed matter via facsimile machines, and carries sports and weather bulletins on recorded messages. A news story that used to be distributed through newsprint and in no other way, nowadays may also be broadcast on television or radio, put out on a telecommunication line for printing by a teletype or for display on the screen of a cathode ray tube (CRT), and placed in an electronic morgue for later retrieval.

"Technology-driven convergence of modes is reinforced by the economic process of cross-ownership. The growth of conglomerates which participate in many businesses at once means that newspapers, magazine publishers, and book publishers increasingly own or are owned by companies that also operate in other fields," Professor Pool writes.

No longer "neatly partitioned" from one another, the converging modes of communications bring on questions of policy direction. "Institutions change more slowly than markets. The mere growth of new media will not reverse the precedents that were set and frozen into law into the early years of radio communication. Indeed, there is a strong tendency to carry over to the new media, which do not suffer from the special constraints of spectrum shortage, unnecessary and ill-considered precedents of regulation that were set solely on the illusory basis of a supposedly exceptional scarcity for broadcasting."

Pool says the argument of scarcity of spectrum is no longer applicable to broadcasting, what with vastly improved technology and the potential reach and use of cable. And, if you stop to ponder the potential of computers in communications, the scarcity rationale becomes archaic.

But Pool realizes the weight of the status quo and sorts out, in careful discussion, the role of regulation, deregulation, and the fears engendered by monopolies in communications. His view on the First Amendment is that it applies "fully to all media." Accordingly, he writes, "Anyone may publish at will," without licensing, without scrutiny of

who may produce or sell publications or information in any form. He concludes that "enforcement of the law must be after the fact, not by prior restraint," which makes allowances for needed traffic controls, but only for the function of communication. He says regulation is "a last recourse," but again he makes allowances for monopolies on communications, and suggests that common carrier regulation should apply instead of direct regulation or public ownership.

Broadcasters and cablecasters probably will say "amen" to every one of Professor Pool's points until he starts to discuss common carriage. Disclosure by common carriers, limits on privileges, no control on how the circuits are being

used, and adaptation of copyright enforcement to new technology, are among his recommendations.

"As new technologies have acquired the functions of the press, they have not acquired the rights of the press," Pool writes, a subject addressed squarely in *Technologies of Freedom*, with its case for a broad interpretation of the First Amendment.

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*Gerald Jordan, Nieman Fellow '82, is a cultural affairs reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer. He was formerly radio and television critic for the Kansas City Star.*

to quit the U.N. agency. Finally, a shocking number of people seem to question whether press freedom — at least for other people — really is worth all the fuss.

*Comparative Mass Media Systems* brings us up to date. It's aimed at advanced students, but it has much to offer others. In 18 chapters by communications academics, basic issues such as what is news, the role of mass media, press freedom, mass media economics and the like are examined comparatively in separate articles detailing First, Second, and Third World perspectives on each subject.

There are powerful insights on why and how Third World countries got where they are. An excellent discussion of the economic realities of European media (read subsidies) reveals why the United States and its European friends do not always see every issue the same way. Some other, quite weak discussions of Western free-press practices (one wanders through 12 pages before coming to grips with the Industrial Revolution) cause clenched teeth. A Third World chapter detailing 21 ways to curb the press and a ranking of countries in this regard provides a clear map to where threats to freedom lie. At the other end of the scale, one author's concluding assertion that "the decline and fall of Western civilization may be all but inevitable" seems extreme.

Overall, this is a well-conceived work that provides a mountain of new information. The various articles are unevenly executed, however, and they overlook a basic concern: why a free press is important in a developing country.

There are, of course, Third World countries with deep free-press traditions. There are others that are clinging to this by their fingernails. Choices are being made.

As noted Indian journalist Pran Chopra has said elsewhere:

Discovering the truth and stating it is one of the best contributions that newspaper (and other media) people can make toward nation-building. . . . if there is any suppression of the truth under any kind of a false notion of the

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## The Compass of the Media

### Comparative Mass Media Systems

L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary, editors. Longman, New York, 1983, \$25

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by Dana R. Bullen

**I**ndependent news media in Western nations serve a "watchdog" role that is one of the checks and balances of democratic societies.

Not-so-independent media in many Third World countries, as Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda once instructed newsmen:

. . . must reflect the nature of our society, project and defend our philosophy, our values and our interests as a sovereign state. If you do not, you are not with us as a nation. . . . Some of you have been the instruments of our enemies. . . . Some of you have been preoccupied with the failures of some of our development programs. You must stop it before other measures are taken.

Totally integrated media in the Soviet Union and Communist countries are

part of the government, and — according to *Pravda* — "a journalist is an active fighter for the cause of the party."

As one who felt that the landmark *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm 1956) provided a wondrously clear view of such contrasting media systems, I confess I questioned what a new book such as *Comparative Mass Media Systems* could offer that would be fresh and useful. The answer: Plenty.

In the intervening 27 years, the world has changed. An appalling number of the 120 or so countries making up the Third World have perverted the "social responsibility" of the 1950's theorists into a "national responsibility" that requires journalists to toe the line. Further, misdirected attempts to compromise the deep differences between free, not-so-free, and controlled news have produced a decade of debate at UNESCO that contributed to the recent U.S. decision

obligations of the media, then very soon you will end up with a situation whether you neither have truth nor nation-building.

Thus, it is unsettling to find the view creeping into *Comparative Mass Media Systems* through a sometimes uncritical, academically honest presentation of an array of viewpoints that Third World nations must choose between a free press and vital development.

This is a false choice. Sometimes it's just an excuse. It was not the choice a newly independent United States made as it emerged from colonialism.

In Ethiopia, for instance, media are not free and the per capita gross national product of \$140 is one of the lowest in the world. In Fiji, media are free and the per capita GNP of \$1,850 is more than 13 times as high.

In Zaire, media are not free and the GNP is \$220. Media are free in Colombia, and the GNP is a far higher \$1,180.

While there are exceptions, studies of 165 countries conducted by Freedom House indicate freedom, a free press, more successful economic development, and a better life tend to run together.

It also is true in the industrialized world, where East and West Germany might be compared. Or the Soviet Union and the United States.

Among many reasons must be these:

- The best programs flow from a full debate of alternatives, not only behind the closed doors of government offices but also throughout a society.
- The choices developed in such an open debate will draw understanding and support far beyond what leaders might attempt to command.
- Nobody possesses all wisdom. Independent media help bring to the surface ideas from many sources that may be better than those under consideration.
- An independent media will watch the progress of development programs. Such programs will be more effective if problems are exposed than if they are covered up.
- Often it is only a free press that allows the voices and needs of the people to be heard by government or other powerful interests.

It is significant that leaders everywhere want uncensored, uncontrolled news about the world, their region, their countries. If it is useful to them, it seems it would be useful to everyone.

When the 2nd edition of *Comparative Mass Media Systems* comes along, I'd like to see discussion of these points replace some less compelling material. It would be good to hear the views of a few working journalists, too.

Then this useful book will be terrific.

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*The WPFC joins under one banner thirty-two journalistic organizations to provide a strong voice against those who advocate state-controlled media and to provide assistance to needful Third World media.*

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## The Reigns in Spain and Portugal

### The Press and the Rebirth of Iberian Democracy

Kenneth Maxwell, editor. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, and London, England, 1983, \$29.95

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by Douglas L. Wheeler

This is a significant collection of articles on a neglected but vital topic: the role of the press in the transition to democracy in Spain and Portugal. The end of the two Iberian dictatorships (Portugal's, 1926-74, and Spain's 1939-75) in the mid-1970's was, despite the public's too-short memory, one of the most crucial political developments in Western Europe in that decade. With the exception of Kenneth Maxwell's new introduction and conclusion, the chapters in this volume were papers delivered at a Fall 1978 conference at Columbia University in New York sponsored by the Graduate School of Journalism and the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies. Maxwell, as associate professor of history at Columbia and Senior Fellow at the Research Institute on International Change, is also program director of the Tinker Foundation of New York. He has published two previous books and written widely on Iberian and Latin American affairs. Contributors include noted scholars of Spain and Portugal, Spanish and Portuguese editors and journalists, and academic media

authorities. The resulting book overcomes some but not all of the typical weaknesses of such scholarly collections but makes a contribution to an extremely complex topic. This complexity would daunt most scholars: how to account for the fall of the West's longest surviving authoritarian regimes, the reestablishment of new but not altogether healthy democracies, and how the press — one of the most controversial factors in modern political systems — played a role in these developments. At the very least, Professor Maxwell deserves commendation for tackling such large and complicated subjects.

The usual long delay between the scholarly conference and publication of conference proceedings — in this case, nearly five years — is partially overcome by the editor's contributions. He has provided masterful syntheses of major events and interpretations in Iberian politics and government in his Introduction and Conclusion and has brought events up to the beginning of 1982. New reference materials are also useful: a brief glossary of abbreviations, a bibliography with some post-1978 materials, an index, material on the contributors, com-



plete notes and many tables and figures of media data.

In terms of the amount of information on the Iberian media in the 1970's, this detailed study has no rivals in print. The reader will learn a great deal about the politics of revolution and counter-revolution in Spain and Portugal; there is a clear narrative on Portugal's military *coup* of April 25, 1974, and its aftermath, as well as a study of Spain's steadier and less rapid changes following General Franco's death in November 1975. There is plenty of material, too, on the politics of the Iberian press, legal issues, the economies and the media as business, as well as information on the two dictatorships' censorship of the media.

In this volume Maxwell has brought together Iberian editors and journalists who not only wrote about the transition to democracy but who made some of the history of this era. The sources are impeccable: Dr. Juan Giner, Professor of Journalism at Navarra University, Spain; António de Figueiredo, leading Leftist journalist in Portugal; Dr. Francisco Pinto Balsemão, founder-editor of the premier Portuguese weekly, the independent *Expresso* (Lisbon), later Premier of Portugal, 1980-82; and Dr. Jorge Braga de Macedo, one of Portugal's most brilliant young economists, now at Princeton University. The book also includes commentary from such leading Iberian journalists as Juan Luis Cebrian, editor of Madrid's *El País*; Juan Tomás de Salas, of *Cambio 16* (Madrid); Nuno Rocha of Lisbon's *Tempo* and Manuel Beça Murias of Lisbon's *O Jornal*, and others.

The editor's useful additions, however, only partially overcome two of the problems typical of conference proceedings volumes: being dated before publication and lack of balance or evenness in emphasis. While the bibliography has added some post-1978 titles, in the five years since the conference, important material on the topic has appeared and it is not fully represented in either Maxwell's new chapters or in the notes of the conference papers. Secondly, while Maxwell gives equal weight to both Iberian states in his analysis and summary, the

chapters themselves are dominated by press developments in Portugal, the country which experienced a revolution (however brief) — not Spain. While there is only one article on the Spanish press and politics, there are three on Portugal's press and politics, plus articles on the image of Portugal and Spain in the American and Western European media. In the latter pieces, Portugal's *coup* and 1974-75 revolution, the stuff of headline copy, dominate.

The book asks eight critical questions (among them, "What are the principal contributions that the mass media have made in the re-establishment of democracy in Spain and Portugal?"). The volume does not succeed in fully answering these important questions. (Since both the publics and leaderships of Spain



and Portugal cannot fully answer them, either, this is not surprising.) It is a contribution simply to ask such questions, however, and to provide information, difficult to acquire elsewhere, so that readers may attempt their own answers.

Some errors of fact, analysis and spelling should be noted, in passing, in the material on Portugal and its press. The spelling out of the acronym for Portugal's pre-1969 political police ("PIDE") should include "*e da Defesa*" and the police's name was changed in 1969, not 1970. In the Note No. 1 in Maxwell's introduction, the poor track record of foreign political forecasters in Iberia fails to include the fact that sophisticated analysis of the "possibility" of the Portuguese army moving to the Left was available to State Department officials in mid-

March 1974, but was either ignored or not read. More unfortunate is an error — or a sad illusion — concerning "comparative freedom" of the press in Portugal before military censorship began in Portugal in 1926. It is simply wrong to suggest, as do English academics Ben Pimlott and Jean Seaton in their article (citing Portuguese historian A. H. de Oliveira Marques' *History of Portugal*), that the Portuguese press and book publication of the failed first Republic (1910-26) exhibited a general trend "towards rational and clear thinking." The press of that era was full of excesses, both Left and Right, and by 1926, with few exceptions, was virtually unanimous in trumpeting a call for a military takeover. Just as the strict censorship system of the Iberian dictatorships was a poor school for democracy, so the pre-dictatorship presses did not strengthen democracy.

Some of the more important analytical material is found in editor Maxwell's summation, "Authority, Democracy, and the Press: Some Comparative Perspectives." An important conclusion to note is that the democracies of Spain and Portugal today remain young and somewhat fragile. The roles of the press are clearly crucial but must be put in reasonable perspective, given the many other factors present. The Iberian experts themselves are concerned about excesses in their presses and most recommend "clear legal guidelines for what it is permissible for a free press to publish." Juan Giner states that Spanish democracy must be "protected from excesses in the press." He is speaking of dangers from the Rightist press, but in 1936, Spaniards told of dangers from the Leftist press as well. It may be misleading, however, despite Maxwell's well-intentioned efforts, to demonstrate that we can safely generalize between different political and even psycho-political cultures among different nations about "what it is permissible for a free press to publish." What is permissible in one country may not be so in another, and, for different reasons and at different times. For example, what the Spanish officer corps considers "attacks" on its "honor" in the Spanish press, are one problem; similar statements in the American media about our

officer corps are quite a different matter. Since 1890, Spanish (and Portuguese) media-military conflict provided the immediate cause for all too frequent military intervention in politics, a topic which should have received more attention in this book. Censorship of printed materials, too, pre-dated that of the modern *dictaduras* of Salazar and Franco in the long history of monarchical and Inquisitorial censorship. It should also be noted that control of the press in the 1920-39 era, as the more liberal, parliamentary Iberian systems broke down, was not unpopular among many sectors of a society where the rule of law had failed and where the press, like other institutions, played a key role in the worsening tensions which led to civil war and revolution.

The book concludes with a famous quote from Walter Lippmann about the press and democracy. We should not, Lippmann suggested, expect "too much, too innocently, from the press in democ-

racies," since news alone cannot produce "truth," or cure the weaknesses of democracy. On the other hand, we should not expect too little of the press in Iberia. More than ever before, the new Iberian media should be able to provide trustworthy news and to overcome too long a history of official censorship, unofficial self-censorship, extremism, gross expediency, accommodationism, unprofessional reportage and bias. As the writers here suggest, new cultural freedom is welcome. But if the political system itself is mortally wounded, not even a free press can save a democracy.

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## The Trajectory of a High Flier

### Glenn: The Astronaut Who Would Be President

Frank Van Riper. Empire Books, New York, 1983, \$13.95

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by Edwin Diamond

**I**n the motion picture *The Right Stuff*, Lyndon Johnson plays vaudeville villain for John Glenn's righteous wrath. It is January 27, 1962; astronaut Glenn's Mercury orbital mission has just been scrubbed after Glenn sat and waited for more than five hours atop the Atlas rocket. Johnson, John Kennedy's vice president in charge of the space race, wants to come into the Glenns' suburban Arlington home to meet with Mrs. Annie Glenn, who is understandably flustered and tired after the no-go exercise. As the movie tells it, Glenn gets on the phone to his wife and instructs her she doesn't have to let Johnson in if she doesn't want to. On what authority?

"Tell 'em astronaut John Glenn says so!" the movie Glenn says. Usually, the theater rocks with approval at this applause line.

*The Right Stuff* makes for good entertainment but bad history, and one of the many virtues of Frank Van Riper's campaign year biography is that Van Riper, a national correspondent for the *New York Daily News* (and Nieman Fellow '79), straightens out the record on this and other overhyped episodes in Glenn's career. The right story of that day in Arlington makes for better, more revelatory, copy than the skewed account in the movie, or, for that matter, the Tom Wolfe book on which the movie is loosely based. The key player is neither beleaguered Annie Glenn nor the alto-

gether boorish Johnson, but Loudon Wainwright, the writer from *Life* magazine inside the Glenn household, along with his *Life* photographer. As Wainwright himself tells Van Riper, "We (the photographer and Wainwright) didn't want Johnson to come into the house, because if he did come into the house, all the other Washington press would come in with him..." *Life*, in short, would lose its exclusive How-The-Family-Reacted-When-the-Big-Launch-Came story. If there has to be a villain in the piece, Van Riper suggests, then it is not the put-upon Johnson, whose caricature in the Wolfe book has been further coarsened by the movie-makers, but rather the highly dubious *Life* contract (a \$500,000 exclusive for the astronauts' personal stories) — and by extension, the astronauts and their advisers who entered into the deal in the first place.

Van Riper, to his credit, is not in the business of caricatures. He is evenhanded, balanced and fair in his accounts; *Glenn* is the opposite of *The Right Stuff*. Van Riper has written a good history, but probably poor entertainment. Like the man Glenn it portrays, the book *Glenn* may stand accused of being bland and a little boring.

It is not that Van Riper hasn't tried to inject the blood and passion of real life into his narrative. The details of Glenn's storybook childhood are by now familiar as the apotheosis of small town Americana. The good burghers of New Concord, Ohio, where Glenn was born in 1921, don't smoke or drink or take the Lord's name in vain. They go to church on Sunday and vote Republican on Election Day. New Concord had no bars when Glenn was growing up — it's still dry today — and two ice cream parlors. Glenn was actually called "Bud" as a little boy and "Johnnie" in high school. He wore a bow tie and knickers to grade school, did his homework, began going steady in the eighth grade with the girl he later married, lettered in sports, and was junior class president. He even got a roadster when he was 16, painted it red, and drove it at top speed through the cornfields and coal country.

Always the good reporter, Van Riper attempts to find some snakes in this

Eden. He uncovers evidence of the activities of the local KKK and some cross burnings, but try as he does, Van Riper can't get any of the New Concordians he interviews to give less than rosy memories of Johnnie. They all knew, as one Muskingum College classmate recalls, that Glenn would do "whatever was required of him to get to the next step." It is the problem faced by all biographers of presidential candidates when they interview the home town folks. Although in his conclusion, citing Glenn's belief in an activist federal government, Van Riper writes, "Many people who remember him as a young man feel that Glenn has changed, and not for the better."

"I think sometimes the worst place to go for an opinion of somebody is their hometown," Glenn responds. "The people there don't want to think you have broadened your views. . ."

Yet for all Van Riper's reporter's diligence, and for all his access to Glenn — the two, on the evidence of this book, had at least one long interview session in Glenn's Senate offices — there are some important gaps in the story of New Concord boy to national hero. The subtext of a lot of American small town idylls is the desire to get away. . . from what varies from individual to individual. In Glenn's case, his father wanted him to take over the family plumbing business while Glenn dreamed of being a Pan Am Clipper pilot when he grew up. As soon as Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor pushed the United States into war, Glenn quit college and enlisted in the Navy Air Corps. Four years later, a much-decorated combat flier and Marine Corps captain, Glenn decided to become a career officer. For a man with a wife and infant child back home, this is a major decision. It means, among other things, often being thousands of miles away from family. Glenn's decision to stay, when ten million other young men were deciding to return to the New ConCORDS of America, gets one inconclusive line in *Glenn*. ("There was really little contest.")

Glenn was not there when his children were born. Within a few weeks of his daughter's birth, Annie developed a "life-

threatening temperature" and Glenn was summoned from Okinawa. It took him three days to reach home, and, when he did, "The young Marine flier's heart sank at the stricken form he saw." She survived and Glenn returned, but "the distance from his growing family weighed heavily on him." Soon, his wife and children joined him overseas. Today, the Glenn children, Dave, a doctor who is 37, and Lyn, 36, "remember their home life as congenial but comparatively strict."

"The Glenns remain a close family," writes Van Riper. Is it possible that the open, honest, decent, hard-working Glenn also has a deeper subtext that Van Riper couldn't get to, that has, in fact, eluded all the other chroniclers of this much written about American hero? Perhaps not, and so perhaps it is not important that Van Riper presents Glenn the way that Glenn has arranged to be presented. *Glenn* is, after all, meant to be a serviceable biography offered on the eve of the 1984 campaign, and this review is being written early in January when Glenn's candidacy is still alive as the first primaries get underway. Tracking *Glenn* as a guide to 1984, a reader will find helpful clues to the kind of general campaign, and presidency, a victorious Glenn would run. Van Riper gives a good, brisk account of Glenn's recruitment into politics by John Kennedy, his ultimately successful attempts to become Senator from Ohio and his eight-year record in Washington. Glenn emerges as a somewhat contradictory figure, a public man who likes people but doesn't like politics, an unbending personality who nevertheless became an effective legislator inside the Senate club, and a personal conservative with a high 75 percent score on his votes from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. Back home, some of the folks shake their heads at Glenn's New Dealing, Kennedyite philosophy. But as Glenn tells Van Riper: "There are different visions of liberalism. I think the people of New Concord are every bit as liberal as anybody else. They will do anything to help out a neighbor. . . That's their form of liberalism. That's basically what things like Medicaid and food stamps are all

about. . ."

But it is not the image of Roosevelt or even John Kennedy that would provide the model for a Glenn presidency. Rather the names Eisenhower and Carter come to mind, and Glenn shares at least one trait with the man he hopes to succeed in the White House. Van Riper quotes Stephen Hess writing about Ike: "... a genial, shrewd, optimistic, confident, successful, small town American of 62 years" who had "devoted his life to government service in the military. . . He had spent much time abroad which gave a somewhat anomalous internationalist cast to his otherwise conventional beliefs." Van Riper's description of Glenn's administrative and staff styles reminds Van Riper, and the reader, of Carter, the master of detail, the reader of all the fine print in all the bills coming before him; the executive unable to delegate, the unyielding righteous leader. And, "As a decision-maker, Glenn is deliberate, even slow," Van Riper writes. "But once his mind is made up, he follows his course with an obsessive stubbornness, one trait he shares with Reagan."

Will it be "Ike in a space suit" or a Johnnie Knows Best Administration? While Walter Mondale and Ronald Reagan will have something to say about whether there will be a Glenn presidency in 1984, Van Riper keeps the door open until 1988, when Glenn will be 67. Heck, as they say in New Concord, Glenn was beaten out by Alan Shepard for the first Mercury flight but came back to be the first American in orbit. An unfortunate fall, resulting in a concussion, ended his first bid for the Senate and he was defeated ("overconfidence, a confusion between hero worship and votes") in the primary in his second. As Yogi Berra is fond of saying, in Van Riper's own *Daily News*, It isn't over until it's over.



*Edwin Diamond, journalist and critic, is Adjunct Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he is director of the News Study Group.*



# Committee to Select Nieman Fellows Named

Four journalists and three members of the Harvard Faculty have been appointed by University President Derek C. Bok to serve on the committee to select about a dozen Nieman Fellows in journalism for the academic year 1984-85, the 47th year of the Nieman program.

Members of the committee, whose chairman, ex officio, is the Nieman Curator, James C. Thomson Jr., are:

Abram Chayes, Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law.

A graduate of Harvard Law School, he has served in several capacities during his career, including legal adviser to Governor Chester Bowles of Connecticut, associate general counsel of the President's Materials Policy Commission, and legal adviser, U.S. Department of State. He is the author of several books and many articles in professional publications specializing in nuclear arms control, nuclear power, and issues of international law.

Orlando Patterson, Professor of Sociology.

Professor Patterson received his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. He is a special adviser to the Prime Minister of Jamaica, and a member of its Technical Advisory Council. An author, his books include fiction as well as non-fiction. His papers and articles have been published in numerous periodicals and focus on patterns of slavery, migrants, and social change.

Edith M. Stokey, Lecturer in Public Policy and Secretary of the School, Kennedy School of Government.

Ms. Stokey received her degrees from Radcliffe College. She has done research in underwater sound at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution and at Harvard University's Electronics Research Laboratory. She has published, and teaches, in the fields of microeconomics,

public policy, and analytic methods and decision-making.

John S. Carroll, editor of the *Lexington* (Kentucky) *Herald-Leader*.

Mr. Carroll is a graduate of Haverford College. His journalistic career began at the *Providence* (R.I.) *Journal-Bulletin*; he later joined the staff of the *Baltimore Sun*, serving variously as police reporter, medical reporter in Vietnam, the *Sun's* correspondent in the Middle East, and as Washington correspondent covering the Nixon White House. Prior to his post at the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, he was metropolitan editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. He was a Nieman Fellow in the Class of '72.

Nancy Hicks Maynard, writer and reporter for KTVU Channel 2, Oakland, California.

A graduate of Long Island University, she has been a reporter with *The New York Times*, covering, at various times, education, science and, out of the Washington bureau, domestic social policy. Prior to her affiliation with the *Times*, she was a reporter for *The New York Post*. She has served as director and as president for the Institute for Journalism Education at the University of California, Berkeley. She is an author and songwriter, and serves on the executive committees of KQED, Inc., the Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc., the Oakland Tribune, Inc., Mills College, and the Institute for Journalism Education.

Stephen D. Northup, photographer, *Time* magazine.

Mr. Northup is an alumnus of Washington and Lee University. He has been a photographer with *The Washington Post* and with United Press International in their San Francisco, Miami, and Saigon bureaus. He is the recipient of numerous awards and honors for his work; he was a Nieman Fellow in the Class of '74. He lists his professional

highlights as coverage in Vietnam, the urban riots in 1968, the Paris peace talks, the Nixons' visit to Moscow, and Watergate.

Howard Simons, managing editor, *The Washington Post*.

Mr. Simons is a graduate of Union College and he holds an M.S. in Journalism from Columbia University. He has been on the staff of *The Washington Post* since 1961; he formerly was a writer and editor with Science Service. He has also served as the American correspondent for *The New Scientist*, London, England. He has been the M. Lyle Spencer visiting professor at Syracuse University, and an Intellectual Exchange scholar in Japan. He is an author and the recipient of awards in journalism. He is a member of Overseas Writers and the Council on Foreign Relations. He was a Nieman Fellow in the Class of '59.

Nieman Fellowships provide a year of study at Harvard University for persons experienced in the media. Announcement will be made in early June of the American journalists appointed in the 1984-85 class of Nieman Fellows.

The Fellowships were established in 1938 by bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius, founder and long-time publisher of *The Milwaukee Journal*. □

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# NIEMAN NOTES

*Friends are a second existence.*

Baltasar Gracián, 1647

Our "other life" was enriched a thousandfold through the procession of cards and messages arriving at Lippmann House during the holiday season.

We send hearty thanks to each and every friend for the lively array, and especially the thoughtfulness that prompted it.

— 1939 —

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS, vice president, the Future Society, writes from Washington, D.C.:

I just want to say how much I like the new Winter 1983 issue of *Nieman Reports*. It had several good articles, but the one by Bert Lindler on the "West as a sort of Fort Knox" was really super. I don't suppose you can get this kind of article very often, but it strikes out in a very creative direction. Since my special interest is in the future and preserving the American heritage for my grandchildren and every one else's grandchildren (my five have life expectancies to 2050 and beyond), the article by Lindler was just the kind I like to see.

The younger of my two sons, Dr. Richard S. Hopkins, a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa, class of '68, is a great enthusiast of the American West. I am tearing out the pages by Lindler and sending them to him. Richard is an MD who has become a public health specialist. He served the Center for Disease Control as an epidemiologist in Montana for several years, and is now the State epidemiologist in the Colorado State Health Department, responsible with his staff of 18 for all communicable disease control in Colorado. He and his wife Gayle, a Radcliffe-Harvard graduate of 1971 who was born in Oregon and grew up in Montana, drive, hike, ski, and ride horseback all through the Rockies. Gayle is a botanist, interested in plant evolution. They have a very bright little boy of 4 who will be just about right for Harvard's class of 2000 or 2001.

The World Future Society is going great guns. The current issue of our journal *The Futurist* is devoted to "1984." We are expecting 4,000 to 5,000 at our sixth General Assembly to be held in Washington June

10 to 16 on the theme, "Worldview 1984." We now have an income of \$1 million a year from our work on the world future. I've just come back from a visit to three European countries — the futurists in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are amazed at what we're going.

— 1940 —

In their Christmas letter, mailed from their home in Riverside, Connecticut, Irma and GLENN NIXON wrote about their travels during the past year.

We visited Israel and saw where Christ was born, lived, and died. It was peaceful when we looked over into Syria from the Damascus Road less than 20 miles from the present fighting. We rode a bus from Jerusalem through the Sinai Desert to Cairo, Egypt, crossing the Suez Canal on a little ferry. The great Pyramids and one of the sphinxes could be seen from our hotel.

In May we drove to Washington to take part in the 50th anniversary of *U.S. News & World Report*. It was especially meaningful to Glenn because he was on the editorial staff when the first issue was published in May 1933.

In June we flew to Portland, Oregon, for the 50th reunion of Irma's class at Oregon State University. . . .

The highlight of the year was when we were joined by our immediate extended family in Boise, Idaho, in honor of our 40th wedding anniversary.

We also visited California and in August attended the Stanford Alumni College in Palo Alto. . . .

Belated word has been received from the Wyatt family in Brooklyn, New York, of the death of EDWARD AVERY WYATT IV on December 17, 1982. At the time of his Nieman Fellowship, he was associate editor, *The Progress-Index*, Petersburg, Virginia.

— 1949 —

GRADY CLAY, former editor of *Land-scape Architecture*, ended his 25-year association with that magazine on January 1st to

resume his private practice as a consulting editor and author/lecturer. His home office address: 330 Wildwood Place, Louisville, KY 40206.

Mr. Clay and his wife, Judith McCandless, will be in Brazil on a combined consulting and vacation trip from late January to mid-March.

— 1951 —

SIMEON BOOKER, Washington, D.C., bureau chief for Johnson Publishing Company, visited Grenada for two weeks in December. He writes: "I have just completed a two-week rush trip through the area, speaking to publishers, journalists, and journalism students on our free press system . . . I talked to several journalists who had been freed after the U.S. intervention. I was astounded by the spirit and dedication of many of my brother and sister journalists, but discouraged by the wide gap between even our so-called black press here and the news media of that predominantly black region."

ROY FISHER, former dean of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, served as one of the judges on the panel to select winners for the 1983 World Hunger Media Awards.

— 1953 —

JOHN STROHMEYER, editor of the *Globe-Times*, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is one of five journalists to be awarded an Alicia Patterson Foundation Fellowship for 1984. The winners spend their fellowship year traveling, studying, and writing on their projects for the *APF Reporter*, a quarterly magazine published by the Foundation. Mr. Strohmeyer will report on the Bethlehem Steel Company's battle to survive.

— 1955 —

SAM ZAGORIA, formerly a member of the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission, accepted a two-year assignment in January as ombudsman of *The Washington Post*.

A reporter for the *Post* from 1946 to 1954, he resigned to become administrative assistant to Senator Case (R-N.J.), holding that position for more than 10 years. He subsequently was appointed to the National Labor Relations Board; he served as labor-management service director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors; and was named to his most recent post in 1977.

As ombudsman for *The Washington Post*, he replaces Robert J. McCloskey, who also served a two-year stint, and was recently named senior vice president for external affairs of Catholic Relief Services.

— 1956 —

JULIUS DUSCHA, director, The Washington Journalism Center, served as one of the newspaper judges in the 1983 competition for the Best of Gannett honors.

— 1958 —

STANLEY KARNOW's book, *Vietnam: A History*, was listed as one of the "Notable Books of the Year" in the history category of *The New York Times Book Review*, December 4, 1983. Mr. Karnow's book is a companion to his public television series on Vietnam.

WILLIAM F. McILWAIN, former editor of the New York edition of *Newsday*, became executive editor of the Sarasota *Herald-Tribune* on February 15th. The *Herald-Tribune* is owned by the New York Times Company.

TOM WICKER, associate editor, *The New York Times*, is the author of *Unto This Hour*, published by Viking, a novel based on Civil War events surrounding the Second Battle of Bull Run.

— 1960 —

RALPH M. OTWELL in January announced his resignation as editor and executive president of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, shortly after the sale of the *Sun-Times* and related properties to Rupert Murdoch's News America Publishing Corporation.

— 1962 —

JACK NELSON, Washington, D.C.,

bureau chief for *The Los Angeles Times*, was the speaker at the Eighth Annual Professional Awards banquet of the Los Angeles chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi.

He told the audience that President Reagan's "own cynicism and contempt for the press" has created a White House atmosphere in which many officials are afraid to talk to reporters.

"No recent president has so thoroughly controlled access to information that was once available to the public," Nelson asserted.

Citing the Grenada invasion and numerous other examples of the Administration's efforts to control or manipulate the press, Nelson said that Reagan himself and such confidants as White House counselor Edwin Meese III, Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Interior Secretary William Clark "all believe strongly in secrecy in government."

But Nelson delivered his sharpest attack on Reagan himself, noting: "Mr. Reagan, with his amiable manner, comes across as a likeable guy and as an inspiration to many people. That's a major reason he has been able to deny public access to government information and at the same time remain popular."

"But behind the smile is a 'we vs. them' attitude that has set the whole tone for his Administration's relations with the press. It's not that he hates the press the way Mr. Nixon did, it's just that he's insensitive to the press' role in our society and sees the media generally as something to be manipulated, but not trusted."

— 1964 —

DAN WAKEFIELD, author, was one of 96 New England writers who participated in a 24-hour read-in for peace at the First Congregational Church in Cambridge on November 11th. The readers were in hopes that the words of some of the world's great writers would be a powerful lobby against war.

Beginning at 9:00 A.M. and continuing for 24 hours, an unbroken string of voices spoke in turn as they read from hundreds of passages, poems, and pleas from world literature to express their concern about the growing nuclear arms race. Among the readers were: B. F. Skinner, Justin Kaplan, William Alfred, Robert Brustein, David McCord, Anne Bernays, Tom Cottle, and Helen

Vendler. Selections ranged from Homer's *Iliad* to Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, from plays by Shakespeare to scripts by Woody Allen. Also, lines from World War I poet Wilfred Owen, and passages from Kenneth Grahame's *Wind in the Willows*, Henry David Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, and Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

— 1965 —

JAMES S. DOYLE, former reporter and editor at *Newsweek*, has been named assistant editorial director of the Army Times Publishing Company. He has covered Washington for *The Boston Globe*, the *Washington Star*, and *Newsweek*.

— 1966 —

Two members of the Class of 1966 are affiliated with the National News Council. HODDING CARTER, chief correspondent of *Inside Story* and a member of the original Task Force of the News Council, is one of three longtime supporters invited to serve on the reorganization committee. ROBERT C. MAYNARD, editor and publisher, the *Oakland Tribune*, was re-elected to a three-year term on the News Council at its annual December meeting in New York City.

ROBERT H. GILES, editor, Gannett Rochester Newspapers, is one of three jurors for the 1983 Ernie Pyle Award sponsored by the Scripps-Howard Foundation. The competition honors newspaper writing that most nearly exemplifies the style and craftsmanship of the late Ernie Pyle.

— 1967 —

PHILIP MEYER, Kenan Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was a speaker at the Inland Daily Press Association's 98th annual convention in Chicago.

Meyer had conducted a survey of publishers, editors, and staffs at more than 300 newspapers about ethical problems confronting the newspaper business, and made his findings known during a workshop session. He found that 63 percent of the newspapers contacted have a written code of ethics and 37 percent said they handled questions of ethics "situation by situation." The survey also found that the most frequent

ethical problem cited by editors had to do with the issue of "fairness, balance, and objectivity." Meyer proposed that publishers and editors think about breaking down some of the walls between the news and business sides of their newspapers as a way of increasing the sensitivities of both sides to ethical perplexities.

— 1968 —

H. BRANDT AYERS, editor and publisher of the *Anniston* (Ala.) *Star*, presided at the October rededication ceremony of an unusual statue honoring news carriers in Anniston and nationwide.

The statue, a 1970 creation by Mark Lane, former director of the Anniston Museum of Natural History, was built from parts of the *Star's* former hot-metal presses and linotype machines. At the rededication, the statue was encased in plexiglass and put on permanent display in the *Star's* front lobby. A plaque also was added. It reads: In Honor of the American Newscarrier (Especially Our Own).

— 1969 —

ROBERT LEVEY, in reporting and editorial capacities at *The Boston Globe* since 1963, has been named to succeed Anthony Spinazzola as the newspaper's restaurant critic. He will write a weekly column, "A Matter of Taste."

We quote from a recent article by Levey in the *Globe*:

I know there is an element of hazard to my new tasks as a professional diner. When Spinazzola decided to give up the job, I naturally went to him for a friendly word and whatever nuggets of wisdom he might have to offer after his long years of eating out.

Tony, who has been a *Globe* friend and colleague of mine for more than 20 years, was crisp and to the point: "Watch out you don't get fat."

That night, I phoned my grown-up daughter in California to tell her the news of my career change from national reporter to professional eater.

"Jenny," I asked, "what did you think of first when I told you about the new job?"

"Your health," she replied.

The following week, I learned that *New York Times* restaurant critic Mimi Sheraton recently retired from her post for medical reasons when her weight reached 190 pounds. She is 5 feet 5.

Could this be the beginning of a trend? I wondered. Sure enough, responses from friends and co-workers to my being named restaurant critic divided into two clear categories: those who eagerly volunteered to accompany me as guest eaters, and those who were concerned that I had chosen to go into training for a coronary occlusion.

My response to their concern could not be more direct. I have begun to invite some of them to dine with me. And I have bought an Exercycle.

— 1972 —

MIKE FLANAGAN, formerly in the Washington, D.C., bureau of the *Tulsa World*, has been appointed deputy metro editor of the *Sacramento Bee* in California.

H. D. S. GREENWAY has been named as an associate editor of *The Boston Globe*. He formerly was assistant managing editor for national and foreign news. He joined the *Globe* in 1978 and will continue to be responsible for the national and foreign departments.

He has worked for *Time* magazine and *The Washington Post* as a correspondent in London, Washington, Boston, Saigon, Bangkok, the United Nations, Hong Kong, and Jerusalem.

— 1973 —

CHARLES R. (BOB) WYRICK, reporter in the Washington, D.C., bureau of *Newsday*, is one of five journalists chosen by the National Press Foundation to study Spanish for three months at Cuernavaca, Mexico, and live with a family there.

— 1975 —

SHERYL A. FITZGERALD, reporter with *Newsday*, was one of four cited by the Atrium contest of the Atlanta Apparel Mart for noteworthy reporting and articles dealing with the economics of the fashion business.

— 1976 —

SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN, who is on leave from the *Miami Herald*, is one of 17 women from around the country to be named "Wonder Woman," an award given annually to women over 40 for outstanding contributions to American life. The Wonder Woman

Foundation was established in 1981 by Warner Communications, Inc. to mark the 40th anniversary of the comic book heroine.

— 1977 —

BARBARA REYNOLDS, formerly in the Washington, D.C., bureau of the *Chicago Tribune*, has been named editor of "Inquiry," the question-and-answer section on the op-ed page of *USA Today*. She is also a commentator for the Voice of America and National Public Radio.

— 1979 —

PEGGY SIMPSON, economics reporter for Hearst Newspapers in Washington, D.C., took time out for a trip abroad in November. She first flew to South America, stopped in Rio de Janeiro, and went on to see KEN FREED ('78) in Buenos Aires, Argentina. She then traveled to South Africa where she was the houseguest of Sue and ALLISTER SPARKS ('63) in Johannesburg. Also, she had dinner with FLEUR de VILLIERS ('81), and met with AMEEN AKHALWAYA ('82) and with AGGREY KLAASTE ('80). In Mamelodi, she visited her Nieman classmates Elizabeth and JOHN MOJAPELO. Her itinerary also included Harare, Zimbabwe; Nairobi, Kenya; and Cairo and Luxor in Egypt. (See page 19 for an account of her train ride from Cape Town to Johannesburg.)

— 1980 —

EVERETTE DENNIS, dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon, gave the 1983 Nieman Lecture at Marquette University last autumn. His topic was "The Future of Journalism Education."

The Nieman Lecture, named for Lucius Nieman, founder of *The Milwaukee Journal*, has been given six times since 1960. Dennis is the second educator selected for the lectureship.

Dennis, also national president of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, spoke to several other national meetings last fall, including Women in Communications, Inc. in Philadelphia; the Information Industry Association in New York; and the Association for Communication Administration in Washington, D.C.

— 1981 —

ROSE ECONOMOU is producing and directing an independent film on women and politics in 1984. The 90-minute documentary is scheduled to be aired on PBS later this year. Its chief financial support is through the Rockefeller Foundation.

Among the women Rose has interviewed are: Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Jane Byrne, former Mayor of Chicago; Bella Abzug, former Congresswoman from New York; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Col.); Ellen Goodman, author and syndicated columnist with *The Boston Globe*; and Senator Paula Hawkins (R-Fla.).

Rose commented, "I feel fortunate to have been able to put together an all-women film crew for this project." She is also preparing a traveling exhibit of photographs portraying women in politics.

*The New York Times*, for its Christmas Book Review issue, asked a number of prominent people what in the past year was the most important book they had read for their work, and what was the best book they had read for pleasure. The first name listed was that of Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. His response: "John Hackett's novel, *The Third World War: August 1985*; Joanna Stratton's *Pioneer Women*, and DAVID LAMB's *The Africans*."

Lamb, foreign correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*, has been based in Cairo, Egypt, since 1982. He formerly was bureau chief in Nairobi, Kenya.

DON McNEILL, former Moscow correspondent for CBS News, is now broadcasting from his new post in Tel Aviv, Israel.

HOWARD SHAPIRO, who has been associated with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* since 1970, has been named assistant city editor/non-governmental beat reporters.

Susan, his wife, is teaching a class of visually-impaired teachers at the Pennsylvania College of Optometry.

— 1982 —

EDWARD WALSH is based in Jerusalem for *The Washington Post*. Excerpts from the Walsh family's Christmas letter follow:

... We are now halfway through our second year in Israel, preparing for our second

Christmas here. It is the most difficult time of the year in many ways, the time we most want to be home with the family and friends. But we have pretty much adjusted to life in the Middle East and can look forward to spending Christmas with many friends here. We are also looking forward to a trip to Egypt the four of us will make with a tour group beginning December 27th. It will take us to Cairo, Aswan and Luxor for a week, returning to Israel on January 3rd. At midnight on New Year's Eve, we will have a toast to you somewhere along the banks of the Nile.

Michael, who celebrated his 18th birthday this month, continues to ride his bike around Israel, play the saxophone in the school band and generally enjoy his last few months as a high school student. He has been accepted as a freshman at the College of William and Mary, and will begin his studies there in August.

Catherine, a junior in high school who will be 17 in July, is also starting on the long college admission trail. She is busy, regularly adding to her musical wizardry. At last count, she played the piano, violin, oboe, and flute. She also sings in the school choir.

Michelle is avidly pursuing a longtime interest she never had time for before — art. She is taking drawing and painting lessons and earning much praise from the professionals she works with. Our Christmas card this year is an example of her work — a scene of the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem as seen across a field from our kitchen window.

Ed is trying to keep up with events in the Middle East. Most of the time that means sticking close to Israel, but this year he also made trips to Cairo, Beirut, Amman, Istanbul and Ankara, plus several trips to southern Lebanon which remains a sort of extension of Israel. We wish we could predict a decline in the flow of news (mostly bad) from this part of the world, but it doesn't look like 1984 will be any different from 1983 in that respect.

— 1983 —

Chris Wade, spouse of NIGEL WADE, writes from Moscow: "We have been back for six months. The move was not too traumatic but we notice more acutely the drabness and poor look of this place. Life is drudgery for most in this sad land.

"From day one, Nigel has had to work like a beaver. I became his evening assistant, telexing copy to London. The pace has fortunately abated slightly. . . ."

Nigel is Moscow correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, London, England.

## RANDOM NOTES

As the result of a fall in January, Totty Lyons suffered a broken hip. She is recuperating at home now, and this visitor can attest to her resiliency. The healing process has been remarkable, and her spirits match. She is walking already, with the aid of a cane.

Family and friends, including good neighbors and a live-in student, are on hand daily, as is her devoted and charming companion, a dog named Magic.

Nonetheless, mail always is a treat. The address is: 9 Kenway Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

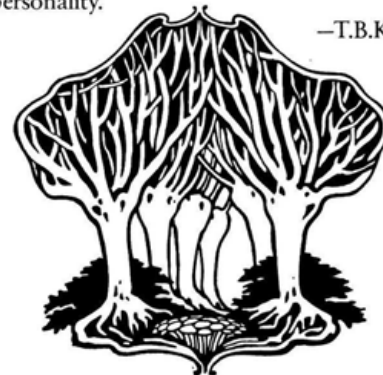
When the panelists were announced for this year's Pulitzer Prizes in journalism, the names of eight Nieman Fellows were listed among the 55 jurors. They are: GEORGE CHAPLIN ('41), editor-in-chief of *The Honolulu Advertiser*; EDWIN GUTHMAN, ('51), editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; ROBERT MAYNARD ('66), editor and publisher of the *Oakland (Calif.) Tribune*; ANTHONY DAY ('67), editorial page editor of *The Los Angeles Times*; JAMES AHEARN ('71), managing editor of *The Record*, Hackensack, N.J.; JAMES SQUIRES ('71), executive vice president and editor of the *Chicago Tribune*; ELLEN GOODMAN ('74), columnist, *The Boston Globe*; and DAVID HAWPE ('75), managing editor of *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky.

New England weather has been stunting these past weeks. In Yo-Yo fashion, the thermometer has bounced up to 55° and dropped to 10° below zero. Blowy snowstorms, freezing rain, April-like showers, sleet, and unadulterated sunshine have all traversed the sky.

Nonetheless, the inner season is constant, which is to say we daydream of springtime, an absolute with its own capricious behavior.

No matter, happenstance abounds in personality.

—T.B.K.L.





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