

NIEMAN REPORTS

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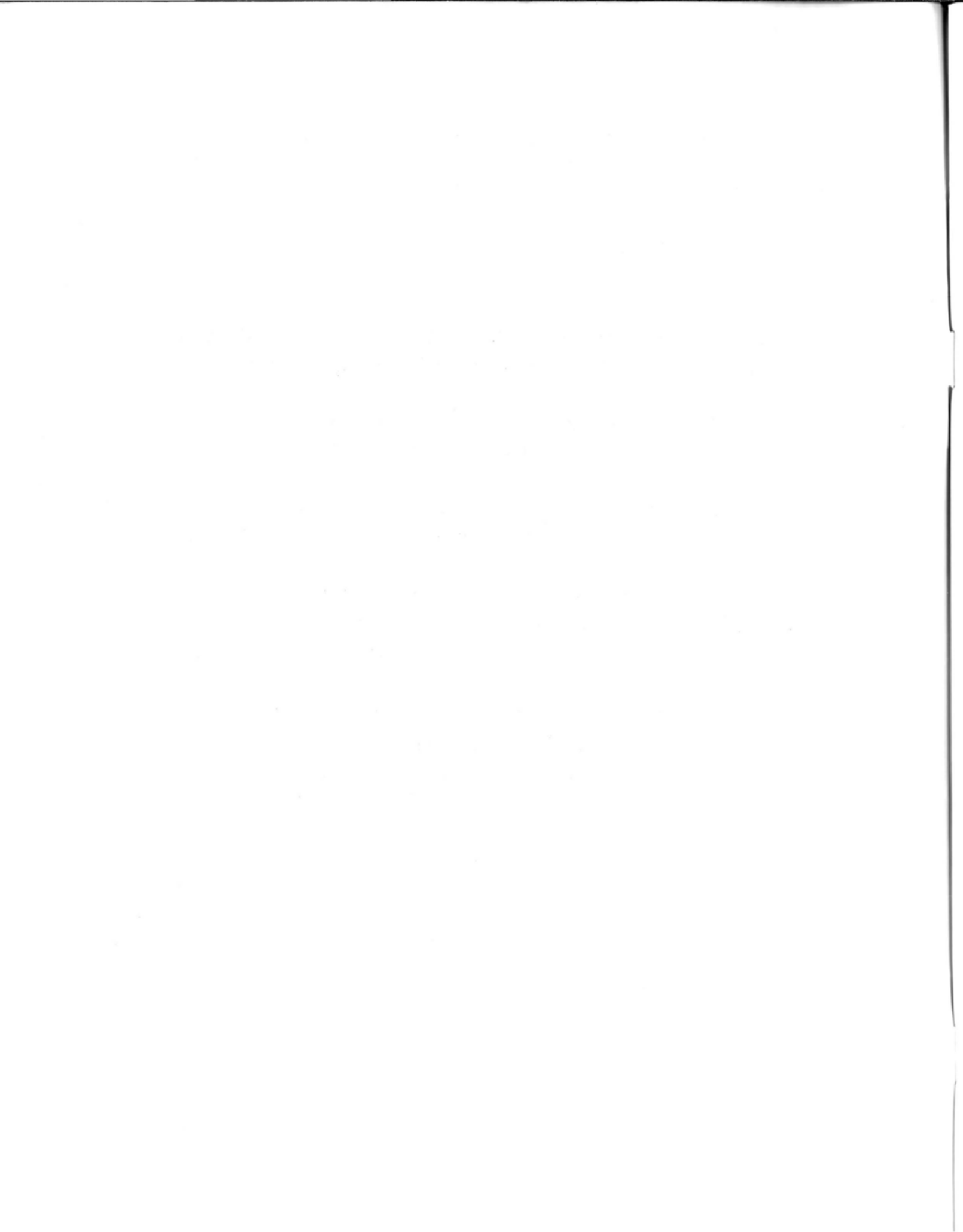
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The Genuine Distance

Mixed in with the flamboyant tease of the seed catalogues being delivered almost daily in this season of snow and ice to homes along the Eastern Seaboard, a different mail order catalogue surfaced. In full color on coated stock, it advertised "Traditional American Reproductions."

On the fourth page of the booklet, tradition took a tumble. A special offer read, "Solid mahogany desk clock. Modern West German quartz movement in beautiful old-fashioned mahogany case. *Unusual authentic 'ticktock.'*" (Emphasis added.) In other words, the timepiece looks like an antique, it sounds like one, but its life pulses from a fragment of ubiquitous modernity — the quartz chip.

This casual example of appearance versus reality gives one an opportunity for further reflection. Do people yearn subconsciously for "the good old days" when clocks were "pure" — not hybrid — and provided the comfort of a slow, reliable, rhythmic beat? Or, might we encourage a sort of deception by the purchase of a timepiece with a synthetic ticktock? Can only a pendulum produce an "authentic" sound?

###

Appearance and reality are at the core of journalism. A conscientious reporter recognizes the difference and searches for documentation to help sort out which is which before the information is synthesized into news. On the spectrum of journalistic truth there is, at one extreme, the inadvertent typo; at the other, a press that relies mainly on government releases for news.

Writers in this issue of *NR* illustrate how intertwined, but how dichotomous, appearance and reality remain.

Murray Marder informs readers that too few reporters cover nuclear issues and arms control with knowledge and accuracy. The result: public illiteracy in

critical areas.

Doris Graber gives assurance that average Americans cope very well with the information explosion. They absorb and retain selectively, but the media need to assess the compatibility of their product with the capabilities of the human mind.

Norman Lear takes American busi-



ness to task for its preoccupation with profit. Television is included, especially for a general abdication of its responsibility to "teach, illuminate, and inspire."

Theodore Glasser looks at the practice of secretly recording interviews. Is simply the appearance of deception a deception in itself?

John Shattuck's report summarizes federal initiatives to restrict the free flow of information and ideas in the academic world and raises administrative and scholarly concern over the potential of legislative control.

From the recollections of two correspondents posted in the Soviet Union, Samuel Rachlin's account of Vladimir Vysotsky's funeral can be perceived as a play within a play, and Marvin Kalb shows how a talent for acting can be a journalistic tool.

Robert Gillette, a former correspondent, and Stephen Cohen, a university professor, express conflicting opinions

about news coverage of the Soviet Union.

David Lee Preston is the messenger with good tidings. The press in Philadelphia indeed makes a difference. His update of the *Inquirer* series on unprovoked attacks by the K-9 corps of police dogs brings word of a U.S. Justice Department criminal investigation and a class action suit on behalf of the attack victims.

###

Our daily fare of gentle bouts with schizophrenia is the stuff of life — i.e., the less-than-truthful niceties that oil the social machine. However, when pressures intensify and circumstances move beyond the boundaries of appropriate behavior, they become situations marked by problems, threats, or dangers. These occurrences develop to the degree that appearance is in opposition to reality.

A few examples from current news coverage:

- The withdrawal of the United States from membership in UNESCO.
- The libel suit of Ariel Sharon against *Time* magazine.
- This country's scorn of the World Court proceedings in Nicaragua's suit against the United States.
- The politics of starvation on the African continent, particularly in Ethiopia.
- Marxist and Communist regimes in Latin America vis-à-vis the Reagan administration.
- The proper disposal of toxic waste and the cleanup of hazardous chemical dumps.

These are some of the reasons for members of the press, and every rational individual, to create a personal mechanism that can serve as a "reality detector" and screen out the misleading appearances. Now, that's something to set a clock by.

—T.B.K.L.

Journalism's Nuclear Burden

Murrey Marder

Technology has extended the arms race into space and created a bewildering combination of issues for the general public.

American journalism is about to experience one of its heaviest burdens of the nuclear age. Four decades of intricate nuclear history are backed up behind the multiple arms control negotiations undertaken by the Reagan administration and the Soviet Union. The surge of technology has cast up new weapons and anti-weapons to extend the arms race into space, creating a bewildering combination of issues for the general public to follow.

If the public were only a bystander in the process, this might matter little. Instead, the public state of mind in the democratic nations is a major target in these negotiations. For whether the negotiations succeed, flounder, or stall during the next four years, each superpower will be maneuvering to manipulate public opinion in support of its own preferred strategy.

The Reagan administration has geared itself for tough public and private bargaining by naming as arms control negotiators two political figures noted for their anti-communism, not their arms control expertise, lawyer Max M. Kampelman and former Texas Senator John G. Tower.

Their participation is expected to assure that any accord



reached can be ratified with approval of hard-liners. But their role also assures an extremely difficult, prolonged negotiation, accompanied by a running public dispute.

As a consequence, the American press will require all the skills it can command to help the public thread its way through the fog of diplomacy, technology, politics, and propaganda ahead.

Even the largest, best-equipped press establishments have to strain to cope with these complexities. The most fortunate of them have print or broadcast reporters

with the experience to handle nuclear news in its overlapping military, scientific, diplomatic, and political dimensions.

Few newsrooms, however, have adequate numbers of editors, sub-editors, and other news-handling personnel with comparable knowledge. In this field there is no cut-off point where learning is complete.

As recently as a year ago I can attest, on newspapers as attentive to the subject as *The Washington Post*, editors' eyes would glaze over at the blur of stories which emerged from the acronymic jungle of MIRVs, and GLCMs, and ALCMs, and SLCMs, and their tongue-twisting relatives.

For many in the media, the 1984 election campaign required crash courses to sort out the critical distinctions in nuclear lore between "first use," "early use," "first strike," "second strike," and endless varieties of nuclear "freeze."

After the November election, when nuclear arms control was named the priority foreign policy issue for President Reagan's second term, editors' interest in the subject soared. Arcane technicalities of arms control, which would have had difficulty getting into any newspaper only months earlier, suddenly were everyone's front-page and network stories. By early January, the expectations aroused by the interaction between government and press brought the media in unprecedented numbers to Geneva for a conference that was only the prelude to negotiations.

That meeting between Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko was preceded,

Murrey Marder, Nieman Fellow '50 and senior diplomatic correspondent, is on leave from The Washington Post. He has been covering issues of arms control from the very beginning, since the 1950's.



and followed, in both capitals, by admonitions against inflated hopes for any early accord.

Those warnings, while well justified in their own right, were part of the constant process of jockeying to fend off blame for negotiating failure, which is the likeliest outcome of any arms control bargaining.

No matter how sincere the two nations may be about arms control, it is important to remember that bluff, guile, and deception are imbedded in the history of nuclear deterrence. Deterrence itself is succinctly described as "manipulating someone's behavior by threatening him with harm."

Russians with long memories recall grimly that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles sought to intimidate them with his "brinkmanship" of the early 1950's, when the United States held overwhelming nuclear superiority. Americans with long memories remember, in turn, that Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev unquestionably did intimidate them in the late 1950's with his "Sputnik diplomacy," which created the illusion that the United States was imperiled by a "missile gap."

The American-Soviet arms control accords of the 1960's and the 1970's introduced a measure of stability into the nuclear rivalry that was unimaginable in the 1950's, only to have it shaken severely by the collapse of American-Soviet détente.

The United States and the Soviet Union in many respects are now back where they started in the elusive search for nuclear equilibrium. Their offensive-based strategy for deterrence would be completely overturned if President Reagan's intended space-based defense against missile attack, dubbed "Star Wars," came into existence as he initially projected it. The more realistic question is whether some portions of it will be developed, to produce a mixed deterrent force of offensive and defensive weapons.

At this stage the Soviet Union is counting heavily on public opinion, especially in Europe, for its priority, which is to forestall the Reagan defense plan, with negotiations now broadened to all three arenas of arms control: limiting intercontinental-range weapons, European-based weapons, and weapons in space.

The Soviet Union failed ignominiously in 1983 to block the initial deployment in Western Europe of American Pershing II and cruise missiles, to offset Soviet SS-20 missiles, despite widespread allied misgivings over accepting the U.S. weapons.

That jarring setback demonstrated that the Soviet Union cannot always capitalize on its supposed large advantage over opponents: its ability to impose secrecy on all levels of its operations, and to control its press and public opinion, while it is free to influence its opponents.

U.S. policymakers have long protested the "double standard" which operates on the American side, leaving U.S. strategy vulnerable to "leaks to the press or Congress that undercut their bargaining position."

There undoubtedly is a double standard on secrecy between East and West, and sometimes it clearly is a disadvantage for Western negotiators. It is one of the prices the West pays knowingly for its open system.

Early in the nuclear age the United States government

recognized, albeit reluctantly, the need for considerable openness in nuclear matters.

Documents made public by the State Department last year show that after the Soviet Union in 1949 broke the American nuclear monopoly, there was considerable debate inside the White House over whether the government "should adopt a

No matter how sincere the two nations may be about arms control, it is important to remember that bluff, guile, and deception are imbedded in the history of nuclear deterrence.

policy of candor toward the American people" about the risk of an "atomic arms race."

The issue was pressed forcefully by high-level consultants appointed at the end of the Truman administration, headed by physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, with Allen W. Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency among the advisers. In an extremely pessimistic report to the incoming Eisenhower administration in 1953, the consultants concluded that U.S. disarmament policy since 1946 for international control of atomic energy had proved unworkable, and they were unable to find any set of proposals that were not dangerous to the United States, or unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

Their first recommendation was that "it is essential for the American government and people to know the basic meaning of the atomic arms race."

"American foreign policy," their report said, "rests upon two great internal forces; one is the power of public opinion, and the other is the interplay of energies in a large and sprawling government of checks, balances, offices, and men. At present both of these great forces, in a very large measure, are governed by a basically insufficient assessment of the realities of the world in which we live. It is bad enough to live in a very dangerous world; it is still worse to be unaware of the danger."

The "candor" theme became official policy and helped stimulate President Eisenhower's "atoms for peace" proposal which was blocked, but inspired creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

In the forty years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the American press as a whole, until quite recent years, either has not been very penetrating or comprehensive in its examination of nuclear questions. Generally only the largest newspapers and magazines have had the resources, or interest, to pursue the subject in depth, although there have been notable regional exceptions with consistent first-class coverage.

Most American press preoccupation, typically, has been with weapons — numbers, warheads, range, accuracy, and above all, "who's ahead?"

This hardware-centered approach has cross-nourished the

standard Pentagon budgetary game of grossly exaggerating your opponent's military strength, and minimizing your own, which Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger has played even more baldly than his predecessors.

The deeper concepts, theories, and strategies of nuclear competition and survival were given short shrift in the average American newspaper or broadcast until, by a twist of fate, President Reagan and his administration unwittingly sounded the alarm with their loose rhetoric about nuclear war in 1981. Suddenly town halls and politicians and theologians were all fearful of a nuclear holocaust, and the press was rushing to find specialists.

It is no tribute to the nation's entire information and education system that opinion polls before the 1984 election showed that most Americans had virtually no understanding of the U.S. policy for "first use" of nuclear weapons. A survey showed that 81 percent of Americans mistakenly believed that it is American policy to use nuclear weapons "if, and only if, the Soviets attack the United States first with nuclear weapons" — not realizing that under alliance defense policy the United States may also use them against a non-nuclear Soviet attack.

For all of these reasons *Time* magazine correspondent Strobe Talbott's best-selling book last year, *Deadly Gambits*, was a landmark event in journalist coverage of what goes into and comes out of nuclear arms control negotiations.

Portions of the information in Talbott's book could be found in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, NBC, CBS, or a dozen other publications or networks. But no one had reported in such depth the bitterly personal, often petty, infighting and maneuvering by policy-making officials behind the scenes during three years of the Reagan administration.

The dismaying aspect of the report was not simply the administration's arms control bungling, posturing, and stonewalling, and the Soviet Union's obstruction and obfuscation documented by Talbott. To those knowledgeable about the subject, the greatest disappointment has been the inadequacies shown in the competency of the nation's leadership on arms control, and especially the president's great weaknesses.

President Reagan was painfully displayed to be "a detached, sometimes befuddled character," who "frequently did not understand basic aspects of the nuclear weapons issue and of policies being promulgated in his name." American nuclear arms control policy as a whole was described by Talbott as "policy made and remade in response to politics," not to the imperatives of nuclear survival.

The president, it also should be noted, was not damaged one whit in the outcome of the election so far as anyone could prove, by having several of Talbott's glaring examples of his lack of nuclear knowledge cited on national television by Democratic opponent Walter F. Mondale in his debate with Reagan.

Nevertheless, the combination of the Talbott report and other outcries over lack of expertise about arms control at the top of the Reagan administration clearly did contribute to shaking up the administration's arms control negotiators. In

addition, White House officials maintain that President Reagan has now filled in critical gaps in his nuclear knowledge.

The Talbott book has had other repercussions. It brought on a spirited exchange initiated by historian Theodore Draper in *The New York Times Book Review* last December over the extraordinarily detailed quotations used by Talbott for the most

It is bad enough to live in a very dangerous world; it is still worse to be unaware of the danger.

senior officials, without any sources listed. Draper questioned what he called the risk of presenting "journalistic history" developed "through the medium of a single, non-elected journalist." It is a question that is likely to recur in the future with other writing.

Talbott in his defense said he was not professing to write "the last word on an event" but a contribution that is "valuable both in the present and in the future. . . ."

It is an ambitious goal which we all share for ourselves.

Daily journalism cannot match the depth and breadth of insight that a journalist/scholar like Strobe Talbott and a handful of others can provide for this subject when they have the luxury of book-rent time and space. But equally, daily print and broadcast journalism must stop pretending that it can "cover" the complexities of nuclear arms competition with the same resources that are allotted to reporting high school football games or civic events or, home decorating.

It was not so many years ago that newsrooms glorified the hard-bitten, Hollywood-style editor who would growl at young reporters wanting to include some basic fact of science, or history, or geography in their stories, "We're not running a damned grammar school."

Well, the fact is, sometimes we are. For the sake of nuclear survival, it is necessary at times to supply information that should more logically come from courses given in grammar school, high school, or college. The ignorant voter casts no less of a ballot in elections affecting the nation's fate than the Ph.D.

One may scoff at the ability of journalism to bear this burden. But until society can offer a more effective means of filling the great gaps which exist in public knowledge on this critical subject, we had better recognize that we ignore the uninformed at our own personal peril. □





In a joint endeavor, the Russian Research Center and the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University presented a day and evening of orientation for journalists interested in the Soviet Union. Nearly one hundred newspeople from the Boston area and beyond — some from out of state — participated in the program. The previous issue of *Nieman Reports* carried a transcript of one of the afternoon panels on the subject of social conditions inside the Soviet Union.

The title for the evening session was “The Experience of Covering the News in Moscow and Reporting and Editing It from the Outside.”

The following pages include comments from two of the participating journalists: Samuel Rachlin and Marvin Kalb.

The program was organized by Marshall Goldman, Associate Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, and Professor of Economics, Wellesley College.

The U.S. Department of State and the William and Mary Greve Foundation were sponsors of the event.

Cameras and Microphones in Moscow

Samuel Rachlin, Moscow correspondent for Danish Radio and Television, is a Nieman Fellow '85 and Lounsbery Fellow at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. His comments were preceded by the showing of an excerpt from his television documentary, Vladimir Vysotsky — A Voice from Russia.

Vysotsky, poet, singer, actor, was one of the most popular Soviet balladeers. Since his death he has become even more of a cult figure.

Rachlin's documentary describes what lies behind the Vysotsky myth by using some of Vysotsky's own songs, as well as interviews with people who knew him personally or through his work.

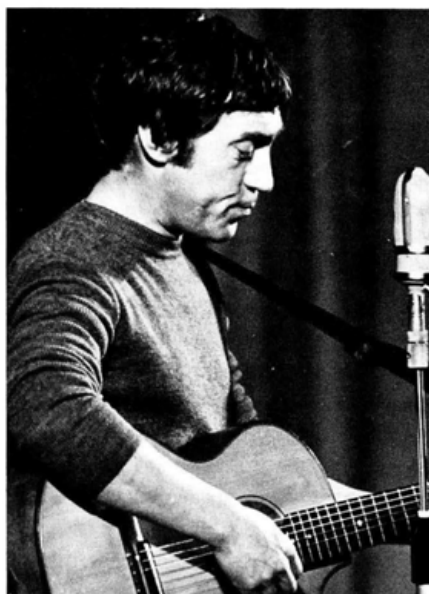
The film was shown on Danish Television in 1981 and eventually was aired by television stations in Western Europe, Canada, New Zealand, and other countries. In the United States it was carried by PBS stations in September 1983.

SAMUEL RACHLIN

I would like to start out by telling you briefly how this documentary about Vladimir Vysotsky was made and then talk generally about the operation and organization of the bureau that I was in charge of during the seven years I spent in Moscow.

The film you just saw a segment of was produced in the months immediately after Vladimir Vysotsky's death in July 1980, during the Olympic Games in Moscow. His death and funeral in many respects became an eye-opener for me, and one of the most important events for my understanding of Russia and her people.

On the afternoon when Vysotsky was buried, about one hundred thousand people gathered at Taganka Square. This happened despite the Olympic Games that dominated everything, and despite the fact that Vysotsky's death was unannounced and nobody even had been asked to appear at the Square, the starting point for the funeral procession to the cemetery.



Vladimir Vysotsky, 1938-1980

Also amazing was the fact that very few foreign correspondents paid attention to the funeral event. Everybody seemed so preoccupied with the coverage of the Olympic Games that there was no time to bother about the death of a poet and singer. My guess is that there were only five or six Western correspondents who found their way to Taganka Square that afternoon. Without their presence, the event would have passed unobserved by the foreign press based in Moscow.

We few journalists spread the word about this extraordinary funeral to our colleagues and later in the day many rushed to the square to try to catch up. But it was already too late, and they then had to rely for their reporting on those few of us who had been there from the very beginning.

Vysotsky's funeral was a revelation for me in the sense that until then, I had not really understood what a significant person he was in contemporary Soviet culture, what a phenomenon he was, and what he meant to Russians of all generations and social groups. Other journalists were in agreement that none of us had appreciated the significance of Vysotsky while he was alive, what he meant to the Russian people, and what an important role he and his songs played in the lives of the Russians. However, it was no wonder that as foreigners we did not understand this, because even Vysotsky's closest friends and colleagues did not realize it until the day of the funeral. Only then did everyone understand how popular a figure he was and that his death was seen by many as a terrible loss and a national tragedy.

Furthermore, for me the funeral confirmed what an important factor emotionalism is in Russia. Although I had been aware of this for some time, I never had seen it expressed so clearly as at this event.

About a year after my arrival in Moscow in 1977, I was at a dinner party at the home of an American colleague. One of the guests was a well-known Soviet author. During the meal, the subject of Poland came up, since some violent clashes between workers and Polish authorities had taken place

The entrance to Taganka Theater, where Vysotsky often played the role of Hamlet. The doorway is posted with an announcement of his death. Up to then the only public declaration was a brief notice in the obituary section of a newspaper. It took up a fraction of an inch of space and was indistinguishable from other notices. But word spread rapidly, and Vysotsky's devotees spontaneously gathered in Taganka Square to leave tributes of fresh flowers, notes, and pictures at the theater. Someone has offered a guitar; another person, a picture of Shakespeare; another, a placard reading "What a shame that the wrong ones are dying."

The police moved in and began to collect the tributes in sacks and carry them away. The crowd cried, "Shame! Shame!"



once again in some Polish cities.

One of us asked the author if he thought that anything like that could happen in the Soviet Union, and if he believed that demonstrations, strikes, and violent confrontations with the authorities could occur because of the people's dissatisfaction and resentment. He laughed and said that the problem with us foreigners was that we do not understand the reactions and behavior of Russian people. His view was that events like those in Poland could never take place in the Soviet Union because the Russians react so differently not only from Westerners, but also Poles. To illustrate his point he told a story from his youth, in the years right after World War II when he was living in Leningrad.

One day he was walking down a street, he said, when he suddenly came across a crowd of very angry and excited people. Coming closer, he saw that they were picking up cobblestones and throwing them into a small bakery store.

"When I saw that my people were throwing stones into a bakery store," he continued, "then I decided that I have to join my people and I started throwing stones, too."

After a while he noticed that police cars were coming down the street, and

he decided it was time to get away, so he and another young man ran from the scene. When they reached a safe place, he asked his unknown companion what was actually going on there in front of the store. The young man answered that the cause of the episode was a young soldier.

It seems that the soldier, in uniform, had been walking down the street with his girlfriend. Apparently he had had too much to drink and was in a very good mood. At one point he stopped to kiss and caress this young woman, but at the same moment a policeman passed by and he got the impression that the girl was resisting and that the soldier was abusing her. The policeman interfered and a scuffle then developed between the two men. When passersby saw that a policeman was beating up a soldier, they immediately intervened to help the soldier.

Shortly the policeman saw no other way out than to seek refuge in the bakery. By then the crowd was so excited and angry that they started bombarding the store with stones and whatever they could find in the street.

The Soviet author explained that the Russians act and react strongly on emotional impact. At the sight of a soldier

under attack — a military man who had defended the fatherland and spilled his blood for the people — the feelings of the passersby had become aroused, and that was what triggered the violent reaction.

That anecdote made me aware of Russian emotionalism as one very important psychological factor, and I tried to identify it wherever I could. Vysotsky's funeral was the single most illuminating event for that, and I then decided that I would use it as the starting point for a documentary to show not only who Vysotsky was as a person and artist, but also reveal some of those important psychological mechanisms that are essential for the understanding of the Russians.

I worked on the documentary for seven or eight months and went back to Copenhagen in the spring of 1981 to edit the material and get the film ready for the first anniversary of Vysotsky's death.

When I came to Moscow in 1977, I had to start from scratch since the Danish Broadcasting Corporation had not had a bureau there. This meant



To appease the angry crowd, people inside the theater place a large photograph of Vysotsky in an upstairs window. The populace breaks into applause.

Inside the building, Vysotsky's body was lying in state. The stage had been set for the production of Hamlet; the open coffin was placed at the center; Vysotsky had been arrayed in his costume for Hamlet.

that I had to get an apartment and office space, hire the necessary Soviet staff, and go through all the other hassles of opening a new bureau. In some ways the task was made easier by the fact that there was not much choice and one had to rely entirely on what the Foreign Ministry, its Press Department, and the well-known institution UPDK (the service organization for all foreign residents) would do or would not do to accommodate one.

However, I was lucky in the sense that I was given space for office and living quarters in central Moscow in one of the best compounds for foreigners. It is known as Sad Sam, the acronym of the address of this compound, Sadovaya-Samotechnaya.

After hiring a secretary, the next hurdle was to hire a cameraman, as I would have to work with a Soviet crew. It was possible to bring in your own crew as the American networks had done, and West German Television as well, but my company had decided that I should work with a Soviet crew like many other Western television companies in Moscow.

Although I filed my application for a cameraman right away, it took a year to get one. In the following six years, I produced about ten documentaries ranging in time from 30 to 75 minutes.

Working with a Soviet crew has obvious disadvantages, since such a group can function easily as the extended arm of various Soviet organizations, but it also has some advantages. Doors into different Soviet institutions opened easier when the authorities knew that a Soviet crew would be filming, and in many other situations the crew melted into the surroundings and was much less conspicuous than a Western crew would be.

One of the aims I had before coming to Moscow as a television reporter was to use the medium where it is strongest and has a clear advantage when compared to the written press. Television can establish an authenticity that is unmatched by any other medium. A film camera can get closer to things and persons and let them speak for themselves. I wanted to let people get on the screen and speak directly to the audience and relay their own views, thoughts, and feelings.

I have to say that I disagree strongly with what has been said earlier today about the value of street interviews. I have used them often in my reporting from Moscow and they always have had a very strong effect. It is true that Soviet

citizens will not come out with everything they have on their minds right away when faced by a camera and a microphone, but nevertheless, street interviews have proved to be very informative and illuminating, both directly and indirectly. Not all answers are predictable and some are very surprising.

Also, street interviews serve another purpose. They show the people at home that the Russians look almost like us and that they are not so frightened that they do not dare to respond to questions — often controversial — from a Western reporter in the street.

One prerequisite for doing this kind of interviewing, though, is that you are able to ask more than one question. You have to know the language so well that you can respond to the answers and follow them up. It is not enough to learn one question by heart, or have some questions written down on a piece of paper.

From the response that I have received to these street interviews, I can tell that this is a journalistic tool that one definitely should not underestimate when working with television in Moscow.

Also, I wanted to eliminate some of the stereotypes that have been mentioned here earlier in the day. Not only will I

call them stereotypes, but also prejudices and misconceptions about the Soviet Union and its people. Nothing is more damaging for our understanding of that country than age-long prejudices and biased views that we must do away with if we are honest in our desire to understand the Russians, and do not want just to take the easiest way out and confirm the old prejudices.

Often I have been asked how I knew how far I could go in my reporting and how I knew where the limits were. Some of the old prejudices cause people to ask, "How did you dare to go so far?"

The point is that actually I have never drawn any limits for what I can report and what I cannot report from Moscow. As Western reporters we are posted in Moscow to relay information and report

events and anything we find newsworthy or of interest to our listeners, viewers, or readers. The question is, therefore, not where you draw the borderline, but whether you keep back any information. I must say that in those seven years when I reported from Moscow, I did not at any point find myself in a situation where I kept back information that I felt was necessary and interesting enough to report. But I have been often in a situation where I worked hard to decide how to phrase a story and how to present it.

Part of the wisdom that I came away with, and one of the rules for reporting from Moscow, is that you can get the same message across in different ways. □

Photographs by the author.

Focus on Moscow

Marvin Kalb, NBC News chief diplomatic correspondent, was based in Moscow for five years. He presently covers U.S. foreign policy at the State Department and is moderator of the nationally televised program Meet the Press.

He is anchorman, reporter, and writer of NBC News White Paper documentaries on foreign affairs. He is also the author of five books of nonfiction and two works of fiction.

He joined NBC in 1980 after 23 years with CBS News.

MARVIN KALB

At the beginning, I would like to say that I appear before you first as someone who worked for the State Department and then, for most of my life since, as a journalist. My experience in the Soviet Union was from early January 1956, through 1963, and I'm talking primarily of the immediate post-Stalinist period, the hurly-burly experi-

ence of the Nikita Khrushchev era. I have been back and forth to the Soviet Union many times since, but I would like to tell you about it in a way that I hope can be helpful — about what it was like then, and how similar it is today.

When I first returned as a journalist, after a couple of years there as a diplomat, I brought my press card to the Foreign Ministry to be presented to Mr. Kharlamov, who was at that time the head of the press department.

"Ah, Mr. Kalb," he said in Russian. "I see you are now showing up in the capacity of a correspondent."

"Whoops," I thought, and said, "No, Mr. Kharlamov, you don't understand. I really was, at that time, a member of the State Department. But now I really am with CBS."

He smiled. "But of course. And what do you want to do here?"

I thought, Well, I'm not going to tell him I'm going to do political stories, so I told him I was going to do feature stories for television.

He said, "Feature stories? Give me an example." I looked out the window; it

was a typical snowy day.

"Well, I'd like to do a story about snow removal."

"And what would you do?" he asked.

"Well, I would start with beautiful pictures of the Kremlin — the snow coming down and piling up."

I then looked out the window of the Foreign Ministry. In the street below I saw three ladies, with brooms made up of twigs, shoveling the snow.

I said, "And then I would take pictures of the women shoveling the snow into big piles, and the big piles being taken to trucks, and the trucks taking the snow piles to the Moscow River."

He interjected. "But why do you have to show the women?"

"Because they're there."

"But they won't be there when we have communism."

"But that's when you have communism. Now I'm here, and they're there, so I have to show them."

He said, "No, you can't show them. We're going to have trouble, we're going to have trouble."

I said, "Well, I hope not."

He said, "No, we will have trouble because we want to show in pictures what it is we are going to do and what it is we are going to be. We don't want to show you now what we are."

Everything in the Soviet Union is political. I sat and watched Sam's production in absolute amazement — a beautifully, sensitively done piece. In my time there with a camera, it was extraordinarily difficult to take pictures. They were very nervous about any camera at all. I remember once in 1965 doing a program called *The Volga*. I went down to the river, spent four months doing it, trying to take pictures of what we saw. We'd come upon these small towns which really had not changed in one hundred to two hundred years.

They knew what I had in mind. We had one CBS crew and three Russian crews. One day, I said, "Look, I'm going to take a picture at dawn of the sun rising over the Volga because it's so beautiful."

They said, "But only with the Russian

crew."

I said, "That's no problem."

But this was in the summertime, and the sun came up very early, and they drank very late.

My guide at the time said he worked for *Novosji*, which was just going into business. I tried to wake him, as I told him I would, at three o'clock in the morning. He was sound asleep. I shook him. I took a glass of water and poured it over his head, but he wouldn't wake up. "Okay, I've done my job," I said to myself.

We then took a picture of the sun rising. As it got just a little bit lighter, the boat stopped in front of a rickety pier. We couldn't get off the boat, but we could look down into this village. And the pictures were extraordinary, so extraordinary that when the documentary was shown in January of 1966, I was called into the Russian embassy and told that it was, for the most part, an "interesting" picture, but there were several things wrong with it. One, I had described Lenin as part Boy Scout, part God. They didn't object to God. They were very upset about Boy Scout. And the other thing was the pictures of this Volga town. I saw that town over and over again, but how do you convey the picture of it?

Russia is a very difficult country to portray on television. In the summertime, it is a model for color film. With the pastel shades and the nineteenth-century buildings, there is a beauty there on Kodachrome that is not there to the eye itself. The film does not convey the smell, the decay; the film does not take you behind the facade. You can show a building that has just been put up, but unless you get really close and show the cracks that appear in it after six months, I don't think you're showing construction in the Soviet Union honestly. It's a very difficult place because quite often your copy — what you say — fights against the picture you've taken. The copy is everything that you know, or most of what you know on that subject, but the picture is only one dimensional. I agree with Sam to an extent. The picture is fantastic; it's wonderful; it gives you a sense of the way Russians look and all

of that; but it doesn't really tell you enough — it tells you something, but it doesn't tell you enough.

For example, on the question of censorship. Sam said that he wrote freely, and that's a wonderful experience. Part of the time when I was there as a journalist, we had direct censorship. That meant that all of the Western press subjected to direct censorship would have to show up at the Central Telegraph office on Gorky Street in the evening, when we were filing our stories. We would have to go directly to two or three women in green smocks behind the counter, and they would take our stories behind a glass door with a green curtain, and then, in one minute, or in one hour, or in a day, or sometimes never, you'd get your copy back, and only then could you broadcast or file it.

Direct censorship produced a very intimate feeling among all of the correspondents because we had a sense that we were really working together. And I remember too that it produced hilarious scenes of how the Western press functioned, particularly how the British press functioned.

For example, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail* were in a state of direct, fierce competition. One never let the other out of his sight, because you never knew what was going to happen. In August of 1960, as I recall, the Russians sent two dogs — Belka and Strelka — into outer space. They were two lovely little dogs. In the late afternoon at the Academy of Sciences, there was a news conference at which the two dogs starred. In the evening we were all at the Central Telegraph trying to write our stories. I noticed the *Express* man looking terribly pained. He kept pacing back and forth. And then suddenly inspiration struck, and he ran to his typewriter, batted out his story, gave it to the censor, got it back within a minute, screamed, "Get me London!" and got London within a minute!

We were all nonplussed — "Jesus, what has he got?"

The line, fortunately, wasn't good, so he had to scream, and he then dictated the following story. I remember the lead: "I just drank champagne on Gorky Street

with six Soviet Cosmonauts preparing to go into outer space." Pure fiction.

The *Daily Mail* reporter, as you could well imagine, was in a panic. He paced up and down; he didn't know what to do. Finally, inspiration struck *him!* He ran to his typewriter, batted out his story, gave it to the censor, got it back in a minute, got London in a minute, and screamed out the following story: "Plans to send six Soviet cosmonauts into outer space mysteriously scrubbed."

Well, we all laughed. We thought it was absolutely marvelous. At five o'clock the following morning, I was awakened by my office in New York. The office imparted to me the following information: Alexander Kendrick [NF '41], our very seasoned journalist in London, had read the two stories, and though he didn't believe them, figured that where there's smoke, there's fire, and you've got to get Kalb up real early to get on to this story.

What's the point? Why would the Russians allow this idiocy to go through? Was it true? It was obviously false. It turned out they had no problem whatever with the speculation that they were close to putting a man or even six men into outer space, no matter how absurd the story, if it furthered their aim. Then they let it go right through.

On the other hand, you never knew the area of acute sensitivity until you gave it to the censor and you would find words cut out, paragraphs cut out, or whole stories never returned, and then you knew! You lost the first time, but you always gained the second, because then you knew what was truly sensitive and what you ought to be looking for, and so they were really helping you, in a very significant way, though they never intended to.

During this Khrushchev period, we had, as journalists, extraordinary access to the Politburo. You see, during the time that Nikita Khrushchev was in power, one of the things that he was trying to do was unshackle the Soviet Union from Stalinism. We know about his famous speech in February of 1956; we know about the publication in May

in *Kommunist* of that Mikoyan speech — or parts of it.

There were many things happening in 1956 and '57; and by the time I got back as a journalist in 1959, what we found was that come a national day — not all national days, obviously, but often — Khrushchev would arrive with the entire Politburo to these functions, and he *loved* the Western press. Wrong verb. He *used* the Western press the way we are used in Washington every single day. One of the problems about being an American correspondent in the Soviet Union is that we don't get used often enough. We feel uncomfortable. Here was an opportunity when Khrushchev, with incredible shrewdness, knew the value of the Western press, how it could be used to further his own aims. He was a man of extraordinary quickness, sharpness, with a wonderful sense of humor. He was a terrific storyteller; he could win you over with his charm and shrewdness.

On one occasion in the Kremlin, at a function for... whoever it was... we were all standing back. There were two of us Khrushchev knew who spoke Russian — Henry Shapiro [NF '55] and myself. We were kind of "pool" men for the rest of the press corps, the American press corps. Anyway, on one occasion, Khrushchev was way back there; we were way back here; there was about a football field of no-man's-land between us. I was positive I saw him beckon — and so I started walking toward him, but I was blocked immediately. Then, helpless, I looked at him. He said something to somebody, and suddenly the guards vanished, and I started walking very slowly toward him. It was all right.

He looked at me, and he said, "Isn't it a wonderful day?"

I said, "Yes, sir, it is a wonderful day."

He said that the skies were very clear today. I said, "Yes, sir, the skies were very clear today."

He said, "You could see 58,000 feet into the sky."

I said, "Sir, you could see 58,000 feet into the sky."

He said, "Do you know we have a missile that could shoot" — I remember the phrase — "a fly in the sky at 58,000

feet?"

I wasn't sure about the "fly in the sky" business, so I turned to somebody who was with Khrushchev for confirmation. At which point Khrushchev turned and said, "Goodbye, have a wonderful time."

Okay, now, this is the leader of the Soviet Union, and he's just told me something. I am a journalist; I am also the pool reporter, and so I wander back utterly dazed by the experience, and I say, "Nikita Khrushchev just said 'We have a missile that could shoot a fly in the sky at 58,000 feet.'" Boom! Everyone raced off. It was marvelous to see the reports the following day. The British press: "Khrushchev threatens..." *The New York Times*, very meticulous: "Nikita Khrushchev said..."

Dan Schorr was the CBS correspondent in those years. There was a rumor in June of 1956 that there would be a meeting of the Central Committee. Dan wanted to find out if there would be a meeting, and there was Khrushchev at one of those functions.

Dan said, "Mr. Khrushchev, I want to go on holiday at the end of this month, and my office won't let me go because there's a rumor, as you well know, that there's going to be a meeting of the Central Committee. Could you tell me, sir — this is not for a story — I just want to know if I can go on holiday."

Khrushchev's eyes twinkled mischievously.

"Mr. Schorr," he said, "go on holiday."

Dan was elated. "Thank you very much, sir. I really appreciate that."

And he started walking away, thinking he had a great story, when he heard this little voice behind him say, "And, Mr. Schorr, if we hold a meeting of the Central Committee, we'll hold it without you."

It's good to develop a sixth sense of knowing what's good and what's bad. I remember at the time the Berlin Wall went up, August 13, 1961, a woman who worked for a friend said she had to go out and buy flour. The following morning she came back with a lot of flour and a lot of salt.

I asked, "Why are you doing that?"

She said, "Well, it just seems the right thing to do now."

And I checked around and I dug back into my own memory. I had a sense she was telling me that things were very serious, because it had to do with Berlin, and it had to do with Germany.

However, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, she did not go out to buy flour and salt. I asked myself, why is it that the Russian people are so worked up on something that related to Berlin, but on an issue where they were building underground shelters in the backyards in the United States, the Russians were not hoarding flour and salt, because they had an instinctive feel that somehow or other, Cuba was nothing we were going to fight over. Berlin, we would fight over. Now the Russians could have been wrong, but I don't think so. I think they have a much better feel for what is going on than we do.

My sense is that for journalists going on assignment to Moscow — if you don't know the history, the language, and you're going for a long tour — save your company a lot of money, and don't go.

Second, get trained, not at the Russian Institute at Columbia, but at the Russian Research Center at Harvard, a much better place. Nothing really surprised me in the Soviet Union in any significant way; we were ready for the whole variety of stories that came up.

Third, in the words of Harrison Salisbury, keep your eye on the sparrow's fall. Always remember as a journalist that if you follow the rudimentary basics of your craft, with the knowledge you'll get at the Russian Research Center and with the knowledge of the language, you're going to do a good job. You'll do a good job because the basic raw material will come through, in time the subtleties will come through, and you'll develop that sixth sense based upon those chance encounters with Russians, based upon the occasional Russian you know really well, based upon the knowledge of the Russian press — the magazines, very important — and based upon your good instinct. □

UPDATE: K-9 Justice in Philadelphia

David Lee Preston

In the six months after *The Philadelphia Inquirer* began detailing how K-9 officers in the city had lost control of their dogs, only twenty K-9 attacks were reported in the city — a decline of 71.6 percent from the rate of attacks for the previous three years.

The K-9 articles, written by reporter William K. Marimow [NF '83] and profiled in the Winter 1984 issue of *Nieman Reports*, exposed attacks on innocent, unarmed civilians by a small group of the police department's 125 dog-and-handler teams.

The newspaper articles began on April 15, 1984, and continued unabated through the summer and into the fall, as Marimow received additional documentation from various sources. Included were accounts of a man mauled while handcuffed, a dog that attacked its own police handler twice in nine days, and a K-9 that attacked its handler's infant son.

On January 28, 1985, Philadelphia attorney Beverly K. Thompson filed a \$2 million civil suit on behalf of a Delaware State College student who had been attacked by a Philadelphia police dog in June 1983.

The suit — filed against former K-9 officer Daniel Bechtel, former Mayor William J. Green, and former Police Commissioner Morton B. Solomon — was filed as a class action on behalf of Matthew Horace, 22, and other victims of questionable K-9 attacks.

The suit claims that the city for years had failed "to provide training and supervision regarding the lawful and appropriate use of trained canines as deadly force...and such failure amounts to gross negligence and deliberate indifference to the safety and lives of citizens."

The attack on Horace was among those detailed by Marimow in his initial report in April and covered in the *Nieman Reports* article.

Thompson said she had decided to file a class action suit, which would allow other victims of unwarranted attacks to have

their claims addressed in the same case, because it "brings more squarely to the court's attention how widespread the problem was and what can happen when there is a lack of policy and a failure to promulgate guidelines and rules."

The case has been assigned to U.S. District Judge John P. Fullam.

The lawsuit is the most recent in a series of developments resulting from Marimow's articles.

Under direct orders from new Mayor W. Wilson Goode and pressure from federal investigators, the K-9 corps took steps to reduce the number of unnecessary police dog attacks on citizens. All twelve officers involved in the questionable attacks — about 10 percent of the police department's K-9 corps — were removed from the unit.

As the year ended, a U.S. Justice Department criminal investigation of the K-9 cases was moving ahead despite an unexpected setback. In December, Marimow reported that a federal grand jury had voted not to indict former K-9 officer Stephen Gubicza, who had been accused of ordering his dog, Stormy, to attack an innocent, unarmed man in May 1983.

The critical factor in the grand jury's decision, federal officials told Marimow, was that Gubicza had elected to testify before the grand jury — something that is extremely rare for a target of a grand jury investigation. The officials believe that the panel had been impressed by Gubicza, who appeared in his blue police uniform.

Later in December, Marimow reported that Justice Department officials investigating questionable K-9 attacks planned to proceed with ongoing inquiries and newly opened cases.

"As in almost all Justice Department investigations, the cases are pieced together by FBI agents, who turn over their investigative work to prosecutors from the U.S. attorney's office," Marimow reported. "The assistant U.S. attorneys then evaluate the FBI files and decide which cases to present to the grand jury, which votes on whether to indict."

Eyewitnesses to three of the nine K-9 attack cases detailed in *The Inquirer's* original story told Marimow that they had testified before the grand jury and had recounted under oath their recollections of the incidents.

U.S. Attorney Edward S. G. Dennis Jr., whose staff supervises the grand jury presentations, told *Nieman Reports* in January that he was evaluating the cases under investigation and would decide by mid-February whether to request that the grand jury indict any of the K-9 officers. Of course, the ultimate decision on whether to indict belongs to the grand jurors.

The criminal investigation by the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's office began April 16, the day after the first article appeared. Most of the cases Marimow had detailed were examined, and additional cases were opened based on complaints received from K-9 victims and their attorneys.

Marimow told *Nieman Reports* that from the beginning of his research he believed the criminal cases would be difficult to prosecute "because you have a dog as the ultimate weapon." Therefore, he concluded, in defending the questionable attacks, the officers could assert that they had lost control of their dogs.

Marimow also said that the grand jury's decision not to

David Lee Preston, a reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer, recounts recent legal developments following the Inquirer's series on unwarranted attacks by the city's K-9 squads.

indict Gubicza was a letdown because the Justice Department "went after this with such ardor that it created an expectation there would be results. But even though I believe the criminal justice system is a fallible one, I also believe it's the best that we have, and that once the grand jury renders its decision, then justice has been done."

Marimow's articles led to establishment of the first written guidelines in the 22-year history of the K-9 unit. Those guidelines spell out specifically when an officer is authorized to command a dog to attack a citizen. Prior to Marimow's investigation, K-9 officers had almost complete discretion to decide whether an attack was warranted.

That directive also added mandatory in-service training sessions for K-9 officers and for the first time requires that each K-9 attack be reported to superior officers and investigated by police officials. Similar follow-up investigations already had been required whenever a Philadelphia police officer discharges a gun.

"Before the articles, there was nothing in writing to dictate when a dog could be used, the process or procedure of reporting a dog bite, and any outline in terms of how accountability and responsibility would be determined in reference to dog bites that result from poor judgment," said John Green, president of the Guardian Civic League, an influential organization of black police officers.

"What resulted from the articles is a good example of the importance of a free press in America, one that explores situations and provides people with information that is needed to effect change."

Green said the police department's response to the articles signaled a new direction for the department.

"There always has been a lot of paranoia about outside people looking at the agency, and always the immediate defense of any sort of criticism that existed," Green told *Nieman Reports*. "The police department automatically defended anything; it could have been the most blatant infringement on human life."

Green attributed the new attitude both to Marimow's articles and to a new and "sensitive" city administration under Mayor W. Wilson Goode.

"Although the police department and FOP [Fraternal Order of Police] initially defended the officers involved in the use of dogs, the administration did not, and that was significant," Green said. "The research was thorough, and more importantly Bill Marimow outlined the faults of the K-9 unit in such a graphic way and in such a realistic manner that it was hard for the police department to deny that what was included in the articles did exist."

Meanwhile, Philadelphia has witnessed a dramatic and documentable reduction in the number and nature of K-9 attacks, according to the police department's own data.

In an article November 27, 1984, Marimow reported that from April 15 through the end of October, only twenty attacks occurred in the city — a decline of 71.6 percent from the rate of attacks for the previous three years. Six of those twenty attacks were accidents.

Of the fourteen attacks that occurred on command, six occurred when police were called to search empty buildings where a break-in had been reported — one of the classic law-enforcement uses of the K-9 corps. Almost every other attack occurred when a police officer was being outrun by a fleeing felon.

Since April, then, the K-9 officers have been using the dogs in the way in which the founders of the K-9 corps intended. Also, the officers have been adhering to the new directive.

In the November 27 article, Robert S. Hurst, president of the Philadelphia lodge of the Fraternal Order of Police, said the directive was one of three reasons for the decline in attacks. The other reasons, Hurst said, were that the police department had added officers with K-9 experience to supervise K-9 officers, and had instituted mandatory retraining four times a year instead of twice a year.

Hurst told Marimow that although most K-9 officers would not admit it publicly, "The cops are thankful that there's more training now."

In addition, Anthony Taff, a professional dog trainer who had been hired by the city to create its original K-9 unit in 1962, told Marimow that the K-9 officers now were "using greater discretion out there. This [new data] to me shows a great improvement. . . ."

Earlier in the year, Marimow had reported that Taff criticized Philadelphia's K-9 training practices as emphasizing aggressiveness and attack work more than obedience training.

The results and duration of the criminal investigation will not be known for months, but the spotlight placed by the U.S. Justice Department on the questionable K-9 attacks seems to have served as a deterrent: K-9 officers know they can be subjects of criminal investigations if they allow their dogs to attack innocent people.

The city has shown its willingness to pay substantial sums to settle civil suits filed by the victims of unwarranted K-9 attacks. In the largest settlement to date, the Goode administration agreed in September to pay \$95,000 to settle the lawsuit of Joseph N. Halbherr, whose case was recounted in *The Inquirer's* original report. Halbherr had been attacked by Gubicza's dog, Stormy, in May 1980.

Daniel M. Preminger, a Philadelphia attorney who represents a victim of a K-9 attack, said Marimow's articles have helped enlighten the citizenry.

"If you're alive in Philadelphia, unless you're illiterate, you know about the dog cases," Preminger told *Nieman Reports*. "You have to."

Marimow, who shared the 1978 Pulitzer Prize for public service for an *Inquirer* series on police brutality, said the K-9 articles already have accomplished more than he had hoped for. The results of the criminal investigation, he said, are important, but there have already been major improvements in the performance of the K-9 corps.

"If officers get convicted and go to jail, that's more symbolic than substantive," Marimow said. "I think what's really important is that innocent people are no longer being mauled by police dogs which are out of control." □

On the Morality of Secretly Taped Interviews

Theodore L. Glasser

Reporters at *The Wall Street Journal* cannot surreptitiously tape-record telephone interviews without the permission of a bureau chief. And the bureau chief, in turn, must get permission from the managing editor. In at least the last ten years, nobody at the *Journal* has asked for permission to record an interview secretly, which means that either staffers don't violate the newspaper's policy or their efforts to record conversations are truly surreptitious — even their editors don't know about them.

But the point is that the *Journal* sees fit to restrict unannounced taping, a policy rooted in the belief that journalists' clandestine use of tape recorders violates the standards of acceptable journalism. And it is a policy widely shared among editors. In a recent survey of editors from newspapers with circulations of 25,000 or more, nearly 85 percent said they disapproved of surreptitious recordings. Overwhelmingly, the editors cited "ethics" as the reason for their disapproval.

But that secretly recorded interviews are as a rule unethical is a position more often asserted than argued. All too often the justification comes in the form of adjectives (dishonest, unfair, deceptive, sneaky, deceitful, repugnant) or instinct ("It doesn't sit well in the stomach to tape someone and not tell them you're doing it," as *New York Times* executive editor A. M. Rosenthal recently put it). While the *Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, CBS, and other major news organizations have either written or unwritten policies that prohibit or restrict unannounced taping, what is conspicuously missing is an explicit and compelling rationale for restricting the use of tape recorders, a justification grounded in principles accessible to reporters, sources, and readers alike.

I

While not every editor categorically proscribes covert recordings, strikingly few offer their unqualified support. A notable exception is Frederick Taylor,

executive editor of *The Wall Street Journal*, who opposes his newspaper's opposition to secretly recorded interviews.

Writing in a recent issue of *The Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Taylor wonders why so many editors choose to distinguish between various methods of recording and storing information. "We've gone from taking notes with pencils to typewriters to almost silent CRTs without a qualm," Taylor observes. "Why does one step further into the electronic age cause such shudders?"

It causes such shudders, I suspect, because not disclosing the use of tape recorders tends to be associated with ABSCAM-type entrapment; it reminds us of government surveillance, especially unauthorized wiretaps; and it brings to mind Watergate and Richard Nixon's secretly recorded White House conversations. Indeed, it may be the case that surreptitious recordings are thought of as unethical not because they are themselves a *prima facie* wrong but because they are associated with what is ordinarily thought of as wrongful conduct.

For editor Taylor, however, appearances can be deceiving. As Taylor seems to appreciate, concrete moral choices are largely circumstantial: Whether surreptitious recordings raise an ethical question depends on an assessment of circumstances. And in Taylor's view, a properly transacted conversation between a reporter and a reporter's source does not require the reporter to disclose the use

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of a tape recorder.

Taylor's conclusion, I believe, is essentially correct: A reporter's effort to record an interview secretly is, ethically speaking, a dilemma more apparent than real.

But why is it not wrong for journalists

ing" in their public roles. Accordingly, an individual acting as a reporter and an individual acting as a source are not, by definition, engaged in a private conversation. Technically, then, the Rules of Privacy distinguish between a private con-

propensity for full disclosure, they allow reporters and sources to distinguish between information that can be published with the full identity of the source, information that requires cloaked or anonymous attribution, and information that must be accepted off the record.

III

While journalists ordinarily stand opposed to almost any form of secrecy, and while this general opposition to secrecy might explain their overwhelming opposition to the use of concealed tape recorders, it is worth noting that the rules governing the journalistic interview — particularly the Rules of Confidence and Attribution — are themselves essentially justifications for secrecy. For when journalists and their sources agree not to reveal what was said or who said it, they effectively promise to keep secrets from their readers.

Probably most journalists would acknowledge that the rules of interviewing condone secrecy. But most journalists would simultaneously argue that this kind of secrecy is essential if readers expect their newspapers to publish anything beyond press releases. Journalists would argue that their readers, not their sources, benefit from this kind of secrecy. In other words, most journalists probably would argue that it is in society's best interest to tolerate certain kinds of secrecy.

Having established that journalists do not oppose secrecy *per se*, why is it that they do not justify secretly recorded interviews? Is there something distinctively distasteful about concealed tape recorders?

The opposition to secretly recorded interviews is more than likely a response to pressure from sources, who understandably would prefer not to have their words become so permanently and authentically a document in a reporter's archives. Well aware, however, that their own self-interest hardly qualifies as a justification for impugning a reporter's conduct, sources are careful to present the issue as a challenge to the reporter's integrity — or better yet, as a challenge to the integrity of journalism in general. To

How information is collected or stored is as much an aspect of journalistic autonomy as the choices reporters make when deciding what will be included and what will be omitted from the news story.

to record their interviews secretly? Why is it not deceptive? Why is it not dishonest? Is there a principled distinction between, say, an unauthorized FBI wiretap and a reporter's covert recording of a telephone interview? If indeed moral choices are circumstantial, then an answer to these questions lies in an examination of the peculiarities of the relationship between a reporter and a reporter's source, a relationship traditionally and characteristically governed by rules known to almost any experienced reporter or source.

II

Principally, there are three sets of rules governing the journalistic interview: 1) rules for establishing the privacy of a conversation, 2) rules for establishing the confidentiality of a conversation, 3) rules for establishing the manner in which a non-confidential conversation can be attributed to its source(s). While these rules can be examined independently, they are listed here in an important lexical order: Questions of confidentiality arise only when a conversation is not private, and questions of attribution arise only when a conversation is not confidential.

Rules of Privacy focus on roles — the role of reporter and the role of the source. When a conversation is said to be private, its participants are not "act-

versation and a conversation properly construed to be a journalistic interview.

When reporters and sources choose to keep a conversation secret, they claim confidentiality — not privacy. Like lawyers and their clients, physicians and their patients, clergy and their parishioners, reporters and their sources invoke confidentiality as a justification for not disclosing what is in essence a "public" — i.e., *professional* — conversation. Thus the Rules of Confidence apply only to what is *not* private; they establish confidentiality by distinguishing between information intended for public consumption and information intended for other uses.

If a conversation is neither private nor confidential, it then becomes necessary to decide the manner in which the conversation can be attributed. Rules of Attribution, therefore, apply only to information intended for publication; they establish how and to what degree the source will be publicly known.

Traditionally and currently, the Rules of Privacy, Confidence, and Attribution constitute a kind of contractual agreement between reporter and source, an arrangement typically of benefit to both parties. As a practical matter, these rules are important because they sketch the contours of the reporter-source relationship and provide a common language with which to negotiate the details of that relationship: As mutually acceptable criteria for restraining the journalists'

be sure, when sources lobby journalists on the issue of surreptitious recordings, the issue is duplicity: How can the press condemn a federal agency for its deceptive and dishonest practices when the press employs many of the same tactics?

Should journalists fall prey to the duplicity argument, it is only because they do not fully appreciate the important differences between secrecy, deception, and privacy. For when journalists secretly record their interviews, they do not engage in deception and they do not violate a source's privacy. And a secretly recorded interview is not a form of eavesdropping and does not constitute entrapment. The use of concealed tape recorders obviously involves secrecy, but the secrecy involved may be as justifiable as the secrecy involved when reporters and sources agree not to disclose a conversation or agree to protect the identity of a source.

IV

The use of concealed tape recorders neither compounds nor confuses the privacy issue: A reporter violates a source's privacy when the former proffers a private conversation and the latter infers otherwise. Generally, reporters run the risk of violating a source's privacy only when they decide unilaterally that a particular conversation is public, not private.

Even when the privacy violation involves deception, the use of a hidden tape recorder would appear to be irrelevant. When, for example, reporters conceal their identity in an effort to lull sources into an ostensibly private conversation, the deception necessarily involves secrecy — specifically, keeping secret the reporter's role as a reporter. But while deception always involves secrecy, it does not follow that secrecy always involves deception; it does not follow, therefore, that a secretly recorded conversation is necessarily an act of deception.

As Sissela Bok argues in her recent study of *Secrets*, the sequel to her popular examination of *Lying*, to "confuse secrecy and deception is easy, since all deception does involve keeping something secret — namely that about which one wishes to deceive others. But while

all deception requires secrecy, all secrecy is not meant to deceive. Consider the many forms of secrecy in which there need be no aim to mislead: that which may accompany human intimacy, for instance, or protect voters in casting their

porter's honor and sense of obligation — it can not be *only* a distrust of the reporter's use of a concealed tape recorder.

While the Rules of Privacy, Confidentiality, and Attribution can be — and

The use of a concealed tape recorder is not nearly the moral quandary its opponents would have us believe: It is not an invasion of privacy, it is not an act of deception, it is not a form of eavesdropping, and it does not constitute entrapment.

ballot" [emphasis added]. The same logic applies to a surreptitiously recorded interview: If sources are aware of the nature of the transaction — if indeed sources know that a conversation *is* an interview — then the use of a concealed tape recorder does not constitute deception. Conversely, if sources do not know they are being interviewed, the deception is a consequence of keeping secret the reporter's role as a reporter; the deception is *not* a consequence of keeping secret the use of a tape recorder. In short, secretly recording an interview may be part of a larger strategy to deceive a source, but secretly recording an interview is not *by itself* an act of deception.

Similarly, the use of a concealed tape recorder is not *ipso facto* a violation of the Rules of Confidence or the Rules of Attribution. There is no necessary connection between the use of a tape recorder — covert or not — and a promise of confidentiality or an agreement on whether or to what extent a source will be publicly identified. For no matter how information is collected or stored, reporters and their sources can still distinguish between confidential information and publishable information; and, if appropriate, they can still negotiate the manner in which the publishable information will be attributed to its source. Should sources distrust a reporter who endorses the practice of secretly recording interviews, it is clearly a distrust of the re-

often have been — defended in terms of their benefit to the larger community, I can think of no social or public benefit associated with a source's opportunity to negotiate the manner in which information can be stored or collected. Indeed, I would go so far as to propose that there ought to be no agreement between reporters and sources — tacit or otherwise — on how information gathered during a *bona fide* interview will be collected and stored: Once a source decides to make a public statement, the source necessarily loses control over how — i.e., in what form — that information will remain "in public." As a matter of principle, my argument presupposes that when reporters properly gain access to information — through a legitimate interview, for example — how that information is collected or stored is as much an aspect of journalistic autonomy as the choices reporters make when deciding what will be included and what will be omitted from the news story.

Finally, a few words on the popular but entirely misguided comparisons between secretly recorded interviews, wiretapping, and entrapment. The wiretapping comparison can be readily dismissed if only because wiretapping always involves an unauthorized third party. Wiretapping, a form of eavesdropping, entails secrecy of a kind wholly unlike the secrecy required when reporters surreptitiously record their interviews.

Ethics vs. Tactics

To argue that surreptitious recordings are of little moral consequence is not to argue that journalists ought to record their interviews secretly. There may be a variety of tactical reasons for banning the use of hidden tape recorders. For example, reporters might fear the loss of sources if it became known that secret recordings were the rule, not the exception. Or reporters might prefer to defend their accuracy and balance without the benefit of a comprehensive and formal account of their interviews. Or reporters might prefer to avoid legal entanglements, especially in those states where unannounced taping is illegal. Or perhaps reporters might simply want to avoid the appearance of wrongdoing, even if they aren't convinced that secretly recorded interviews are wrong.

Still, a tactical dilemma is not an ethical dilemma. And to argue tactics is not to argue ethics.

—T.L.G.

A wiretap is an effort to gather and presumably reveal information without a source's consent; a secretly recorded interview, in contrast, averts consent *only* on the matter of *how* — not whether — information will be gathered.

The entrapment analogy is similarly lame. Entrapment ordinarily means seduction — being seduced to act in a way to which one is, arguably, predisposed. If seduction is properly defined as "excessive temptation," then the use of a concealed tape recorder hardly qualifies as entrapment: It would be difficult to imagine a source being seduced into a self-incriminating interview only because the reporter had not disclosed the use of a tape recorder. Surely a polished interviewer is likely to be more seductive than a hidden tape recorder.

V

Viewed in the context of the journalistic interview, the use of a concealed tape recorder is not nearly the moral quandary its opponents would have us believe: It is not an invasion of privacy, it is not an act of deception, it is not a form of eavesdropping, and it does not constitute entrapment. Moreover, a re-

porter's use of a concealed tape recorder neither undermines nor circumvents the rules of the journalistic interview.

A reporter's use of a concealed tape recorder is an act of secrecy, but secrecy is not always the discreditable and unscrupulous enemy of fair and reasonable people.

There is considerable force to the argument that secrecy is not presumptively at odds with democratic principles or the ideal of an open society. As Bok recognizes, secrecy serves at least four basic needs, each an aspect of individual

autonomy. These needs concern protection for: 1) what we are, 2) what we intend, 3) what we do, and 4) what we own. Although Bok acknowledges that these four claims — essentially claims for control over our identity, our plans, our actions, and our property — do not unconditionally support abandoning openness in favor of secrecy, they do form the basis for concluding that secrecy *in general* — as opposed to a particular practice of secrecy — should elicit neither praise nor condemnation. Just as secrecy differs from presumptively unacceptable conduct, such as lying or violence, it differs from presumptively acceptable conduct such as truthfulness or friendship. Thus the very idea of secrecy, Bok concludes, is morally neutral: "Not only must we reject definitions of secrecy that invite approval or disapproval; we cannot even begin with a moral presumption in either direction."

Given the widespread opposition to surreptitiously recorded interviews and the absence of any compelling moral reasoning in support of it, I can only conclude that a good many journalists have uncritically accepted secrecy as presumptively wrong. For when, as Bok suggests, we view secrecy in morally neutral terms and assess the practice of using hidden tape recorders on its own merits, it becomes abundantly evident that a reporter's decision to record an interview secretly is of little moral consequence — no more of an ethical dilemma than choosing between shorthand and verbatim note-taking. □

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Coping with the Daily Flood of News

Insights from Information-Processing Research

Doris A. Graber

What would newspeople discover if they checked which news stories their audiences read and watched and if they then tested what their audiences actually learned from these stories? My research assistants and I found unexpected answers when we did just that with a randomly chosen panel of twenty-one Midwestern adults who live in the Chicago area. We asked these people whether they remembered specific stories which had been prominently featured in their news media and which we had carefully analyzed and recorded. If our respondents remembered a particular story, we asked what they remembered and thought about it and why they had paid attention to it. If they did not recall that story, we asked why they might be disinclined to pay attention to this type of information or to remember it.

We also asked our panelists to record in a daily diary at least three news stories that had recently come to their attention as well as the interpersonal or media sources from which they had received the story. The diary, along with questions about political issues that were not linked to specific media stories, allowed us to assess the use of non-media sources for gathering political information. We interviewed our panelists ten times during a presidential election year and tape-recorded the interviews, usually conducted monthly in the panelist's home and lasting approximately two hours. Each interview yielded 1500 to 2000 statements in response to 50 to 100 open-ended ques-

tions and follow-up probes designed to discover the reasons for particular answers.

While a panel of twenty-one adults from the same area cannot reflect national diversity fully, it is reassuring to know that our panelists' reactions to political issues closely resembled those of their counterparts in national surveys. Their reactions also tallied with those obtained from three back-up panels totaling 144 registered voters living in various areas in the Midwest and the East. The similarity in reactions should not be surprising because information-processing procedures are governed by the biologically determined nature of human thought processes and by the cultural environment in which individuals live.

Human thought processes have been the focus of much recent research by psychologists and other social scientists. Computers are helping them to perfect models of human information-processing. But information-processing research is not really new. It goes back to 1932 when a specialist on memory functions, Sir Frederick Bartlett, noted that English audiences, when asked to retell Kwakiutl Indian folktales, often changed story details to place the action into familiar British settings. Bartlett surmised that his subjects had mental frameworks about story scenarios and were fitting facts from an alien culture into familiar contexts so that they could be processed more readily. Research on the use of mental frameworks — often called “schemas” — has escalated sharply in the last twenty years. In fact, it has become the major research focus among general theories of mental functioning. Political scientists are just beginning to use these information-processing concepts to shed light on the ways in which people learn about politics. My book, *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide* (Longman, 1984), is one of the first to report major insights to be gained from an information-processing perspective.

My study shows that average Americans from all walks of life cope very well, indeed, with the flood of news reaching them through network and local television and through their newspapers. They have learned to scan newspapers so efficiently that two out of every three stories are routinely skipped with-

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out eliminating most of the significant news. Prominence cues supplied by the media help audiences to become aware of two-thirds of the important stories. To save time and energy further, media audiences read most stories only partially, a practice aided and abetted by the pyramid style of news reporting. Only 18 percent of the stories offered by the average daily newspaper are read in full.

A similar screening process goes on for television and radio news. On an average, out of 15 to 18 stories in a television newscast, no more than one is retained sufficiently well so that people can recall it in any fashion shortly afterward. If these statistics seem grim, it must be remembered that many media stories repeat earlier news in full or part and that just one remembered story per newscast adds up to a respectable total over the course of a year. Conversely, if every story — let alone every item in every story — were remembered, the human brain computer would suffer a debilitating case of information overload. This is why people are forced to be “cognitive misers” when it comes to information-processing. As a 62-year old college-educated plant manager put it: “I seldom remember names. I make no attempt. Anything that’s on paper, why bother? I don’t want that mind of mine cluttered with anything I don’t need.”

In addition to paring down the flow of information by ignoring large numbers of stories, people process the remainder in ways that further reduce the amount of information that needs to be stored. The technique used involves schematic thinking. It allows individuals to develop mental pictures of familiar situations and then process only those limited portions of the news that fit into these prototypes. Besides helping to pare down news intake, these mental schemas also make it easier to integrate snippets of media information that might be baffling otherwise. The mental image provides the needed contexts and information that are often lacking from news stories, particularly television stories. For instance, a 78-year old respondent routinely interpreted political stories as examples of corruption. When asked why she considered corruption as the essence of all political stories, she replied: “I just think that’s inherent in me. I’ve known it for so long and most people say that politicians are crooks. And I do think that after all these years, being an old lady, I really think that it’s just *in* me. I don’t think that I could change anymore.” An individual’s prototypes may, and often do, lead to distorted images, but they are useful processing tools nonetheless.

While schematic information-processing is essential to reduce the pressures of information overload, and while it facilitates assignment of meaning to stories, it precludes the retention of large amounts of factual data. This explains why most people are unable to provide full particulars for even recently processed news stories. They have opinions, but most of the underlying information has been quickly forgotten. Inability to recall details should by no means be equated with ignorance. If people have suitable schemas, they do extract a limited number of general meanings from most news stories that come to their attention. They even absorb a sprinkling of detail about frequently covered media topics. Several daily lessons about cur-

rent events, carried on year after year, with frequent repetition of the same themes, are bound to leave their mark despite high rates of forgetting.

Since new information becomes incorporated into schemas that are more or less stereotypical, a good deal of error of fact and judgment is built into the average person’s conceptions of political reality. Such errors are quite resistant to correction.

Out of 15 to 18 stories in a television newscast, no more than one is retained sufficiently well so that people can recall it in any fashion shortly afterward.

For instance, my respondents described crime as largely the work of young, non-white males, although it was clear from repeated media stories that the majority of criminals were white, over 25 years old, and that quite a few females were involved. Likewise, the panelists pictured victims more often as black, female, old, and poor than was evident from news stories. Such rigidity of opinions in the face of contradictory information is part of the price that must be paid for the relief from information-processing burdens brought about by schematic information-processing. It constitutes a major limitation to the otherwise considerable powers of the media to shape public thinking.

How can media professionals make use of emerging knowledge about news processing? Most importantly, information-processing analysis can show media professionals the scope of their influence on the public’s perceptions. It demonstrates that the substance of news stories and the significance media professionals assign to them through conventional cues can make major contributions to schema formation and development. Media influence is greatest in those areas of knowledge where alternative information sources are lacking for most people or where people feel incompetent to make complex judgments. Foreign affairs coverage is one of these areas and so is science policy. If the media fail to cover essential news in these areas in ways that appeal to audiences and lead to schema formation, there will be serious gaps in the public’s political understanding. If the impressions created by the media are false or confusing, average people lack the means to detect the errors and correct them. Cognitive processing analysis shows that much media information and many media judgments suffer the same fate as water rolling off the proverbial duck’s back. Nonetheless, the areas where media impact is great — such as foreign policy, complex economic issues, forecasts of future events — are ample and politically highly significant. They should, therefore, receive special care in news treatment.

Information-processing knowledge also illuminates the crucial role that media play in creating the context that affects

people's judgments about the political world. News stories are not processed in isolation. The mood set by the contexts of major news stories and the schemas they bring to the fore become major reference points for the public's judgment of other stories surfacing at a particular point in time. For example, 1980 election stories presented in the context of President Carter's failure to solve the Iranian hostage crisis were bound to tap into schemas of incompetence, with profound electoral consequences. Had the news rehashed the Camp David successes instead, Carter's chances of being perceived as a successful diplomat would have been infinitely better. Similarly, the Reagan administration complained bitterly during its initial years that Reagan's economic policies were routinely discussed against the backdrop of stories on high unemployment, rather than stories on lowered rates of inflation, prompting a negative appraisal of the President's economic skills. Journalists need to give more thought to such potential consequences of story choices during crucial political periods.

Information-processing analysis also indicates that many media stories miss their mark because they are not cast into the perceptual framework used by most audience members. A department store buyer, 27 years old and a college graduate, complained to me that he could not process a story about selection of a Senate majority leader. "I really didn't see it in any context. I didn't have a frame of reference for it. I didn't know why it was important. It didn't strike a responsive chord. I didn't have any knee-jerk reaction to it." Similarly, an elderly woman claimed that she got nothing out of watching the presidential nominating convention on television. "There again, I don't even know what political people expect out of an acceptance speech. I don't know what format they are supposed to follow, or if there is a format they are supposed to follow, or what they are supposed to say." Such remarks suggest that the media's ability to communicate could be improved through a better understanding of the schemas available to average people and the types of presentations that are most readily processed. The advertising profession, with its careful studies of audience reactions through focus groups and other means, provides good models.

Unfortunately, the follow-up step — designing news to match processing proclivities more closely — is far more difficult. The very techniques that make processing easy, such as personalizing stories to tap into the audience's human interest and personal experience schemas, may be counterproductive by making stories simplistic and uninformative. Nonetheless, careful comparisons of stories that were easily and well-processed by our panelists and those that were not indicate that newswriting and presentation can achieve far better marches with processing capabilities than is generally true now. For example, a detailed analysis of processing of information about sixteen major policy areas, such as inflation, welfare, education, pollution, and U.S. policies in the Middle East, showed that the panelists often thought of these issues in terms of causes of problems and effects of proposed policies. Yet media information about causes and effects was comparatively sparse.

Cognitive processing analysis also reveals why people find

it easier to gain political information from print stories than from television stories. One major reason is that print stories, once the literacy hurdle has been passed, state meanings explicitly whereas pictures often present raw information that is difficult to interpret. It is therefore not surprising that my respondents attributed 48 percent of remembered stories to print sources, compared to 27 percent attributed to television.

Cognitive processing analysis reveals why people find it easier to gain political information from print stories than from television stories.

Radio, conversations with others, and news magazines accounted for the remainder. News professionals might facilitate picture news processing by providing more ample interpretive verbal leads, by allowing more processing time, and by matching presentations more closely to audience schemas.

Processing the News contains many more explicit and implicit suggestions for newsmen eager to understand how their brain children fare with audiences and how they might tailor their products better to fit the needs of news consumers. One may argue about the practicality and even desirability of specific reforms and one may argue about the limitations to reform posed by biological, cultural, and economic constraints on information transmission and reception. But there should be little disagreement about the study's basic proposition. News professionals need to know more about how well or how poorly their output fits human information-processing capabilities. Only then will they be able to assess the media's current and potential effectiveness in providing the public with adequate resources for making sound political judgments. □



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Television and Ethics: Who Is Responsible?

Norman Lear

As I thought about the subject for this conference and prepared for these remarks, the very linkage of those two notions, television and ethics, struck me as some kind of bizarre juxtaposition of terms, like "supermarket music" or "airline food." For almost fifty years, the companies introducing new communications technologies have promised that their new inventions would lead to a cultural renaissance. General David Sarnoff, the founder of the Radio Corporation of America and one of the founders of the television industry itself, predicted that "television drama of high caliber and produced by first-rate artists will materially raise the level of dramatic taste of the nation." That was in 1939. In 1951, another pioneer, Edward R. Murrow, said of television: "This instrument can teach. It can illuminate. Yes, it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely lights and wires in a box."

In Sarnoff's words, have we been seeing "television drama of high caliber" that raises "the level of dramatic taste of the nation"? And in Mr. Murrow's words, is the instrument of television being used to teach, to illuminate, to inspire?

May I state quickly and remove from doubt, that I understand that television is not entirely a wasteland. I am well aware of the many fine movies-of-the-week and miniseries that appear on all three networks. I applaud with you *The Dollmaker* and *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Live From Lincoln Center* and *Nova* and *The MacNeil-Lehrer Report* and *Brideshead Revisited* and the Shakespeare plays and the distinguished *Dance In America* series; and I stand behind no one in my appreciation for *Hill Street Blues* and *Cheers* and *Family Ties* and *St. Elsewhere*, and that latest gift of laughter, *The Bill Cosby Show*, which also illuminates the nuances of familial interpersonal relations, and inspires.

But average American viewers are cur-

rently watching 7 hours and 34 minutes of television every day of their lives. Children between the ages of 6 and 11 are watching an average of 27 hours a week, 1400 hours a year. By the time a youngster graduates from high school, he or she will have spent more time in front of the tube than in the classroom — and I ask you, how much of what is available for them to view do you believe can materially raise the level of their taste? How much of it do you believe serves to teach, illuminate, and inspire?

My references thus far have been only to entertainment on television. Think about news and public affairs. How much of the news and public affairs available to the average American, seven days a week, meets the challenge? To my mind, the answer is simple: precious little.

I believe that the manufacturer of television entertainment, news, and public affairs, and those responsible for preparing and broadcasting it, proceed with very little consideration of the ethics involved. I believe that there is too little consideration for the ethics involved in most American businesses today.

- Why are we reading so much about new toxic waste sites; about the increasing hazards of old toxic waste sites; and the continued do-nothing attitude of local, state, and federal government?

- Why are we reading so much about the further pollution of the air we breathe and the water we drink; of the do-nothing attitude toward acid rain and the contamination of our lakes and streams?

- Why are breakfast cereals sold on

Norman Lear gave the above keynote address in December at a two-day national conference on television ethics and journalism, held in Boston by Emerson College and the New England chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

Lear attended Emerson College, Class of 1944, and made his first (and last) appearance as an actor in the Emerson Theatre. He is co-owner of Embassy Communications.

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Embassy Television



Tandem Productions

America's esthetic sense, its sensibilities, and much of its behavior has been shaped by television.

supermarket shelves that scientists tell us should be labelled candy?

- Why are so many unsafe automobiles sold to American consumers by companies fully aware of their products' defects, only to be recalled later?

- Why are drugs that could cost the consumer pennies, sold and advertised under multitudinous brand names at many hundreds times their cost?

- Why is American business so consumed with short-term thinking — so obsessed with the need for a profit statement this quarter larger than the last — that it is losing its position of world leadership in industry after industry?

Business forever condemns people like me — writers for the stage, theatre, television, or books — for portraying business and business people too often in an unflattering light. Well, this writer believes that American business earns every bit of that. And if I am wrong and we writers do overdo it, America won't die of our sins. I believe America is dying, slowly, of theirs.

I feel better for having said that because I don't think television should ever be considered out of context with the rest of American business. As a matter of fact, I am perpetually angered by the way television is lashed at and berated

and heaped on by the print media — raked over the coals daily for its sins — while the rest of American business goes relatively scot-free. Now, having said that — where its ethics are concerned — I would like to lash at, berate, and heap on television too!

And let me confess, sadly, that I do not exclude myself or my company, Embassy Communications, from the problem. Despite all the awareness here expressed, Embassy, too, must plead guilty.

Commercial television's moral north star, from which nearly all bearings are set, is quite simply: "How do I win Tuesday night at eight o'clock?" That is the name of the game, the only thing that matters.

When television producers and/or production companies decide what ideas should be developed, their sole criterion is, too often, "What will the networks buy?" And, when deciding what programs are worthy of air time, network television program executives, locked in an overwhelming competitive race that is reported by the print media day in and day out across the nation, have no charter from management to take risks. They have no charter to nurture innovation, to seek the kind of quality that might

teach some, illuminate some, and inspire. The need to win quickly is too great. Winning in the short-term, beating your competitor's brains out, half-hour by half-hour, that is the ethic that prevails in television today.

It is an ethic I call the "binary imagination." By "binary" I am using a computer metaphor, the computer habit of reducing everything down to binary codes, either one or zero. If something cannot be captured in that code, it doesn't exist as far as the computer is concerned. Television has come to a place where it, like any other business, insists upon reducing everything down to its own binary code of numbers. Television, in fact, is a cult of numbers: Nielsen ratings, market share percentages, viewer demographics, audience research demographics. Did you know that television has now taken to researching program *ideas* for new series before a script is even written?

This reduction of everything to numbers results in a stunted, number-based mentality that impoverishes our understanding of the world by screening out the non-quantifiable facts of life. If something cannot be distilled into a number — or a sliding scale of numbers — the subtler value-laden facts that also constitute reality are disenfranchised, and the wondrous resources of the human mind and soul and spirit are replaced with the binary imagination.

Now I submit that it is one thing to apply the binary imagination to pork bellies, toothpaste, and tires, and quite another when applied to television, the nation's largest-by-far marketplace of ideas and values, whose product springs largely from the creative impulse of the writers and other artists who serve it.

Asking a writer to conceive to please the machines and tests and graphs that measure audience response to his ideas, is like imagining Michelangelo and a hundred other painters, painting the Sistine Chapel from their Sistine Chapel Paint-by-Numbers Kits.

And so, television shows, which have the potential to teach, illuminate, and inspire — shows that have the potential for raising the dramatic and general level of taste of the nation — are too often for-

feited to the vagrant, highly imperfect whims of the marketplace, as measured by some highly deceptive numbers. If a show cannot make a twenty market share with the 18- to 34-year olds, or jump through some other set of arbitrary numerical hoops, it is dropped within a matter of weeks. No opportunity exists for something innovative and different to become an acquired taste. Of course there are exceptions, but we are dealing with the rule. It is the rule, not the exception, that defines ethical behavior.

Television's rationale for this is, of course, that its obligation is to give viewers what they want. So if television is serving up a diet that is largely junk and the viewer is watching that junk, television is off the hook; it is the viewer's fault. Let's stop and examine the ethics of that proposition.

When television insists it is merely responding to public taste, it effectively renounces any obligation to lead, and places the viewer in charge. Now does that really make sense? Does the television executive who asserts that really believe it? Are we to assume that these highly educated men and women — people who attended major universities and received their masters' degrees in communications — then made their way slowly up the television industry ladder to positions where they are the ones who decide what will play on television in American homes? Are we to assume that they came that distance, just to take a seat on the back of the bus and let the viewer do the driving? No, I believe that they adopted that attitude when they arrived at their positions of power, because it goes with the territory.

Now, let's look at it from the angle of the average American viewer. The average viewer is the average American, and we know that he or she is leading an emotionally embattled life somewhere in the country, harassed by the economy, by concerns for the future, struggling just to get from Monday to Friday, somewhat undereducated, and probably underpaid and overtaxed. Do we really believe that these individuals, who use television as a means of escape from an otherwise cruel day, could even imagine themselves in the job of a television pro-

grammer, making such sophisticated determination as what America will see on television? Uh-uh.

The average viewer doesn't run for mayor, doesn't seek a seat in the Congress, and isn't looking to program television. He or she is looking, however, in all those places, for leadership. Life and fate and circumstance place leaders in positions of overview, which means that they are able to see things that others can't, and in those positions of overview, responsible leaders will suggest a direction that may not be popular in the short-term, but will benefit everyone long-term. Politicians fail this ethical question in leadership when they sacrifice that long-term interest of the electorate, for the immediate gratification of casting a more popular vote now. And, similarly, television programmers ignore the opportunity, if not the obligation, to select programming that will, in the long-term, teach, illuminate, and inspire as it entertains, for the sake of yet another instant carbon copy ratings success, short-term.

Grant Tinker, Chairman of the Board at NBC, told *The New York Times* recently, "I think it's criminal of people to stare at television so uncritically." The man who created NBC, General Sarnoff, said that "television drama of high caliber... will materially raise the level of dramatic taste of the nation." What has happened to us in fifty years? General Sarnoff wasn't satisfied to blame the consumer for the product. He obviously believed that the proper role of leadership was to improve upon the product continually and help the consumer reach for it.

It is only television executives who insist that television merely responds to public taste. Educators, sociologists, and other observers of the media tell us it is shaping public taste. Both positions are right, but this is one situation where the chicken comes squarely before the egg.

Yes, three networks will respond to the success of MTV by creating their own music video shows. But it was all those years of sharply edited, highly expensive, musically sophisticated television commercials that paved the way and weaned the viewer to an appetite for what became MTV. Yes, they were responding

to the success of the prime-time soap opera, *Dallas*, when the competition created *Dynasty* and *Hotel* and *Falcon Crest* and *Knots Landing* and *Glitter* — but it was all those years of daytime soap operas that weaned a major portion of the viewing public toward the acceptance of a glossier kind of soap opera in prime time.

If television will accept the responsibility for weaning generations of Americans to programs that most television executives will tell you privately shame them — or as they put it, are "not my personal cup of tea" — television might at last be ready to fulfill the promise held for it by those who created the medium.

But television has weaned several generations of Americans to accept more than just the style and content of its programming. America's esthetic sense, its sensibilities, and much of its behavior has been shaped by television, too.

•How many adult family members can we watch on game shows — as they jump up and down like little children, under instruction from the producers, clapping their hands and shrieking wildly at the sound of a bell that tells them they have guessed right and have won \$80 — before we begin to believe that it is proper and normal to explode in front of millions of your peers, in a kind of foolish and herd-like ritual of childish abandon?

•How many people will we have to see on the evening news — in a moment of consummate grief, just having learned of the death of a loved one — responding politely to the voyeuristic questions of an aggressive television newscaster, before we begin to believe that it is our obligation, even in moments of unspeakable pain, to stand still and answer the media's questions?

•How many little white lies do we have to hear — such as "We'll talk to so-and-so when we come back after this message" — only to sit through not only one commercial message, but two or three before "so-and-so" appears — how many of these little white lies do we have to hear before we become so deadened



Tandem Productions

The average viewer is the average American, and we know that he or she is leading an emotionally embattled life somewhere in the country, struggling just to get from Monday to Friday.

by them that we are ready to accept larger ones?

If these examples stretch your belief, remember that there are many documented examples of television's influence on behavior. When the Fonz on *Happy Days* got his first library card, thousands of youngsters everywhere visited libraries the next day for theirs. When the father on *Good Times* was diagnosed as suffering from hypertension, thousands of black males across America sought similar help after the broadcast. Of course

television influences behavior, and of course that should be a matter of ethical concern for every individual in a leadership role in the medium.

Most television programming executives will not buy this. And yet, ironically, they have been victims of the weaning process themselves. A young writer of situation comedy for whom I had been a mentor sent me this note not too long ago:

I don't think the networks understand real people. Most of the pro-

gramming executives are only 32 or 33, like me — and we all grew up watching a lot of television — I mean, *really* a lot of television. Then we all went to college and studied communications. I don't know how I escaped this, Norman — maybe it's because I always knew I wanted to write — but I swear, most of those guys at the network are all confused about what real human behavior is. They ask us to write stupid things for people because the only thing they know about how people talk and behave is what they've seen all their lives on television.

Sometimes I think television is not so much a reflection of society as a reflection of other television shows. *And they don't know that.*

It is arrogant of television to accept so little responsibility for the nature of its programming and for its effect on society. And if that attitude isn't certifiably lacking in ethical considerations, it's awfully close. Especially when you consider that the binary imagination and the obsession with ratings applies as much to news and information as it does to entertainment.

Don't believe for a minute that the top priority of Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, Peter Jennings, and their staffs is to present the news in a way that helps American viewers understand the world and events around them. These are earnest and talented people and they would hope to achieve that end, but their broadcasts are in a life-or-death struggle with the competition, and the name of the game for them is to win Monday through Friday at 7:00 P.M. This is as true in every city with more than one local independent station as it is at the networks.

We all know that violence has a very special place in the evening news. Murder, rape, fire, a highway accident, especially those that provide terrific photo opportunities, are premium items on America's newscasts. The people responsible will tell you that that's what the viewers want. As a matter of fact, a recent piece of research conducted on behalf of the Radio Television News Directors Association [RTNDA], revealed that when viewers were asked what they

remembered most on the news, "Murders and murderers totally outdistanced foreign wars. . . homicidal maniacs as a class, proved seven times as memorable as the brutal war between Iran and Iraq."

The research concluded, in part, with: "Violent crimes are more memorable as news events than all but the most dramatic political occurrences." I am not shocked by that report. Why wouldn't a hot local murder or a major traffic accident — especially as photographed with the zeal and zoom lens of one of our macho, staccato, late-breaking news teams — be more memorable than the same two minutes or less allotted to the coverage of a war between Iran and Iraq?

The problem with the research conducted for RTNDA is the way it will be interpreted. "That's what viewers want, that's what they'll get," will be the order of the day. And, once again, it will be the viewer's fault. No allowance will be made for the fact that the viewer sees more murder, rape, and mayhem on television news than anything else. No allowance will be made for the fact that they have been weaned to understand and accept the look and feel of television news violence — so of course it is more memorable. The constant viewer has seen so much of it, it is accumulatively memorable. In a sense, viewers become experts on these murders and fires and accidents. Television has made them experts. And everyone remembers what has just taken place in his or her field of expertise.

In the same piece of research for RTNDA, among television viewers nationwide, one-quarter of the respondents said that they had never heard of presidential advisor Edwin Meese. Sixty-four percent replied that they never knew that Gary Hart had changed his name to Gary Hart. Of this, the Radio Television News Directors Newsletter said smugly: ". . . The public enthusiastically exhibited its right not to know."

Okay, so average viewers don't remember some of the more important stories covered by television news as well as they do the lesser reports of local violence. The same Gary Hart, in a television interview during the primary campaign, didn't know who Louis Farrakhan

was, or the news reporter he had threatened with death just that week. During the recent campaign, your own very able Congressman, Ed Markey, was asked to name the Prime Minister of Israel on a Boston talk show, admitted he didn't know, and then guessed wrong.

If the truth be known, your keynote speaker — this Talmudic-looking fellow who stands here working hard to impress you with his depth of knowledge — is sadly lacking in information on many of the more pressing domestic and international problems that confront us today. If I had to state a quick opinion on aspects of the situation in Nicaragua and El Salvador, or participate in a discussion on some of the more sophisticated problems concerning the Middle East, I would turn privately to people I consider experts in the field to get the information I needed before I could perform.

Now, I think you will grant that Gary Hart and Ed Markey and Norman Lear, by virtue of fate, fortune and circumstance, lead less emotionally-embattled lives than the average American I described earlier. We are better educated, have more time and better opportunity to learn about the issues, and we suffer less *angst* than that citizen who is simply struggling to get from Monday to Friday. And yet, often enough, *we* don't know. The wonder is we don't get caught at it more often.

Why then are the self-appointed arbiters of taste and judgment so quick to put down average television viewers? How dare television interpret their confusion at the complexity of the issues that confront them — and their inability to recall the myriad names and events with which they are constantly bombarded — as evidence that it has no responsibility to them? Ethically, those in positions to lead must accept that obligation — or, ethically, it is a case of the blind leading the blind.

Television of course has had an effect on the political scene, too, and I am again sorry for the viewer. I am not sorry for the politicians. In the 1984 election, they were co-conspirators in a ten-month television extravaganza that sacrificed everything to the binary imagination.

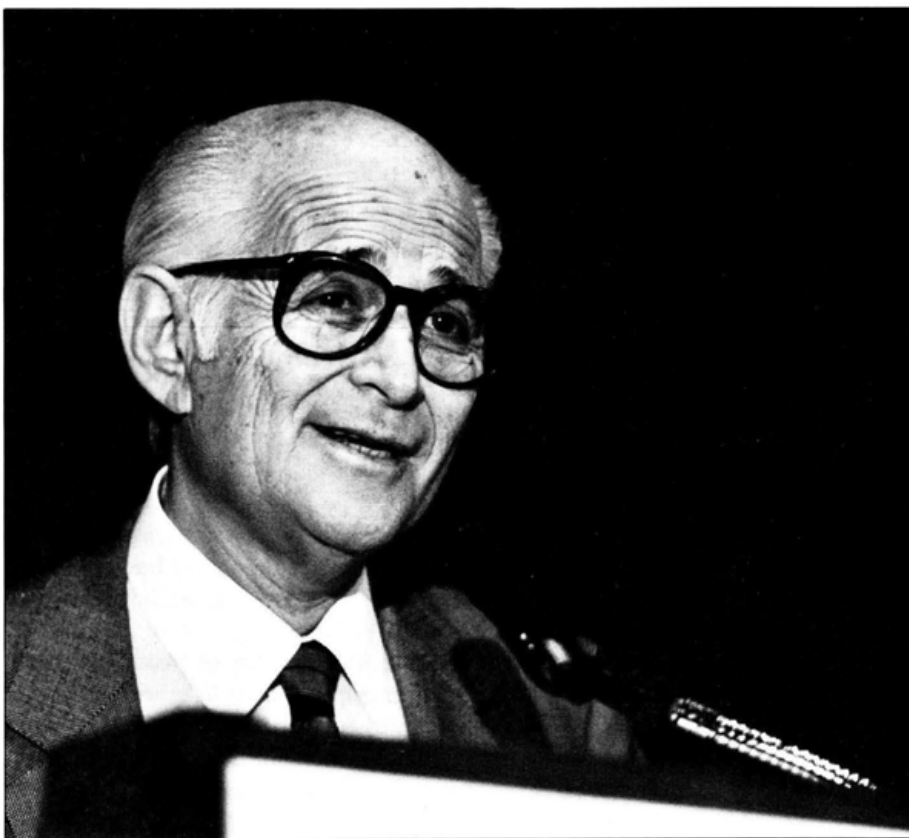
The issues, the ideas, and the candidates themselves were largely sacrificed to an obsession with numbers and percentages, statistics, and polls. Here was the binary imagination run amok.

Television coverage of the 1984 presidential campaign was a triumph of images over substance. It was the horse race and hoopla of the campaign — not the ideas and merits of issues — which received the most attention. From the primaries through to November 6, the big story most evenings was the result of the latest poll. Again and again, the candidates were seen on the evening news, responding to the same tired questions: "The polls show you so many points behind, Mr. Mondale. How are you going to catch up?" "The polls show you slipping a little among this or that constituency, Mr. President. What are you going to do about it?"

And talk about being *weaned* by the media — convention delegates no longer complain if their view is obstructed by television cameras and crews. The real floor manager at political conventions is the person who points the camera. "Spontaneous" demonstrations are scheduled to last twelve minutes, *precisely*, to satisfy the needs of the producer, not the delegates. Lofty television anchor booths gaze down at the convention floor, Olympus-like, and senators of great renown scurry like beggars from booth to booth, hoping that Dan Rather or Tom Brokaw will think them worthy of an interview.

I had the privilege of traveling with a presidential candidate in the 1980 primary campaign, and I was fascinated to observe the minuet for news coverage that was danced by the politician and the television journalist. It took place each afternoon, when everyone paused, the television lights were on, the cameras pointed, and every Sam Donaldson on the tour sought to ask that provocative 15-second question which would elicit a sharp 20-second response that would assure him a place on the evening news along with the candidate.

Television news, like television entertainment, is a business. And businesses today, all businesses, perform for the bottom line. Is there anything ethically



Courtesy of Emerson College

Television of course has had an effect on the political scene, too, and I am again sorry for the viewer. I am not sorry for the politicians.

wrong with this? Not on the surface, I suppose. But I believe our society is threatened by an unhealthy emphasis on success in the short-term, as measured by The Numbers. Much has been written to indicate that the American motorcar ceased to be the standard of the world when Detroit, all those years ago, thought it could not and should not diminish a current profit statement to meet the challenge of the smaller, less expensive, foreign imports. In recent years, we have witnessed the same phenomenon in consumer electronics, steel, and many other industries.

Americans have been shaken by these losses. Across the country, in city after city that were once known as "company towns" — the compact between the family and the company — a compact that had been carried forward from generation to generation, where fathers and uncles and brothers and nephews all

worked in the same plant — has been broken. When we talk about the breakdown of the American family and try to list its probable causes, how much should we attribute to this overwhelming loss of continuity and stability?

Was there an ethical responsibility to attempt to prevent this from occurring? And if so, whose responsibility? Certainly the union chieftains, responsible for the long-term interests of the work force, saw the handwriting on the wall at some point, but they never blew the whistle. On the other hand, they were only representing their workers, who were interested only in increased wages and a larger package of benefits. Then what about management? Certainly they could see trouble down the road if they didn't diminish a current profit statement to modernize, or otherwise meet the threat of foreign competition. Yes, but they were tied to contracts that demanded

they produce in the short-term so they couldn't blow the whistle, either.

Those who run television are in the same boat. It is no secret that the networks have been losing their share of audience steadily for years; the largest of the cable enterprises, HBO [Home Box Office], is losing its share precipitously now — and all of broadcast television is beginning to lose to the video cassette. They are in a trap, not of their own devising.

And so it is very hard to pin down where ethical responsibility lies. We have created a kind of climate in our country, a climate in which leadership everywhere — in the Congress, federal agencies, business, labor, the universities, television — leadership everywhere glorifies instant success, whether in profit margins, ratings, or polls, and refuses through indifference or myopia to make adequate provisions for the future. All the while, committing suicide in the long term.

Because television probably affects us more profoundly than any other of America's businesses — and because its profile is certainly higher than any other American business — it would be helpful to see it lead in accepting its ethical responsibilities. It would be helpful to see those television executives, who have been content to let the viewers do the driving, finally take the wheel. General Sarnoff was driving when he said that what he envisioned for television drama would raise the taste of the American viewer — and Edward R. Murrow was driving when he told us that television had the capacity to teach, illuminate, and inspire.

We can't let that kind of leadership end with the pioneers. Television needs some new pioneers — men and women in every area of the industry who will resist the inexorable commercial logic of present-day television which tends to trivialize everything that comes in its path — men and women who will strive for more than seeking to win Tuesday night at eight o'clock — writers, directors, producers, actors, and executives who will not forfeit their moral judgment to the bottom line.

When I grow up, I myself hope to be just such a writer and executive. □

American Coverage of the Soviet Union

A closer look at the assessment of American journalism in the USSR, as presented in *Nieman Reports*, Winter 1984.

The following critique was sent to the editors as the author's reaction to some observations and opinions in the previous issue of Nieman Reports. The article in question was the transcript of a session that was part of an all-day program presented jointly by Harvard's Russian Research Center and the Nieman Foundation.

The main topic was the Soviet Union; the subject of the panel discussion in the magazine was "Soviet State and Society as Reflected in the American Media." As one of the panelists is quoted frequently in Mr. Gillette's criticism, we asked Professor Cohen if he wished to respond. His comments appear at the end of this article.



ROBERT GILLETTE

Stephen Cohen, whose columns written from afar on the Soviet Union are often thought-provoking, writes that he sometimes regrets not having accepted an offer seven years ago to work as a newspaper correspondent in Moscow. So do I. He might have come away with a clearer grasp of the strengths and weaknesses of American coverage of the Soviet Union.

As it is, reading Cohen's assessment in the Winter 1984 issue of *Nieman Reports* was like listening through a thick wall: parts were intelligible; but too much of it, to borrow his words, was "one-dimensional, distorted, and factually wrong."

It is unfair and unconstructive not to distinguish in the first place between American reporting from Moscow and American reporting and commentary about the Soviet Union from the

outside, often by people who have never set foot in the country or who, like Mr. Cohen, visit irregularly and briefly at best. Reporting from Moscow has its flaws, but he has missed or distorted most of them.

He takes as his yardstick the quality of "leaderology" reporting and cites as an example the media's brief "fixation" with Yuri Andropov's supposed Western tastes and liberalism. To the best of my knowledge, none of this came from any of the two dozen American correspondents in Moscow.

Stories of a liberal-minded, scotch-swilling Andropov with a bent for pulp American novels were attributable largely to a handful of self-aggrandizing emigrés who apparently wanted to suggest some intimacy with Soviet affairs. If it is disinformation, rather than misinformation, the KGB was astute enough not to try peddling it in Moscow.

Intense coverage of Soviet leaders did not begin with Brezhnev's death in November 1982, as Cohen says, and it did not fail to anticipate that Andropov might well be the next general secretary, despite Brezhnev's clear preference for Chernenko.

Coverage of the leadership ebbed and flowed over a number of years, in keeping with the ups and downs of Brezhnev's health. It became the main priority in January of 1982 with the death of Mikhail A. Suslov, the Politburo's ideologist, whose departure — Cohen's system of checks and balances against personal power notwithstanding — clearly altered the balance of power in the leadership.

Within days it was apparent that a pre-succession power struggle had begun. By early February one could read reports from Moscow that Andropov was likely to leave the KGB for a more advantageous position as a central committee secretary in Suslov's place. In May, he did so.

Moscow that summer and fall was awash in conflicting hints and rumors, many of them deliberately propagated by rival elements of the leadership through the most unlikely channels. They added up to roughly equal probability that Andropov and Chernenko would be the successor. If there was confusion among journalists, it was no less among diplomats.

Later reports that the military and the KGB played a pivotal role in the choice of Andropov, and that the Politburo remained

divided, were not drawn from thin air. I do not know anyone on the scene at the time who thought Andropov had become, as Cohen suggests we portrayed him, an instant dictator. But his rise to the top was quickly followed by policy initiatives and personnel changes that suggested a good deal more than a figurehead at work.

And where, he wonders, is the military's demand now for a strong leader? He might ask Marshall Ogarkov.

Chernenko's rise the second time around was a surprise to most journalists, as it was to most professional analysts. (I recall one in Moscow, his chin in his hand, muttering, "Kremlinology has been shot in the head.") If Cohen predicted Chernenko in print, I'll be happy to buy him a congratulatory lunch at Moscow's best restaurant, if we can agree on which one that would be.

His blanket condemnation of reporting on Soviet foreign and domestic affairs is so broad and vague that it is hard to answer. It appears we are mainly at fault for not conforming to some of Cohen's own, idiosyncratic conceptions.

Do we, as he says, promote the idea that Soviet foreign policy is "highly manipulative or tactical?" I hope so, because to a large degree it is. How better to describe Moscow's public diplomacy on nuclear arms of the past several years, its clumsy intrusion in West German elections, or its sudden willingness to resume arms negotiations now that the American elections are over?

It well may be that the cold war lobby, as Cohen puts it, has gained dominance over the détente lobby. But neither he nor we can say with any precision who stands on which side or how long the cold war viewpoint will prevail, or to what extent it represents the lowest common denominator of policy wrought by a leadership in transition. But history is littered with examples of the ability of Soviet foreign policy to turn on a dime when it serves the Soviet Union's long-term strategic interests, which Moscow probably holds in sharper focus than Washington does its own.

If American policy influences the Soviet line, so does the broader Western trend toward conservatism. But the fact remains that the visible tip of Soviet foreign policy — which makes up a substantial part of the news correspondents' obligatory file from Moscow — is an advanced form of theatre whose

star performer, Andrei Gromyko, is a more polished actor than Ronald Reagan. We would be doing a disservice to take it, and him, fully at face value.

Sitting in Moscow, it is hard to know what America's dominant view is of Soviet society. It is certainly a fallacy that eco-

Even the well-grounded correspondent is hard-put to keep up with the current Soviet studies, once he or she arrives in Moscow.

nomic pressures can bring the Soviet Union to its knees, but no one I know among correspondents thinks of this society as unstable. One of its remarkable features is the apparent satisfaction so many Russians feel in the face of what most of us would consider a dismal standard of living and the absence of liberties we take for granted.

It is not for nothing that Soviet statistics on the quality of life still take 1913 as their standard of reference. Russians, as Nikita Khrushchev once observed, don't ask for much.

Apart from a thin veneer of intellectuals, they also don't know very much about conditions in their own country or about alternative social systems, a testimonial to the effectiveness of information control in the Soviet Union.

Asked in a recent opinion poll to name countries other than the Soviet Union with the highest standard of living, residents of provincial Taganrog listed in rank order Czechoslovakia, the United States, East Germany, and Sweden. Candidates for "most developed democracy" outside the Soviet Union were Czechoslovakia, France, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Worst violator of human rights? Greece, the United States, Spain, and West Germany.

Why do correspondents write what they do about the problems of Soviet society? I'm not aware of a surge of openness that has overwhelmed us with new information, as Cohen suggests. In some respects there is less information — on infant mortality, for example, and demography.

One of many factors shaping American reporting is a compulsion to react to the torrent of misinformation and lies from the official media, both about life inside the country and outside. It is an urge to discover what the Soviet state would prefer that Westerners not know, to set the record straight.

Some reporters, perhaps wrongly, are also conscious that their stories are being translated and fed back by the Voice of America and Radio Liberty to a population hungry for information, particularly about the Soviet Union. Like Misha Tsytkin, whose perspective appears in the same issue of *Nie-man Reports*, Soviet listeners may be better able than the average American reader to put Western reports in a social context.

A larger part of the answer is that the problems are more

Robert Gillette, special reporter/senior writer with The Los Angeles Times and Nieman Fellow '76, left Moscow last August after a four-year stint in the Soviet Union for his new post in Poland as Warsaw bureau chief.



visible than the achievements. Health care, for instance, is free. But medications are not, and bribery for better service is commonplace. Soviet health care, moreover, is dispensed by the world's largest corps of poorly trained doctors so miserably supplied with ordinary necessities that hospital nurses in Moscow must sometimes bring bandages from home. Conditions in rural areas are far worse.

A more serious problem than the balance of reporting about life in the Soviet Union is its current paucity. The past several years have seen a sharp decline in the kind of anecdotal reporting that made some of the recent books so interesting and valuable — ones by David Shieler [*Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams*, 1983] and Kevin Klose [*Russia and the Russians: Inside the Closed Society*, 1983] — and before them, Robert Kaiser [*Russia: The People and the Power*, 1976] and, with Dan Morgan, [*The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: New Paths, Old Ruts*, 1983], and Hedrick Smith, [NF '70] [*The Russians*, 1976].

It may be that foreign editors are asking less for this kind of reporting, which requires traveling about the country more than Moscow correspondents have in recent years. But also the obligatory news may have intruded to a larger degree than in the 1970's. Keeping abreast of the Soviet response to Poland's upheaval ate up huge amounts of time from the summer of 1980 to the end of 1981, and the possibility of an invasion quashed many travel plans.

From the beginning of 1982 to the present, two successions, the decline in U.S.-Soviet relations, the downing of the Korean airliner, and the fortunes of arms talks dictated the bulk of coverage and left comparatively little time for what should have been the most rewarding part of the job: thoughtful examination of a society in which a few of us are privileged to live for a short time.

Are correspondents as poorly prepared to cover the Soviet Union as Cohen suggests? As many as a third of them are, but it is not a question of laziness.

Some news organizations — especially wire services and television networks — seem to have a hard time recruiting qualified reporters for Moscow, and they apparently fail to see the value in unleashing those who do step forward for several months of uninterrupted preparation.

When a volunteer is found, he or she may be thrust into this unique and forbidding environment with only a few months, or even weeks, of advance notice. Amid buying winter clothing, renting out one's house, and carrying a normal workload, there is precious little time left for reading the relevant literature or studying Russian.

The disadvantaged correspondent, if he or she takes an interest in Moscow as most do, undergoes a grueling first year of on-the-job education. The normal pace of 14- to 18-hour days, six to seven days a week, becomes even more stressful than it is for better-equipped colleagues.

The result is not so much inaccurate reporting as shallow reporting. The stories lack cultural and historical context. They skirt the most interesting questions. Editors are fended off with light-weight features on long lines and the surprising quality

of Soviet ice cream, while leaning unduly on the local diplomats and his colleagues for foreign policy analysis.

The majority of American correspondents, however, arrive with some formal or informal background in Soviet affairs, Russian history, and, most important, the Russian language.

They are not and do not need to be Sovietologists, any more than one needs to be an Arabist to report intelligently on the Middle East or a scientist to write about science. It is true that Soviet reporters in the United States spend years specializing in American affairs, but their reporting — at least the part that appears in print — rarely reflects this experience. (In any case, many of them have the added burden of intelligence assignments.)

Yet, even the well-grounded correspondent is hard-put to keep up with the current Soviet studies, once he or she arrives in Moscow. Foreign desks pass along whatever comes floating in, but there is no systematic collecting and relaying of professional papers like David Powell's work on alcoholism or Murray Feshbach's demographic studies. To a large degree, correspondents are cut off from the fund of information produced by American specialists.

Another deficiency in reporting from Moscow is the minuscule amount of air time most of the network reporters are able to scrape from editors in New York. (Cable News Network is a notable exception.) Three minutes is a large segment of the evening news but hardly enough time to explain the roots of Soviet militarism, the vagaries of Soviet agriculture, or the ordinary Russian's perceptions of the outside world. Each of the networks has built up a large video library in Moscow that could do far more than print journalists can to convey the texture of Soviet life. Little of this footage, apparently, will ever be seen by the public.

Can American understanding of the Soviet Union be improved by closer relations with Soviet journalists? Watson Sims contends in the same issue of *Nieman Reports* that exchanges sponsored by the American Society of Newspaper Editors can boast of modest achievements.

To the extent these exchanges allow American news executives to break away from suffocating rounds of banquets and guided tours of model schools to see the Soviet Union firsthand, they can't hurt. But the premise that misunderstanding has something to do with mistrust between the superpowers needs to be examined more closely. The reverse may cut closer to the truth.

A little mistrust strikes me as a healthy reaction to a secretive state that denies large areas of reality, including much of its own history, and expects others to share in this denial. As George F. Kennan noted recently in *The New Yorker*, we call such behavior in individuals neurotic, and it tends to get in the way of trustful relations. Knowing the Soviet Union does not often inspire confidence in its claims to be a benign and peace-loving state, despite the certain desires of ordinary Russians for peace.

Some Soviet journalists might benefit from a look at America, but the "leaders" with whom the ASNE apparently prefers to deal are already well versed in American affairs. The men

Mr. Sims describes as so charming in person are not journalists in any meaningful sense of the word but propagandists. They are professional well-poisoners who got where they are today not by challenging the assumptions and instructions of the Central Committee but by generating calculated misunderstanding through their newspapers and on television with sufficient skill and credence to plant in a great many Soviet hearts the fear of an America bent on thermonuclear war.

Exchanging dinner toasts and small gifts with these people may leave a reassuring warmth in the hearts of some news executives on the American side, but it is unlikely to translate into fairer reporting on the Soviet side. As a Soviet journalist, in a moment of candor, explained early in my term, "Your god is information. Ours is Marxism-Leninism."

The information that comes from Moscow paints a harsh reality. The messenger could be better, but that is not likely to make the message more comforting.



STEPHEN F. COHEN

In this limited space, it is impossible and pointless to reply fully to Robert Gillette's embattled, discursive, and ultimately contradictory rejoinder. On the one hand, his text is almost as long as my comments in *Nieman Reports*. On the other hand, his rendition of the substance and spirit of my remarks is so skewed that I would need to repeat here much of what I said there. Since a number of journalists have reacted favorably to my criticism of American media coverage of Soviet affairs, I urge interested readers to judge for themselves by turning back to what I actually said.

I did not, for example, make a "blanket condemnation" of American reporting on the Soviet Union. Instead, I prefaced my critical remarks at the Harvard conference by saying, "In twenty minutes, I cannot possibly note all the important excep-

tions. . . . And there are important exceptions." Assuming that Mr. Gillette read the Soviet press while he was in Moscow more carefully than he did my comments, I am prepared to believe that he was one of those exceptions.

Nor did I exempt my own profession from criticism, as Mr. Gillette should know. Instead, I said, "I don't rule out the possibility that we Sovietologists have sometimes mislead you journalists and thus contributed to inadequate media coverage." And had Mr. Gillette read carefully the following two sentences, he could not have focused his objections on the superficial matter of failed predictions: "My point is not that you people guessed wrong about the next Soviet leader; so did many Sovietologists. My point is that media coverage of Soviet leaders lacks any sense of the actual leadership system that has evolved over the last three decades."

As for my "idiosyncratic conceptions," I invite readers to compare my generalizations about the Soviet system with those that have appeared in much of the American media in recent years and, insofar as they can be discerned, with Mr. Gillette's own views. Indeed, by the end of his text, it is hard to know where he actually stands on the issue that provoked his indignation — the quality of American press coverage of the Soviet Union. After acknowledging that many reporters are "poorly prepared to cover the Soviet Union," he concludes: "The result is not so much inaccurate reporting as shallow reporting."

But how does that judgment differ from my statement that too much media coverage of the Soviet Union presents "a crudely distorted caricature without context, without complex realities, without balance"? Indeed, given the high standards of the best American journalism, what is the difference between "shallow" and "inaccurate" reporting? □

Stephen F. Cohen is Professor of Politics at Princeton University. He is the author of Rethinking the Soviet Experience, published in January 1985, by Oxford University Press. He also writes a monthly column on Soviet affairs in The Nation.

Norman Cherniss Book Fund

Nieman curator Howard Simons announces the establishment of a special fund in memory of Norman Cherniss, Nieman Fellow '59. At the time of his death, October 3, 1984, he was executive editor of *The Press-Enterprise* (Riverside, California), where he had been on the staff for 31 years. Mr. Cherniss had many interests, but the core of his professional life was news, newspapers, and the legal rights of the press. His personal library was extensive. He was an active Nieman alumnus.

The Norman Cherniss Book Fund will be used to purchase books for Nieman Fellows during their year at Harvard — usually recently written work by Nieman seminar speakers.

Thanks to a personal gift of \$1,000 from Howard H. (Tim) Hays, editor and publisher of *The Press-Enterprise*, and from the newspaper, a pledge of \$2,500 a year for the next three years, the Norman Cherniss Book Fund has a firm beginning.

Nieman Fellows in the current class have already received copies of books by some of this year's seminar speakers — David Landes, Carlos Fuentes, Sherry Terkel, and R. B. Parker.

Contributions, tax deductible as provided by law, may be sent to the Nieman Foundation, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Checks should be designated "Cherniss Book Fund." □

Federal Restrictions on the Free Flow of Academic Information and Ideas

John Shattuck

The sturdier federal secrecy requirements are bringing about a real erosion of academic freedom.

The freedom of scholars to express ideas and exchange them with colleagues is essential to the operation of universities in the United States and to maintaining the high quality of academic research. Academic freedom is rooted in the First Amendment to the Constitution, the same provision that protects the right of people to speak freely and the freedom of the media to report events as they see them.

Recent actions and proposals by some agencies of the federal government threaten to erode the American tradition of academic freedom. These proposals and actions fall into two broad categories — those restricting dissemination of ideas and those restricting the access of foreign scholars to U.S. classrooms and laboratories.

In most instances, the justification given for these restrictions is the need to protect national security, an area in

which technology plays an increasingly important role.

Responding to mounting government concern that technological information with potential military applications may be reaching the Soviet Union and other adversaries through industry and the scientific community, the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) issued a report in September 1982 on *Scientific Communication and National Security*. The study was conducted by an NAS panel chaired by former Cornell University President Dale Corson and is known also as the Corson Report. The authors, according to NAS President, Frank Press, expressed the hope that their recommendations would make it possible to “establish within the Government an appropriate group to develop mechanisms and guidelines in the cooperative spirit that the report itself display[ed].”

Universities, which conduct most of

the basic scientific research in the United States, were a primary focus of the NAS study. The report found “a substantial transfer” of U.S. technology to the Soviet Union, but concluded that “very little” of the problem resulted from open scientific communication. Moreover, the report took note of the close connections between the American tradition of open communication, scientific and technological innovation, and national security. Despite this conclusion, NAS staff members reported last year that government policymakers are moving to implement new secrecy regulations before a government-wide consensus is reached. The staff also stated that where regulations already exist, policymakers are aggressively stretching their authority beyond its previous limits.

These secrecy regulations often go far afield of any reasonable definition of national security. Indeed, the requirements of prepublication review now reach several federal departments and agencies and areas of sponsored research which have no relationship to national security matters. Nor is the regulatory scheme limited to research that is federally funded. Instead, it is being extended to broad categories of research and information — such as cryptography and nuclear energy — that are deemed to be so sensitive and important that the federal government must intervene whether or not it is paying for the research.

The movements afoot in Washington to restrict publication and dissemination

The above report was published in January 1985, at a time of substantial and increasing interest in the issue of federal research restrictions. Faculty members and administrators at many U.S. universities are earnest in their desire to have research secrecy a prominent topic on the agenda of the 99th Congress.

The study has been circulated to senior administrators and government-relations staffs at universities and to academic representatives in Washington, D.C., and among members of Congress.

John Shattuck is vice president of Government, Community and Public Affairs, Harvard University.



of scientific research findings are matters of deep concern among members of the academic community. Similar concerns also arise over government restrictions on the activities of foreign scholars.

These concerns are addressed in the pages that follow.

Prepublication Review and Contract Restraints

Political philosophers have long maintained that the rights of free speech and of a free press are essential to the proper functioning of democracy. The importance of open communication in our society has been so compelling that courts have held that only an overwhelming danger "so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion" provides sufficient grounds for restraining free speech. If the danger or evil is not imminent, then the remedy is "more speech, not enforced silence," in the words of the 1927 *Whitney v. California* decision.

Until very recently, any proposed prior restraint on publication has come under "heavy presumption against its constitutional validity," in the 1979 *United States v. The Progressive* case. This presumption was so dominant that only narrowly focused government claims of national security during wartime could be balanced against it. For example, in 1931 the Supreme Court held in *Near v. Minnesota* that publishing "the sailing dates of transports or the number and location of troops" would be the only kind of publishing activity the government could rightfully prevent in such circumstances.

As technology has come to play an increasingly important role in warfare and national defense, the traditional analysis of prior restraint issues has come into question. Many analysts have argued that U.S. security no longer depends on having "the largest military" or "the best-trained soldiers" but increasingly, rather, on a "technological lead over our military adversaries," as Press put it in testifying before a congressional subcommittee in 1983. This has led to a change in the focus of controls over exports from goods to the technology used

to produce those goods. One technique for achieving this new objective is prepublication review.

In the past, only the CIA has used prepublication review, pursuant to contractual arrangements with its employees which implement its statutory mandate to "protect intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure." CIA employees involved in covert intelligence operations have routinely had their speeches and writings reviewed for content that disclosed classified information without authorization. The constitutionality of this specialized CIA practice was upheld in 1972 by a United States court of appeals in *United States v. Marchetti*.

That decision did not, however, address whether prepublication review could be required for *all* material, including unclassified information.

The Supreme Court addressed this issue in 1980, in *Snepp v. United States*, a case involving a former CIA agent who published a book (*Decent Interval*) criticizing practices of the United States during the Vietnam War. All parties to the litigation agreed "that Snepp's book divulged no classified intelligence." Nevertheless, the Court held that Snepp had violated his agreement with the CIA by not giving "an opportunity to determine whether the material he proposed to publish would compromise classified information or sources." The Court awarded damages to the government in the form of a "constructive trust," into which Snepp was required to "disgorge the benefits of his faithlessness." Also, the Court found that Snepp had done "irreparable harm" to the government because the government has a compelling interest in protecting both the secrecy of information important to our national security and the *appearance of confidentiality*. . . (Emphasis added.)

The application of this decision has far-reaching consequences for academic research and publication. Two recent developments illustrate the point: 1) National Security Decision Directive 84, a presidential order requiring all government employees (and contractors) with authorized access to certain categories of classified information to sign lifetime prepublication review agreements as a

condition of such access; and 2) the trend toward including prepublication review clauses in government-sponsored, university-based basic research contracts.

National Security Decision Directive 84

On March 11, 1983, the White House announced a security program designed to prevent unlawful disclosure of classified information by government employees. Since the date of its release, National Security Decision Directive 84 (NSDD 84) has generated a storm of controversy. Two of its provisions are particularly onerous. The first requires more than 120,000 government employees to sign nondisclosure agreements containing prepublication review clauses as a condition of access to certain categories of classified materials. The second permits government agencies to order polygraph examinations of agency personnel "when appropriate, in the course of investigations of unauthorized disclosures of classified information." It also requires each agency to promulgate regulations to "govern contacts between media representatives and agency personnel, so as to reduce the opportunity for negligent or deliberate disclosures. . ."

In a recent Congressional hearing, Thomas Ehrlich, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, described NSDD 84 as "virtually alone among important issues in recent times" in receiving a "completely uniform and completely negative . . . reaction of those in academia." Speaking for his own institution as well as for the Association of American Universities, the American Council on Education, and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, Ehrlich declared that he could not "overstate the dangers I see in the approach it adopts."

If fully implemented as issued, NSDD 84 would have "disastrous effects on the quality of our government in terms of those who enter and leave public service from academic life," Ehrlich stressed. It would, he said, cast a "deep freeze over any inducement for academics to serve in government by denying them the

primary benefit of using government experience and information in scholarly publications and classroom lectures." Government would be deprived of academia's much needed expertise and insight.

More important, the Directive would thwart criticism of government, since those "in the best position to provide that criticism" — academics who have served in government and returned — would be enjoined from discussing matters on which they had worked. In view of academia's traditional role of providing a forum for criticism and debate, the restrictions in NSDD 84 would significantly reduce the scope of academic freedom.

Full implementation and enforcement of NSDD 84 is currently being held in abeyance as a result of a Senate resolution requesting further consideration by the Reagan administration. The resolution expired at the end of 1984. While no government employees are currently required to take polygraph exams under NSDD 84, "120,000 employees have signed lifetime censorship agreements through Form 4193," according to an August 16, 1984, *New York Times* story.

Government Sponsored Research

Most major universities receive funding for basic scientific and social research from the federal government. The funding is generally bestowed through contracts and grants between federal agencies and individual institutions. The terms of a contract or grant are subject to the statutory mandate and regulations of the funding agency.

In recent years, a growing number of federal agencies have inserted prepublication review clauses in university contracts, even those involving only unclassified material. For example, publication restrictions have been proposed for unclassified research to be performed under contract with the Department of the Air Force ("Measurement of Lifetime of the Vibrational Levels of the B State of N_2 "), the National Institutes of Health ("International Comparison of Health Science Policies"), the National Institute of Education ("Education and Technology Cen-

ter"), the Department of Housing and Urban Development ("Study on Changing Economic Conditions of the Cities"), the Environmental Protection Agency ("Conference on EPA's Future Agenda"), the Health Resources and Sciences Administration ("Workshop for Staff of Geriatric Education Centers"), and the Food and Drug Administration ("Development of a Screening Test for Photocarcinogenesis on a Molecular Level").

Although prepublication review arose from national security concerns about the illicit transfer of technology to unfriendly governments, some of the most restrictive proposed contract clauses are contained in non-technological, social research contracts. Apparently, federal agencies believe they can insure in this way that the research they fund is consistent with their view of their mission. The following is a clause from a proposed contract offered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for university research on the use of housing vouchers:

Approval or disapproval (in part or in total) of the final report shall be accomplished by the GTR within thirty (30) days after receipt. Disapproved reports shall be resubmitted for review following correction of the cited deficiency unless otherwise directed by the contracting officer.

Consider another clause from a contract offered by the National Institute of Education:

The contractor shall not disclose any confidential information obtained in the performance of this contract. Any presentation of any statistical or analytical material or reports based on information obtained from studies covered by this contract will be subject to review by the Government's Project officer before publication or dissemination for *accuracy of factual data and interpretation*. [Emphasis added.]

In addition, two other contract provisions referred to commonly as "Technical Direction" and "Changes" clauses, are used to alter the outcome of a given project. This is done either by direct partici-

pation in the project by a government official (technical direction) or by changing without notice the content and/or scope of the research contract without the researcher's agreement (changes clause).

Harvard's Office of Sponsored Research (OSR) reports success in negotiating changes in all three types of restrictive clauses. These negotiated changes enable the University to accept such contracts and perform them successfully. However, the Environmental Protection Agency in one instance has flatly refused to negotiate, offering a research contract only on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. But what is more important, OSR reports increasing resistance to negotiate deviations from standard agency provisions in all agencies. The University has accordingly refused some contracts.

In sum, the federal government is increasingly asserting an authority to require prepublication review of intellectual work by government employees, research universities, and private citizens. As a result, the imposition of censorship has grown substantially beyond the boundaries of the traditional wartime national security exception to the ban on prior restraints that has long been a fundamental element of First Amendment doctrine.¹

¹The government's direct and indirect interference with the presentation of research papers at scientific conferences is apparently accomplished through claims of contract and export control authority, for example, Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers, 1982, 150 papers withdrawn; International Conference on Permafrost, 1983, six papers withdrawn. For information on additional incidents of prepublication review and contract secrecy see Wallerstein's and McCray's 1984 "Update of the Corson Report." The overall environment in which restrictive information policies are developing has also caused an increasing amount of self-censorship among scientists. *The Washington Post* reported on December 15, 1984, "[a] growing number of scientific and engineering societies are banning foreigners from their meetings for fear of violating federal rules against exporting strategically important technical information."

Increased Classification

President Reagan established the current system of security classification in 1982 by Executive Order 12356. To grasp the import of this new system, one must first understand the security systems used by previous administrations.

Although the security classification systems used during the Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations differed in their details, each contributed to a gradual trend toward government recognition of "the public's interest in the free circulation of knowledge by limiting classification authority, by defining precisely the purposes and limits of classification, and by providing procedures for declassification," according to the January 21, 1982, *Science*.

The classification system designed by the Carter Administration was the culmination of this trend. It required government officials "to balance the public's interest in access to government information with the need to protect certain national security information from disclosure." It stipulated that even if information met one of the seven classification categories,² it was not to be classified unless "its unauthorized disclosure reasonably could be expected to cause *at least identifiable damage* to the national security." [Emphasis added.] It provided for automatic declassification routinely after six years; only officials with "Top Secret" security clearance classify a document for more than "twenty years," with the exception of foreign government information which could be classified for up to thirty years. Finally, it established a presumption such that "[i]f there is a reasonable doubt which designation is appropriate, or whether the information should be clas-

sified at all, the less restrictive designation should be used, or *the information should not be classified*." [Emphasis added.]

Executive Order 12356 reverses this trend toward openness by significantly

exemption. In addition, the previous order expressly limited the government's interest in non-governmental sponsored basic research — a matter that the new order leaves to administrative discretion.

Under President Carter's order, "[c]las-

In recent years, a growing number of federal agencies have inserted prepublication review clauses in university contracts, even those involving only unclassified material.

altering or eliminating each of the earlier systems' major features. The new order eliminates the balancing test: No longer must classifiers weigh the public's need to know against the need for classification. In addition, the threshold standard for classification has been reduced. Heretofore, the classifier had to show "identifiable damage" to the national security. The new executive order leaves much more room for discretion: It demands only that the classifier have a reasonable expectation of damage to the nation's security. The new order also eliminates automatic declassification, requiring that information remain classified "as long as required by national security consideration." Finally, the presumption in favor of openness is reversed. Now, "[i]f there is a reasonable doubt about the need to classify information, it shall be safeguarded as if it were classified. . . and [i]f there is a reasonable doubt about the appropriate level of classification it shall be safeguarded at the higher level of classification. . . ."

Secondary features of the security classification system have also undergone extensive revision in Executive Order 12356. In the areas of basic scientific research and reclassification, changes have taken place. Under both the new and the old executive orders, basic scientific research information unrelated to national security is exempt from classification. However, the initial drafts of the new order did not include the basic research

sification may not be restored to documents already declassified and released to the public. . . ." But under the new order, declassified information may be reclassified if "the information requires protection in the interests of national security; and [if] the information may be reasonably recovered." Acting under this clause, the Reagan administration unsuccessfully attempted in 1982 to recover documents previously released to a private researcher about electronic surveillance carried out by the CIA and NSA against anti-war activists in the 1970's. The documents had been provided to author James Bamford, under a Freedom of Information request made in 1979. Bamford refused to return the information. No other action was taken. Executive order 12356 provides that "information may be classified or reclassified after an agency has received a request for it under the Freedom of Information Act or the Privacy Act. . . ." In contrast, the earlier order provided that "no document originated on or after the effective date of this Order may be classified after an agency has received a request for the document under the Freedom of Information Act. . . ."

Given the bent toward secrecy exhibited by the many changes in the security classification system, scholars now fear that "[a]cademic research not born classified may, under this order, die classified." The new order gives unprecedented authority to government officials to in-

²The categories were: "a) military plans, weapons or operations; b) foreign government information; c) intelligence activities, sources or methods; d) foreign relations or foreign activities of the U.S.; e) scientific, technological or economic matters relating to national security; f) programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities; or g) other categories of information which require protection against unauthorized disclosure."

trude upon academic research by imposing classification restrictions on areas of research after projects have been undertaken in those areas. The new order appears to allow classification to be imposed at any stage of a research project and to be maintained for as long as government officials deem prudent. Thus, the order could inhibit academic researchers from making long-term intellectual investments in non-classified projects with features that make them likely subjects for classification at a later date, according to Karl Willenbrock, Chairman of the IEEE Technology Transfer Committee, in his testimony to a House Judiciary Committee subcommittee, November 3, 1983.

Export Controls Regulatory Scheme

In the area of export regulation, both military and civilian, statutory controls have been imposed over scientific communication related to basic research. These controls affect basic research through their definition of the terms "technological data" and "export." Information subject to export controls need not be classified, so long as it falls within the definition of "technological data" and is to be "exported."

The Export Administration Regulations (EAR), promulgated under the Export Administration Act of 1979, define "technological data" as "information of any kind that can be used, or adapted for use in the design, production, manufacture, utilization, or reconstruction of articles or materials. The data may take a tangible form, such as a model prototype, blueprint, or an operating manual; or they may take an intangible form such as technical service." Under the Arms Export Control Act of 1968, the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR) contain an even more expansive definition of technological data, including anything that "advances the state of the art."

Both sets of regulations target areas of data through the use of lists. EAR creates the Commodity Control List. ITAR creates the U.S. Munitions List. The technological data related to any product that

appears on either list are subject to export control. ITAR provides that information is "exported" whenever it is communicated overseas by "oral, visual, or documentary means. . .," including "visits abroad by American citizens." Under EAR, export means "(i) an actual shipment or transmission of technical data out of the United States; or (ii) any release of technical data in the United States with the knowledge or intent that the data will be shipped or transmitted from the United States. . . ." Data may be released for export through "(i) visual inspection by foreign nationals. . . ; [or] (ii) oral exchanges of information in the United States or abroad of personal knowledge or technical experience acquired in the United States."

Application to Universities

Historically, university researchers have been covered by exemptions (or general licenses) available under each set of regulations. ITAR specifically exempts information "in published form" or "sold at newsstands." EAR gives such data a general license and also specifically allows "correspondence, attendance at or participation in meetings" and "instruction in academic laboratories" to be included under a general license. However, these activities are allowable only so long as they do not relate "directly and significantly to design, production, or utilization in industrial processes." Until recently, routine academic activity has not been interpreted as being controllable under this clause.

In 1981, the Department of State sent a form letter to many universities inquiring into the study programs of certain Chinese foreign-exchange students. The authorities cited for this action were the Arms Export Control Act and the Export Administration Act. In refusing to provide the information requested, Harvard University General Counsel Daniel Steiner characterized the inquiry as "an interference into matters at the very heart of the academic enterprise." Other universities took similar actions.

The universities were not overreacting. Much of the requested information would have required close surveillance of

student activities. The government wanted information on "professional trips" taken by students, "specific experiments" conducted on campus, and even information concerning "instruments or specialized equipment (e.g., laser measuring devices, automated analytical equipment, computers, etc.) that may be used during the course of the study program." The State Department made a similar inquiry about a Polish scholar at Harvard in 1982.

The debilitating effects on academic freedom of the new export regulations are dramatically illustrated by a course on Metal Matrix Composites, offered recently at UCLA, that was advertised in the course catalogue as restricted to "U.S. Citizens Only." The restriction was required because the course material involved unclassified technical data appearing on the Munitions Control List (ITAR) and thus subject to export control.

Atomic Energy Research

The government also asserts broad authority to control scientific communication in the area of atomic energy research. The Atomic Energy Act regulates the "development, utilization and control of atomic energy for military and all other purposes." In addition, a 1981 amendment to the Act authorizes the Secretary of Energy, with respect to atomic energy defense programs, to "prescribe such regulations. . . as may be necessary to prohibit the unauthorized dissemination of *unclassified* information." [Emphasis added.] Although the Act also authorizes the creation of "a program for the dissemination of unclassified scientific and technical information. . . so as to encourage scientific and industrial progress" [emphasis added], creation of such a program has been constrained by a Department of Energy regulation proposed in April 1983. The proposed regulation, "Identification and Protection of Unclassified Controlled Nuclear Information (UCNI)," would require that all UCNI be treated as "proprietary business information" within the regulated organization. Such organizations would have to take "reasonable and

prudent" steps to protect UCNi from unauthorized disclosure. In addition, government contractors would have to assure that potential users have a "need to know," are U.S. citizens, or meet one of six other criteria.³

In commenting on the proposed regulations, Stanford University, joined by Harvard, suggested a redrafting of the rules because of the major difficulty that they would cause for research universities. The proposed rules would require a university to make "known and unclassified information secret," according to Stanford officials. The Stanford comments pointed out that the proposed regulations would be so inclusive as to apply to materials used in "all those basic and advanced courses in fields of physics, electrical engineering, materials science and the like, that teach the basic information discovered and classified before the early 1950's and since declassified." Most important, the commentators argued that restrictions requiring use of business standards in protecting proprietary material would interfere with basic research because of university policy that "such data be specifically identified in advance so that [it] can be certain its acceptance is consistent with . . . research guidelines." Moreover, the regulations made no statement concerning new research-generated UCNi. Stanford and Harvard asserted that this ambiguity would conflict with their fundamental policy that "all new information developed in the course of research be publishable."

On August 3, 1984, a new draft of the UCNi regulations was issued for public comment. As a matter of principle, Harvard and other research universities continue to oppose federal restrictions on the dissemination of unclassified information. However, the new draft does contain improvements over its predecessor. Specifically, Harvard's comments on the new draft noted a "narrowed and

better defined scope of application" of the proposed regulations. Also, the new draft contains an exemption for basic scientific information. Nevertheless, university commentators were careful to note the need for defining basic research

Senate version would create the very restriction on scholarly exchange that the House version was intended to avoid. The Export Administration bill died at the end of the 98th Congress in October 1984 because no agreement could be

As a matter of principle, Harvard and other research universities continue to oppose federal restrictions on the dissemination of unclassified information.

so as to protect academic freedom. Specifically, the Harvard comment suggested that basic research, exempt from all regulation, should be defined as: "information resulting from research directed toward increasing knowledge or understanding of the subject under study rather than any practical application of that knowledge."

Current Policy Developments

The debate over federal restrictions on the free flow of information and ideas has recently intensified in the area of export control regulations.

In October 1983, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to a bill extending the Export Administration Act which provided that:

It is the policy of the United States to sustain vigorous scientific enterprise. To do so requires protecting the ability of scientists and other scholars to freely communicate their research findings by means of publication, teaching, conferences, and other forms of scholarly exchange.

However, the Senate version of the extension bill substituted the words "involves sustaining" for "requires protecting." More important, the Senate version inserted the word "non-sensitive" before the words "research findings." This key change substantially alters the meaning and intent of the entire paragraph. The

reached in a House-Senate Conference Committee over a wide variety of issues in the bill. The new Congress is expected to take up the issue again in 1985.

Another recent development involves the Military Critical Technologies List (MCTL), which has been revised and expanded. This list is similar to the Commodity Control List and the U.S. Munitions list in that it designates sensitive applied technologies that the Defense Department desires to control. The list itself is classified, but a directive describing it states that the list now "covers all newly created technical documents generated by [DoD]-funded research, development, test and evaluation programs," according to a November 4, 1984, report in *The Boston Globe*.

The MCTL is controversial for two reasons. First, it is statutorily incorporated into the Commodity Control List (CCL). Using the MCTL as a base, the Pentagon can propose changes in the CCL. Second, the MCTL is reportedly over 700 pages long, and has been described by one DoD official as "really a list of modern technology" and, by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Director of Sponsored Programs, as a document that "could further complicate the use of these regulations as a means of trying to control scientific and technical communications." The MCTL designates as "sensitive" technologies that the DoD desires to restrict.

In the area of contract controls, the "sensitive" designation arises in part from

³1) Federal employee; 2) contractor; 3) member of Congress; 4) governor of a state; 5) state or local law enforcement officer; 6) possessor of a D.O.E. Access Permit.

a "gray area" identified by DoD officials "where controls on unclassified scientific information are warranted. . . ."

The "gray area" approach, however, appears to have encountered opposition within the Defense Department itself. In testimony in May 1984 before the Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, Edith Martin, then Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, stated that DoD had decided "not to pursue the gray area concept because the option had proved to be more complicated than it had seemed." She told the subcommittee that "[i]t is the policy of this administration that the mechanism for control of fundamental research in science and engineering universities and federal laboratories is classification. . . ." This statement was repeated on October 1, 1984, in a memorandum signed by then Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, Richard DeLauer, stating that "no controls other than classification may be imposed on fundamental research and its results when performed under a federally supported contract." The DeLauer memorandum was attached as a cover to a draft national policy on scientific and technical information. Whether the position articulated in the DeLauer memorandum will be adopted formally by the Reagan administration must await the administration's final action on the draft national policy itself.

Restrictions on Foreign Scholars

Under the Immigration and Nationality Act (known as "the McCarran Act"), foreign nationals can be denied entry into the United States because of their political and ideological beliefs. The restrictive provisions apply to "aliens who. . .engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest"; to "aliens who are members of the Communist Party" or "who advocate the economic, international and government doctrines of world communism"; and to "aliens who write or publish or cause to be written. . .printed matter . . .advocating or teaching. . .the economic, international and governmental

doctrines of world communism."

The leading Supreme Court decision interpreting the McCarran Act involved a Belgian journalist and Marxist theoretician, Ernest Mandel. Although not a member of the Communist Party, Mandel described himself as "a revolutionary Marxist." Despite this description on all his visa applications, Mandel had been admitted to the United States temporarily in 1962 and again in 1968 before his first entry denial. In 1969 he was invited to speak at Stanford and he again applied for a six-day temporary visa. The visa was denied on the grounds that his "1968 activities while in the United States went far beyond the stated purposes of his trip. . . represent[ing] a flagrant abuse of the opportunities afforded him to express his views in this country." Mandel and six U.S. citizens, all university professors, sued the United States. The professors claimed that their First Amendment rights to hear and communicate with Mandel were being violated. A closely divided Court rejected the First Amendment claim.

The Mandel decision paved the way for a variety of entry denials or deportation proceedings against foreign-born tenured professors at American universities. Three recent examples:

- Dennis Brutus, a poet, writer, and critic of *apartheid*, banned in South Africa for petitioning the South African Olympic Committee to allow black South Africans to compete on the national team. By attending a meeting of the South African Olympic Committee he violated the ban by being "with more than two people at a time." He was sentenced and served 18 months in prison. He came to the United States in 1970 to accept the teaching position at Northwestern University. His visa expired in 1980. He was required to obtain a permanent visa from outside the U.S. but because he had let his British passport expire this was not possible. He requested asylum. At his asylum hearing in 1983, Immigration Department lawyers used classified documents to make their case denying Brutus' attorneys access. Indirectly, it was learned that he was considered deportable under Sec. 212(a)(28) because of membership in the South

African "Coloured Peoples Congress." He was ordered deported but on appeal won asylum in late 1983.

- Cosmo Pieterse, who came to Ohio State University in 1970 and was tenured in 1976. In 1979 he went to London to meet with his publisher and when attempting to return in 1981 was denied re-entry. This denial was based on classified information. It is believed that he has been denied entry for being a Communist even though his university colleagues deny this. He is still in London.

- Angel Rama, a native of Uruguay, who made many trips to the U.S. before 1966. He was admitted on a regular visa until 1969 when he was apparently classified as a subversive and allowed to enter only on a waiver basis. In 1980 he earned tenure at the University of Maryland and applied for permanent residence status. The Immigration Department denied this request stating that the denial was based on "classified information. . .which [could] not be discussed . . .or made available. . . ." Rama believed his denial was based on a series of articles he had written in the magazine *Marcha*, in which he reported on attempts by the CIA to infiltrate Latin American intelligence organizations. He was killed in a plane crash in Madrid before his case was resolved.

In addition to these university professors, a wide variety of foreign speakers invited to address university audiences in the United States have been denied entry from time to time in recent years under the "prejudicial to the public interest" provision of the McCarran Act. Among these are Nobel prize-winning authors Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Czeslaw Milosz, as well as author Carlos Fuentes, playwright Dario Fo, actress Franca Rame, NATO Deputy Supreme Commander Nino Pasti, and Hortensia Allende, widow of former Chilean President Salvador Allende.

The free flow of ideas among scholars and their colleagues is essential to the fabric of academic life. The foregoing discussion shows the extent to which federal authority is now being asserted to restrict and disrupt that flow. □

LETTERS

Catching Up #1

A supplemental point on the very interesting new issue of *Nieman Reports*:

Your opener on "Conscience" was important. I add, for your possible future use, the name of one other organization that concerns itself with threatened news people. It is called The Committee to Protect Journalists, and it is based in New York. It is tiny — one full-time professional staffer — but I think does real good. It protests arrests, and it sends investigating teams to such places as the Philippines and South Africa. To declare my bias, I am a board member. . . .

Anthony Lewis [NF '57]
Boston, Massachusetts

Happy Birthday!

Recently my mother mentioned how much she enjoyed your quarterly literary journal. With her birthday approaching soon, I would appreciate it if you would tell me how I might send her a subscription as a gift.

Paul J. DiNapoli
Columbus, Ohio

Catching Up #2

I have just caught the piece in the Winter 1983 *Nieman Reports* "The American Media: Bridge or Barrier?" in which James R. Whelan [NF '67], then editor and publisher of *The Washington Times*, cites a survey of "28 candidates for master's degrees at the Columbia School of Journalism" to prove his, and the researchers' point that the media are enmeshed in liberal ideology.

The study is a classic of its kind, and I hope those interested will look at it in the December 1982 *Washington Journalism Review*. It is titled "The Once and

Future Journalists." It abounds in percentages, some of which Whelan quotes, which appear to buttress the solidly scientific nature of the study. Thus, 85 percent of the students described themselves as liberal, 59 percent voted for Carter, and 90 percent of the 41 percent of the students who voted that year cast ballots for McGovern. That's 23.8 little liberals, 16.5 who stood by Carter in 1980, and 10.3 who voted for McGovern. The authors never use real numbers after they say their "random" sample was 28; they enjoy the decimation of the respondents.

Despite the superficial exactness of the survey, the authors never give the reader their questions, their definition of liberal. Some idea of their point of view may be seen in a few sentences:

Comparing the students' response with those of "established journalists" they surveyed earlier, the authors say they found: "At least 75 percent of both groups do not believe that homosexuality is wrong."

"Like other privileged Americans, the media elite and a large majority of the journalism students hold the cosmopolitan, anti-establishment social views fashionable since the 1960's."

Homosexuality "wrong?" What's that mean? "Cosmopolitan" has an ominous recollection. Surely, such sophisticated academics should know that this was the way Soviet bureaucrats described Jews in one of that country's periodic outbursts of anti-Semitism.

Herbert Gans, professor of sociology at Columbia University and author of *Deciding What's News*, said that the questions asked the students were skewed, bringing about the desired results. He saw the questionnaire before it was used and forecast the results.

It's hard to resist going on. How can one flawed study presume to speak for all journalism students? Why the urge to

push these studies that seek to prove that reporters are far to the left of everyone else? Who is financing these inquiries? I leave the rest to others. But I do think that readers of the *Reports* should know a bit more about Whelan's reference to the so-called survey of students at the Graduate School of Journalism.

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THE BOOKSHELF

Graphic Pens Delete Complacency

The Literary Journalists

Edited and with an introduction by Norman Sims. Ballantine, New York, 1984, \$8.95 (paperback)

by Nancy Day

I sat down to read and eat, two of my three favorite activities (the other being sleep, which is hard, although not impossible, to do sitting). I then delved into *The Literary Journalists*, a collection of magazine-length articles (many are excerpts from books) assembled by Norman Sims, a professor of journalism at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

First was John McPhee's tale, "Travels in Georgia." When he eats on the road, he means it:

It was no banana peel. It was exactly what Carol said it was: *Mustela frenata*, the long-tailed weasel, dead on the road. It was fresh-killed, and — from the point of view of Georgia State University — in fine condition. Carol was so excited she jumped. The weasel was a handsome thing, mink-like, his long body a tube roughly ten by two, his neck long and slender. . .

With a single slice, she brought out a testicle; she placed it on a sheet of paper and measured it. . . From time to time, she stopped for a taste of The Glenlivet, her hand, brown from sun and flecked with patches of the weasel's blood, reaching for the silver cup. . . The weasel's tailbone was still in the skin. She tugged at it with her teeth. Pausing for a sip, she said that sometimes you just had to use your mouth in her line of work. . .

Carol put the weasel on the tines of a fork and roasted it over the coals. . .

The taste of the weasel was strong and not unpleasant. It lingered in the mouth after dinner. . .

I turned to Joan Didion's *Salvador*:

In El Salvador one learns that vultures go first for the soft tissue, for the eyes, the exposed genitalia, the open mouth. . . One learns that hair deteriorates less rapidly than flesh, and that a skull surrounded by a perfect corona of hair is not an uncommon sight in the body dumps. . .

Body dumps are seen in El Salvador as a kind of visitors' must do, difficult but worth the detour. . . The way down is hard. Slabs of stone slippery with moss, are set into the vertiginous cliff, and it is down this cliff that one begins the descent to the bodies, or what is left of the bodies, pecked and maggoty masses of flesh, bone, hair.

The third piece in Sims' anthology is the opening chapter of Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*, with its recurring phrase about young airmen "burned beyond recognition," and the fourth, called "Death All Day," is Richard Rhodes' account of a coyote hunt.

This is no mealtime reading. It is writing which wrenches us out of the complacencies standard journalism allows.

Mark Kramer wonders, while watching a woman's lung cancer operation, if he has the disease, too. In this passage, he describes the surgery:

He cuts not with a knife but with the electric scalpel that cauterizes as it cuts. The room, to my regret, soon smells of steak. . .

With the rib out, her lung shows, pale purple, like the skin of a boiled tongue, and as shiny as if it had been waxed and buffed. . .

I look closely at the black spots. I wonder if the goals of environmental preservation would be more easily accomplished were we all transparent, like tropical fish — if our purple lungs showed their every foul spot right through glassy skin.

This is vivid writing, meticulously reported, but I began to wonder: Where was the *joie de vivre* of the new journalism I knew and loved?

The work collected here is not unremittably grim. McPhee, for example, on a cottonmouth snake search with one companion in tennis shoes, the other in moccasins: "For my part, I regretted that I lacked aluminum boots." But there is no Nora Ephron on, for example, the Pillsbury Bake-off. Nor is there any Truman Capote, Norman Mailer, Gay Talese, Hunter Thompson. . .

We do find Ron Rosenbaum taking us to "The Subterranean World of the Bomb"; Bill Barich to the track in "Magic"; and Richard West to the famous restaurant in "The Power of '21.'" The selection also includes Jane Kramer's "Cowboy," Tracy Kidder's "Flying Upside Down" (an excerpt from his *Soul of a New Machine*), Mark Singer's "Court Buff," and Sara Davidson's "Real Property."

The only work which appeared originally in a newspaper (in slightly different form in *The Wall Street Journal*) is Barry Newman's "Fisherman" and "Banderilero." Newman must work with a two thousand word limit and suppress his point of view, but tells Sims, "I can spend

six weeks researching the story. . . two or three weeks just writing it."

Sims calls his selections "literary journalism."

"Rather than hanging around the edges of powerful institutions, literary journalists attempt to penetrate the cultures that make institutions work," Sims writes in his introduction, a combination of academic categorizations, excerpts of interviews with his chosen writers, experiments of his own with the form ("Stepping into her office, I was surprised to see a big, expensive, IBM word processor parked in the middle of a room like a Cadillac") and judgment ("The younger literary journalists have calmed down").

Sims defines "the New Journalism, which began in the 1960's and lasted through the mid-1970's," as "one brand of literary journalism." He divides the writers whose work appears in this volume by age — placing Wolfe and Didion among the older generation who influenced the "younger" ones (in their 30s and 40s) such as Mark Kramer, 40. He told Sims, "I'm a second generation New Journalist. I read McPhee when I was just coming up."

"Literary journalism wasn't defined by critics," said Sims. "The writers themselves have recognized that their craft requires immersion, structure, voice, and accuracy. Along with these terms, a sense of responsibility to their subjects and search for the underlying meaning in the act of writing characterizes contemporary literary journalism."

He settled on these attributes after "several months spent interviewing writers, dragging around my list of characteristics and concerns of literary journalism." Some of the writers decline to characterize their work: "Kidder absolutely recoiled," Sims writes, when asked about "symbolic realities."

Some of the comments he elicited from the writers — McPhee on structure, Mark Kramer on voice, Sara Davidson on responsibility — give us insights into the architecture and emotional repercussions of this kind of writing. I would have preferred more of this behind-the-scenes context, but perhaps that's because I, too, am now teaching

journalism and find it helpful for students to realize that fine writing does not spring forth in a single draft.

Although Sims doesn't give the predecessors of his literary journalists much attention (a few sentences), he does note "literary journalists like George Orwell, Lillian Ross, and Joseph Mitchell had been at work long before the New Journalists arrived."

Many of the Sims selections carry on that tradition of solid magazine or book treatment — where the authors had (or took, sometimes at considerable sacri-

fice) plenty of time to immerse themselves in their subjects and often used the personal voice to tell their tales. The result of their ambitious reporting, scrupulous observation, careful planning, and stylish execution is a standard of journalism seldom matched in the daily newspaper. Whether or not it is truly "literary" is a judgment call.

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Journalism's Hallmarks in South Africa

The Press and Apartheid: Repression and Propaganda in South Africa

William A. Hachten and C. Anthony Giffard. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984, \$27.50

by Jack Foisie

Along with some other unusual characteristics for what comes close to being a dictatorship, the South African government usually provides a legal basis or "security" reason for every new restraint it applies to the country's media and other forms of expression.

As a result, South Africa's newspapers, magazines, books, radio, films, live theatre — and even what can be printed on T-shirts — is controlled, directly or indirectly, by more than one hundred laws. And there is only government television.

Yet it remains true, as even critics of the current regime (in power since 1948) admit, the South African press remains the most free in Africa. While this is faint praise considering the enfeebled nature of newspapers elsewhere in Africa, it is refreshing to buy the *Rand Daily Mail* on a Johannesburg morning and find it

still able to roast President Pieter W. Botha editorially.

The Press and Apartheid is a measured and scholarly effort by two American university professors of communications (Giffard, now at the University of Washington, is South Africa-born) to explain this contradiction: Why South Africa's press appears to be unfettered but increasingly really is being denied the ability to print the country's important news unless the publishers, editors, and reporters "play ball" with authorities. Meanwhile, the black press is being silenced steadily.

The media is resisting, but intimidation, censorship, the closing down of papers, and the jailing of journalists are government actions which seem to be succeeding. Having recently left South Africa as a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent there, it was clearly evident to me that domestic press freedom was less than when I arrived eight years ago.

As a result, at the very time that racial friction is increasing, the most suitable form of communications to ease tension — newspaper and radio reporting for both whites and blacks — is being short-circuited.

This book is more than a treatise and the authors refrain from direct criticism of South Africa's way of handling its racial problems. In one respect that is regrettable, for it must be kept in mind that attaining racial equality in South Africa is going to be far more difficult than it has been to reach — at least legally — racial equality in the United States. And it took us a hundred years to do so.

The obvious difference — when you think about it, it becomes obvious — is that in America there is a white majority without the fear of a black takeover, while in South Africa the whites, outnumbered at least four to one by blacks, must give up what they so often describe as “everything” when they extend political rights to the majority.

Reading the book, one needs to keep in mind the government's efforts to suppress any literature which “will stir up the blacks.” While *apartheid* is clearly wrong, one can understand why this unworkable system of segregating blacks, except at the work place, is clung to by whites as frantically as passengers grasp life preservers on a sinking ship.

Hachten and Giffard have combined to produce a readable account of the growth of newspapers and radio, and explain why television was not introduced until 1976, even though South Africa is a highly industrialized and technically proficient nation. They have researched the parallel growth of white government means of keeping all forms of freedom of speech and press under control, and how these controls are maintained with Teutonic efficiency. For example, manuscripts can be censored even before they are completed and sent to a publisher.

In addition to all the other unusual journalistic conditions in the country, there is a division within the white press which has nothing to do with the competitive nature of the business or with racial conflict. Confrontation between rival newspapers is fueled by a historical difference between whites over origin,

culture, and religion. There are the Afrikaners who make up about 60 percent of the white population and speak the Dutch derivative of early settlers. And then there are the English-speaking people.

The English won the Boer war but after a come-back struggle it is the Afrikaners — descendants of the Boers — who run the country today. The Afrikaner-dominated National Party was the author of *apartheid*, and an Afrikaner-dominated civil service and police force implement that system.

For many years the Afrikaans-language newspapers were unquestioning supporters of the ruling National Party while English-language newspapers were bombastic critics. It made for adversary journalism which is still the hallmark of South African newspapering. This may account for the puzzlement reflected in the faces of news sources when foreign correspondents seek to hear both sides of a conflict. In South Africa “balanced reporting” is often a final paragraph saying that the police official or cabinet minister involved in a controversy was “unavailable for comment,” as indeed is often the case.

In an encouraging development, Afrikaner editors and publishers have begun to shake off conformity with National Party policy. They have started to advocate at least some moderation in the nation's harsh racist laws. At the same time, they do not suggest that they want to become independent of Botha and other party leaders. They seek to be recognized as high-minded people, not merely “ventriloquist's dummies.” In earlier years editors considered journalism a step to party appointments and ultimately a seat in parliament, but now more see journalism as an honorable calling in itself.

On occasion Afrikaner news executives have joined English colleagues to fight off government threats to enact new and tougher press laws if there is not effective self-censorship.

If a degree of cooperation is emerging in the white press, it has been offset by a shattering of unity in what remains of the black journalistic fraternity. The issue is over whether black reporters should

identify themselves boldly with the struggle for equality. Should they also openly endorse Black Consciousness which would mean rejecting the support of the liberal white press?

Usually it is the older journalist who says no, who wants to keep a measure of objectivity, no matter how often he or she is harassed or jailed by police. These journalists want to continue to be associated with white newspapers, even though sometimes they are treated like second-class journalists, little more than interpreters of a tribal language.

The book's authors report that Peter Magubane, a prize-winning black photographer who has stood up to police repression longer than most, was ridiculed by younger journalists for staying in a multi-racial journalist union.

Another veteran, “Doc” Sipho Bibitsha, complains: “They take us old journalists as softies, as moderates. They say we have been under the system for so long we don't see things as they are.”

In 1980 a strike by a newly-formed black union against liberal white-owned newspapers increased suspicion in the ranks of white and black newspaper people. The outcome was a compromise on some issues and formal recognition for the union in future bargaining. But to many black reporters it confirmed, as observer Hennie Serfontein wrote, that the so-called liberal English press had “double standards” and was guilty of “hypocrisy.”

Benjamin Pogrund, deputy editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, the most racially liberal paper in South Africa, reflected the bitterness of some white news executives over the strike. “They even tried to close down the *Mail*. . . I was appalled by the racism of it all,” Pogrund reportedly said.

Since the government policy is to fragment opposition to *apartheid*, the strike was a happy event for Botha and company.

The book's account of the uneasy relationship between black and white journalists shows a thorough understanding of the South African scene. With the same sensitivity, Hachten and Giffard explore other aspects of the conflict between press and government, including

mind-boggling censorship of literary and artistic expression.

There also is a chapter devoted to Muldergate, so named because it came soon after Watergate and was as shocking to South Africans as the American affair which led to President Nixon's resignation.

Muldergate dealt with a cabinet minister named Cornelius Mulder and his campaign to influence world opinion-makers and convince them of the goodness of South African whites and the reasonableness of *apartheid*. Investigative reporting by both the English and Afrikaner press, substantiated by a couple of stout-hearted judges, exposed "dirty tricks" and the manipulation of millions

of rands. The revelations forced government investigations and parliamentary inquiry which brought down Mulder and ultimately forced Prime Minister John Vorster to retire from public life.

Anyone interested in South Africa's problems and future, and probably mystified about why it is taking whites so long to realize the need for scrapping *apartheid*, will find the book worthwhile reading.

Jack Foisie, Nieman Fellow '47, retired in September after twenty years of reporting from overseas for The Los Angeles Times. Most recently he was their Johannesburg correspondent.

ABC's of Electronic Essentials

Editing in the Electronic Era (second edition)

Martin L. Gibson. Iowa State University Press, Ames, 1984, \$24.95

On-Line Editing

James G. Stovall, Charles C. Self, L. Edward Mullins. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1984, \$18.95

by Malcolm Bauer

There has been in the last few years, and continues to be, an epochal revolution in newspaper composition and production. Propelled by the United States ascendancy in technology, an abrupt change has swept through the press and spread to magazine and book publishing here, and is vaulting around the world, as publishers turn from outdated implements and machinery to electronic computers and their complementary ware.

History has seen no comparable shake-up on the printed page since the fifteenth century application of Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the type mold, which made possible for the first time the printing of movable metallic type.

Now, after more than 400 years, print comes forth from an electronic system, leaping much of the outmoded processing.

Typewriters, pencils, paper, and rubber erasers are vanishing from the newsrooms and linotype machines and metal pots from the composing rooms, as newspapers, large and small, are adapting their operations to the electronic essentials.

It follows that those who would be writers and editors of newspapers in the electronic era must learn the intricacies of access to a computer or computers for the writing and editing of stories and headlines, the setting of type, the make-up of pages, and related tasks that have been performed with other tools.

It is the purpose of these two books

to introduce to such aspirants the fundamentals of using VDTs (visual display terminals) of various makes and other electronic tools to produce a newspaper.

Texas University Professor Gibson's textbook is a timely revision of his widely-used journalism primer. The Stovall, Self, Mullins volume is organized more on a workbook pattern, including some blank pages for students, and newspaper make-up sheets.

The thrust of both books is on the new electronic journalism, but the bulk of each book is nevertheless devoted to maintenance of time-honored principles of reporting and editing — grammar and punctuation, newspaper style, handling wire and syndicate copy (which can now come by computer), pictures and cutlines, design and layout, libel, and other pertinent laws.

There have been some objections to the electronic systems, but both books make it clear that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages and that the new journalism is here to stay.

Professor Gibson, who has had experience in newsrooms, including those with electronic equipment, says, "Electronic editing has a great deal to be said for it in any contest with pencil and paper." And he goes on to explain in detail the advantages that *On-Line Editing* covers in a more compact form.

Stovall, Self, and Mullins report, in the past tense, what has been discovered in the recent decade.

These new systems offered editors and reporters a speed and flexibility they could never approach with hard copy editing. Without leaving their desks, editors could check on what stories had been written by which reporters, which stories had been edited by which copy editors, what stories had been sent by the wire services, and which ones had been sent to the typesetter. Copy editors could make corrections without using editing marks, they could switch paragraphs around without a pair of scissors and a pastepot, and they could update a breaking wire story — all by pressing a few buttons.

They could then send the story to an automatic typesetter, assured that the changes and corrections that had

been made would not be subject to human error. An editor, or anyone with access to the system, could check on the progress of the story, send messages to the copy editor or reporter, or even ask for a hard copy of the story.

Moreover, the makeup editor has similar flexibility. He or she may determine exactly how long a story is, cut as appropriate, and set the copy in a variety of type faces and sizes.

Electronic newsrooms have "graphic editors" to provide illustrations, such as charts, tables, small cartoons, boxed quotations, and other supplements to fit into news stories, to catch readers' eyes and adorn columns of type.

Donald J. Sterling Jr. [NF '56], formerly editor of the *Oregon Journal* and now assistant to the publisher of *The Portland Oregonian* after the merger of the two papers, finds that graphics brighten the news columns. Sterling says, "The same thing could have been done in the pre-computer days, but it would have required some careful calculating and measuring. . . The computer makes the job much easier and probably more accurate."

Authors Stovall, Self, and Mullins demonstrate that they are familiar with electronic processes in the newsroom as well as with the highest of journalistic principles.

Editors should remember that an electronic editing system is an extremely useful tool, but that is all it is — a tool. Neither it nor any other machine can replace the most basic of all editing tools, the brain. Good publications are produced not because of the physical tools of the editor but because of the editor's mental tools. Without an extremely inquisitive mind, a basic knowledge of a wide range of subjects and an absolute command of the English language, an editor will be unable to bring out a suitable publication, no matter what tool is used for editing.

In short, the electronic era reporter or editor should not expect the computer and its VDTs to do all the work.

"An underlying premise of electronic

editing," say Stovall-Self-Mullins, "is that when a reporter types a story, that should be the first and last time it is typed. In processing hard copy this premise is not operable. A reporter types a story; it is then sent to an editor and sent to a typesetter who retypes the story. Electronic editing makes this last step obsolete."

In the new system, each reporter types his or her story directly into the computer system. All the editing and other changes take place electronically.

"One of the real advantages of micro-electronics in general is their ability to reduce the storage space required for material," *On-Line Editing* observes.

Because any composition is reduced to electronic signals, stories, articles, reviews, editorials, and even intraoffice notes can be "stored" in the system for recall when wanted.

This is a great convenience. It can also be a great nuisance, as this writer has experienced, when there is neglect in keeping track of just what material is in waiting.

Professor Gibson's light, anecdotal approach in *Editing in the Electronic Era* should help to erase fears of the new operation — fears, perhaps, of material forgotten in "storage" or irretrievably lost in the computer's invisible maw by faulty operation of the keyboard.

The new newsroom computer systems, however, have reduced such possibilities.

To get anything out of a computer, it must be fed in. Here are the principal ways the feeding is done in a newsroom operation:

1. Direct keyboarding through a VDT into the computer by electronic connection. This is what Gibson calls "the ultimate system" in today's electronic journalism, the one that will be used on virtually all newspapers, regardless of size. The VDTs can be in the newsroom, at police stations, other public buildings or in a newspaper's outlying news bureaus, all keyed to a central computer.

2. Scanner copy, a short term for optical character recognition (OCR) copy; a story written on a typewriter is scanned electronically much as a bank's scanner deals with checks, feeding the image into

a central computer.

3. Computer-to-computer hookups, through which press services, syndicates and other newspaper sources transmit copy to a computer, bypassing editors, but providing notes on what enters the system. This feed-in is a great saver of time and paper and is a newsroom convenience, substituting for clattering machines.

4. Paper tape — a perforated tape is punched out on a special machine and is used to feed a story into the computer or to set type directly. This system is becoming obsolete as direct VDT keyboarding is taking over in more newsrooms.

There may be problems along the way. As columnist Art Buchwald has observed, "Being a computer means never having to say you're sorry."

Gibson has found that many more stories and articles are rewritten in electronic editing because of the ease and variety of choices. Poor composition cannot be tolerated when it can be eliminated so much more easily than in paper-pencil-linotype days.

"Although editors should not get into the habit of rewriting all copy," he writes, "they can do a full-scale revision on VDTs with little trouble. If a story is thoroughly inadequate, the editor should kick it back for revision to the city desk and the offending reporter. But if one paragraph of rewrite will expiate all sins, the editor may be justified in doing the job (solely by electronics), especially if time presses."

Time is the essence of electronic journalism. It can — and usually does — accelerate newsgathering. On occasion, it stymies the process, as with buried copy and power outages.

Gibson's conclusion, after years on copy desks and as a professor of journalism, is that electronic editing is "here to stay."

In short, those who want to be reporters and editors must begin by learning the operations of VDTs and computers by experience or in such texts as these. It has been a really new — and enlightening — experience for such newspapermen as this writer.

Both of these books suggest that while

electronics serve to improve communication in the newsrooms of the world, the science has an opposite influence elsewhere.

The English language has been subverted by the spread of television and its appeal to youth. Rules of grammar, spelling, syntax, punctuation, paragraphing, etc., may mean something to television writers and broadcasters, but the evidence is clear that such concerns are not carried to many viewers, particularly those who should be learning the language.

Therefore, it is a welcome circumstance that the authors of both of these

books give much space to careful and accurate use of the language.

"Newspaper copy desks," Martin Gibson contends, "are among the last guardians of the king's English. You err if you think the VDT will help us return to the days when people wrote and spoke carefully. The VDT will not do your work for you."

The electronics era gives no license to the shoddy, at least in newsrooms.

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The Disproportionate Burden

Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans

Wallace Terry. Random House, New York, 1984, \$17.95

by Ernest R. Mercer

Sometimes it's hard for me to believe that fourteen years have passed since my return from Vietnam. As a draftee, I'd been selected to go to the Army's Officers Candidate School. I did my time as a platoon leader, another "Blood," as we black soldiers in the field called ourselves then. Although I remained in the Army for several months after my return, re-transformation to civilian life began for me the moment my feet touched the ground of National Airport in Washington, D.C. I was finally back in "The World" — home. Until that moment I had not believed I would return alive.

Immediately I began my attempt to forget Vietnam. Oh yeah, over the years I've told my share of war stories, usually the kind where no one gets hurt, guaranteed to draw a laugh. Thousands of black Vietnam veterans never will be able to laugh about anything that happened there. For a long time I actually remembered what each of the ribbons on

my dress blue uniform meant. Today I don't even remember where the uniform is.

Especially during the early years of Vietnam, the black soldier who served did so at much greater peril than his white counterpart. He performed the most dangerous missions and suffered the heaviest casualties. Upon returning to the United States, if he had difficulty making the transition to peacetime duty, his service and his wounds were quickly forgotten and he was most likely to receive a less-than-honorable-discharge for his pain. If fortunate enough to end his experience with an Honorable Discharge, he was most often rebuffed in his attempts to find meaningful work or, for that matter, any work at all. He had fought heroically but in the wrong war and he was still black. In every big city and most small ones across America, groups of black men, who once were "Bloods" can be found huddled together trying to get warm at oil drum fires — still left out, living memorials of the U.S.

involvement in Vietnam.

Wallace Terry's [NF '70] book *Bloods*, through twenty oral recitations taken from black Vietnam veterans, former airmen, sailors, and infantrymen, describes the black soldiers' Vietnam. Each veteran, through his own words, reminds us of the scars both physical and emotional that for some will never disappear. *Bloods* is especially welcome today as some seem determined to begin a period that might be called "The Romanticization of Vietnam."

Many blacks who served in Vietnam had been taken from the civil rights battlefields of Selma and Montgomery and during the 1950's and 1960's they had become a newly militant breed. Through each segment in *Bloods*, whether told by career top sergeant, drafted infantryman or college trained officer, this militancy is evident. These men were willing to fight when they believed there was reason and they, along with many other Americans, had been convinced that there was reason to be in Vietnam. Along with this new militancy, black soldiers retained the age-old spirit of nationalism that moved others before them. When the call came they put aside the fight at home to serve. As one "Blood," a former Navy officer, saw it, "I think the people who were there, like me, were doing their duty as they understood it. We were fighting for the honor, the integrity, and the national interests of this country." But perhaps the words of a former Marine rifleman sum up best, however, the motivating sentiments of many who served. Says he, "I knew Americans were prejudiced, were racist and all that, but basically, I believed in America 'cause I was an American."

After proving himself on the battlefield and earning a well-deserved two- or three-day respite from fighting, the black G.I. was confronted by disturbing scenes such as one witnessed by Richard Ford of Washington, D.C. "Nha Trang was like a beach, a resort. They was ridin' around on paved streets. They be playing football and basketball. Nobody walked around with weapons. They were white. And that's what really freaked me out. All these white guys in the rear." Later he continues, "The racial incidents didn't

happen in the field. Just when we went to the back. It wasn't so much that they were against us. It was just that we felt that we were being taken advantage of, 'cause it seemed like more blacks in the field than in the rear."

Wallace Terry, by his selection of oral recitation as the style for *Bloods* and by the care he has obviously taken in compiling it, especially his attention to individual speech patterns and pronunciation habits, has given each subject freedom to tell his own story. These recollections are told in an understated and straightforward way, but even so, the senses are literally bombarded with vivid and often disturbing recollections. The reader is left almost no time to recover from one emotion-wrenching episode to the next. And neither does *Bloods* allow the arm's distance comfort that some may be most comfortable with. Page after page this riveting story is thrust relentlessly against the sensibilities. By using twenty storytellers, Terry has achieved his own "overkill" effect. The readers will welcome the natural breaks offered by chapters because *Bloods* is not at all the "war-as-literature" treatment some are used to.

For some whose stories are told in *Bloods*, the pain of Vietnam was not left in the jungles and rice paddies. Back in the world, faced with a society which at its worst was distinctly hostile, and at its best, indifferent to the plight of the black veteran, their pain is real and refuses to go away. One man finally concludes in frustration after his unsuccessful attempts to find work, "To get a job, you got to be a ex-junkie, a ex-con, or a ex-Vietnamese." Another, having finally given up in his own attempt to re-adjust to life in the States, starts by saying, "I had never done a criminal thing," then goes on to describe how he became ring-leader in a daring but guaranteed-to-fail robbery, was finally caught, and ended up serving five and a half years in Lorton Reformatory outside of Washington, D.C. Of his experiences he says, "In Vietnam and in Lorton I was with men at their darkest hour. We listened to Aretha Franklin together in both places. And we cried together, and longed for the World together. War is prison, too."

It has long been known that during

the Vietnam War, just as the black soldier, sailor, marine, and airman was the first one in and among the first to die, he was the last to leave and the last to die. Although statistics have long supported the disproportionate burden suffered by blacks in Vietnam, there is but a small body of work dedicated to showing the black perspective. Wallace Terry, however, has ended the drought. Through the pages of *Bloods*, one may begin to understand and appreciate the residue of pain suffered by such a large number of black Vietnam veterans. Perhaps some will finally begin to realize

why so many remain bitter and alienated today, years after the last American had left, by their war experiences. For some of those men whose stories appear in *Bloods*, one hopes a measure of relief was gained. Certainly all who read it will gain.

Ernest R. Mercer served as an infantry platoon leader in Vietnam, 1969-70. He is with the classified advertising department of The Washington Post, and is president of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild.

Targets of a Press Critic

Double Vision. How the Press Distorts America's View of the Middle East

Ze'ev Chafets. William Morrow & Company, Inc., New York, 1984, \$16.95

by William Small

With all the attention devoted to *Double Vision* when it first appeared, one was inclined before opening it to conclude that Ze'ev Chafets is another example of a press critic who protests too much. After reading it, one is inclined to admire the seriousness with which this Wisconsin-born Israeli journalist approaches his subject, researches his thesis, and identifies the weaknesses of foreign reportage by American news entities, yet one must still conclude that he protests too much.

There is a mixture of pride in Israel's prominence in attracting American coverage ("When it comes to generating news, Israel is a superpower. . .") and defensiveness when generally benign U.S. coverage turned sour during the Israeli entrance into Lebanon in 1982. Chafets is angry at U.S. newspapers, magazines, and networks for their hard look at Israel's military adventure in Lebanon, for taking a suddenly softer look at the Arab

positions which he characterizes as a misguided attempt to be even-handed.

Hardly any of the giants of American journalism escape untouched. His targets include most major newspapers, the news magazines, and all three networks. There is plenty of criticism to go around but he is especially harsh about *Time* magazine, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, ABC, and NBC. He concluded that "The 1982 war in Lebanon marked the peak of the anti-Israeli fever that had been building in the American press for a decade."

In a "personal note" at the start, Chafets correctly observes "that writing a critique of the press contains an inherent and paradoxical danger — you are apt to commit many of the same transgressions that you criticize in others." He has a point and, sadly, proves it.

He is unduly harsh about the transgressions of others and, in being so, weakens his thesis. For example, he is angry at *The New Yorker* for publishing the dovish views of Argentine editor

Jacobo Timerman after the shooting slowed down in Lebanon. As he puts it, "Timerman did very well for himself duping the rubes at *The New Yorker*."

Call them what you like, the editors at *The New Yorker* are hardly "rubes." Some of the most perceptive commentary on current affairs and some of the most telling observations about the flow (or lack) of information in the American news media have been published in that magazine.

ABC gets a full chapter for its documentary about Palestinians called *Under the Israeli Thumb*. Chavets titles the chapter "ABC Under the Thumb" and sets the tone of his critique by stating that the documentary "began with a lie," namely its statement that it couldn't get the Israeli government to provide a spokesman. It turns out that ABC wanted then-Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. He, in turn, said okay, if his remarks were not edited. Journalists have faced this before and obviously it is not acceptable. Indeed, considering Sharon's verbosity as exhibited in his libel suit against *Time*, ABC might have had to devote hours to unedited Ariel.

Chavets says the Government Press Office offered alternates but ABC only wanted Sharon. Chavets was director of the Israeli Government Press Office and claims ABC even turned down Foreign Minister Itzhak Shamir because "he has no expertise on the West Bank." Chavets said ABC was told not to worry, Shamir will "bone up on the subject." To Shamir's disappointment, ABC was not interested.

This bit of pique aside, Chavets does present the case that ABC was determined to show the Palestinian side in what he characterized as a documentary with "melodramatic misrepresentations" and he questions ABC's motives in producing it. He contends that it was to offset earlier pro-Israeli reportage and cites ABC's Geraldo Rivera to that effect.

The other networks fare little better. NBC is chastised for its Jewish-by-birth but Islamic-by-conversion Cairo bureau chief Abdullah Schleifer. He cites anti-Zionist articles by Schleifer prior to his appointment by NBC and states that he, Chavets, longed for an opportunity to

show up Schleifer. It came in March of 1980 when a group of foreign correspondents attended the new Israeli Ambassador Eliahu Ben-Elissar's first appearance at a Cairo synagogue. It was at a celebration of the holiday Purim and when reporters asked about the sequence of events that would transpire, a happy Chavets told them, "Just ask Abdullah. He knows this stuff cold."



In a more sober vein, he notes that NBC's John Chancellor in Beirut compared that city's devastation with the bombing of Madrid by Hitler's air force during the Spanish Civil War. The Israel-Nazi analogy infuriates Chavets. He calls it "extra-rational, but it is far from uncalculated. Its intent is to deprive the Jewish state of the affection with which it is widely regarded in the United States." He points to others, several newspaper writers and cartoonists, who related Lebanon to Hitlerism.

As for CBS News, Chavets goes back to 1967 and the Six Day War. CBS, he claims, nervous about its man Michael Elkins, was slow to pick up Elkins' scoop that the Israeli air attacks on the Egyptian air force virtually ended that brief war. CBS was indeed concerned about a report so far ahead of everyone else but those of us there at the time remember that it was carried. My own recollection is of Charles Collingwood in Israel, urging its broadcast, arguing "You have to go with your man." Chavets said

the slow (hours in broadcast news) acceptance of Elkins' exclusive caused Elkins to resign on the spot. Some of us don't remember it happening quite that way or for that reason, but Chavets' source was Elkins himself.

The Washington Post takes a drubbing from Chavets (as do several others) for failure to report on Arab attempts to intimidate the foreign press in Lebanon. He also describes an exchange of letters with the *Post* and its failure to run a correction that he found satisfying. Graciously, Chavets says the matter sheds light on the paper's "recurrent" troubles with false stories like the Janet Cooke story and concludes, "The formula is one part carelessness, one part arrogance."

It must be clear that *Double Vision* is not a very comforting publication for editors to read. It is certainly worth their attention, however. Rarely does the American press get enough feedback from its readers and it is, of course, even rarer to be critiqued publicly from news sources half a world away.

Chavets' most perceptive observations deal with the difficulties in foreign reporting, especially in the Middle East. It is expensive; he says it takes \$250,000 a year to keep a reporter and his family overseas. Networks, he might have added, average even greater costs. Foreign correspondents are expected to cover vast areas of geography, to deal with peoples whose language and lifestyle are alien to most Westerners, and to operate under the most difficult of professional circumstances.

He points out that a small army of foreign correspondents resides in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, while few are stationed in the entire Arab world. As he says, few nations on earth are as open and as closely scrutinized as Israel, while most of the Arab world is shrouded in secrecy.

As David Shipler of *The New York Times* has noted, Israel is "a nation of op-ed article writers" so foreign correspondents find no shortage of self-criticism. Its Arab neighbors are an exact opposite.

It must be said, however, that the freedom to report from the only democracy in the Middle East has been — in the

long run — far, far more advantageous to Israel than it has been harmful. The risk, as politicians everywhere know, is that a free press by definition is going to report freely and therefore negatively as well as positively. This is hardly the same as a decade of “anti-Israeli fever that has been building in the American press.”

Chavets documents the attempts at intimidation of foreign correspondents, particularly in Beirut, and accuses them of failing to report the incidents for fear of further reprisal. He feels that those stories about attempts at intimidation that do see light are underplayed in the American press. He has a point. It is stretching that point, however, to say that the public’s “right to know was being subverted by a combination of Arab terror and journalistic acquiescence or indifference.”

He quite rightly observes that in 1982 much of the American press was victim to inflated casualty figures issued by the Red Crescent, which was often described as the “equivalent of the American Red Cross.” But Chavets fails to give Martin Peretz of *The New Republic* enough credit for exposing this and reporting that the Red Crescent is run by Yasser Arafat’s brother.

In contrast, Chavets notes that the American press vastly and belatedly underplayed the massacre at Hama, Syria, following an anti-Assad *coup* attempt. He reports that thousands were killed as Syrian guns battered Hama for nine straight days. It took nine more days for the first American report about the incident (by John Kifner [NF ’72] in *The New York Times*) and overall, it was given little attention in the United States thanks to the Syrian cover-up.

On the other hand, Chavets says that the massacre of Lebanese in the Sabra and Shatilla camps got immense play in the U.S. (“Sabra and Shatilla became household words in the United States”), although a special judicial commission in Israel “determined that Israel had no direct blame for what had happened — no Israelis had been in the camps, and none had participated in the killings.” He does inform his readers, briefly and far into his book, that the commission felt Israel “bore a heavy measure of indirect

responsibility” and that Defense Minister Sharon and the head of military intelligence were forced to resign.

That matter, of course, is the heart of Sharon’s libel suit against *Time* magazine. *Time*, by the way, may be Israel’s least favorite magazine. American University Professor Amos Perlmutter, writing in *The New York Times* in an anti-Sharon op-ed piece tells us why. “This is, after all, the man who planned and led the Lebanese war, who misled his own prime minister, misinformed his cabinet, and allied Israel with the Lebanese faction that eventually oversaw the massacres in Sabra and Shatilla . . . *Time* is (not) above reproach. Its infamous assertion that ‘Begin rhymes with Fagin’ and its apparent sympathy for Arab causes have embittered many Israelis.”

Sharon’s trial has brought him popular support among many in Israel, including his own enemies back home. As Thomas Friedman put it in *The New York Times* last December, “There is still enormous bitterness among Israelis over what they perceive to have been biased coverage of their 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Letters to the editor run regularly in the Israeli press complaining about the American reporting two years ago. The Sharon trial is seen by many Israelis as their chance to get even.”

The Chavets book reflects this bitterness. His many important and valid points are weakened by it. His attempts to explain *why* the American press has turned on Israel are perhaps the thinnest arguments he has to offer. He hastens to say that he doesn’t think that the “American businessmen” who own and control media companies have been “bought out” by the Arabs but he says these corporate heads, “like their counterparts in other giant American industries,” are far more sensitive to the financial clout of the Arab world than they were before the 1973 Arab oil boycott. There is a heightened appreciation of the Arab point of view and a “fear” that unsatisfied political grievances might lead to further Arab actions to limit America’s economic interests, he contends.

Editors follow compliantly in this view. Chavets cites Turner Catledge, for-

mer editor of *The New York Times*, as writing, “I wanted our reporters and editors to do their work without feeling that the publisher was looking over their shoulders. In truth, however, he was.”

Sadly, that quote lacks context. In his memoir *My Life and Times*, Catledge was explaining his relationship to publisher Sulzberger and how he tried to educate the publisher to the magnified impact of his comments on the staff. The megaphone effect of a publisher (or indeed, an editor) certainly exists but the Sulzbergers have long ago demonstrated and continue to show how much restraint a publisher can have at a great newspaper.

Heavy-handedness by media bigwigs is hardly unknown but it is extremely rare today. Nothing would appear quicker in print somewhere than a publisher who leaned heavily on his people. The publisher has a proper role and great responsibility for everything his or her paper prints. Today, few American publishers stain that role or violate that responsibility. There are many shortcomings in the American press but this is rarely one of them.

Chavets also sees the heavy hand of the U.S. government in all of this. He quotes Howard Simons [NF ’59], then of *The Washington Post*, as noting, “They outnumber us hundreds to one. While we have three State Department correspondents, they have hundreds of people involved in grinding out press releases, holding meetings and briefings. The administration commands the high ground.”

True. But the high ground is hardly a guarantee of controlling the coverage. The history of adversary relationships between the press and every administration gives full evidence that Washington power brokers are even more critical of American reportage than is Chavets in his most unhappy moments.

No one is wiser to the muscle of an administration than brother Simons but his own history and the product of the *Post* is ample evidence that having the high ground is not enough. A free press still flourishes in Washington, no matter how a sophisticated and clever administration tries to manipulate the news.

A free society means that everyone, including those in government, have a right to *try* to manipulate the news. A free press in that society, here as in Israel, has a duty to recognize both that right and to be wary of those attempts. In the wise words of Henry Grunwald of *Time*, the press is both "witness and watchdog."

If the economic pressures from the world of oil and the manipulative pressures from the world of official Washington really worked, Americans would have forsaken support of Israel long ago. That just is not the case. Thirty years of U.S. polls were examined in a recent survey published by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Ample evidence from Roper, Gallup, Harris, and all other nose-counters shows that a wide consensus of support for Israel over Arab countries has existed and continues to exist. Indeed, it has changed little over those thirty years. The AIPAC study, "How Americans Feel About Israel," shows consistent support over time, in

different demographic groups and in apparent disregard of what Chavets has viewed as a switch in American news coverage in the last dozen years. Indeed, it notes that young (18- to 24-year old) Americans have increased their support of Israel in the past decade.

At the conclusion of his book, Ze'ev Chavets moderates his message and says that the "fever" began to subside after the Kahan Report on the Sabra and Shatilla massacres. He calls it welcome improvement, "reassuring to find the free press of the United States on the side of the region's only open society for a change," but he says there are still basic flaws in Middle East coverage.

There are. But the man protests too much.

William Small formerly was president of United Press International. Prior to that, he was senior vice president and director of CBS News.

reporter learned about a courtroom whitewash, he was unable to find ways to make the facts publishable. Looking back, he explains: "There is a saying in the newspaper business that the best stories are the ones that can never be printed. I finally knew how the murder charge had been fixed in the Kanove case — but I couldn't use it."

Today, in many newsrooms across the country, ways would be found to publish that story. But systematic investigative reporting wasn't invented when Fred Cook was starting out.

Some defining is needed to distinguish the muckraking tradition from contemporary investigative reporting. During the 1960's, *Newsday's* Bob Greene developed a practical definition of investigative reporting that includes two elements:

1. The publication of significant information that someone is trying to keep hidden.

2. The bulk of the material published is the reporter's own work product, not leaked information.

Cook's exposés, judged by his description of how he did them, don't meet Greene's standards. Cook appears to have functioned more like Steffens, who would come into a metropolitan area, read all the local corruption clippings, and distill the story for a national audi-

Digging Without A Shovel

Maverick. Fifty Years of Investigative Reporting

Fred J. Cook. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1984, \$18.95

by Bruce Locklin

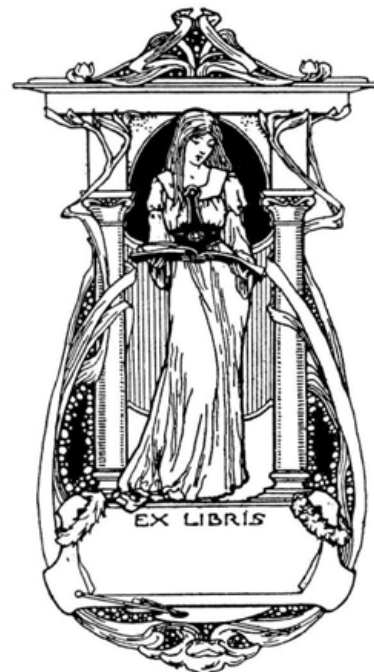
In introducing Fred J. Cook's memoirs, Studs Terkel says that Cook "may be the finest investigative journalist in the land, as close to Lincoln Steffens as you'll find." By using Steffens as the benchmark, Terkel puts Cook where he belongs — in the muckraker tradition, more a compiler and interpreter of information than a digger unearthing new material.

Aspiring investigative reporters will be disappointed if they pick up Cook's book hoping to find how-to-do-it tips. Cook gives replays of his big stories, something like a composer performing in concert, introducing his hits with

"then-I-wrote" transitions. In explaining his methods, Cook often ends up saying he examined the public record and previously published material and then just applied common sense.

His career represents a bridge between old and new traditions. His memoirs may help historians understand what was going on in American journalism between Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities* and Woodward's and Bernstein's *All the President's Men*.

In his early years on a New Jersey daily, Cook found himself frustrated by timid, play-it-safe journalism. But he came to accept the rationalizations of the time, and they appear to linger in his memory as still valid. When the young



ence. That's a lot different from sleuthing for six months, finding first-hand witnesses who will testify, and building a solid wall of evidence that proves wrongdoing.

But Cook deserves respect for tackling big and tough subjects with his analytical pieces. He was an early critic of J. Edgar Hoover. And his 1962 book on the military-industrial complex, *The Warfare State*, included this early warning:

"We are committed in South Vietnam to a dictator named Diem who we persist in trying to picture as the George Washington of Southeast Asia. There is a limit to our money, to the burdens the American taxpayer can be expected to bear, to the drain on our gold resources and our manpower. If we engage in many more Koreas, if we are dragged into another 'limited war' in Southeast Asia, we shall bleed ourselves of our finest youth and our future leadership in a blind battle to halt an ideology we detest."

After Fred Cook left New Jersey, he became an ace rewrite man for *The New York World Telegram*. Later, he became a frequent contributor to *The Nation* and *Saga* magazines. Right-wing critics called him a hack crime reporter and a tool of the liberal establishment. Both charges are hyperbolic, but with a grain of truth. His memoirs display the pluses and minuses of the old rewrite man at work on deadline: clear, direct language, but too gee-whiz. He is far more readable when he writes about his personal life, particularly growing up on the New Jersey shore. He confesses that some predispositions developed early:

"Dad's boss was a church deacon, a pillar of the community — yet he ran a business like a sweatshop. For me, he was the symbol of a class. Then — and later — I always felt much closer to the workers in the pits than I did to the characters in executive suites."

Young Fred Cook was resentful when a wealthy outsider bought beach property his family had been using and excluded the locals: "Was this the beginning of my antipathy toward the filthy rich?"

Events appear to have helped shape

him into a point-of-view writer, an admitted crusader who wouldn't be loved by the right.

There's a bitterness in his book, the bitterness of a man convinced he was almost always right. One critic is called a back-stabber. Fred Friendly gets berated for doing a smiling interview and then knocking Cook without warning. Also disturbing is some thin evidence Cook offers of possible conspiracies against him, including undelivered mail and anonymous phone calls, inconclusive material that would be deleted from a solid investigative report.

In sum, *Maverick* presents a clear picture of Fred J. Cook as a journalist of his times, perhaps neither as noble nor

objective as he would like to have been, but a decently motivated man. The book isn't compelling reading, because it's mainly the rewrite man rehashing old stories that mean much more to him than to others. There's little drama, no "Deep Throat," no dangerous meetings, no impressive methodology. Instead, there's a thread of unbecoming defensiveness.

Cook's own conclusion: "I don't know how much I have accomplished in my years of lonely crusading, but at least I have tried."

Bruce Locklin, Nieman Fellow '78, is investigative news editor for The (Bergen) Record in northern New Jersey.

The Journalist as Idealist and Pragmatist

Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker

Nancy L. Roberts. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, paper \$12.95, cloth \$36.50

by William Gildea

The cover photo of *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker* is exquisite, and says so much: The aged Day, her white hair braided across the top of her head, is placing a sheet of paper into her old typewriter. She never stopped working. Her life was simple and all-consuming: spreading the teachings of Christianity as editor of *The Catholic Worker* newspaper, feeding and clothing the homeless poor on the Lower East Side of New York. A genuine inspiration, she did this almost to the day she died in 1980 at the age of 83, amid the poverty she had joyfully embraced long before.

At the time of the Depression, along with the Frenchman Peter Maurin, Day founded the Catholic Worker Movement, a band of idealists and pragmatists

who first reformed themselves by adopting a life of poverty before ministering to the destitute. During her fifty years of unstinting work, uncounted numbers came under her influence. Among them, the late Thomas Merton, the Trappist, once said, "If there were no *Catholic Worker* and such forms of witness, I would never have joined the Catholic Church."

A biographical work such as Nancy Roberts' can only increase Day's legion. It's less than a pure delight to read — it's flatly written for the most part and frustratingly repetitive. We don't really get to know Day well enough in this book; we don't get enough feeling for what it's like at St. Joseph's House of Hospitality at 36 East First Street. But, certainly, all the important parts of her life are recorded in *Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker*, especially Day as jour-

nalist. It's an earnest, documented account of a person devoted to her craft and ideals.

About forty houses of hospitality operate around the country today. Her paper, in which she stressed that religion means primarily what one does, still publishes, and her words are often reprinted. While remaining loyal to her church, she always prodded it. She was a thorn, too, to many lay Catholics; Day railed against United States' involvement in World War II, and circulation plummeted from 190,000 in 1938 to about 50,000 in mid-1945.

Day never wavered in her extreme pacifism — she would be jailed briefly a number of times because of it. On through the Korean and Vietnam wars, she expressed her views, and gradually readers came back. Circulation today is more than 100,000.

The Catholic Worker movement's mission, she once explained, was "to change public opinion, to indoctrinate, to set small groups to work here and there in different cities who will live a life of sacrifice, typifying the Catholic idea of personal responsibility."

Her simple society was based on a cooperative, personalist sharing, in accord with Christian principles. She fed, clothed, housed, and raised money for outcasts; one beggar woman called her "the saint who fought the Devil for us."

Day was influenced in part by Maurin who in turn was influenced by Peter Kropotkin, whose turn-of-the-century writings stressed cooperation and common work, worker and scholar united in labor. Roberts writes that Maurin "did not believe that journalists should merely report history, but make history by influencing the era in which they lived."

Not everyone was prepared for the Catholic Workers' style, Maurin's in particular. Once he went to address a Westchester County women's club, but the woman sent to pick him up at the train station did not recognize him and frantically called Day. "There is only an old tramp sitting on one of the benches asleep," the woman said.

Another time, Maurin was invited to dinner at the home of a Columbia University professor but at the front door

was mistaken for the plumber and ushered to the basement. "Too humble to protest, Maurin was still down there when Professor Hayes finally guessed his identity," Roberts relates.

Day and Maurin came by separate ways to their lives of service, though Day had a bit more traveling to do. Maurin, a French peasant, had a "profound religious experience" in 1925, according to Roberts. Later, he sought out Day as a Catholic intellectual who could lead social action and, recognizing her vocation as journalism, thought that she could best communicate her ideas by starting a paper.

Born in Brooklyn in 1897 and christened an Episcopalian, Day grew up in a home where her journalist father expected his children to read widely. She did, and studied Latin and Greek, and went on to the University of Illinois, joined the Socialist Party, and committed herself to pacifism.

Leaving college before graduation, she went to work on *The New York Call*, a Socialist daily. In her autobiography, *The Long Loneliness*, Day recounts being moved by a passage from William James about the foolish way "we despise anyone who elects to be poor in order to simplify and save his inner life."

She also observed: "We have all known the long loneliness and we have learned that the only solution is love and that love comes with community. . . ."

After a failed common-law marriage and the birth of a daughter, Day joined the Catholic Church. Her chief concerns were not with the institution, though she tried to change established forms. She cared first about people. In the early years of *The Catholic Worker* she wrote of seamen's strikes, workers' deaths and travail, Arkansas sharecroppers, the labor movement of the 1930's in general. Subsequently, she wrote about the poor and, as Roberts points out, was able to do this in the most personal, vivid, and moving terms because she lived like those she served.

She saw voluntary poverty as the "only genuine Catholic antidote for social evils."

She was a force. Roberts quotes James Forest, a *Catholic Worker* editor in the

early 1960's. "She's not all sugar. She's tough, she's stubborn, she doesn't listen well all the time, she holds grudges, and like other Catholic radicals, she has a problem about sometimes being too judgmental." But he considered her "a genius and a saint."

J. Edgar Hoover didn't share the view. One of his reports characterized her as "a very erratic and irresponsible person." Roberts says her pacifism in the 1940's caused Hoover to recommend her for his "Custodial Detention List," which included "radical elements" to be "arrested and interned in time of war, to preserve national security." But the Justice Department placed her in "Group C," the list of "individuals believed to be the least dangerous and who need not be restricted. . . but should be subjected to general surveillance."

Anybody who watched Day would have to conclude that Church officials offered a more accurate assessment. Though often angered by her editorials, they informed inquiring FBI agents that they believed her to be "an honest and sincere Catholic" with no Communist leanings. She just didn't have any capitalist leanings either.

On the last day of her life at Maryhouse, a Catholic Worker home for destitute women near the Bowery, Day spoke to an old friend on the phone about the plight of Italian earthquake victims, inquiring what was being done for them. A few hours later she died peacefully. The body was carried to a Staten Island cemetery in a plain pine coffin.

William Gildea, Nieman Fellow '79, covers sports for The Washington Post. Dorothy Day's work came to his attention during his Nieman year.



IN MEMORIAM

William White

William White, 47, the Sylvan C. Coleman Professor of Financial Management at Harvard's School of Business Administration, died in Boston on January 21. He was an authority on capital markets and the behavior of interest rates, and had been a member of the Harvard Business School faculty since 1966.

Nieman Fellow Eric Best ('83) studied under Professor White and also took the course, "Capital Markets," which White was best known for developing and teaching. Best is deputy metropolitan editor for the San Francisco Examiner.

White: "And what's the story according to Henry Kaufman?"

Student: "That the bond market is in trouble."

White: "Right. And who is Henry Kaufman?"

Student: "A managing director of Salomon Brothers."

White: "And what do they do?"

Student: "Sell bonds."

White: "So do you think Henry may have more than an intellectual reason for his concern?" (Laughter.)

In his last class in the fall of 1983, Harvard Business School Professor Bill White ended the discussion of "Capital Markets" with a mixture of jokes and an affectionate goodbye that dissolved the amphitheater into laughter and applause. It persisted long after he left the room, and as the noise circled the seats it seemed to linger in the expectation that he might return to take a bow. He did not, though it would have fit his sense of humor as much as it would have contradicted his humility. The swinging door closed behind him, ending the last of his lectures that I was to see.

For a journalist, the lectures had been a humorous and enlightening journey into financial markets with a teacher who believed in the endless virtue of inquiry, and tolerated any question. He

encouraged risk-taking by those who would press the evidence for other versions of truth or who would rearrange evidence in search of better explanations. A "story," as he liked to characterize any collection of facts, might live as long as it went unchallenged. But there would always be new evidence, and the truth, however widely believed, would have to bend when its time came.

Bill died earlier this month, a victim of leukemia. Like the laughter after that last lecture, he will resound for me as a gifted teacher and a rare friend — a man who no doubt had touched other students and colleagues even more deeply in his nearly nineteen years on the Business School faculty. For he was interested not just in the facts of the inquiry but in its spirit. And as he came to terms with his diagnosis, he argued that a man's role was to pursue not the bit of Adam in him, but the bit of Christ — to reach beyond his meaning as a man to fulfill the potential of his spirit.

He said this during one springtime conversation in 1983 that began in financial theory and somehow found its way to religion. Such a movement in thought overtook him more, he said, as he began

to believe the problem in his body, for which medical science seemed to have no answers and might have no solution. Of one thing he was sure — that it was important to live with grace even when confronted with death.

And so he never became so absorbed in his illness, even when it was most critical, that he lost the devotion to others that he demonstrated as a teacher. A former student went to visit Bill during his last few weeks in the hospital, and Bill asked if he was still pursuing his career. Yes, came the answer, but it did not always seem so important.

Bill smiled and spoke bravely through the array of medical equipment that had been brought to bear on the disease. "Just be the best," he said.

It was in such a spirit of encouragement that I will remember Bill, in the challenging way he had of looking brightly out at another face, searching for signs of "the story," and wanting others to seek the best from themselves. In that, he had long since found the potential of his own spirit, and the effects promise to be felt for a long time.

—Eric Best

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Committee Named to Select Nieman Fellows

A committee of three journalists and three academicians will select twelve members of the American working press for Nieman Fellowships at Harvard University, academic year 1985-86, Howard Simons, curator of the Nieman Foundation, announced. Formerly managing editor of *The Washington Post* and Nieman Fellow '59, he is chairman of the committee, whose members are:

Francis M. Bator, Professor of Political Economics in the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government. He served as Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, responsible for foreign economic policy and for European affairs, 1965-67. He has also served as Special Consultant to the Secretary of the Treasury, as a member of the President's Committee on International Monetary Arrangements, and in various advisory capacities to the Agency for International Development, the United Nations, and the State Department. Professor Bator holds the Treasury Department's Distinguished Service Award, and his writings span a number of topics, including economic theory and policy, international economics and politics, foreign policy, and energy policy.

Shirley Christian, a former foreign correspondent for *The Miami Herald* and for the Associated Press. She has just completed a book, *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family*, to be published in late spring by Random House. She will join *The New York Times* in March as a member of the New York reporting staff.

Ms. Christian covered Central America for *The Miami Herald*, 1979-82, and in 1981 her work earned the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting and the George Polk Award for "courageous and outstanding coverage of foreign wars." She previously worked 12 years for the Associated Press, including two and a half years as chief of bureau in Chile and

in Bolivia, and three years covering the United Nations in New York. She has been a frequent contributor to national magazines, including *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The New Republic*. She is a Nieman Fellow, Class of '74.

Herbert H. Denton, a reporter on the foreign news staff of *The Washington Post*. He joined the *Post* in 1966 as an intern reporter for the metropolitan news staff and left to serve in the U.S. Army for two years. Denton was combat correspondent for the First Air Cavalry Division in Vietnam for one of those years.

In 1968 he resumed his duties as a reporter on the metropolitan news staff of the *Post*, where he has since served as assistant Maryland editor, Maryland editor, city editor, and national news reporter covering urban affairs and, later, the White House. He transferred to the foreign news staff in 1983 as an assistant foreign editor and served as the Beirut correspondent from October 1983 to April 1984, when he returned to his work at the *Post* in Washington, D.C.

David Hawpe, managing editor of *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky. He joined the staff in 1969 and has served variously as Hazard bureau chief, state roving reporter, editorial writer, copy editor, assistant state editor, and city editor. He was named managing editor in 1979. Previously he had been an editorial writer with the *St. Petersburg (Florida) Times*, and prior to that, he was with the Lexington and Louisville (Kentucky) bureaus of the Associated Press as sports writer, news writer, and night state editor. He is a Nieman Fellow, Class of '75. He has taught news writing and given lectures and seminars on Appalachian issues at the University of Louisville and at the University of Kentucky.

Adele Smith Simmons, president of Hampshire College. She was Dean of

Student Affairs at Princeton University, 1972-77, and a Lecturer on South African Affairs, African and American History in the Department of History. At Tufts University from 1969-72, she was Dean of Jackson College, assistant dean and assistant professor. Previously she was program director, Operation Crossroads Africa; an instructor, Miles College; and correspondent in Mauritius for *The New York Times* and *The Economist*.

Ms. Simmons's writing has appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, *The New York Times*, *Harper's*, and in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. She is the author of *Modern Mauritius* and a contributor to several books on education and the work force.

Charles Willie, Professor of Education and Urban Studies, Graduate School of Education. He was appointed to this position in 1974, and formerly was vice president of Syracuse University and also professor and chairman of its Department of Sociology. He was affiliated with Syracuse University as a student, faculty member, and administrator for 25 years.

Professor Willie served as a member of the President's Commission on Mental Health by appointment of President Jimmy Carter. He is the author or editor of numerous books and has contributed chapters to several. His most recent book is *School Desegregation Plans That Work*.

Nieman Fellowships provide a year of study at Harvard University for persons experienced in the media. Announcement will be made in May of the American journalists appointed to the 1985-86 class of Nieman Fellows.

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

NIEMAN NOTES

We are pleased to report that after seven years of major upheaval, construction in the Harvard Square area is nearly at an end, and service on the subway's Red Line has been extended to the new station in Davis Square, Somerville.

The Square's familiar landmarks have been put back in place. The Out of Town News kiosk once again stands directly in front of the Coop's main entrance. The tall pedestal clock rises again out of the sidewalk nearby. Opposite Johnston Gate, the statue of Charles Sumner resumes its gaze over the scene.

To celebrate the return to the recent past, the first Harvard Square Winterfest was held late in January. The star attraction was a series of ice sculptures carved by Joseph Dietrich, a local businessman and an internationally known artist. The largest group, almost two stories high, dominated the plaza at Holyoke Center and consisted of an eagle in flight flanked below by a deer and a human figure. Beside the news kiosk, twice the height of passersby, a magnificent, transparent bird perched on a crystalline stack of logs. Created from fifty tons of ice, the sparkling creatures lasted well in frigid weather and kept watch of Harvard Square for nearly three weeks.

However, for the past few days the temperature has moderated. The figures have lost their crispness. The wingspread of the giant bird has buckled and melted. The fringe of unsculptured icicles make deterioration an esthetic delight.

Nature brings a finer finery.

— 1940 —

Irma and GLENN NIXON wrote their annual Christmas letter aboard an airline flight from Barbados to New York City via Miami, after a week's winter vacation.

"Thanks to Eastern's Get-Up-and-Go Passport, we have had a 'magic carpet for air travel' for almost a year. Four trips to the West Coast... and in August to Palo Alto... to attend the Stanford Summer College. In October to Portland, Oregon, where we rented a car for three days and traveled down the Oregon coast. Then on to Seattle where we boarded the Alaska ferry *Columbia* for a cruise to Skagway....

"September was special. We attended the Passion Play in Oberammergau. Then we flew to Athens, Greece, where we embarked on a seven-day cruise on the *Oceanus*.... We made excursions to seven islands. Santorini, Rhodes, Patmos, and Ephesus, where Paul preached, stand out in our memories. The classical tour we took after the cruise was equally outstanding, especially Corinth, Delphi, and Olympia where the first games were played. When we studied Turkey as children and learned how to spell 'Constantinople,' we never thought that some day we would pass the Dardanelles, cruise the Sea of Marmara, pass the Bosphorus, and look out to the Black Sea."

The Nixons make their home in Riverside, Connecticut.

— 1941 —

Word has just been received that NATHAN CALDWELL, reporter with *The Tennessean* in Nashville, died yesterday (February 11). He was 72. He drowned when his car went off a bridge into Old Hickory Lake, near his home in Sumner County.

Nat won a Pulitzer Prize in 1962 with the late Gene Graham, NF '63, for exposing financial collaboration between John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers and Cyrus Eaton, a Cleveland, Ohio, industrialist.

The next issue of NR will include a tribute to Nat Caldwell.

— 1945 —

HOUSTOUN WARING, editor emeritus of the *Littleton (Colorado) Independent*, was the subject of a profile in the December 15 issue of *The Denver Post*. His honors, accomplishments, and interests are described.

Of his Nieman Fellowship, he is quoted as saying, "It was the best year of my life." He studied government, economics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and he stayed in the same room that Franklin Delano Roosevelt occupied years before.

The article points out that his forte is writing obituaries: "Houstoun Waring is one interesting obit writer. He has had enough

practice: 13,000 in 58 years at the tri-weekly *Littleton Independent*.... Waring knows that an obit is the final send-off, a wave goodbye, and his have the compassion and the homeyness of a neighbor telling a story....

"Editor emeritus is a nice title, but Waring remains a workhorse. In addition to the obits, Waring writes most of the *Independent's* editorials and news briefs, along with a weekly column that often focuses on foreign affairs....

"His energy and well of information would astonish a cub reporter. Waring reads both Denver dailies, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Mother Jones*, and the *Washington Journalism Review*, and he has hired someone to read books to him because of failing eyesight. He takes a different course every semester at Arapahoe Community College, the theater of which is named for him."

In a note to us, Waring wrote: "LAWRENCE WEISS [49], executive director of the Colorado Bar Association, is our only other Nieman in Colorado. I keep in touch with him and also E. H. LINFORD [47] who still writes in Laramie, Wyoming." [Editor's note: Mortimer Stern from the Nieman Class of 1955 is executive assistant to the Chancellor, University of Denver.]

— 1946 —

Margaret (Maggie) Manning, wife of ROBERT MANNING, died of cancer in Boston on December 26. She was book editor of *The Boston Globe* and a founding member and director of the National Book Critics Circle. She also had served as a judge for the Pulitzer Prize in fiction. The Mannings had been married for 40 years.

Mr. Manning is editor-in-chief of the Boston Publishing Company and former editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

— 1947 —

JACK FOISIE writes that he retired in September "after exactly twenty years with *The Los Angeles Times*, all of it overseas, and previously, also for about twenty years, with the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

"Micki and I are finding stateside life a delightful change of pace from overseas living. . . I am discovering new muscles as I try to get our eldest daughter's 29-acre farm into shape, and am doing some writing on the side when it rains on the land, which during an Oregon winter is much of the time."

The Foisies were most recently living in Johannesburg, South Africa. Their new address is: 12285 Kings Valley Highway, Monmouth, Oregon 97361. Telephone (503) 838-6317.

— 1950 —

ROBERT H. FLEMING, 72, deputy press secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson and chief of the ABC News Washington bureau, died of pneumonia December 3 at George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Fleming, who spent 35 years as a newspaper, radio, and television reporter before joining the White House staff in 1966, was one of four network correspondents who participated in the first of the 1960 radio-television debates between presidential candidates Richard M. Nixon and John F. Kennedy. He was a political reporter for *The Milwaukee Journal* before and after service in the U.S. Army in World War II. After his Nieman year he served as Middle West bureau chief for *Newsweek* magazine. He also served as deputy director of the United States Information Agency after he left the White House in 1968 and worked for the House Select Committee on Crime before he retired in 1982.

He was a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. While still in college, he worked as a sports reporter for the Madison *Capital Times*.

Nieman classmates HAYES GOREY, DONALD GONZALES, and MURREY MARDER were among those who spoke during the Memorial Service at the Presbyterian Church in Chevy Chase, Maryland, where Mr. Fleming had been a deacon.

JOHN HULTENG, retired dean of the School of Journalism, University of Oregon, writes: "I have been serving on the search committee for a new director for the Knight Fellowship program here at Stanford. . . I remember with much pleasure the gathering of the Niemans in this neck of the woods [San Francisco] several years ago."

His address: 1230 Sharon Park Drive, No. 62, Menlo Park, California 94025.

— 1951 —

DWIGHT SARGENT, national editorial writer for the Hearst newspapers, received the Society of the Silurians' annual award in November. A plaque citing "25 years of distinguished journalistic achievement" was presented to him at the yearly Silurian banquet in New York City. In his acceptance speech, Sargent said it "should focus attention on that monument to democracy, a free press, and on the ingredients of greatness in all journalistic endeavors. Great newspapers grow from copying the best from the past, and using it as a foundation for building a better future."

— 1963 —

YONG-KOO KIM of Seoul, Korea, wrote in October that he will be in Tokyo, Japan, for one year as a Visiting Scholar at the University of Tokyo's Institute of Journalism and Communications Study.

— 1969 —

GISELA BOLTE and colleagues Charles Alexander and Adam Zagorin won for *Time* magazine the Page One Award of the Newspaper Guild of New York, Local 3, in September for work that appeared in 1983. The prize, in the Labor Reporting/Magazine category, was for *Time's* cover story in the May 30 issue, "The New Economy."

The judges commented that the article "presents in graphic detail the forces changing our economy and the consequences of the new technology."

PAUL HEMPHILL writes that his fifth book, and second novel, titled *The Sixkiller Chronicles*, is scheduled for publication in the spring by Macmillan.



Meanwhile, he is working on an account of his experience in walking about one-third the length of the 2,100-mile Appalachian Trail with his teenaged son, David, a student at Sewanee, the University of the South.

His wife, Susan Percy, is executive editor of *Goodlife* magazine.

The Hemphills live in Atlanta, Georgia. The library at Auburn University in Alabama has a Hemphill Collection holding manuscripts, reviews, clips, memorabilia.

— 1971 —

JO THOMAS wrote in January: "I'm now back in the foreign staff at *The New York Times* as a correspondent in the London bureau." She and her 3-year old daughter, Susan, found a house a block from Hampstead Heath, as well as a live-in nanny "who makes my frequent trips to Belfast possible."

She formerly was with the national news desk of *The New York Times*, and prior to that, the Miami and Caribbean bureau chief for the *Times*.

— 1973 —

We received a letter from JIN-HYUN KIM, who formerly was research director of Korea Economic Research Institute in Seoul, Korea.

"I am happy to inform you of my returning back to the *Dong-A Ilbo* in October which is the largest and oldest daily newspaper in Korea and which I served for more than 23 years until 1980." He has rejoined the staff as an editorial writer. His address: Dong-A Ilbo, 139 Sejong-Ro, Chongno-Ku, Seoul, Korea.

— 1974 —

MORTON M. KONDRACK, former executive editor of *The New Republic*, became Washington bureau chief of *Newsweek* in February. Before joining *The New Republic*, Mr. Kondracke was a reporter for *The Chicago Sun-Times* in Chicago and Washington.

— 1976 —

ROBERT GILLETTE, special reporter/senior writer with *The Los Angeles Times*, left Moscow last August, following four years in the Soviet Union, for his new post in Poland as Warsaw bureau chief.

Elizabeth, his wife, who reported for CBS radio from Moscow, has "moved up the alphabet to cover Poland for CBC radio. Amy, born during our Nieman year, attends fourth grade in the American School here, while Carolyn is in first. All of us were pleased to be back in a country that recognizes Christmas."

— 1977 —

Following the television broadcast of the special program, "Space Salvage," over the PBS national network, executive producer ZVI DOR-NER received a call at his office at WGBH, Boston, from Lou Raymond, Satellite Repair and Retrieval Operations Integration Manager at Houston's Johnson Space Center, to let Dor-Ner know that the space shuttle astronauts had requested a copy of the program to view while they were in quarantine prior to lift-off November 8.

"Space Salvage" gave details of the background of NASA's plan to rescue the Palapa B2 and Westar VI communications satellites lost in space a year ago in February. The program was part of the award-winning business series, *Enterprise*, created by Zvi Dor-Ner. Needless to say, the astronauts were provided with the film.

— 1978 —

The Deadline Club, the New York City chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, presented one of three 1984 journalism excellence awards to *The Record* (Hackensack, N.J.) for "TV Repair's Big Gypster" by BRUCE LOCKLIN. He is investigative news editor for that newspaper.

— 1980 —

BISTRA LANKOVA, Reading Room Assistant in the Harvard Theatre Collection at Houghton Library, has received a 1984 Writers Guild of America East Foundation Fellowship. The award will support the development of the script for a full-length feature film, and the Writers Guild will appoint an established screenwriter to act as mentor for the project. Ms. Lankova shares the award with co-writer Charles Sawyer.

PAUL LIEBERMAN, formerly on the staff of *The Constitution* in Atlanta, Georgia, moved to California in October to accept his new post as assistant city editor,

The Los Angeles Times.

His address is: 22622 Cass Avenue, Woodland Hills, California 91364.

LYNDA McDONNELL and her husband, Steve Brandt, have returned home to Minneapolis after a year in Michigan, where Steve was one of twelve journalists to be awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship at the University of Michigan. He is agriculture reporter with the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*. Lynda is economics reporter with the *St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch*. She writes:

"We've managed post-fellowship reentry with relative civility — only occasionally regaling colleagues with tales of the wonderful fellowship life, proposing a modest number of projects that require travel to the other side of the globe, and doing our best to find time for books dealing with subjects other than economics and farming.

"Steve's covering farming on the business desk and the sad condition of agriculture provides more than enough drama. I'm covering economics and writing a weekly column. Thanks to the strong dollar and huge trade deficit, I'm also learning a lot about international trade.

"The kids are thriving — Ben is a kindergarten with passions for dinosaurs, muscle-bound plastic heroes with swords, spaceships, and books. Mike is a noisy 3, who likes whatever his big brother likes. He also likes to scale walls, leap over barriers, and run rather than walk whenever possible. We stand in awe of his energy."

— 1981 —

DOUG MARLETTE, nationally syndicated editorial cartoonist with *The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, was a first-place winner in the 1984 Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards for his editorial drawings. The prizes were presented by Ethel Kennedy at a ceremony in her home in Virginia.

Also, the name of Doug Marlette is listed in the December 1984 issue of *Esquire* magazine as one of the more than 250 people categorized as "The Best of the New Generation: Men and Women Under Forty Who Are Changing America."

JIM STEWART, formerly assistant managing editor for *The Atlanta Journal* and *The Constitution* in Georgia, has moved north to be in the Washington, D.C., office of Cox Newspapers, where he will cover issues of national defense.

— 1982 —

CHRISTOPHER BOGAN and Mary Jo Katherine Barnett were wed on November 24, 1984, in Dallas, Texas. Chris is a writer with the *Dallas Times Herald*.

— 1983 —

DANIEL BREWSTER and Nancy Allen (Gigi) Ghriskey were wed in October. Classmate CALLIE CROSSLEY reports the wedding was a mini-reunion for many members of 1983.

"Six members of the class traveled to Greenwich, Connecticut, for the ceremony — SONJA HILLGREN from Washington, D.C., ELI REED from New York City, Jo Dondis and husband DAVID HIMMELSTEIN of Portland, Maine, Cathy and GIL GAUL from Philadelphia, BERND KUHN from Munich, Germany, and I came from Cambridge. The gala gathering was a double celebration because most of the small group had not seen each other since they were Fellows.

"But even so... we have been keeping in touch. For the second year in a row, the '83 class members have circulated 'real life' memos at holiday time. This year's effort was coordinated by CHARLES SHERMAN, working out of his office at the *International Herald Tribune* in Paris. Sherman, threatening Islamic justice, was able to get most of the memos in on time."

The marriage of HUNTLY COLLINS and Philip Weiser took place on August 4 in a small ceremony at First United Methodist Church in Germantown, Pennsylvania.

Huntly writes that she recently was named labor reporter on the metropolitan staff at *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, where she is responsible for covering both the local labor movement and issues related to the workplace.

"After two months on the job, I have tackled a number of topics: the new generation of 'migrant laborers' who work part-time as teachers at colleges and universities for minimal wages; the children of unemployed steel workers, who have been as hard hit by the downturn in the steel industry as their fathers; and comparable worth, the emerging civil rights issue of the 1980's. . . .

"Phil has had a productive year at the VA Hospital, where he works as part of a research team examining the effect of exercise on patients with chronic pulmonary problems. During the year, he has turned out

several major research papers and carried his findings to a number of medical conferences. Meanwhile, he has also embarked on training toward a second career: this fall, he enrolled in a night program at Temple University to begin work toward a master's degree in counseling. . . .

"Our house is a rowhouse on a tree-lined street in the Mount Airy section in Philadelphia. We moved here in June to escape the heat and the Yuppies of Center City. Living downtown gave us a wonderful opportunity to explore Philadelphia's colonial history, but our souls yearned for a tree, a few children, and a more ethnically diverse mix of people. We have found all of that here, in one of Philadelphia's oldest integrated neighborhoods. . . .

"Both of us miss Oregon and the Pacific Northwest dearly. . . . We know that some day we will return to the place that is our home. . . ."

Huntly formerly was education reporter at *The Oregonian* in Portland. She joined the staff of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* a year ago and reported on business.

— 1984 —

M. R. MONTGOMERY, columnist with *The Boston Globe*, is the author of *In Search of L. L. Bean*, published in November by Little, Brown.

The book is a "sort of company history of the Freeport, Maine, sports outfitter," writes one reviewer. The first part is about Leon Leonwood Bean, who founded the firm in 1946; the second recounts how his heirs have built it up into one of the largest specialty mail-order houses in the country.

RANDOM NOTES

The Newspaper Guild of New York, Local 3, has given its Page One Awards for Crusading Journalism in magazines and in newspapers to *Newsday* and to *Newsweek*.

Newsday's three-part series, published in March 1983 and titled "The Disability Nightmare," won the award. Written by BOB WYRICK ('73) and PATRICK OWENS ('63), assisted by others on the staff, the report describes the attempts of the U.S. government "to cut costs and tighten eligibility standards, which led tens of thousands of deserving persons to lose their Social Security pensions."

The same series received an honorable mention citation in the Newspaper Guild's 1983 Heywood Broun Award.

Seven Nieman Fellows have been named jurors for this year's Pulitzer Prizes in journalism; an eighth Nieman is a member of the Pulitzer board: EUGENE ROBERTS

('62), executive editor, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

The others are the following: JAMES AHEARN ('71), managing editor, *The Record*, Hackensack, N.J.; ANTHONY DAY ('67), editorial page editor, *The Los Angeles Times*; ROBERT H. GILES ('66), editor, the *Times-Union* and the *Democrat and Chronicle*, Rochester, N.Y.; ROBERT C. MAYNARD ('66), editor and publisher, *The Tribune*, Oakland, Calif.; ACEL MOORE ('80), associate editor, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; HOWARD SIMONS ('59), curator, the Nieman Foundation; and WILLIAM WOESTENDIEK ('55), executive editor, *The Plain Dealer*, Cleveland, Ohio.

In the previous batch of Nieman Notes, a clerical error placed the item about Anthony Lewis in the Class of 1955. He is, in fact, a member of the Class of 1957.

By the time this magazine reaches your mail box, yet another holiday season will have passed into history. Nonetheless, we cannot put the issue to bed without expressing appreciation for the near tidal wave of cards and greetings that flooded our office in December. The messages and remembrances remain a beacon in our sight. Thank you.

—T.B.K.L.

The sea!
the sea!
the open sea!
The blue,
the fresh,
the ever free.

—Barry Cornwall, 1787-1874



Photograph by Howard Sochurek, Class of '60, the first photographer to be awarded a Nieman Fellowship

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