

# Nieman Reports

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Vol. XXXIII, No. 3

Autumn 1979

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# Editorial

Tenney K. Lehman

## IPI: A Weather Report

*The International Press Institute serves journalists everywhere in the cause of free speech. Founded nearly thirty years ago, the organization has its headquarters in Zurich and a secretariat in London. In addition to the annual assembly, IPI offers seminars for journalists; publishes books, a monthly magazine (IPI Reports), and the Annual World Press Freedom Review. The Institute was recently granted official observer status at the United Nations and at the Council of Europe.*

*IPI supports the principle of the indivisibility of press freedom and seeks to ensure that journalists are alert to the implications of this principle, and are kept aware of the problems faced by their colleagues in other lands.*

*Membership is open to newsmen active in print or broadcasting, and to academics in related fields.*

*The Nieman Foundation was represented by the editor of Nieman Reports.*

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Monday, June 18

During a record-breaking heat wave, more than 400 participants from 46 countries gathered in Athens for the 28th General Assembly of the International Press Institute.

As members headed for the opening session and climbed the worn stone

steps to the Odeon of Herod Atticus on the south slope of the Acropolis, the temperature continued to rise. It peaked at 104°. No one needed to be told; the tiers of white marble benches were scorching, as if since 161 A.D. they had been storing up heat.

During greetings and introductions by Peter Galliner, Director of IPI; Randal Macdonald of Australia, Chairman; and Helen Vlachos, *grande dame* of Greek journalists, the audience used newspapers, scarves, programs, and handkerchiefs for head coverings. A prudent few had worn hats or brought parasols.

Mr. Constantine Tsatsos, President of the Republic of Greece, officially opened the proceedings with a speech of welcome. He commented, "every journalist has a social mission. Otherwise he (*sic*) is neither a good journalist nor a complete person. But he has also a profession, since from some source he must draw the material means for his survival."

That evening, under a waxing moon, President and Mrs. Tsatsos held a reception on the palace grounds for IPI participants. Guests presented their invitations to guards at the entrance gate, then walked between rows of soldiers in dress uniform, down a flight of white marble stairs. Each *evzone* stood immobile in his tasselled red fez, ruffed white skirt and sabots with pompoms. In the walled garden below, gold and silver embroidery flashed and jewels sparkled from

guests in saris, dashikis, turbans, dhotis, long gowns and business suits as they wandered along paths of crushed white stone. Tables set up under palm and cedar trees offered myriad hors d'oeuvres and platters of fresh peaches and mounds of grapes. A local television crew filmed the President greeting guests; beside him a smiling chef carved a roasted lamb.

On the other side of the wall, the world's noisiest city kept up its pace of traffic and horn-blowing. Inside was quiet magic — a fairy-tale ambience.

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The following sessions of the four-day conference were held out from under the sun's burning glass, inside the Grande Bretagne, a hotel built originally as an annex to the royal family's palace, now the Houses of Parliament, across the street. The IPI meeting room had been modernized; its airiness was enhanced by high ceilings, marble columns and unobtrusive air conditioning.

Contrary to everyday life in Greece, where shops close against the Mediterranean glare from one o'clock to four each afternoon and fares are ignored by taxi drivers as they hurry home, meetings at IPI were scheduled from nine in the morning to six in the afternoon with breaks for luncheon and morning and afternoon coffee.

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EDITOR  
**Tenney K. Lehman**

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS  
**Kettee J. Boling**  
**Daphne B. Noyes**

PRODUCTION  
**Janice Morgan**

PUBLISHER  
**James C. Thomson Jr.**

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Nieman Reports (USPS 430-650) is published quarterly by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Copyright ©1979 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Second-class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.

Subscription \$7.50 a year; add \$6.00 for foreign mailing. Single copies \$2.

Please address all subscription correspondence and change of address information to P.O. Box 4951, Manchester, NH 03108.

Postmaster: Send form 3579 to P.O. Box 4951, Manchester, NH 03108.

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# GAMES PRESIDENTS PLAY: COVERING THE WHITE HOUSE

FRANK VAN RIPER

*Q: What sorts of games did you play when you were small?*

*The President: When I was a child I played baseball...  
I also played basketball...*

--from President Carter's "town meeting"  
with residents of Shimoda, Japan, June 27, 1979

The door to Jimmy Carter's open presidency is beginning to close to the reporters who cover him. It is being replaced by staged "media events" and restricted coverage — as Carter and his image-wise aides prepare for the 1980 presidential campaign.

During and after Carter's reclusive "domestic summit" at Camp David, this change became evident in several ways: the marked decrease in the number of formal White House press briefings, the emergence of an "anti-Washington" attitude reminiscent of the Nixon years, the refusal of the White House to allow even a "tight" pool of press to accompany Carter when he made unannounced trips out of Washington and, finally, Carter's own decision to back out of his commitment, made at the start of his presidency, to hold two formal press conferences each month.

It is not my purpose to cry about the difficulties that my colleagues and I encounter as we cover the White House. It is my purpose to describe how the Carter administration, which came to Washington brimming with good intentions about access to the press, has erratically, testily — and sometimes comically — changed course in deference to a President who, despite his campaign image as a soft-spoken man of the people, is very jealous of his privacy and doesn't mind stepping on a few toes to protect it.

Add to this an administration more than ordinarily prey to bad timing and bad luck, and you've got the makings of a difficult, not to say impossible, adversary relationship between the President and the press.

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*Frank Van Riper, Nieman Fellow '79, covers the White House for the New York Daily News.*

"I think it ranks with Nixon and Johnson in what I'd call paranoia," said the AP's Frank Cormier, describing the current climate. As senior wire service correspondent, Cormier is the dean of the White House press corps, the one who hollers "Thank you, Mr. President!" to end each White House news conference. Cormier said the decline in Carter's relations with the press began with Bert Lance, when Jimmy Carter's close friend and budget director allegedly was hounded from office by stories critical of his high-handed, high-rolling ways as a Georgia banker. (Lance is now under indictment on twenty-two counts of bank fraud and banking law violations.)

Helen Thomas, UPI's senior White House correspondent, agreed. "It's always 'kill the messenger who brings bad news,'" she said, adding that "reporters become more of an anathema [to the administration] the closer we come to a campaign."

That attitude, she said, is reflected in the way press secretary Jody Powell, miffed at the way official visitors to the White House sometimes blast his boss literally on the White House doorstep, ushers certain visitors, including congressmen, out a side door to avoid reporters. Or the way Powell suddenly and without explanation decided to bar reporters and television crews from watching the President take off and depart from Camp David or the White House.

In fairness, it should be noted that such protectiveness by White House aides is not new. Powell is an intelligent, humorous man who has a remarkably relaxed and professional relationship with reporters. His staff reflects this laid-back attitude, even if they don't always know or say what's going on.

"Jody Powell is one of the best press secretaries we've had," said Ralph Harris of Reuters, current president of the White House Correspondents Association. "Even when we're frustrated and fighting, we enjoy it. He's the sort of guy you can let your hair down with. He has got a self-mocking sense of humor that takes the rough edge off things, and that's very important."

Unlike some of his predecessors, Powell is as close to the President as anyone in the White House and



consequently reflects the President's thinking — sometimes in exaggerated form — which makes him a press secretary valuable to reporters. But his closeness to the President has its drawbacks.

"Having been with Carter for twelve of his thirty-four years, Powell tends to get too wrapped up and emotional about things," said Paul Healy of the *New York Daily News*, my predecessor on the White House beat. "You know, the Lance affair almost brought him to tears. It really tore him up." And that kind of loyalty in a press secretary, Healy said, can only lead to friction with reporters.

In the early days of the administration, shortly after Carter made his inaugural day walk from the Capitol to the White House to symbolize his yearning to be close to the people, it certainly appeared that things would be different.

Carter followed Gerald Ford into office. Ford was one of the friendliest men ever to be President, but ex-TV newsman Ron Nessen was disliked by White House reporters, who characterized him as one of the most arrogant and uncooperative press secretaries in memory. And Ford, of course, followed Richard Nixon, whose press operation ultimately consisted of Ron Ziegler and later — to a much lesser extent — Gerald Warren, trading insults with reporters as Watergate disclosures increased.

When Carter sat down in the Cabinet room in February 1977 with a small group of print and television reporters to talk about access and coverage, the atmosphere was hopeful. But even then, Carter dropped a hint of what was to come.

"It was a very friendly meeting," recalled Paul Healy. It dealt largely with Carter's desire not to spend all his White House life in a fishbowl and with the press' desire for more and better access. Carter even suggested that a reporter might sit in on some cabinet meetings to take notes and report to his colleagues. But he conceded that some cabinet officers might feel constrained and not talk freely — or at the other extreme, might wind up grandstanding — and the plan was dropped.

Meetings like this did produce a re-affirmation of the President's campaign commitment to hold twice-monthly press conferences. Still, one thing stuck in Healy's mind.

"I do remember very vividly at one point, to show us how things stood, he said, 'I can get away from you any time I want.'" And, of course, that's precisely what Carter did, not once, but twice, during the hideaway summit in July when he made unannounced drop-ins on households in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, to hear the views of "average Americans."

As things grew worse for the administration (Lance, the Marston affair, runaway inflation, a Congress unwilling to take Carter's first energy plans seriously), the presidential testiness increased.

Jody Powell grew surly at the podium during his daily briefings, and deflected serious questions with sarcasm. He complained privately — and with justification — that the briefings had lost their value, and that they often were just a forum for contentious lightweights in the press corps to show off their cleverness with wise-guy questions. In addition, Powell and others around Carter began to complain that two press conferences a month were taking too much time from the President's schedule.

The domestic summit, aimed at discerning just where Carter had gone wrong as President, did produce one obvious result beyond the decision to bounce nearly half the Cabinet. Carter and his image-conscious handlers decided that he would continue to deal with the press, but on his terms.

"Now they say 'We'll hold press conferences when we feel the need,'" said Helen Thomas.

The frequency of Powell's formal briefings in the post-summit period lessened considerably, often replaced by unannounced background briefings in Powell's office. (These sessions often are more useful than their rigid on-the-record counterparts, since Powell feels more at ease and willing to speak frankly and informatively on programs and policy. The drawbacks, though are significant. There is no stenographic record made, as there is during a formal briefing, and reporters who don't regularly cover the White House often are shut out. And, of course, the quotes one gets are near-blind — attributable only to a White House official or White House sources.)

But even more of a loss to the press and the public is the administration's substitution of real press conferences with so-called "town meetings" with residents of towns and cities the President visits. Question-and-answer sessions with interest groups, notably labor unions, are a variation on this theme. Certainly, these sessions can produce news and, at times, drama, as happened on October 21, 1977, in Detroit when Lawrence Hall, 56, a jobless factory worker told Carter: "I'm in a desperate situation. I need a job." But more often than not, the questioning at these gatherings is deferential, vague in nature and sometimes silly, in what Helen Thomas derisively calls "the Shimoda style."

What these sessions *do* provide is first-class television footage of the President, in his shirtsleeves, preaching about the crisis in our confidence and the soundness of our system while audiences around the country applaud his every answer. The last time Carter did this he was elected President. It's no accident that Carter is doing the same thing now, when his standing in the polls is at an all-time

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# THE DELTA DISSIDENT SPEAKS TO THE NATION

HARRY ASHMORE

Harry S. Ashmore (Nieman Fellow '42) was one of the speakers at the Hodding Carter Symposium, when the papers of Hodding Carter Jr. (Nieman Fellow '40) were presented to the Mitchell Memorial Library of Mississippi State University last February. Carter was a long-time publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, Mississippi. Ashmore's comments which follow have been lightly edited for publication.

Although I have not lived in the South for twenty or so years, like an aging bird dog, I still come to point when I hear that another author is poking around in an area once familiar to me. So I perked up when a University of Wisconsin scholar started tracking down that exotic species of America political fauna, the Southern Liberal. Morton Sosna's account of his seven-year effort to classify the breed resulted in a work published by Columbia University under the title *In Search of the Silent South*.

The reference to the Silent — as opposed to the Vocal — South was derived from the first native Liberal the author was able to locate in the dense literary thicket of analysis, castigation, and apologetics inspired by the Southern region. This *rara avis* was George Washington Cable, the ex-Confederate New Orleans novelist. In 1885 Cable published a collection of essays contending that even though the decent folk of the South had failed so far to speak out against the discriminatory, and in Cable's view indefensible, Jim Crow laws they really believed in equal rights for the freed slaves.

Sosna identified Southern Liberals on the basis of a single test — the public espousal of racial attitudes that placed them in opposition to the presumed views of the white majority. He referred to those who had thus earned some prominence in what he called the contemporary Jim Crow era, the period from World War I through the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision. Sosna inevitably led off his study with a quotation from Hodding Carter, and cited some of those here today. In fact, all the certified Southern Liberals could be accommodated on the mourner's bench in this hall, and no doubt would be still

there today, had they not been detained by death or some less permanent diversion.

Hodding was already firmly established in the company of Southern Liberals when I returned from military service at the end of World War II to assume the editor's chair at the *Charlotte News*. My predecessor was the late W.J. Cash, whose *Mind of the South* had marked the *News* as a necessary stop on the reverse underground railroad followed by outlanders bent upon testing the regional temperature.

The more serious of these outsiders wanted to avoid being overwhelmed by the pervasive charm and monumental irrelevance of Southern leadership. A correspondent who confined his visit to the statehouses, courthouses, city halls, chambers of commerce, universities, churches and the editorial offices of most of the leading Southern newspapers was not likely to encounter any deviation from the official line, which held that any symptoms of unrest in the black community were trumped up by outside agitators, and did not presage significant internal pressure against the monolith of legal segregation.

Those who sought a less orthodox reading of the Southern temper usually started with Virginus Dabney in Richmond, and followed with Cash's preceptors in Chapel Hill and his intellectual heirs in Charlotte, Ralph McGill in Atlanta, Coley Harwell in Nashville, and Mark Ethridge in Louisville. Having gone through a decompression process in the Upper South, they were ready to penetrate the heartland of Dixie — the Delta country — where they could commune with Hodding and Betty Carter. There were other stops, of course, and those who stayed with the course were certain to come across John Popham, then the Southern

correspondent of *The New York Times*, who functioned as a sort of walking delegate for the region's dissidents.

What these outlanders heard from the Southern Liberals was never entirely satisfactory. None of us attempted to justify segregation on moral grounds. Moreover, we generally agreed that Jim Crow made no sense, since the laws did not separate the races in any important respect, but served only to degrade the blacks and remind them that they were at the mercy of any demagogue who proclaimed the spurious doctrine of White Supremacy.

But, having said all that, we had to tell our visitors that, while segregation might be wrong, some of its manifestations were bound to endure until the white majority publicly acknowledged what many Southerners privately recognized — that modification of the traditional racial relationship had become a practical necessity. The magnolia-scented rhetoric of the leadership was now wholly divorced from the reality of the post-war South. A man who was willing to listen to what he didn't necessarily want to hear could not escape the conclusion that the striving aspirations of the black minority were only examples of the forces reshaping the region. The communications revolution had ended the region's isolation from the American mainstream, and technological advances were rapidly transforming the agrarian sector in which the old racial patterns were rooted.

If this view constituted heresy in Dixie, it was no less outrageous to the more agitated moralists outside the region. To these it spelled "gradualism," and that quickly became a pecksniff term. For obvious tactical reasons, the position could not be endorsed by the national black leadership, which had an increasingly disturbed constituency of its own to contend with.

The polarization of public opinion, North and South, left the Southern Liberal without even the comfort of pointing to the mote in his Yankee critic's eye. For to do so would aid and comfort the native demagogues who justified segregation by citing discrepancies between the North's pious principle and its generally discriminatory practice. In his study of the post-Civil War South, *The Angry Scar*, Hodding wrote: "...I have become convinced that it has been almost as unfortunate for our nation that the North has remembered so little of Reconstruction as that the South has remembered so much."

So we found ourselves in the stance described on the jacket of Hodding's 1950 memoir, *Southern Legacy*: "The necessity of saying uncomfortable things about his fellow Southerners has placed Hodding Carter in the rare position of a sea captain who must repel boarders and quell a mutiny at the same time."

Yet the very hazard of this difficult situation provided a

kind of protection against the ultimate expression of Southern wrath. This was not solely because white men who had no qualms about murdering a defenseless black man in the night were intimidated by the attention that would be attracted by the murder of a conspicuous white adversary. They were also restrained by their bloodline response to what Hodding fondly called "the broadsword virtues of the clan." The Southern legacy ordained respect for one of the common stock who had guts enough to stand alone in defiance of his outraged neighbors.

So despite the mounting barrage of angry rhetoric, the usual Southern civility prevailed. The *Delta Democrat-Times* continued to grow and prosper, and no dynamite exploded in Baton Rouge when the Louisiana State University Press published *Southern Legacy*. "It may be," Hodding wrote, "that the Southerner will generally be polite until he is angry enough with you to kill you."

Through it all there was the saving grace of humor — unmistakable patches of high and low comedy. That white and black Southerners could still laugh at the same things, in private at least, provided the best evidence of their common humanity. I believed that the surviving reservoir of good will would bolster the South after the raucous political debate had run its course.

Together Hodding and I addressed the outlanders in 1949, shortly after I joined the *Arkansas Gazette*. We were summoned to New York for a nationally broadcast Town Hall debate with Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette's* Ray Sprigle, who had stained his face brown and toured the Deep South to experience and expose the horrors of Jim Crow. Nothing of any real significance was said during the *pro forma* exchanges. Hodding and I defended the honor of the South as well as we could against our opponents' contention that the Southern people could prove they were not hopelessly benighted only if they rooted out forthwith every vestige of the racial patterns sanctified by three hundred years of troubled history.

What I remember is the relaxed moment when the four of us sat in a dressing room and awaited application of the thick makeup required in those early days of television. Sprigle, of course, had lost his pseudo-Negroid look when his skin bleached out, and Walter White's pink skin and fine white hair belied a birth certificate that qualified him as black under the laws of any Southern state. Hodding, on the other hand, had a complexion so swarthy he might have been banished to the balcony in any law-abiding Southern movie theater. This proof of the absurdity of Jim Crow laws might confuse the audience, so we asked the makeup man to render Hodding paler and Walter darker.

As I look back, it seems to me the usually apocryphal inside stories that circulated privately among white liberals

and black leaders, were more significant than the public pronouncements of the decade marked by the progression of Supreme Court decisions which pointed inexorably to *Brown*. I have never found a more succinct and pertinent attitudinal analysis than that contained in a joke I heard from a black friend.

As the story went, an organizer for the NAACP was reported missing in Sunflower County, Mississippi, and the sounding tocsin attracted the usual swarm of newspaper correspondents. Early one morning, word came that deputies were grappling for a body in the river. Newsmen lined up like roosting birds on the railing of a bridge overlooking the site. In due course a body, wrapped from head to foot in trace chains, was hauled up on the bank.

"Oh my God," said the man from the *Chicago Tribune*, "It's another atrocity."

"Yes," said the man from the *Washington Post*, "another Till case for sure."

And so on down the line of Yankee reporters to the point where the representative of the *Jackson Daily News* perched. He shook his head and said, "Ain't that just like a nigger? He stole more chains than he could tote."

When the *Brown* decision superseded *Plessy* and unequivocally required public school desegregation, a few of the Southern Liberals fell away and supported the neo-nullification doctrine called interposition. But most saw this for what it was — a retreat into the old Confederate redoubt of "Cloud Cuckoo Land." Also, even if the white majority still professed its unwillingness to accept blacks as equals, blacks were no longer willing to accept anything less. Furthermore, the federal government now fully supported the aroused minority's demands for expanded constitutional rights.

The ultimate test for Southern Liberals came when Orval Faubus of Arkansas blundered into a showdown by using the state militia to bar the court-ordered entry of nine black children to Little Rock's Central High. That abortive re-run of Fort Sumter produced the foreordained result. A reluctant President Eisenhower was forced to order the occupation of an American city by federal troops for the first time since Reconstruction.

All but a handful of Southern newspapers raised the banner of states' rights to deplore the federal intervention. Some of the more rabid condemned the *Arkansas Gazette* for supporting the presidential action as essential to the restoration of law and order. I am sure Hugh Patterson remembers, as I do, how much it meant to those of us under the gun in Little Rock when Hodding, who was vacationing in Maine, wired his editorial comment to the *Democrat-Times*: "We go along with the first President and the present President."

One of the special discomforts in that disjointed time

was finding myself simultaneously blamed and praised for the wrong reasons. I don't think any of us ever managed to explain to outlanders why we thought we had to fight the demagogues who sought to exploit the race issue, while steadfastly refusing to condemn their rank-and-file supporters. The reason, of course, is that hollering "nigger" cuts both ways, and the politics of defiance was as detrimental to these white Southerners as it was to their black contemporaries.

Among the virtues of Southerners is *noblesse oblige*, a characteristic most contemporary Americans seem to find foreign to their own experience. In too many cases it has turned out to be a quality that did not survive in our own region when historic pressures forced the South to accept at least the legal contours of the national mold. But a deep, tragic sense of the South's past, and the obligations it imposes, sets the Southern Liberal apart. The condition has not been more eloquently described than in the closing passages of Hodding Carter's *Southern Legacy*:

"I cannot travel through the Valley of Virginia nor along the Mississippi without experiencing a quickening of the blood; if my sons or even strangers are with me, my tongue loosens and I want to tell them of the people who settled and fought and clung there, for they were my people; and if the allegiance is sentimental it is not shallow. I understand the forces that fashioned these men. I am at home with their spirits.

"...defiant and resentful of the alien critic, they are even more enraged by the native censor, stigmatizing him as a nest-fouler and suggesting that he go elsewhere if he is not satisfied with what he finds.

"I prefer to remain dissatisfied. I hope there will never come a time when my sons or their sons will look about them and be content; for the soul is nurtured on inquietude; the soul of man, the soul of a region, the soul of a nation. Out of inquietude, the South — so long bemused in the twilight of its self-satisfaction — stirs now before the dawn." □





# The Public Counsel

TOM WICKER

Lawyers must stand with the press — not with everything it does — but with the idea that William O. Douglas defended and asserted — “on public questions there should be open and robust debate.”

When the Supreme Court heard the Pentagon Papers case in 1971, the courtroom was heavily infiltrated with *New York Times* reporters and editors. At one point, as the counsel for the *Times*, the late Alexander Bickel, was pleading our case, Mr. Justice Douglas roused himself from what to the unwary might have seemed to be somnolence.

“Mr. Counsel,” he said, “the First Amendment says that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of the press. Do you interpret that to mean that Congress *may* make *some* law abridging the freedom of the press?”

A good question, I thought. But to my consternation, Mr. Bickel replied: “Yes, Mr. Justice, I do.”

Well, I know now that Mr. Bickel had a strategy. He aimed to win over Justices White and Stewart, whom he considered to be the swing votes, by conceding that there might be *some* point at which the government was entitled to a prior restraint. He argued further that the Pentagon Papers did not reach that point. His strategy succeeded, so I suppose I have no complaint.

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*Tom Wicker, Nieman Fellow '58 and associate editor of The New York Times, was the recipient of the William O. Douglas Award last April in Los Angeles. The text of his acceptance speech has been lightly edited.*

But let me note gratefully that no strategy was needed to persuade William O. Douglas that the government had no right or power to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers or anything else. He knew from the start, as he stated in his opinion, that the First Amendment leaves “no room for government restraint of the press.”

While the estimable Justices White and Stewart are still there, I regret to say that those twin pillars of free expression in America, Justices Douglas and Black, are *not* there to stand behind the First Amendment. I fear that if we took the Pentagon Papers to the Supreme Court today, no strategy could persuade a majority of the justices to rule for the press and against the government.

I fear, too, that if *The Progressive* appeals all the way to the Supreme Court, it may well lose the current case in which a district judge has enjoined publication of an article on the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb. This is despite the fact that, as in the Pentagon Papers, the government has adduced *no evidence whatsoever* to show that publication would cause immediate and irreparable harm to the national security.

I believe that in both the Pentagon Papers and the *Progressive* cases the government went to court not so much to protect a particular secret — eight years later no one has ever demonstrated that the Pentagon Papers damaged the national security — as to maintain the sanctity

of the system of secrecy. That supposition is supported by the pernicious new doctrine being spouted in the *Progressive* case — that information about the construction of nuclear weapons is somehow “born classified.” The real secret here, as in the Pentagon Papers, is that there is no secret. We know, or can learn, as much as they know; our judgments are as good as theirs, maybe better; and most of the paraphernalia of secrecy is unnecessary and unjustified and undemocratic.

Mr. Justice Douglas knew the truth here, too. “The . . . purpose of the First Amendment,” he wrote in the Pentagon Papers decision, “was to prohibit the widespread practice of governmental suppression of embarrassing information.”

Not so coincidentally, the government is also embarrassed these days by a nuclear accident its experts kept telling us couldn’t happen. Without the kind of secrecy the government has insisted upon, maybe we all would have known more about the disastrous possibilities inherent in nuclear power. And here, too, William O. Douglas knew the truth and spoke it forcefully: “Secrecy in government is fundamentally anti-democratic,” he wrote, “perpetuating bureaucratic errors. Open debate and discussion of public issues are vital to our national health.”

No American ever stood more tenaciously and courageously for the right to speak out and to publish — for free expression — than Mr. Justice Douglas. And it may not be altogether a coincidence that since his departure from the Supreme Court those values — particularly press

freedom — have been eroded in a series of cases. For example:

At least two major cases — Myron Farber of *The New York Times* and the *Stanford Daily* case — have substantially crippled the ability of newspapers to maintain the confidentiality of their sources. In the Farber case, the New Jersey Supreme Court, undisturbed by the federal Supreme Court, even held that the Sixth Amendment must always and in every case take precedence over the First. As attorneys know, the tactic of issuing a subpoena for a reporter’s notes is becoming a frequently used courtroom device.

The danger here is intangible and unprovable but real. Whistle-blowers and others with valuable information, who dare not speak out publicly for fear of losing their jobs or status or wives or lives or elections or whatever, can no longer talk to reporters in confidence. Who wants to rely on someone else’s willingness to go to jail? We’ll never know how many such people *don’t* come forward, how many disclosures are *never* made, how many Watergates are going unreported.

The Supreme Court has held, moreover, that reporters from a television station in California have no more right than anyone else to enter a county jail and report to the public about conditions there. Now I would have thought that if a free press had any function at all, it would be to act as surrogate for the public where the public can not act for itself. Not everyone can go to a game at Dodger Stadium; hence the need for sports reporters. Not everyone can troop through the county jail — or would if they could; hence the need for press coverage and reportage. But the Supreme Court — minus Douglas and Black — disagrees.

Another court decision, holding that the “dirty words” of a comedian’s monologue could not be broadcast at certain hours, may not matter so much in itself — although what thundering scorn William O. Douglas would have heaped on that proposition! — but it does carry a grim reminder. By all odds the most powerful instrument of American journalism — the broadcast press, especially television — is under the direct regulation of the government. And that makes a difference, believe me; ask any broadcast news executive; ask the public television network that was influenced by the Nixon Administration, or the licensees who face the necessity for renewal.

Last summer an ABC-produced documentary film was the subject of an FCC investigation; needless to say, this film about juvenile criminals was highly controversial.





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Ultimately, the film was absolved and its makers vindicated; but the effect of government investigation on everyone subjected to it was chilling. What the effect may be on television journalism in general remains to be seen; but the medium is not likely to be emboldened.

On a related point, I value individual privacy as much as anyone, more than many; I write in defense of it as often as I can. But I'm sure you know that there's a growing body of privacy law, aimed not at the chief invaders — government police and security agencies — but at the press. I recognize that the press often invades privacy, and often without real cause. But a robust and courageous press in its investigative function is certain on occasion to transgress privacy — sometimes with reason, sometimes not. There is a dilemma here, a clash of real values, akin to the occasional collision of Sixth and First Amendment values; I only hope that over the years, in resolving that contradiction, we will remember Mr. Justice Hughes' words in *Near v. Minnesota*, cited by Mr. Justice Douglas in his Pentagon Papers decision: "The fact that the liberty of the press may be abused by miscreant purveyors of scandal does not make any the less necessary the immunity of the press from previous restraint in dealing with official misconduct."

There is a paradox about a free press that the court of William O. Douglas' day understood. That is: The better we reporters do our jobs, the more boldly we investigate and analyze and disclose, the more we make things uncomfortable — not just for those exposed but for our readers. They don't particularly appreciate knowing that the FBI is spying on them, that the CIA tries to assassinate foreign leaders, that a president is a law-breaker, that Vietnam is unjustifiable; they'd rather believe that all's well. So the better we do our job, the more unpopular we'll be, the more someone in power will want to stop us, the more the people may believe we should be stopped — by court or by legislation.

I would like to believe that enough American lawyers understand that paradox. Lawyers must stand with the press — not with everything it does — but with those ideas that William O. Douglas defended and asserted — the idea that "on public questions there should be open and robust debate"; the idea that not even the most powerful and revered institutions should be free of searching scrutiny

and skeptical challenge — the kind of scrutiny and challenge that the press in its surrogate capacity and at its occasional best can make on behalf of the people.

Some obviously think that the press is too powerful in America. But the press didn't send a half-million men to Vietnam, or destabilize Chile, or compile the FBI files, or cover up a break-in at the Democratic National Committee.

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No American ever stood more tenaciously and courageously for the right to speak out and to publish — for free expression — than Mr. Justice Douglas.

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We, the press and the law, can stand together — maybe not all of us or all the time but enough of us, enough of the time — in defense of people's rights against the overwhelming power of government, corporations, institutions. I know that sometimes the press has abused rather than defended people and I fear the same could be said of some lawyers. But let's expect *more* of one another; let's expect the *best* of the law and of the press. Above all, let's put our faith where I believe William O. Douglas always put his, in the great and generous people of this country. They're not always at their best either, but who are we to complain? I despise the elitist sentiment that the people have to be guided, manipulated, even deceived. And I remember that when the government stopped publication of the Pentagon Papers, by every measure of public opinion that we had, the people were on our side against this contemptuous government that presumed to move against the free press of a democratic nation. The *Times* won the case, thanks no little to Mr. Justice Douglas, and resumed publication. As surely as the sun moves in its cycle, public opinion turned around; suddenly, people were angered, even fearful, because *not even* the government could stop the arrogant and all-powerful press.

I put my faith in people like that, people who instinctively reject what they see as unchecked and unjustified power, no matter where it occurs. That is what the Bill of Rights is all about. □

# A Free and Open Encounter in Guyana?

CHRISTOPHER A. NASCIMENTO

*Do First World journalists relegate Third World news to second place?*

In recent years the developing nations have been increasingly vocal in drawing attention to the fact that not only does the world's economic order discriminate against any real possibility of advancing their economies beyond the position of almost eternal poverty, but so does the world information and communication environment, the North American and Western European media domination, if not control, of news flow, isolates the people of the First World from the realities of the Third World.

In almost every available international forum, there has been a virtual mountain of discussion and dialogue on this subject, leading usually further and further away from understanding and cooperation. The UNESCO General Conference held in Paris last December, addressed the problem at length. The North American representatives finally declared a victory for "press freedom"; the developing nations left disillusioned.

There was a time when the United States crusaded against the European monopoly of news flow. America was economically strong enough to challenge the domination of Reuters by establishing its own news agencies. The developing nations do not have that simple option unless their governments become involved.

Third World demands for a "new information order," however, are confronted with the argument that the Western press is free from control and that the alternative of state or governmental control of news flow and dissemination is an unacceptable proposition.

Unfortunately, this argument is a simplistic one. In spite of the libertarian concepts upon which North American and Western European media are based, it can be cogently argued that there is another kind of control which obtains, the control exercised by the commercial interests of industry, corporations, and transnationals, to say nothing of the military and political complex.

M.I.T. Professor Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman of the University of Pennsylvania documented this in 1977 in an article called "The United States versus Human Rights in the Third World." "... The U.S. media have not allowed the vast accumulation of sordid details about our Vietnam involvement to disturb the myth of U.S. benevolence and concerned pursuit of democracy abroad."

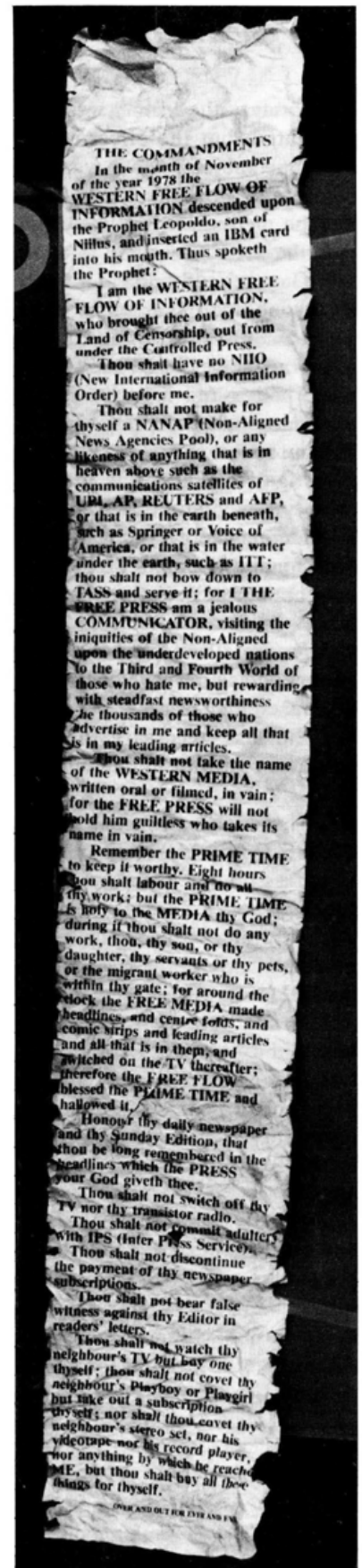


photo by Daphne B. Noyes

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According to Professors Chomsky and Herman, "The ability of the system — that is to say the important power factions in the system and their intellectual and media spokesmen — to reconstruct and shape the perspectives of history and the interpretation of current events in accordance with its own interests is truly impressive." They call it "brainwashing under freedom."

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When madness reigned free in one small part of my own country, Guyana, the disaster was covered by the North American media with an intensity and spread probably greater than any other world event in contemporary history outside of war. The nature of that coverage provides a unique opportunity to examine the communications environment in which the Third World has to function.

It is usually only when a disaster of enormous proportions is inflicted upon a developing nation, or when war comes because that nation has become a pawn in the struggle for power between East and West, that the people in the North ever hear about it, much less care about it.

Even now that millions of words have been written and spoken, many miles of film shot and shown and at least four "instant books" published about Jonestown, American media have ignored the fact that what occurred at Jonestown is a tragic reminder of the struggle for economic survival in the Third World and, indeed, of the fragility of economic democracy in the First World.

I refer to a struggle which has to do with living standards, with the possession and accumulation of wealth, with the ownership and control of natural resources, with access to modern technology, with the right to independence of thought and action of small nations and small people.

What, for instance, are some of those perspectives of history to which Professors Chomsky and Herman referred which have influenced the course of development in the Third World and the present struggle of so many countries like Guyana for economic survival, never mind development?

In spite of the massive press Guyana received because of the Jonestown tragedy, the media has not focused on the economic realities which explain the need for a country like Guyana to populate and develop its hinterland with what appeared to be a group of Americans with willing and productive hands.

Guyana is typical of a non-oil producing developing nation. It carries an increasing debt burden; its foreign exchange reserves are shrinking; yet it is a country with extensive but untapped resources needing access to

selectively relevant technology; it is desperately short of investment capital; and is attempting to emerge from a past of colonial domination and exploitation.

When Guyana became independent thirteen years ago, its history was typical of most former British colonies; its colonial heritage had deliberately left it unprepared and ill-equipped for the development of its economic resources. The British never intended that the Guyanese people should forge a political, social, cultural and economic destiny of their own.

Guyana is a country with an agricultural potential, rich in the alluvial soils of the Amazonian basin, for not merely feeding its three-quarters of a million people, but the entire Commonwealth Caribbean population. Guyana was a British owned plantocracy, where sugar was king and nothing was supposed to compete with sugar. Yet when granted independence, Guyana imported almost all the food it consumed.

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Guyana is a country potentially rich in both natural and forest resources, but apart from bauxite, its mineral and forestry potential remain virtually ignored and untouched, and even its bauxite resources were bequeathed by the British to Canada and the United States.

Economies like Guyana's, with a narrow economic base inherited from their colonial past, have to expand and diversify, but are almost entirely dependent upon the few commodities they export for their foreign exchange earnings. Unlike the industrialised countries of the North, developing nations like Guyana do not have a variety of exports upon which they can depend. Therefore, they need access to international markets for what they do produce, and in the Caribbean and Central America sugar is vital.

Guyana earns some thirty percent of its foreign exchange from sugar exports. Yet today, in spite of the fact that Guyana is in the same hemisphere as North America, its sugar, like that of the rest of most of the Caribbean and Central America, is subject to the manipulation of commodity prices and to tariff barriers erected against it in the United States.

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There is an extraordinary contradiction between the United States and other Western countries holding to the concept of a free market economy as a basis for the world's economic order, while at the same time erecting tariff barriers of this nature.

In 1974, the world price for sugar was over sixty cents per pound. Today that price has been reduced to under seven cents per pound. Yet, in the same period, Guyana's import bill for fuel, agricultural inputs, essential machinery, almost everything which it does not itself manufacture, but has to import, has increased by some 400 percent.

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The argument that nothing must be done to hinder the free flow of information is valid, but of what value is the free flow if it is neither fair nor balanced?

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Guyana enjoys immense hydro-electric potential sufficient to replace seventy percent of its current fuel imports and to provide cheap and essential energy for turning its bauxite industry from a raw material exporter into an aluminum producer. Access, however, to the developmental capital necessary for a project of this nature has so far proved difficult and elusive.

These facts of life have remained unreported. But, an essential part of the educational process, as between the people of the First and Third Worlds, is an understanding of these realities. There will not and cannot be "peace in our time" unless we develop a joint will to do something about these imbalances.

This absence of understanding is symptomatic of the unbalanced and superficial manner in which the North American and European media often cover the rest of the world, and the coverage of the horror of Jonestown is a case in point.

Part of the Guyanese colonial heritage has been the history of transnational exploitation of Third World raw material assets. But the TV networks, the great newspapers, the international news agencies seldom focus on this, even when there is a hard news opportunity presented to do so.

The Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN) extracted bauxite from Guyana for fifty-three years until 1970 when Guyana purchased control of its bauxite industry. In that period, ALCAN exported close to one billion dollars worth of bauxite from Guyana but Guyana received roughly 1.3 percent of that amount. ALCAN today

produces some twenty percent of the western world's total aluminum supply, but there is no bauxite in Canada. The history of Reynolds' operation in Guyana was much the same. It is true that there is a new and somewhat more enlightened approach beginning to manifest itself amongst transnationals, but it has been a slow and painful process, urged on in part by the advent of OPEC.

There is no doubt that the United States has become a rich and powerful country as a result of the industry, discipline and application of its people, but another major contributing factor to prosperity of the U.S. — indeed most of the industrialised countries of the world — has been access to excessively cheap energy and raw materials taken from the poorer nations. These materials in turn have been manufactured into increasingly expensive products incorporating all the inflation attendant upon providing a high standard of living and luxury in the developed countries and exported to the developing nations at prices which bear no equitable relation to the prices paid for the raw material exports of the poorer nations.

As Prime Minister Forbes Burnham of Guyana observed some thirteen years ago when addressing the Washington Women's Press Club, "democracy does not flourish where dire poverty exists in the midst of burgeoning wealth." His point is as relevant today as it was then, if not more so.

The Third World is justifiably concerned over the image presented of it by the First World media. The argument that nothing must be done to hinder the free flow of information is valid, but of what value is the free flow if it is neither fair nor balanced?

UNESCO's Director General, Amadov Mahtar M'Bow, points out that "freedom is perverted if there is a one-way communication."

Apart from the failure of the American media, with one or two exceptions, to deal with the fundamental economic and social problems which Jonestown raised, there was a pervasive editorial attitude which seemingly flows from the Watergate experience, supportive of an attitude of reporting that somehow, somewhere, there is blame to be placed and wrongdoing to be discovered and that governments are usually the sinners.

When a government targeted for this kind of accusatory — as distinct from genuine investigatory — reporting happens to be that of a small developing nation, such as Guyana, our recent experience provides overwhelming evidence that the right of redress becomes virtually non-existent, no matter that sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion dominate the reporting.

In the course of the Jonestown coverage, two major American newspapers and one major American international magazine published stories which contained



substantial inaccuracies about Guyana, which were critical and damaging and which were based upon references to sources that were not identified.

My personal experience in attempting to confront these stories was an almost universal determination on the part of the editors of these publications to protect the reputation of their reporters, even at the expense of totally neglecting the other side of the story.

In fact there was deliberate editorial censorship exercised, even when errors were admitted and apologies privately made. Redress was simply refused.

A longtime friend of mine, Elmer Lower, former president of ABC and a great advocate of press freedom, once argued that a free press must afford reasonable opportunity "for reply to those who disagree with their editorialising and to those whom they chastise." If that is so, then the editors of the most prestigious of the North American media must be exercising double standards, one at home and another for that "lesser breed of mortals beyond the law."

It is not the freedom of the press envisaged and fought for by men like Milton, Stuart Mill, Zenger and Hamilton.

It was Milton who argued for a "free and open

encounter." It is precisely the same argument made today by the Third World countries.

The Third World has already begun to develop its own international news agency through the non-aligned news agency pool. Third World governments are and will continue to be involved in the formation of alternative news sources aimed at ensuring a balanced flow of information.

If the Guyanese experience is anything to judge from, and if confrontation and conflict are to be avoided, the Western news media must be willing to abandon its traditionally arrogant and intolerant coverage of the rest of the world. □

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*The Honorable Christopher Nascimento is a Cabinet Minister in the government of Guyana. A trustee of the International Institute of Communications, he has been a journalist and broadcaster for many years. He has written a number of papers and articles on the subject of the international flow of communication.*

*The above text is from a talk he gave at a Nieman seminar last March.*

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# JOURNALISM: The Necessary Craft

RON JAVERS

Reporters are ordinary people who have an extraordinary mission.

The very best newspapers — and there are few of them — are like supermarkets of the mind. Some people like Cheerios, others like Wheaties; a well-stocked supermarket offers both. And so does a well-stocked newspaper. There is a lot of variety in what a daily newspaper does.

But we don't enjoy the special status with which our society endows the press because we bring you Doonesbury and Dear Abby. We enjoy that special place because of the opinion of very distinguished men, who claimed many years ago, that a society which is not free to discuss political ideas and to see political ideas of the widest kind in print, is not a free society at all.

I should add that neither do we enjoy our special status because newspapers are run by profit-making businessmen. That's something we need to remind the businessmen of almost daily. Don't misunderstand; there's nothing wrong with profits. Strong newspapers, financially sound newspapers, are probably the only institutions left that are powerful enough to take on big government when it goes astray.

We're certainly well on the way to bigness ourselves; more than seventy percent of U.S. daily newspaper circulation is controlled by just 167 chains. The number of U.S. cities with competing dailies has been halved since 1947. In Canada, chains such as Thomson Newspapers, F.P. Publications and Southam Newspapers have gobbled up independent dailies to the point where there remain only seven Canadian cities with competing dailies.

What would happen, many newspaper critics ask, if we should find ourselves in the situation where a large chain begins to dictate editorial policy? That scenario is not realistic. Ironically, what distinguishes the present chains

from the legendary independent press barons of the past is the political disinterest at the top. They are not concerned with disseminating strong opinions because, in many ways, it's not profitable these days to be opinionated. Look at the blandness of television editorials, the authors of which are afraid of alienating anybody — sponsors, viewers, regulatory agencies — lest the golden goose be slain. No, the chains threaten to bring us, not strong opinion, but an absence of opinion, a comfortable atmosphere where money can be made. Yet profit-making is not our business, not in the newsroom. So what is it that we do and who are we?

A couple of years ago I had the task of introducing Noam Chomsky, the famous M.I.T. linguist, who was going to speak to a group of reporters. Chomsky is also a biting social critic. I asked him what he was going to tell us; we thought we were going to get a lecture on linguistics. But Chomsky replied that he was going to tell the reporters what he saw them as.

"You people see yourselves as muckrakers and crusaders," he said, "but, from where I sit, I see you as acolytes to the high priests of the status quo."

At that point, we all started to ride side-saddle; everyone turning around and saying, "Get the hell out of here, Chomsky!"

Somebody said: "What about Watergate? We brought you Watergate. That was pretty crusadey." Chomsky snapped: "You brought us Watergate *after* the 1973 elections, when Richard Nixon won a second term."

Someone else piped up: "Well, we were slow to get onto the story, everybody admits that, but, when we got there, we were really gonzo, you know — Woodward and Bernstein, those names will go down in the annals of journalism." But Chomsky replied, "Hell, that was in 1973. What have you done since then? What have you done for me lately? What had you been doing before?"

What have we been doing?

What have we done, for instance, about reporting on the real hazards of nuclear power?

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*Ron Javers, Nieman Fellow '76, is a reporter with the San Francisco Chronicle. Last April he gave an informal talk at the National Journalism Awards of Canada dinner in Toronto. The above is an edited transcript of his remarks.*



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What have we done about publicizing political ideas that are even slightly outside the mainstream?

What have we done about developing a global reportage which amounts to more than a running, football-type commentary on who is ahead — the Americans or the Soviets?

What have we done about explaining to our readers the complexities of global economics, that force which, perhaps more than any government, any head of state, or any army, is changing and shaping the way people live?

What we've done about those things has a lot to do with who we are. We are ordinary people who are convinced that we have an extraordinary mission. We are, almost overwhelmingly, the traditionally-educated sons and daughters of the white middle classes, raised in an egocentric Western tradition. Further, we are mostly middle-class *males*.

Two-thirds of the U.S. daily newspapers have not hired a single minority reporter or editor. There are only a handful of non-white editors in positions of newsroom authority. There are few women in such positions. *Newsweek* has one black editor; *Time* has none. Neither AP nor UPI has a single black among their bureau chiefs around the world.

Although Canada has a more homogeneous population than the United States, its share of blacks, browns, yellows and reds is growing, along with ethnics of every persuasion. For the world is a multiracial place. And Canadian journalism will take its place in that world. Yet there is little place for those who differ from the middle-class norm. The Ontario Press Council, for example, has found that Canadian newsrooms are overwhelmingly white and male, with over ninety percent of the editorial jobs controlled by men.

Back to Chomsky's question: Who are we? Are we muckrakers? Gadflies? Righters of big wrongs? Are we the kind of journalists that one of the best of our profession, I.F. Stone, called for? People who are willing to sit in the office with a wastebasket over our heads, if necessary, beholden to no one, owing to no one, content just to listen to those in power and to report on their doings? Do we have that built-in, fool-proof crap-detector that Ernest Hemingway said was standard operating equipment for journalists?

No.

I think, far too often, we are content with simply being respectable. Too often we sacrifice credibility with our readers for respectability. Too often our assumptions are the assumptions of the government and business elites. Too often we tend to be like and think like the people we cover. Police reporters begin to act like cops. Court reporters take on the colorations of lawyers and judges. Those assigned to cover government bureaucracies begin to think in terms of

the bureaucracy, where the guiding ethic is "Protect your ass," and "Don't take risks." Too often, we speak in the hushed tones of authority, from the ubiquitous "police said" of routine cops-and-robbers stories to the more insidious "according to authorities." We seldom stop to ask

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Noam Chomsky sees the press as "acolytes to the high priests of the status quo."

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who these authorities are and what biases they entertain. The media are, in fact, structured to deal with authorities and not with people. We deal more often with insiders than outsiders; we quote police more often than suspects (a particular problem in large cities where police and civilians are often in a virtual state of war). We quote the political technicians far more often than we quote the voters. And we always have a few column-inches left over for the experts — as in "Nuclear experts assured us that there were no problems yesterday with the plant."

For two reasons, we tend to view the world through the eyes of authorities, who are always willing to help us do that. First, we are usually in a hurry and that's the easy way to do it. And second, we are too filled with reverence for those authorities.

Tony Lukas [NF '69], Pulitzer Prize winner, tells this story about *The New York Times* to illustrate the respectability mode we fall into: Tony was called in one Saturday just after the trial of yippie Abby Hoffman in the courtroom of judge Julius Hoffman (no relation). Tony's editor asked him to do a think piece on the student movement. Tony dutifully wrote the long analytical piece, only to go home and get that thing we all dread, a call-back, from an editor who was *not* pleased.

The editor began, as editors always begin: "Tony, your story's fine. There are a couple of things, though."

"Turn to your sixth take, fourth paragraph. You wrote: 'Sit down!' Judge Julius J. Hoffman shrieked at the defendant."

Tony replied: "Yes, I see it. That's what happened. It was a heated exchange."

Whereupon the editor said: "Tony, how long have you been in the business? You must know by now that federal judges do not shriek in the pages of *The New York Times*. So I want to make this: *Judge Hoffman said*."

Tony said: "No."

The editor asked: "What do you mean, 'No'?"

Tony said: "Turn two more pages to the eighth take, fourth paragraph. You see there where I've written: *Abby*

Hoffman then looked at the judge and shrieked, "There is no justice in this courtroom!"?"

The editor said: "Yeah, what's the matter with that?"

Tony said: "You mean a yippie can shriek, but a federal judge can't shriek?"

"Sure," the editor replied.

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Although I said I would not talk about Jonestown tonight, I will tell you a story about a colleague of mine at the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Marshall Killduff got on to Jim Jones about a year and a half before we ever heard of Guyana. He went to the editors of the *Chronicle* and said: Here's the story — there's coercion there, brutality, beatings, people are being forced to sign over their homes; I can't quite pin it down yet, but I want you to let me go out and do it.

The editors said that wasn't a story. So the story never appeared.

Marshall took it then to *New West* magazine, where at first he was rebuffed by the editors on the same grounds. Finally, following a management shakeup, a new set of editors decided to run the piece. It came out in the summer of 1977. Under the heading, "Why Jim Jones Should Be Investigated Now," Marshall coolly laid out the conditions at the temple.

The reason the *Chronicle* editors rejected the article was because they were part of the same liberal establishment to which Jones belonged. Everyone saw Jones as being a nice white minister who was helping these poor black folks in the ghetto. That was the conventional wisdom, and it was wrong.

One of the best analyses that I've seen of the media treatment of the Jonestown story was by someone from Toronto named Bart Testa. I read it in a newsletter from Canada. Testa's point was that the media largely missed the significance of Jonestown.

Reporters busied themselves writing about the whole cult movement and how it was attracting all those neat, clean middle-class college kids, stealing them from their parents. But Jones' group was mostly black, elderly and poor. The ultimate tragedy of Jonestown was that the bulk of those people were the dregs of U.S. society, people who were suddenly uninteresting to reporters and editors in the 1970's. I talked to many of them; they thought of Jonestown as their home. There was no place for them in the States. And the media mostly missed that.

On a global scale, we're missing a lot too. Only a handful of newspapers make a serious attempt to cover the world, part of the job we're supposed to be doing.

Reading just the U.S. press, a Martian intelligence

officer might get the impression that, outside the U.S., our planet consists of a large land mass called Western Europe, the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Other than those places, there are small islands where little is going on: places like Africa, Latin America, Canada. The corps of foreign correspondents is in fact dwindling every year. The attitude of most publishers is: "Let the wires do it."

The result is increasingly homogenized and predictable news. Our view of the world is being formed by fewer and fewer people, many of whom went to the same schools and even the same political science courses. Their dispatches are often based upon unidentified "diplomatic sources," which often turn out to be intelligence sources — Western intelligence sources.

What the reader gets is a reportage of simplisms in a complex world, a reportage in which one side is always "Soviet-backed" and the other "American-backed," in which Western countries have "governments" but socialist countries have "regimes."

We sweep breathlessly in and out of other people's countries, always in pursuit of the big story. The real story often gets trampled in the media stampede: the economic and social history behind the revolution or war, the intentions and hopes of the participants. We see politics in precisely the same way the high priests of our nations see it; as a great game, a struggle among the powerful. For the powerless masses of humanity, we have little space in our pages.

The people of the Third World are, of course, onto us. That's the reason for the near success last year of the UNESCO draft resolution on world news coverage. More and more on our shrinking planet, information is power. And we are the gatekeepers of the data banks. That is perhaps our most awesome responsibility.

There is that famous story about David Brinkley, who, when asked by some school kids, "What is news?" responded: "News is what I say it is. It's something worth knowing from my point of view." We say what news is every day by the stories we choose to cover and by those we relegate to our spikes.

In the 1970's, citing the views of experts, many newspapers are moving away from hard news and into soft news, lifestyle. That's because gathering hard news is hard. Did you ever stop to think about how much digging we really do and how much material comes to us in the form of press conferences, press releases, carefully staged promotional stunts? Most of it comes that way. Gathering hard news can be difficult and even dangerous. I don't want you to think I'm being totally negative; sometimes we do gather that hard news surprisingly well. I'd like to tell you now about someone who does it incredibly well. His name is Percy Qoboza.

Probably many of you have read about him. In October [1977] he was jailed in his country, South Africa, for being the outspoken editor of the largest black newspaper in that country, *The World*. I don't have to go into detail about the problems of the government of South Africa, a nation where nineteen million blacks are held in virtual bondage by four million whites.

[At this point Javers was interrupted by shouts of "Bullshit!" and "Come off it!" from the audience. His response — "We have a few Afrikaaners with us" — drew some applause and he added, "And that's the op-ed page we just heard from; we give equal time in all the papers."]

A number of years ago, Percy came to Harvard as a Nieman Fellow. He was in my class and I got to know him. For the first time that made me aware of South Africa in a major way.

Percy, extremely well educated, a fluid, facile writer, was afraid to go into a "white" clothing store in Harvard Square because he didn't think blacks would be allowed in to try on the trousers. He asked Lester Sloan, a black photographer from *Newsweek* who was also in our class, to go in with him because he felt awkward about it. But Percy, as he spent his time in the United States, began to relax. As he said, "I am beginning to live like a white man, I'm not afraid any more." But the Nieman year ended and Percy returned to South Africa.

Several months later, at three o'clock in the morning in his house in Soweto, there came a banging at the door. There were guards outside all the windows. Percy, who has a wife and five children, the youngest of whom is named Robert Kennedy Qoboza — this is the man whom the South African government once thought was a communist, by the way — was dragged from his home for interrogation. He was interrogated for hours, not permitted to eat or sleep, although he has high blood pressure and several other medical problems. Finally, he was freed.

No explanation was offered. He had written some editorials and columns. Percy had vowed in his column to nail any government officials responsible if it should turn out that Steve Biko, the black leader who died in jail, had been killed. Well, the government nailed Percy before he got to nail them when he was arrested and his paper was closed down. Other victims were young black reporters, just learning the trade. They had done brilliantly in covering the Soweto riots. Most of the white news media from other countries had to depend on the staff of *The World* because whites were not permitted into the area to give a running account of the riot.

Percy was released after five months. I have permission from James Thomson, curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, to share this letter from

Percy. I can't read it all. The gist is this: Percy was going to leave South Africa. He's a respected journalist who can get a job anywhere. There are universities who would hire him tomorrow. Percy went to Germany to receive a press freedom award. And while there, he writes, he had a dark night of the soul, in the Black Forest, of all places.

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## Our view of the world is being formed by fewer and fewer people.

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"My thoughts wandered into the lonely prison cells, where some of my colleagues were still being held without trial. Their courage and determination to uphold the highest ethics of their calling made it impossible for me to even comprehend what the effects would be on their morale if they heard that I had left my country permanently.

"Besides my colleagues, I was torn also between the community itself, the black community, which as a result of continued and effective press leadership was looking more and more to us to highlight the injustices of our society. They would do without much.

"Our black readers," he says, "would have been left with a sense of helplessness, to a degree of frustration if I quit them. These factors, plus my love for my country and the knowledge that perhaps, just slightly, perhaps, my presence could in any way avoid a bloody confrontation, made me alter my plans."

In another part of the letter:

"The ugly phone calls continue to hound Ann and the children in the middle of the night, when I'm at the office. The other day, Ann was asked to report to the mortuary to identify my body. Well, imagine her feelings when she arrived at the mortuary to find that it was all a sick joke."

Further on in the letter, Percy writes:

"As long as the international community keeps our names alive, the more difficult it is for those people in power to *treat* us lightly. I would only ask that this be continued regularly."

Finally, he concludes:

"We must keep the faith. Who knows" — God, the man is such an optimist — "we might one day emerge from the darkness of this nightmare into a happy daylight and then my American colleagues can come to sunny South Africa and stay at my home with me in Soweto."

Well, if we are anything as journalists, we are people who take care of our own, since often no one else can do it for us. Percy Qoboza is one of us. One, who, by his example, every day gives the reason why we love this crazy, imperfect, exciting and so necessary craft: journalism. □

# A Rather Simple Doctrine: Freedom of the Press in America

ROBERT W. GREENE

*In a free nation, rights are not lost overnight.  
They are nibbled to death.*

As most journalists understand it, freedom of the press is a rather simple doctrine: it means that we are free to report and print information and opinions.

This information need not be true, although good reporters make every effort to be accurate. And these opinions do not have to be correct, although honest newspapers and radio and television stations strive to base their editorials on facts. The quality of our product is exempt from government control. An essential premise of the free press doctrine is that while we have a professional responsibility to be right, we have a constitutional right to be wrong.

Freedom of the press is a broad mantle. It embraces us all — from investigative reporter to gossip columnist; from large media outlets to individual pamphleteers.

There are, however, those in our society who disagree with this idea and want, in one way or another, to change its thrust and diminish its practice. Many of these people are honestly motivated. They sincerely believe that absolute press freedom endangers national security, threatens the constitutional guarantee of fair trial, or renders the press too powerful in the context of our delicately balanced democratic society. And there are others with a self-serving motivation. They would like to restrict our ability to report upon their performance in public office and private life.

But whatever the motivation of our opponents, our craft keeps sacred the tenet that freedom of the press is absolute.

Although there are a few in our ranks who feel that because we have this right, anything goes, the vast majority of us feel that possession of that right does not demand that we always exercise it to its fullest. We will fight any attempt by government to limit our freedom, but every day we use our taste and judgment as voluntary limits on that freedom.

Because the press is so protective of its freedom, we are constantly on the alert for any action or event that limits our right to get the facts and report them. As recorders of living history, we are aware that in a free nation, rights are not lost overnight. They are nibbled to death. The people who framed our Constitution knew this.

On June 16, 1788, James Madison told the Virginia Convention: "I believe that there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachment of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpation."

Freedom of the press in this country is threatened now as never before. We have earned our enemies by being bigger, better and more pervasive. More people than ever before read newspapers. The electronic media, bringing news at no charge into every home, has developed the public's appetite for awareness. And because our reporters are infinitely better educated, better trained and better paid, we are getting at the truth even when others seek to hide it.

Because we are better, organized crime has suffered,

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*Robert W. Greene of Newsday gave this speech at the I.R.E. Regional Workshop held last February at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia.*



price-gougers have suffered, corrupt labor leaders have suffered, the makers of shoddy merchandise have suffered, polluters have suffered. But no class of people in our society has suffered more than those who have been arrogant, venal, corrupt, or incompetent in public office, whether the president of the United States or the lowliest tax collector in the western hills of Virginia. Too many have been burned by a free press and too many now wish to extinguish that freedom.

Jack Landau [NF '68], a distinguished newsman and front-line defender of press freedom, marks 1971 as the year when the battle began in earnest. That was the year of the Pentagon Papers — the year in which, after more than two centuries of skirmishes, the press and the government went eyeball-to-eyeball on the essential question: Do the people have a right to know?

The Supreme Court grudgingly decided in the affirmative. To have held otherwise would have been to establish by judicial fiat the same sort of Official Secrets Act that has castrated the British press. The free press of America won the battle, but it would seem that government — largely through its judicial arm — has determined to win the war. The strategy is two-pronged. The frontal attack is on our ability to cover. The more insidious and, so far, more effective attack is upon our ability to protect our sources.

The Nebraska case is a classic illustration of the government's frontal attack on our right to cover: A judge in that state ruled that the press could not write about a particular trial in his courtroom. Even the Supreme Court was not ready for that and in 1976 ruled that the press could not be barred from publishing details of trial proceedings. All that the Supreme Court ruling really did was spur the ingenuity of like-minded judges throughout the nation.

Arguing that pre-trial publicity might poison potential jurors, numerous judges have ordered reporters not to publish the details of pre-trial motions and evidentiary hearings. Many newspapers, radio and television stations have chosen not to fight these rulings because of the expense or, more pragmatically, on the grounds that by the time the case had gone through the whole appeals process, the trial would have been long over and the news of no value. Furthermore, such an august court as the New York State Court of Appeals, usually most liberal to the cause of press freedom, recently upheld a lower court decision barring reporters from a pre-trial evidentiary hearing. This case, now under appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court by the Gannett newspaper chain [on July 2, 1979, Gannett lost the appeal], was a logical progression from the Nebraska case. If the court could not keep reporters from publishing what they heard in the courtroom, the courts would bar them from the courtroom.

As the courts of our nation turn to star chamber

proceedings they rationalize their position, ironically, as being a defense of the constitutional right to a fair trial. In so doing they invalidate the basic premise of our system of trial by jury: that jurors — no matter what they have heard about a case — will be able to put this information aside and

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I believe that my craft calls upon me  
to be a reporter of the facts, not a  
keeper of them.

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render their judgment solely on the facts adduced in the courtroom.

Wasn't this exactly the position the United States Supreme Court took when it let stand the murder convictions of both Jack Ruby and Sirhan Sirhan? Nearly every person in America watched on television as Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas. Five years later, the same people watched on television as Sirhan Sirhan was dragged from the mortally-wounded body of Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

In both trials, people who had seen these events on television, people who had seen newspaper pictures of the defendants at the scene, people who had read eye-witness accounts of the murders — these same people served as trial jurors. The courts determined, nonetheless, that both Ruby and Sirhan had received fair trials.

It would seem that the principle of fair trial has far greater elasticity when measured against the government's need to preserve itself than it has when measured against the people's right to know.

Some jurists who have expressed concern about forms of pre-trial publicity are obviously sincere. And the problem, I readily admit, has grown more complex with the passage of time. In years past, for example, the admissibility of a confession would not be argued until after the jury had been sworn and the prosecution sought to introduce the confession at the actual trial. At that point, the jury would be excused from the courtroom and since they would already be under court admonition not to read newspaper accounts of the case, the right of the defendant would technically be preserved.

Now, however, our judiciary has ambitiously embarked on various forms of pre-trial hearings, including those involving confession admissibility. No longer is the whole process going on after the jury has been chosen and sworn. And since potential jurors might read about these hearings, many jurists want to delay or prohibit reportage of these events. There are two reasons advanced for the pre-trial

hearings: the convenience of the courts and avoiding the expense of unnecessary trials.

But, I would submit, each of these hearings is an essential part of the trial no matter how the judiciary wishes to compartmentalize them. If the trial is public, as provided by the Sixth Amendment of the Bill of Rights, each part of the trial process should be public. It was not the media that

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### Only fools and amateurs in this business take off-the-record information.

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excluded what were formerly parts of the trial from the trial itself. This was the voluntary action of the judiciary. And the onus is on the judiciary to solve this problem without infringing upon the people's right to know.

Freedom of the press must never be measured in terms of convenience or expense.

In this sector of the battle — our right to cover and publish news events — we are holding our own. The Pentagon Papers case is still the law of the land. In the lower courts, we are winning as many as we are losing.

Far more troublesome are the growing judicial attacks on our ability to gather the news. I refer to the increasing tendency of the courts to demand that we produce our notes and name our confidential sources. These attacks are troublesome not only because of their frequency, but also because we ourselves haven't gotten our act together. We seem to have a fuzzy idea about what press freedom means and what it does not mean. And we give Pavlovian support to those rash adventurers in our ranks who maintain that the press has no societal responsibilities and who lead us illogically into confrontations that we do not need and cannot afford.

When elements of government have sought to dilute our rights, our traditional resource has been the people. What I am talking about here is public opinion. In many of the recent cases involving the surrender of our notes and the protection of our sources the public has not been with us. There are obvious reasons. In our democracy the people have historically objected to special privilege. There is an uneasy feeling abroad that we of the press want to enjoy all the privileges of our democratic society while we use the First Amendment to shield ourselves from our societal responsibilities.

The public has adequate cause for concern.

Our forebears crafted the Constitution to be the framework of our society. When they enunciated the principle of free press in the Constitution, they were

defining the press as an integral part of society. The debates which took place when the Bill of Rights was written make clear that we were given freedom of the press as a societal tool to maintain and improve the quality of our democracy. If the people are to govern well, they must have knowledge. And our job is to ferret out and bring the truth to the people.

I submit, if much of the media of our nation were to be judged today on the quality and quantity of its investigative reporting, depth reporting and just hard-nosed everyday reporting, it would no more deserve the First Amendment privilege than other profit-making corporations such as General Foods or the Ideal Toy Company. But that is another thought for another day.

I am more concerned here about the California newspaper people who took pictures of rioters looting stores on the public streets and who then refused to give law enforcement authorities any of the pictures not actually published in the paper. They claimed that the demand was in violation of the paper's First Amendment rights and would inhibit its ability to get the news.

I am concerned about the growing number of reporters who write stories alleging evil-doing and who then refuse to discuss their information or give their notes to those agencies charged under the Constitution with apprehending the evil-doers or to the attorneys charged with their defense. I am concerned because the arguments advanced by these reporters, including Myron Farber of *The New York Times*, take the fundamental position that the press is exempt from societal responsibility.

I submit that this position is not supported by public opinion, is legally indefensible, and — because the two issues get so hopelessly and unnecessarily intertwined — is rapidly eroding our public support on the real issue: our right to protect confidential sources of information.

I want to make this distinction very clear. I think that we have no logical grounds on which to withhold our notes or information. But I will cheerfully go to jail rather than disclose a confidential source. There is a vast difference between the two statements.

Traditionally, we classify information three ways: on-the-record, not-for-attribution, and off-the-record. On-the-record means that we can use and/or publish all of the information and identify the source by name. Non-attributable means that we can use and/or publish all of the information, but we cannot identify the source. Off-the-record information means we cannot use and/or publish the information or identify the source. Since only fools and amateurs in this business take off-the-record information, let's stick with on-the-record and non-attributable.

When we take on-the-record information, no promises are asked for and none are given. It is understood that the



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information and the source can be disclosed to everyone. There is no limitation. We may use all or part of that information in our stories, but as far as the source is concerned, all of the information and the source's name can be published. Since the source has placed no limitations on the distribution of this information, what right do we have to interpose ourselves as censors between this information and the courts?

Now we come to non-attributable information. In this instance the source gives us information that we are entirely free to use or publish. The difference is that we cannot disclose the name of the source. But there is no limit on distribution of the information as long as *it does not lead to identification of the source*. Here we have contracted to protect the source — but we have not contracted to protect the information. Again, what right do we have to unilaterally withhold this information from the courts? None. We are only bound by the limitations imposed on us by our source. We cannot and should not manufacture our own.

There is logic in our fight to protect our confidential sources, no matter what the current state of court opinion. The public easily understands that we cannot reveal the name of a government employee who gave us information on corruption in his or her own agency, or that we cannot reveal the name of someone in private industry who disclosed price-gouging or the manufacture of shoddy merchandise by his or her firm. And the public knows why we won't reveal the name of an underworld figure who has tipped us to the doings of the mob. The public knows that if these sources were disclosed, they would be fired or killed.

I have not yet reached my fiftieth year, but I am a veteran of thirty years in this business. Most of my time has been spent in investigative reporting. I have achieved a modicum of success. I have frequently cooperated with law enforcement, but have never lost an underworld source. I have testified before numerous Congressional and legislative committees, yet I have never encountered a source who avoided me because I did so. I have been called as a witness at more than sixty criminal or civil trials, both for the prosecution and the defense. When asked, I have always produced my notes.

I did this because I believe that the press must act as an integral part of our society. I also did this because I believe that my craft calls upon me to be a reporter of the facts, not a keeper of them.

On a few occasions, I have been asked to reveal the name of a confidential source. I have always refused. No authority has ever pressed me. Not one of my confidential sources has ever been identified. The probable reason for all of this is that I do not base stories or substance on anonymous sources. Like most of the professionals in this craft, I generally use confidential sources as leads to information that can be publicly confirmed. To do otherwise is irresponsible journalism.

Because our course is logical and because the public can understand that logic, I am convinced that over time, we will win broad public support in the fight to keep source confidentiality. But we will lose if we insist on enlarging the battle to cover all information that comes to us and we assert the claim that we are otherwise exempt from the duties of citizenship.

But, argues the beginner: Suppose my notes identify my confidential source, or suppose that the information is such that the source can be identified from my notes? I would answer: Don't endanger your sources because of your stupidity. Professionals in this business have been coding their sources or otherwise sanitizing their notes since the Supreme Court decision on *Branzburg* in 1971. Reporters who don't do this endanger all of us.

A nine-point memorandum on exactly how to keep our notes in proper form has been written by Clark Mollenhoff, the undisputed dean of American investigative reporters, and widely distributed through our craft.\*

As I said earlier, the free press is threatened as never before. Some of our opponents are sincere, some self-serving, but the bottom line is the same: We are in danger. In his latest book, *A Crisis for the American Press*, John Hohenberg warns: "This is, therefore, a difficult and dangerous time in the history of this republic. For if government and press should smash into each other in such a way as to force the nation to choose between them, the outcome could be disastrous not only for the free press but for all the other rights contained in the First Amendment."

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\*[See following page for "Memo to the Press" by Clark Mollenhoff, *Nieman Fellow '50*. He is professor of journalism at Washington and Lee University and is associated with Jack Anderson.]

# Memo to the Press

Investigative reporting is a precarious profession, and no one with any real understanding of the business would tell you it is an easy and comfortable way to make a living. Confidential sources are important to investigative reporting, and it is vital that reporters and editors give those sources real protection by using them properly and by avoiding any actions that may risk identification of the source even within the confines of the newsroom. Most often it is a trust the source has in an individual reporter, editor, or news organization. That personal trust is not influenced so much by the opinions of the courts or the ulterior motivations that various prosecutors and defense lawyers may have, as it is by the faith in the specific news reporter's track record for decency and common sense.

Reports of newsmen dealing in a dishonest manner with their sources are as destructive of confidence in reporters as is the questionable tactics of any defense lawyer or prosecutor or the arbitrary overreaching of any wrong-headed or dishonest judge.

§ Know the law applicable to dealing with confidential sources in your jurisdiction. Know the limitations of that law. Do not mistake your own notion of what the law should be for the law as written and the Constitution as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.

§ Know the views of prosecutors and judges in your jurisdiction as well as the views of your own editors and publishers. The law permits considerable discretion for prosecutors and judges in the search for evidence. It is expensive to fight for a principle, and you would be well advised to have an informed judgment as to how far your editors and publishers will

go with you even if there is a shield law that seems to afford some limited protection.

§ Try to limit your area of vulnerability in the discussions with your confidential source. In most instances the source is interested in protection only for a certain amount of time, or until after certain events take place. Do not be too quick to offer or give blanket assurances of confidentiality that could put you in jail. It is a serious business and you should give great consideration to the value of the information and to the possible consequences.

§ Do not con your source by giving the false impression that a shield law protects your confidential relationship or that the United States Constitution gives you a firm right to keep your sources confidential. The Court has stated that newsmen do not have an absolute right to refuse to disclose information to a grand jury. The Sixth Amendment rights of a defendant to subpoena all witnesses who may be favorable represents such a serious limitation that Myron Farber and the prestigious and wealthy *New York Times* could not overcome it.

§ If you take information in confidence keep the source totally confidential. Use that source properly as leads to public records, documents and other witnesses who may be used in support of the story. Do not mention in the story that you have a confidential source, for that is waving a red flag in the face of defense attorneys, law enforcement officials, the courts, and others. You are not being true to your confidential source if you risk disclosure by mentioning the undisclosed source in your story, and particularly if you mention a source and give any leads as to the position

of the source in any specific agency. In the rare case in which it is necessary to indicate a confidential source in the story, make sure there is a specific agreement with the source as to how he or she will be identified in the story.

§ Do not keep notes that might identify the confidential source. In any highly sensitive situation the original notes should be destroyed after the reporter has transcribed them into "random notes" that might be produced without identifying or pointing to the confidential informant. To destroy these notes after a subpoena is issued would risk a contempt of court charge.

§ If litigation is initiated to force you to disclose your source with threats of jail and fines, you should seek permission from your source to be relieved of the obligation of confidentiality unless it is obvious why the disclosure would seriously endanger your source's life, health, ability to earn a living or family life.

§ Unless you are relieved of the responsibility of the confidential relationship you should be prepared to serve a substantial jail term, to pay a fine and legal fees. Your publisher can pay your fine and your legal fees to uphold your pledge to confidentiality, but cannot serve your jail term for you.

§ Do not sign a book contract until all litigation related in any manner to your confidential source is concluded. Even if you are pure of heart in your motivation, the existence of a contract provides defense lawyers, the court, and prosecutors with an argument that you have a financial stake in the outcome of the litigation and are remaining silent for a price.

--Clark Mollenhoff

# Exodus, Indian Style

V.V. ESWARAN

A record number of Indian workers emigrate to the Gulf States.  
Do they prosper? The answers are grim.

NEW DELHI -- Ever since 1973, when the oil-exporting countries of the Middle East began to have a petrodollar boom, there has been a drastic rise in the migration of Indian labour to the Gulf countries. At first it was thought that this migration would be a temporary phenomenon and that the oil-exporting countries' need for imported labour might not continue once the petroleum boom subsided. As it is, neither of the two presumptions has come true.

There is no sign of any let-up in the migration of Indian labour to West Asia. According to the Indian Labour Ministry, 72,000 workers — a record number — were permitted to go abroad, most of them to the Gulf, in the last fifteen months.

This migration is naturally leading to a striking improvement in India's foreign exchange reserves. On the average, the Government of India is receiving 5,000 million rupees [\$1.00 = approximately 8 rupees] in foreign exchange from the Gulf Indians who each send an average of 1,500 rupees per month to their families. A major portion of this remittance goes to Kerala.

According to one estimate, there are nearly 500,000 Indians in the Gulf countries. (The estimates for Pakistan and Bangla Desh are 500,000 and 50,000 respectively.) The lure of a quick fortune continues to attract many more, resulting in a flood of unauthorised emigrants to the Gulf States.

How do Indian emigrants live in the Gulf? How many really prosper? Are they happy in their places of work? Or, is it only a grim struggle for a better future when they return home?

Answers to these questions are given by hundreds of Indians when they visit their homeland once every two or three years. The answers reveal the lifestyle of the Indian community in several Gulf States.

Abdul Khader is a tall, skinny youth of twenty-two from the Calicut district of Kerala. Many of his neighbours had become rich quickly after reaching the shores of Dubai and this tempted his father to mortgage the family property in Kerala.

With the proceeds, he sent Khader, his eldest son, to Dubai through an agent. After a great deal of hardship, Khader reached the deserted beach of a remote part of the United Arab Emirates, where the dhow captain uncereemoniously dumped him and his fellow passengers into the sea and left them to swim ashore. Khader landed without any valid documents. He could not make his presence known until he secured a special passport from the Indian Embassy. Finally, he obtained a job in a hotel.

This coincided with the United Arab Emirates' implementation of a new labour rule in 1977. The law stated that immigrants like Khader were not allowed to work without proper sponsorship. Khader was forced to quit his job in the hotel and seek other means of support.

Abdul Hameed, twenty-five, holds a first class Master of Science degree in zoology from Madras University. His cousin, who works for a construction company in Muscat, obtained for Hameed a visa permitting him to work with an Arab in Alibilla, five miles from the Zeeb airport. When Hameed arrived, he found to his dismay that his job was to sprinkle water on the vegetable garden of a local Arab, for a salary of 1,250 rupees. When the Indian Ambassador in the Sultanate of Oman learned of Hameed's plight, he gave Hameed a job as a typist and clerk in the Indian Embassy in Muscat. There he now draws more than double his earlier salary.

The stories of Khader and Hameed illustrate the fate of thousands of Indians who go to the Gulf countries illegally. They pay fantastic prices to unscrupulous contractors and recruiting agents in their home coastal ports and arrive in their new surroundings without proper jobs, visas or living conditions.

There is a flourishing trade in "wives" which has

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V. V. Eswaran, *Nieman Fellow '60*, is on the staff of the *Hindustan Times* in New Delhi.

become almost commercialised in most of the Gulf countries. Marriage brokers operate in both the Gulf countries and in the source countries like India. Some Gulf citizens find it cheaper to marry foreign Muslim women than their own kind. Sometimes elderly Arab men visit the Malabar region in North Kerala to arrange marriages with young girls by paying 10,000 to 15,000 rupees to the girl's parents, who find it a convenient way of getting rid of adult daughters. This arrangement is popularly known as *arabi kalyanam* (marriage with an Arab). In some cases, after staying with a girl for a few weeks, the husband may disappear and never turn up again. Where women are taken outside India, usually nothing further is ever heard of them. After a year or so, if the marriage does not work out, the comparative ease of an Islamic divorce can end it smoothly.

The hope of a good life lures the poor girls. The varied temptations that are offered to them in place of the squalor and drudgery of their present lives leave them with little choice. They jump at the chance to leave with their would-be husbands. But the experience of many a Muslim girl from Kerala — also from Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh — has not been a happy one. With few exceptions, they are treated as chattel or housemaids. If reports trickling here from those countries are to be believed, the women are even subjected to medieval cruelties.

One girl presently in a Gulf country has cursed her parents for ruining her life. In a letter reportedly written by her, she disclosed that she is now living with her ninth husband, the first eight having divorced her or forced her to leave.

The *arabi kalyanam* controversy very nearly cost Mrs. Roda Mistry, a Minister in the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet, her job. In a statement to the Legislative Council on September 20, 1978, Mrs. Mistry, Minister for Women and Child Welfare, said: "Poor parents here are not in a position to give dowry. It is better we allow them to give their daughters to Arabs who want to take these girls as second wives. This is certainly better than allowing them to be neglected and take to bad practices."

Mrs. Mistry, in fact, meant that the Indian girls going to the Gulf countries were happier than their sisters here because of better living conditions and social life there than in India. Her statement, interpreted by the public as virtually endorsing trafficking in girls to the Gulf countries led to the demand for her dismissal. Later, in a statement in the State Assembly, Mrs. Mistry said: "It is with a heavy heart that I offer this apology. After having made my statement and in view of the feelings expressed in this august House, I offer my unconditional apology."

Granted, Mrs. Mistry was somewhat tactless in arguing that Indian women who went to the Gulf countries

enjoyed better living conditions and social life than in India. But Mrs. Mistry's real offence was that she stated an unpalatable truth that most people find convenient to ignore. The expressions of outrage provoked by her statement are understandable. One would wish, however, that the wrath of the righteous were directed at the inequitable system still prevalent in India, which not only insists on a dowry or bride money but also regards unwed women of marriageable age as ritualistically taboo.

This does not justify the export of women. While more stringent passport control is certainly called for, it is also desirable to ensure that Arabs do not exploit matrimony to obtain cheap domestic labour.

The Government of India is now very strict and, before giving permission for women to wed and join such men, the prospective husbands' backgrounds are scrutinised in their countries of origin through the respective Indian embassies. In a bid to reduce such traffic, the Government of India issued instructions to all state governments stating that passport applications of Indian girls who marry Arabs or seek jobs as maidservants abroad should not be cleared without prior permission from the Home Ministry (Ministry of Interior). Following this directive, there has been an appreciable drop in the number of applications received for passports from young women at the regional passport offices.

The oil price boom and the resultant developmental activity in the Gulf countries have, after all, provided a wonderful opportunity for Indian workers, though the same cannot be said for all workers, particularly the unskilled. They have paid large sums to crooked agents at home for a job (and a passport) only to find on their arrival in the Gulf that the job either does not exist or is not as attractive and remunerative as it was made out to be. Indeed, the dreams of many prospective job-hunters have been shattered, which is why the discontent has grown. Recently, employees of an Indian public organization in Kuwait went on strike for better wages and living conditions. Similar incidents have been reported in Iran and Oman. About 6,000 Indians were stranded in Beirut after an agent had promised them jobs and then reneged.

Even so, there is no sign of any let-up in the migration of Indian labour to West Asia. This is partially because on visits to their home towns Indians give the impression of apparently fabulous incomes and luxurious ways of life in the Gulf. They are actually simmering with discontent which is aggravated by maltreatment, inadequate basic amenities, uncertainty about full payment of the promised salary, leave fare, etc. They do not disclose these problems to their counterparts in India. Their main aim is to earn as much money as possible in a very short time. When they work in extreme heat at a construction site in the Gulf, they



are simultaneously paving the way for a modern house for themselves in their home town in India. A labourer who might earn 300 rupees per month in India can save as much as 1,500 rupees per month in the Gulf. Even in India, an administrative officer has to work a whole year to earn that much.

Unfortunately, the opportunities in the Gulf countries have been exploited by unscrupulous middlemen and recruiting agents. The Government of India has now woken up to the need to put an end to the harassment of migrant Indian workers. An official committee set up by the Labour Ministry for this very purpose is credited with the view that the procedures for recruitment of Indians for the Gulf and elsewhere should be structured to eliminate malpractices and to take fuller advantage of the opportunities in the employment market.

Racketeering by unscrupulous agents has led to demands in some quarters that the Government of India itself should take over recruitment from private firms. But the Government of Kerala started an Overseas Development and Employment Promotion Consultants under the chairmanship of a senior officer who was a former Indian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and the experience has not been happy. The officer visited all the Gulf countries in 1978 and when he returned, the government agency advertised for suitable persons to be sent to work in the Gulf countries. Out of nearly 5,000 applications, sixteen people were selected and sent to Dubai. All of them were technically qualified and were working in good companies in Kerala. These sixteen people were interviewed and selected at Trivandrum by a businessman from Dubai. The salary agreed upon was 2,500 rupees plus accommodation. Yet, when the recruits reached Dubai the reception was hardly what they expected. The businessman changed his mind and said he was willing to pay only two-thirds of the promised salary. What is more he employed only seven of the group, at a salary of 1,600 rupees. The others were stranded in Dubai without any income.

None of them has written back to their homes about their plight. How could they? Being the first batch of recruits sent to the Gulf by the newly-formed government recruiting agency, they were given a VIP send-off at the Trivandrum airport. The local newspapers published their photographs, and described them as "extremely fortunate" to be selected out of thousands of applicants.

If such a thing could happen to a group of people sent by an official recruiting agency of a State government what would be the position of the people recruited by private agencies? There are more than 500 registered recruiting agents; there are over 2,000 unofficial agents. The real task before the government is to exercise much greater control over recruiting agents here and ensure that people are

recruited only by companies whose credentials are established beyond doubt. The Government of India intends to amend the Emigration Act to require the employer to give a guarantee with regard to the conditions of work, emoluments, medical facilities, leave fare, etc. The employer must obtain permission from the Protector of Emigrants to engage workers from India, with the understanding that he will honour his commitments.

The other issue relates to the government's policy on the flow of foreign exchange which the emigrants either remit or bring with them when they eventually return. The remittances have become the largest, most rapidly growing credit item in the balance of payments. Remittances by workers during the period of their stay in foreign countries are meant for family maintenance and for investment. Most of them do not take their families to the Gulf countries. They have gone only to make money.

The "Gulf Returned," who have become newly rich, tend to urbanise their surroundings, partly because they become socially and economically alien to their home village. In Kerala's capital city of Trivandrum, one finds a colony of these people whom the locals call "The Persians." They run hotels or stores, but they do not want to invest in industry knowing full well the "restive labour" of Kerala. Recently, the state government submitted a proposal for the utilisation of the savings of the emigrants according to their wishes such as purchase of land and construction of house on the one hand, and the implementation of an integrated rural development programme, on the other. The emigrants were even prepared to finance the expansion and modernisation of the Trivandrum airport. Direct flights have now been introduced from Trivandrum to the Gulf countries, whereas earlier it was necessary to fly to Bombay to catch a plane for Dubai.

For the last four years, remittances from abroad have been going up by leaps and bounds. They amounted to 15,740 million rupees in 1976 and 19,080 million rupees in 1977. The trend in the first seven months of 1978 indicated continued growth and it looked as though remittances would top 26,000 million rupees. But since August there has been a sharp fall in remittances from abroad for three months in a row. The slump in remittances has occurred just when the trade gap threatens to increase to a record level of 15,000 million rupees.

Against this, the Pakistan Government reports, quoting a study team from the World Bank, that home remittances from overseas Pakistanis are expected to increase by about 100 percent, exceeding \$2,330 million by 1982 or 1983. From 1976 to 1977, the sum of remittances was \$433 million, an amount that exceeded the oil import bill by \$74 million. □

# The Candy Dish Caper

EDWARD C. NORTON

In the 1960's — as even the cats and dogs in the streets knew — there was an unholy alliance between many New Jersey county political machines and persons we reporters called Bad Fellows.

News journalists pride themselves on their integrity. They cannot be bought. That's a generality. And, like all generalities, it has its exceptions. There are reporters who can be had for a ham sandwich — that's the low end of the scale. At the top end, until recently there were newspeople in North Jersey who held out for the highest possible dollar.

One fellow, for example, covered politics for his paper in a major city, and at the same time was a highly paid no-show tax assessor on the public roll. Reporters, like myself, who made do with one paycheck from our publishers, stood in awe of this audacity and total lack of ethics.

Politicians call these types "burglars." Some are still around. They are individuals who would take pennies from dead men's eyes, then, without qualm, return for their shoes. True professionals! Their attitudes and conduct are patterned on twelfth century mercenaries, who took the King's shilling, and the Duke's, and the Earl's — and survived. Virtue may be its own reward, but the corrupt always seem to be driving new Buicks.

At one point I was approached by one of the Neanderthals who conducted the commonweal in those

days, with offers designed to make me fall from grace — the phrase was "going on the pad." The proposals were attractive. In the beginning they were simple offers to provide inside information before anyone else had it, and at the end, pledges of \$100 a week during a particularly bitter election campaign.

I turned down the offer of the inside information because I realized that it was fairly easy to get the goods through legit channels and from the defectors whose bodies were tumbling from every castle wall in those days.

The money, however, was serious. Who couldn't use an extra C-note a week? It would have been delivered by one of the battalion of bagmen maintained by the political corps. No one would have known, not my publisher, my co-workers, nor least of all, the IRS. Despite the fact that a car payment was due, and I needed a new pair of shoes, I scorned the offer. I walked around in a state of saintly sanctity for days. It wore off.

In the 1960's, as even the cats and dogs in the streets knew, there was an unholy alliance between many New Jersey county political machines and persons we reporters called Bad Fellows. In many cases the Bad Fellows were the board of directors of these political machines, but they were nice enough to let the public pull the levers on election day. What the public didn't know was that the Bad Fellows decided whose name would appear next to the lever.

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*Edward C. Norton, Nieman Fellow '73, is a frequent contributor to this quarterly.*



With the knowledge picked up on the cobbles of many New Jersey deadfalls, it was an easy transition for me in late 1969 to shift my reportage from strictly political doings to the affairs and current troubles of the Bad Fellows. Many said these men were mobsters. Some said they were Mafia. No matter, they were Bad Fellows. By 1969 they had had a run of nearly twenty years of inattention by the government and public. Oh, sometimes one or another would get caught shooting someone, or be found with a garage full of stolen shoes, but accidents do happen. When the boom fell that year, one of its first victims in New Jersey was Simone (Sam the Plumber) DeCavalcante of Princeton Township.

After the government released the transcripts of miles of electronic eavesdropping tapes it conducted illegally from 1961 to 1965 at DeCavalcante's office in Kenilworth, Sam became an overnight sensation. Working from the tapes, newspapers recounted how Sam told pals that the mob was trying to buy a shredding machine which would turn victims of the mob into "meatballs." The intention was that the meatballs would be harder to identify than the body of some goniff stuffed in the trunk of a Cadillac — the traditional Viking Farewell among the Bad Fellows.

A colleague, Harry Blaze of the *Trenton Times*, told me that he was surprised when DeCavalcante gained the instant media notoriety of Tiny Tim or Ralph Nader. Harry had known Sam as a smalltimer around Trenton and thought Sam was nothing but a bigmouth who hung around local pizza joints, scouting gambling "action."

Harry was wrong. At that time, Sam was the chief of the tri-state area's smallest (sixty-five members) Bad Fellows group. The tapes revealed that Sam was so busy with his Bad Fellows he couldn't conduct his business properly. And Sam's Bad Fellows were an unusually lumpish, thick, stubborn, dopey and hare-brained crew. Sam was hard-pressed to keep them in line, settle their dopey disputes, and keep them, literally, from each other's throats. Because it's lonely at the top, Sam, according to the FBI tapes, took consolation from his secretary. The prudish FBI logs would draw the curtain for peepers, by chastely noting some days that Sam and his secretary locked the office door, turned the lights out, and had a conference during which nothing was said which would interest the Bureau or Mr. Hoover.

Covering Bad Fellows in New Jersey in 1970 was like covering baseball — all the teams were there. The Muscle Team had become a heavy industry in the state, chaired by Genial Jerry Catena of South Orange. Together there must have been 400 or so fulltimers pushing and shoving in the Garden State, and hundreds of marginal types who would

have shot off your toes for a chance at the coveted membership. The mob had its own country clubs, saloons, restaurants, industries, auto dealerships — you name it. Most alarming, at least to me then, was the fact that virtually all the citizenry knew this, and seemed to accept it as a given. New Jerseyans have always been too tolerant.

By early 1970 the citizenry was alarmed by the revelations. Figures who in other days were considered little more than cheap hoods suddenly were elevated to

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Sam told pals that the mob was trying to buy a shredding machine which would turn victims of the mob into "meatballs."

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headline status rivaling that of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger.

Thus, when it came to pass in the winter of 1970 that Sam DeCavalcante's son married the daughter of a Trenton utility worker, the Saturday event became a day book item for both wire services, and a "must cover" for many New Jersey papers.

After a bleak drive to Trenton, we arrived at the small church and found it swarming with what is called "media." What would normally have been private services became a public event. Reporters and cameramen were banned from inside the church, but we saw the participants enter the ring. We had all been to weddings, so we could call on our memories when writing the story. One insider promised to tell us if any of the bridegroom's guests did something gauche, like dropping a rod from a tux waistband onto the floor.

Gray skies spat freezing rain in our faces as we stomped about, wondering aloud if we would have any trouble getting into the wedding reception at a big motel restaurant in East Brunswick. In the crowd with us we had noted a number of men too neatly dressed to be Media. They were in fact state policemen and FBI agents, part of the permanent, floating detail which followed Bad Fellows in those days.

After the wedding party left the church, we all ran to our loads, and gunned them onto Route 1 to form what may have been the longest rolling wedding party in New Jersey history.

When we arrived at the restaurant we found more cameramen, and they weren't in The Media. They were

cops. They took everybody's picture, and a photo of the car you drove in, and its license plate. They took each other's picture. Kodak stock must have jumped that week.

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The Bad Fellows were an unusually lumpish, thick, stubborn, dopey and hare-brained crew.

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Of course, to the DeCavalcante group and the cops, reporters were not welcome. No one wanted us there, except our editors.

The reporters' pack numbered about twelve, including newsmen from the New York *Daily News* and the *Times*. The gentleman from the *Times* was exactly that, a courtly, white-haired fellow whose normal news beat was Queens. But this weekend, he had been tossed into New Jersey by bus to cover this strange tribal rite.

Being a gentleman and a scholar, the *Times* reporter (we shall call him Murray) decided to do some research on the bus to Jersey. He bought a hard-bound copy of *The Godfather*, then a popular bestseller soon to be made into a blockbuster movie. In the novel Murray read about Bad Fellows' weddings. Murray's research was okay with us, but Murray seemed to think it was all right to wave the book around.

Most of us knew instinctively that it would not do to flaunt this novel under the noses of fifteen cubic tons of muscle from Linden and Brooklyn. Although these folk were assuredly not Book of the Month Club members, they had undoubtedly heard of Mr. Puzo's saga.

While hundreds of Mr. DeCavalcante's guests gathered in a big reception room to drink, eat canapes, and roar like the Ford plant in Mahwah, we milled nervously about in the lobby, fretting as the clock ticked towards our Sunday paper deadlines. Simply put: we didn't have the nuts and bolts of a good reading story. We didn't even know the bride's name. Appeals to the frozen-faced gendarmerie were fruitless.

Then Murray had an idea. It had worked when he needed information from prime ministers and the like. We would ask Sam the Plumber for a press conference. To be perfectly honest, I greeted this suggestion with the same reaction I had in 1968 when Nixon said he had a secret plan to end the war in Vietnam: utter disbelief.

I had been near DeCavalcante during his various court appearances, and noted his weary disdain for the

proceedings. I had even tried to interview him in a courthouse corridor, but he would only mumble comments about the Washington Redskins. I presumed then that he had just lost a bundle on the Redskins. So, I didn't expect that an appeal to Sam about the public's right to know would work. But I was willing to try anything short of gunfire.

A small group of us approached the doorway to the reception area, and asked a beefy man and woman standing there if Sam was around. The woman wore enough mascara to paint a wall. "Yeah," she said, "he's over there."

"Could you ask him to come over here, please?" Murray said. She looked Murray over, shrugged, and walked into the crowd. I figured we'd never see her again, but in a minute or so she came back with Sam.

At that time, DeCavalcante looked like Marlon Brando wished he looked like in *The Godfather*. Medium height, wavy-gray hair, piercing eyes, Roman nose, elegant mustache, and trim muscular build, DeCavalcante was every maiden's dream Hood. Sam's way of tilting his head back and looking down his face at you was more intimidating than his soft voice.

Sam had presence. I said in those days that if Sam ever made the Johnny Carson Show he'd be a bigger hit, so to speak, than Charo. Now he had twelve reporters beseeching him for a press conference. We had finally persuaded Murray to put the damn book under his arm, and to this day I believe it was Murray identifying himself as a *Times*' reporter and standing there like a tweedy white-haired college professor, complete with book under arm, that convinced DeCavalcante he could act like a prime minister.

With a few snaps of his fingers DeCavalcante assembled for our questions the bride, bridegroom, her parents, and himself.

He was master of ceremonies. He allowed the questioning as long as we asked "nice" questions. We were painfully nice. We got the nuts-and-bolts: names, ages, etc. It looked like we would survive to file fact-filled stories. Then, because every crowd contains one, the joker in our midst spoke up as Sam ushered the wedding couple into the dining room.

The joker, who worked for one of the Newark papers, said he was hungry, and how come Sam could feed all his pals, but didn't put one meatball with a toothpick before members of The Press. The look on Sam's face was enough to make sane people hide under furniture. I seriously thought we would have to make a run for the door. Sam

turned, not as red-faced, and herded us into the reception room, now vacant, where a few canapes remained as evidence of the human locusts which had recently swarmed there. Sam told us where to sit, and personally hit the kitchen from which he emerged a few minutes later carrying more trays of eats. Then the joker complained there was no booze. Sam then brought bottles to us. He poured for us all, even after I politely told him I had to drive and then write a story.

The joker was pointing out to Sam at every turn that he had not been the perfect host. Even Murray, who had learned from the novel that Bad Fellows hate to refuse anyone anything on the day their children marry, was trying to shush the joker.

His face filled with eats, and a tumbler of drink in his hand, the joker wanted to know from DeCavalcante what kind of present he had given his guests.

I believe that if I had had a meatball machine with me in that room the joker would have gone into it, with most of the other reporters helping me shove his stupid, grasping body into the maw. Sam reddened for about the fourth time in our presence and walked from the room in a stiff-legged way. We curdled the air with oaths, curses and other maledictions. The joker smiled like What-Me-Worry and refilled his plate.

Sam soon returned, chin high, carrying a stack of boxes, which he individually pressed into our nervous hands. Some tried to beg off, but Sam was in no mood to listen. The joker, wiping his canape-stained fingers on a table cloth, opened his box with glee. He had apparently been on the take so long that every day was Christmas. He groaned when he had uncovered the gift. I prayed that lightning would strike us all. At least before the joker could open his mouth. "That's it?" the joker asked.

"Yes," Sam said.

Inside each plain white box was an oval candy dish, ten inches long by three and a half, and the dish contained a dozen ghastly seventeenth century painted scenes of a man courting a woman.

The bottom of the dish read: "Royal Vienna, Made in Japan."

I thought of leaving the dish behind in a mad rush for the front door, but I didn't want to give Sam any ammunition to think we were displeased with the way he had treated us. Murray and I had the same idea to dash almost simultaneously, and I truly believe that we would have stomped women and children under foot to get out of that building. Driving home later that night I could even

chuckle with relief, hoping that the joker, after our departure, had asked Sam if he could go on the honeymoon.

My wife was unimpressed when I showed her the candy dish. She was surprised when I wanted to save it. For years afterward we entertained dinner party guests with the tale of how Sam gave me a dish. By then Brando had stolen Sam's persona, and it had become more widely known than the Pope.

Then, for a period, I forgot about the dish gathering dust in a closet. DeCavalcante went to Atlanta Federal Prison, where he worked in the infirmary, and on release underwent surgery for a heart condition. Aging and ill, hounded by the government, the Squire of Princeton Township and Boss Emeritus of a tri-state gang, DeCavalcante has moved to Florida. For Bad Fellows, Florida is the Old New Jersey — with palm trees.

Murray is still working, and interviewing prime ministers. The joker is still around, no doubt grabbing pencils from the blind. And I have an attack of conscience.

I'm trying to decide whether Sam would understand if he received a small parcel in the mail, together with retroactive thanks, and a funny little note saying we really cannot accept anything in the line of duty. □

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## Frank Van Riper

(continued from page 5)

low and when members of his own party are making public noises about Carter being a one-term President.

Certainly, I'm not saying — and none of my colleagues is saying — that Carter should abandon town meetings. As Ralph Harris noted: "He *ought* to go out more frequently. One function of the presidency is politics and politics is going out to meet the people."

But what should not be forgotten is that meeting the people is not meeting the press. Ham-handed, self-serving and mean as our questions may sometimes be, we do perform a valuable function of cross-examining — with some expertise — the President of the United States.

The current trend by the White House to limit our access to the President is unfortunate, particularly since this administration began with such good intentions. It is scant comfort to say that, in withdrawing from the press that covers him, Jimmy Carter is merely following the lead of Presidents who have come before him. □

# Prescription for Medical Reporters

GEORGE BERKLEY

Have medical reporters become advocates for the medical profession?

The tendency of newspeople to become influenced by those they write about has long been noted. Police reporters who spend their days at the station house; sports reporters who travel with the local team, even Washington correspondents assigned to the Pentagon — all too often fall into this trap. In many cases, they can end up as advocates for, rather than watchdogs of, those whose activities they monitor.

It is difficult to maintain a consistently cool and dispassionate attitude toward those with whom one virtually lives. Few people would want to pass each working day in a hostile atmosphere which may make it unpleasant or even impossible to carry out assignments.

Medical reporters are fortunate in not having to confront such conditions. They usually spend most of their time at a desk in the newsroom, poring over medical publications or checking with authoritative sources on the telephone. When they do go forth to develop a story, the scene is frequently varied.

Modern medical reporters sometimes show signs of slipping into the

role of a spokesperson and may end up uncritically voicing the medical system's concerns while fervently castigating its critics.

Consider the current furor over taking vitamin pills. The American Medical Association, the Food and Nutrition Council and other respected organizations maintain that all the vitamins the average American needs are supplied by a well-balanced diet. They believe that taking vitamin supplements is usually wasteful and may even be dangerous. Those who insist on the value of regularly taking vitamin pills are labeled health nuts and food faddists.

Most medical reporters have adopted this point of view, which may be correct. But in standing so staunchly on the side of the establishment they may be limiting and even distorting what is a valid subject for dispute.

## Vitamin E

The coverage by *The New York Times* of a conference on Vitamin E is a case in point. The conference was held in the fall of 1973 and was reported in the *Sunday Times* of September thirtieth. The headline for the story reads: "Scientists term vitamin E an enigma of little-proved therapeutic value." The story itself opens in much the same vein. "Vitamin E, the purported elixir of youth, restorer of sexual potency and

cure or preventive for whatever might ail you — from acne to heart disease — is still very much of a medical scientific enigma of little proved therapeutic value, according to reports to a two-day international symposium."

The next five paragraphs detail and deride the claims made for vitamin E. The biochemist who was host of the conference is quoted as saying that people who take vitamin E pills are looking for a "security blanket." The reporter then goes on to state in paragraph six that "while most claims for the vitamin have yet to be subjected to careful scientific scrutiny, those that have been studied have shown, with few exceptions, disappointing or equivocal results."

But in paragraph seven, the tone changes: "The exceptions, however, created some excitement among the fifty scientists who were invited." The story goes on to summarize some of these exceptions.

One of them, a well-controlled study conducted in Sweden, demonstrated that patients suffering from a certain circulatory problem benefited greatly from taking 600 units of vitamin E daily. The medical problem for which the vitamin was found effective was a blood vessel disorder called intermittent claudication that results from arteriosclerosis in the legs. The ailment is not rare; it affects five to ten percent of elderly men. The story goes on to report how a Japanese study

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*George Berkley teaches a course in public management and marketing at Boston State College. He is author of the book, Cancer: How to Prevent It and How to Help Your Doctor Fight It and numerous articles in health publications.*



disclosed at the conference showed at least one form of the vitamin to be beneficial to persons suffering circulatory disorders in the hands and feet.

Vitamin E was found to have other possible uses. "Several animal studies have indicated that vitamin E can guard against damage to lung cells caused by two common pollutants: nitrogen dioxide and oxone." A food scientist at the conference was quoted as saying that taking thirty units of vitamin E a day might benefit people who live in cities with high pollution levels. Thirty units is more than four times the amount believed to be present in the average American diet.

The contrast between these discoveries and the debunking tone of the headline and the first half of the story raises some question as to which the story's lead properly should have been: the lengthy, generalized "put-down" of the vitamin, or the very real, if somewhat limited, benefits of the vitamin revealed at the conference. The position of orthodox medicine overshadowed reliable research by qualified scientists, both in the reporter's mind and in the copy.

This is only one example of many showing how the "establishment" position has become the only acceptable one to those who cover modern medicine. A short time before this conference, the *Times* carried a statement issued by the Committee on Nutritional Misinformation of the Food and Nutrition Council denouncing and deploring the "misleading" claims being made for vitamin E. The committee insisted that except for premature babies and people with problems absorbing fat, vitamin E was sufficiently supplied in the normal diet and supplementation was completely unnecessary. The *Times* ran the article without, it seems, questioning the statement. The oracles had spoken — although, as the conference subse-

quently showed, they had not spoken all that wisely.

A few months earlier, on May 14, the *Times*' index for the year conveys the tone of the paper's coverage:

*Thousands of food faddists, 142 congressmen and a health lobby called National Health Federation are backing an obscure bill that will allow Americans to obtain as many vitamins as they want. FDA, AMA and experts in pharmacology insist that massive doses of vitamins A and D can be harmful and life-threatening in extreme cases. . . . Massive flows of dollars to Washington supporting freedom to buy vitamins in any amounts are reportedly financed by a group of health food faddists united as health federation; reaction from congressional co-sponsors, several of whom are unaware of bill; background, comment.*

From the foregoing there is little doubt that the *Times* has taken sides on the measure. Those who support it are twice referred to as "food faddists." One would never know that some respected physicians and scientists, among them Linus Pauling and Albert Szent-Gyorgy, both winners of Nobel prizes in medicine, were also backing the bill. And one would never know that the drug industry and the medical profession had a personal, financial interest in opposing the measure and in supporting instead the FDA's proposed restrictions. (The doctors would benefit because under the FDA's proposal a doctor's prescription would be needed to buy certain vitamins in large amounts.)

This "obscure" bill did not turn out to be so obscure after all. Its backers, who included such respected members of Congress as Senator William Proxmire, marshalled so much support for the measure that the FDA drastically modified the proposed regulations.

## Vitamin C

Vitamin C, the vitamin that has created the most controversy during the past decade, came to the forefront of medical attention when Linus Pauling began plugging it as an antidote to the common cold. Interest in the vitamin goes back to the time it was discovered, around 1930. A researcher at Columbia University found that monkeys given high doses of vitamin C did not become paralyzed when inoculated with polio virus. Subsequent research with animals showed the vitamin to be effective in warding off whooping cough and in controlling certain infectious bacteria. In the 1940's Fred Klenner, a physician in North Carolina, reported the remarkable results of using the vitamin to combat all kinds of medical problems, ranging from infantile paralysis and pneumonia to snakebite. Many "health nuts" started to sing vitamin C's praises but not until Linus Pauling joined them did the medical community begin to take notice.

Pauling, a respected scientist, is also publicity-conscious, and he soon succeeded in sparking a lively debate by proclaiming the merits of vitamin C. Several studies substantiated his theories. The most thorough research was conducted by three doctors at the University of Toronto who, when they started, hoped and expected to prove Pauling wrong.

This study startled the medical community considerably. However, the National Institutes of Health then came up with its own study which showed that taking megadoses of the vitamin was of no benefit. The matter was laid to rest; vitamin C was henceforth decreed useless in preventing colds and all claims to the contrary were deemed unscientific.

For the nation's medical reporters, also, the NIH study seems to have

ended the matter. But what about the research that had shown vitamin C to be effective? Was it simply to be discarded? Both the Toronto and NIH statistical tests were of the "double-blind" variety but there were some differences. The Toronto study used a sample of 818 students; the NIH sample consisted of 311 Institute employees. One doesn't need to know much about statistics to raise some questions here as to sample size and possible sample bias.

More recently, another sensational development concerning vitamin C has come to light. Two Scottish doctors administered large amounts (10,000 milligrams daily) to one hundred cancer patients. These patients were terminally ill and beyond all forms of traditional medical care. One of the doctors in association with Pauling, who had been involved in the study, published a paper in the October 1976 *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. These patients, said the doctors, lived on the average over four times as long as 1,000 other victims with similar cancers. Only one news agency, the Associated Press, took note of this news and contacted the National Cancer Institute for a comment. The Institute's director of tumor immunology, Dr. Paul Chretien, responded positively. He said that vitamin C activates the body's defense system "and this usually means an increased immune response." His comment was put out on the wire and appeared in several newspapers as well as in *Parade* magazine. And there the matter has rested.

In view of the nation's dread of cancer and its national spending of nearly one billion dollars a year to find a cure for it, and in view of the medical community's insistence that taking vitamins is silly and that vitamin C cannot help prevent even the common cold, this revelation by Dr. Chretien, coming on the heels of the Scottish experiment, would seem to have

momentous implications. One would expect a flurry of follow-up activity at the medical desks of the nation's newsrooms. But that has never taken place. The National Cancer Institute continues to hand out hundreds of millions of dollars for grants; one out of every four Americans contracts cancer; the medical community continues to avow that vitamin pills represent a foolish expenditure; and medical reporters continue to ignore the whole business. Even when the director of the National Cancer Institute, Dr. Arthur Upton, admitted, in an interview with the *Medical Tribune* of November 22, 1978, that he personally took vitamin C plus a multi-vitamin supplement as part of his own regimen for avoiding cancer, no notice was taken.

## Laetrile

Of course, the biggest cancer story of recent years has centered around the use of laetrile. This controversial drug, which is extracted from apricot pits, has elicited fervent support and equally fervent opposition. The medical community has gone to great effort to suppress the drug and medical reporters seem to have lined up solidly behind them.

Most available evidence fails to support the claims made on laetrile's behalf. The drug has been tested seven times by various health agencies and no beneficial effects have been reported. Nevertheless, its backers are not entirely without basis for their beliefs.

There is some controversy over the way some of the tests were conducted and interpreted. Dr. Dean Burk, a biochemist, resigned in protest from his position as head of the National Cancer Institute's Cytochemistry Division, claiming the Institute had distorted the results of certain animal tests involving laetrile. Another biochemist, Dr. Kanematsu Sugiura, a

researcher at the Sloan-Kettering Institute, also indicated finding some positive results from laetrile tests on animals, although he since appears to have backed away, possibly as the result of peer pressure, from endorsing the drug.

Another interesting development is a study by the World Health Organization identifying the Hunza section of Pakistan as the one area of the world where cancer seems completely absent. This is also the region in the world where apricot pits are an integral part of the daily diet — the Hunzas use oil from crushed apricot pits for cooking.

Finally, there are doctors, including a few in the United States, who claim to have achieved rewarding results by using laetrile. One physician, Dr. Stewart Jones of Palo Alto, California, says laetrile saved his mother from death.

While none of this evidence adds up to a completely convincing case for laetrile's effectiveness in curing cancer, it is worthy of mention. However, medical editors seem not to question the medical establishment's claim that the battle over laetrile is a battle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, with no room for intelligent or disinterested dissent.

Two further aspects of the laetrile controversy and its coverage in the press are worthy of comment. The medical establishment has accused many leaders of the pro-laetrile forces of mercenary motives, claiming that these leaders hope to benefit financially from the drug's manufacture and sale. This may be true. But doesn't orthodox medicine also have a financial stake in laetrile's suppression? Cancer treatment and research represent a vast industry and one that returns good profits. In a country which not only has an excess of hospitals but also an apparent excess of doctors — we have one-third more doctors proportionately than England

and the Scandinavian countries — the \$25,000 average total expenditure per cancer patient represents good income. Much of this would be lost if simpler therapies for treating the disease were to be adopted. Unfortunately, while the establishment's charges of greed against laetrile's supporters have been well-reported, as they should be, the establishment's own obvious financial and professional stake in the status quo has been passed over.

A second omission is more serious. The medical community explains its excessive zeal for outlawing laetrile, a drug that is legal in Canada and most European countries, by claiming that allowing cancer victims to take it would encourage them to forego more "scientific" treatment and this could cause more suffering.

There is, however, no evidence that the high-powered treatment cancer patients now receive is doing most of them any good. Chemotherapy often succeeds in arresting some forms of leukemia in children. Surgery has achieved a good success rate in stopping uterine cancer. But, on the whole, the most complex and expensive cancer therapies have failed to produce reassuring results. In a letter to the *Lancet* two years ago, six British leukemia specialists claimed that more conservative treatments often work better than radical ones. More disturbing still is a study done by Dr. Hardin B. Jones at the University of California (Berkeley). His research suggests that those people treated medically for cancer recover on the average at about the same rate as those not treated at all.

It appears that most of the people who might prefer laetrile to the more "advanced" techniques of modern cancer therapy would not be missing very much. Even if laetrile should prove worthless, they might spare themselves much additional discomfort and expense. The real tragedy is

that the question and its implications have remained largely unexamined and unexplored in the nation's news media.

## Rx: Healthy Skepticism

To call medical reporters to account for treating the medical establishment with silken gloves does not mean that they should instead adopt a position of unremitting hostility. This would only replace one bias with another. Furthermore, orthodox medicine often seems to be right and its detractors wrong. For example, many so-called health nuts believe passionately in high-protein diets. The AMA has warned people against them. The AMA's position is sensible for high-protein diets have been found to shorten the lives of laboratory animals and, in man, correlate with high cancer rates.

But the health nuts do not deserve the preemptory dismissal they often receive in the nation's press. Many of their charges and claims are buttressed with at least enough evidence to warrant a fair hearing. Some esteemed establishmentarians have even accepted one or more of their contentions. For example, Dr. Olton Ochoner, respected modern heart surgeon, has routinely prescribed 600 units of vitamin E to his patients. Dr. Charles Butterworth Jr., a former chairman of the AMA's own Food and Nutrition Committee, has recently said that taking one-to-two thousand milligrams of vitamin C a day might help protect people from arteriosclerosis. The problem is that no one would ever find out such things from reading the medical news in the nation's press.

Our medical reporters need to dig out and critically examine all the evidence concerning the many controversial and crucial issues that currently engulf modern medicine. More enterprise plus a healthy skepticism to all sides would serve the public

interest better. While many reporters have become critical of the business establishment, they have remained remarkably deferential toward those who control the nation's medical system.

Here are only a few questions that might lead to some interesting news stories: Why has the National Cancer Institute failed to publicize its startling findings linking beef consumption to bowel and colon cancer? Why has the NCI consistently refused grant money to Linus Pauling to study vitamin C and cancer when its own unpublished study indicates that the vitamin may be of value? Why is the American Cancer Society spending two million dollars to buy interferon when studies show that vitamin C supplementation can raise the body's own production of this anti-cancer agent by one hundred percent? And why has the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research failed to pursue studies published by Dr. Sugiura in 1950 that showed that laboratory animals fed brewers yeast or liver became highly resistant to cancer-causing chemicals?

Why don't more doctors advise their diabetic patients to eat more chromium-rich foods since the trace mineral laboratory at Dartmouth Medical School has found that chromium increases a person's tolerance for glucose? What about those doctors who claim to have achieved highly beneficial results with treating arthritis patients with large doses of vitamins B-3 and B-6? Have any follow-up studies been done? Why doesn't the Food and Drug Administration do some studies on panigamic acid, sometimes referred to as vitamin B-15, instead of dismissing out of hand the Russian research on its effectiveness in fostering health?

We will not be able to find out the answers to these questions until they are asked. The great tragedy is that those who should ask have never done so. □

# A Philadelphia Story

MARK SELTZER

Knight-Ridder brought to Philadelphia a new generation of journalists without ties to the city's labyrinthine power structure.

The press in Philadelphia changed dramatically in 1970 when Knight-Ridder purchased the *Inquirer*, Walter Annenberg's staunchly conservative rag. (Knight-Ridder also owns the *Inquirer*'s blue-collar sister paper, the *Philadelphia Daily News*.) The Miami-based company, called by many the best newspaper chain in the country, commands the highest circulation total in the U.S. for its nearly three dozen papers. The *Inquirer* is its flagship. As the most influential newspaper in this city, the *Inquirer*, with a daily circulation of more than 400,000 (more than 840,000 Sundays), possesses the power to mold the political destiny of Philadelphia.

Known for its vitality and liberalism, Knight-Ridder brought to Philadelphia a new generation of journalists without ties to the city's labyrinthine power structure. The editors came to Philadelphia without roots there, and with a strong allegiance to journalistic objec-

tivity. They came from such staid grey goddesses as *The New York Times* and its Western clone, *The Los Angeles Times*.

The Knight-Ridder takeover brought Eugene L. Roberts, Jr. [Nieman Fellow '62], former national editor of *The New York Times*, to Philadelphia in 1972 as executive editor. Edwin O. Guthman [Nieman Fellow '51], former national editor of *The Los Angeles Times*, has headed the editorial page since 1977; and James Naughton, a former political writer for *The New York Times*, commands the national affairs desk. Having netted some of the top journalists in the nation, the *Inquirer* joined the elite ranks of the top ten papers in the country. In the process, it has been awarded four Pulitzer Prizes in as many years and acquired a reputation for investigative reporting.

The metamorphosis of the *Inquirer* into a first-rate local paper — it has never attempted to be a paper of national coverage — has not been a fluke. Not only have its skills of reporting improved, but it has come to set the standards for independent, aggressive leadership. For much of this

century, newspapers have been regarded as a means to an end for their publishers; the *Inquirer* under Annenberg was no exception. Yet today the *Inquirer* is one of the few papers in the United States that experienced press watchers believe is actually getting more independent.

Paradoxically, the *Inquirer* staff tends to understate its power in the city. Edwin Guthman, editor and resident shaper of opinion, is openly skeptical of the paper's ability to influence elections in Philadelphia. James Naughton echoes Guthman's contention from the national perspective: "If the prospects of a presidential candidate in Philadelphia are going to rise or fall on whether that candidate has the endorsement of the *Inquirer*, then the candidate is probably in big trouble to begin with.

"We don't attempt to attain a national reputation as an influencer of events, although we do try to attain a reputation nationally as a recorder of events. The Pulitzers that we have won have been reporting Pulitzers for disclosing things, for following up on events, for trying to let the public know what's being done in the public's

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Mark Seltzer is studying American politics at the University of Pennsylvania.



name...not by intruding into the political arena to such an extent that the paper becomes part of the issue," Naughton says.

According to its editors and reporters, the *Inquirer* has avoided one affliction of modern political coverage — the intoxicating "old boys' club" relationships that can develop between journalists and their sources who hold political office. Said Gene Roberts, executive editor: "Two of my editors went out to lunch today with the incoming Governor (Richard Thornburgh) and I decided not to do that... I thought it made sense that the editors who went go because they were going to be talking up to a point on nuts and bolts coverage situations and what the good Governor's policy on that level was going to be. I was afraid that if I went that it might stray over into editorial matters and I didn't want to run any risk of that in the presence of the city editor and the people who cover news. I think we walk a tightrope on that."

This detached stance has been translated into a conscious policy of reportorial constraint and an almost obsessive sensitivity to the *Inquirer's* credibility and standing in the community.

The paper's political writer, Paul Taylor, confirms the ideal of journalistic self-restraint: "I tend to operate in a narrow range. I don't see it as my job to make or break a candidate early on in a campaign. I play it right down the middle. I'm very aware of the agenda-setting role."

In a December 1978 article in the *Inquirer's* Sunday magazine, Taylor wrote, "The only checks on that power [of the press to define political reality] are our own personal and professional standards, our fealty to the search for truth...and to the basic dictates of fairness...And there is always the risk, real or imagined, that if we do anything to diminish our credibility we will diminish our constituency."

Speaking in a distinctive Southern drawl (the legacy of his years as a reporter in North Carolina), Roberts makes a case for the *Inquirer's* independence and fairness. "I think if you went to Rizzo he would probably be convinced that we were in bed with all his opponents...If you look up his opponents, one by one, each of them would tell you that we aren't in bed with them, but might be with the next opponent...We keep our distance at the editing level with just about everyone."

The *Inquirer's* perception of itself as a detached and independent recorder of the news merits further scrutiny.

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### An adversary relationship with the bombastic mayor of a big city makes for better copy.

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Perhaps the paper's decision to ignore its political influence masks a concern about its accession to power. Whether motivated by a desire for prominence in the city's media industry or by a benevolent public conscience, the cumulative impact of the *Inquirer's* investigative series on political institutions and its daily reporting on state and local politicians has established it as the most influential newspaper in Philadelphia. In fact, the *Inquirer* netted Pulitzers in 1975, 1977, and 1978 for a crop of investigative stories on corruption and abuses in the Internal Revenue Service, Fairview State Hospital, and the Philadelphia Police Department. (Cartoonist Tony Auth won the prize in 1976.) The *Inquirer* is, to use the words of District Attorney Edward Rendell, "the number one entity in the media for influence."

At the base of this influence lies the

*Inquirer's* broad access to the movers and shakers in Philadelphia. Main-line commuters read the *Inquirer* on the way to work in the city each morning. Politicians, bankers and community leaders have read the *Inquirer* editorials by ten o'clock in the morning. Edwin Guthman admits that the editorials "are much more influential with professional politicians and opinion leaders than with the average guy in the street."

As the self-appointed watchdog of governmental power, the *Inquirer* played an important part in the downfall of Frank Rizzo and Emmett Fitzpatrick. Yet the paper's management feels trepidation with the *Inquirer's* assumed role as factor in election contests. Asked if the Philadelphia community now perceives the *Inquirer* as the new king-maker in town, Gene Roberts characteristically responded: "I kind of hope not — because we don't want to be."

Philadelphia is far from a one-paper town. The stodgier and generally trouble-free *Bulletin* has been recently revamped from an evening paper to an all-day edition, after suffering losses in circulation brought on by the *Inquirer's* gains. If the *Inquirer* is the primary shaper of opinion, the *Bulletin* has a long-standing reputation for even-handed news coverage.

Perhaps because of readership habits forged before the Knight-Ridder renaissance at the *Inquirer*, the *Bulletin* continues to hold the higher circulation in greater Philadelphia, although the *Bulletin* refrains from endorsing any candidates and puts out a consistently bland editorial page. "I don't think any one news media organization dominates this town — there is no one voice in this city," says Tony Lane, I-Team director at KYW-TV and former *Inquirer* reporter.

The *Inquirer* is understandably reluctant to trade its role as a public advocate and adversary to government for a position as ally and supporter of

reform-minded public officials. An adversary relationship with the bombastic mayor of a big city makes for better copy, and provides a national backdrop of the rise to prominence for a young city paper.

Many believe that after the arrival of Knight-Ridder, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* set out (in the words of Emmett Fitzpatrick) to "get the biggest man in town — Mayor Frank L. Rizzo." That may be an overstatement, but it is clear that Frank Rizzo as a political being was a creation of the newspapers of the fifteen years prior to the 1971 mayoral election. This same press led to his eventual destruction as mayor, after eight years of consistently negative coverage.

As police commissioner, Frank Rizzo made extremely good copy, bringing to Philadelphia a government of crisis and bold action. In turn, the reporters, editors and publishers of the *Bulletin* and the *Inquirer* were infatuated with the resulting atmosphere of conflict. During the height of Rizzo's political power, the reporters created a personality that was to be the trademark of his reign. When Rizzo left the police department for City Hall he brought a score of these loyalist reporters into his new administration.

After the *Inquirer* was purchased by Knight-Ridder, the Mayor was confronted by a group of young, hungry, aggressive reporters with no loyalty to Frank Rizzo. These journalists were willing and able to undertake the investigation of City Hall political

eight years. Paul Taylor wrote, "Rizzo never was comfortable with this new adversary ethic between reporter and public figure; he never realized that, in his dealings with the press, he was now his own worst enemy. His colorful language, which had worked for him as a politician, was working against him as mayor."

To conclude that the *Inquirer* was solely responsible for breaking Frank Rizzo would be a simplification. District Attorney Ed Rendell dispels such a notion: "The *Inquirer* had tried to bring Rizzo down for eight years and had failed; the tax increase brought him down, the ethnic purity thing brought him down...not the *Inquirer*."

However, Rizzo's dramatic public pronouncements that the press was "out to destroy me" with a "power that frightens me" were quite possibly valid portrayals of an institution that made and destroyed him. Even Taylor concedes that "Rizzo is right when he says that the press has enormous power, basically unrestrained by outside influence or review. We do tend to set the agenda; we do decide what the public needs to know — and what it needn't."

The criticism that media watchers levied against the *Inquirer's* reporting of Frank Rizzo was not that the paper went too far but that it didn't go far enough in terms of hard-hitting political writing, possibly out of a genuine fear of Rizzo's demagoguery. Tony Lama agrees: "Gene Roberts

the paper purely and blindly anti-Rizzo, Rizzo could influence his advocates not to read the paper and the business community not to advertise in it, the argument went.

A similar opinion is offered by Taylor. "We were intimidated by Rizzo...although perhaps that's too strong a word." Out of a sense of fair play or a real desire to temper the critical coverage of the Mayor, the *Inquirer*, according to Taylor, decided to "pick our fights" so as "not to extend ourselves."

The *Inquirer* exercised its enormous discretionary and subjective power to portray Rizzo as a threat to the public good in Philadelphia. Undeniably, the *Inquirer* perceived the Mayor as a remnant of political corruption lingering in a city undergoing reform, and therefore wished to unseat him. Whether the *Inquirer* was motivated by a sinister desire to "get" Frank Rizzo or was simply acting out its self-defined role as public arbiter is still open to question.

What controls does the public hold to insure that the press is operating from pure motives or out of fairness, in its treatment of an incumbent mayor? As Emmett Fitzpatrick once wondered, is there an alternative to the *Inquirer* to arbitrate what is right and wrong in Philadelphia? "Now I don't know whether Frank Rizzo should be gotten but if so, I think it ought to be done on a different basis...The people in this town run the city. It is not run by some awesome corporate office in Miami," Fitzpatrick said.

To deny that the *Inquirer* unleashed a vindictive campaign against Frank Rizzo, Gene Roberts would point to the *Inquirer's* detached behavior in the Philadelphia political arena, and internal checks which weed out political biases in the news operation. Rizzo coverage notwithstanding, in this decade the *Inquirer* has managed to set some stringent standards for reporting the news in Philadelphia. □

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"His colorful language, which worked for him as a politician, was working against him as a mayor."

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corruption and excesses. The *Inquirer*, manned by cynical editors, no longer benevolently supported this tough law-and-order cop. The *Inquirer* began its formidable coverage of the Rizzo administration that spanned a stormy

was intimidated by Rizzo and therefore felt a little bit hesitant. He felt that the Mayor could successfully create the impression that the paper was anti-Rizzo...the *Inquirer* believed that he could affect circulation." By calling

# Letters

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## Compliments and a Complaint on Special Issue

Congratulations on your superb job on the special women's issue. That is a collector's item. You did a great job.

LOUIS LYONS (NF '39)  
*Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Women and Journalism is one of the most useful short collections of data and history I've seen, and I intend to use it with my interns. Can you spare five more copies?

ANDREW JAY SCHWARTZMAN  
Executive Director  
Media Access Project  
*Washington, DC*

How much effort you must have put into the latest issue of *Nieman Reports*! It is truly outstanding — offering more provocative articles than the last twelve issues of *Ms.*

I can sympathize with women who have encountered prejudice in newsrooms. I have heard comments from editors about women reporters for many years and it has only been recently that this hostility has seemed to diminish to some extent.

I can also appreciate the problems women journalists experience because I am now engaged in criminal law — a field all but closed to women in private practice.

It is unfortunate that some of the spouses felt ignored this year — it was

a problem last year as well. [However,] comparative freedom from child care permits a spouse to develop a life a Harvard that is independent from the Nieman program. I attended every Nieman function, but I also became associated with Cambridge and Harvard groups that had never heard of the Nieman Foundation.

The easiest thing is to do the Nieman year pre-parenthood, or when the children no longer require constant supervision. The only advice I can offer is to place more emphasis on the lack of day-care facilities, at the time of application.

Again, congratulations for your superior issue.

LAURA B. LOCKLIN  
*Wayne, New Jersey*

*(Ms. Locklin's husband, Bruce, is a member of the 1978 Nieman class.)*

I enjoyed the Summer issue of *Nieman Reports* — it is full of most interesting articles which I have read with absorption and pleasure.

PENNELL PECK  
*Greensboro, Vermont*

What a great issue of *Nieman Reports*! A tremendous idea, beauti-



fully executed. What all of you did in that issue is very impressive.

Equal time is a wondrous thing....

HARRY PRESS (NF '56)  
Stanford University  
Department of Communication  
*Stanford, California*

I saw the special Women's Issue of *Nieman Reports* — thought it was first rate.

WILLIAM WHEATLEY (NF'77)  
NBC News  
*New York, New York*

Thanks very much for the Nieman Reports issue on Women and Journalism. I think it was excellent.

VERA GLASER  
Knight Newspapers, Inc.  
*Washington, DC*

A thought on reading *Nieman Reports* on Women and Journalism. Your journalists need more severe editing. These pieces are interesting but (like others) very wordy. There are also occasional lapses in the good old syntax. You must set an example!

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH  
Harvard University  
*Cambridge, Massachusetts*



## What science has wrought...

This concerns the well-written but confusing review of the Segal-Yahraes book, *A Child's Journey: Forces That Shape the Lives of Our Young* [NR Spring 1979]. (The sub-title was omitted both from the review's heading and from the text.)

Jay T. Wright's review seemed like a roller-coaster — paragraphs or whole columns of up-we-go praise, interspersed with downward rushes of fault-finding and references to material we had omitted because it was less relevant than what we included. Dr. Segal and I are grateful for the praise; however, it seems necessary to reply to some of the criticism.

As stated in the preface, the purpose was "to produce neither a traditional textbook nor a 'how-to' manual of child rearing but a resource — grounded on research findings — for all of us who care about children and who want, therefore, to know more about why they develop as they do, and what we can and cannot do to shape the outcome of their journey."

Wright asks what criteria were used to select the research findings we report. We chose the researchers on the advice of outstanding investigators in the field of child development, and on the basis of our years of experience reporting in that field. Those selected were either eminent in their fields or representative of general trends in a specific area.

The review implies that "statistical tables and graphs" appear in this book. They do not. *Kirkus Reviews*, which reports for libraries, describes *A Child's Journey* as "equally appropriate for parents, who won't find it too academic, and for students of child

development, who will appreciate the fine synthesis of information... vital to raising strong children."

Dr. Wright claims: "With a wave of the hand, all 'superstars, like Freud, Gesell and Spock,' are banished into the wings of history's vast stage." Not so. The quotation about superstars is not ours. Freud is either discussed or mentioned a number of times, even though the book is based primarily on research findings and he was not a researcher. Neither is Spock, who is quoted briefly but approvingly, and not, as, Wright states, "dismissed with indifference." The reviewer quotes Gesell as having said in 1943 that science would in time supply fuller understanding of the infant's and the child's personality, knowledge of which at that time he characterized as "extremely meager and fragmentary." In the years since then, research *has* given us a much better understanding of various facets of the infant and the child. *A Child's Journey* shows in plain language what science has wrought.

As Wright points out, certain factors that assuredly influence many children's lives are not discussed. The book is based mainly on what researchers have learned about factors molding the child. If anyone knows about good research, with well-grounded findings, in the "neglected" fields — art, music, drama, ethics, morality — we'd be grateful to have the information passed on to us. There may always be another edition.

Wright says our "central emphasis" is on pathology and the abnormal and that we give little attention to "the normal developmental patterns" of the child. He must have read lightly in the chapters, "Born that Way: A Child's Physical and Emotional Constitution," "Mothers: Saints or Sinners," "Fathers: The Hidden Force," "The Child in the Family," "Schooling for Life," "The Power of Peers," "Children Who Will Not Break," and

"Protecting Your Child's Mental Health." A rough count shows that the pages devoted to pathological and normal patterns of development number — purely by chance, in view of our purpose — approximately the same.

Wright believes that in drawing upon research to enlighten child-rearing we may have attempted the impossible — "because there is almost no common ground" between the two endeavors. Having spent years in interpreting scientific research for the public, we never viewed the task as impossible, merely arduous and challenging. As to whether or not we succeeded, let me cite some authorities. Stella Chase and Alexander Thomas, clinical and research psychiatrists associated with the Medical Center of New York University, say: "... a most impressive work presented simply and lucidly... We ourselves are learning a great deal from this book." E. James Anthony, professor of child psychiatry, Washington University writes: "... contains a vast amount of information and knowledge presented so readably. Even to someone like myself, working in the field, the book was illuminating." Seymour S. Kety, professor, Department of Psychiatry, Harvard University, describes the book as "an account that is more thoughtful, lucid, objective and informative than any I have ever seen before, but deeply concerned and involved in human problems..."

As for other views, *Booklist* says "Segal and Yahraes' humane scientific work on children and society functions as a kind of one-stop shopping for the parent who is baffled by all the psychological jargon and number crunching so often reported in child-rearing journals." *Instructor* reports: "Although *A Child's Journey* was written primarily for parents, it is also an important and refreshing book for teachers... the story the authors tell develops in a moving manner..."



*Publishers' Weekly* puts it this way: "In their remarkably complete and highly literate work, Segal and Yahraes present information vital to professionals and all lay readers concerned with the well-being of youth." Says Jules Archer in the Barrytown, New York *Explorer*: "... an easily read, fascinating yet scholarly blueprint for producing happy, secure, and fulfilled children. Parents, teachers, child psychologists and social workers have reason to be grateful..."

Finally, *A Child's Journey* has been cited by the American Psychological Association as a "distinguished contribution to the public's understanding of psychology." The book is a selection of the Behavioral Science Book Club.

HERBERT YAHRAES (NF '44)  
Stanfordville, New York

### ...is not the fulfilled dream

Jay T. Wright replies:

Herbert Yahraes, in his criticism of my review, responds with a hailstorm of other reviews, some of which are the usual one-liners so familiar to readers of advertisements in *The New York Times* book review section. One searches in vain for comments from parents or parent publications or organizations.

Two major flaws in the book will not go away, regardless of the number of professional plaudits. The first is the uncritical faith that the research laboratory will inevitably produce scientifically objective data which can be used by parents in understanding and changing their children's behavior. Science rests on theory, scientific objectivity and replication. In the natural sciences, H<sub>2</sub>O is water whether tested in a Boston or a Bombay laboratory. There is no

comparable replication in the behavioral sciences. It is essential to distinguish between science and scientific techniques. For example, we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of putting a man on the moon. That feat was an example of the solution of technological problems by spending enough money to hire the personnel to engineer the program. However, going to the moon was child's play compared to the human problems that would be involved in placing an American woman astronaut and a Soviet male cosmonaut in control of the same capsule and sending them to the moon together — or in trying to modify the aggressive behavior of some six-year-olds.

The authors express complete faith in the "new breed of researchers." Many of us who work daily with parents and children are apt to be more restrained. We have reservations about the development of a new bureaucracy armed with the latest data sheets. The description of the new breed of researchers as "a creative network of scientists working tirelessly to uncover the facts about the child's world, and to translate them into practical action" is an idyllic fantasy which ignores the politics and economics of research everywhere. Research can become the new tribalism with a community of superstars.

The authors have presented us with a mixture of scientific studies and speculative subjectivity. The child is not the center here; the work of the researchers holds priority. The authors insist that their book is not one of the "how-to" manuals. This means that parents with no experience in research are expected to take the work of highly trained professional researchers and translate the material into action. This is neither scientific nor useful. The parent is faced with situations that need immediate problem-solving and cannot wait to survey the literature.

The second flaw is the "benign

neglect" of some fundamental areas of a child's journey through childhood. These include moral education, social ethics, decision-making, play, music, art and drama. Yahraes asks for information on where to find such research. This is the wrong question. The question which needs to be asked is why this new breed of researchers has chosen not to do research in these areas. Why have they elected to put their efforts in "safe" areas of child development? In our culture at the present time racism, poverty, child abuse, mental illness, peer pressure, the school, and political action are all socially acceptable areas of interest to the public. Scientific researchers have an obligation to deal with the whole child.

Moral values are basic to good mental health, but the authors devote just two and a half pages to this part of a child's journey, and half of the book to pathology.

The most striking neglect in the book is the role of television in the child's world. A national poll indicates that more than half the adults in America feel that watching television causes serious problems for children. According to the researchers, who are not in the book, the average American child by age eighteen will have devoted more time to television than to school or play or any other activity, except sleep.

In *A Child's Journey*, television is listed under "Violence" and is given less than a full page, with no research reported. If so much of a child's journey time is consumed before the tube, why doesn't this interest the "new breed of researchers"?

Nevertheless, this is a valuable book, unusually well written. It is not, however, the fulfilled dream proclaimed by Dr. Fraiberg, nor will any great disaster befall the parent who does not read it, as predicted by some unknown writer in *The Menninger Bulletin*. □

# Editorial

(continued from page 2)

(Many of the conscientious who sat in straight chairs for seven and eight hours daily discovered that, amidst the buzz of simultaneous translators, they could take forty winks upright.)

As the program progressed, the inner climate of some delegates grew warmer. Beginning with the keynote address by Frederico Mayor, Deputy Director General of UNESCO, the exchange became heated between those who viewed the UNESCO proposal for control of news flow as censorship, and others who urged more stringent regulations.

The customary country and regional reports — "The Press in Trouble" — made a special impact on IPI members who realized the significance of being invited guests in a country recently freed from the repression of the colonels' regime.

*Tuesday, June 19*

More clouds on the horizon:

Twenty-four hours after a stormy debate over "Protection of Journalists and the Freedom of the Press" — one of the new issues at UNESCO — word came from the other side of the world that ABC-TV correspondent Bill Stewart had been shot and killed by a Nicaraguan National Guard soldier. Mr. Stewart was attempting to film war destruction in a Managua neighborhood.

Another discussion, "The Third World Dilemma," centered on free debate in a state-owned press. The previous day *The New York Times* carried a squib datelined Kuwait. The government had suspended publication of two weekly newspapers for allegedly violating press laws.

Again, a clear night and a perfect backdrop for the outdoor performance of traditional Greek dances at the Dora Stratou Theatre. With her troupe of

more than eighty men and women in vivid native costume, Dora Stratou has kept alive and fresh the many regional dances of Greece. Guests tapped toes to the rhythm of the earliest means of telling stories and spreading news — media of the drum, string, voice and gesture.

*Wednesday, June 20*

An objective of IPI, stated in its Constitution, is the "achievement of understanding among journalists and thus among nations and peoples." During luncheon, guests were handed copies of an open letter from Alecos Constantinides of Cyprus, in which he alleged that some Executive Board members had reneged on their earlier agreement to meet with Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot journalists. As a "gesture of protest," Mr. Constantinides returned his IPI membership card to the Director.

IPI's "achievement of understand-

## RESOLUTIONS

*June 20, 1979*

*The International Press Institute,  
at its 28th General Assembly —*

1. Condemns the recommendations of the General Secretariat of the Federation of Arab News Agencies adopted at its meeting on May 26, 1979, which invite Arab countries to close the offices of the Middle East News Agency of Egypt by the end of June 1979.

It is also concerned at the pressures exerted by the Federation on government ministries, the international news agencies and the non-aligned news agency pool to break their contracts and other links with MENA.

The IPI believes that it is contrary to the principle of a free flow of information to allow political considerations to govern the accreditation and freedom to report of any journalist. It is particularly concerned by any case of ostracism by fellow journalists. The Federation, if its recommendations are implemented, will, in the IPI's view, also have acted to diminish the contribution to the international news flow of news and opinion from the Third World.

2. Expresses its dismay that at least fifty-five journalists who have disappeared in Argentina remain unaccounted for. It urges the Government of Argentina to publish the names of those journalists held incommunicado by Government Agencies without charge or trial, and to allow those detained journalists who wish to emigrate to do so, as they are entitled to under the terms of the Constitution.

The International Press Institute wishes to draw particular attention to the case of Jacobo Timermans and urges the Argentinian Authorities not to restrict his movements any longer and to allow him forthwith to join his family abroad.

3. Strongly condemns the continued suppression of free expression in Nicaragua. It is appalled by the fact that last week the building of Nicaragua's most important newspaper, *La Prensa*, was destroyed by the National Guard of President Somoza. After the earlier killing of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the newspaper's editor, this violence is further proof of the regime's contempt for all democratic liberties.

4. Expresses its concern at the pressures recently brought to bear on the Iranian press which has reversed the progress towards greater freedom of information and opinion in Iran.

The International Press Institute urgently requests the



ing" needs attention in another area, explicit in the annual Assembly programs. For example, the booklet for 1979 lists 302 delegates; 20 are women (6 from the United States).

Consistent with this nearly all-male membership, IPI's custom is to arrange a "Ladies' Programme" for the women who accompany their husbands. However, in light of recent changes, one can no longer assume that executive positions are held exclusively by men. This raises the question of nomenclature when an IPI member is accompanied by her husband. ("Spouses' Programme" ?) One IPI member, accompanied by another woman, found her handwritten invitations addressed to '*Monsieur et Madame* 'Jane Doe.'"

Toward the close of the Assembly, members in the fair weather of agreement, passed seven resolutions. (See below.)

At the final session Randal MacDonald said in his summation, "I sense

this has been a most important General Assembly. Discussions and debates have been informed, lively and extremely relevant to the issues and problems facing media throughout the globe."

#### Thursday, June 21

All participants were guests of the Greek National Committee for the last event of the program — an all-day cruise through the Saronic Isles. Rosy-fingered dawn had brought another round of azure sky. Passengers strolled along the decks, leaned on the rails, gathered in the lounges, took pictures of the legendary seascapes and of each other. During ports of call at the islands of Aegina and Hydra, many swam in the wine-dark sea.

These informal groupings, with their own agenda, gave a day's smooth sailing before members dispersed to the vagaries of press climate in their home countries. □

Government of Iran to enable the press to operate freely and not to support measures which restrict the free flow of information and put the work of editors and reporters in jeopardy.

5. Calls on the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to take steps which will lead to the release of the prominent journalist Jiri Lederer. It hopes also that the Czechoslovakian Government will urge fresh consideration to the proposal that an International Commission to plead for Lederer's release be allowed to travel to Prague.

6. Urges all nations signatory to the final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to observe the clauses referring to the free exchange of information. In particular it calls for full cooperation in providing for the unhindered work of foreign correspondents, noting with regret recent further restrictions on reporting by the German Democratic Republic, and the harassment of correspondents by the authorities of Czechoslovakia.

7. Alarmed by the continuing serious inroads on the freedom of the press in South Africa, calls on the South African government to withdraw the Advocate General Bill and to repeal the

Police Amendment Act, both of which have the potential seriously to limit the press' role as guardian of the public interest. It urges it to respond to the severe criticism by press to the rising protest against these measures from other institutions in South Africa, such as the legal profession.

The IPI is disturbed by the increasing use of the courts to arrest the press and, in particular, the abuse of the court process to force journalists to disclose their sources of information, as a vehicle for positive action against journalists and newspapers. It condemns the harassment of journalists by banning, imprisonment without trial, the refusal of normal press facilities and the intimidation of individuals.

The General Assembly is gravely concerned at the use of the Press Council as a tribunal with punitive powers, when it was set up as an institution which would uphold professional standards and maintain the independence and freedom of the press.

The IPI strongly condemns the attempts to use clandestine government funds to influence public opinion by the purchase of news media and by suborning individual reporters.

IPI calls on the South African government not to interfere in the conduct of the press in its efforts to serve all the people, including the black majority.

# Nieman Fellows, 1979-80

Twelve American journalists have been appointed to the forty-second class of Lucius W. Nieman Fellows to study at Harvard University in 1979-80. The Nieman Fellowships were established through a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, who founded *The Milwaukee Journal*. The Fellows come to Harvard for a year of study in any part of the University. The new Fellows are:

JAMES BOYD, 33, editorial page editor, the *Idaho Statesman*, Boise. Mr. Boyd holds degrees from the Oregon College of Education and the University of Missouri. At Harvard, he plans to study national and international economics, creative writing, American political philosophy, history and literature.

STANLEY J. FORMAN, 34, staff photographer with the *Herald American*, Boston. Mr. Forman, who attended the Franklin Institute of Boston, will focus his studies on American history, political science, the American judicial system, and the fundamentals of expository writing.

WILLIAM R. GRANT, 36, education writer, the *Free Press*, Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Grant has two degrees from the University of Kentucky. He will concentrate on the role of the judiciary in forming public policy, including the history of constitutional law, and sociology and psychology, as they relate to the disposition of court cases.

MICHAEL J. KIRK, 32, manager, Public Affairs, KCTS-TV, Seattle, Washington. Mr. Kirk is a graduate of the University of Idaho and attended the Graduate School of

Political Science at that institution. At Harvard he plans to study the American economic system, the history of American politics and state government, labor relations, American business, bioethical issues and international relations.

JONATHAN Z. LARSEN, 39, former editor, *New Times* magazine, New York City. Mr. Larsen holds two degrees from Harvard University and will focus his studies on American and modern European history, and political theory.

PAUL J. LIEBERMAN, 30, investigative reporter, the *Constitution*, Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. Lieberman, who has a degree from Williams College, plans to study white collar crime and professional ethics with the main focus on the medical profession. He will also concentrate on behavior patterns of business personnel, and basic accounting.

LYNDA M. McDONNELL, 29, business and labor reporter, the *Tribune*, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Ms. McDonnell is a graduate of the University of Minnesota. At Harvard she will explore the sources of corporate paternalism, constitutional law, economics, Chinese painting, American intellectual history, and the twentieth-century urban working class life. Ms. McDonnell is the recipient of a Louis Stark Fellowship. Created in 1959, this Fellowship honors Louis Stark, a pioneer in labor reporting, and is awarded from time to time to journalists specializing in that field. Ms. McDonnell is the fifth Nieman Fellow to be supported by the Louis Stark Memorial Fund.

ACEL MOORE, 39, reporter, the *Inquirer*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mr. Moore attended the Charles

Morris Price School of Journalism. He plans to study criminal and constitutional law, urban planning, economics, political science and government.

JUDITH H. NICOL, 35, Maryland editor, *The Washington Post*. Ms. Nicol has her degree from Michigan State University. At Harvard she proposes to study the role and problems of state government in the 1980's, the media's treatment of crime and punishment, educational philosophy and public policy, and environmental issues.

JUDITH M. STOIA, 33, editor of "Ten O'Clock News," WGBH-TV, Boston, Massachusetts. Ms. Stoia is a graduate of the University of Nebraska. Her studies will focus on patterns of ethnic groups in urban environments, social and economic change and contemporary theories of education.

JAN C. STUCKER, 34, special assignments writer, *The Record*, Columbia, South Carolina. Ms. Stucker holds degrees from Georgetown University and the University of Michigan. She will concentrate on economic theory, international economics, money and banking, and public finance and management.

ROBERT R. TIMBERG, 39, reporter, the *Baltimore (Maryland) Evening Sun*. Mr. Timberg has degrees from the United States Naval Academy and Stanford University. At Harvard he will study the impact of political organizations on national policy and politics, political corruption, and English and American literature.

Announcement of the appointment of Nieman Fellows from foreign countries will be made in the next issue.



# Commentary by Louis Lyons

*Louis M. Lyons, Nieman Fellow '39 and Curator of the Nieman Fellowships for twenty-five years, broadcasts news commentaries three times a week over Boston's WGBH, a member of the Eastern Public Radio Network.*

*The following remarks are from the "GBH Journal" program of June 11, following the release announcing the 1979-80 class of Nieman Fellows.*

The larger dimensions of journalism are illustrated in the subjects the new Nieman Fellows in Journalism list for study in their year at Harvard.

American history was generally counted the most important background for the journalist when the Nieman Fellowships were established forty years ago. American history continues to be a basic subject in the individual programs of most of the twelve. But now history is supplemented by studies in areas that were not even names in a college catalogue forty years ago: urban, ethnic, environmental, corporate paternalism, the media treatment of crime.

The first group appointed to these Fellowships were either reporters or editorial writers.

At that time the only specialists working on newspapers were the traditional political and financial editors, the book and drama critics. The science writer was just emerging. A few papers had labor reporters. The special education, medical, transportation writer hadn't evolved.

This year's Fellowship list includes specialists in business, education, and such recent classifications as the "investigative reporter" and the suburban editor.

New areas of emphasis in the news are reflected by five Fellows who include crime and the courts in their studies: four who will study constitu-

tional issues, three whose programs include the word "urban."

Three of the twelve have listed international studies, which has been about par for the course; and two of the three further describe their interest as international economics.

What first struck my eye was that two Fellows plan to study writing. Certainly to be applauded — that those who must relate our evermore complicated public affairs should study the art of putting words into sentences to clarify instead of confuse.

But in the first group of Nieman Fellows, none mentioned writing as a need. We took it for granted that a reporter just wrote.

Five years after the program's start, when A.B. Guthrie was a Nieman Fellow, some members of the group turned their attention to writing. Guthrie was studying the westward movement and working his notes into a historic novel. He wandered into a writing course given by Professor Theodore Morrison, became so impressed with what the professor's coaching did for his writing, that he mobilized his colleagues for a seminar with Morrison. Guthrie dedicated his Pulitzer prize-winning novel, *The Way West*, to his writing teacher.

History has not only maintained its place as a basic background for dealing with current affairs and institutions, it has also eased the path to understanding subjects of technical difficulty to many. History has branched into exploration of arcane areas: economic history, the history of science, intellectual history, social history.

Economics, the well-named "dismal science," is illuminated as a historical narrative by a Galbraith.

I always felt science was too much for me, until a Nieman colleague

urged me to visit a lecture by George Sarton, father of writer May Sarton, on the history of science. He told fascinating adventure stories about the work of the scientists who made great discoveries through what President Conant called "the tactics and strategy" of science.

History, with the institutions that preserve it, has survived the threat by the anarchy that invaded the universities a decade ago. In the dialectic of the disrupters of the 1960's, history had no meaning and universities were barriers to progress.

Last month, attempts were made on some of the campuses to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the disturbances of 1969. But hardly a handful of spectators stopped to listen to the warmed-over demagoguery of such professional "students" as were still around ten years later.

Commencements were not disrupted anywhere. The current issue [divestiture] that has most stirred college student and faculty dissent was addressed in civilized argument at Harvard by Senator Tsongas, after President Bok had presented the other side of the case in papers addressed to the university community.

American history has been taught at Harvard by such titans as Samuel Eliot Morison, whose histories of the discoveries were also great literature; Frederick Merk, whose course in the westward movement was legendary; and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., who invented what he called social history, which dealt with such practical developments as we associate with Benjamin Franklin — the Franklin stove, electricity, the volunteer fire department, and all the social utilities involved in the rise of the cities. The legacy of these faculty members contributes to the allure of American History to Nieman Fellows.

# Nieman Notes

1943

FRANK K. KELLY's book, scheduled to be published by David Godine in September, concerns Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic. Kelly has organized a series of meetings in Santa Barbara, under the sponsorship of S.B. City College. Speakers on the subject "Is Peace Possible?" included William Sloan Coffin, Paul Warnke, and Harold Willens. He says, "I think all Niemans should give maximum attention to the arms race. If we don't stop it, all our other problems will be obliterated in nuclear fire."

1945

HOUSTON WARING received a Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, degree in June from Colorado University.

1955

ROBERT C. BERGENHEIM, publisher of the *Boston Herald American* from 1975 to 1978, has been appointed to the newly created position of Vice President of Labor and Public Relations at Boston University.

1957

WILLIAM WORTHY, director of Boston University's federally-funded Afro-Journalism program, has charged B.U. with discrimination on the grounds of race and because of Worthy's pro-union activities. His case is being reviewed by a committee on academic affairs.

1959

MITCHEL LEVITAS and Gloria were honored as Woodrow Wilson Visiting Fellows at Hamilton College. Levitas lectured on First Amendment problems of the press and answered questions on the role of the press in

covering the government, and his wife lectured on anthropology.

The Nieman class of '59 had its first reunion last April at Sardi's in New York. Those present included NORMAN CHERNISS, who organized the reunion, EVANS CLINCHY, HAROLD HAYES, PHIL JOHNSON, PAT KELLY, MITCHEL LEVITAS, PERRY MORGAN, HOWARD SIMONS, and WALLACE TURNER. Two members who couldn't make it: BRUCE GRANT of Australia, and MAURICE JONES of New Zealand.

1961

ROBERT P. CLARK resigned as executive editor of the Louisville, Kentucky *Courier-Journal*, according to *Editor & Publisher*.

1963

ALLISTER SPARKS, editor of the *Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), was in New York recently, to accept the International Editor of the Year award made by the Atlas World Press Review.

1966

ROBERT H. GILES, executive editor of the *Rochester* (N.Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*, is conducting a study for the Newsroom Management Committee of the AP Managing Editors' Association. Nearly one thousand editors and their spouses are participating in this study of editors and their families. Results of the study will be discussed at the APME convention in October.

1969

PAUL HEMPHILL's book *Long Gone* has been published by the Viking Press, New York. From *The New York Times* book review of July 22:

*Paul Hemphill has quick hands,*

*he can go to his right or to his left, he gets plenty of wood on the ball, he's not just up there for a cup of coffee and he isn't just writing about baseball.*

RICHARD LONGWORTH of the *Chicago Tribune* was presented an award for Excellence in Business and Financial Journalism by the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. With his colleague Bill Neikirk, Longworth completed an indepth analysis of how the world trade system affects the job security and lifestyles of Americans.

1974

SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN has joined the *Miami Herald* as their Latin-America specialist. She was previously the Associated Press' chief of bureau in Chile and Bolivia, based in Santiago.

1976

PERCY QOBOZA has received honorary degrees from Amherst College (1979) and Tufts University (1978), both in Humane Letters; and University of the North (1978), in literature.

1977

ROD DECKER and Chris had a baby girl. Megan Elizabeth was born March 12, 1979.

1978

KENNETH FREED, correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*, was criticized by the Iranian Ministry of National Guidance for reporting an open letter of criticism written by the National Democratic Front, a liberal political group, to the Ayatollah Khomeini; and also for reporting on problems of organization and morale in the Iranian army. After the incident Freed had to return to Los Angeles.

FRANK SUTHERLAND and Natalie announce the birth of their daughter, Meredith Murray, on September 25, 1978.

1979

DOMINIQUE FERRY and Marie-Christine recently ended their post-Nieman tour of the United States before heading home to Paris. They loved the West and can't wait to return. Before they left, they had a farewell get-together at Clyde's in Georgetown with some Washington Niemans, among them FRANK VAN RIPER and Mary Fran and WILLIAM GILDEA.

KATHERINE HARTING headed around the world as the rest of the class of 1979 headed back to work. She reports that she spent a "terrific" six days in China and along the way ran into Niemans EUGENE CARLSON (NF '76), SATOSHI YOSHIDA (NF '78), TERU NAKAMURA (NF '75), and DONALD WOODS.

GRAEME BEATON began a new

assignment for the News Limited of Australia, that of one-man Washington bureau. He started work just as Skylab was preparing to drop on his country.

FRANK VAN RIPER also hit the ground running as he returned to work at the *New York News* as the paper's White House correspondent. Jimmy Carter decided to topple the government and Van Riper found the long days and nights a good way to back into things.

Despite BOB PORTERFIELD's contention that the West Coast is the only place for a civilized person to work, he is now an investigative reporter for the *Boston Globe*. He's getting married to Marcia Parker of the UPI Boston bureau and will stay in the Boston area until she completes her own fellowship at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts.

MICHAEL McIVOR and Carol Bishop scheduled their wedding for August 3 in Toronto, Canada.

## INCIDENTAL NOTE

"*Nieman Reports*... has a readable special issue on women and journalism," writes Bruce McCabe in the *Boston Globe* column, "Lit'ry Life." "I especially enjoyed Peggy A. Simpson's 'Covering the Women's Movement,' a historical treatment of the effort to get newspapers to take the women's movement seriously."

## LOST NIEMANS

We have "lost" the following Nieman Fellows. If you have any information about them, please let us know.

Syed Zawwar Hasan	NF '67
Everett Holles	NF '42
Herbert Lyons	NF '39
Jamil Mroue	NF '77
Thai Nguyen	NF '63
Lewis Nkosi	NF '61
Juan Saez	NF '58
William Steif	NF '53
Daphne Whittam	NF '59

# A Salute to Alan Barth

On Monday, March 5, 1979, about one hundred Nieman Fellows in the Washington area, and other friends of Alan Barth (NF '49) joined together at the National Press Club to give a dinner in honor of Alan's remarkable career as a journalist author. The speakers were Katharine Graham, Chairman of the Board of The Washington Post Company, and Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Because Alan has so many friends all across the nation who were not able to come, *Nieman Reports* is publishing the comments of the two speakers. Friends of Alan (who has been ill) may write to him at 3520 Rodman St.,

N.W., Washington, D.C. (Reported by Jack C. Landau, NF '68.)

## KATHARINE GRAHAM:

I want to thank the organizers of this dinner for not restricting it to Nieman Fellows, but also inviting a few of us who have alternate credentials. For instance, I used to be — believe it or not — a member of the Alan Barth-Joe Rauh softball squad. And that leads to why we are here, as friends of Alan Barth.

For once we may have managed to steal a march on Alan. That's not easily done. Alan himself told some of us of another occasion. My father, he

told us, once asked him to look over a speech my mother was about to make, and be sure it didn't —

Don't get the wrong impression. My father did not hire Alan to keep the *Post* out of trouble. Just the opposite. He wooed him away from the Office of War Information in 1943 specifically to gain a strong liberal voice on the *Post's* editorial board.

And that understates what he got. For thirty years Alan was the liberal conscience of the editorial page. One of his first campaigns took up the cause of blacks who were seeking jobs as bus drivers here. Over the years he must have written thousands of editorials attacking segregation, dis-

crimination, and prejudice in various aspects of American life.

Alan has been most eloquent, I think, in defense of the unpopular and the unfortunate — indigents denied a fair trial, fanatics persecuted for eccentric opinions, people accused of disloyalty for advancing unorthodox or dissenting views.

Sometimes Alan's fervent advocacy of civil rights and liberties did cause heated debates on the editorial board. I'm told that my father once said to him, "Mr. Barth, didn't you ever stop to think that the underdog might be a cur?"

To which Alan no doubt replied that even a cur deserves his day in court.

I think the *Post* was very lucky to have someone like Alan, so absolutely unshakeable. Those of you who were not here in the 1950's may not appreciate how hard it was to speak out for civil liberties as Alan did again and again. His editorials and other works from that period still shine with an eloquence and integrity that are all the more impressive for having been so rare in that atmosphere.

One of Alan's favorite targets was the rambunctious Senator Joseph McCarthy who made a career of fighting imaginary Communists in the Federal Government. The nature of Alan's McCarthy editorials which appeared in the *Post* over a period of years may be seen in the following captions: "Mucking," "Manufactured News," "Sentence Before Trial," "Sewer Politics," "Guilt by Reiteration," "Pitdown Man," "Demagogue."

And if you look through Alan's later editorials, you find that same commitment and persistence — especially in the one campaign in which he never reached first base, his unending fight for gun control and against the one right that he did not favor — what he called "the inalienable right of Americans to shoot it out with each other."

Of course Alan is no Johnny-one-

note. He's a many-sided man, as well versed in sports and music and theatre and literature as in constitutional history. As Herblock put it, "he's a pretty good eater and he likes wine." One of his most learned discourses on the op-ed page had to do with the subtle variations in wines. But even there, Alan found something to take offense at: The title of the piece was, "Champagne by Any Other Name is Fraud."

Let me just mention two more of Alan's enviable qualities. One is the subdued, witty way in which he advances even — or I should say especially — his most outrageous or provocative ideas.

As Bill Buckley once said, he managed to discuss all these things in such a reasonable way. In fact, I'm reminded of the E.F. Hutton commercials — when Alan clears his throat and starts to talk, everyone else stops and listens.

Finally, Alan is a man of remarkable prescience. He has been able to grasp the great movements in American society — the times of danger and of triumph alike — long before most of us. In fact, when he wrote five years ago about the great dissenters on the Supreme Court and called his book *Prophets with Honor*, he could have been describing himself.

There are some of us who suspect that Alan secretly longs to be a Supreme Court justice, writing brilliant opinions — mostly dissents — for mere editorial writers to carp about. But I have it on good authority that that's wrong. His favorite fantasy, I'm told, is to be called in to pitch the World Series and save the game. That's one thing he's never done. And we all know why: Because — as befits the greatest writer on civil liberties of our time — Alan is also constitutionally incapable of throwing anyone a curve.

Thank you for letting me join in honoring him.

## JOSEPH CALIFANO:

Anyone who does not believe in the doctrine of human redemption would do well to study this gathering. For gathered here tonight we have a group of people who pride themselves on their skepticism, their imperviousness to sentiment, their granite hardness of heart. Tonight all that granite has not gone soft. No: It has simply been carved into vessels overflowing with respect and affection.

Over the years, every person here has politely endured a hundred testimonials; all of us have listened as words like "great" and "distinguished" were spent as promiscuously as counterfeit pennies.

How grateful we are tonight, Alan, for an opportunity to use those words as you use words: with absolute precision. At the risk of embarrassing Alan — and of outraging his innate modesty — I want to tell three stories in which he is the leading character.

The first is a story about his courage:

In the early 1950's, when Joe McCarthy bestrode the world of Washington like an evil colossus, Alan Barth wrote a book entitled *The Loyalty of Free Men*. In its pages he marshaled the ideas and words of men such as Jefferson and Madison and Brandeis to counter Joe McCarthy. Alan Barth's eloquent primer on individual liberty is still today a wise and quiet brief in defense of reason. But in the 1950's, it was an incendiary device hurled into the political marketplace. It earned Alan Barth some choice epithets — "subversive" and "fellow-traveler."

The thoughtfulness of Alan's book was matched by his persistent defense of civil liberties on the *Post*'s editorial pages.

In one editorial he wrote that "Not everyone in America tests a man's loyalty to his Country by his willingness to betray friends. The apotheosis



of the informer is not altogether accomplished in the United States."

The editorial was in defense of a principle; but many readers took it as a defense of a man: Earl Browder, then head of the American Communist Party.

Even Phil Graham had to swallow hard when he read Alan's Earl Browder editorial. There were more than the usual angry letters from readers. Alan made this calm response in an editor's note: "The purpose of the editorial, which we regret did not seem to come through, was to show what a sorry mess we have come to when a Communist can be put in the public position of upholding political freedom and opposing the doctrine of guilt by association."

But Alan's courageous book — and the courage with which he daily assailed the witch-hunts of the 1950's in the *Post*, earned him something more: A place in the pantheon of those who spoke for reason in a time of hysteria; those who helped stiffen the liberal backbone; those who helped mobilize the political will to stop McCarthy — and McCarthyism — in their tracks. The names of those journalists ring like bells: Walter Lippmann, Ed Murrow, Elmer Davis, Alan Barth.

The second story is about his influence.

Relatively few journalists are fortunate enough to have an editorial platform such as the *Washington Post* from which to speak. Even fewer are talented enough to use that platform so well. Alan had that platform — and he used it well. Just as he spoke for reason and against suspicion in the 1950's he spoke — in the 1960's — for reason and against violence.

Over the course of his career Alan wrote more than a thousand editorials in support of tough Federal gun controls. In one period he wrote seventy-seven gun control editorials on consecutive days. The Congress

finally responded to his urging, and the President's urging, for gun control — but with a Federal Gun Control Law that was far less effective than either man had called for.

Alan did not win everything he wanted in his editorial crusade for gun control. But he did get this letter from one of his compatriots:

"Dear Alan:

Your editorials in the *Post* on gun controls all hit the mark. They did not pass unnoticed for I drew daily strength from them and they helped arouse the conscience of the Congress.

I deeply appreciated your tireless crusade and I wanted you to have one of the pens I used in signing the Gun Control Act yesterday.

Sincerely,  
Lyndon B. Johnson"

That short letter had a larger meaning. For it dramatized the fact that Alan, for thirty years, used his typewriter to conduct a thoughtful colloquy with Presidents, Supreme Court Justices, Senators and citizens. For thirty years, the great and famous of this town, as well as the rest of us, got the teachings of Alan Barth along with their scrambled eggs. And I use the word "teachings" in its best and broadest sense. For that is what Alan has been — and is — to all of us.

Henry Adams wrote that "a teacher affects eternity. He can never know where his influence stops." Alan may have thought he was just affecting current events. But current events have a way of expanding into history, and history into what Henry Adams was talking about. In this town, where people claw for power and influence, Alan — who is as gentle as a kitten — had the real thing.

Finally, a story about another quality of Alan Barth's. We might call it his warmth, or his affection. But let us come right out and use the proper word: his love.

For forty years, Alan and Joe Rauh ran a father-and-son softball game. It was played first in Falls Church, and later on the Hearst School field in Cleveland Park. I suspect they organized it not so much to teach boys how to play baseball as to teach busy men how to be fathers.

My sons and I played in those games many times. And from those games I learned several things: I learned, first of all, what dozens of lawyers and public officials have learned in other arenas: That it's never easy to pitch against Joe Rauh. I learned that Alan, in addition to his other talents, was a pretty good second baseman.

And I learned something else — something that made Alan an object of special affection for my boys and me. I learned that when Alan Barth is running the game, no boy is too young, or too small, or too awkward to play. For Alan Barth belongs to that school of baseball which says that everyone should have his chance at bat.

Alan Barth has never been one of those liberals who are only good at preaching. The values he has expressed in his editorials, he also lives. Perhaps that integrity — that wholeness — is the explanation for the fact that in a town full of angry, contentious people — people full of inner and outer turmoil — Alan has always been a man at peace. And there has never been the slightest doubt about his motives. Alan has fought not for glory, but for principle. The evidence for that lies in the fact that he almost never got a byline.

Such a life; such a career make the rest of us reflect upon our own lives, our own careers.

And so tonight, Alan, for your example and your friendship, a hundred professional wordsmiths are at a loss for words; a hundred unsentimental friends are full of sentiment; a hundred granite hearts are grateful to you for what you teach — and what you are. □

*A Special Message to*

# ANYONE WHO WANTS BETTER JOURNALISM

*(And That Includes Just About Everybody)*

Last year, Harvard President Derek C. Bok authorized a grant of \$100,000 to establish "Walter Lippmann House" to become the headquarters of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism, established 40 years ago to "elevate the standards of journalism." Harvard stipulated that the grant be matched by non-Harvard funds.

The house is a handsome, historic and spacious Cambridge, Massachusetts, landmark, built in 1836 by the College carpenter, Ebenezer Francis.

The Nieman Curator and staff, in consultation with several distinguished supporters of the program, have accepted the challenge to match the Harvard grant. They have also determined that additional funds will be required to renovate and maintain the structure, and to name the new headquarters in honor of the great American journalist, Walter Lippmann. Accordingly, a separate and restricted Lippmann Fund of \$400,000 is envisioned to cover costs of operation and upkeep of the house and grounds.

"Lippmann House" will henceforth provide space for all Nieman seminars; study and work space for Nieman Fellows; storage facilities for Nieman archives, and facilities for servicing Nieman seminars, receptions and conferences.

You are respectfully invited to contribute to this effort, a center for one of journalism's most prestigious institutions, in the name of one of its most respected figures and in the interest of a better-informed citizenry.



Sometimes, looking backward in the late light, one almost sees a pattern in the past. I did when I heard that Harvard University had bought the old Francis House in Cambridge for its Nieman Foundation for Journalism and was raising a Walter Lippmann Memorial Fund to endow it. I had been the first Curator (as Harvard calls it) of that foundation forty years ago and Walter Lippmann, already the most admired American journalist of his generation, was one of its begetters, advising the University on what should and should not be done with the Nieman bequest.

All this came together in my mind as I thought of the perfect propriety of a Walter Lippmann memorial housing a Nieman Foundation, which has now become one of the most famous journalistic institutions in the world. In those early days, when I was Curator, we lived in no such glory. We had the occasional use of a lounge in the Yard and we ate our weekly dinner in the back room of Joseph's restaurant in what was then called the Arts' Club in the Back Bay. But even then we were a phenomenon and it was to Walter Lippmann, as I have always believed, that we owed our distinction.

We were a journalists' school which was *not* a School of Journalism, and Harvard, though we could scarcely be said to belong to it, belonged to us. We could use its libraries and laboratories, sit in its classrooms, make friends and counselors of its professors, and generally educate and reeducate ourselves at its expense, and all because President Conant, persuaded by Walter Lippmann, had so conceived of the relation between journalism and the university in the contemporary world.

This I say was my belief at the time though I never discussed it. But of one thing there was no question. It was Walter Lippmann's example, whatever his advice may have been, which supported the foundation in its early, innovative years. He was not only a great modern journalist, he was also one of the first instances of what a modern journalist would have to be if journalism were to serve the new, vast, doubtful modern world.

—Archibald MacLeish

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Please make checks payable to Nieman Foundation—Walter Lippmann Memorial Fund. Your contribution is tax deductible. Thank you.

### **Walter Lippmann Memorial Fund**

Gifts from news organizations, friends of Walter Lippmann, Nieman alumni/ae and others have brought the fund to the two-thirds mark, more than \$260,000.

Donors will be invited to attend the formal dedication of Walter Lippmann House at a ceremony on September 23 in Cambridge.

