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## The Arabs And The Israelis: A Continuing Deadlock

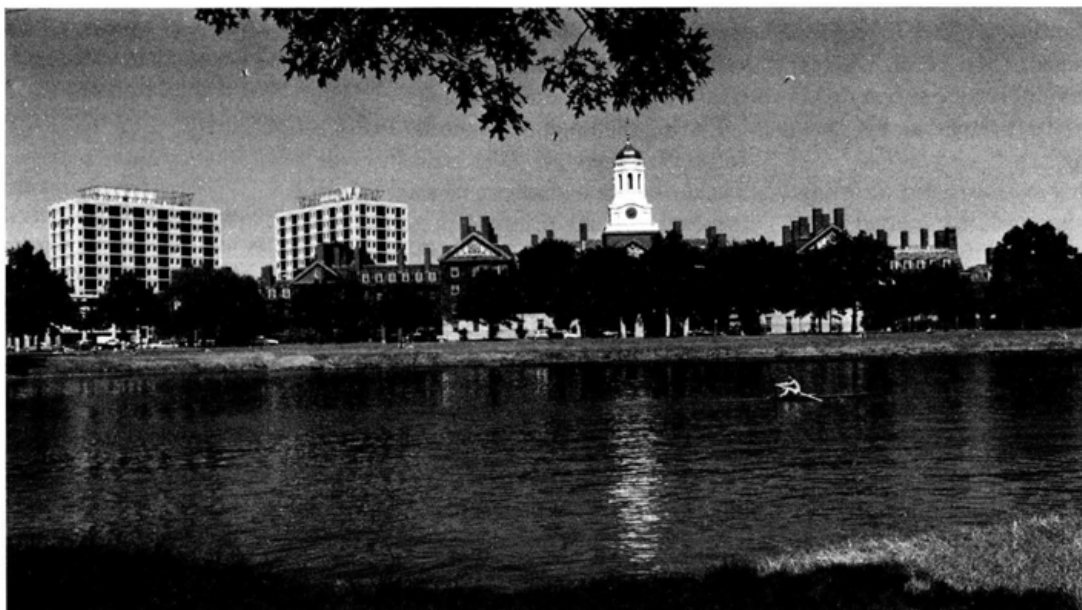
Norman Kempster

## Communications Today: They Ain't What They Used To Be

Edward Kosner

## Understanding Feiffer

Doug Marlette



*Nieman Class Of 1984 Appointed*

# Words Against The Wall

*Your grandmother and grandfather, your ancestry and your father, all of them brave Turks. Many times your armies have been the most glorious in the world. Turkish nation, Turkish nation, love your people with affection, destroy the foes of your country.*

Whether put the words of this folksong together years ago could not have imagined their impact today. The injunctions to "love your people with affection" and "destroy the foes of your country" have taken on a special irony. The Republic of Turkey is sentencing its own reporters to jail and winding constrictions on its press tighter and tighter. The government is seeing many members of its media as foes of the country, and acting accordingly.

Nadir Nadi, the publisher and chief editorial writer of *Cumhuriyet*, was convicted by a Turkish military court of "provoking the public to violate laws" on May 9th and sentenced to eighty days imprisonment. Mr. Nadi, who is 75, had recently undergone surgery and was unable to be present at his sentencing hearing.

The publisher was arrested after his newspaper was ordered closed for twenty-seven days, following the printing of an editorial that opposed the government's intention to abolish the Institute of Turkish Language and History.

NB: The editorial first appeared twenty-two years ago. Nadi had originally written and published it in 1961, when a previous government had threatened to close the Institute.

This past January Nadi wrote on the front page: "Readers will probably look at this and say, 'This man has wasted his life.'" He then reprinted the editorial verbatim with its criticism of the former

period's military regime for measures against the principles of Ataturk, founder of the republic.

The military prosecutor cited one line in the piece as particularly objectionable. It read: "Enlightened youth should take up arms against reactionary forces threatening the republic and Ataturk's reforms." Nadi said that the measures in 1961 were similar to those being adopted by the present government.

Two other *Cumhuriyet* employees, editor Oktay Gonensin and columnist Oktay Gabal, were sentenced in January to three months in prison for attempting to influence the electorate before the constitutional referendum held in December 1982. The charge was the result of an article in October titled "Our Duty As Citizens."

The history of the Turkish press might be likened to the topography of the country itself — peaks of great freedom, plains of lesser freedom, valleys of restriction, and occasional eruptions of volcanic violence.

During the reign of Mahmud II from 1808-39, when the Westernization of Turkey began in earnest, he established the first official printing press and a newspaper. Approximately forty years later, under Abdul-Hamid II's rule, freedom of speech was abolished and the press was censored in an attempt to prevent modern European ideas from spreading. Following the Balkan Wars and World War I, when the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923, journalists who had been critical of the former government were among the first to appear before the revolutionary courts.

With the rise and fall of subsequent governments, press conditions have sawed from periods of unprecedented

freedom to unyielding repression, with degrees of intensity in between, depending upon the country's leadership. Journalists have been in and out of jail; crowds have destroyed newspaper offices and printing presses; censorship has been imposed, lifted, and reimposed, as has martial law.

In the 1970's those in the media faced a dilemma. They could write freely after the general elections in 1973, but a few short years later they found themselves the targets of extremists in that time of near civil war.

Probably the most notable incident occurred in 1979 when Adbi Ipekci, editor-in-chief of the independent daily *Milliyet*, was shot to death near his home by a rightist terrorist — Mehmet Ali Agca. (Mr. Agca, at present in an Italian jail, is serving a life sentence for his 1981 assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II.)

An obituary of Adbi Ipekci described him as "a voice of sanity in a time of chaos." In an article, "Background to the Turkish Press," Sinan Fisek, a reporter with the *International Herald Tribune*, wrote:

Mr. Epekci's murder was perhaps the most important single political assassination in a period of violence that escalated to as many as thirty deaths a day.

Ironically, the death of Mr. Ipekci, who had spent thirty of his fifty years defending democratic values and freedom of expression, helped bring about the September 1980 coup and a government that has closed down newspapers for periods of time and sentenced some journalists to prison.

One of the first things the new government did was to close the newspapers — one rightist, *Hergun*, the other

*continued on page 42*

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# The Arabs And The Israelis: A Continuing Deadlock

Norman Kempster

**M**y dismal task this evening is to try to dispel some of the optimism which has crept into discussions of the Middle East situation. Despite encouraging developments in Israel's formal relations with Lebanon, I am afraid that the core problems of the region will not be solved soon. Wise policy-making in Washington might help, but it seems unlikely that even the best efforts by the United States can do much to produce a genuine peace.

Not long ago, President Reagan remarked that "no one elected the PLO" to represent the Palestinian people. His implication was that if the Palestine Liberation Organization was unable or unwilling to join in peace talks with Israel, the peace process could go on without Yasser Arafat and company. Under this plan, moderate Palestinian leaders could be found in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip who could join with Israel in a dialogue intended to revive the peace process.

I suppose the President was technically correct in commenting that no one — at least no Palestinians — had elected the PLO. The organization was selected as the representative of the Palestinian people by a summit conference of Arab heads of government and not by the Palestinians themselves.

However, if the President meant to imply that the PLO would not win a free election — should one be held among the residents of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip — he was fooling himself.

Despite the PLO's defeat in Lebanon and subsequent revolt among the guerrilla forces operating outside of Israeli-

controlled territory, support for the organization in the occupied territories is overwhelming. Reporters who talk to ordinary Palestinians, often in the privacy of their own homes away from the pressure of public opinion, find that most West Bank and Gaza Arabs continue to support the PLO. To be sure, there is some support for the Jordanian crown as well, but finding people who are prepared to cooperate with Israel — even to the extent of opening negotiations with Israeli officials — is extremely difficult. There aren't many around and they seem to have very little backing among their fellow Palestinians.

A few years ago Israel attempted to build up a moderate Palestinian leadership with which it had hoped to negotiate peace. With Israeli help, a group called the Village Leagues was founded by Mustafa Dudin, a former member of the Jordanian cabinet and a man of considerable substance, but despite his personal prestige, he has little following in the towns and villages of the West Bank. And he himself says he has no interest in negotiating a Palestinian autonomy plan with Israel that would permit that country to maintain its hold on the West Bank and Gaza. Dudin adds that it may be possible to talk the Israelis out of the West Bank, to negotiate with Jerusalem on plans for an independent Palestinian state. He points out — correctly — that Arafat has failed totally in his effort to obtain a Palestinian state by force of arms.

The Israelis know that the PLO — and to a lesser extent the Jordanians — enjoy far more support than the Village Leagues among the West Bank population. This is the primary reason why there have been no elections on the West Bank since 1976, when slates loyal to the PLO swept to victory in most of the towns of the territory. These municipal elections were to have been held again in 1980 but the Israeli military commander, Major General Benyamin Ben Eliezer, postponed them indefinitely. He said later that the voting was cancelled to avert a repeat victory by PLO backers.

Israel would like to have the world believe that the PLO won the 1976 elections because of intimidation by PLO toughs. There is some truth to this. Efforts, including death threats, were made to prevent rival candidates from running for office. But the election itself was conducted by the Israeli army which worked very hard to keep it as honest and free of intimidation as possible. In any event, the PLO candidates would have won.

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*Norman Kempster is Jerusalem bureau chief for The Los Angeles Times. In May 1983, he was awarded the second annual Joe Alex Morris Jr. Lectureship at Harvard University. The text of his talk given at the John F. Kennedy School of Government appears above in slightly edited form.*





American officials have been saying lately that Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and his Likud bloc government face significant opposition within Israel. They point to the Labor Party and to the Peace Now organization, both of which have indicated they would be willing at least to discuss President Reagan's September 1 Middle East peace formula, which was rejected by Begin and the PLO.

True, a formidable opposition exists in Israel's democratic process, but American officials seem to imply that the Israeli electorate is about to replace the hardline Begin government with a regime that is more disposed toward compromise. This interpretation is as far off the mark as is the search for Palestinian moderates. Although the debate within Israel is a vocal one, all of the available evidence indicates that the Likud and its allied parties toward the right of the spectrum enjoy a genuine majority among the Israeli electorate. And there is reason to believe this gap will widen in the future.

The simple fact is that there is very little support for moderation on either side of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The extremists are in control on both sides, for reasons that are built into the system. In this context, a moderate is someone who is willing to consider and to try to understand the positions of his opponents even if he is not prepared to embrace them. An extremist is one who will stick to his ideological position whatever happens. Moderates compromise; extremists don't.

By this definition, Menachem Begin must be classified as an extremist, even though at the Camp David summit he showed considerable tendencies toward moderation. Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat reached an agreement on a peace formula there which resulted in the return of the Sinai peninsula to Egypt. The Sinai was important to Begin, but not nearly so important as the West Bank.

The Middle East peace process now has reached the point where further progress can be made only if a permanent solution can be found for the future of the West Bank. This is where Begin's position is absolutely uncompromising. This is where Begin can be expected to take his stand.

On the Arab side, moderation is even less popular than it is on the Israeli side. Certainly in their relations with Israel, the Arabs have lost at every turn, usually as a result of their consistent refusal to accept less than their maximum demands. For instance, if the Palestinians had accepted the United Nations partition plan in 1947, they would have just celebrated the 36th anniversary of their statehood. As a rule, Arabs do not normally compromise on matters they consider important. It is one thing to haggle in the market about the price of a rug and quite another to negotiate over issues of honor. To have accepted half of Palestine in 1947 or to accept Israel's offer of limited autonomy today would be an unacceptable compromise of principle.

Moreover, in Arab politics there is a tradition of reaching decisions by consensus. In practice, this gives a virtual veto power to the most extreme elements because if all sides do not agree, there is no consensus. Under these circumstances, it is almost impossible for any Arab group to negotiate successfully with Israel. Yasser Arafat touched off a revolt against

his leadership within the PLO by merely considering — and rejecting — the possibility of a compromise with Israel.

There is, of course, much more to the Arab-Israeli conflict than the future status of the West Bank and Gaza and the 1.2 million Palestinians who live there. But the occupied territories have taken on a symbolic importance far out of proportion to their size or population. It is no exaggeration to say that the West Bank and Gaza are the core of the entire problem. If Israel and its Arab neighbors could agree on a solution to the Palestinian problem, all other disputes could be solved eventually. But without a settlement for the West Bank, Gaza and their Palestinian inhabitants, an overall peace settlement is virtually impossible.

Israel would prefer to avoid this conclusion and insists that disputes can be settled one by one, following the pattern of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty. But this appears to be a forlorn hope. The Palestinian problem has stood in the way of improving Israeli relations with other Arab nations and has even soured Israel's relationship with Cairo, the only Arab capital to welcome an Israeli ambassador.

Israel has suggested its own plan for the West Bank and Gaza, offering the local residents a measure of autonomy over internal affairs, while retaining authority over foreign policy and defense. This seems to be a nonstarter, at least as far as the Arabs are concerned. But, by advancing the proposal, Israel has tacitly acknowledged that peace cannot be achieved without reaching some sort of accommodation with the Palestinians.

It would be extremely difficult to carve up the West Bank in a way that would please both Arabs and Israelis, even with the best will in the world on both sides. The differences are so wide and the distrust is so deep that a solution would not be guaranteed even if moderates, prepared to compromise, were in power in Jerusalem and throughout the Arab world. But when both sides are controlled by extremists who are not even willing to talk to each other, the situation is almost hopeless.

To be sure, there have been some successes. The Egypt-Israel peace treaty was a remarkable achievement. And the troop withdrawal agreement signed by Israel and Lebanon is important even if Syria blocks its implementation. But neither of these agreements touch on the West Bank issue.

The Israel-Lebanon negotiations are illustrative of the difficulty in making peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Both Lebanon and Israel had every reason for wanting to reach a quick agreement on a plan for pulling Israeli troops out of Lebanon. The Israelis want to get out of Lebanon where they are suffering casualties every day. Lebanon wants to get foreign forces off its soil. And yet it took almost four months of intense negotiations and the intervention of the American Secretary of State to reach the agreement.

When the two sides cannot even agree on the objective to be sought, the task is even more difficult. For instance, consider the case of Israel and Jordan. Certainly neither side wants war. Jordan knows that it would almost surely be the loser in any conflict. And Israel knows that even a brief and mili-

tarily successful war would result in heavy casualties. Because of these realities, there has been no open warfare between the two countries for sixteen years. Nevertheless, no formal peace treaty exists.

Israel certainly desires such a treaty because it would mean formal recognition by another Arab state, increased international legitimacy, and a reduction in the drumfire of anti-Israel propaganda served up daily in Arabic, Hebrew, and English by Jordan radio and television, both easily received in Israel. But from Jordan's point of view, a formal peace treaty with Israel would be valuable only if it called for Israeli withdrawal from all or part of the West Bank. As long as Begin's government holds power in Israel, there is no possibility that Israel will agree to talk about the only thing that Jordan's King Hussein wants to discuss. And Hussein, although widely considered an Arab moderate, is an extremist on the issue of the West Bank.

In this impasse, the prospects for change in the foreseeable future are not encouraging. It is perhaps unfair to compare Israel's democratically elected government with the undemocratically selected leaders of the Arab world. But both the democratic and undemocratic processes are producing leaders who are reluctant to compromise. And in both cases, it appears that the leaders represent the majority opinion on the critical issues in dispute between Israel and the Arabs.

There is very little support anywhere in the Arab world for compromise with Israel, even when it can be demonstrated conclusively that the only alternative to accepting a little is to get nothing. Within the PLO and among its supporters in the West Bank and Gaza, compromise is even less attractive than it is to other Arab leaders. With the Israelis refusing even to talk to the PLO, there is little incentive for the organization to modify its hardline positions. Within the PLO, the internal political pressures all run the other way. Yasser Arafat faces a mutiny not because he is too extreme, but because some members consider him to be too moderate.

**I**n Israel, the political situation is more complex. Certainly a substantial body of public opinion is calling for a negotiated solution which could result in the surrender of at least some of the West Bank. But these moderates are in the minority. In a country with a democratically elected unicameral parliament, the majority rules. And that majority is extremist, at least when it comes to the future of the West Bank.

The most important factor in establishing the political climate in Israel is Menachem Begin. Throughout his long career, first as leader of the opposition and later as prime minister, Begin has been rigid in his demand for total Jewish control over what he calls Eretz Israel, the biblical land of Israel which includes all of the modern state and all of the West Bank and Gaza. In addition, it takes in much of Lebanon, part of Jordan, and a bit of Syria. Begin apparently is willing to pass up the territory in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. But he is determined to keep the West Bank.

Begin's policies haven't changed over the years. But the



*Settlers site a prefabricated structure in Elon Moreh in the West Bank.*  
WORLD WIDE PHOTOS

Israeli electorate has. Today, public opinion polls indicate that Begin remains the most popular politician in the country although his rating has declined a bit from its peak last year. There seems to be little doubt that if a new election were held, Begin's party and its coalition partners would again form the government.

More than most Israelis would like to admit, the politics of Israel is becoming the politics of ethnic groups and to some extent the politics of religion. The Sephardic Jewish community has become the majority in Israel. These people, many of them relatively recent immigrants, trace their roots to Middle Eastern countries and North Africa. The Ashkenazic Jewish community, which long dominated Israeli politics, is now in the minority.

Begin and his Likud bloc received about seventy percent of the Sephardic votes in the last election. The small religiously oriented parties which joined the Likud in the governing coalition got most of the rest. By contrast the liberal opposition — the Labor party and the small Shinui party — draws its support from the Ashkenazim who came originally from Europe and North America. The group which supports Begin is not only larger at present but it is growing faster than the group backing Labor. The Sephardic birth rate is higher and Sephardim make up a majority of the new immigrants.

At first glance, it is not easy to see why the Sephardic community would be attracted to Menachem Begin, who is almost a prototype of the Eastern European Ashkenazi, but Begin suffered politically at the hands of the Ashkenazic establishment in the early days of Israeli independence. As the leader of the opposition, Begin was so detested by Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, that Ben-Gurion said his name in public only infrequently and then only if he could not avoid it. During those same years, the Sephardic immigrants were subjected to what they considered ethnic discrimination by that same Ashkenazic establishment. Even today, while the Sephardim have become the largest group in the population, they

remain concentrated at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Of the approximate twenty percent of the Jewish population that falls below the poverty line, fully nine out of ten are Sephardic.

There is not time tonight to analyze the validity of the Sephardic complaints against the Ashkenazic leadership. It is enough to realize that the grievances are sincerely held and politically significant.

When the Sephardim became the majority in the mid-1970's, they gave their votes to Begin, who endured the insults of the establishment with them. Their support for him is real enough but probably even more important, the Sephardim voted against the Labor Party and its Ashkenazic leaders.

Moreover, the Sephardic majority supports Begin's policy of maintaining Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza. The reasons for this are both nationalistic and economic. Besides, most of the people advocating a territorial compromise that would mean giving up part of the West Bank, are affluent and well-educated Ashkenazim.

Recently, Amos Oz, an Israeli novelist and sometime journalist, wrote a newspaper article about his visit to a mostly Sephardic town. Oz, an Ashkenazic intellectual and a vocal advocate of relinquishing control of the West Bank and Gaza, encountered substantial hostility, as he no doubt knew he would. He related that Sephardic Jews told him that at present Arabs from the West Bank collect Israel's garbage and do other undesirable jobs. He said the Sephardim believed that if the West Bank were no longer under Israeli control, they would be doing the dirty work again, as they did in the years before 1967.

Oz is a member of the Peace Now organization, a large and well-established group lobbying for greater accommodation with Israel's Arab neighbors. The group favors some sort of accommodation regarding the West Bank. Some American policymakers, possibly reasoning by analogy with the peace groups which had a recognizable impact on U.S. policy near the end of the Vietnam war, anticipate that Peace Now will ultimately produce modifications in Israeli policy. I think this is unlikely. The reasons are mostly ethnic.

The membership of Peace Now is made up almost entirely of well-educated and well-to-do Ashkenazim. It is considered elitist even by Sephardic politicians who generally support its policies. Charlie Biton, for example, is a member of the Knesset; he was elected on the Communist ticket. Although Peace Now is non-Communist, Biton says he would like to cooperate with the organization on the West Bank. But Biton, who got his start in politics as the leader of a Sephardic protest group in a Jerusalem slum, says he finds it difficult to work with the Peace Now activists. He adds bitterly that Peace Now members will not talk to anyone with less than a Ph.D. degree.

Biton maintains that his fellow Sephardim generally vote for Begin and other nationalistic hardliners because of ethnic animosity toward Peace Now and the Labor Party. Biton's analysis is somewhat self-serving but it does contain an element

of truth. Probably there are a number of reasons why the Sephardim support Begin and shun the Labor Party, but combined, they point to extremist Israeli leadership for some time to come.

As long as the extremists continue to dominate the politics on both sides of the Arab-Israel conflict, there is little likelihood of an overall Middle East peace settlement. This leads to several conclusions:

► The construction of new Jewish settlements on the West Bank will continue apace. At present there are about 30,000 Jewish settlers living in about 100 settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, interspersed with an Arab population of more than 1.2 million. But many more housing units have been built and are about to be occupied. The Jewish population is growing steadily and is expected to reach 100,000 within the next few years.

At some point along the way, it will become almost impossible for a democratically elected Israeli government even to consider returning the West Bank to Arab control because so many Israeli citizens will be living there. Just in economic terms it becomes extremely difficult. When the Sinai was returned to Egypt, there were about 5,000 Jewish settlers living in the territory. Compensation payments to those people amounted to about \$350 million. If that same ratio of payments were applied to a population of 100,000, the compensation cost would be at least \$7 billion, almost one-third of Israel's gross national product. It is difficult to see how Israel could come up with that kind of money, even with generous American aid.

► Under these conditions, the Arabs living in the West Bank and Gaza will become increasingly desperate. As the Jewish presence appears more and more to be permanent, the Arabs will have to face the choice of either becoming docile subjects or militant fighters. Probably some will choose one and some the other. There is not much the Arabs can do to effect basic changes. But it would not be surprising if they turned increasingly to terrorist activities of the sort that were common in the West Bank and Gaza during the years immediately after 1967 — but have been relatively rare in recent years. Any increase in terrorism will surely be met by stepped up repression on the part of the Israeli authorities.

► There may be some negotiations and contacts between Israel and its Arab neighbors when this appears to be in the best interests of both sides. But substantial agreements are unlikely. A full-scale war is not likely but the situation will remain unstable and insecure. A war could start by accident at almost any moment.

I realize that I have offered no plan for action. I have none. Certainly all sides — especially the American government — must realize that they are dealing with extremists and act accordingly. Beyond that, I can only say that the situation will remain difficult. It is perhaps the curse of the journalist's trade to see why things are not working, but to be unable to fix them. □

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# The Cost of Competition In Network News

Daniel B. Brewster, Jr.

Two years ago at a lunch table reserved for reporters in the House of Representatives, Charlie Gibson, a correspondent for ABC News made the observation, "This business used to be seventy percent fun seventy percent of the time. Now it's less than thirty percent fun less than thirty percent of the time."

Gibson, widely considered one of the best young professionals in the business, was not simply bemoaning the unpleasantness of that particular day. Gibson had spent most of his morning — and was anticipating spending most of his afternoon — sitting on the cold marble floor of a Congressional office building waiting for some member of some committee meeting behind closed doors to step out and speak to the media about a subject the members had already agreed among themselves not to talk about publicly.

That frustrating situation for any reporter covering Congress is repeated week after week. It was the phenomenon that Gibson objected to — the futility of wasting time, not pursuing or developing other stories, because network producers are often more concerned about the competition than actual reporting.

Among the most dreaded and often heard words in a network news room are, "Why didn't you have the shot of 'X'?" CBS or NBC had it." When beat reporters are assigned unnecessarily to cover what the others are covering, original reporting is sacrificed. That is not to say that events do not exist which require the attention of all major news organizations. However, there aren't many Washington reporters who will contend that the credit gained for a good piece of independent reporting outweighs the criticism incurred for missing a short soundbite contained in a rival's story.

Competition may be the American way but in television news coverage the consequences can be treacherous. Just re-

cently, nationally televised news was the sole province of the three major networks with ABC entering the race last. Until the emergence of *Nightline* in 1980, the only daily network news programs taken seriously were the evening news broadcasts. Today, the picture has changed dramatically.

A vast proliferation of news and information services has occurred. The rivalry among the major networks and others encroaching on their once restricted turf has reached a feverish pitch. And, the furious pursuit of ratings has never been greater. How does this increased competition exacerbate problems inherent in the high stakes game of electronic news gathering?

Competition, of course, is not the root of all transgressions in television news. Indeed, public gains in programming variety and content are considerable. My purpose is only to question some of the dangers of increased competition, based on experience as a background reporter and assignment editor at ABC News and a correspondent covering Congress for the fledgling Cable News Network.

The most often-heard criticisms of national television news tend to focus on the same areas most adversely affected by competition run amuck. Those areas of vulnerability include *inaccuracy, sensationalism, excessive intrusion, and "pack journalism."* Some of the criticism is unwarranted but if the ill-effects of competition on these areas are allowed to continue unchecked, the charges against television news will likely become more severe.

The rush to get on the air first, to beat the opposition, is frequently an impediment to sound journalism. Among the pet hates of any newscaster is playing catch-up. While this anxiety is understandable, it can also lead to premature judgments, if not wrong decisions. The dilemma of speed versus accuracy applies differently to the fast-breaking story, particularly when reported live, than to the planned report.

In the first case, some error is almost inevitable. Access to information as an event is occurring is very limited unless the event is orchestrated in advance, such as a national political

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**The current competitive  
frenzy has become  
a temptress for  
inaccuracy, sensationalism,  
excessive intrusion,  
and pack journalism.**

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*Daniel B. Brewster, Jr., Nieman Fellow '83 and formerly with NBC News and Cable News Network, is currently in New York, writing for Embassy Pictures.*



convention. Furthermore, there is the problem of generally reliable sources passing along incomplete or wrong information which they believe to be true.

The attempted assassination of President Reagan illustrates the confusion that can arise out of an unanticipated breaking story. First, it was reported that the President had not been shot. Then, of course, it turned out that he was.

The sight of James Brady lying desperately wounded on the sidewalk outside the Hilton Hotel focused attention on his condition. CBS was the first of the three networks to report that Brady died. The story was confirmed by a CBS correspondent, Phil Jones, on Capitol Hill, based on information from an assistant to Majority Leader Howard Baker. The required second source was someone inside the hospital, according to Jones. Nonetheless, no one in a position of authority at the White House or the hospital confirmed the report. Why was it necessary to pronounce the President unharmed and Brady dead, when waiting a little while for more substantial sources would have revealed the facts?

Coverage of the ever-changing story in Lebanon also resulted in faulty conclusions. Following the massacres in Shatilla and Sabra, estimates of the number killed differed by more than 200. Furthermore, the most frequently quoted source was the Palestinian Red Cross, hardly an impartial entity. But the networks' demand for the scope of the atrocity as measured by body counts exceeded their concern for accuracy. Of course, less excusable than erring during a breaking story is the decision to move forward with a report that is not fully substantiated, simply because it's a potential scoop.

James Wooten of ABC, and formerly with *The New York Times*, closed a piece about Janet Cooke's fraudulent story for *The Washington Post* about a young heroin addict — for which she won and later returned the Pulitzer Prize — noting that journalists are not licensed by the government or any board of their peers. "Our only currency is our accuracy," Wooten concluded. Despite the network's efforts to fully realize that wisdom, the counterforce of competition does interfere.

While the failure to be accurate can be illustrated concretely, the issue of sensationalism is more elusive. Where does the line fall between spicing up a story to make it more interesting and blowing it out of any reasonable proportion? In fact, the only time that distinction becomes undeniably clear is when the overstatement is patently false.

Several months ago CBS News completed an in-house investigation of a documentary concluding that General William Westmoreland deliberately conspired to distort estimates of the enemy's troop strength during the Vietnam War. Westmoreland was accused of exaggerating to impress President Johnson and the Pentagon with America's progress. The General demanded a half-hour to respond to the broadcast. CBS refused, offering fifteen minutes instead. Westmoreland sued for \$120 million in damages.

Attempting to show its good intentions, CBS ultimately embarked on a comprehensive review of the program, ad-

mitting initially that certain CBS guidelines were not followed. The report found, among other things, that a "conspiracy" was not proven, that Wallace and producer George Crile coached favorable witnesses during interviews, and that answers to questions were edited and presented as responses to different questions although the meanings had not been substantially altered.

To those who recall the film *Network*, one of the most unforgettable parodies of the obsession for higher ratings showed a psychic participating in an evening broadcast. Impossible in the real world? Not so. Shortly after the attempted assassination of President Reagan, CNN aired a tape of psychic Tamara Rand, being interviewed in Las Vegas. Rand's remarkable prediction: a deranged young man would soon make an attempt on the President's life. Even more remarkable was Rand's claim that the tape was produced prior to the actual attempt. Within twenty-four hours the camera crew that shot the tape was apparently so amused by the hoax that they couldn't resist spoiling the fun. They admitted the tape was actually shot after the attempted assassination.

Sensationalism as hype or heavy-handed treatment of a story though not inaccurate could, if not curbed, ultimately erode the credibility of network news as much as getting the story wrong. ABC's Bob Berkowitz tells of sitting at his desk in the New York bureau and being summoned in person by a network executive who said actor Henry Fonda had just died. The network wanted an immediate report. Berkowitz headed for the wire machines but was cut off by the executive explaining this was to be a network bulletin, interrupting regular programming, and that he would be briefed as they walked to the studio.

No doubt Henry Fonda had achieved a prominent place in American cultural history, but to rush into the middle of regular programming with the announcement of his death could be construed as exaggerating its importance. Such interruptions might better be reserved for occasions when there is a compelling need to inform the public. Otherwise, what determines the limit if each network finds itself unable to resist demonstrating that it was the first to broadcast an interesting bit of information?

Another area in which network news fails to keep events in perspective occurs in the very format of the major evening news shows. Network broadcasts are limited to a half hour, minus eight minutes for advertising. Within that twenty-two minutes or so, there are requirements for reporting the top stories of the day, plus a mix of political news, foreign news, financial news, and preferably something of "human interest." That formula works nicely when world events cooperate.

News shows must respond to events instead of the other way around. Therefore, a difficulty arises when producers try to assign the appropriate emphasis to each story. On a day in which there are highly newsworthy occurrences around the world, the news must be presented in the same time frame it is on a dull day, when the high point in Washington might be a gift to the President of a large gobbler from the turkey farmers of America. The dramatic state of agitation among



network anchors remains constant regardless of content.

Finally, in covering Congress, if a correspondent wants to be squeezed into that half-hour broadcast, a story with theatrics usually outweighs one with theories. Congressional leaders of both political parties complained bitterly about television coverage during the 1981 and 1982 debates on the President's budget and tax proposals. Despite their fundamental disagreement over policy, they agreed in their condemnation of television news for turning the process into a horse race instead of reporting specific proposals. Of course, if they could have persuaded their colleagues to stop playing to the cameras by pounding their fists on tables in televisual expressions of outrage, the coverage might have been less colorful but more substantive.

Some incidents of reportage which tend toward the sensational also involve excessive intrusion or invasion of privacy. In the immediate aftermath of Air Florida Flight 90's crash into the Potomac River, reporters began a mad scramble to piece together what happened. Into the second day there were reports describing the rescue efforts and speculations as to the cause of the crash. New information became scarce among the horde of reporters reaching for any new angle.

CNN committed to live coverage of the salvage operation approximately every half hour. I was one of the correspondents on a rotating day and night shift. By late evening, little was visible through a thick snow storm except the floodlights of salvage workers focused on the water where the plane went in. A man approached me asking for help, explaining that his wife — a stewardess on the flight — was still under the ice. He wanted television news to report that the police would not allow him to remain on the site.

This conversation was overheard by a producer for ABC News. He then called over correspondent Tom Jarriel to do an interview. That had not been my first instinct although I admit in retrospect that it was the correct one for a journalist. The man asked for access to the media and ABC recorded the conversation on videotape. Any outbursts of emotion, although understandable, could be edited down later.

The prospect of ABC having something on tape that we did not prompted me to radio the assignment desk and ask that the live shot be delayed so that we too could record an interview. Word came back to put him on live. Though the husband retained his composure and repeated that he wanted to remain near the bridge — saying his pregnant wife hated the cold and he couldn't leave her — CNN ran a tremendous risk. Beyond that, we recklessly used someone who was in a sense also a victim, without any regard for his privacy.

Alternatively, there are cases when persons, usually public figures, bring attention to themselves but things still get out of control. This happened to Richard Allen who resigned as President Reagan's National Security Advisor after it was revealed that he accepted two watches and one thousand dollars from Japanese business concerns. Allen's house was staked out day and night. He couldn't pick up his morning

newspaper without having microphones jammed in his face. That may have been appropriate because Allen, though not elected, was answerable to the public and he wasn't giving many answers. But reports of cameramen in trees trying to capture Allen inside his house and the pictures of Allen angrily kicking litter left by crews on his front lawn at least suggest the media went too far.

Public demand for the intimate details of a public figure complicate the issue of privacy. Rumors of Edward Kennedy's infidelity and marital problems predate Chappaquiddick. But few things sent the Senate Radio and Television Correspondents Gallery into the stir that rumor of Kennedy's divorce did. Tipped off that something major was underway in the Senator's office, CNN set up a live remote truck on the Senate side of the Capitol. When given the first access to a press release announcing the divorce, I broadcast the news noting the number of his children, the length of time he was married, and made reference to a statement in the release saying both agreed to the decision. I concluded by saying that Kennedy's office would make no further comments. Throughout the rest of the day there were repeated calls from CNN to provide more details, including a request that I trace the ups and downs of Kennedy's marital relationship back to Chappaquiddick — certainly an impossible task.

Few people in the news business would agree that the private life of a public servant — immune from the scrutiny of news — begins when their activities no longer pertain to the public interest. Did Barbara Walters contribute to the news by asking former First Lady Betty Ford on camera whether she slept in the same bedroom as her husband? Fortunately for Ford the answer was an uncomplicated yes, but what about the families of others who must frequently conduct their lives in front of telescopic lenses?

Aggressive reporting techniques contribute to a perception that television often goes too far. Westmoreland complained that Mike Wallace and CBS told him that they wanted to talk about the war generally, then zeroed in on the enemy troop figures. Television personalities seem particularly susceptible to the accusation that they attack interview subjects as if adversaries.

One of the reasons behind such an aggressive approach in daily journalism relates to my concern about the pressures of competition and the consequences of missing something a competitor has got. Where that tack sometimes backfires is in the overall scope of reporting. Every day, every network, every syndicated news show, and every twenty-four-hour news service take into consideration the same datebook or listing of upcoming events provided by the wires. Story after story, reporters find themselves clustered together hoping, however unlikely, that they might get an extra fillip of news. That phenomenon is unaffectionately referred to as "pack journalism."

Excessive competition for the same "event" cripples reporters who want to run down a lead and prevents them from

developing background material. Those who make the assignments, often from headquarters away from the action, would rather be left unexposed than take a chance by trusting the best judgment of the beat reporter who knows the territory.

Though a network is loathe to follow on the coattails of a competitor, pack journalism can take the form of playing catch-up even in cases where it is not warranted. Much to ABC's initial dismay, CBS correspondent John Ferrugia broke a story last year about a Justice Department investigation of alleged homosexual activities between members of Congress and adolescent pages. ABC's Carol Simpson had been working on the same story for several weeks and had interviewed many of the same people but ABC had not deemed the story ready for air. Not surprising, the day after the CBS report, ABC broadcast Simpson's findings. Was that much additional information gleaned in the twenty-four hours following weeks of reporting? Shortly after the furor erupted it was revealed that the key witness flunked lie detector tests about his allegations.

Another obvious danger of pack journalism involves senior and usually more respected reporters setting the tone for coverage of an event. Network executives watch their competitors' broadcasts. In an industry that is increasingly susceptible to bestowing celebrity status there is less tolerance for those reporters who might see things differently than the big names. The comment "X had it, why didn't you?" is all too common. But the more reporters who view a story from the same vantage point, the greater the vested interest, leading at times to group fulfilled prophecy.

Ironically, those executives best equipped to guard against the excesses of competition are in short supply, partly because of competition. This is not to focus on those who lost their jobs because of sagging ratings. Never before has the amount of news programming approached the proportions that exist today. All three networks added daily news programs in the last two years and there are now three all-news channels available on cable. Unless this represents an extraordinary simultaneous re-evaluation of Americans' desire for current affairs, it's easy to conclude that news divisions are struggling to avoid being outflanked.

However, an underlying problem created by the increased demands of more programming is a tremendous talent drain, particularly at the top. Experienced news executives find their limited time stretched over almost unlimited programming. And, the people required to staff the new programs are often relatively inexperienced.

Senior producers at ABC News admire the talent of Av Westin, yet it was Westin who oversaw development of *The Last Word* — a program anything but admired by news professionals or the audience. The foul-up, according to close observers, was that Westin was asked to cover too much territory. Westin is executive producer of *20/20* in addition to his duties as a network vice president. *The Last Word* was ultimately cancelled in favor of a more straight-forward interview program called *One on One*. It, too, was cancelled.

Not that networks are the sole province of maladroitness

practices and mediocre programs. A history of rapid turnovers and bad management marred the first two-and-a-half years of the CNN Washington bureau. In that time no less than five people held the title of Bureau Chief. The most accomplished person to hold the position during those early months was George Watson, a former ABC bureau chief in London, Moscow, and Washington. Watson, according to friends, left CNN because of an intolerance for a system dominated in its Atlanta headquarters by too many people with too little experience. He later returned to ABC as a vice president.

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## Experienced news executives find their limited time stretched over almost unlimited programming.

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CNN's third bureau chief, Jerry Levin, began his short-lived tenure by explaining to employees how excited he was with his new appointment because he had never before worked in Washington. Within a month Levin demanded of Carol Wiik, an intern on the assignment desk, that she attempt to arrange an interview with a member of Congress who served both on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Budget Committee so as to handle two stories at once. Unlikely, Wiik explained, offering a brief history lesson and the observation that the dilemma existed despite a warning to assignment editor Jim Rutledge that CNN was spreading itself too thin on Capitol Hill. Thus, it came as no surprise when Levin announced he was leaving Washington for a new assignment. Displaying an Italian/English dictionary, Levin said he was particularly excited by the new challenge of becoming Rome Bureau Chief because he'd never been to Europe before. Another CNN reshuffling prevented his departure and Levin was dispatched to Chicago to head up the bureau there.

These examples are only to illustrate the current lack of filters to protect against the potentially ill effects of the current competitive frenzy. It is easy to understand how competition becomes a temptress for inaccuracy, sensationalism, excessive intrusion and pack journalism. It is less clear how to guard better against these problems in the current competitive environment. Despite high standards, abuses do occur when news organizations reach too far. Therefore, news executives must be particularly careful to insure that competition does not breed irrational responses.

An approach anchored more in reason and less in gunslinging would require some changes in attitude. Why not accept that on occasion one outfit will be beaten by another because

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*Frank Scherschel's staff were all issued new Speed Graphics around 1940, and took the occasion to pose for a group photo on the roof of the Milwaukee Journal building at the height of their fame as the most progressive photo staff in America. Left to right: Elmer Staab, Fred R. Stanger, Foster C. Stanfield, J. Robert Taylor, Edward Farber, Ivan J. Mashek, Hugo V. Gorsky, Joseph Scherschel, Frank J. Scherschel, Harris W. Nowell, Robert J. Boyd, and Robert H. Dumke.*

Elmer Staab

# Frank Scherschel and The Milwaukee Journal

Ellis Herwig

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The visual and technical sophistication of today's news photography is built on the pioneering work of a Depression-era newspaper staff of photographers and their dynamic leader, now almost forgotten.

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When 19-year-old Frank J. Scherschel landed the job of chief photographer at *The Milwaukee Journal* in 1926, his new employers could not have guessed that the brash teenager would become one of the most innovative leaders in the history of photojournalism.

In fact, the *Journal* didn't even know how young their new chief photographer was. "I lied like hell to get the job," Scherschel was to admit years later. "I told them I was 22."

What the *Journal* did know was that photography was becoming a significant part of the news business. Papers like the *New York Daily News* and the Hearst tabloids were expanding their photo departments, sending photographers equipped with the new 4x5 Speed Graphic and flash powder out onto the streets along with their reporters to cover sensational news. "The heat was on from the editorial department," recalls Harris W. Nowell, who had joined the *Journal* in 1918, bringing the photo staff up to two. "Frank's predecessor was a stick-in-the-mud. He wasn't producing and the competing *Wisconsin News* was giving them trouble."

Scherchel's experience had come fast in those early days of news photography. Beginning as a camera salesman in a Chicago department store, he had worked for Hearst's International News Service and a succession of four newspa-

pers. Faced with the necessity of improving their photography and impressed with Scherschel's experience, *Journal* executives gave him carte blanche to build a new photo department.

Photojournalism offered enormous opportunities for ambitious newcomers in the mid-1920's. There were no rules to break. Only the most obvious steps had been taken in the new field. "It was a good time to be doing newspaper photography," observes Edward W. Thompson, the *Journal*'s first picture editor and later managing editor of *Life*. "Most newspapers used pictures to prop two columns of type apart. They didn't care what was in them. At the *Journal*, we cared very much."

What history newspaper photography did have behind it in the mid-twenties came from the craft of reporters, not photographers. Photography was strictly an adjunct to the often-yellow journalism of the day, culminating in the famous 1927 *Daily News* photo of murderess Ruth Snyder's execution in the Sing Sing electric chair.

Except for such grotesque applications, there were no defined priorities for news photographers. The idea that quality photography should have a place in photojournalism was all but visionary. In Germany, picture magazines were in a crude experimental stage while the new 35mm Leica was a rich man's toy. In America, the best photography was the studio work of such New York fashion and illustrative photographers as Edward Steichen and Lejaren á Hiller.

Scherchel set out to make photojournalism a profession. Years later he would write: "Sometime, somewhere, the perfect photographer will be found. He will have boundless energy, never want to eat, never miss a picture, and will always get correct names and addresses. He will be able to reach above

the crowd to get his shot. He will contract to invisibility when he should not be seen. Everyone will love him, including his family, which will seldom see him, for even this superman will always be on the job.

"But until that man appears, the common pounds of flesh and mind will have to get along. Not so long ago, the news photographer was a dumb tough guy. He no longer is dumb and seldom is tough. He has learned, and so has his newspaper, that his job is a key one. He meets more readers than any other employee and must be the paper's ambassador. He has to be a psychologist, know when to use flattery and when to be as hard-boiled as a picnic egg... He knows that a picture missed is a picture never obtained." (*Graphic Graflex Photography*, Morgan and Lester, New York, 1940)

Daring exploits characterized the beginning of Scherschel's *Journal* career. A few years after his hiring, he described his worst assignment: "It was in December, several degrees below zero, a real blizzard blowing, and the lake was heaving. A lake steamer trying to make port rammed into the end of the pier at Port Washington. I had to get a picture of it, which meant that I had to walk on that pier, about a half mile. The entire pier was coated with several inches of ice and it rounded up on each side like a culvert, leaving a semi-level surface about a yard wide for one to walk on.

"The wind was blowing a gale. Snow nearly blinded me. Dozens of times I was nearly swept off that icy pier into the lake by waves that lashed over it or by the wind. And remember, I was lugging my camera equipment. There was nothing to hold onto. Had I slipped, I could never have saved myself. On and on and on, it seemed like several miles. Finally I got there, set up my camera and snapped several pictures. Then back to

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shore over the same treacherous route. I was scared through and through and I'll bet I didn't thaw out for a week." (*Milwaukee Journal*, Sept. 24, 1930)

When Scherschel arrived, Milwaukee was the epitome of Midwestern middle-class respectability and the *Journal* was the paper of choice for most of its industrious, thrifty citizens. Edward Farmer, who joined Scherschel's photo department in 1937, recalls, "The *Journal* was a family paper in a family city where probably ninety percent of the homes subscribed to the *Journal*. You didn't have competition for street sales and there were few commuters to read the paper. This was different from Chicago and other areas where spot news and big headlines were built on the competition of the marketplace. The idea of what constituted a good news picture was considerably different for that reason alone."

Unlike the hard-news-oriented editorial photo department heads of the Chi-

cago and New York newspapers, Scherschel perceived that purely news pictures would constitute only a minor portion of the visual fare of *The Milwaukee Journal*. He broke subjects into four categories: fast-breaking, thrilling news (the rarest kind of assignment); sports photography; society, fashion, commercial, and other specialized illustration; and the routine assignments constituting at least eighty percent of a newspaper photographer's work. It was in these last three areas — the ones most neglected by other papers — that Frank was determined to see his growing staff excel.

Scherschel's concern for quality photography at the *Journal* coincided with a managerial anomaly rare in the newspaper business: photography came under the jurisdiction of the mechanical department; Scherschel's immediate boss was not the managing or city editor, but Mechanical Superintendent John Keating. Schooled in the European tradition of quality craftsmanship, the pressmen and photoengravers of the *Journal* were

more concerned with technical quality than journalistic timeliness.

"The mechanical department didn't care much about news," observes Harris W. Nowell. "If they thought a picture could be reproduced better the next day, well, they'd just hold it till then. We could have been much more aggressive as far as news was concerned if we had been under editorial."

However, the *Journal* mechanical department supported quality photography with a commitment rare in editorially controlled photo departments. "Editorial departments notoriously had no concern about equipment," observes Ed Farber. "They wouldn't even buy new typewriters for their reporters. The idea of capital equipment expenditures for photo departments was not in the background of people who were not production minded. Editorial people didn't understand the value of tools."

"The *Journal* would give a photographer any tools he could reasonably justify some use for. But, you'd damn well better not have any excuse for not producing. You couldn't come back without a picture and say, 'That's the wrong lens,' or, 'We couldn't do it with this camera.'"

The *Journal*'s photo department was to add to the independence and individuality of the photographers in other ways as well. Observes Farber, "The photo department not only had independence from the problems of being under the editorial department, they were independent in terms of their job security. You didn't have to kowtow to any specific person in editorial. If he didn't like what the photo department was doing, he had to justify his complaint because he was justifying it to another division of the company."

In an era where many news photographers clung to 5×7 Graflexes, flash powder, and glass plates after the introduction of the 4×5 Speed Graphic, sheet film, flashbulbs, and the 35mm camera, the technical orientation of the *Journal* photo department was to set an example of expertise that was the envy of other photo departments. Ed Thompson remembers paying a visit to the New York *Daily News* photo lab in



Milwaukee *Journal* photographer Elmer Staab shoots Packers football action with a one-shot color camera in the 1940's. Hefting the Graflex is the late Neils Lauritzen. Notice the long lens used on a 4×5 Speed Graphic by the unidentified photographer in the background. While clumsy, the one-shot Curtis Color Scout gave three color separation negatives that could be used for immediate plate-making. Run of press color at the *Journal* called for fast darkroom turnaround, keeping the Curtis in use long after the availability of conventional color films.

The Milwaukee *Journal*





Color photography began appearing the Milwaukee Journal in the 1920's. Staff photographer Jules Rogas is shown in 1928, using a Deardorff view camera with a sliding back for making direct color separation negatives of lotus beds in Wisconsin's Horseshoe Lake. This technique could only be used with motionless subjects, since all three exposures had to be in perfect register. Moving subjects called for the use of one-shot cameras or Dufaycolor film.

The Milwaukee Journal

the mid-1930's. "Get out of here," Ed remembers being told. "You guys are better than we are." When *Life* and *Look* made their appearances in the mid-1930's, they were to adopt the *Journal's* sophisticated photographic approach as their own. The list is long and impressive: Synchronized multiple and high-speed flash, available-light reportage, color, creative use of long and short lenses, and both portable and studio electronic flash equipment.

As important as technical innovation was the status Frank Scherschel was determined to give photography at the *Journal*. "Frank was completely immersed in photography. He just ate and slept it," remembers his younger brother Joe, now with *National Geographic*. "He could talk photography to any level. If it was just a young kid starting out, he'd

take just as much time and just as much effort with that person as someone on his staff, to try to encourage him to do something different. He had the faculty of being able to express himself, to point out what made the difference between a good picture and a bad picture.

"To learn a technique is only a small part of what [good photography is] about, compared to understanding the world around you, what it means and what is significant. Frank had that sixth sense of being able to anticipate what might happen in a situation and the significance of it."

Scherchel's articulation of photographic values was not self-promotion. Many of the photographers he was to hire did not come from photographic backgrounds, so Frank was their teacher as well as their boss. Elmer Staab, who

eventually became chief photographer himself, described in the 1943 *U.S. Camera Annual* how he happened to become a *Journal* photographer:

"Most photographers explain they became photographers because they bought a camera, made a picture, sold it, and started down the road to fame immediately. Not me. I became a photographer because Franklin D. Roosevelt became president of the United States back in 1932. If Roosevelt had not been elected, there would not have been a National Recovery Administration (remember it?) and I would not have become a photographer. I was an errand boy in the dispatch department of the *Milwaukee Journal*. NRA did something about those million hours news photographers work a week. Another man was needed on the *Journal* staff, so I went



Ed Farber poses in 1941 with his thirteen-pound battery-powered Strobflash electronic flash unit. Designed for use by Milwaukee Journal photographers, the unit incorporated a triggering relay that reproduced the characteristics of flash bulbs rather than the non-delay X-sync of today. Since the flash tube was mounted in the same screw base as a flash bulb, the Strobflash could replace the bulb in the flash gun and be used interchangeably, without any modification, with bulbs.

down the corridor from the dispatch department and smack into the photo studios."

Rather than drawing on the glass plate and flash powder standards of spot news photographers, Frank Scherschel turned to photography's contemporary masters for examples to follow. "In the early days, there were no photo magazines," says Joe Scherschel. "Frank did a lot of work with the *Journal's* fashion editor, Aileen Ryan. She showed him the work being done then in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. That's where Frank's art was really developed." Ed Farber remembers Frank telling the staff that the fashion magazines had the best photography anywhere; photographers should read them regularly and learn to copy the studio chiaroscuro styles of Steichen, Horst, and Bruehl.

The batteries of incandescent lights that were standard equipment in the New York photography studios of the 1930's could not be taken on newspaper assignments. In the days when the top speed of black-and-white films was 50

ASA, available light shooting was seldom possible. Although Frank was to provide the *Journal* with a studio as sophisticated and well-equipped as any in New York, slow films and slow lenses (the standard 135mm Tessar lens for the 4×5 Speed Graphic was an f/4.5) allowed quick and convenient multiple-source lighting on location only with photography's newest tool — flash bulbs.

Introduced to the U.S. in 1930, flash bulbs soon began replacing flash powder, previously the only high-power portable photographic light source available. Horror stories of the dangerous powder abounded. Former *Journal* photographer Ivan Mashek describes the night that fellow staffer Bob Boyd covered a fire: "He had put the powder in the Imp Gun [a special powder gun that synchronized with the Speed Graphic's focal plane shutter] and was putting the cap back on the powder bottle when he looked up just in time to see a spark heading down into his flash pan. He ducked his head just in time as the powder went off — and so did his eyebrows and part of his moustache."

Photographers learned not to carry flash powder in bottles: Explosions could fill the air with hot glass splinters. "We'd transfer the powder from the bottle to a cardboard container that had a cork in it. We'd hold the flash pan in our right hand, take the cork out with our teeth, pour the powder in with our left hand and put the cork back in with our teeth," recalls Mashek, who describes his ultimate flash powder assignment:

"We had a Christmas Tree lighting ceremony on Wisconsin Avenue. [Staff photographers] Elmer Staab, Bob Dumke, and I covered it. One of them said, 'Let's go over with Ivan and set up three cameras. We'll get one shot, get it all over with at once and go home early.' That was the kind of cooperation that went on then."

"Dumke had a special pan for his flash powder. He was on one part of a hotel balcony and I was on the other. He set off two ounces of powder — you were never supposed to use more than

an eighth of an ounce — and we lit up the whole street, including the court house two blocks away while everybody's shutters were open."

"But mine was the only shot that was any good because both of the other guys were on the part of the building where Dumke shot the flash. The concussion [of the exploding powder] was so strong that both of them got camera movement."

Flash bulbs were convenient, relatively safe (early, uncoated bulbs only occasionally exploded), and offered both shutter synchronization and multiple source lighting via extra bulbs on extension cables. Multiple flash was to bring New York-style studio lighting schemes to *Journal* feature assignments. With the fashion photographers' standards to aim for, Scherschel expected the potential of multiple flash to be exploited.

Studio quality multiple flash was to become a trademark of the *Journal*. Frank described a particularly intriguing flash bulb advantage in the 1940 *U.S. Camera Annual*: "Not only have flash bulbs become the news cameraman's life saver on many assignments, but, in addition, flash bulb extensions have taken care of surplus subjects on some news assignments. Before flash bulbs, unwanted subjects were placed on the end and cut off the picture in printing. Now they are requested to hold extensions. In this capacity they are known as 'vice presidents.'"

Complex lighting schemes made posed pictures a necessity. Ed Farber was to observe years later that he and his fellow *Journal* staffers "accepted the privilege and responsibility of assembling the elements of a news photograph just as a reporter assembled the facts and quotations in a story. The pictures were intended to tell a story, tell it quickly and accurately, and tell it better than words. Not many subscribed to the present-day myth that unposed photographs are necessarily honest, or that posed photographs are necessarily dishonest."

"Most indoor shots were made on a tripod so open flash techniques could be used (open shutter, flash lamps, close shutter, thus getting 100 percent of the

light from the flash bulb). Good lighting made for good reproduction in the newspaper. An extra bulb for a back-light could save retouching time and expense (the *Journal* once put out five editions a day), so the photos were lighted to accommodate the limitations of the reproduction medium, a philosophy sadly in need of revival today.

"You carried a lot of stuff — Scotch tape, chalk, big fat crayons, thumb tacks, string — anything you might need to make something to get some background," recalls Farber. "You'd tack things up, put up signs, anything to keep pictures from being the same old stuff." Ed once improvised an extra-high stack of pancakes at a children's supper by jamming a pencil through the pile to keep it upright.

The short flash duration of early bulbs allowed synchronization only with the front shutter of the then-universal press camera, the 4×5 Speed Graphic. The top speed of this Compur leaf shutter was only 1/200 second. The camera's rear focal plane shutter allowed speeds up to 1/1000 second, but a longer flash duration was necessary for synchronization. Ivan Mashek remembers how the *Journal*'s Bob Dumke began improvising a faster flash: "When they came out with the wire-filled Wabash #1 and #2 bulbs, Dumke took them over to the Milwaukee School of Engineering

and checked them out. He found that the flash duration was longer than expected, so he went home and made the first focal plane synchronizer to allow 1/1000 second exposures with the Graphic's back shutter." Since the bulbs' duration was still not long enough to cover the travel of the big shutter, Dumke's gun used *two* bulbs, one firing a split second before the other, to give a complete exposure.

The superiority of the Wabash brand of flash bulbs gave *Journal* management a new reason to stand behind the photo department. Ed Farber remembers when General Electric executives paid the paper a call. Why wasn't the prestigious *Journal* photo department using *their* bulbs? Because the Wabash bulbs were better, they were told. Then the G. E. executives got angry and threatened to withdraw G.E. advertising from the *Journal*. The paper's response was immediate: G.E. advertising would no longer be *accepted!* The staff went on using Wabash bulbs and G.E. learned a few lessons in respect for Frank Scherschel's staff. "That kind of independence wasn't possible for many papers in the Depression," adds Farber.

By the late 1930's, special long-duration focal plane flash bulbs and factory-manufactured synchronizers were on the market and Frank, it seems couldn't get enough of a good thing. The book *Synchroflash Photography* (Morgan and Lester, New York, 1939) observed that "Frank Scherschel, of *The Milwaukee Journal*, one of the earliest experimenters with focal plane synchronization, loads his camera down with a Kalart Speed Flash, an Abbey Flashgun and the Smeaton Focal Plane Synchronizer. Scherschel keeps them for quick use when necessary."

By the mid 1930's, the *Journal* was publishing up to 700 photographs per week and the photo staff was the best equipped in the country. Photographers went on assignment in company cars with company-supplied 4×5 Speed Graphics, eighteen film holders and a flash gun with multiple extensions. For sports photography, the standard long-distance camera was the massive big Bertha: a 4×5 or 5×7 Graflex with



Testing out a new flash unit, *Journal* photographer Bob Boyd jumps and clicks his heels in this 1940's shot in the photo department.

The Milwaukee Journal

anything from a 28- to a 40-inch (700mm to 1,000mm) lens. The favorite position of this stand-mounted camera was at the top of the stands at a football or baseball game, shooting down into the action.

Thirty-five millimeter available light photographs by Bob Dumke and Frank Scherschel ran alongside 4×5-shot pictures. In this era of large-format news photography, 35mm cameras were regarded as toys by most newspapers (the *New York Daily News* threatened to fire any photographer using a format smaller than 4×5). Time, rather than quality considerations, kept 35mm from supplanting 4×5 at the *Journal*. Thirty-five millimeter required a twenty-minute developing time versus seven for 4×5, and rush prints could be made from wet 4×5 negatives when necessary. This didn't keep Frank from seeking 35mm wide angle perspective from 4×5. Joe Scherschel recalls his brother custom-modifying a Speed Graphic to take a 65mm super side angle lens. Frank called it the "Rubber Eye."

"Frank was so engrossed in his work that he never really had hours," recalls Joe. "He could walk in on you at any time of the day or night. He might leave at 6 o'clock in the evening, go to a movie and stop by the shop later to see what was going on. It always kept



A sock of the jaw at a Golden Gloves boxing match in Milwaukee appeared in the February 12, 1941 Milwaukee Journal. It was shot by Ed Farber, using his twenty-five-pound portable Strobflash, 4×5 Speed Graphic.



everybody on guard.

"He had a faculty of always walking in at the wrong time. One of the first assignments I ever got to do was after a year at the Art Center School when I came back to work as an inside guy. Frank called me at home and told me to stop off in Washington Park on the way in because some tree had fallen across the road — a very simple picture. It was the first time I'd ever had a newspaper assignment and I was very nervous. I took a very careful light reading — and I overexposed by four stops!

"Back in the darkroom, Bob Dumke saw what happened and felt sorry for me. He mixed up some reducer so the negative would be good enough to make a print from. Sure enough, Frank walks in just when we were doing it. He said, 'Goddamnit, I *knew* I shouldn't have paid any attention to those portfolios you get out of school!'"

Frank was demanding of his staff: Sometimes his demands got the better of him. The *Journal* was (and is) a non-union paper whose employees were allowed to buy company shares. In the

1930's, the paper was highly profitable and this arrangement earned extra money for staffers (Farber recalls fellow photographer Bob Boyd estimating thirty percent returns on his *Journal* stock in 1937), but they had no security from Scherschel's anger when Frank felt that their work had not measured up to his standards. Longtime *Journal* photographer Foster Stanfield remembers the time Frank fired him:

"I had eight or nine jobs one night and I had to be back at the office with part of this stuff for the artist to work on for the early edition next day. The first three jobs I went on, I had to wait so long that I either had to come in with those and miss the rest of the jobs or go ahead with the rest of the jobs and not be in on time for the artist to work on them. They loaded me like that practically every night.

"The next day, Frank comes rushing into the darkroom and says, 'What the hell happened to you last night? How come you didn't get in with your stuff for the next day?' I said, 'You want to know where the hell I was? I had nine

jobs. Three of them held me up.'

"Frank said, 'Where were you at 9 o'clock?' I said, 'If you have to know, I don't remember,' and Frank said, 'If you can't remember, get your stuff and get out of here!'

"So I was gone for about a week and I thought it over a bit, walking the floor nights. We had the six-day bike race in town at the time and I would go over there and sit around, thinking maybe Frank would show up. Finally, one night about a week later, Frank called me up and said, 'Would you come over to see me? I'm at home.' So I did and he said, 'I found out what happened to you that night and I'm sorry I canned you. I want you to come back.'

"Well, I hugged him and I went back. I worked there for thirty-three years.

"He was a wonderful guy to work for. You'd be on tough jobs and he'd come out and work with you. He was always so appreciative when it was over. Everybody loved him, but you worked your tail off. That's what made the *Journal* photo department so great."

Photographer Hugo Gorsky remembers Frank's idea of how to kill time on a trip: "I recall going to Chicago with Frank to shoot fashion pictures. On the way, he brought some books for me to read out loud so we could both benefit. This particular book was on composition and the art of photography. That's the kind of guy Frank was. He ate, slept, and lived photography."

Frank's love of photography was matched by deep loyalty to his photographers. "I remember a time," said Ivan Mashek, "when there was an economy move on at the *Journal*. Every department was told to let one employee go. Well, Frank went before management to defend his staff. He argued so convincingly that he not only didn't have to fire anyone — he got authorization to hire two *more* photographers!"

Frank Scherschel was also aware of his shortcomings. Former *Journal* picture editor Stan Kalish remembers: "Frank was a fellow with very limited formal education. He was quite sensitive about that. When we'd go out on a story, Frank would always say, 'Do you want me to drive while you read to me?'



The Milwaukee *Journal* photo studio was as modern and well-equipped as any in New York. It was in constant use for fashion and food photography. In this picture, Hugo Gorsky photographs a women's page illustration of a lady with a lobster using a one-shot Curtis Color Scout camera. At center is *Journal* women's department editor Jane Farly.



Carefully posed character portraits were a photographic staple in the 1930's and 1940's. This multiframe portrait of an elderly member of the Wisconsin Salvage Collection Union (which collected junk for U.S. defense industries) is a classic example of Journal staff photography of that genre. Ed Farber

I would and then he'd ask questions about what I'd read."

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"How beautiful! I wonder how the *Journal* gets its color photographs?" This question is common enough among readers of *The Milwaukee Journal* Roto-Art picture section every Sunday and so the accompanying picture [see page 15] is printed in order to make clear, in part, how these pictures are obtained. Mr. Jules Rogas, the *Journal's* color photographer, is shown hip-deep in the waters of Horseshoe Lake, taking the photographs of the lotus beds which are reproduced in full color on page three of this issue. A description of the technical process involved would be of little interest... however, the reader will appreciate the difficulties which the photographer encounters in quest of suitable subjects for his camera."

Appearing in the September 23, 1928, *Milwaukee Journal*, this statement was very much an understatement. Rogas is depicted using a Deardorff view camera equipped with a tri-color sliding back, shooting direct color separation negatives from which color engraving plates

would be made. Color photography in the 1920's and 1930's was an arcane skill practiced by a handful of specialists prior to the availability of sheet Kodachrome in 1937. One of these specialists was the *Journal*, where color sections were running regularly in the 1920's. In 1937, the paper was the first to print color alongside black-and-white on the same presses ("ROP" color).

Before the availability of sheet Kodachrome in 1937, live subjects called for the long-forgotten Dufaycolor and Agfa-color Ultra "screen" color processes. Similar to the earlier but less effective Lumière Autochrome, this "additive" color was the opposite of Kodachrome-style subtractive processes: Color at any one point of the image was composed of three close-grouped primary-color dots that would merge in the eye. While quality didn't approach Kodachrome, processing could be done in any dark-room with black-and-white chemicals.

An alternative to the questionable quality of Dufaycolor and the processing delays of sheet Kodachrome (which had to be returned to Kodak in Rochester, N.Y.) was the one-shot camera that exposed three negatives simultaneously, each through a different primary-color filter. Long the trademark of Victor Keppler, Edward Steichen, and other big-time New York studio photographers, the one-shot went hand-held with the Curtis Color Scout camera used by *Journal* photographers. The clumsiness of the Curtis was compensated for by production speed: A trio of separation prints from its negatives could be directly engraved for ROP color. Dufaycolor or Kodachrome images had to be separated with sharp-cutting filters before plates could be made.

In the late 1930's, Dr. Harold Edgerton's electronic flash experiments at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology caught the eye of *Journal* sports photographer Harris W. Nowell. "I remember he came in one day with a book of Edgerton's," says Ed Farber. "The book had a wiring diagram in the back and he asked Frank why Farber or Dumke, the technicians of the staff, couldn't build one for *Journal* sports photography."

There were many reasons why not: Edgerton's early flash units were massive devices designed for stationary, AC-powered, scientific use. Furthermore, their nondelay flash peak was incompatible with the adjustable delays built into the flash bulb synchronizers then used by all news photographers. Farber decided to give the project a try anyway and with Scherschel's blessing, the *Journal* subsidized his work.

Farber's first "Stroboflash" was self-contained but less than portable: ninety pounds, later lightened to sixty. A third version, powered by a motorcycle battery, weighed in at twenty-five pounds, portable as long as it wasn't being carried too far. Self-contained power was only one of the Stroboflash's attractions. Rather than custom-modifying the shutters of all *Journal* cameras to the zero delay required by Edgerton's units, Farber's design incorporated a triggering relay to reproduce the delay characteristics of flash bulbs. The flash tube (made by Milwaukee glassblower Egon Grimm) was mounted in a screw base identical to a flash bulb and could be inserted in



Multi-picture page layouts depicting interesting places in Milwaukee were common assignments in Frank Scherschel's *Journal* photo department. Carefully setting up multiple flash bulbs, Ed Farber shot a couple, dressed in the height of fashion for 1940, lounging at a table in an old-time saloon on a sawdust-covered floor. The picture was part of a one-page feature on the hostelry.





Rural scenes like these provided many subjects for Milwaukee Journal photographs. Elmer Staab carefully posed this scene at an old country barber shop in Wild Rose, Wisconsin where the owner supplied pipe tobacco to his customers. Using a tripod-mounted 4 × 5 Speed Graphic, the picture was shot with open flash, using several bulbs (note the ten-inch bulb reflector at left).

a flash synchronizer's bulb socket, allowing instant interchangeability between the Strobflash and flash bulbs without any equipment modification.

When a newly developed small battery brought the weight of the Strobflash down to thirteen pounds, the *Journal* ordered half a dozen for the staff in 1941, accompanied by a promotional advertisement that mirrored the *Journal*'s photographic reputation: "Again the Milwaukee Journal is first in the field of news photography, for it is the *only newspaper* in the country to equip its staff with portable Strobflash units. . . Naturally, you get the most — and the best — pictures in the *Journal*!"

The onset of World War II heralded the beginning of the end of the "Scherschel Era" at the *Journal*. Having set an example of technical sophistication for the picture magazines, Frank followed his pupils on to bigger things. The 1943 *U.S. Camera Annual* noted that "Frank

Scherschel, former chief of the Milwaukee Journal's photo staff, is now on duty at an undisclosed location as a correspondent for *Life* magazine (His first assignment was the "suicide" convoy to Murmansk, Russia. —Ed.)." Frank's brother Joe, Ivan Mashek, and Ed Farber all went into the service. Hugo Gorsky, later assistant photo department manager, remembers how much Frank was missed: "After Frank left, we had very few parties. He used to get the whole staff together for picnics or a night of bowling. There was a lot of camaraderie that stopped when Frank left.

"He was a good motivator, which was something I was never able to do. With Frank it was natural. People just tended to like the guy. He was a hell of a leader. I really learned the trade from Frank."

The sophistication of *Journal* photography guaranteed that its greatest influence would be felt outside the newspaper field. *Journal* photographers and picture editors moved on primarily to

magazines rather than other papers. The list is impressive: Frank Scherschel and picture editor Ed Thompson went to *Life*. After World War II, Joe Scherschel and Howard Sochurek [NF '60] were to follow. Photographers Thomas Abercrombie and James Stanfield went to *National Geographic*, as did *Journal* picture editor Robert Gilka.

Elmer Staab recalls the day that Howard Sochurek went off to cover a violent strike at Milwaukee's Allis-Chalmers plant: "Howard wore glasses, and I was worried about his going out on a rough assignment like that, but he said, 'Elmer, you just have to learn to reason with people.'

"Well, when Howard got back, his clothes were torn and his Speed Graphic had been ripped in half. He gave me a long look and said, 'Y'know, Elmer, I guess there are just some people that you can't reason with!'"

Sochurek himself recalls the day that he decided to quit the *Journal* and take a chance on free-lancing for *Life*'s Detroit bureau: "It was a terribly difficult decision to leave the *Journal*. I was advised that it would be a disaster econom-



*Journal* photographers modified the diaphragms of the 135mm Tessar lenses on their Graphics to allow super-small f-stops for increased depth of field. This posed picture of a brass cuspidor at the Milwaukee Museum's Old Barber Shop was shot by Elmer Staab, using open multiple flash at f/64. His Speed Graphic was on the floor.

ically. But I went in to see John Keating and he looked me in the eye and said, 'I'm going to say something against my interests. If you were my son, I would offer you the same advice that I'm going to offer you right now: Go. You're young and you'll have a terrific experience.'

As photographic techniques continued to change, Frank Scherschel's carefully-perfected methods began to slide into disuse. Available light was the new photographic trend, and as film speeds went up, interest in controlled lighting and composition declined. Thirty-five millimeter cameras and fast lenses ushered in a new breed of photographer.

The *Journal* clung to sheet-film disciplines into the 1950's, and Elmer Staab (then chief photographer) still has a memo from picture editor Bob Gilka dated January 11, 1955: "This 35mm stuff may be okay for magazines with their fine screens and finer paper, but we might as well face the facts. We are wasting our time shooting the average news assignment on 35.

"Monday night is a good example. Out of the total of eight jobs three were shot on 35 and all of them were lost because of poor quality."

But the handwriting was on the wall. Gilka himself soon headed for *National Geographic*, where 35mm was almost universally used, although he remained critical of available light photography, referring to it as "the lazy man's way." Small cameras and fast films were riding the crest of a wave that submerged the craftsmanship taught by Frank Scherschel. Photojournalism was never to be the same again.

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Perhaps the greatest tribute to the Depression-era *Journal* lies in the bright memories that their retired photographers retain of the days where both they and photojournalism were young and growing:

"Every time somebody came up with a new idea, it was tried out, experimented with. Everyone was behind you to go at it. The guys were very competitive, but they never tried to make each

other look bad," remembers Ivan Mashek.

"We used to work until everything was done. After forty hours we didn't get paid and nobody cared. It was a lot of fun," echoes Hugo Gorsky from retirement in Florida.

There was a rare conjunction of elements at Frank Scherschel's *Journal* photo department: The determination of a born leader to excel; the willingness of a Depression-era newspaper to make money and equipment available to the growing photo department; the parallel development of new equipment like the Speed Graphic, the Big Bertha, the flash bulb, the 35mm camera and the portable electronic flash; picture editors who supported and encouraged *Journal* photographers; the photo department's relationship with the mechanical department that encouraged a quality-oriented approach, and an era of news photo possibilities that allowed the *Journal's* photographers to polish the expertise their

boss expected of them. More important still was the realization of all the *Journal* photographers that they were pioneers in a field bursting with opportunity, that their craft was in a constant state of becoming.

As Frank Scherschel headed off to cover World War II, the 1943 *U.S. Camera Annual*, then the most prestigious photographic publication in the country, observed: "Scherschel developed the famed *Journal* staff to a degree of excellence where it had no peer in America. His own interest in photography and his enthusiasm for staff individuality made this possible."

Golden ages often tend to look best in retrospect, but it's likely that Frank J. Scherschel, who died in the spring of 1981 at the age of 74, would have been gratified to hear Elmer Staab's concise recollection of what it was like to be a photographer on Frank's staff:

"In those days, you couldn't wait to get to work." □

## A Newspaper And A University

The tie between *The Milwaukee Journal* and the Nieman Fellowships is inextricable, and has its origin in the will of Agnes Wahl Nieman, widow of Lucius, who founded *The Milwaukee Journal*.

On her death in 1936, Harvard University received a bequest for the education of journalists and a directive that the endowment's income should be used "to promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States." The will instructed that whatever program evolved should be named in memory of her husband. Thus, the Lucius W. Nieman Fellowships for Journalists.

The first edition of *The Milwaukee Journal* in 1882 under Nieman's leadership carried a statement of purpose that read, in part: "It will be the people's paper, and will recognize that its field is Milwaukee, and the

state at large. The columns will mirror vividly the life of the metropolis which gave it birth, the humor and pathos, the scenes and incidents which go to make up the day and the year. Above all, it will abhor dullness."

During their marriage of thirty-five years, the Niemans shared a deep interest in *The Journal*. By the time of Lucius' death in 1935, the newspaper had garnered five Pulitzer Prizes. One surmises that the standards of editorial excellence fostered by the Nieman leadership carried over to the ensuing years and found even wider expression through the imagination and innovation of Frank Scherschel and his staff of *Journal* photographers.

The illustrations on these pages do indeed "mirror vividly the life of the metropolis." Agnes and Lucius would have been pleased. □

# Communications Today: They Ain't What They Used To Be

Edward Kosner

An observer of the media reflects on the changes in news presentation over the past twenty-five years.

The world of journalism I entered twenty-five years ago was a very comfortable, a very pokey place. There were seven papers in New York. *The New York Times* was genuinely good and gray. It was eight columns wide and two sections thick. It never heard of the Home section, the Living section, the Linoleum section, the Gristede's section. About the funniest thing in *The New York Times* was Topics of the Times. It reminded me — with no disrespect to the *Times* — of an elephant trying to tap dance. The *Times* in those days sold about 600,000 papers a day and 1.3 million on Sunday. And it was immutable.

The *Daily News* was then riding very high. It sold 2 million papers daily and 3.5 million papers on Sunday, and it was indisputably the biggest paper in America. The *Herald Tribune* was faltering, as it ever had, and was selling about 377,000 papers daily and a half-million on Sunday. The poor *Mirror* had an amazing circulation of 800,000 during the week and 1.4 million on Sunday. There was the *Journal American*, the *World Telegram*, and then there was the *Post*, which offered me a haven when I was turned down by the *Times* and the *Bergen Record*. In those days, the *Post* supposedly sold 347,000 copies. In truth, in the summer of 1958 when I broke in, it sold fewer than 300,000 copies a day, which was a dirty little secret kept from Alexander's and Abraham and Straus,

because if the word got out that the circulation was under 300,000 those stores might pull their ads.

In those days, everybody nominated the *New York Post* for extinction. Of the seven papers, everyone was certain that if, perhaps, the *Herald Tribune* went first, the *Post* was certain to go second.

There were major provincial papers like *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Boston Globe*, and *Newsday* that were big but parochial — they mostly concentrated on their own backyards. In 1958 Ben Bradlee was a junior reporter in the Washington bureau of *Newsweek*, Jason Robards was appearing in *The Iceman Cometh* in Greenwich Village, and *The Wall Street Journal* sold 400,000 papers a day.

There was hardly any news to speak of on the radio. If you turned on WINS, you got Allan Freed banging on a telephone book, playing something that was then called "rhythm and blues." If you turned on CBS, you got *Our Gal Sunday*, *Young Doctor Malone*, *Aunt Jenny* and that sort of stuff (which I loved).

Television news wasn't much better. If you were interested in national news twenty-five years ago, you could get Huntley-Brinkley on NBC at 6:45. At 7 o'clock, you could get Douglas Edwards on CBS and John Daly on ABC, for fifteen minutes. The combined audience of all those shows was about 18 million people — the audience today of the Dan Rather show. (The combined audiences of the three network evening news shows is now close to 50 million.)

On local television, there was someone by the name of Ron Cochran who did fifteen minutes of the news on CBS at dinnertime and ten more at 11 o'clock, if you were awake. The NBC local news consisted entirely of Gabe Pressman for ten minutes at 6:30. And ABC can't remember what it broadcast! "We know we had something on," they say, "but we don't know what it was."

And then there were the magazines, and they were interesting. If you went out to the newsstand twenty-five years ago, *Newsweek* looked far different from its format today. The family resemblance of *Time* was stronger — the character of

The above text is lightly edited from an address given in May by Edward Kosner to the Communications Chapter of the City College (New York) Alumni Association, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his graduation. He is the editor of New York magazine and was formerly the editor of Newsweek.



*Time* has changed less than any of the others. There were those wonderful, wonderful dinosaurs, *Life* and the other great weeklies. *Life's* circulation was six million a week. (The amazing thing about the issue of twenty-five years ago was that the lead stories were about riots in France and civil war in Lebanon.) The *Saturday Evening Post* still sold 5.8 million copies per week. *Look* magazine came out every other week and had a circulation of about 5 million. *Colliers* was gone by then. And then there was a little magazine called *TV Guide*. In those days, it sold 400,000 copies a week. Today, *TV Guide* sells 17 million copies a week, precisely the combined circulation of all those extinct magazines.

In the quarter century of my working life, journalism became media or communications, or what have you. And it's been transformed beyond the wildest imagination of any of us who sat around and talked about it twenty-five years ago. Two of the three papers that survived in New York, the *Times* and the *Post*, have been altered profoundly, and I don't know which has changed more. The one paper that has changed the least, the *Daily News*, is the paper that I believe is the most vulnerable and has the most problems. The news weeklies have survived. Now they're in color and you would hardly recognize them in comparison to what they were twenty-five years ago. The other great weeklies, as I said, are gone — except for *Life*, which is a monthly. No one in those days anticipated *60 Minutes*, Cable News Network, *Nightline*, *Good Morning America*, *New York* magazine and all its imitators.

And yet, as we meet here in the spring of 1983, I'm afraid we're poised for changes that are even greater than the ones we've experienced so far — changes that we have not yet had time to assimilate. Just in the last year, we've had the very successful introduction of *USA Today*, the first new general-interest national newspaper in the United States in memory. It uses graphics and techniques suggestive of both television and the news weeklies, and it has a vending box that looks like a television set. And we are about to involve ourselves with teletext and videotex and all the application for journalism and information that those not-very-well-understood technologies present.

During this past quarter century, we have seen the rise and the subsidence of the new journalism, para journalism, and gonzo journalism. Reporters have become celebrities and writers millionaires — and not just television anchor people. We've seen the advent of the non-fiction novel — remember that? And, most dangerously and perniciously, in my judgment, we have had inflicted on us the docudrama, that bastard form that confuses young people who have no sense of the context and the history of the events being dramatized and a lot of older people who don't remember those times so well.

We've also seen the development of hybrid television forms, particularly *Good Morning America*, *Entertainment Tonight* — even the *Donahue Show*. These programs have news and information as their basic text, but use entertainment techniques in their presentation. It has now got to the point where

no viewer — except the most sophisticated and conscientious — can tell the difference between a hard news show and a soft news show. When David Hartman — an actor — interviews people, he is functioning as a reporter, and yet, somehow he's not exactly a reporter. And he's about the top of the line. *Entertainment Tonight* presents itself as a news show but is actually a press agent's dream. And we go on from there.

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When an actor interviews people,  
he is functioning as a reporter,  
and yet somehow he's not exactly  
a reporter.

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On the legal front in the last twenty-five years, we have seen the Supreme Court, in the Sullivan decision and its progeny, granting the press nearly total immunity in dealing with people deemed to be "public figures," a term which was very broadly defined. Now the federal courts, in particular, and the local courts are dialing back the broad sanction that the Sullivan decision granted. The jury verdicts against the press are still being reversed by judges, and very few press defendants in the end are both found guilty and also required to pay damages. What's really changed is not yet the definition of the public figure or the definitions of malice and reckless disregard, which are required to prove libel, but rather the willingness of judges to let this process grind through.

We were talking earlier about the *60 Minutes* affair. We at *New York* magazine have just gone through the settlement of a case of our own. In the twenty-five years I've been in the business, I have never been sued for any story that I handled; I've never had to give a deposition. Yet I wound up going through a four-month process in a suit that in another time a judge might have thrown out on the first day. But the judge felt that the plaintiff wanted to press his case and we were obviously willing to defend ourselves. So we went through a long process. It was very illuminating, actually, and I'm not sure it's all a bad thing. We could afford it, and CBS can afford it. At the same time, it's very clear to all of us that the ground rules are changing very rapidly. People are now involved in cases based on stories done under the old rules, and they find themselves defending them in a different environment.

So we've had tremendous change, and we're going to face more change. Yet, some things endure. Journalism, whether it's practiced in *USA Today* or on *Nightline* or in *The New York Times* or in *New York* magazine, is still the same thing: It's an extractive craft. News — and by that I mean real news, hard information, the kind of information that the



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sources don't necessarily want to see in print or on the air — is sometimes leaked. But real news is almost invariably the result of simple, hard work by journalists who are well-trained and well-directed and well-motivated.

The rules have not changed. If you want to get an interview with someone, it's best to go to your subject. Barbara Walters often gets interviews with people like King Hussein because

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Real news is the result of simple,  
hard work by journalists who are  
well-trained and well-directed and  
well-motivated.

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— in addition to the fact that she can offer him television exposure — she will stand in the lobby of some hotel during an international conference and, as he or one of his advisors goes by, hand him a note that reads, “I will call your suite at 10 o'clock. Will you please talk to me?” — or something like that.

It's remarkable the degree to which some of the biggest names in journalism and some of its most celebrated practitioners do exactly what police reporters were trained to do forty years ago and twenty-five years ago and I hope, still, today. It's the reporter who goes and asks who's more likely to get the interview. It is the extra question asked that is more likely to elicit that extra fact. And more than anything else, it is the commitment to excellence on the part of the journalist and on the part of the people directing the journalist that results in distinguished work.

Now, if the truth is the heart of journalism, fairness is its soul. The power and proliferation of journalism today, the lack of discipline in the various media today (which is irreversible), and the change in the legal climate make it ever more important that all of us remember the simple things: that we have the power to wound people, that we have the power to distort their lives, that we have the power to deal them a psychic blow from which some never recover — and that psychic blow can sometimes be like a dependent clause which the writer and the editor thought was a throw-away line but which, in fact, contains words that wound someone to the soul.

That was never a nice thing to do, but there is now beginning to be legal recourse for those who feel wounded. Everyone who directs a journalistic enterprise in the 1980's had better remember that the courts are not going to be the allies of journalism or certainly of journalistic license which, perhaps, they've been in the past. The judges are letting more of these cases go to the juries and the juries are finding for the plaintiffs. A recent story in the *Times* reported that juries find for the

plaintiffs in three out of four press cases that go to juries. Many of those verdicts are reversed. But, in fact, it's a long process.

Today's world presents unprecedented opportunities for the young journalist, particularly for women and for members of minority groups. That's certainly a profound change in the quarter century since I went to work. But it also presents serious dangers. I grew up in a journalistic world that seems very serene and very tradition-bound by today's standards. When we were on *The Campus* in New York, we were very well aware that we were the undergraduate newspaper of City College, founded in 1907, and nobody ever forgot that. When I started as a college correspondent for the *Times*, the paper was deeply secure and ordered in its sense of itself, right down to the rituals of reporting to the city editor and the deputy city editor. It was like a club. You really had to learn where to stand, how to speak, and all the rest of it. Even at the *Post*, there was a strong tradition. It may not have been as resonant as the *Times'* tradition, but it was there.

Today, in my judgment, the great danger in journalism is the very cacophony of media. A story is not only carried by the papers and the wires, it's echoed by hundreds and hundreds of local television reports, then by thousands of local radio reports. Then it becomes fodder for the talk shows and the call-in shows where errors and distortions are multiplied. These programs sometimes sound like *It Pays to be Ignorant* when they get hold of something, with everyone compounding everybody else's mistakes. On a very big story, the newsmaker may well sell his or her account to *People* magazine or to one of the supermarket tabloids. Then someone buys the rights to make a television movie from it, the actors and the actresses who are in that movie wind up on *Entertainment Tonight*, and the process goes around and around without cease.

Part of the problem is that false and unbalanced stories may get the same play as valid ones. Everything is grist for a particular media mill, and the public's attention span is so short that today's sensation sometimes doesn't even make the paper tomorrow. There are stories that lead local evening news shows that disappear by the 11 o'clock news. You never find out what happened.

Many of the news media and, in certain cases, many of the people who work for the media, through no fault of their own, have little sense of the standards that made journalism valid. They haven't been raised in some of these traditions, imperfect as they were. The proliferation of soft journalism has enabled many publications and broadcasts to survive and prosper. But it's made it harder, I think, for citizens to focus on what's really important. I know. I read a lot and I try to pay attention because I want to keep on top of things and it's impossible for me to follow the trend of certain events. I know that for the average consumer of the news it's even harder.

So journalism isn't what it used to be — it's harder. It's harder for the journalist and it's harder for the reader and the viewer. But never has it been more important, finally, for everybody to get it right. □



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# Women and Minorities Win Big Victory From AP

Margaret Engel

AP settlement in discrimination suit called precedent for newspapers.

**T**he Associated Press, the largest news gathering organization in the world, agreed in an out-of-court settlement on June 15 to pay \$2 million in back wages and in improving its hiring of women, blacks, and Hispanics.

The settlement ended nearly a decade of legal action against the wire service by seven women employees — including two Nieman fellows, Peggy Simpson ('79) and Shirley Christian ('74). All seven no longer work for AP.

Under the out-of-court arrangement, the Associated Press admits no guilt for its past conduct, but agrees to pay \$1.5 million to former and current employees and to have its hiring and promotion practices monitored for five years by the U.S. District Court in New York.

The news service said it settled the case in order to save the expense of a trial. "If we could have come to trial, we would have won it," claimed Thomas Pendergast, AP vice president for personnel, who added, "The whole settlement will be great for the Associated Press." He said the \$2 million for the settlement was included in this year's budget.

The decision is expected to have wide impact on hiring in the journalism industry in large part because of the scope of the Associated Press. The news service estimates that one-third of the world's newspaper stories carrying a wire service credit are written by Associated Press. The wire service — which is a cooperative directed by publishers of various U.S. newspapers — has 131 offices in fifty states and seventy-three foreign bureaus. The decision affects only its domestic offices.

The women sued their employer five years after initiating a similar complaint with the federal government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In both the lawsuit and the federal complaint, the women claimed the Associated Press was violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by discriminating against women and blacks. The EEOC later joined the wom-

en's lawsuit and filed its own action on behalf of Hispanics.

At the time of the original lawsuit in 1978, AP's news staff was about seven percent female and less than one percent black. Since the legal actions began, the number of women has increased substantially — to twenty-two percent currently — but blacks still number under two percent. About 1.2 percent of the Associated Press' 1,500 employees are Hispanic.

Under the settlement, women who worked for AP between 1972 and 1983 will share nearly \$1 million in back pay, or about \$550 for each year of service. The seven plaintiffs will share \$82,120. They include Simpson, economic correspondent for Hearst Newspapers; Christian, Pulitzer-prize winning correspondent on Latin America for the *Miami Herald*; Rachelle Cohen, editorial page editor of the *Boston Herald*; Ginny Pitt, editorial writer for the Portland, Maine newspapers; Frances Lewine, features editor for Cable News Network; and Maureen Connolly, editor of *Business Digest*.

"I think it's a great victory for the generation of women currently at the AP and those who will be hired in the future," said Simpson, who worked for the wire service for sixteen years. "All of us who had talents and ambitions felt we had to go elsewhere. When I was interested in a bureau chief's job, I was told that women couldn't represent AP because you had to drink the general managers of the local radio stations under the table and the men's wives wouldn't like it."

Pendergast, in response, said, "If she said that, presumably someone said that to her. But I've been in personnel for ten years here and we've been actively seeking women for executive positions and bureau chiefs since I got here."

In a statement released on the day of the settlement, Keith Fuller, president and general manager of the AP, said, "We have maintained from the day this litigation began — and continue to state today — that the Associated Press does not discriminate against anyone or any group."


Blacks who worked at AP during that period will share \$100,000 in back pay. Attorneys for the plaintiffs — Janice

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Margaret Engel, Nieman Fellow '79, is a reporter for The Washington Post.

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## The Aftermath Of Colonel Barbie's Gestapo In Lyons

William Miller

When Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo's "Butcher of Lyons," was caught last year in South America, and deported to France by the democratically elected Bolivian government to stand trial for World War II crimes against humanity, the news elated William J. Miller (NF '41). As a war correspondent for the *Cleveland Press*, Miller had investigated and reported on those crimes shortly after the liberation of Lyons in September 1944. Referring recently to the fifteen or so daily columns he had written from overseas for the press, as well as his personal notes, he was moved to reconstruct the events of those days in the article that follows.

Now retired, Miller lives on Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

**M**ontluc Prison!  
After almost forty years, the grim, gray walls of that fort-turned-prison in Lyons, France are etched indelibly on my memory.

There, in France's third largest city and the capital of its underground against Hitler, Colonel Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo commander, tortured and executed thousands. How fitting that, after four decades of eluding retribution, he was clapped into one of the same cells that reek of the blood of his victims. If stones could speak, Montluc's would scream into eternity.

I learned about Barbie's handiwork first-hand. On D-Day, August 15, 1944, I had landed in Southern France with the U.S. Seventh Army, as a war correspondent for the *Cleveland Press*. On September 2, with the Seventh and First French Armies smashing up the Rhone Valley, the French Forces of the Interior (FFI) liberated Lyons. They set up headquarters in the Carlton, the city's best hotel, from which the German generals had just fled. Soon our own commanders took it over.

That October, with the Seventh and First French bogged down in the Vosges Mountains near Alsace, I returned to Lyons for a fortnight's study of the four-year night of Nazi terror. With me was Victor Bienstock, correspondent for Overseas News Agency and now a foreign affairs columnist for the *Boca Raton (Florida) News*. The Carlton was now empty, without heat, hot water or food, but Vic and I took over Colonel Barbie's elegant corner suite. A large map was still on the wall with red crayon tracing the Paris highway — marked "Q" — through the city, and a "K" showing the route to Besancon and the Vosges toward which the Germans had retreated. Under the bureau top was a notice:

The management of the Carlton, aware of the depredations due to four years of occupation by the German Army, regrets not being able to offer better accommodations to the liberation troops.

The Carlton faces west on Lyons' large, lovely central plaza, the Place de la Republique, which joins to the south Place Bellecours, a large square at whose southwest corner stands the white stone building where *Obersturmfuhrer* Barbie made his Gestapo headquarters. There we found a site marking a bloody memory of his vengeance. After anti-Nazis set off a bomb at his favorite restaurant, he had five prisoners brought from Montluc and machine-gunned by the wall.

Neither Barbie nor his 1942 predecessor, Colonel Knapp, had lacked for local assistance. It came from the city's unnumbered collaborators, including some prominent industrialists. It came from Jacques Doriot's French fascist party, which had its own Deuxieme Bureau (secret police) in the Hotel Massena. It came from Marshal Petain's Vichy regime which took over, after the 1940 surrender, that part of France not yet invaded.

It was no German who betrayed "Max" (Jean Guelin), the delegate chosen by de Gaulle to unify the many Resistance groups, who was seized in June 1943, taken to Montluc, and beaten so terribly by Barbie himself that he died soon after being shoved on a train. It was a local peasant who betrayed the hideout of forty Jewish children in the small rural hamlet of Izeu, fifty miles east, a place where the Gestapo never went.

As for the heroic Petain's acquiescence in such roundups, Vichy's own Commissariat of Jewish Affairs cheerfully assisted in such actions from its third floor headquarters in a grimy old building on Place Bellecours, cheek-by-jowl with Barbie's own offices.

By the fall of 1944, it had been taken over by the National Movement Against Racism, fittingly enough, which while underground, had organized the removal and hiding of such children. The movement published a clandestine newspaper, *Fraternité*, attacking the Nazis' "master race" theories. It was sometimes mimeographed, sometimes printed, and was now a weekly on the stands with other newspapers that had sprung up from liberation. Its secretary, Mme. Juliet Convaux, was a kind-faced, bespectacled, middle-aged woman whose previous work as a postal clerk had made her acquainted with thousands of people.

"I knew instinctively the ones to whom I could whisper an appeal to shelter a Jewish child, or who might suggest the names of others," she told us. "In this manner we built up our underground of people not actually in the movement but who could be counted on to donate money, clothing, food and sometimes shelter.

"The actual members of the movement knew only three others. These three-person cells were used in all the other

underground fronts to forestall the Gestapo, the Vichy secret police and the Doriot spies who sometimes would shadow suspects for months in the hope of trapping their associates.

"Thus, they could not trap more than three at a time, and even the worst sort of torture could not make people tell what they did not know."

We found out that the illegal papers that appeared so magically all over Lyons were carried in the shirt-bosom and pants of 14-year-old Rene Graffard, called "Yves." The first open issue of *Fraternité* carried a picture of this lanky, thin-faced lad labelled "Notre Benjamin," a Jewish term for one's youngest child.

There, too, in 1944 we found a recent inmate of Montluc Prison, Jean Silbert, a Jew of Polish extraction, and the only survivor of one of Colonel Barbie's largest single massacres.

"One night last June," he told us, "I entered a restaurant carrying a briefcase filled with illegal tracts. As I was eating, a man sitting with his wife and baby at an adjoining table suddenly turned on me and cried, 'You dirty Jew!' and demanded to see my identity cards. I produced them, at the same time slipping my briefcase into a chair on the other side of the table.

"He took me outside and accused me before a German soldier, who took me to the Hotel Massena, where one of Doriot's secret police hit me with his fist, saying, 'Dirty Jew, you await the English, but they will never come. My chums and I will give you a hiding!'

"They took all my money. A German used a 100-franc note to buy them all an aperitif. Just then the wife of the Doriot man who had denounced me in the restaurant ran up with my briefcase and tracts. I refused to admit they were mine. The Doriotistes beat me again and again.

"My right hand was handcuffed to the left of a young man from Montelimar on whom some tracts had also been found, and we were taken to Montluc. Chained so, it was hard for us to move, and we had to spend the night in a small cell in this fashion. Next morning we were taken into a room for questioning where clubs lay on the table. They searched us very carefully and then sent us to a barracks, where we were searched again.

"The prisoner who ran the barracks was a non-Jewish Russian, Korvin. There were five Catholics and numerous Jews — one, Piccard, from Alsace, who was 82, and Pfeffer, who was 19. I'll always remember little Pfeffer, they took him away three different times for questioning, and each time he came back his head was all bloody with wounds. He was one of the five they took to Place Bellecours and machine-gunned there.

"Rene Brunschweig was called one afternoon and told to bring his baggage. We thought he was being freed. He was brought back that evening, his body horribly swollen. They'd plunged his head into ice water and held it under so he could not scream, and at the same time stuck a red-hot iron on his thigh. The burn was a deep hole.

"The worst time was 5:00 every morning when the S.S. man, Vitmayer, nicknamed Medor, came to take men 'without

baggage,' meaning they would be killed. One day after this call he came back and pretended to make a new list, just to enjoy our fright."

Lyons' airport at nearby Bron, the first ever built in France, was a main base for German fighters and bombers. Our own planes had bombed it heavily before the invasion, destroying many planes and leaving numerous craters as well as unexploded bombs.

At 9 A.M. on August 17, two days after the allied invasion, Jean Silbert said Vitmayer called out all the names in the barracks. "He stood the five Catholics to one side and put the rest of us in three trucks," Silbert continued. "We were taken to Bron and put to work defusing unexploded bombs and filling craters. At noon, we were led away to eat with the French requisitioned laborers. As they left, I slipped among them and reached the street, where I hid in a truck. Then I walked and ran seven kilometers, hardly daring to think I was really free."

When all but three craters at the airport were filled, the Gestapo machine-gunned the Montluc prisoners, piling their bodies one on top of the other in the three craters, then covered them with a thin layer of dirt. Silbert said that so far 109 bodies had been exhumed.

Lyons, like a smaller New York, is a peninsula made by the confluence of two rivers, the Rhone on the east, the Saone on the west — its lifeline twenty-six bridges, all blown up by the Germans as they left. Into this chaos, a city normally 400,000 strong, 1,300,000 refugees flocked with forged passports from havens in Switzerland or elsewhere. Nightly we heard shots from various directions, as different factions exacted their private vengeance, and each day new bodies were fished out of the rivers.

Our Army engineers had restored the Guillotiere bridge across the Rhone for military and some civilian traffic, and laid catwalks for pedestrians across the remnants of the (Woodrow) Wilson Bridge. One day the Guillotiere swayed dangerously with a thousand pedestrians on it, and it took an hour and a half to get them safely off.

The FFI then recruited carpenters and masons to restore the University Bridge to the South, and Cardinal Gerlier in full regalia came down on the funicular that reaches the Fouvriere Heights above the Saone to bless them all. They stood like soldiers holding their saws, trowels, and hammers like rifles as the bridge was dedicated by General Henri Giraud, just in from Algiers. The city's first citizen, Eduard Herriot, mayor since 1916 and former Premier, had been taken away by the Nazis, so the acting mayor, Justin Godart, who had been Premier Daladier's minister of justice, officiated in his place.

In our explorations around the city, Vic Bienstock and I found many heartwarming stories of individual bravery and

sacrifice. We visited the office of the children's rescue group, the Oeuvre de Secours Aux Enfants. It had found many Catholics and Protestants who helped hide Jewish children from Colonel Barbie's raiders by secluding them in their homes and providing them with false identity and ration cards.

A 25-year-old Catholic girl, Pauline Gaudefroc, had been arrested that February with a list of hidden Jewish children who were her special charges. She was tortured with white hot irons but refused to reveal where they were hidden. She escaped with the aid of a Frenchman who been employed by the Gestapo.

Despite such efforts, it was believed that 30,000 Jewish children had been killed or deported to the death camps between 1940 and liberation. Two years before, in August and September, when the Nazis ordered Vichy to round up 10,000 persons, 14,000 were obligingly grabbed for deportation, many of them children. One group of forty was saved by Cardinal Gerlier, who had them brought to him. One of his priests, Father Chaillet, concealed the youngsters in Catholic homes and institutions. Vichy police arrested him, but Cardinal Gerlier forced his release. Some 6,000 children had now returned from their havens and were seeking their parents or relatives in vain.

Only a few weeks before liberation, Barbie took more than 100 intended deportees, including women with their children, to a schoolhouse in St. Genis-Laval where some other children had been sheltered, set it afire, machine-gunned any who tried to flee, then dynamited the building.

We spoke to Guy Catala, editor of *Fraternité*, and a 33-year-old doctor from Paris, who told us how the movement to save children began there. "There was the group behind and the group in front. Those of us behind, who did the illegal work, used only pseudonyms, but there were others in front who by virtue of their positions or reputations, could work openly as far as they dared.

"Some of these were a professor of medicine, Pasteur's grandson, Pasteur Vallery-Radot; the nationally famous doctor, Justin Besancon; the dermatologist Milian, well-known to American doctors; a psychiatrist, Dr. Follin; a teacher, Mme. Chambertin. The Countess le Bourdonnais, member of an old French family, organized the hiding of children on the estates of her friends. The pastor of the French Reformed Church in Paris, Vergeras, for fifteen days hid twenty children in his church."

Roger Payet-Burin, a pale, thin, gentle young man of 25, who taught philosophy at the Lyons Lycee, helped find sanctuary for Jewish children in the homes of parents of his students, and on the side helped print and distribute underground papers under the pseudonym "Pierre."

At the time of the 1942 roundup of children, resentment ran so high in the town of Lacruse that Vichy police put the signs "Vacation Camp" on their transport vans. Denunciations by Cardinal Gerlier, Cardinal Salieges of Toulouse, and Pastor Roergner, head of the French Protestants, aroused such public



protest that Vichy had released 1,400 Jewish children from camps where they had been awaiting deportation to the death camps.

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Nightly we heard shots from various directions, as different factions exacted their private vengeance, and each day new bodies were fished out of the rivers.

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Cardinal Gerlier's denunciation of the massacre at the St. Genis-Laval schoolhouse was so fierce that on August 24, as the Germans were beginning to evacuate Lyons, the Gestapo released 700 prisoners from Montluc. Among them was the Lyons coroner, or "medecin-legale," 60-year-old Pierre Mazel, professor of legal medicine at the University of Lyons.

One of the first acts of Yves Farges, the "Gregoire" who led the victorious FFI, was to create a "Memorial of the Oppression" with Dr. Mazel at its head, to document all such atrocities in the region. At the time we called on him, Farges (later a minister in de Gaulle's first government) was regional commissioner for eight departments in the Rhone-Alps region of Southern France. Before his release, Dr. Mazel had been in Montluc Prison for seven weeks without being told the reason for his arrest.

With Dr. Mazel, Victor Bienstock and I drove into the Jura Alps near Switzerland to talk to the survivors of two small towns, Dortan and Sieges, a stronghold of the Resistance. On July 12, the FFI had sent Dortan's Mayor Roger Berthier a note to evacuate immediately — a German punitive expedition was on the way. Everyone fled to the mountains, save five old men too feeble to flee. One was the nearly blind Abbe Dubettier, 75, for 37 years Dortan's priest. The Germans came at noon, just as his aged housekeeper was setting his lunch. They told him to finish, then led him out to the rear of his church, told him to face the wall, and killed him with machine pistols. They shot the four other men the same way, then, with phosphorus incendiaries, burned Dortan, Sieges, and five surrounding villages, including Dubettiere's 800-year-old church. They even burned the fire department.

Now the Resistance had triumphed. Yet the spirit of Vichy was far from dead in Lyons, or in the rest of France. For those who did not interfere with the Germans, life could be quite good. A French youth of 18 whose family had a house in Lyons and an estate in the country told me: "I never had breakfast without butter, and we always had parties with plenty of good food and champagne." A young woman whose husband and brother were still prisoners in Germany told me:

"Now that the FFI have set up road and bridge blocks to search all incoming cars, it is no longer possible to get black market meat, eggs and butter in the country."

A young intern at the huge Eduard Herriot Hospital in Lyons invited me to dine and talk with some fifty of his colleagues. Only two of their number had gone off to serve the FFI as doctors. The others seemed to regard them as a humorous curiosity. One, who had seen a recent American newsreel showing hundreds of cars outside a Detroit auto plant, asked: "Is it really true that in America every worker has an automobile?" When I told him yes it was, he seemed to feel that was too good for them. A spirit of class war was still very strong with the well-to-do.

Indeed, Lyons' largest employers, 80-year-old Marius Berliet and his four sons, whose huge Berliet Motor Works in a Lyons suburb sprawled over 1,000 acres and employed 4,500 workers, not only had built trucks for the Germans but, to encourage French workers to go to Germany, the sons themselves accompanied one group and did "token" labor there. Now all five were in Montluc Prison, and Resistance Chief Yves Farges had seized the plant and turned its management over to a "consultative assembly" composed of the unions, technicians, and a consumer representative. Louis Renault, whose Paris plant built tanks for the Germans, also was under arrest there.

Increasingly, it seemed to us, the harsh fact was that France, bled white of the flower of its youth in the previous war, had had little stomach for resistance. Although it was scarcely reported, the heart of the underground fighting forces was made up of Spanish Loyalist soldiers who had fled to France after Franco's conquest. Toulouse, with 200,000 such fugitives, including a bishop, was virtually a Spanish city.

The average Frenchman's ambivalence was not lessened by the fact that France's greatest hero of that earlier war, Marshal Petain, had become the arch collaborator — and would later get life imprisonment for it. That was brought home to us in the grim walls of Montluc Prison as we sat through trials of collaborators held there by the new Courts of Honor's military judges.

The guards led in Albert Saurat, 48, a member of the Vichy police. On June 17, he led a raid on a clandestine printing shop in the Rue Vialla where three of the staff were killed, ten arrested, and Saurat himself wounded in the exchange of fire. Five black-robed judges glared down at him as the presiding judge, Colonel Martin, read the charges and asked his defense.

"I am a soldier of the last war, thrice wounded," said Saurat, clad in a soiled sport jacket, and baggy, dirty pants. "The chief of state was an old soldier also, a Marshal of France. When he created the Service d'Ordre Legionnaire I joined it, believing it the patriotic thing to do." Erect, but hands trembling on the rail, he sat down.

His lawyer, two ermine-tipped tassels hanging from the left shoulder of his black robe, now stood.

*continued on page 44*

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# Understanding Feiffer

Doug Marlette

A pen-and-ink explorer limns humanity's inner space.

Jules Feiffer was talking shop. Driving around Martha's Vineyard with a couple of other cartoonists, he was telling about the time he met David Low, the premier British political cartoonist of this century. Low was a caricaturist of such anti-totalitarian bite that Hitler put a price on his head.

When Feiffer's first book of cartoons was published in England and his publishers asked him if there were any particular person in London he would like to meet, he replied without hesitation. "David Low." A luncheon meeting was arranged.

The other cartoonists besieged Feiffer, hungry for the word from Parnassus: "What did he say? What did he say?"

"I don't remember," apologized Feiffer. "For the entire conversation all I could think was 'My God! Here I am having lunch with David Low!'"

I know the feeling. From the first few years of my acquaintance with Jules Feiffer I can remember little of our conversations, because all I could think was "My God! Here I am having a conversation with Jules Feiffer!"

## CARTOONIST'S DUTY: MAKE TROUBLE

With the publication of his latest book *Jules Feiffer's America: From Eisenhower to Reagan* (Knopf, \$25 in hardback, \$12.95 in paperback),

I am reminded once again of the reasons for such awe.

When I was an 18-year-old novice in the mysteries of editorial cartooning, I came across an article of Feiffer's recounting the noble tradition of political graphic satire — from the jailing of Daumier to the attempted bribery of Nast to the trial of Art Young for sedition. He articulated so succinctly the role of the cartoonist as gadfly, as provocateur, that for the first time I understood what I was supposed to be doing: making trouble.

Jules Feiffer provided the intellectual grounding for what I had been groping toward instinctively. It would be embarrassing to admit how many times I read that essay. Suffice it to say I committed it to memory.

For the generation of cartoonists spawned from the turbulence of the late 1960's, Jules Feiffer was a hero — the cartoonist/playwright/novelist/intellectual! When cartoonists were dismissed as "not serious," we could point to Feiffer. When cartoons were charged with shallowness, we countered with Feiffer's. When, during the 1970's hip drug references and sex-snickering passed for satire, we remembered Feiffer. Jules Feiffer was who we all wanted to be when we grew up.

These are the best of times and the worst of times for editorial cartooning. On one hand, there are a greater number of talented cartoonists working today than at any other time in the history

of the craft. However, the 1970's took their toll. The rejuvenation of the field during the late 1960's brought on by Vietnam, Watergate, and an influx of young talent raised on *Mad* magazine has run its course. The pale imitators and faded carbons have flooded the market — "MacNelly clones," as they are known in the business.

The Valley Girl shallowness of a generation of artists come of age during the "Me" decade has crowded editorial pages with soulless art — the Steve Martin school of political commentary, where the graphic equivalents of an arrow through the head pass for satire and bunny-rabbit ears for insight.

A barbershop generates more thoughtful opinion than many of today's drawing boards. If not illustrating swaggering Cold War simplisms, many of today's cartoonists try to gloss over their lack of anything to say with the dazzle of their draftsmanship. An opinionless cheerleader for the status quo drawing political cartoons is like someone who faints at the sight of blood hiring on at a slaughterhouse. Syndicates sell pack-

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ages of six or more of their cartoons for the price of one heavyweight — an accurate gauge of relative worth. The supply far exceeds the demand, and the currency is devalued.

## THE SAVAGE BRILLIANCE OF FEIFFER

Against this backdrop resounds the steady, incessant beat of Feiffer, marching to his own glorious drumming. *Feiffer's America* takes us from the Eisenhower years, when he began drawing his cartoons for the *Village Voice*, through the present age of Reagan — “Movie America,” as Feiffer calls it. The cartoons are brilliant, the written introductions to each “cartoon presidency” savage.

Who else but Feiffer could get away with this:

**On John F. Kennedy:** “His views on foreign affairs were shaped by James Bond. He adored code, covert operations, counter-insurgency, Green Berets. He charged into Cuba, was beaten off,

charged back again, this time behind the scenes, held the world hostage in a missile crisis, sent the first combat troops into Vietnam.

“At home, he was ineffectual with Congress, uncaring on civil liberties, duplicitous on civil rights — but he was gorgeous and he had class. . . . In drawing him, his good looks plagued me. I studied photographs and the television screen, concluding always after my unsatisfactory caricatures, ‘I can do *bettab!*’

“But he aged fast in office. His features thickened, his jaw heavied, he developed jowls. By the time he died, I was onto him.”

**On Johnson:** “LBJ was not only the First Man, he had turned into the first bully, the first liar, the first thief, the first credibility gap, the first war criminal, the first crack in the system, the first reason to riot in the streets, the first terrorist to the American Dream. The country has yet to survive him. . . . While there were serious moral objections to Lyndon Johnson’s involvement in Vietnam, these mainly troubled the peace movement. The issue that troubled the American

people was that we were not winning. Johnson had dropped more bombs per month on North Vietnam than were dropped per month on Europe and Africa in World War II, and we were not winning. He had sent a half million American troops to join over 600,000 South Vietnamese troops, and we were not winning. Here we had the first war in history to have its news coverage entirely in color, and we were not winning! Small reason bitterness swept the land. Americans are winners. So it was not Vietnam, but the fact that we were not winning in Vietnam that made Americans look more critically upon Lyndon Johnson. . . .”

**On Nixon:** “Nixon masterminded our further dissolution. Always an adversarial politician, he found new and devious ways to divide us, deceive us, lie to us. He honed Johnson’s worst weaknesses until he made them his own: He bombed, he invaded, he spied on us. He was wonderful to draw. . . . Watergate improved him. His eyes darted like pinballs. His battered head drooped low on his tin body. His shoulders met his

## FEIFFER



# FEIFFER



eyebrows, his arms waved like tollgates, his legs like prosthetic devices. He was our favorite sick joke. But the joke was on us."

**On Carter:** "The real reason the country disliked Carter was not Iran or inflation, but because he was smaller than life. Presidents must, if nothing else, be larger than life."

## HEARD BUT UNHEEDED

Between the covers of *Feiffer's America* we witness the emergence and maturation of an artist, a new voice and unique vision. And, as with most prophets and visionaries who enrich the race by doggedly mining their own souls, it is a voice generally heard but unheeded.

In his early cartoons you hear the poignant soliloquies of the characters who later people his plays and movies such as *Little Murders* and the underrated masterpiece, *Carnal Knowledge*. Bernard Mergendeiler, Feiffer's cartoon anti-hero, personifies twentieth-century

existential psychoanalyzed man. For Bernard, as for Sartre, "Hell is others." Relentlessly articulating his struggle to unravel his life, Bernard's words float balloonlessly, neurotic symptoms unconnected to their anchor: the self.

Feiffer's cartoons diagnose our personal and political neuroses — from guilt, alienation and despair to racism, Vietnam and Watergate.

Narcissism, as Christopher Lasch has observed, is the personality disorder that characterizes the present age — an age mirrored so incisively by Feiffer's art.

The speculations of the pioneering psychoanalyst of Narcissism, Heinz Kohut, offer insight into the significance of Feiffer's work. Kohut suggests that emotional problems may be part of the human species' attempt to adapt itself to changing conditions for survival.

## EVOLUTION ISN'T PRETTY

In contemporary industrial society, the outlets for innate human aggression are diminishing. The frontiers have

been conquered: modern war means suicide; overpopulation hems us in. Withdrawal of our psychic energies from the battles of the external world results in an intensified inner life. Evolution isn't pretty; the destructive handiwork of neurosis is all around us. But those neurotic symptoms have a positive side, too: Depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic illnesses are expressions of our struggle to transform our outward aggression into a constructive introspection and active inner life.

Thus, we may detect in the attempts of Feiffer's Everyman, Bernard Mergendeiler, to stand on his own two feet emotionally something of the dignity and hope of an earlier epochal event — when the primordial ape stood up, on his way to becoming human.

An emancipating idea flows through Feiffer's work: To thine own self pay attention. Through his own intensively introspective examination of modern life, he may be showing us how to survive. Like the hypersensitive canary in the coal mine who keels over when poisonous gas leaks, warning the miners of danger, Feiffer keels over for us all. □



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# Freedom Of The Press

M. G. G. Pillai

Is the Western press listening to its colleagues in Third World countries?

**F**reedom of the Press, a common rallying cry among the trade, is embodied in the United States constitution. In the rest of the world, it is accepted convention, or not, but the underlying assumption is that those in authority prove Lord Acton's axiom that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is an ideal that clashes with reality the world over, in varying degrees of confrontation — from the United States to the Soviet Union, Iraq to Iran, Saudi Arabia to Israel, South Africa to Angola, Australia to Indonesia.

It is fashionable now to talk of an adversarial relationship between the government and the press (and this includes newspapers, radio and television stations). But this view was not new even when the United States was formed more than 200 years ago. Writing about the Roman invasion of Britain, Tacitus, the Roman historian, quotes the rebel leader, Calgacus, as saying: *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* (They make a desolation and call it peace). And he, no doubt, would have understood the troubles with authority that David Halberstam, Neil Sheehan, and the others found themselves in 1,900 years later in Vietnam.

Voltaire, 200 years ago, said: "If there was censorship in Rome, there would not have been the writings of Juvenal and Tacitus nor the philosophical works of Cicero." We know a lot about life in those ancient days because there were people who recorded events and issues as they saw them. The press tries to do the same in the twentieth century, but one gets the feeling that it is overwhelmed by the dramatic changes that are taking place in its midst. And rather than try to come to terms with them, the media takes refuge by ignoring them. If the Western press, whose ideals and hopes are transferred to its counterparts in the former colonies, find it so confusing, what hope is there for those who know of it only second-hand, and where the ideal is not even accepted as relevant.

Reporters, unfortunately, like the leaders of their country, see the world in cold war terms. It is rare to read accurate, sensitive reports by Americans on the Soviet Union just as it is rare to see objective reports by the Soviets on the United States. While we chuckle at the obvious misconceptions in Soviet writings on the rest of the world, how will we ever know how many Western reports on the Soviet Union are causing a chuckle there? If anything, the mutual misconceptions keep each other even further apart. But there are sensitive reporters. Two come to mind, although many Americans have not even heard of them: Alistair Cooke, who for more than thirty years wrote and broadcast on the United States for the *Guardian* of London and the BBC; Michael Binyon from the Soviet Union until recently. Curiously, the best of them still come from Europe, rather than the United States, as one would have expected.

Part of journalism's problem is that its practitioners are imbued with the scoop mentality. Therefore, the relaxed look at society that gives a better feel of the country one is reporting about is missing. That mad race to be ahead with the news is admirable in itself, but this does not necessarily mean that the reader gets a better product. Scoops usually are lost on the readers, many of whom read only one paper, if at all, and a scoop by the others papers is of no consequence to them. In any case, readers are unlikely to run out and cancel their subscriptions just because the second paper had a report that they would have liked to read in their usual newspaper. But they are useful to keep reporters on their toes as well as the advertising department when it is planning its next campaign. About the only people who notice scoops are the journalists themselves and, perhaps, those who buy more than one paper.

The daily pressure on routine coverage is often so great that the paper does not, or cannot, sit down and explain issues to readers. We are too fond of chasing "coups and earthquakes"; we forget to explain what the news is all about or put it in context. Readers of fifty years ago have a better perspective of events than their counterparts of today, despite the technological innovations that have made it so much easier

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to cover the news. The news agencies and the television networks must share much of the blame for this state of affairs. They dominate news coverage to such an extent that the day's choice of news is dictated quite often by what they put out. Even special correspondents of those newspapers rich enough to station them overseas get sucked into this trap, and compete with them.

This is understandable when it is realized that the four main Western news agencies — Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France Presse — provide ninety percent of the daily wordage of the world, the AP alone claiming a third of the total. But they cover the news superficially. In Kuala Lumpur, where I live, they report on the "coups and earthquakes" and the government viewpoint, providing their objectivity in those human rights appeals over the next hanging. The Reuters bureau is described by its head office in London as a profit centre because of the money it makes out of its economic services, and one does get the impression that the news they send out would never be allowed to "kill the golden goose." While Americans, particularly, sneer at the French government's subsidy for the Agence France Press (AFP), that agency provides the best service out of Southeast Asia, as it does out of Kuala Lumpur. But none of them report on the main issues — the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, the government decision to impose a national culture based on the culture of the politically dominant Malay community — or, indeed, what makes this country tick. This attitude towards news coverage can be extended to most countries in the Third World.

Taken globally, the United States and Europe share about forty percent of the foreign correspondents while Africa has one percent. The American agencies, newspapers, radio and television stations have about half their correspondents overseas, much less than what it used to be, in Europe, and most of the European foreign correspondents are in the United States. So Europe and the United States are better covered than the rest of the world. The Third World and others get their share of attention only when something out of the ordinary takes place. Few Americans would have heard of Uganda until Idi Amin came on the scene, or, for that matter, Vietnam before the American involvement.

The demand for a new international information order which UNESCO has been spearheading, should be seen in this light. News of the Third World in the rest of the world and, even within their neighbors, often comes through Western agencies which they feel, with some justification, are not sympathetic. These complaints are extraordinarily similar to those made by the United States at the turn of the century against the domination of its news overseas by Reuters. Kent Cooper, the former general manager of the Associated Press, once wrote a book about this imbalance. He stated: "So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about the Indians on the war path in the West, the lynchings in the South and bizarre crimes in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America ever was sent."

The Third World argument is that this criticism can be extended to the Western news agencies, including the AP and UPI. Whether any change should be orchestrated by such a bureaucratic, politicized body as UNESCO is another matter. But the central complaint of bias cannot be faulted. Two examples will suffice. When the Jonestown tragedy happened,

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Why is it that when General Motors or Ford raises car prices, it is because of inflation, while oil prices rise because of the "greedy" Arabs?

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American reporters at the scene trying to put the issue in context described Guyana as a country that spoke a form of pidgin English and where illiteracy was a major problem. In fact, eighty-five percent of the people are literate and they speak a pure strain of English, albeit in a local pronunciation but certainly it is better understood than the patois and pidgin I heard spoken in the United States during my Nieman year. The reports I read on the tragedy tended to fault the government in having allowed the setting up of Jonestown without mentioning that the government was clutching at any straws to help alleviate its economic problems. The other was a cable I received from an American newsmagazine I write for after a Malaysian cabinet minister was sentenced to death for murdering a political rival. It read in part: "Since he was a rising star of the ruling party, how come his clout did not get him off?"

This assumption that fair play, justice, and other ideals that the West hold dear cannot be transplanted is widespread, because these efforts are not highlighted, only the transgressions, in stories. Would that that editor had asked such a question to reporters when that magazine was hounding President Nixon over the Watergate affair. Why is it that when General Motors or Ford raises car prices, it is because of inflation, while oil prices rise because of the "greedy" Arabs?

Unfortunately, the world's news values are dictated by the major Western agencies, who themselves are not prepared to have an international team of correspondents on a par with their home-based staff. Reuters has a corps of predominantly British correspondents, just as the American agencies have mostly Americans. When they do have local correspondents, they limit them to a single country or a region. Agencies do have other nationalities as correspondents but they are, invariably, European or from one of the white countries of the British Commonwealth — Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and, of course, the United States. Citizens of other countries who are correspondents are so rarely on a par with home-based staffs that they count in few people's calcu-

*continued on page 45*

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# Good Words Can Lead To Poor Pathways

Dana Bullen

Communicators should heed the language in press proposals.  
What frees one newsperson may constrict another.

There has been a veritable flood of words on "the right to communicate." At least six UNESCO-related meetings dealt with the subject. The literature is extensive. Some people seem to be making careers out of the proposition.

"The right to communicate" has become a slogan, much like a New World Information Order, that embodies each speaker's pet proposals to "improve" communications. For some listeners, I must say, the torrent of code words raises concern about what may be intended.

Before I go into detail, I want to say that we [the World Press Freedom Committee] do support a right to communicate as defined by Article 19. I will say more on this later.

As everyone knows, this provision supporting a free press and the free flow of information was approved in 1948 as part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Currently there is an effort to define a right to communicate. My fear is that a fundamental right of thirty-five years standing will be eroded in the process.

Just listen to a few of the many voices:

- 1978 Stockholm meeting — "Rights must be matched by responsibilities; those who exercise communication rights are accountable to society for their actions."
- 1979 Manila meeting — "It implies duties and obligations for individuals, groups and nations."
- 1982 Bucharest meeting — "A universal social necessity which requires legislation to guarantee its legitimacy and the security of its practice."
- UNESCO's Medium-Term Plan — "A fundamental right of the individual and . . . a collective right, guaranteed to all communities and all nations."

• Masmoudi to MacBride Commission — "The right to communicate must be obstructed neither by individuals nor by entities . . . each nation should be in a position to choose its own information."

There could be more examples. I mention these to make just two points.

One, it was rather firmly stated at the Fourth Extraordinary General Conference that "nothing in the right of communication is for governments." This is not quite the case.

Two, the emphasis on "duties," "obligations," "legislation" and the like makes one wonder if the right that is being sought is not just the right to speak out that already exists in countries that do not practice censorship, but a broader "right" to force the media to carry what someone would like to say.

We have seen instances in which very good-sounding concepts — protection of journalists, for example, or practical steps to improve communication — have given rise to specific proposals to regulate, not protect, journalists, and to practical steps to improve the communication abilities of governments . . . and no one else.

Only when the proposals become specific can we see where the good-sounding words are taking us. At long last, we are getting a glimpse of what this right to communicate might mean in practice. The breakthrough, if that is the right word, came at a meeting on a right to communicate organized by UNESCO in Bucharest in February 1982.

The final report prepared by the secretariat states there was "significant support for the proposition that existing international documents would need rather complete rewriting to reflect the 'right to communicate' as a new core right which is the center of other rights."

The report goes on to reveal an elaborate design to rank "rights" and "freedoms" differently. "The right (to communicate) itself would be regarded as absolute," the report says, "though the freedoms derived from it would be amenable to limitation in accordance with the norms normally accepted for

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*Dana Bullen, Nieman Fellow '67, is executive director of the World Press Freedom Committee. Its headquarters are in Washington, D.C. These excerpts are from a speech he delivered in May at the General Assembly of the International Press Institute in Amsterdam, Netherlands.*

*continued on page 43*

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# BOOKS

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## Putting It On The Record

### The Diary of James C. Hagerty: Eisenhower in Mid-Course, 1954-55

Edited by Robert H. Ferrell. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1983, \$19.50

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by Betty H. Winfield

There was considerable interest in the press conference today because of the fact that we were going to permit cameras in the room for the first time in history. . . . We got tremendous play on the films, of course.

On January 19, 1955, Press Secretary James C. Hagerty wrote this reaction to the first television press conference. Hagerty recorded his observations and reactions to many such events during the fifteen months, January 1954 through April 1955, covered in this book.

With his short-lived diary, Hagerty also referred to press strategies, pre-conference briefings, and the Wednesday press conferences. His entries are based upon his reportorial notes of the Congressional leaders' Tuesday conferences, the cabinet meetings, and his colloquies with Eisenhower.

In this abridged version of more than half of the original diary, historian Robert H. Ferrell chose only those entries which he thought might have contemporary or important historical significance, rather than the day-by-day details of press interaction.

Ferrell includes Hagerty's comments about such momentous events as when the Senate censored Joseph McCarthy; the President successfully defeated a proposed amendment to limit his treaty-making powers — the Bricker Amendment; the Supreme Court ruled on

*Brown v. Board of Education*; the Atomic Energy Commission denied security clearance for Princeton physicist Robert Oppenheimer; the administration sent technicians to Indochina; and Congress approved the use of American armed forces to protect Formosa and the Pescadores during the Quemoy-Matsu controversy.

For an insight into Eisenhower's personality, the diary includes some memorable quotes. During the Bricker Amendment controversy, the President told Hagerty that he had been reading "Federalist No. 15." Hagerty recorded the thirty-fourth President's response to the Indochina technicians, "My God, we must not lose Asia. We've got to look the thing right in the face."

Hagerty demonstrated a difference between Richard Nixon and Dwight Eisenhower with the Vice President's quote concerning the Bricker Amendment, "As in any battle, you need a second line of retreat" and the President's correction, "No, Dick, you need two to go ahead, only one to retreat."

Hagerty has Ike calling Senator McCarthy, "a pimple on the path of progress," and commenting on Wayne Morris' trip to Texas to attack Lyndon Johnson for not being a liberal, "Hell, Lyndon should pay him to come back and stay down there."

Most newspeople should find at least part of the book useful in references to the media. Hagerty recorded a number of times the administration's constant concern over leaks. On February 1,

1954, Hagerty wrote "Defense Department leaking like a sieve. Adams called Wilson and raised hell on three leaks, including Drew Pearson's column on technical advisers to Indochina, and the Defense order ending segregation at military school which was supposed to be held for the President's press conference."

Hagerty made no apology for the President's attitude toward his almost weekly press conferences. When political questions were foremost concerning McCarthy and the Bricker Amendment in February 1954, the press secretary quoted the President's exasperation, "You know that's what I mean when I say press conferences are really a waste of time. All the reporters are interested in is some cheap political fight. It's too serious a time to have that sort of stuff as the major problems of our times. What a life."

Of special interest are Hagerty's news-management skills for the press conferences and for the administration, as a whole. In July 1954, in response to the President's request that he wished to discuss Red China at the press conference, Hagerty wrote about arranging a question with Johnny Cutter. In August of the same year, the press secretary mentioned making sure that the President would have a very strong answer to Eddie Folliard's question about Harry Woodring's letter which Senator McCarthy had used to smear General Marshall.

Hagerty also told of monitoring the USIA releases on the Oppenheimer case. His complaint of January 4, 1955 was that the Agriculture Department had absolutely no feeling for public relations. "Actually they should be spanked publicly before this, but the President, of course, does not like to do this."

The print media's interpretation of Eisenhower's statements on McCarthy might have been one contributing factor to the administration's greater use of



broadcasting and its subsequent decision to televise the press conferences. Some representative quotes from the McCarthy crisis demonstrate the tension, the media management, and the turn to television.

On February 25, 1954 when Senator McCarthy attacked Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, Hagerty recorded Eisenhower's anger and said he was "getting fed up."

Hagerty wrote, "It's his Army and he doesn't like McCarthy's tactics at all. Stevens and Kyes joined Nixon and all of us at 4 P.M. Worked 'til 5:30 on statement. Cleared it with President who made it stronger and then released it in joint conference in my office."

By Friday, February 6, Hagerty said the papers looked better but that the 10:30 press conference was pretty rough. He wrote, "Even trying to get me to comment. Just declined to get involved even on mail count, 'not winning popularity contest.' Everyone jittery around here, can't take gaff, when going is tough."

On Monday, March 1, Hagerty quoted the President as saying, "Can't defeat Communism by destroying America," and planning to speak his mind at the press conference. Hagerty spent most of Tuesday working on the President's statement.

Just before the press conference on Wednesday, March 3, Hagerty and others practiced with the President going over not only the statement but also possible questions. Hagerty wrote that it went well with some reporters, but that the "New Dealers and fuzzy boys" wanted the President to get down in the gutter with McCarthy.

By the next day, Hagerty said that the President was upset with the criticism about not going far enough from *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. The Press Secretary wrote that both stories "hit below the belt."

Hagerty added his thought that as the President's statement sunk in the real reaction would be favorable. "That's why I'm glad we released tape of the statement to radio, television, and newsreels. To hell with slanted reporters. We'll go directly to the people who can hear

exactly what the President said without reading warped and slanted stories."

At the next week's press conference on March 10, after Adlai Stevenson had charged that the GOP was half McCarthy and half Eisenhower, Hagerty released to the radio networks seven minutes of press conference questions and answers on McCarthy, Stevenson, and Indochina.

When most of the March 17 press conference questions concerned defense and McCarthy, the Press Secretary released parts of the conference to radio and television stations.

Then on April 5, the President gave his "fear" speech over radio and television, decrying fear of the Kremlin, fear of Communism, fear of investigations, and fear of economic depressions.

By May, when McCarthy appealed to federal employees to disregard presidential orders and laws and report to him on "graft, communism, and treason," Hagerty suggested that the best way to build up public opinion would be for him to call certain key people he knew in the media.

In June, after the President warned the correspondents that he was not going to talk about McCarthy, Hagerty recorded Eisenhower's amazement that the newsmen respected his caveat.

By the end of the summer McCarthy's power was waning and on December 2, the Senate "condemned" but did not "censure" the senator.

The Press Secretary's advocacy of television was all the more apparent by December — one month before the first televised press conference. At the President's stag dinner, Hagerty suggested that the administration use the "literally millions of dollars worth of free radio and television time" through programs such as *Meet the Press*, *Face the Nation*, *Junior Press Conference*, and *Man of the Week*.

Hagerty reminded the guests that one reason the Republicans were so effective in Chicago in 1952 was because they used good-looking, well-trained men on radio and television broadcasts. He pleaded, "I could not for the life of me see why we could not get such a team formed now, including men within the

administration . . . all of whom represent the progressive liberal Republican viewpoint and who by their appearances on the programs would attract to the Republican Party the young progressive liberal elements throughout the country."



The networks filmed it and the Press Secretary released the January 19, 1955 press conference. Hagerty called *The New York Times* story "sort of snide," although he noted that both Jack Gould and Arthur Krock had very favorable columns. He wrote that the general impression among the White House correspondents was resignation to the inevitable. Hagerty's response was, "Actually, this manner of the President being on television is almost the same thing as the start of Roosevelt's fireside chats on radio."

Two weeks later, when two *New York Post* reporters asked the President about Hagerty's "censorship" of the films, Eisenhower referred one question to the Press Secretary and dismissed the other by saying that he had received no objection from the networks. Hagerty called the criticisms a straight ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) move.

The Press Secretary was concerned; he went to New York the next morning to check with broadcast executives Frank Stanton, General Sarnoff, John Daly, and Bob Kintner. He wrote, "Their reactions were all very favorable . . ."

On Thursday April 28, 1955 Hagerty's diary stopped without explanation. When Eisenhower had a heart attack on September 24, Hagerty made three entries. There are only four December entries concerning the President's discussion over the political prospects for 1956. The diary ends almost as abruptly as it began.

The power of these chronological fifteen-month fragments is not any one entry, but rather the sum total. This reader wished that more years had been recorded by Hagerty, and that more selections had been included in this diary, together with greater explanatory notes.

Historian Robert Ferrell, also editor of the Eisenhower diaries and the Truman papers, might have added more entries on the press. Many of the sections on press conferences are preceded or followed by ellipses. In order to learn more about the Press Secretary's interaction with the media, this means that arrangements must be made for reproduction or for a trip to the Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas.

There is no mention, in this edited version, whether the administration reacted to Edward R. Morrow's powerful documentary on McCarthy in *See It Now*, broadcast March 9, 1954, though the book covers that period.

Ferrell also included without explanation many of Hagerty's reactions to the President. Readers who were not there or who have not read the Eisenhower diaries or other historical accounts of the period will be puzzled by excerpts such as the one describing the President's annoyance with the minister of the National Presbyterian Church, which doesn't relate why he was annoyed.

However, Ferrell presents enough of the diary to show how James C. Hagerty witnessed the Eisenhower presidency and captured the tensions of the 1950's. In the Press Secretary's day-by-day recounting of the mid-1950's successes, failures, and crises, one can find the spirit of that era.

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*Betty Winfield is an assistant professor at Washington State University. She has published articles and given papers on Franklin D. Roosevelt and the news.*

atives around the village of Mondragón in northern Spain.

In between the two extremes, there are dozens of variants that range from the creation of autonomous work teams, whereby workers supervise themselves, to the establishment of employee stock-ownership plans and the placement of workers on company boards of directors.

To their credit, Simmons and Mares approach the topic not through dry description or political dogma, but through case studies of firms' actual experiences with worker participation.

At the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Plant in Detroit, Michigan, workers can start and stop the assembly line. At Fastener Industries in Berea, Ohio, worker-owners have full voting rights and full pass-through dividends. At Jamestown, New York, labor has teamed up with management to develop a strategy that has saved the financial base of an entire community.

The authors are careful to point out, however, that the track record with worker participation is not unblemished.

Among the failures are the much-publicized Gaines Dog Food Plant in Topeka, Kansas which has reverted to traditional management techniques after a fling with worker democracy, and South Bend Lathe in Indiana where worker-owners went on strike against themselves when they disagreed with management.

Nonetheless, *Working Together* makes a convincing case that worker participation, if implemented correctly, can have significant payoffs not only for the firms themselves but also for the worklife of employees.

The economic benefits include productivity increases of ten percent or more; a sharp decline in grievances, absenteeism, and turnover; and increased flexibility in the use of employees.

Apart from bonuses achieved through profit-sharing and stock ownership plans, workers stand to gain what all of us gain from taking charge of our lives — an increased sense of self-worth and control over our own destinies.

In view of the advantages, what's remarkable is how limited the American

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## Labor And Management — Friendly Foe

### Working Together

John Simmons and William Mares. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1983, \$15.95

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by Huntly Collins

**D**octrinaire unionists who are caught up in the ideology of class conflict won't like it. Nor will John Wayne-style managers who run their shopfloors the way Wyatt Earp ran the West.

But to anyone looking for genuine solutions to the nation's economic ills, *Working Together* outlines an important piece of the roadmap to economic recovery.

Simmons is a labor relations professor at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and a former officer of the World Bank. Mares is a freelance writer who lives in Vermont.

Together, they have produced a book that reviews the experiences (mostly in the United States) of what is variously called "workplace democracy," "participatory management," or "quality of work life."

Jargon aside, what it all adds up to is the involvement of workers in the decision-making process within a firm. In its simplest form, such involvement might be a Japanese-style "quality circle" that brings workers together once a week to offer their suggestions for improved production processes.

In its most developed form, the involvement might extend all the way to worker ownership and cooperative management à la the famous Basque cooper-

experience has been with worker participation, at least to date.

But as Simmons and Mares point out, all of the various schemes for increasing worker involvement go to the heart of the organizational power structure by asking managers, especially those in the middle, to give up power. Indeed, one of the hidden agendas of company-initiated participation plans often is to get rid of a whole layer of middle management.

With some notable exceptions, unions are also suspicious of involvement pro-

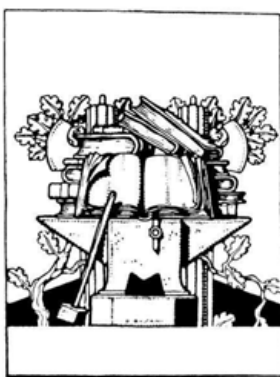
and Mares point the way toward work reform aimed not only at economic ends but also at larger human ends. Their account does not sparkle with crisp and colorful writing. The voices of workers themselves are muted or nonexistent in much of the book. And the analysis of particular experiments, such as democracy in the newsroom at the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, is often treated once-over-lightly.

However, in today's economic storm, in which the American workplace has been battered by foreign competition,

productivity decline, and plant closures, *Working Together* provides a bridge between labor and management that can help all of us to cross over troubled waters.

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*Huntly Collins, Nieman Fellow '83, is a reporter with The Oregonian in Portland. She has covered education for the past five years, and starting in September she will specialize in issues related to the workplace for the business department.*



grams. As an official of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers described it: "When labor gets in bed with management, there will be two people screwing the worker, not one."

By contrast, both the Communications Workers of America and the United Auto Workers have undertaken extensive worker participation programs as a way to regain power and control over the workplace. As Irving Bluestone, former vice president of the UAW, put it:

"The efforts that are being undertaken through quality of work life, where there is union co-equality in the development and implementation of the program, are a step in the right direction, away from what historically has made the worker an adjunct to the tool, rather than the master of the tool. If we are, as a democratic society, interested in the worth of the individual, let's get that worth into the workplace."

By examining dozens of different examples of putting individual worth back into the American workplace, Simmons

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## Winner Take (Nearly) All

### The Media Monopoly

Ben H. Bagdikian. Beacon Press, Boston, 1983, \$14.95

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by Ben Compaine

In *The Media Monopoly*, Ben Bagdikian argues that the national and multinational corporations are insidiously eroding the cherished notion of a free and diverse press. Specifically, he claims there are two alarming developments of the past twenty-five years: concentration of control by fifty corporations and the "subtle but profound impact of mass advertising." Based on his conclusion, however, the culprit is actually the capitalist system, of which the media is a part.

He makes his case through a modicum of statistical facts and a heavy dose of anecdotal evidence, much of it in the "guilt by association" mode. Some of his war stories are indeed worrisome, even if all are not necessarily verifiable. (How does Bagdikian know what Gannett chairman Allen Neuharth says "in private"?)

Whatever benefit Bagdikian might have provided in a work of this type, however, is eroded by internal inconsistencies in his arguments, his blind spot (which runs throughout much of his earlier work) of saying "the media" but

writing mostly about newspapers, and his highly selective choice of what material to include (that which supports his hypothesis) and exclude (that which undermines it).

On the concentration subject, Bagdikian's compilation makes a reasonable case that fifty corporations account for about half the media consumption in the United States. That is, about twenty newspaper groups represent more than half the newspaper circulation; ten firms account for about half the radio audience; twenty companies have fifty percent of magazine industry revenue, etc. Given overlaps, he arrives at the fifty companies, fifty percent control figure. One may argue with the measures he has taken. For example, is revenue a reasonable measure of control or is its derivative, influence? *The New England Journal of Medicine* accounts for a minuscule amount of periodical revenue, but its influence in setting the agenda for health policy is no doubt greater than *TV Guide's*.

However, these numbers are the extent of Bagdikian's "proof" of media monopoly. He does assert that through what he calls "interlocking directorates"

(a legal term he misuses), “dominant media firms are further integrated into the ruling forces of the economy.” He therefore contends that a media company (usually a newspaper) will think twice before it published articles critical of banks, oil companies, tire manufacturers, etc. Indeed, he starts Chapter One by citing a case where an editor of the *Baltimore Sun* (an independently owned newspaper) replaced a story about labor negotiations between a union and a hospital after it ran in only the first edition. The reason, implies Bagdikian, was that a director of the hospital was also a director of a bank that held (presumably in trust for others) a majority share of the stock of the *Sun*. Bagdikian admits that the editor may never have received a call from anyone, but may have taken such action because he feared for his job. Neither the author nor his source of this tale (*Columbia Journalism Review*) provides any evidence that this indirect association between the paper and the hospital had any influence on the editor’s decision.

On the role of the mass media as a corrupter of the First Amendment, Bagdikian offers old chestnuts: newspapers and magazines exist mainly to serve advertisers — the reading public be damned. Therefore, those in the print media will hesitate to be directly critical of advertisers. More insidiously, as the media all want to attract an “upscale” audience, they will control their editorial policies to cater to this audience, ignoring the homeless, the tired, the poor, the huddled masses. . . . He goes so far as to glorify the journalism of Hearst, Pulitzer, and Scripps in their “yellow journalism” heyday. For though they “often acted irresponsibly” (as in creating the Spanish-American War), they had to rely on the deep loyalty of their readers, instead of their advertisers, and thus they crusaded for reforms for the powerless.

The real problem with *The Media Monopoly* is that Bagdikian is looking at the warts on a basically beautiful body. In his book, he does what newspaper and television news do every day: they report on the exceptions to the routine of daily life. Hard news —

murders, fires, terrorism, political scandal — exists side by side with soft news — stories on lonely people, visiting travelers, and child geniuses. There are problems to confront, but most are not the stuff of everyday living.

Bagdikian charges that:

- A media monopoly of fifty firms controls fifty percent of the media. in economic terms that is not a monopoly. Further, a strong case could be made that it is not even close to a significant limitation on the marketplace of ideas. Indeed, this reviewer’s research shows that the largest newspaper publishers today control less circulation than did the largest chains in the late 1940’s; that the three major television networks account for less television revenue today than they did fifteen years ago; that in book publishing, for decades there has been no significant change in the percentage of business accounted for by the largest firms.

- A spiritual conspiracy among the corporate elite suppresses ideas that are critical of the economic and political establishment. *The Wall Street Journal* runs front page articles regularly taking to task corporate executives, political leaders, and regulatory agencies. This is the largest circulation daily in the United States, and advertisers keep buying space.

During the week when I was reading *Media Monopoly*, *Fortune* magazine, published by the largest media company of all, Time Inc., ran an article critical of a measure to help protect the steel industry from imports, and a cover story that reported on the huge profits certain individuals made in the stock market during its rise in 1982-83. Critics would use it as ammunition for a charge of “obscene profits” while people are going hungry; others would find it a source of motivation and a reward for taking entrepreneurial risks. *The Boston Globe*, serving a constituency that includes high tech investors, ran a piece on the conflict of interest of investment bankers who bring new ventures to the public via a stock offering, and then tout them as a good investment, even when evidence points the other way. These were not “blockbuster” stories, just a sample of

the kind of reporting that, according to Bagdikian’s hypothesis, could not happen because the media is part of the establishment.

Bagdikian should look again at the insight of an erstwhile mentor, the legendary media critic A. J. Liebling. In *The Wayward Pressman* (1947), Liebling admitted the profit motive is precisely why media barons will continue to provide material that expresses viewpoints other than their own: “The American press has never been monolithic. . . . One reason is that there is always money to be made by standing up for the underdog. . . . His [sic] wife buys girdles and baking powder and Literary Guild selections, and the advertisers have to reach her.”

This explains why conglomerate-owned motion picture studios and banks finance such movies as *The China Syndrome* and *The Electric Horseman*, stories which, while entertaining, are quite critical portrayals of the government or the business establishment. Contrary to Bagdikian’s claim that the media ignore the poor and powerless, that is why they actually tend to present these groups with great sympathy: through stories on the plight of steelworker families unable to find work; blacks who still earn less than whites; Haitian immigrants forgotten in holding camps, and so on.

Mr. Bagdikian spends much of his time looking backward, thus missing the excitement of what is happening in the media now and what future technology will bring. He laments the passing of the old days when cities had four or five biased newspapers, ignoring the fact that that was all they had. Today, a city may have one independently-owned newspaper, but each surrounding town probably has its own daily or weekly newspaper (some more successful than others in providing coverage of local events), plus three or more television stations, each with different ownership, plus ten or more radio stations, one of which may be all news, and many of which provide programming for public affairs. Communities often have a “city” magazine; the best include muckraking stories that would have pleased Sinclair Lewis.



There are also the national magazines, newspapers, and cable networks, unlike the "good old days."

While Bagdikian recommends reverting to subsidized postal rates for publications, he ignores the potentially greater issue of local telephone rates, which may be the key to widespread use of home terminals connected to videotex or other data base systems. He slights the proliferation of personal computers and the new publishers of floppy disks. These factors have the potential for creating even more avenues for distribution of ideas and information. Indeed, the ability of any computer to "call up" any other computer over common carrier telephone lines may mean the ultimate in the marketplace place of ideas: Not having to rely on an expensive capital outlay for presses or for a physical distribution network may mean that every person can become a publisher.

However, *The Media Monopoly* does not recognize these developments. Perhaps this is because the author believes that they will make no difference so long as they are part of a society which suffers from a "fundamental imbalance of power," wherein "corporate power, ex-

ercised through the media and government, openly ridicules governmental functions that serve ordinary people, while demanding that government further enrich private fortunes."

According to Bagdikian's premise, the media powers should have been reluctant to run a favorable interview with him in *The Boston Globe*, or hesitant to give prominent space to a review of his work in the Books Section of the Sunday *New York Times*. I wonder if he finds it curious that these "capitalist tools" have given him and his book substantial attention, much of it sympathetic. Nor is it happenstance that *The Media Monopoly* found a publisher, for there always will be publishing houses, so long as there are entrepreneurs.

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*Ben Compaine is lead author of Who Owns the Media? Concentration of Ownership in the Mass Communications Industry (2nd ed., 1983). He is executive director of the Program on Information Resources Policy at Harvard University, and he has been a reporter and publisher of a weekly newspaper.*

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his sisters could escape from the Communist-occupied village of Lia to join their father in America. Gage's search for and the discovery of the story behind Eleni's death form the core of his book. A former investigative reporter for *The New York Times*, who also served as the *Times*' correspondent in Athens, Gage was ideally trained for his research, and by 1980, he had decided that he would either have to devote full time to the investigation or abandon it altogether.

The longer Gage waited, the less likely he would be able to track down Eleni's aging contemporaries — fellow villagers, Communist guerrilla leaders and others with first-hand knowledge and fading recollections of what had transpired when the tiny mountain town of Lia became an impotent pawn in the struggle between the guerrillas and the Greek Nationalist forces. Moreover, the signs were propitious, as Gage recounted: "In 1980 I was 41-years-old, the same age that my mother had been when she was killed. My son was 9, as I was on the day I learned she was dead. My older daughter, growing out of babyhood, resembled my mother more every day. Seeing my children had taught me a lesson that made my mother's story easier to confront."

So Gage left the *Times* and began the meticulous historical research and investigation required to reconstruct the world from which he had escaped in 1948. According to its book jacket, *Eleni* is the saga of "a savage war, a mother's love and a son's revenge." In fact, Gage's work exceeds that description and proves to be gripping, memorable, and meaningful on several different levels. One can quibble with his decision to recreate the thoughts and feelings of Eleni and others who are dead, based on his interviews with survivors who talked with them throughout the period covered in the book.

But this reader, for this particular work of extremely personal history, does not choose to do so. When one has raced through or savored all 470 pages of *Eleni*, and somehow suppressed or temporarily put aside the horror and revulsion at countrymen's inhumanity to

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## The Tribute Is Love

### Eleni

Nicholas Gage. Random House, New York, 1983, \$15.95

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by William K. Marimow

... Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

Martin Luther King,  
accepting the Nobel Prize,  
December 11, 1964

The reader of Nicholas Gage's new book *Eleni* cannot be certain whether the author was familiar with

King's words as he pursued his mission to reconstruct and avenge the murder of his mother thirty-two years earlier in the small Greek mountain village of his birth.

But there can be no doubt whatsoever that Gage's decision to spare the life of the man who ordered her execution — once he had unearthed his identity and confronted him in person — was consistent with King's highest ideals.

That decision, as much as the book itself, is a tribute to Eleni, Nicholas Gage's mother, who died so that he and

fellow countrymen, one is likely to feel admiration, sympathy and awe for Eleni. For this book vindicates and affirms the values that Eleni communicated to Gage and his sisters, silently, instinctively and lovingly, more than thirty-five years ago. It is an affirmation of the "method," referred to by Dr. King, that rejects revenge, and the biblical mandate of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," for love.

As much as Gage thirsts for revenge against Katis, the man who presided at his mother's trial, Gage finds that the thought of his children prevents him from taking any violent action against him. "I've learned that I can't do it," Gage writes in his closing paragraph. "My mother's love, the primary impulse of her life, still binds us together, often surrounding me like a tangible presence. Summoning the hate necessary to kill Katis would sever the bridge connecting us and destroy the part of me that is most like Eleni."

In order to understand the world in which Eleni Gatzoyiannis lived and died and, thus, in order to understand why she *had* to die, Gage unavoidably must review the political and social upheavals which buffeted Greece from 1940 to 1949. In those ten years, 600,000 Greeks died during successive invasions by Italy and Germany and during the intervening, but inevitably violent, clashes between Greek Communists and rightist forces.

Only through the perspective of Greek history can one grasp the roots of the insoluble quandary which led a peasant woman of 41 to defy the Communist occupation forces and dispatch her family to freedom at the risk of her own life. In relating that history, without belaboring it, Gage also establishes for the uninformed reader the rightful place not only for his family but for the entire Greek people among those who suffered most deeply from the ravages and dislocations of World War II.

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

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## Words Against The Wall

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*continued from page 2*

leftist, *Aydinlik*. Martial law brought automatic censorship, and the National Security Council issued decrees further restricting the press. Prison sentences for criticising the new government were doubled if the criticism came through the media.

Newspaper editors applied self-censorship... as they became aware that the military rulers would accept no criticism, however well-meaning. Turkey's major dailies sporadically disappeared from newsstands as temporary bans halted their publication. Journalists throughout the political spectrum found themselves in and out of jail. Four out of the country's five leading dailies were closed down at one time or another, the sole exception being *Milliyet*.

The practice of journalism continues to be a perilous profession in Turkey. Among the incidents of the past twenty months are the following:

► The Minister of the Interior imposed a special ban from leaving the country on Ismet Imset, the Turkish correspondent of UPI. Imset, 23, was required to work at the wire service's London bureau, and he had no passport. In February, after days of dealing with the bureaucracy, he was referred to a police station in Istanbul. There he was blindfolded and beaten and later released. Police documents on him now are stamped "banned from leaving the country."

As a Turkish journalist working for the Western press and writing on issues of human rights, he was especially vulnerable to the abuse of those rights. As of July, he was still the object of constant police harassment.

► A military court sentenced Irfan Asik to jail for nine months for "spreading communism and insulting Turkey's armed forces." Asik was editor-in-chief of *Partizan*, a magazine now banned.

► A martial law court sentence Nahit Duru, editor of the political weekly

magazine *Arayis*, for printing an unsigned article in defense of former Prime Minister Bulen Ecevit.

► Martial law authorities in Istanbul seized copies of the weekly magazine *Hayat* (Life) containing an article by the ex-Prime Minister, Suleyman Demiral. The periodical was confiscated throughout the country for violation of Decree 52, a military order prohibiting all public discussion of politics.

► In February the authorities imposed an order against the print and electronic press that banned all quotations from foreign radio and press.

► A martial law court sentenced Maci Ali Ozer to twenty-seven years in prison. Mr. Ozer, editor-in-chief of the left-wing magazine *Emegin Birliigi* (Union of Labor), was accused of "issuing communist propaganda, praise for communism and Kurdish propaganda, and of weakening national feelings."

The International Press Institute and the Committee to Protect Journalists are among the press organizations that keep a log of such repressive actions and, from time to time, make formal protest to the Turkish authorities.

More than 250 years ago, during the reign of Ahmed III from 1703-30, the Turks refused to learn any European languages and knew little of what was going on in the outside world. Few books on philosophy, mathematics, and history were printed during this period, but literature — poetry in particular — flourished. Many of the great Turkish poets were from this age.

The same spirit survives; it reveals itself at unexpected moments.

A Turkish journalist, who loves his nation with affection, recently told a friend, "My country will soon become like others such as Korea and the Philippines. The press is more and more stifled." He continued, "That is a heavy stone. But I place it on my heart and I carry it with me. One day, I may be able to put it down."

— T.B.K.L.

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# The Cost Of Competition

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*continued from page 11*

its resources are committed to developing other stories? Why not devote more time to staying with a story or providing an overview, instead of going after the big blast only to find a fizzle? Why not de-emphasize certain scoops particularly when the information would be revealed anyway, and instead target stories where the public wouldn't otherwise be informed? Appropriate restraint over time seems more consistent with the responsibilities of news than being driven to excesses by competition.

Network news organizations are usually immune to the same kind of scrutiny to which they subject others. Granted, this exists because of the First Amendment rights and efforts to protect the editorial process. But, there's a strong argument for network news to engage in the process of self-criticism. Perhaps that phase is beginning, al-

though the results are yet to be seen.

ABC offers an interesting but infrequent program called *Viewpoint* in which the audience is allowed to ask questions of network executives and reporters on a designated topic. CBS sponsored programs where a variety of news personalities and others from the community at issue were given hypothetical cases and asked to comment. But these hardly suffice to address the size and complexity of the problems, nor do they air frequently enough to make much difference.

The real challenge is for national news organizations to encourage further self-evaluation with the purpose of achieving a more reflective and less frenetic approach to the news. Alternatively, if the trend toward beating the opposition at any cost continues, it will erode the networks' most precious commodity — their credibility. □

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# Good Words — Poor Pathways

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*continued from page 35*

restricting freedoms in the interests of public order, etc. [sic]." One might wonder what other restrictions this would cover.

There follows in the report a detailed statement on a right to communicate for which there reportedly was "general support."

1. The very first sentence indicates a right to communicate would "belong" to "individuals . . . groups, communities, peoples and states."

2. The right would "include" — in other words, subordinate — Article 19 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provides that:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions with-

out interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

3. The Bucharest report asserts that individuals and groups who wish to "use" channels of communications should have "access" to them and opportunities for "participation" in them.

4. Such "access" should be available for those "who wish to take part in public affairs" to exercise a wide variety of very broadly stated rights listed by title only in no fewer than thirteen sections of various other documents.

Just a glance at the titles listed in the Bucharest report will indicate the vastness of these subjects — education . . . culture . . . science . . . and others. Try to imagine what an editor — what you — might encounter when somebody comes to your office to demand space to air

such broad concerns.

5. The next paragraph states that "restrictions on the exercise of the right to communicate should be strictly confined to those authorized by international law." Several sources for such restrictions are given. These refer, again by reference only, to listed sections of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Again, it is necessary to go to these other documents to see what is intended. It is worth the trip.

One section says "everyone has duties to the community" and says "everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are (necessary) for morality, public order and the general welfare."

It continues, "these rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

Does this mean the U.N. should decide when the right to communicate might be limited?

Another of the sections cites "special duties and responsibilities." It says there may be "certain restrictions, but these shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary for respect of the rights or reputations of others (and) for the protection of national security . . . public order . . . public health or morals."

Again, this is a very general basis for restrictions.

A further section says "any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law" and "any . . . incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law."

6. Finally, the statement of the Bucharest meeting states that individuals and groups should be able to participate "at all relevant levels and at all stages in communication."

For just a moment, consider how such often good-sounding language could be read — rather than how you might like it to be read. Imagine how someone might misuse it. Just string some of these phrases together, for example, and you quickly see they describe: A right for "states" . . . to "use" the channels of communication . . . and

to "participate" in them... at "all relevant levels and at all stages."

They also propose subordination of Article 19 (the "First Amendment of the World"), open-ended permission for all sorts of trespasses on the work of journalists, the broadest possible list of reasons to justify such trespasses, an open door for what erroneously are called "strictly confined" restrictions, and possible usurpation of editorial functions at every level. In its thrust and reach, it is strikingly similar to the mandatory code of conduct that South Africa would like to force on South African journalists.

I cannot believe this is what many of those urging a right to communicate want. If it is, we should beware.

In the section of the UNESCO Draft Budget for 1984-1985 dealing with a right to communicate, one expected result of this program is given as:

Improved understanding of the relationship between the notions of the "freedom" and "responsibility" of communicators.

If we ever presume that freedom is no more than a "notion"... we won't have it. □

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## Women And Minorities Win Big

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*continued from page 25*

Goodman and Sidney Reitman — will be paid about \$500,000 by the Associated Press.

Like similar out-of-court settlements with women employees of *Reader's Digest*, NBC and *The New York Times*, the plan requires an extensive affirmative action program. For the next five years, thirty-seven percent of AP's new hires must be women, five percent must be blacks and five percent must be Hispanics.

More promotions are required, too, as the wire service must set goals for appointing women as news editors, foreign correspondents, bureau chiefs, executive positions, and other jobs. Some \$50,000 is to be spent on bonuses of \$1,250 each to women who are promoted. Another \$50,000 must be spent to train women for higher positions.

Under the agreement, all job vacancies must be posted and all employees evaluated at least once a year for merit raises.

The wire service also must spend \$100,000 on a special program to recruit blacks and Hispanics, including a summer intern program beginning in 1984 for twelve minority students. Each intern who is hired after graduation will be given a \$1,500 bonus, the agreement

states. The Associated Press must also hire a black college professor on sabbatical each summer to help recruit students and must attend at least fifteen college campuses and three professional conferences each year to locate qualified minority applicants.

During the years of litigation, Judge Pierre Laval overruled several Associated Press motions to keep its personnel records secret. The wire service cited both First Amendment grounds and national security in its attempts to keep its records closed, but Judge Laval ruled they were similar to personnel files in other businesses and so were not protected from scrutiny.

"For women, this will open the doors for high-level news jobs," said Christian, who worked for the Associated Press for twelve years. "This makes a major breakthrough in foreign correspondents jobs because most newspapers hire former wire service reporters."

Filing the suit against her employer just before her Nieman year led to a "lukewarm reception" upon her return to AP, Christian said. "I never suffered at the working level, but promotions were arranged by vice presidents and above. When the *Herald's* offer came along I took it, because I had the feeling there wasn't a good future for me at AP."

Another plaintiff, Ginny Pitts, said several of her complaints that prompted her to file the suit parallel those of a Kansas City anchorwoman who claimed she was demoted because of complaints about her appearance.

"There was a great emphasis on appearance by AP, but only when it came to women," she said. "I'm five-foot, nine inches and was 138 pounds. I was told if I could lose a few pounds and fix myself up, I had the potential to become a bureau chief. At the same time there was a male bureau chief (in New England) weighing well over 300 pounds. So this didn't apply to men."

Pendergast, of AP, said he was unaware of any bureau chief of that weight and said men and women bureau chiefs are "expected to dress and comport themselves responsibly."

Pendergast praised Pitts as a "stand-out" talent. Pitts, a former desk editor for AP in New York, said "My greatest hope is that it will improve the Associated Press." Her former colleague, Christian, noted, "Under the pressure of this lawsuit all these years, the AP has gradually changed. This settlement will do great things for both sides."

The wire service has an enormous reach. The latest available figures show that its copy is used by 1,317 newspapers and 3,831 radio and television stations across the United States. □

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## Colonel Barbie

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*continued from page 29*

"When a Marshal of France told this man it was his patriotic duty to do these things, how was he, a former soldier, to know that it was wrong?"

He unrolled a scroll.

"Here is the order of the 152nd Division, awarded to Albert Saurat in the Great War of 1914-18. He wounded three German officers and helped to capture ten Germans. He was cited for great bravery and awarded the Croix de Guerre. You, as French officers, will



surely take these facts into consideration."

Major Blet, the prosecutor, rose for his final statement: "That Albert Saurat had a fine war record makes it only the more heinous that he should commit the crime of bearing arms against France."

The crowd, which overflowed into the street, began to applaud. Colonel Martin silenced them with a roar, then arose, saluted, and stalked into chambers, followed by the other four judges.

They returned shortly. Everyone stood. Colonel Martin saluted, then read aloud from a paper as the other four stood at salute: "Having found him guilty of the above charges, Albert

Saurat is hereby deprived of his citizenship, his property, and is condemned to death."

There were many Saurats, not all in uniform, and even by that time thousands of refugees with forged papers were pouring into the city to regain their rightful identities. They had to go before administrative officials — often the same bureaucrats who a few months before had sought to intern and deport them.

Indeed, for many of those Lyonnaise surviving today, their greatest fear may not be that Colonel Barbie will refuse to tell all he knows, but that he may, in fact, do so. □

providing all possible help to reporters to cover the news, nevertheless, put incredible restraints on what they could report. And its penchant for a free press does not extend to the countries considered to be within their orbit: The fact that the Western press was unprepared and shocked at the speed with which the Shah of Iran fell, was an admission that it had not covered the country properly. Even *The New York Times* did not have a man in Teheran when the troubles started, although for nearly two decades, Iran was the linchpin of the American effort in the region.

But if those correspondents who covered Iran as part of their Middle Eastern beat had done their homework and filed stories about the havoc caused by Harvard or Stanford graduates and others of that ilk by their "modernization" schemes on a country ill-prepared for them, the journalists might have been expelled for their pains, or worse, but at least their readers and viewers would have understood why a septuagenarian exile was able to turn the country upside down in less than a year after the Shah left.

The Western denunciation of the UNESCO scheme appears to be based on geopolitics rather than the desire for a free press. But the Western media do not seem to have any plans for changes except broad generalities. The feeling of being manipulated in a cold war confrontation is not a situation that Third World countries like to live with. One reason why they support the Soviet espousal of their cause with enthusiasm is that they hope to stand on their own feet in the end.

The Western contention that ultimately it could only be disastrous is of little import to a country already drowning in its own problems. Any straw is to be grasped, and the enemy you don't know may turn out to be your friend, but if it doesn't work out that way, then the already tight belt must be made a little tighter. But it always has been like that since independence. The desire to control one's destiny is not new, and the new information order is one expression of that feeling. But what is the West doing about it? □

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## Freedom Of The Press

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*continued from page 34*

lations. If these agencies had considered this aspect of their operations, the criticism against them would not have been so severe.

The well-intentioned plea, like that sixty years ago against the Reuters' domination of American news, is being argued out of existence by the bureaucrats and journalists of the Third World and Western governments with such premises as apparent threats to freedom of the press or the management of news. This confrontation hides the similarities that exist among governments and among journalists, whether they come from rich, poor, capitalist or communist countries. The desire to control unfavorable information is common to governments everywhere, only the degree of control differs. And journalists everywhere have the instinct to find out what is happening. The tighter the official control of the press, I have found, the better informed the journalists seem to be.

There is something in common between Mr. Kissinger or Mr. Haig and Emperor Bokassa, as he then was, of the Central African Empire, as it then was. Messrs. Kissinger and Haig ordered wire taps on journalists and officials alike

after embarrassing leaks appeared on the front pages of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*. The Emperor ordered the arrest of correspondents who dared report the indiscriminate shooting of schoolchildren who protested against the high cost of uniforms. The attitudes are the same, even if the methods are not. A case can even be made to suggest they would be just as authoritarian if their roles were reversed.

The blanket denunciation of the Western news agencies to the UNESCO proposals stems from a contested thesis that this would inhibit the free flow of news. Perhaps, it would. But my argument is that there is no free flow of news along the lines the Western media suggests. We in the Third World still know more about the lives of Hollywood film stars and the newly rich in the West than we do about our own neighboring countries. An accident on an American freeway still rates better coverage in Malaysia than a landslide in Indonesia that kills hundreds, and it highlights the priorities of the agencies rather than the subeditor who selects the news on his daily paper, radio and television station and who is often unfairly blamed for it.

It was the United States which while

# LETTERS



## Thanks From A Charter Subscriber

I have been a subscriber, with pleasure, to *Nieman Reports* since its first issue. Until my retirement from City College several years ago, I directed its journalism program for some forty years.

I like what's been done with *Nieman Reports*. . . My compliments and good wishes.

IRVING ROSENTHAL  
Great Neck, New York

## A Nieman Spouse Approves

You all showed great discrimination in putting the photo of the Class of 1951 on the cover of *Nieman Reports*.

We always said it was the best of all the classes and are glad to have it confirmed. Thanks.

ALICE THUERMER  
Middleburg, Virginia

## An Alumnus Adds To The Record

You probably have the names of the Class of '39, but I'll repeat, just in case. Front row: Osburn Zuber, Wesley Fuller, Edwin A. Lahey, Archibald MacLeish, H. H. Lyons; rear, Arthur Wild, University news officer, Irving Dilliard, John M. Clark, Edwin Paxton, Louis Lyons, Frank S. Hopkins.

Only ones now alive — Dilliard, Paxton, Zuber, Hopkins. I was 31 on March 8, 1939. My wife and I had the first Nieman baby on February 20, 1939 — now Professor Nicholas S. Hopkins, American University of Cairo, Egypt.

I was the median in age of our group — Paxton, Fuller, Clark, and H. H. Lyons younger; Zuber, Lahey, Dilliard

and L. M. Lyons, older. Range, 25 to 40 at the time we gathered.

Keep up the good work on *Nieman Reports*.

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS  
Bethesda, Maryland

## That Infamous Dinner

Speaking as Louis Lyons might, Tom Griffith's piece about him was "good, worth reading."

Our class ('41) will long remember that "most disastrous event of twenty-five years." It took place at the Signet Society, when guest speaker Westbrook Pegler walked out. Harry Montgomery, who had worked for Hearst before joining AP, recalled knowing Pegler's father, Arthur. Pegler reminisced that Hearst, for some reason, always did his firing at Christmas time, and how gloomy one Christmas was when Arthur was fired from the Chicago *Examiner*.

Pegler, a great sportswriter whom Roy Howard had set to general punditry, had distinguished himself in his very first column by defending a lynching in San Jose. Subsequently he had turned his vituperative skill to attacking everyone from FDR and Eleanor ("la Boca Grande") to John L. Lewis, unions in general, and the fledgling Newspaper Guild in particular.

Montgomery, who would become deputy general manager of AP, had been active in the Guild in Hearst's INS and had headed its New York unit. When Pegler told of his father's firing, Montgomery said, "Mr. Pegler, if there'd been a Guild at the time, your father might have fared better." This made Pegler

visibly angry, but he restrained himself.

As Dean Landis and I were chatting between courses, Landis said, "Isn't it remarkable that he can tell a story like that and not relate it to what unions are all about."

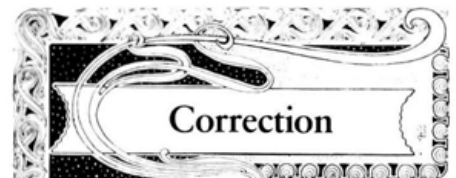
After dinner, over the post-prandial scotches, all of were leaning over backward to be nice to Pegler. Montgomery, deeply philosophical by nature, and engrossed in its study, asked Pegler some questions seeking to learn what basic philosophy guided him in going after his various targets. One question was, "Would you say that in what you write you are trying to help humanity?"

Pegler's scowl kept deepening. He said something like, "All I'm trying to do is get the sunsuvbitches."

Harry kept pressing for his guiding philosophy. "I seem to sense the hand here of a collective bargainer," growled Pegler. Harry assured him he was not attacking his views, only seeking to learn what they were.

"I still sense the hand of a collective bargainer," snapped Pegler, got up and walked to the front door. I can still see Lyons standing there at the door trying to dissuade him: "It's cold out there, let me at least drive you to the station." Said Pegler: "Thank you, I'll walk." And did.

WILLIAM J. MILLER  
Truro, Massachusetts



References to "Peter Keyes" in the transcript of Morton Mintz's talk at the Washington Nieman dinner in April ("The Growth of a Reporter," NR, Summer 1983) should have read "Peter Kihss."

Herewith, our apologies — especially to Messrs. Kihss and Mintz.

# Nieman Class Of 1984 Appointed

**T**welve American journalists have been appointed to the 46th class of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. Established in 1938 through a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman, the Fellowships provide a year of study in any part of the University.

The five men and seven women in the new Nieman class are:

**NINA BERNSTEIN**, 33, reporter with *The Milwaukee (Wisc.) Journal*. Bernstein holds a B.A. from Radcliffe/Harvard University. At Harvard she will study American social history, public policy, law, political economy, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature.

**BRUCE BUTTERFIELD**, 37, special writer with *The Providence (R.I.) Journal-Bulletin*. Butterfield received his B.S. from Suffolk University. He plans to study the history of American labor, with an emphasis on the political and moral changes it has brought about in society. He will take courses in American history, social science, government, and environmental hazards of the workplace, particularly those associated with low-level exposure to radiation and industrial chemicals. He will also study nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western literature.

**CONROY CHINO**, 33, investigative reporter with KOAT-TV, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Chino's B.A. is from the University of New Mexico. At Harvard his studies will focus on philosophy, literature of the twentieth century, Constitutional law, and history of the American Southwest.

Chino's Nieman Fellowship will be supported by a Fund for Higher Education gift from Leonard Goldenson, chairman of the board, American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. (ABC).

**D'VERA COHN**, 31, reporter with United Press International, Washington, D.C. Cohn holds a B.A. from Bryn Mawr College. Her study plan will specialize on the economics of health

care, including public health policy, and medical ethics, as well as Western literature.

**JANE DAUGHERTY**, 33, reporter with *The Miami Herald*. Daugherty received her B.A. and her M.A. from the University of South Florida. Her program of study at Harvard will include the history of social welfare in the United States and national economic conditions in regard to growth, unemployment, inflation, and fiscal and monetary policy.

**NANCY WEBB HATTON**, 32, national reporter, *The Detroit News*. Hatton is a graduate of the University of Kentucky. Her Nieman year will focus on social movements in the United States and the impact of attitudes on social change. She will take courses in American social history, marketing principles, the philosophy of law, and statistics and polling methods.

**DERRICK JACKSON**, 28, sports reporter, *Newsday*, Long Island, New York. Jackson holds a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. He plans to study current affairs in America and the Third World, their sociology and political systems, law as it relates to sports, and conversational Spanish.

**JAN JARBOE**, 32, columnist with the *San Antonio (Texas) Express-News*. Jarboe received her B.J. from the Uni-

versity of Texas, Austin. At Harvard she will concentrate on economics, including the changes in business from industry to information, high technology, urban planning and the future of cities, and state and local government.

**ALBERT LINDLER**, 34, reporter with *The Great Falls (Montana) Tribune*. Lindler is a graduate of William and Mary College; he has his M.A. from the University of Missouri. His program of studies at Harvard will focus on the issue of federal ownership and public land management in Western United States, and include courses in economics, American history, and international relations.

**M. R. MONTGOMERY**, 45, general assignment reporter, *The Boston Globe*. Montgomery received his B.A. from Stanford University; his M.A. from the University of Oregon. During his Nieman year, his study plan will concentrate on the principles of statistical analysis and financial management.

**WENDY ROSS**, 41, deputy news editor, *The Washington Post*. Ross holds a B.A. from Bradley University. She will focus her studies at Harvard on the Middle East, as well as courses in elementary economic theory, issues involving nuclear arms, basic graphic design as applied to newspaper layout, and theories of the formation of the solar system.

**JACQUELINE THOMAS**, 30, reporter with the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Thomas received her B.A. from Briarcliff College; her M.I.A. from Columbia University. At Harvard she plans to study the function of the United States government in regard to the country's socio-economic ills, and the implications of changes in the American value system for public policy and social institutions.

Thomas' Nieman Fellowship is supported by a grant for minority journalists from the Gannett Foundation.

Nieman Fellows from other countries will be announced in the next issue.



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# NIEMAN NOTES

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**A**mong the following notes about Nieman Fellows as they come and go, there is news of a Nieman first that may well provide a subject for discussion at many dinner tables. Ultimately it even may affect the demographics at some of our leading institutions. Have we piqued your interest?

— 1943 —

Word has reached us of the death of JAMES P. ETHERIDGE in Tallahassee, Florida, on February 3, 1983, after a short illness. He was 72.

Etheridge was a former managing editor of the *Orlando Sentinel-Star*, now known as the *Orlando Sentinel*. He left journalism for a lengthy career in state government and became politically prominent in the early 1950's as campaign manager for gubernatorial candidate Brailey Odham.

In 1970 he won the 16th annual John Kilgore Headliner Award, given by the Capital Press Club of Florida. He was chosen as the best example of a government worker who gets little recognition while making major contributions to the people's right to know about public affairs. When he retired in the late 1970's, he was cabinet adviser on environmental affairs for the state attorney general. Over the years, his interests included the development of a junior college system, improved roads, and civil rights. His biggest love, however, was his educational television program, now part of the state's Department of Education.

Etheridge launched the television project in the 1950's. "Jim Etheridge created educational television in Florida," Odham commented. "He was interested in getting people the information they needed to make intelligent decisions."

Etheridge had also held various positions with the *Tampa Daily Times*, the *Miami Herald*, and the *St. Petersburg Times*. He was a graduate of Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, his native state.

FRANK KELLY writes from Santa Barbara, California, that he made his first trip to the Soviet Union for ten days in April. In Moscow he addressed a group of Soviet offi-

cials and Americans, members of the USA-USSR Citizens Dialogue Committee. While there, he visited with ROBERT GILLETTE (NF '76), posted in that city for *The Los Angeles Times*.

Kelley is the senior vice president of a small new organization, the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, an educational group dedicated to continuing in-depth inquiry, evaluation, and communication of information for achieving peaceful resolution of conflict, global security, and peace in the nuclear age.

The next issue of NR will include an account of Kelly's talk, together with excerpts from an interview with the returning traveler that appeared in the *Santa Barbara News-Press*.

Meanwhile, those who wish to know more about the fledgling organization should write to:

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation  
233A East Carrillo Street  
Santa Barbara, CA 93101  
Tel. 905/965-4561

— 1945 —

A. B. GUTHRIE, Jr. is among the eight journalists inducted into the Kentucky Journalism Hall of Fame last April at the University of Kentucky in Lexington.

Guthrie, author and Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, is former executive editor of the *Lexington Leader*.

— 1946 —

FRANK HEWLETT, an award-winning correspondent in World War II and longtime reporter in the nation's capital, died July 7th of bronchial pneumonia in Arlington, Virginia. He was 74 years old.

Hewlett was the Manila bureau chief for United Press, the forerunner of United Press International, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941. He was the last reporter to leave Corregidor Island in Manila Bay before it fell to the Japanese in 1942, and his reporting of the fall of Bataan and Corregidor won the National Headline Award that year.

Before his retirement in 1981, Hewlett was Washington bureau chief of *The Salt Lake Tribune* for twenty-three years. In his many years in Washington he also reported for *The Seattle Times*, *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, *Tulsa World*, *Albuquerque Journal*, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, and *Guam Daily News*.

He was born in Pocatello, Idaho, and attended Idaho State University.

— 1949 —

GRADY CLAY, author, editor of *Landscape Architecture* magazine, and former Bingham Professor of Humanities at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, has given his collection of maps to the University; it was announced in July by the Public Information Office. During his journalistic and military travels, Clay collected more than 2,150 maps and cartographic documents.

"Maps are a handy device for carrying the world around in your pocket," Clay said, "and are one of today's underdeveloped art forms." He added that contemporary cartographers have become obsessed with computerized map images to the neglect of maps as fine works of art.

Among his prizes were French military maps using the once popular *bachure*, or shaded contour, method of showing mountains and valleys. Requiring highly skilled draftsmen, these *bachure* maps have become rare and very expensive, he noted.

Another rare find was an airline route map from Germany in the 1930's. Every flight scheduled then could be shown on one map, with each flight radiating from its city of origin to its destination. "You could hardly get all that information about one major airport on a single map today," Clay observed.

Among the collection are maps that were given to Clay by British soldiers who had occupied a captured French map depot in the city of Lyons, France, during World War II. Clay recalls rolling them tightly into a captured German 88mm artillery shell container to protect them on his return trip from France to Louisville.

Another discovery was a set of maps of the British coast, made by the Germans in preparation for their aborted "invasion of England." When Paris fell to the Allied troops



in 1944, the British captured the German maps, turned them over, and on the reverse side printed their own "invasion maps" of Germany, as map paper was quite scarce at the time. Clay retrieved the two-faced maps from discards he found while attending a conference in Paris.

Among the more valuable documents in the collection are historical maps from the original survey of Los Angeles, from around 1830 to 1840.

Clay's gift also includes a rare set of reprints from Basilisk Press, London, of the famous "Red Books" produced by Sir Humphry Repton, noted English landscape architect, between 1788 and 1795. These books were one-of-a-kind, each produced for one landowner client. Repton pioneered in the use of hand-colored before-and-after sketches that showed his proposals for the large estates of wealthy landowners. Many historians describe Repton as the father of the profession of landscape architecture.

— 1950 —

CLARK MOLLENHOFF, reporter with the *Washington Times* and faculty member of Washington and Lee University, where he teaches journalism, has emerged as a poet. His poem, "Teacher," was read by President Reagan at the close of his June 15th speech before the 87th annual convention of the Parent-Teacher Association. The President described Mollenhoff as a "tough-minded journalist who also understands the crucial importance of parents and teachers."

— 1951 —

ROY FISHER has been named director of the program for governmental reporting of the University of Missouri's School of Journalism in Washington, D.C. Fisher, who was editor of *The Chicago Daily News* before it closed, was most recently dean of the University of Missouri's journalism school in Columbia, a post he held from 1972 to 1982.

The 75-year-old journalism school, the oldest in the nation, provides undergraduate and graduate training for 1,000 students, and its graduates include some of the nation's most distinguished journalists.

— 1955 —

WILLIAM J. WOESTENDIEK, editorial director of *The Plain Dealer* in Cleveland,

Ohio, is the 1983-84 membership chairman for the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

— 1958 —

STANLEY KARNOW, former Asian correspondent for Time-Life and *The Washington Post*, is the author of *Vietnam: A History*, to be published in October by the Viking Press, in association with *Vietnam: A Television History*, a thirteen-part series to be broadcast on the PBS network in the fall of 1983.

The book is the first complete history of the battles, the politics, and the anguish of Vietnam at war, from the days of French dominion through Johnson's escalation, the Tet offensive, Nixon's war in Cambodia, and the final withdrawal of American troops.

Karnow is chief correspondent for the television series; Richard Ellison of WGBH-TV in Boston is the producer.

— 1960 —

REG MURPHY was among the panelists who spoke on budgeting in the newsroom at the annual spring conference of the Institute of Newspaper Controllers and Financial Officers in Maui, Hawaii. Murphy is president and publisher of the Baltimore *Sunpapers*.

News from EDMUND ROONEY: "Our second son, John F. Rooney, with Chicago's City News Bureau, was the first reporter to break the Tylenol story. . . ." Young Rooney won, for the 93-year-old newsgathering organization, top prize in the news bureau reporting category of the Peter Lisagor (NF '49) awards competition.

The senior Rooney, longtime *Daily News* reporter, is now director of the National Center for Freedom of Information Studies at Loyola University of Chicago.

— 1961 —

DONALD BRAZIER, the first ombudsman named at the *Seattle Times* back in 1977 and before that assistant managing editor, features, for ten years, retired on June 30th.

Brazier, who went from campus correspondent at the University of Washington to the *Seattle Times* and stayed forty-one years, is a past president of the American Associa-

tion of Sunday and Feature Editors. He also has been active in the Organization of Newspaper Ombudsmen.

ROBERT P. CLARK, editor of the *Florida Times-Union* and the *Jacksonville Journal* for the past three years, joined Harte-Hanks Communications this summer as vice president, news, for the company's newspaper operations area of business. In the newly created position, Clark will work with Harte-Hanks publishers, editors, and the company's editorial council on a broad range of editorial matters. He will be based at the corporate office in San Antonio.

Prior to his post with the Florida newspapers, he had been executive editor of the *Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times* for eight years. He joined the *Courier-Journal* in 1949 as a reporter, was managing editor of the *Times* from 1962 to 1979, and became executive editor of both papers in 1971.

— 1962 —

*The Evening Stars: The Making of the Network News Anchor* by Barbara Matusow was published this summer by Houghton Mifflin. Her book describes the competition between the networks for star-quality journalists.

Matusow is married to JACK NELSON, Washington bureau chief for *The Los Angeles Times*.

— 1966 —

ROBERT MAYNARD, editor of *The Oakland Tribune* since 1979, has purchased that newspaper from the Gannett Company for \$22 million. He is the majority stockholder and will head the new corporation of Oakland Tribune, Inc. He will be president, editor, and publisher. He has named seven outside directors to an advisory board, including former U.S. Ambassador to Ghana Shirley Temple Black and Alex Haley, author of *Roots*.

Maynard, who believes he may be the first black to own a general circulation metropolitan American newspaper, has held a series of positions, including associate editor and ombudsman, with *The Washington Post* before joining the *Tribune*.

*The Oakland Tribune* was founded 109 years ago by the Knowland family. It now has a circulation of 175,000.

— 1967 —

ALVIN SHUSTER, formerly assistant editorial page editor, has been named foreign editor of *The Los Angeles Times*. Among other activities, he will direct a team of twenty full-time foreign correspondents.

JAMES WHELAN, publisher and editor of the *Washington Times*, helped to celebrate the newspaper's first anniversary, May 17th, at the National Press Club when he was the featured speaker at a luncheon.

Whelan also addressed the Rotary International Annual Conference in District 636 three days earlier on May 14th in Traverse City, Michigan, on the same subject. The next issue of NR will carry an account of his speeches.

Whelan is among the thirty members named to serve on a new commission to study the role of the media. "The National Commission on a Free and Responsible Media" is being conducted by Citizens Choice, a 75,000-member lobbying group affiliated with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

During the next year in Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Washington, Dallas, and New York, the group is planning to hold hearings on different aspects of the media and their impact on society. The results of the commission will be released in a report at the conclusion of the six hearings.

— 1968 —

EDMUND LAMBETH, until recently a journalism professor at Indiana University, has been named the new director of the School of Journalism at the University of Kentucky in Lexington where, he writes, MICHAEL KIRKHORN (NF '71) is a colleague.

At Indiana University, Lambeth coordinated the science program. He has been an investigative reporter for *The Milwaukee Journal* and from 1962-68 was Washington correspondent for Gannett Newspapers. He established the Washington Reporting Program of the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1968 and for the next ten years directed the program. He then joined the Indiana University faculty.

— 1969 —

RICHARD LONGWORTH, formerly economics reporter, has been named eco-

nomics correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. Longworth and Bill Neikirk, of the newspaper's Washington bureau, received a citation from the National Press Club this past spring for Washington correspondence that emphasized regional subjects. Their award-winning series was written on the Reaganomics of 1982 and its impact on business and society.

— 1975 —

GENE PELL, chief correspondent and Washington bureau chief for Metromedia's WCVB-TV in Boston, returned to the Voice of America as deputy director on August 19th.

A former NBC and Westinghouse network correspondent and longtime Boston broadcast newsman, Pell went to WCVB-TV last October after serving as VOA's director of news and current affairs.

— 1977 —

JOSÉ-ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ-SOLER and his wife, Ana Westley, paid a surprise visit to Lippmann House during their July vacation in the States. Martínez-Soler, chief economics editor of *El País*, Madrid, Spain, said he was celebrating his "official demotion" from management. As of September he will be senior investigative reporter, the first so named in Spain's history. The newspaper will use the English term to explain the new job. Martínez-Soler formerly was foreign editor.

Westley writes for *The Wall Street Journal*, European edition, and *The Christian Science Monitor*.

— 1978 —

MOLLY SINCLAIR, consumer affairs reporter for *The Washington Post*, was among those honored in June at the Consumer Federation of America's Thirteenth Annual Awards Dinner. She was feted for "Outstanding Consumer Media Service."

Others who were named that evening for distinguished consumer service were: Senator Claiborne Pell, Congressman Henry A. Waxman, J. C. Turner, and Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal.

An earlier winner of the Outstanding Consumer Media Award is MORTON MINTZ (NF '64), also a reporter with *The Washington Post*.

— 1980 —

WILLIAM GRANT, education writer with the *San Francisco Chronicle*, will join WGBH-TV in Boston in September to be the series editor of *Frontline*, a PBS public affairs service. The program's cumulative ratings for the past season were the largest for such a series in the history of PBS. *Frontline* had a 5.1 cumulative rating which translates into 4.7 million homes a week.

BISTRA LANKOVA has sent us the sad news of her brother's death: Vladimir Lankov, former Washington correspondent for *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the main Bulgarian daily newspaper, died May 10th following emergency brain surgery for injuries he suffered in an accidental fall at his home in Sofia, Bulgaria. He was 42 years old.

During Mr. Lankov's tenure as the Washington correspondent for Bulgaria's most influential newspaper, his regular dispatches brought a new level of objectivity to reporting on affairs in the United States. These reports contributed to a growing understanding of the United States in his country and won him wide respect in his profession. After returning to Sofia he continued working for *Rabotnichesko Delo* until 1980 when he left his post to work for Sofia Press, a publishing concern.

Vladimir Lankov was born October 31, 1940. His father, Nikola Lankov (1902-1965), a respected poet, was editor-in-chief of *Narodna Cultura*, the main cultural organ of the country. Vladimir studied journalism at the University of Sofia. He worked for *Rabotnichesko Delo* from 1967 until 1980; his assignment as Washington correspondent ran from 1974 to 1979.

Besides his sister Bistra, he leaves a wife, Izabella, and two children.

On a happier note, we can report that Bistra was the director of "A Night of One Acts" presented by the Rhode Island Feminist Theatre for three July evenings in Providence. The plays staged by the group were *Reunion* by Mel Moore and *The Boxwood* by Lee McDavid.

LYNDA McDONNELL, economics reporter with the *St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch*, has won a first place in the 1982 Champion Media Awards Program for her series on American management. The prizes were presented last spring in New York by the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, which administers the awards program sponsored by Champion International Corporation.

Lynda's husband, Steve Brandt, agriculture reporter with the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, has won three prizes for his series on the farm recession: best series award from the Newspaper Farm Editors of America; the Agricultural Recognitions Award; and in the best of series category, Oscars in Agriculture Award.

In June, Lynda and Steve achieved what we believe to be a Nieman first, when he was named one of twelve professional American journalists to be awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship to study at the University of Michigan. The couple will take up residence in Ann Arbor in the fall. Lynda will be on leave from her newspaper, in a role reversal of her Nieman year, when Steve obtained a leave in 1979 from the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* to accompany her to Cambridge.

At the University of Michigan, Lynda will do research for a book she is planning; Steve will focus his studies on America's agrarian heritage and its impact on history, literature, and the arts.

JAN STUCKER, former business writer for *The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, has been made editor of the *Business and Economic Review*, a publication of the College of Business Administration of the University of South Carolina, Columbia. She adds, "I'm also doing a lot of free-lance writing, mostly for business publications such as *The Economist*, *Business Week*, *Business North Carolina*, and a few others. I'm doing a regular 'Money' column for *Ms.* magazine on business and financial topics of interest to women."

She saw classmate SUTHICHA YOUNG in May when he was in Columbia for a conference. Young is managing editor, *The Nation Review Daily*, in Bangkok, Thailand.

— 1981 —

MASAYUKI IKEDA and Heather Andrews were married in San Francisco on April 30th. A reception in Tokyo followed on May 29th. He writes: "Some Nieman Fellows 1983 will visit my corporation NHK on June 7th which is coincidental with my 37th birthday. We hope to come back to Boston together one of these days."

Andrews was on the staff of Radcliffe's Bunting Institute in Cambridge; Ikeda is news writer/editor for Radio Japan in Tokyo.

DOUG MARLETTE's work is included in *War Heads: Cartoonists Draw the Line*,

a compilation of editorial cartoons, comics, and illustrations dealing with the issue of nuclear disarmament, published by Penguin Books.

Marlett is editorial cartoonist and comic strip artist with *The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer*, and originator of the comic strip, "Kudzu." King Features Syndicate is the distributor of his work.

All royalties from the sale of this book will go to the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. In his introduction, George Plimpton notes, "It is very difficult to come down on the wrong side of the truth about the subject this present volume confronts. Nuclear proliferation is surely the craziest excess in the morbid history of weaponry. Military follies, their by-products, and the artifacts of war being so monstrous, caricaturing them has always been a cartoonist's preoccupation and staple."

DANIEL SAMPER writes us a note on July 4th: "[Classmate] ROSE ECONOMOU and I were among the Niemans who gathered with several dozens of journalists at the recent meeting of Investigative Reporters and Editors in St. Louis. It was very good and Niemans showed we are a kind of plague that is present everywhere. Our best thoughts during those days were for Lippmann House and Haymarket's clam chowder, although not necessarily in that order."

Samper is columnist for the independent *El Tiempo* in Bogota, Colombia. Economou is a free-lance television director-producer.

— 1982 —

From Jerusalem, where he is based for *The Washington Post*, EDWARD WALSH sends us a postcard written on New Year's Day. "We are all doing well, though we were terribly homesick over the holidays. We did have a tree, supplied from the pruning of 'Jerusalem Forest.'"

Walsh goes on to report that Michelle, his wife, is taking lessons in Hebrew, also learning to draw, and Cathy, their daughter, "has added flute to her repertoire." Their son Michael continues to take 100- and 200-mile bike trips across Israel.

— 1983 —

GILBERT GAUL, reporter for the *Pottsville (Pennsylvania) Republican*, has won first place for his newspaper in the under 100,000 circulation category for Public Service report-

ing. The award was presented by the Associated Press Managing Editors' Association of Pennsylvania.

The prize-winning eleven-part series covered fiscal abuse and mismanagement in the Schuylkill County government; it had earlier won first place for investigative reporting in the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers' Association awards for circulation under 50,000.

## RANDOM NOTES

Nieman Fellows noted among members of the 1983-84 ASNE board of directors include: Anthony Day ('67), Robert Maynard ('66), John Seigenthaler ('59), and Robert P. Clark ('61), who has been named secretary.

In attendance at the 32nd General Assembly of the International Press Institute in Amsterdam in May were Nieman Fellows Dana Bullen ('67), H. David Greenway ('72), and Mustafa Gürsel ('81).

Patrick Owens ('63) and Bob Wyrick ('73), correspondents in the Washington, D.C. bureau of *Newsday*, worked together on a special project to report on Social Security and the disabled. They spent more than three months on the story, which *Newsday* issued in a special reprint section entitled "The Disability Nightmare." The series is an attempt to get behind the rhetoric, press releases, and official statements, and examine how a government effort to cut costs and tighten eligibility standards led to tens of thousands of deserving persons losing their pensions.



The air conditioner drones on, almost masking the sound of the power mowers cutting the front lawn. July and August have brought us an oppressive succession of hot days and high humidity.

We have been pleased to draw the window shades and retreat to this corner of Lippmann House while we put together the bits and pieces of Nieman news that have come our way since the last issue of the magazine.

Accumulating these items and shaping them by class for publication is one of our favorite chores. We visit with you vicariously; and it's like sipping a tall glass of frosty lemonade. Cheers.

— T.B.K.L. —

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