

Nieman Reports

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Earth-Movers and Erudition: A Compatible Mix

To walk through Harvard Square is to feel dwarfed by the array of Brobdingnagian bulldozers, dump trucks and towering cranes that have dominated the area since December 1979, when construction was begun on the five-year project to extend the Red Line branch of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) subway system northwest to Porter Square, Davis Square, and Arlington.

Undeterred by summer's stifling heat or the paralyzing cold of winter, academics and workers alike persist in their customary routines. The daily swarm of 16,000 bus riders, 24,000 subway passengers and 18,000 automobiles has become deft at finding its way along the routes set up by cement barriers that are constantly moved to shunt the flow of vehicles and pedestrians. In this all-seasons kaleidoscope, only the bone-jarring sound of jackhammers and pile drivers, the airy whiffs of hot oil and damp earth, and the high-intensity flashes of the welders' arcs, do not change. The disruption from this gigantic excavation has brought with it a close-up of modern engineering technology, which in turn has produced some surprises out of the past.

In the summer of 1979, backhoes were digging trenches in Harvard Yard for the relocation of utility lines when a passerby — by coincidence an archaeologist — spotted bits of old pottery and glass embedded in a trench wall. He reported the discovery to colleagues at Peabody Museum's Institute of Conservation

Archaeology (ICA). The result: cooperative MBTA officials sealed the trenches temporarily, providing impromptu, professional experience for a team of fifteen volunteers from the ICA's Summer Field School.

Meanwhile, just beyond the Yard, in the twentieth-century clutter, hard-hat operators inside their mammoth machinery continued to pull levers and push buttons as the equipment went on scooping, tunneling, ramming and pounding. Supervisors in dirt-caked boots bellowed orders into their walkie-talkies. Scarcely two hundred feet away in the quieter Yard, under the Museum's direction, student diggers in bright tee-shirts, shorts, and bandannas were plying their gentler profession with trowels and hand shovels. During the three-week dig, an estimated five thousand people stopped by the grids to watch and query.

This site, with another excavated in August, yielded seventeenth and eighteenth century artifacts, including English copper pennies bearing the heads of William III and George II of England, brass buckles, pewter dinnerware pieces, animal bones, stoneware ale bottles and fragments of ceramics and clay pipes.

"This is a rare and significant discovery," commented one archaeologist, "because it gives us an insight into one of the nation's earliest settlements."

In this unusual intersection of history and technology, the old and the new combined to enhance each

other. Opportunities for learning arise at such junctures.

In this issue of *NR*, historian Barbara Tuchman tells how she recreates the past in her books. Howard Shapiro writes about the interaction of a new presence in a traditional setting — the use of cameras in the courtroom. Dana Bullen reports on new proposals from Third World news organizations to set up international guidelines for the media.

Roger Tatarian reminds members of today's press that much of their freedom was won in colonial times by martyrs like Elijah Parish Lovejoy. Houstoun Waring looks back on his fifty years of newspapering. Andrew Knight compares ways in which the news is presented in the Old World of Great Britain and the New World of America. Benjamin Pogrund testifies in Johannesburg about the law that prevents the media from bringing jail conditions in South Africa to the public's attention.

Mary McGrory pays tribute to the first syndicated woman political columnist. Rose Economou gives an account of the practices of media-watching groups, some recent.

So, it's reader's choice. Whether you opt for a bulldozer approach to these pages, or prefer to hold a trowel and chip away at the text, we hope the site of this excavation may yield a nugget or two.

—T.B.K.L.

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Nieman Reports welcomes articles, letters, commentaries, photographs and artwork concerning journalists and journalism. Send with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to: The Editor, Nieman Reports, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. The deadline for the Summer 1981 issue is April 1, 1981.

A Conversation with Barbara Tuchman

Historians and journalists both must document facts —
but their sources, and resources, differ greatly.

I hope that this will be an evening of what is known as audience participation. But I should start by saying some things to this group about journalism as seen by a historian and the uses — the interlocking relations — of both these disciplines. I don't know if journalism has been called a discipline before, but in any event, an occupation.

As historians, journalists may take two, possibly three, forms. In one, the press makes or participates in history when it gets a little above itself, that is, when it adopts causes and helps to cause things to happen.

For example, there is the episode of the Shantung Peninsula, which was probably the first part of China that the Japanese took in early 1915, the beginning of World War I. At the peace conference the Chinese were determined to get it back, and Wilson was of course intent on getting it back but as it turned out the Japanese refused to go along with the League of Nations unless Wilson dropped this. He made it a sacrifice to his principles because he was so desperately anxious to get the League of Nations accepted. Well, this became a cause célèbre in America partly for very unadmirable motives because the Western states were trying to put over the Alien Exclusion Act, the object of which was to prevent the Japanese from owning land. But the press made it a great issue. They carried on about Shantung — as if this was the wickedest, most evil, most scandalous horror that had ever been perpetrated in any episode of American foreign policy. Wilson was denounced as a national villain for having allowed this to happen. The adoption of this cause, in fact, did have an historic effect in helping to defeat American

participation in the League and in helping to defeat Wilson, and also I think, in giving Americans a kind of guilt conscience about China — having betrayed our ward, so to speak. This is simply one example of how the press can in fact affect history when it adopts an issue. As we all know, the Spanish-American War was practically created by the newspaper rivalry between Pulitzer and Hearst — another example of the press as a factor in history.

Of course the main *raison d'être* of your profession is reporting. And reporting, as you all know better than I, can be of various kinds. It can be straightforward, or it can take on a particular character which affects society as I think it has recently done.

My husband is a doctor and I have been telling him that the profession now most disliked, where it was once most respected, is the medical one. Second is the press. I think the people of this country are becoming very antagonistic to the press. This may be an uncomfortable thing to say to you people: I should perhaps be more tactful, but I'm not known for tact. I think the growing dislike is partially due to journalism's obsession with finding scandal, something to show that a given person has been venal or wicked. It's a negative attitude, full of hostility. In some ways, it serves a purpose because you are uncovering a lot of stuff that ought to be uncovered. But it is generating among the public a feeling of antagonism.

As for the use by historians of the press, there are two kinds: the periodicals, daily or weekly, and the memoirs that newspaper people, generally foreign correspondents, write afterwards, after they have had a career. Many of these books have deeply affected the perceptions of their time — for example, Vincent Sheehan's *Personal History*. There were others like his, particularly on China, which I used when I was writing the Stilwell book, which gave Americans a perception of the time, the place, and the people.

Barbara Tuchman won a Pulitzer Prize for The Guns of August and another for Stilwell and the American Experience in China. Her book, A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century, was published by Alfred Knopf in 1978.

As historical sources, these are immensely valuable because they tell about remembered episodes which the authors saw or participated in. This eyewitness stuff is what we historians need. So we couldn't do without you.

Question: In your book relating to the fourteenth century, did you find any opposition from the academics as to how you presented your continuing story?

Answer: Did I ever! On that book, yes — but not on the earlier ones, interestingly enough. On Zimmermann, *The Guns of August*, *The Proud Tower*, and Stilwell, the reception on the whole was very kind, very appreciative, and very generous. On the medieval book it was not. Although, to my astonishment, this book for some reason or other which I don't really understand, took off with the public. It sold, if you don't count the book clubs — which the publishers don't like to — I don't know why — they always separate the trade books from the book clubs — but if you combine the figures, it has sold more than half a million copies in hardback, which no one expected.

Some, though not all, of the academic reviews were quite malicious. I think the reason is first, that I'm not a Ph.D., which upsets people, because they say to themselves, how could she do it without taking the professional training, when we have spent so much time taking that. And secondly, they may just not have liked the book.

Comment: I was interested when you started talking about how historians use journalists, because one of the things that newspapers don't do well is use historians. Or use history. A lot of it isn't lack of interest, but lack of immediate access.

For example, one of the things that some other journalists have tried to chase down is the interaction, historically, between religious movements and public policy. And it is extremely difficult for journalists to get access — particularly in a subject like that, where the people are few and far between.

Answer: That's why I think this [Nieman] program is so useful, because it does give you an idea of access to sources, where you can quickly get them, how you get them, where you go. But on the whole journalists don't have too much time — nor do they have the immediate reference of the book that will tell them — or speak to them on the subject —

Comment: We have to count on the phones, basically.

Answer: Well, the phone, of course, is useless in this kind of case. Who are you going to call? I mean, you can't call Winston Churchill or Edward Gibbon.

On that particular subject — the interaction of religion and political policy — it would take you several months to do the research, because there is no one book which would tell you what you want. You have to start researching it — journalists can't do that. So for you to use historians as sources is a difficult problem.

You have to be familiar with what to look for, *whom* to look for, what book to get. In a case like this it wouldn't be any one book, it would be going in to the study of several periods. If you took the massacre of St. Bartholomew, that is the French persecution of the Huguenots as an example, you could look it up in the encyclopedia — which is, incidentally, a very good way to begin — for reference to sources. But in general you have to know something about methods of research in order to know where to look.



Historians, on the other hand, can use journalism because we have already picked our subject before we begin to look for the sources. For example, in the case of *The Guns of August*, the first months of World War I, I found out by reading the papers of the time who was there, who was reporting, and whether they wrote memoirs.

Question: How do you use photographs in your work?

Answer: I used them to a great degree in the Stilwell book. I went to the National Archives, which has a marvelous collection, and I made use of a film collection of the Signal Corps. These were absolutely invaluable. They show Stilwell, for example, in one of those military camps where he was training the Chinese troops — actually lying down on the ground and showing them how to shoot. You get the feeling of what he was doing, and of how he felt about the Chinese. He had a passionate conviction that he could teach them to become good soldiers, and you see it happening in the film. You see the terrain of Burma, you see them cutting the Burma road out of the jungle and mud.

I remember looking for a portrait of Mountbatten, who was Stilwell's great rival, in one sense. What a figure in the pictures! I found a marvelous photo of him covered with gold epaulettes in the form of the initials ER or GR — something like that — and I spent the longest time trying

to figure out why he had these things. It turned out that he was official aide-de-camp to Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth Rex. GR was because he had also been aide for her father, I believe. These epaulettes on the photograph are something that you would never get from a text. But it made an extra quality to Mountbatten which is very typical of him, but which I only got from pictures.

Question: Did you interview Mountbatten?

Answer: Yes, I did. I was in London for an interview — which I didn't get — but some months later he came to New York and sent word that he would see me for half an hour. I thought, well, half an hour is useless — but then I thought it would look good in the bibliography, so I went anyway. He was staying with some people in New York. He sat down on a sofa and started to talk. And he talked for three hours without stopping. His aide kept coming in the door saying, "You have an appointment, sir." But he went right on talking and I got more stuff out of that man. It was brilliant.

His memory — he was the one who told me a wonderful story about Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo Conference; how Roosevelt delegated him, Mountbatten, to tell Chiang Kai-shek why they could not launch the air war he wanted. In the interview, Madame was the interpreter — Chiang didn't speak English, Mountbatten was explaining why they could not launch an air assault because of the monsoon. He saw the Generalissimo looking very strange. Madame turned to her husband and made a long speech of some kind. Then she said to Mountbatten, "Believe it or not, he doesn't know about the monsoon."

This may not strike you people as odd, but the monsoon is *the* major fact of life in Southeast Asia, and Chiang apparently didn't know about it. Everybody else who had anything to do with the military knew about the monsoon, except him.

Question: Did you use a tape recorder?

Answer: I can't use a machine. I'm no good at that. I used a notebook with pages to match the size of my index cards, on which I keep notes, so I could file the pages right in with the index cards.



I discovered very soon that you can't remember a spoken conversation. You have an interview with a brilliant character like Mountbatten and you think you're going to remember, but it goes right out of your head. So you either have to take notes or rush home and write it all down as fast as you can. I'm sure it would have been better if I had a tape recorder.

Question: As a journalist, I am very interested in what you define as Tuchman's Law, which states that "The fact of being reported multiplies the apparent extent of any deplorable development by five- to ten-fold."

Answer: This is a fairly fundamental problem, which I'm sure Tuchman didn't discover. On the whole, historians



tend to use documentary materials — unless we use Roman coins or bones or graveyards or things like that — and documents tend to record things that are negative.

I'm not talking about poetry or literature, but in history, something that is written down is already a selected calamity, because on the whole what gets written down is either a conflict, a law suit, a confrontation, a diplomatic negotiation, a protest, a murder case, or a petition. Therefore, what you're dealing with when you're dealing with documentary sources is overloaded by situations of conflict or disaster. After a while, you may find yourself feeling that the material you are using is somewhat unbalanced.

We know this very well, if you will forgive me, from the press today. What does the press report? If one turns on the television to the 6 o'clock news in New York, it is all police blotter stuff — nothing but murder, fires, children burned up, muggings — all the horror.

The press is similar. It does not report that Joe Jones got up, and had sausages for breakfast, and went to the office, and perhaps found that he had a raise, and went home, kissed his wife, had a drink and perhaps a game of bowls — in short had a reasonably agreeable day. That never gets reported, although a lot of people have that sort of day — an ordinary day when nothing much happens. It's not news. Therefore news is, on the whole, the negative things. When I wrote that, I remember saying that you could go out and expect to find a broken water pipe, a subway strike, a big fire, a march of protesters, if you read the paper. But you could go out on a lucky day and find none of these. What the press reports and what

the historian's documentary sources report are the confrontations and the conflicts — that is the basis of Tuchman's Law.

Question: Based on your studies about the beginning of World War I, I'm curious to know whether you think we are about to have another world war — especially in light of the major powers aligning themselves behind Iran and Iraq?

Answer: No, I wouldn't think so. People now are very beset with this question: Is this another 1914? In fact, I did a little piece for *The Washington Post* on just this question. They asked me is this another 1914? I felt that there are major differences.

In the first place, we have gone through in our lifetime — in my lifetime — two world wars and in your lifetimes all the limited wars — Vietnam, Korea, God knows what else. We are very well aware of the futility and the horror of war, and of the damage to one's own society.

Whereas in 1914 people were not that familiar with war. They had not had a major war, a European war — except for the Franco-Prussian forty years before, which was limited in time and in space and in geography — ever since the Napoleonic Wars. That had been the last total episode, or at least total European. By 1914, there had been built up a huge fund of energies and change in available strengths and forces all coming to a head.

That is the whole basis of *The Proud Tower*. There was a head of steam building up, but people themselves were not really so conscious of the dangers of war. Whereas now we are very, very conscious of it.

The second difference, of course, is the existence of nuclear weaponry, which in a sense almost precludes or prevents major war. Now, I know nuclear weaponry is considered the great fear, and quite rightly. But on the other hand, it is also a great preventive. Because I personally don't see how nuclear weapons could be kept out of a world war. My feeling is that this is not another 1914, that there is a restraint which will prevent a world war. I don't believe in the theory of the mad lieutenant who is going to press the button by accident.



Question: When you were researching *A Distant Mirror*, did you find a lot of unexpected and very graphic details about that century that you didn't think you would? I ask that because you wrote about Black Death as though you had had it.

Answer: I had a lot of trouble, not in collecting the material, but in organizing it. That was the real difficulty. And it was a major difficulty because the background was so unfamiliar, as new to myself as, I figured, to the reader. You would have to bring in a great many of the simple physical, not to say emotional facts of everyday life.



In a book laid in the nineteenth or twentieth century, you don't have to explain what people ate for breakfast or where, what time they got up, or what time was night time, or what their major perceptions were. But all this you have to explain for the Middle Ages. I didn't know what time dinner was. You may think this is minor, but they were always talking about dinner. Was it night time or was it in day light? It turns out to have been around 2 o'clock. The whole schedule of life was different. They didn't have breakfast unless they were fairly well off, and then they had wine and bread. The fact that they didn't have coffee or tea suddenly struck me: What is life without a hot drink to soothe you when you're cold, or sick, or tired? They had cider and I assume they could heat that up. And of course the rich had wine.

The result was that I had to collect an awful lot of information like that on cards, but I didn't know where to put them. Usually, I file my cards more or less as the structure of the book begins to take place, by chapter. And since I am wedded to chronology, my notes generally are chronologically arranged. But a lot of these facts — tea, coffee, forks, the social tapestry facts — I didn't know where I was going to use them. You have to bring them in without the reader feeling that he is being instructed. But how do you know where you're going to bring them in? So I had to make a separate file, which was alphabetical. Friars, love, religion, sex, forks, whatever — this was hell because I would be going through my cards to write a chapter and then I would have to go through the whole alphabetical file to remind myself what I had there, and how could I get it in. It was really a terrible job.

As for the Black Death, well, that really was the reason why I started on the book, because I thought that we might find it interesting to learn about the impact on society of a disaster so major that it killed about a third of the

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UNESCO and the Media

DANA BULLEN

The United States and concerned media groups need to pay more attention to UNESCO's press issues — otherwise, we can expect to keep losing ground, while we continue to supply one-quarter of UNESCO's budget.

The main controversy at the UNESCO conference at Belgrade involved the role of communications — of the press. I think it took a beating. I think the United States took a beating. The idea we have of a free press isn't completely down and out yet — I don't want to give that impression — but I do think it's reeling a bit.

There's a natural inclination to put as good a face as possible on what happened at Belgrade. But some things happened there you should know about. Some things happened there you should be concerned about.

There were actions in four areas: 1) Action dealing with the MacBride report. 2) Approval of a resolution aimed at declaring a "New World Information and Communication Order." 3) Adoption of UNESCO's line-item budget programs. 4) Creation of a brand-new International Program for the Development of Communication.

I will be quite specific, but first I think I should paint some of the setting.

One of the first things that was done at Belgrade was to welcome new member nations to UNESCO. It now has more than 150 nations as members. The new ones include: Dominica, Equatorial Guinea, Botswana, Sao Tome and

Principe, St. Lucia, the Maldives, Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Tonga. Why mention them here? Because each now has one vote in UNESCO — the same as the United States, the Soviet Union or anyone else.

I'm not trying to be invidious. My only point is to demonstrate a political reality of the forum. The United States — even when it can make common cause with its usual friends — is hopelessly outvoted.

I said the main issue was the role of the press. Specifically, it's whether the role of the press in the world is neutral — or involved. "Involved" in the sense that advocacy journalism is "involved."

It seems a combination of Communist and Third World countries — in some cases for quite different reasons — have come up with a similar idea: that journalism is too important to be left to journalists.

The Communists, of course, see their press as an arm of the state. Now they'd like to export the idea. Four years ago, at the 1976 UNESCO conference at Nairobi, the Russians tried to push through a resolution to provide that "states are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction." The United States led the fight to stop that one. But the beat goes on.

In the intervening years, the MacBride Commission has completed a massive study of the media. This fueled much of the debate at Belgrade. Along with a batch of highly mischievous proposals, the Commission's report supports some good ideas, such as opposition to censorship and free access to news sources by journalists. The Soviet member of the commission felt obliged to add a final comment to the UNESCO-sponsored study. Said Sergei Losev: "It's unfortunate that sometimes we are

Dana Bullen, Nieman Fellow '67, is Journalist in Residence at the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. On a leave of absence from The Washington Star, Mr. Bullen attended the UNESCO meeting in Belgrade as an observer for the World Press Freedom Committee. This text is taken from a speech he delivered at the Fletcher School.

catching up already old-fashioned and used trite formulas such as the notion of a free flow of information."

Keep your eye on that phrase, "a free flow of information." Something interesting happened to it at Belgrade.

The Third World countries, for their part, feel the Western press doesn't give a "correct" view of their native lands. They claim it concentrates on news of disasters, corruption and upheavals. Recent studies show this isn't quite accurate. The Third World also would like to see more of "their" news. Some would like to use the press as a tool to promote national development. Some, I suspect, simply would be happier with a non-critical press than a critical one.

Some of these desires, of course, are not limited to officials of Third World countries.

The United States and other developed nations support steps to improve the ability to communicate, to improve the facilities available to all countries' news agencies. Where the roads part is where pressure develops — as it has in UNESCO — to control the content of these messages.

It's useful to know where some of the complaints are coming from. A table in the MacBride report, for instance, shows that most wire service news reaching African countries doesn't go directly to the press. In 30 out of 38 cases, it goes first to the government, or to a government agency. It's the government which decides what will go any further. Elsewhere in the world, the ratio is better.

As for the claim the Western press carries only "bad" news, strangely enough and this far into the game — we're only now getting deep research on that.

On the basis of detailed studies, Robert L. Stevenson, a researcher at the University of North Carolina, has found that:

- 1) It's the Second World of Eastern Europe — not the Third World — that's ordinarily invisible in wire service files to the Third World.

- 2) News around the world is mainly politics, both domestic and international — not disasters and accidents.

- 3) There's plenty of news available from a wide variety of sources; there's no monopoly.

- 4) The claim that the Third World is singled out for special, negative treatment is simply not true.

Similar valuable research on news flows is being carried out by Professor Wilbur Schramm and others.

There needs to be more study of these issues, and high exposure for the insights now being developed. It would be useful to know if the years of international debate — and some of the compromises that have been reached — are based on some fundamental misconceptions.

Against this background, what did we have at Belgrade?

We had a forum in which we were badly outvoted, no

matter what our delegation — good people all — could do. Some called it "an exercise in damage limitation."

First, the MacBride item.

Some had hoped the report would simply be filed and become "the world's most expensive doorstep." This was not the case.

There were prolonged, difficult negotiations. The chief U.S. negotiator, Elie Abel of Stanford University, worked hard. We probably will never know what worse things were avoided and some good ideas were added. But the 12-nation drafting group finally came up with a resolution that cannot be considered a positive step. It advances many ideas in the MacBride report, and goes beyond that in other areas.

The resolution says, among other things, that "communications...*must* [emphasis mine] make a greater contribution to...development [and] the positive transformation of international relations." Personally, I don't think the press "must" do any such thing. All that the press "must" do is try to report what happens as impartially as possible.

The resolution calls for studies to develop practical proposals on the establishment of a "new World Information and Communication Order." This has a strange sound. In Section VI — the main theoretical section — the resolution sets out a set of principles that "could" provide a basis for such a "new order."

Here and elsewhere, the words have to be read more as someone else *can* read them than as you might *like* to read them. They're tricky, and I think intentionally so.

For example, the first principle is "elimination of imbalances and inequalities" in communication. There are lots of ways to take such words, whatever the merits of the case. One person's "inequality" may be another's "editorial freedom."

Another principle suggested in the resolution is that the "freedom of journalists" is "inseparable from responsibility." But there are very different ideas of what "responsible" journalism is. In some countries, it's "responsible" to follow a story wherever it leads. In others, it's "responsible" to drop a story if it leads in the wrong direction. There's a word for that. It's "censorship," or at least "self-censorship." Another word might be "cover-up."

It's instructive to note at least one formulation that is not listed as a separate basic principle for the "new order." It's a "free flow of information and ideas." It was there in the early drafts. Then it was stricken.

There are several stories of what happened.

One is that the Soviet negotiator insisted at one point that the word "free" was being used too much. And things were rearranged.

Another is that it was thought the item was still there when the negotiations ended. Then a final text showed a

line drawn through it. The words were inserted elsewhere in a subordinated way, wrapping in the idea of "better balanced" news and eliminating this as one of the basic, numbered principles for a "new order." Under this version of what happened, there were suspicions of tampering.

Finally, after some Western scrambling, it was decided to leave things as they were, rather than open up the chance for something else to happen.

"This organization measures so many inches for the West, so many inches for the East, and so many inches in between," Abel said after the final drafting session. "This is not how you write a great document...but it's UNESCO."

When the resolution came up for action on the floor, the United States said it "affirms a number of principles of freedom and diversity to which we subscribe; but it also contains some points — more than we like — which are exceedingly troublesome."

The more outspoken British delegate put it this way:

"How can we pretend to lay down guiding considerations which *omit* [emphasis mine] such fundamental principles as the right to freedom of thought, opinion and expression; the free circulation of information and ideas; the freedom of movement; freedom from censorship; and access to all sources of information, unofficial as well as official."

The resolution, incidentally, was adopted by a fast gavel — before these comments were made — and without a nation-by-nation vote.

In its second major action, the UNESCO conference approved another resolution, offered by Venezuela, that invites Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow to go ahead with studies aimed at formally drawing up a declaration for a "new order." This means the whole issue, far from being shelved, will be back again at future UNESCO sessions. On top of the giant steps taken this time, there will be strong pressure for further actions.

The vote on going ahead with this work was: 51 for, 6 against, and 26 abstentions.

The third and very important set of UNESCO actions at Belgrade dealt with the regular, line-item programs of the organization. This is what UNESCO's secretariat actually will be working on over the next two years.

For example, among the pages of projects is one to study the "contribution that the media could make to the establishment of a new international *economic* [emphasis mine] order."

This is very much to the point. One theory is that UNESCO's push on the media is in large part an attempt to make it an actor in the fight for re-allocation of the world's economic resources.

Another project provides for a study of how certain "liberation movements" — specifically those "officially

recognized by the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States" — could circulate their information more effectively. This was the PLO item. There's another program it is feared could be a step toward licensing journalists in the name of "protecting" them. Still another project is supposed to define principles of "socially responsible communication." And so on.

The United States tried to defer these broad parts of UNESCO's budget. The vote on the U.S. proposal was: 3 for, 56 against, and 13 abstentions.

"We sure took a horrible beating," said a U.S. aide.

The situation was so lopsided, in fact, that later in the proceedings the United States simply noted its objections to the individual PLO item without seeking a further vote. On orders from Washington still later, the delegation did demand a vote. The chair waved the request aside and refused to grant one.

The final major action at Belgrade was the creation of the new International Program for the Development of Communication. This also was approved without a vote, but drew applause.

This is a hopeful action — at least I hope it is. We'll have to see how it works out.

The development program was a U.S. idea. The plan is that such a program can provide less-developed countries with the help they may need to develop their own communications facilities. It follows on both U.S. and private sector steps to supply direct, practical help in this field.

If it goes in another, more ideological direction, there will be problems. It is unfortunate that such a possibility even arises.

Already some warning flags are up. For example, the resolution adopted in Belgrade provides only that "priority should be given to seeking a consensus" in decisions by the 35-nation council that will guide the program. It took hard work to get that much in. It is hoped this will preserve a veto power for nations that again will be in a minority, such as the United States. The words themselves, though, sound carefully less than iron-clad.

The main job now is to keep on top of this program with people, attention and ideas. If we let others take the initiative and let it drift, whatever happens will be partly our fault.

These, then, were the major actions in Belgrade.

The lesson — an old one, it would seem — is that the United States and concerned media groups have to give these issues and this forum more attention. If we don't we can expect to keep on losing ground and to keep on seeing principles eroded in "compromises." We also need a clearer idea of what our bottom-line limit is, and this should be clearly communicated to our negotiators at such conferences. As one observer of such negotiations put it: "We need a bunch of people who are willing to say 'no.'"

A Way out of the Swamp

by Robert Cox

There seems to me to be no way out of the swamp of fear, loathing and treacherous words which we have to squelch around in when discussing UNESCO's new World Information Order unless you begin (boring, boring...): "It depends what you mean by freedom of the press."

How many of the 150-odd member nations of UNESCO have even enough press freedom for their own media to denounce a lack of it? Anyone familiar with the workings of dictatorial regimes will know that the more the press is controlled, the more it will claim to be free. But no human situation is irreversible. One notable editor from my part of the world whose name is now almost synonymous with the struggle for press freedom was himself an eloquent apologist for the dictatorship which governed his country until the day his own particular tyrant was assassinated and democracy installed.

While unspeakable regimes are

sustained by editors who cover up their crimes in the name of responsibility, patriotism, or the party, Harold Evans, editor of *The Sunday Times* of London, says that the British press is only "half free." The clash of two concepts could hardly be clearer. What do we mean by freedom of the press?

The fear of the democratic media is that UNESCO is seeking ideological control, that the shadowy (to some), sinister Secretariat is out to impose a Brave New World information order tailored to further unstated but undoubtedly totalitarian-minded political aims.

It is true that 1984 looms threateningly ahead in more senses than one. UNESCO jargon has ominous overtones and undertones and sometimes seems to be setting the scene for a world in which values become as debased as the words used to express them. But the present — never mind the future — as viewed from the poor countries of

the Third World is more compelling still because of the immediate threat of grinding poverty. We must show more understanding of the problems of the Third World and be more responsive to its needs.

My own experience has led me to believe that development depends upon democracy. In turn democracy cannot exist without a free press (and vice versa). Most independent journalists probably believe this, although our general apathy tends to suggest that we believe in nothing any more. UNESCO's challenge, therefore, should be welcomed. In seeking to help the Third World we might find our faith again and save ourselves in more ways than one.

Robert Cox, Nieman Fellow '81, is editor of the Buenos Aires Herald, Argentina.

The United States pays one-quarter of UNESCO's budget. For every dollar UNESCO spends, we pay 25 cents. Surely there must be a way to make it *more credible* that we won't just "go along" with ideas we don't like.

Some people ask: "Does it matter? What difference does it make what UNESCO does?" I think it makes a difference. The world isn't going to deal with its real problems if people only hear glowing reports of "successes" by governments; if the press becomes merely the press agent for official policies; if what people know is only what somebody else thinks they should know. Actions by UNESCO — those taken and those yet to come — can help to set the climate for this.

One of the best assessments of the risks has been given by Rosemary Righter of the London *Sunday Times* in her valuable book *Whose News?*. As she says:

"The debate has reached a critical stage; what is startling is how few people — journalists, politicians or

general public — in the West are aware of its existence, or of the potential consequences of continued neglect of the issues.

"If they continue to concern only a tiny minority, the outcome is likely to be first, that apparent Western attachment to the status quo will be represented, by the Soviet Union in particular, as hostility to the legitimate aspirations of the Third World.

"Secondly that policies will be formulated at the international level which play into the hands of authoritarian governments and increase their control over what the publics of developing countries are permitted to know.

"Thirdly, that frontiers will close against the exchange of information."

In a world in which a free press is less widely supported than we might expect, none of this is a happy prospect. □

Cameras in the Courtroom: See No Evil?

HOWARD S. SHAPIRO

Do photographs of trials have a chilling effect on justice?



In the small hours of May 23, 1977, two Miami Beach police officers, Noel Chandler and Robert Granger, burglarized Piccolo's Restaurant in the city. They were particularly unlucky in their criminal pursuit; a ham radio operator named John Sion not only inadvertently overheard, but also recorded, the patter of the two officers as they conferred over their walkie-talkies during the commission of the burglary.

The case made a good story: law enforcement officers charged with a crime, plus a man who was able to give unusually clear testimony because he was an earwitness. Six months after the two officers were arrested, they stood trial, and the media was well represented among the onlookers. Included in the press corps were a still photographer and a television camera-operator, present because of a 1977 Florida law that permits photography of criminal trials.

No one knew at the time that the trial would result in much more than the conviction of the two officers. But the presence of the television camera in "The Chandler Case," as it has come to be called, was the basis of the police officers' appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, whose unanimous ruling January 26 not only sent the men to seven-year prison terms, but laid the groundwork for far-reaching changes in courtroom journalism.

Despite their interest in the case, Floridians who followed the trial on television news broadcasts saw a total of less than three minutes of footage from the courtroom. Part of that was jury selection; the remainder was Sion's appearance on the stand. Nevertheless, the officers contended that their constitutional rights had been violated because of Florida's pioneering law that makes television journalism legitimate inside the courtroom. (The federal courtroom, however, remains off-limits to

cameras of any type under a ban by the Judicial Conference of the United States. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger, who wrote the majority opinion in the Chandler case, is chairman of the judicial conference, and he has adamantly opposed the presence of cameras in the federal courts even though his Chandler opinion will surely open other courtroom doors to photographers.)

Ever since 1964, when the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of Billie Sol Estes on swindling and theft charges because television coverage, the justices said, had made a fair trial impossible, the bar has debated whether cameras in courtrooms are inherently unconstitutional to defendants. The Chandler case marked the first time, however, that the U.S. Supreme Court discussed the issue since Estes, when bulky and noisy cameras, harsh lighting, the need for many technicians and cumbersome cables all were necessary to put a trial, or anything else, on the air.

With the change in technology and the undisputed acceptance of television news coverage as a part of the marketplace of ideas, 23 states have decided in recent years to experiment with televised trials and four more — Florida, Montana, New Hampshire and Wisconsin — have permanently authorized such coverage.

The court's action in the Chandler case simply makes these experiments, as well as the permanent laws in the four states, constitutional, and puts the Estes ruling in perspective as a sound decision for its time, when television was a completely different technology.

Even if defendants object, says the Burger ruling, states are free to give broadcast journalists and photographers the same rights print reporters have enjoyed for nearly two centuries. If defendants believe that unfair news coverage has prejudiced their trials, they may still challenge their convictions on that ground, but the mere presence of a camera does not deprive a defendant of a fair trial.

That view, of course, is not unanimously held by judges, lawyers, or even television journalists, many of whom contend that the presence of a camera anywhere

Howard S. Shapiro and other members of the current Nieman class visited the Supreme Court last November with Anthony Lewis's (NF '57) law class to hear arguments about the use of cameras in the courtroom.

Cameras in the Courtroom on Trial

by Steve Tello

Listening to the oral arguments for and against cameras in the courtroom at the Supreme Court Nov. 12 was the most exciting day I have had in a long time.

It's ironic, it seems to me, that while the court system says if people want to see and hear courts in action, that the doors are open, spectators at the Supreme Court were only permitted to stay for 15 minutes at a time during the cameras in the courtroom arguments and then were ushered out.

At best, only 50 or 60 people could catch a glimpse of the highest court in the United States in action.

Even at this court, where one decision can change the lives of millions, we must sketch images and chase attorneys down the Supreme Court steps.

Only because I worked for a national news organization did I get a seat for all the proceedings and was able to take notes.

If cameras are to stay in the courts, we as photojournalists must make it work — not the courts and not the judges. Here are a few things to keep in mind if you are involved in courtroom coverage:

1. Remember that photographers are courtroom visitors. Use common sense.

2. Give the judge a call just to let him know you are preparing to photograph a trial. Most rules require application for coverage.

3. Survey your courts. Know where to sit.

4. Don't leave the courtroom until a recess. Judges get upset when we pull out with our gear and camera bags.

5. Get to know the judges you are dealing with. Every chief photographer should make a point of meeting at least the chief judge in an area or court system.

6. Don't let your assignment editor send you to court late. Get

there ON TIME.

7. If you do have courtroom privileges, try not to chase attorneys and defendants through the courthouse halls or down the steps.

I'm hopeful the Supreme Court will leave the cameras-in-the-courtroom issue up to the states. I believe it is a state issue, period.

Steve Tello, ABC News field producer based in Atlanta, served as liaison between Florida courts and news media during the Zamora trial three years ago and during the Bundy trial the summer of 1979. Before joining ABC, Tello was news operations manager at WPLG-TV, Miami, where he played a leading role in persuading Florida jurists to permit cameras and recorders in the state's courtrooms.

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can change the normal responses of the persons in front of the lens. (It is not for nothing that demonstrators yelled "the whole world is watching" in the 1960's, and a more recent equivalent outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran.) Will the intimate relationship between witnesses, the judge, the jurors and attorneys be somehow altered? Will trials become little more than public entertainments? Is there a certain level of privacy that witnesses should expect, a level that falls somewhere between recording their testimony in print and showing their testimony on tape — a very different sort of display? Will unsequestered jurors be more influenced by film editors' news judgments — the judgments that result in the choice of actualities used on the air — than they are by the choice of quotes used in news stories?

The justices sidestepped these issues and looked only at whether the states' right to operate their court systems clashes here with the defendant's right to a fair trial — a limited question of Constitutional law that does not have much to do with the First Amendment.

But the justices' 8-to-0 Chandler ruling only begs the

First Amendment question, which now is bound to come before the court. Last year, the court ruled in the Richmond Newspapers case that the public and the traditional courtroom press have a right, indeed, under the First Amendment, to attend criminal trials. Coupled with a decision that can only encourage states to perceive televised trials in a new light, a judicial debate over the right of broadcasters' access cannot be far behind. And that prospect is one that should give press libertarians some pause. The justices will be ruling on the social impact of television — a murky issue, in any case.

And as another part of that consideration the justices will likely decide whether television's presence in the courtroom creates a chilling effect on those across the bar — an irony for journalists, who have time and again successfully kept themselves off the witness stand by pleading that their own profession would undergo a chilling effect were they to appear. And so the same sort of argument journalists have been using to protect their sources and themselves may keep television and still photographers out of the courtroom, altogether. □

Transatlantic Miscommunication

ANDREW KNIGHT

In communication of politics, economics, and foreign politics, the American press and the British press are two very different animals.

I report not as an expert on the American printed media, but I can perhaps talk about how American newspapers strike a Briton and a European. You should take what I say as an example of how those of us interested in the American media rightly or wrongly perceive you.

The newspapers you read in this liberal, capitalist democracy are totally different from the newspapers we read in our liberal, quasi-capitalist democracies in Britain and Europe.

Our newspapers are national. Your newspapers, with the exception of *The Wall Street Journal*, a specialist newspaper, are not national. Our newspapers, though sold in a small country compared with yours, are far larger and, surprisingly, have far greater resources than most of your newspapers.

Take the popular national daily newspapers in Britain: *The Sun*, *The Daily Mirror*, *The Daily Express*, and *The Mail*. *The Sun* sells nearly 4 million copies every morning compared with *The Daily News*, largest of your popular papers, at 1.6 million — two and a half times as many. *The Mirror* sells 3.6 million copies, *The Daily Express* nearly 2.5 million and *The Daily Mail* 2 million.

All those newspapers are going to every home in Britain that wishes to buy them. So we have about 11 or 12 million copies of one national popular paper or another available in all corners of one country.

If we turn to newspapers carrying serious news and comment, *The Daily Telegraph*, the largest, sells over 1.5 million copies a day, one and a half times more than *The*

Los Angeles Times, three and a half times more than *The Miami Herald*, nearly twice *The New York Times*, three times the *San Francisco Chronicle*, two and a half times *The Washington Post*. And the *Telegraph* is only one of the serious newspapers. There are *The Guardian*, *The Times*, and *The Financial Times*, which among them sell nearly as many.

On Sundays our three heavy newspapers — by “heavy” I mean not trying to go for a popular market — sell between them nearly 4 million copies.

Of course that is the reason why your weekly magazines sell so many — *Time* nearly 4 or 5 million, *Newsweek* nearly 3 million — and why *The Wall Street Journal* does so well, having got ahead on technology and being an idiosyncratic and interesting paper in its own specialist way. They fill the gap left by a lack of daily national newspapers.

In short, we are talking about very different animals, our newspapers and yours. Behind these simple facts lies a whole difference in communication of politics, economics, and particularly of foreign politics.

Former FCC Commissioner Lee Loevinger was quoted a year or so ago as saying: “There’s more competition [in the United States] than there has ever been among the media. Our multiplicity of news outlets is unequalled by any other country. We have diversity coming out of our ears.” I question that statement as it concerns newspapers. It seems to be based on competition between different media, not competition between newspapers.

In Britain, by contrast, there is severe competition among national newspapers. *The Mirror* and *The Sun* are at daggers drawn throughout the country every day; and they have *The Mail* and *The Express* at their heels. *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Financial Times* are vigorously competing throughout the land.

We all benefit from Loevinger’s broader competition: television on the one hand and radio on the other, faxes and screen services, newsprint hard copy. Those media

Andrew Knight is editor of *The Economist*, London. This text is based on the Carlos McClatchy Lecture which Mr. Knight gave under the auspices of the School of Journalism at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, last year.

sometimes compete, but not that much because by and large they are complementary to each other and are not really competing.

Television and radio news is cursory and compact and useful as such. And yet it is highly unselective: whereas in a newspaper you can select quickly which page you wish, on television and radio you have to take the whole half-hour news program or nothing. And what you get is pre-selected for you.

Despite polls showing that television news is more credible among the news-consuming public than newspaper news at the moment in the United States, I think hard-copy newsprint actually has an important function to fulfill, if it would fulfill it.

The growth areas of news and information communication — television, faxes and the like — leave an essential function for newspaper whose diversity or lack of it has to be judged on its own merits.

Perhaps Loevinger based his judgment about "diversity coming out of our ears" on the burgeoning weekly press in the United States. The circulation of the weekly press in this country has gone up from 21 million in 1960 to probably more than 40 million now. This is in large measure a reaction to the inadequacy of the regional, monopolistic daily press and, above all, to the uniformly local nature of the daily press in this country. This is what I want to address myself to.

The daily press in America, far from being diversity coming out of anybody's ears, is uniformly drab. The general pattern of local city newspapers is such as to eschew adventure or biting analysis.

Some of the reasons:

First, most papers in this country are local monopolies, unlike in Europe. Of the 1,750 daily newspapers selling nearly 62 million copies each day in America, few know the real force of competition. According to the Justice Department only 35 — 2 percent — of the 1,500 American cities with daily newspapers have commercially competing newspapers in the same area. That figure has fallen from 14 or 15 percent thirty years ago.

Secondly, there is the growth of newspaper chains. Newspaper chains don't necessarily imply uniformity just as power doesn't necessarily corrupt. But that is the process which I think inevitably takes place. Now I want again to be clear. I'm aware that just as there is a sort of sustained feeling of suspicion and conspiracy theory about oil companies, so there is about newspaper chains — that they really exist just to gouge the public — and I don't want to fall into that trap.

Just as newspaper chains don't necessarily imply uniformity, there are many cases within some of America's chains of individual editors who make individual newspapers. But over time, the chains *tend* towards uniformity just as power *tends* to corrupt.

Of the 53 newspapers that changed hands in 1978 (I don't yet have the Justice Department figures for 1979), 47 were purchased by chains. Nearly 1,100 daily newspapers are owned by chains, nearly one and a half times as many as remain independent. The top four national chains by 1977 accounted for over one-fifth of readership, the top eight for a third. These percentages are not large by anti-trust standards, but they are not the figures of diversity coming out of the American reading public's ears.

American newspapers do, I'm afraid, appear to be parochial and small in their compass because they are coping much more with their local communities than with the world community, whereas serious newspapers throughout Europe by and large, with some exceptions in Germany, are national.



The foreign news carried by American city newspapers tends to come to them through pools, agencies, or through wire or chain arrangements; and they in turn tend to have to be homogeneous to appeal to many different townships and many different editors' requirements.

Then, because as local monopolies they are appealing to a cross-section of readers running all the way from advertising categories "A" right down to advertising categories "C" or "D," they tend to have to gear their appeal down market.

There are some significant exceptions. For example, take the spirited attempt by *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, recently out of the Annenberg maw and now into Knight-Ridder, to recover ground by going up market. But that tends to be an exception here whereas in Britain the class system in a funny way can be preserved through our newspaper appeal. The educated get very educated journalism and the uneducated get very uneducated journalism.

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Know Your Watchdog

ROSE ECONOMOU

"The critical sense is so far from frequent," wrote Henry James in 1893, "that it is absolutely rare, and the possession of the cluster of qualities that minister to it is one of the highest distinctions."

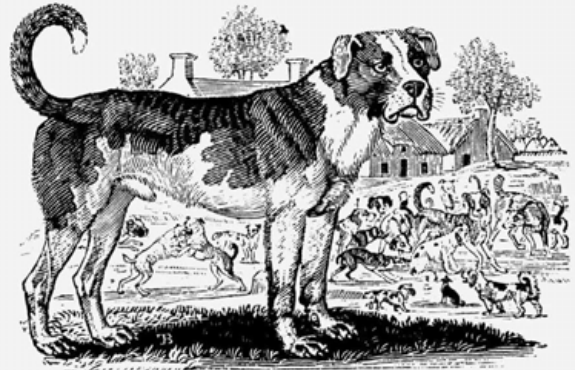
Many contemporary journalists, who find criticism valuable and necessary for professional growth, would probably concur with Mr. James. Good, thoughtful criticism is hard to find.

But television journalists do not have to go far to find any kind of criticism — it is all around us, in formal and informal systems: news directors, producers, editors, viewer letters, interview subjects, experts, special-interest groups, professional associations — all have criticism to offer. So do hard-to-please colleagues, complainants on the telephone, picketers in front of our studios, people following us home.

It is important to note that critics from both the formal and informal systems are usually well-intentioned. They say to us — articulately and not-so-articulately; intelligently and not-so-intelligently — that the facts, the images, the messages we presented have missed their mark.

Indeed, some of these critics feel so strongly about accuracy and fairness that they take their complaints to government regulators. Last year, 94,504 inquiries and complaints against radio and television were filed with the Federal Communications Commission. Sixty thousand of those complaints went to television — but five thousand endorsements did too. One thousand complaints were earmarked "television news."

There are other critics — outside of and disdainful of the systems mentioned above — who have organized, opened offices, and applied for tax-exempt status, thereby becoming news watchers, ombudsmen, or watchdogs. No



matter what name they use, these critics have found themselves a booming cottage industry. Their timing is right. Many people believe the news media is too powerful, too arrogant, too irresponsible.

The "new" critics are the self-appointed guardians of journalism. Some are journalists, active or retired. Others are business people, lawyers, or even economists. Some are political activists; others not so active. Some do their watchdogging for expenses; most are paid — often well-paid. All are enthusiastic. They use their resources for the sole purpose of alerting the public — whether it be Congress or the business community or you or me — to the accuracy or fairness of a story, or general news coverage on important and controversial issues that affect the country. They look at us. Some are friends. Some are enemies. Some, no one knows about.

Some of the "friendly" watchdogs have been on the scene for many years. The *Columbia Journalism Review* is one. Created in 1961 by some journalism professors at Columbia University, the magazine's standards have been high from the beginning. It tries to "assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service." One of my favorite features is the section "Darts and Laurels" where journalists are booed or applauded for their "genius."

Another "friend" — the National News Council — has been found in the back pages of *CJR* for the past three years. Relying on the power of publicity to change media performance, the Council investigates complaints (more than 5,000 have found their way to the Council's New York office since 1973) and publishes their findings in *CJR*. The Council is composed of eighteen members: ten from the public at large, eight from the news media. There are six paid staff members; the annual budget is \$318,000.

The National News Council is not as popular with news organizations as one might think. The news media knows how powerful publicity is — especially the kind of in-house publicity that results from being in the pages of *CJR*. But

Rose Economou, a Nieman Fellow in the current class, is on leave from WBBM-TV in Chicago, where she is a producer.

in my mind, the Council is quite honorable: It makes complainants waive all rights to legal or governmental action. News organizations being investigated by the News Council should be relieved that all those complaints do not go to the FCC or some judge.

Nonetheless, some news organizations try to ignore the findings of the National News Council, others do not. At CBS News, for example, there is a policy that "any Council findings adverse to CBS News" are to be broadcast on the evening news. Recently, the network apologized during its news broadcast for adding applause to a scene in the documentary "Gay Power, Gay Politics." The Council had a point, CBS News admitted: "The insertion of the applause was contrary to [CBS's] own journalistic standards." Who holds a grudge? News organizations like CBS provide a substantial portion of the Council's funding.

National News Council chairman Norman Isaacs says that the Council tries "to entice, seduce, traduce, entrap, sweet-talk" the American press into doing a "proper job." He also claims that the Council is "nonpunitive" and does not want "power." With all due respect to Mr. Isaacs, I think he is wrong. The National News Council does have power, as readers of *CJR* know.

Another so-called friend is the new production company — The Press and the Public Project. The company is headed by Ned Schnurman, a former National News Council executive. He has teamed up with another media critic, Hodding Carter III (NF '66), to bring to the Public Broadcasting Service this spring a 13-week, coast to coast, half-hour, prime time, journalistic look at the news media. Messrs. Schnurman and Carter have long, distinguished careers in journalism. So why, you ask, would journalistic "friends" like these bother with journalistic "friends" like us? I found the answer in the program's proposal:

The press today is an enormous and growing consumer industry which operates largely without professional criticism, peer review or accepted standards of performance. News organizations are expected to act as a fourth branch of government to provide additional checks and balances. They are agenda-setters for public issues, raising some into prominence and leaving others in obscurity. They are our major cultural arbiters and key institutions in shaping society. Finally, they are often the only critics of the other important institutions in our country.

Yet with all this power, there is very little criticism of the press itself. The press does not scrutinize its own performance in the same way it critiques other institutions. We believe it has a responsibility to do just that....

Some of us may disagree with all or part of the preceding statement, but one thing is for sure, this subject is a "winner." If anchorman-reporter Carter attracts audiences the way he did during his noon briefings at the State Department, his program (tentatively called "Inside Story") is bound to get good ratings. Every journalist I know will be watching and I bet the news executives will be, too.

"Inside Story" is an ambitious project. Mr. Schnurman has already raised \$1.2 million of the \$1.8 million needed to do the series. He will hire as many as thirty reporter/producers and try to keep program content two weeks behind news coverage to-be-scrutinized for the opening segment of "Inside Story." The show is expected to be television at its best with lots of visuals: film, videotape, graphics. It will have "everything": "think" pieces from famous media critics; humor from "the intrepid reporting team of Bob and Ray." As the first program of its kind, it will catch on, and then Mr. Schnurman will produce more programs like it (that is what always happens in television).

Some of the watchdogs are so-called enemies. Accuracy in the Media, Inc. (AIM), is the major one. AIM has been in business watching the news media for twelve years. It started out with four outraged media observers, a post office box and \$200. It has steadily grown over the years to a 30,000-member organization with an annual budget of \$1.2 million.

AIM is spearheaded by one of its founders and chief spokesperson, Reed Irvine. Mr. Irvine, a retired government economist, does not hide the fact that AIM is a conservative organization and works to expose the alleged liberal bias of the news media. Like other watchdogs, AIM wants to promote "accuracy and fairness in reporting on critical issues facing America." AIM reasons that if the citizenry receives reliable, accurate and complete information on the issues before their government, that citizenry can better influence important governmental decisions. AIM's literature claims that the news media fails to fully inform the citizenry, willfully slants the news and information programming, and presents a distorted picture of the vital questions which are, according to some AIM staff members, defense spending, foreign policy, and energy.

AIM publicizes its charges against the news media in many ways. One is the *AIM Report*, published monthly, which carries the charges and asks its 30,000 members to write or call the responsible parties to demand corrections or retractions. In the case of a newspaper report, AIM sends letters to editors of all newspapers known to have published the offending article. In the case of a broadcast medium, AIM files fairness doctrine complaints with the Federal Communications Commission.

AIM also takes out ads in newspapers and trade magazines "exposing false or inadequate reporting." In addition, AIM Chairman Reed Irvine, with the help of a staffer, offers five, "free," 3-minute spots criticizing the news media to 32 radio stations. The spots are also offered to cable television stations in Freeport, Louisiana and Lynchburg, Virginia. According to an AIM staffer, some of the stations air all the spots each week, and some stations repeat each spot one or two times a day.

AIM officials make time to attend shareholder meetings of the "giant" news organizations, raise questions about news coverage, and submit shareholder resolutions about news coverage. With less than a dozen full-time staff members, AIM has built up a reputation of being irritating in publicizing and pursuing their charges against the organizations in question.

AIM's continual role as watchdog has provoked many a television and newspaper executive. A now famous letter written by *The Washington Post's* Ben Bradlee to AIM's Irvine will go down in news watchdog history. Bradlee wrote in 1978: "You have revealed yourself as a miserable, carping, retromingent vigilante, and I for one am sick of wasting my time in communication with you." (In case you are wondering, "retromingent" means urinating backward.)

Due to some of AIM's handiwork, NBC is also smarting from a big legal bill. In the early 1970's, AIM took as unfair one of the network's documentaries, "Pensions: The Broken Promise." The FCC agreed with AIM's charges and took the network to court. (This was the first test of the Fairness Doctrine.) But AIM has not singled out NBC's productions: The other networks, including the Public Broadcasting Service, have also felt the wrath of this organization.

Some watchdogs remain in the shadows. No one knows about them. The most important new force in this field is the Media Institute. Based in Washington, D.C., the Institute is four years old; has been active for only a year and a half; has a full-time staff of ten non-journalists who, I found out, do not like to talk to strangers.

Media Institute's president, Leonard Theberge, a lawyer, has told reporters that his organization is "non-ideological." However, it does appear to be very corporate, obtaining a good portion of its annual \$550,000 budget from corporations — among them, Mobil Oil and Twentieth Century-Fox. Other funding comes from various foundations including the Scaife Family Charitable Trust.

Media Institute thinks of itself as an "educator" organization focusing on business, economics, and financial problems. To educate the news media, it publishes the quarterly bulletin *Business and the Media*. In this publication, the "research foundation" works for

"more comprehensive, analytical and balanced news coverage of American business and economic affairs."

Other publications, like *The Television Business-Economic News Index*, log a daily breakdown of economic and business stories covered by the major networks. The *Index* comes out every two weeks with an annual subscription rate of \$96. My favorite section of the *Index* is a special column called "Firms under Fire." The *Index* notes that one such firm — Westmoreland Coal Company — was pointed out by CBS on November 7 and 8 for having criminal violations of mine safety laws; for falsifying coal dust levels affecting workers' health and for the responsibility of a fatal coal mine explosion. (This could be a valuable tool for television newsrooms to find their file film footage.)

Also, Media Institute has established an Economic Communications Center which "provides the media free of charge with news analyses issued from economic experts." Some of the news releases issued by the Center have concerned the gross national product, the consumer price index, the "unfreezing" of the Iranian assets, etc.

This "unknown" watchdog has received press coverage after issuing one of its long studies. ("Television Evening News Covers Nuclear Energy: A Ten Year Perspective," "Nuclear Phobia — Phobic Thinking about Nuclear Power: A Discussion with Robert L. DuPont, M.D.," "Television Evening News Covers Inflation: 1978-79") The cost of these studies ranges in price from \$5 to \$35.

In addition, Media Institute has taken upon itself the burden of reeducating the interested public about the alleged inaccuracies in two news documentary-style productions: "60 Minutes" and "Uranium Factor: Fact or Fiction." For instance, Media Institute makes available videotapes called "60 Minutes/Our Reply" which were produced by the Illinois Power Company. Each is a program about a program of a visit by a CBS "60 Minute" crew to an Illinois Power facility. The Power Company's version of the story is edited into and around the program broadcast by CBS. The Media Institute is said to have 75 dubs of the tape that it loans out to Congressmen, businessmen and journalists for a fee of \$15. With each tape, one gets transcripts, CBS's responses, Illinois Power's rebuttal and the Illinois Commerce Commission order on the utilities case.

Media Institute has prepared a list of studies-in-progress that should be of interest to all of us. Personally, I am looking forward to one on "local news analyses."

As to the vigilance and over-the-shoulder presence of so many news media critics and watchdogs, my feelings are mixed. I find some solace in a comment made by CBS Washington bureau chief Ed Foughy: "Criticism is okay. It keeps us on our toes. . . [AIM's Reed Irvine] has got the same First Amendment as we do." □

The Lovejoy Award 1980

ROGER TATARIAN

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

For distinguished performance in 1980, this honor was conferred upon Roger Tatarian, former editor in chief and vice president of the United Press International, and since 1972, professor of journalism at California State University, Fresno.

Following the tradition of printing the Lovejoy Award acceptance speech in Nieman Reports, we present an edited transcription of Mr. Tatarian's remarks.

For the press of this country, the mission of defending individuals against excess — whether from government or their fellow citizens — can be second to none. We hear and say much more about its role in serving the general public interest as the adversary of government. Obviously, in serving the public interest in that more general way, the press is also serving the individual citizen.

When it comes to defending the rights of the individual, the press can have a more solitary role. It is often appealed to as a last resort, after other avenues of redress have failed. Time and again it has proved the only friend of the individual citizen in exposing a miscarriage of justice or a case of bureaucratic arrogance. More than anything else, it is this role of the press as the last line of defense for the individual that justifies its special position within our constitutional system.

I would like to suggest that this special position is being confused with special privilege by the demands and practices of some within the profession.

I have spent most of my adult life in the practice of journalism, and I remain as convinced as ever that despite the occasional lapse that afflicts all human institutions, the American press serves the public well. But I must confess that some of my perceptions of the press, its responsi-

bilities, and its performance have altered since I ceased being a daily practitioner and entered the academic world.

Here I encounter dangerous waters. Journalists who take up teaching are sometimes regarded as unrealistic, finger-wagging scolds when they discuss the problems of the profession. I can only hope this is not necessarily always true — that it is also possible for a more detached view to yield a more realistic view of some situations.

In any case, I believe American journalists by and large can be proud of their record of performance. And I believe the criticism they incur often simply confirms that what they wrote or what they said needed to be reported and needed to be said.

But there are some journalistic positions and procedures that deserve re-examination because they are capable of doing harm not only to the image of the profession but also to the rights of individual citizens.

As a journalist who now finds himself more detached from the daily fray, I am struck more than ever before by the power and influence of the news media. Daily practitioners, it seems to me, take their duties so much for granted that they do not always see themselves for what they are — supreme, self-appointed arbiters over which of their fellow citizens are to gain fame and which notoriety, which acclaim and honor, and which embarrassment or disgrace. The routine, day-to-day journalistic task of deciding which event or deed is to be given public notice, and which is to be ignored, can have far-reaching consequences for countless individuals. So can even the most casual word of a reporter or editorial writer or television anchorperson. And if the consequence is a negative one, no subsequent correction, retraction, or rectification is very likely to undo all the harm.

A more detached perspective has helped me better understand why so many in both public and private life regard the press as a rather forbidding, somewhat remote, and often inaccessible or unresponsive institution that is seemingly accountable only to itself in wielding an awesome measure of influence and power.

This self-accountability is without question the basis for the mixed emotions with which many Americans today regard the news media. And this reaction is only

nourished when journalists are seen to demand privileged positions enjoyed by no other group of citizens.

One such position involves shield legislation to protect a reporter's sources. This is seen by many outsiders as the application of a double standard. Here, it is said, is the same institution that proclaimed in Watergate that not even a president is beyond the law, now claiming for itself the privilege of a certain measure of immunity from prosecution.

That the press is entitled to a special role in American life is beyond dispute. The late Justice William O. Douglas put it in these words: "The press has a preferred position in our constitutional scheme, not to enable it to make money, not to set newsmen apart as a favored class, but to bring fulfillment of the public right to know."

Unfortunately, the distinction between a "preferred" position and a "favored class" is lost upon the advocates of shield laws. These statutes have the laudable aim of safeguarding the investigative role of the press. This they do by granting immunity from prosecution to journalists who refuse to reveal their sources of information.

But the difficulty with any immunity is that there can be no assurance it is invoked solely for good and noble purpose. It can as easily be invoked with ignoble motive — if not by journalists, then by sources bent on using the journalist as a vehicle to attack some other individual. Advocates of shield laws are urging Congress to extend this same privilege to the federal system. I know there are many others who share my satisfaction that Congress is showing no eagerness to comply.

The self-accountability of the press is a natural product of its freedom, but it is a position that is at times perceived as arbitrary and arrogant. It leaves journalists free to use their own definition of the public interest in deciding what to print and when to print it. They ask or should ask: Will publication of this startling, though unproved, allegation reflect badly and unfairly on this or that individual?

Elijah Parish Lovejoy

Born in Albion, Maine, a graduate of Colby College in 1826, and an editor who crusaded strongly against slavery, Elijah Parish Lovejoy was America's first martyr to freedom of the press. He published strong anti-slavery views in the *Observer*, a weekly in St. Louis, and he continued his crusading journalism at Alton, Illinois, where mobs destroyed three of his presses. He was killed the day before his thirty-fifth birthday while guarding another new press. His martyrdom helped to advance the cause of abolition in the North.

Possibly, comes the answer, but the public interest requires publication; therefore, concern for the individual may be relegated to a secondary position. We must ask ourselves whether the cry of public interest is too easily or too casually invoked.

I am certain that I myself would have bridled a few years ago had someone else voiced these opinions in those terms. Yet that is precisely the position the journalist takes in reporting certain legal proceedings.

I am not speaking of the effect of pre-trial publicity on potential jurors. That debate is a long-standing one, and I believe the press over the past decade or so has demonstrated increasing awareness of the problem. I speak instead of legal proceedings in which juries may or may not be involved but where pre-trial publicity can inflict other kinds of harm on the individual.

In a few states, anything alleged in a legal suit, however false, however fanciful, however exaggerated, can be published without fear of libel the moment the legal papers are filed. But even where no such formal privilege exists, it is not unusual for some in the media to pounce as soon as an exciting allegation is filed.

So things like this can and do happen frequently: A doctor is the object of a multi-million dollar suit for malpractice, and a teenage girl accuses the male band teacher at the high school of sexual molestation.

Both cases, complete with name of the doctor and the band leader and details of the allegations, are immediately published. The doctor's case goes to trial and the charges against him are found groundless. Four weeks after the girl brings her charge against the band teacher, before a trial ever begins, her story is found to be fabricated and the charge is dropped. This too is published but by its very nature, fails to attract the same notice largely because people are more likely to repeat scandal alleged than scandal disproved.

The question to be asked here is this: In what way would the public interest have suffered if the local media had published nothing about these unfounded allegations unless and until they had come to trial? The question is all the more relevant because of the logjam in most court calendars and the long delay in final disposition of so many cases.

It is not enough in instances like this to protest that when the media publish an allegation, they vouch not for its truth but only for the fact that it was formally made. In investigative reporting, most editors want at least two sources to support a major charge of misfeasance or malfeasance. Why then should the word of a single plaintiff, by definition a biased source, be accepted for a major assault on the person, character or competence of another individual? Obviously, there will be times when immediate publication can be justified. The important thing is that it be the result of careful and deliberate

reflection. The fact that it would make a highly readable story is not enough.

Publication of information from closed grand jury proceedings is another area in which it is easy to proclaim public interest in justifying piecemeal and premature publication. Evidence given to grand juries is subject to none of the challenges that characterize a courtroom trial and can be seriously tainted. Again, there can be little doubt that publication of this kind of information can cloak an individual in a cloud that lingers even if an eventual indictment never materializes or is disproved.

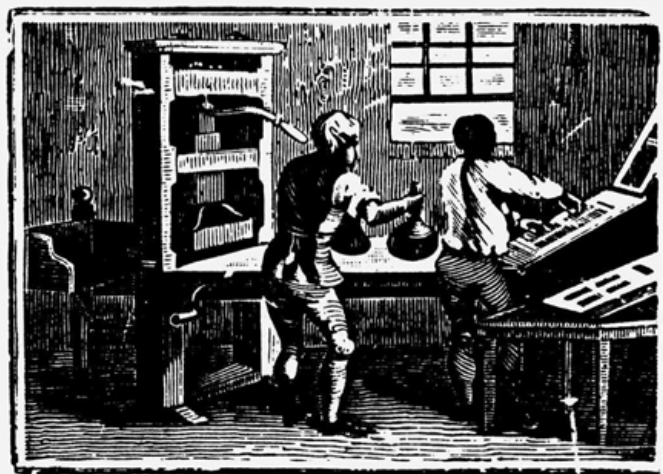
In cases destined for jury trials, publication of evidence given for the first time at preliminary hearings can have a similar effect. A preliminary hearing is not a trial, and evidence presented there can also be incomplete or unfounded. Yet it is privileged matter and can be published without fear of libel.

I do not argue for closed preliminary hearings. The press is right to contend that as a general rule these proceedings must be kept open to guard against overzealous or lax procedures. But the press, it seems to me, can better discharge its role as the champion of the individual with more stringent monitoring of its reporting in the pre-trial period.

It is too easy to argue, as some do, that while harm may result to individual citizens in reporting proceedings such as these, it is the regrettable cost of a wider purpose — of keeping the public spotlight on the administration of justice. That is a noble purpose, but it can be debased if it is invoked too readily to justify reports that may be exciting but hardly important to the public interest.

Into this very questionable category I would place the current demand that courtrooms be open to television coverage. Surely, few ordeals can be greater for ordinary citizens than to be defendants in a trial — to be led, at times manacled, into a courtroom and there to undergo the most devastating attack that the resources of the state can bring against them. How, then, can it serve our professed concern for the rights or the dignity of the individual to demand, as some in the profession do, that the ordeal of this embattled citizen — who is to be presumed innocent — be intensified by making this person the subject of a Perry Mason-type spectacle for the television audience far beyond the courtroom?

Returning to the question of shield laws and professional confidences, I believe firmly that journalists must keep their word. Steadfastness to a pledge is the basis of trust, but this is a pledge that must not be lightly given. When journalists pledge confidentiality for information that is likely to have grave consequences for themselves or others, they must first of all decide whether this information is in fact essential to the public interest. If it is, publish they must. They must take scrupulous care that they are on solid ground, and they must be consciously



aware that they may be inviting a writ for libel or for contempt. They must be prepared to convince a jury, at the risk of their personal liberty if it comes to that, that their work was truly important and clearly in the public interest.

With the cozy safety of a shield law, of course, the importance of the information need not be a factor. It can be trivial. It can even be untrue. No matter. With a shield law, both the source and the vehicle for an irresponsibility can sit easily in a privileged sanctuary.

No segment of society should be above the law. Advocates of shield laws argue that no precedent is involved here because the same principle is involved in the doctor-patient, lawyer-client, and priest-penitent relationship. This argument is superficially attractive but collapses quickly under scrutiny. Doctors, lawyers, and priests do not rush into print or put on the 6 o'clock news the information they receive in privacy. The sole reason for a reporter to receive confidential information is to make it public. Only when the others begin broadcasting their information to the community at large can their role be equated with that of a journalist.

Journalists take it for granted that there are dishonest or incompetent doctors, lawyers, plumbers, accountants, or government officials. Are journalists alone to be presumed to be free of those frailties? It would require a heroic measure of arrogance to assume so. And yet shield laws extend the same immunity, provide the same sanctuary to the dishonest or irresponsible journalist as they do to the good one.

Moreover, there is the troublesome question of just who is entitled to be called a journalist and claim this legal privilege. Any citizen, after all, can become a publisher by buying a piece or two of carbon paper and expounding personal views to friends. Is that publisher, who circulates only a few copies, to be denied a right that is extended to those who circulate a few thousand? Is the full sweep of the First Amendment to be limited to those who have

made publishing a commercial success? The rights and privileges inherent in the First Amendment must apply equally to all — and anyone with access to a typewriter and a copying machine can with logic lay claim to the privileges of shield legislation. The effect that such wholesale application would have on a system of law is not difficult to imagine.

No less disturbing is the fact that shield legislation accepts the principle that the limits of First Amendment rights are negotiable in fifty state legislatures and the federal Congress. If the press concedes to legislators on any level the right to give it something in this area of free expression, it must also concede them the right to take something away. That is a concession that at a later time could be invoked against the press with much mischief. If we do not relish the latter, we must not covet the former, for we cannot have one without the other.

On balance, I believe it is far wiser for the press to take

its stand simply on the First Amendment — and to count not on special privilege, but on a record of responsible performance to give it the public support that is the most effective source of strength.

Obviously, taking a stand simply on the First Amendment cannot be a guarantee against overzealous prosecution. At times, journalists may be asked to pay the price of principle and to endure jail terms, as journalists have in the past. But I am confident that even this risk can be minimized if confrontation is undertaken only on demonstrably important issues. In the long run, the best shield is the shield of public support and respect, and that cannot be legislated. It is far better, I think, to face up to an occasional risk rather than to seek legal shields behind which the irresponsible can indulge in excess with impunity. That can only dishonor us all and heap disrespect on the profession, and without respect, we can have nothing at all. □

Nieman Scrapbook

How J. P. Ran a Newspaper

"My boy," Joseph Pulitzer said to one of his staff with whom he was walking to lunch, "how in the world did you get all that muscle on your arms?"

"By taking lots of exercise," the writer replied. "I do that to keep up my health which I regard as the most valuable asset in my business."

"In your profession," J.P. corrected. "Don't think I am criticizing, my dear boy, I am not critical, but journalism is a profession — the profession."

This incident typifies Joseph Pulitzer's reverential attitude toward and intense feeling for newspaper work.

Just as the founder of the *Post-Dispatch* elevated journalism from a business or trade to the foremost profession, so did he distinguish between business management of a newspaper and news and editorial policy and operation. He was himself rarely successful at managing a large enterprise. Business problems

were almost continuously before him, and one of his last worries before his death aboard the *Liberty* in Charleston harbor was an emergency in the supply of newsprint.

Within the newspaper itself, his great interest was to make it a living force editorially. As he said, "My heart is in the editorial page." He knew only too well that he set store by the editorial page at the very time of the decline of editorial pages generally, in England as well as in the United States. He charged his staff: "This decadence is all the more inducement to make a page that stands out above the others — that means something, that believes in something, that fights for something."

Clarity was basic. "The first object of any word in any article at any time must be perfect clarity," he instructed his writers. "I hate all rare, unusual, non-understandable words. Avoid the vanity of foreign words or phrases or unfamiliar

terms. Editorials must be written for the people, not for the few."

Simplicity also was fundamental. "What is the use," he asked, "of writing above the heads of readers? Go over that testimony, analyze it, summarize it, condense it, so that a child can understand. Take that page editorial and boil it down to half a column... Introductions should be regarded as deadly enemies to be killed instantly. Begin with the beginning."

"Tell him," J. P. once sent word back to his editorial page chief, "to take 20 hours with his editorial and to get it into 20 lines."

Mere words filled Pulitzer with dismay. "Grass" was what he called long scenic passages in novels and articles, and woe to the secretary who made the mistake of leading him out into it.

—From an article by Irving Dilliard (NF '39) in *NR*, April 1947
—the second issue ever published.

Tiger in White Gloves

MARY McGRORY



Doris Fleeson was not just the first syndicated woman political columnist; she was the only one of either sex to approach national affairs like a police reporter.

"Avoid mere opinion as you would the pestilence," her friend H.L. Mencken once counseled her in a letter. It was needless advice. While there was never any doubt about where she stood, or who or what she thought was wrong, Doris Fleeson's opinions were based on hard facts of her own collection. "I like to see the whites of their eyes," she told an interviewer. "I like to watch the demeanor of a witness."

Doris Fleeson became a columnist in 1945. Her copy was carried, five times a week, under the banner of the United Features Syndicate, in more than 100 papers around the country. Until sickness sidelined her in the mid-sixties, she roamed the Capitol, a tiger in white gloves and a Sally Victor hat, stalking explanations for the stupidity, cruelty, fraud, or cant that was her chosen prey. Every day, she went to the White House, frequently to put the disemboweling question to the press secretary of the moment; then she headed for Capitol Hill, where she called senators and congressmen off the floor — whether to be asked for information or to be given a piece of her mind they were never sure.

It was the crispness of her prose, just barely containing her passionate convictions, which gave her columns their special bite and edge — and caused John Kennedy to say that he "would rather be Krocked than Fleesonized." (Arthur Krock of *The New York Times*, confidant of the mighty, often startled, but seldom wounded.) Another contemporary, Walter Lippmann, wrote from heights which Doris Fleeson scorned to scale. She was always in the thick of the scrap. When she struck, she drew blood.

During her long career, she scolded four presidents: Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the one chief executive whom she almost unreservedly admired — for his character, political skills, and liberal views — died the year before she began her

column. His wife, Eleanor, was a long-time friend and one of Doris Fleeson's few idols.

To be a woman reporter in the man's world of Washington in the 1940's and 1950's was to be patronized or excluded, or both. Doris Fleeson submitted to these indignities with tearful rage. She knew that few of the men were her peers and none her superior, and she was, well in advance of the women's liberation movement, a militant feminist. She fought for the underdog as she breathed — she was a founder of the American Newspaper Guild, and a pioneer in helping blacks to break race barriers in the trade. But her most burning concern was for her sisters. In those days, the struggle was over such matters as the installation of women's restrooms in congressional galleries. She was in the front line of the charge. She warned her colleague Frank Kent: "If you laugh, I will never speak to you again." She was notoriously kind to younger women reporters, indulgent and encouraging to a degree that caused wonderment and envy among the male politicians whom she had skewered.

If Doris Fleeson was feared and respected, she was also widely liked. She was an attractive person, always immaculately turned out. She had bright, large hazel eyes and a sudden, wide smile. Five minutes in her company was sufficient to convince most people that she was an honest woman, who adored her friends, hated her enemies, and remembered every slight or kindness that had ever been dealt her.

Her professionalism was nothing short of breathtaking. Her early training in deadlines had focused her mind. She would go from a press conference, a debate, or a convention floor directly to the typewriter, and in the time it took other people to sort out what had happened, turn out 700 words of cogent prose that proceeded straight to the heart of the matter.

Doris Fleeson was born May 20, 1901, in Sterling, Kansas, where her father, William Fleeson, ran a clothing store, and, she often said, "the town — from the back-room." Her mother, Helen (Tebbe) Fleeson, was the daughter of immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein who had settled in St. Louis. Doris was the second daughter and the youngest of six children: she particularly admired and confided in her sister Elizabeth, one of the first women to receive a doctorate from Yale, who consistently supported

Mary McGrory is a nationally syndicated columnist with The Washington Star. She was a member of the Nieman Selection Committee in 1975.

and encouraged her. She attended local schools and graduated from the University of Kansas, where she studied journalism, in 1923. Her first newspaper jobs were at the Pittsburg (Kansas) *Sun* and the Evanston (Illinois) *News Index*.

In 1926, she established a base at the *Great Neck News* in Long Island, New York, from which she laid siege to the *New York Daily News*. Finally, in November 1927, she was given a staff job and began covering police, courts, investigations, and eventually, New York politics. In 1930, she married a fellow *Daily News* reporter, John O'Donnell. They had a daughter, Doris, born in 1932. In 1933, they arrived in Washington to write a political column, "Capitol Stuff," under a double by-line.

The marriage began to collapse under the strain of irreconcilable personal and political differences. Doris Fleeson was an ardent New Dealer; John O'Donnell was not. They were divorced in 1942. In the fashion of the times, he was kept on as a Washington correspondent, and she was recalled to New York to write radio news. Doris Fleeson landed a job as a war correspondent for the *Woman's Home Companion* (1943-44). With her usual verve and nerve, she covered battlefronts from Salerno to Omaha Beach.

When she came home, she struck out on her own as a political columnist. Only the editors of the *Washington Evening Star* and the *Boston Globe* promised to print her copy. Her clientele swiftly grew with her reputation for beats and tough analysis, and, in 1952, she was awarded the abominable accolade, "Capitol's top newshen" by *Newsweek* magazine. She traveled often with her friend, May Craig, and cast a clear eye on world figures. But her abiding passion was domestic politics. Once in Rome, she happened upon Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston. Her

antipathy to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church, an institution she found insufficiently democratic, was renowned. But the pair fell instantly fathoms deep into an esoteric discussion of Kennedy's reelection chances in the mid-Atlantic states.

In 1958, she married Dan Kimball, a big, bluff industrialist and former Secretary of the Navy (1951-53), who matched her in generosity and kindness and enjoyed her rages. He called her "my little bride," and they were aggressively happy in their house on S Street. She was fiercely domestic, and a perfectionist about her appointments. Sunday afternoon often found the scourge of statesmen sewing fresh white collar and cuffs on her dark-blue dress, looking for all the world like Kitty Foyle.

The Johnson campaign of 1964 was her last. She collapsed on the trail, suffering from circulatory disorders. She had had grave doubts about Lyndon Johnson's character. She saw them epitomized in the Vietnam war, of which she felt herself a casualty. On July 30, 1970, Dan Kimball died. On being told, Doris Fleeson responded with her astonishing presence of mind, quoting lines from Macaulay that begin, "The house that was the happiest within the Roman walls..."

Thirty-six hours later, she was dead of a stroke. No one has taken her place, either personally or professionally, on the Washington scene. □

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Nieman Scrapbook

Comments on Cameras

There are problems with the use of color film to document pollution. Pollution is one of the most beautiful things to photograph — rivers running red, skies with many layers of smog — in a way, photography has hurt the sense of realism.

Many documentary films are excellent. But I have a prejudice

against film, as opposed to still photography, in that a film can't sit on your table for weeks, and a photograph can.

People have a way of avoiding documentaries like the plague, unless they are forced to go to them. The people who go voluntarily to see a documentary film are usually the ones who are already convinced.

Photographs have an insidious presence that films just don't have.

—Barbara Norfleet, speaking in a seminar for Nieman Fellows. Ms. Norfleet is Curator of Still Photography at the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, and Lecturer on Visual and Environmental Studies at Harvard University.

Prisons and the Public Gaze: A Testimonial

BENJAMIN POGRUND

There are certain first-hand experiences I have had, the broad details of which I believe might be of value to the Commission. These experiences relate to my reporting about prison conditions during the 1960's. But there is more than mere historical interest in what I wish to set out: the particular law with which I dealt is still in existence, and its ambit has been stretched to cover other vital aspects of our existence. I intend confining myself to this area in my evidence.

The events to which I intend referring really start in 1960, when as African Affairs Reporter of the *Rand Daily Mail* I received information that highly undesirable conditions existed at Modderbee Prison, Benoni.

At that time, a State of Emergency was in operation and many thousands of people had been detained as vagrants and under the pass laws. The Prisons Act of 1959, containing Section 44(f), was less than a year old, and I was mindful of the severe requirements it now placed on reporting. I therefore spent eight weeks carrying out my investigations. I recall, even to this day, the great caution with which I handled the matter because of 44(f). In the event, 18 people died at Modderbee because of the overcrowding and poor conditions. This occurred, and became known, even while I was carrying out my investigation.

I wondered then, and still wonder, if those lives might have been saved had publicity been given earlier to what was happening inside the prison.

My experience with Modderbee gave me my first real contact with prison conditions. It also gave me an idea of the problems in reporting created by 44(f).

The Commission will recall that Section 44(f) says:

Any person who publishes or causes to be published in any manner whatsoever any false information concerning the behaviour or experience in prison of any prisoner or ex-prisoner or concerning the administration of any prison, knowing the same to be false, or without taking reasonable steps to verify such information (the onus of proving that reasonable steps were taken to verify such information being upon the accused) shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding two thousand rand or, in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years or to such imprisonment without the option of a fine or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

It seems an eminently reasonable provision, and one which the Press should be only too happy to subscribe to. After all, it is the aim of the Press to report accurately and correctly, so why can there be any objection to this being put into legislative form, backed by penal sanction?

In a perfect world this could well apply. But we live in an imperfect world and the net effect of this provision, in my own personal experience and that of the South African Press in general, has been that it has sealed off prison conditions from the public gaze. The reason for this is not far to seek: it has happened because Section 44(f) has given the power to prevent publication to the very same officials who would naturally feature in critical Press reports. They have a direct, vested interest in suppressing information that is either embarrassing or harmful to them. That indeed is how 44(f) has worked in practice.

Benjamin Pogrand, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, in December gave evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media. Mr. Pogrand was named Honorary Nieman Fellow in 1977, when he was in the United States working at The Boston Globe on a six-month exchange basis.

To continue my narrative: in 1961, I happened to land up for a few days in The Fort, Johannesburg: I was jailed under the then Section 83 of the Criminal Procedure Act for refusing to divulge the name of an informant. I gained personal experience of filthy and undesirable conditions, in part caused by the sheer age of the prison buildings. By this stage, however, I had the restriction of 44(f) firmly in my mind and, apart from writing a carefully worded and generalised article for my company's in-house magazine, did nothing further about it.

Over the next few years, in the course of my continuing work as African Affairs Reporter, I constantly received information, especially from blacks, about poor conditions in prisons. Only occasionally did I even bother to take notes because, like every other journalist in South Africa of whom I was aware, I had come to accept that virtually nothing could be published unless it emanated from the Department of Prisons and that independent reporting was at an end.

By early in 1965, when I came to be assigned to feature and investigative writing, I felt it was time to examine the prisons situation in depth. I suggested to my then Editor, Mr. Laurence Gandar, that I tackle the issue, and he agreed. We happened to receive an anonymous letter from a prisoner, and his allegations accorded with the information I had been getting over the years. I had been looking at 44(f) and discussing it with our lawyers and had reached the conclusion that it did not have the blanket, completely suppressive effect which had generally come to be accepted and applied (for it needs to be realised that little was by then appearing in print about prison conditions, unless approved by the authorities).

By sheer coincidence, as I began to work my way into the issue, I encountered Mr. Harold Strachan, who had recently been released after serving a three-year sentence for a political security offence. I was enormously impressed by him: by his intelligence and memory and by his verve; he was a highly sensitive man and articulated his experiences to a rare degree.

At first I intended using his material as background, and as starting-points for my investigation. I tape-recorded a lengthy interview with him in detail, seeking clarification and drawing on my own, by then, quite extensive knowledge. Only later did I conceive the idea of using his material in edited first-person form. As a result of this decision, I arranged for Mr. Strachan to come to Johannesburg where he was questioned, on the basis of the interview he had given me, by our chief legal adviser. He also adhered to the information by way of affidavit.

Subsequent to publication of Mr. Strachan's experiences, I carried out much of the same procedure with two warders and two former prisoners at Cinderella Prison, Boksburg, and their reports were also published.

I believed that I had fully discharged the onus of taking "reasonable steps" imposed by 44(f). That I had applied my considerable research training in the academic sphere (as the holder, at that stage, of the university degrees of B.A., B.Soc.Sci. and M.A.), combined with my experience as a journalist; that I had behaved as a reasonable and prudent person; that I had had available to me also the background information obtained over a period of some five years about conditions in prisons; and that I also had the input of a leading attorney — the country's foremost expert on newspaper law — who had checked my material and had personally examined my informants.

I realised that it was impossible to guarantee that every single word of what I wrote was correct. I believed that, in regard to Mr. Strachan, it was impossible to ensure 100 percent accuracy of every single word; that it was unavoidable, no matter how much time was spent on the job, to recall every minutiae of a person's experiences over a period of three years. My attitude was that I was aiming at maximum possible accuracy, but had to accept that the occasional word or nuance might not perhaps be spot on. I was satisfied, however, that this in no way detracted materially from the basic truth.

To my astonishment, publication of the reports had the most extraordinary consequences. A banning order was immediately imposed on Mr. Strachan, so that nothing he had said could be repeated. He was prosecuted and found guilty and jailed. My other informants were also prosecuted; one was, however, acquitted. In due course, Mr. Gandar and I were prosecuted under Section 44(f) and after a trial of many months were found guilty. My company was involved in the expenditure of some R300,000. My passport was seized and I did not regain it until some five years later. We were subject to the overwhelming might of the State, directed at disproving the reports. All the proceedings took more than four years out of my life.

Yet I have no hesitation in stating that I believed then, and still believe, in the essential correctness of what I wrote. Nothing I have learnt over the years since then has in the slightest degree caused me to doubt the accuracy of the bulk of my reports. Indeed, quite the opposite, for in subsequent years information continued to reach me which amply justified much of what I had written.

I have difficulties in developing this theme to any further detailed extent for to do so could lay me open to charges under the Prisons Act, and perhaps also to charges of criminal defamation and contempt of court.

The judgment in the State vs. SAAN and Others, in which Mr. Gandar and I were accused, found that reasonable steps in terms of Section 44(f) had not been taken. The judgment did not specify exactly what would have constituted reasonable steps.

But whatever the legal arguments, the plain fact of the matter is that the practical effect to my knowledge has been that newspapers invariably handle critical information on prisons by going to the Department of Prisons with the material and asking if it is true. Only if the department says the information is indeed correct, or else specifically agrees to publication, will the report be viewed as legally safe for publication. According to legal opinion I have had in a specific case, the department's failure to comment, or evasion of the issue, or use of "no comment," are not sufficient to allow for safe publication.

This is manifestly absurd. It means, in practice, that the Department of Prisons can control what information concerning the discharge of its functions is to appear in the Press. Where undesirable conditions are found, it is expecting over-much of the human character to expect officials to own up readily, and to confirm, that abuses are taking place in areas under their control. The net result, therefore, has been that remarkably little about prison conditions appears in the Press.

Mr. K. W. Stuart summed it up well in paragraph 158 of his book, *The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law*, published in 1977: "Although Cillie JP specifically found that the Prisons Act must not be construed as inhibiting a newspaper in fulfilling its important function of exposing public abuses and found further that Section 44(f) was not intended for such a purpose, the effect of his judgment has, in practice, been that for more than 10 years no newspaper has published a report about prisons, their administration or the experience in them of prisoners or ex-prisoners except such reports as place the Prisons Department in a favourable light.

"To publish adverse matter is quite simply too dangerous unless an editor is prepared to place his information before the prison authorities for comment. And he can hardly expect them to acknowledge the correctness of such information for it is inherently probable that they will deny it."

Serious as this is, there is still an additional dimension: for such is the anxiety generated by 44(f) that it does not necessarily follow that information received by a newspaper will even be submitted to the Department of Prisons. This is because of fear of the possible consequences for an informant, who could be laying himself open to prosecution because he published the information to a journalist. Thus the restrictive effect of 44(f) goes even further than is at first sight apparent.

Nor does it end with Section 44(f). In the case of my informants, the fact that we sought to help meet the obligation of taking reasonable steps by requiring informants to swear to the accuracy of their statements opened up a new Pandora's Box: charges of perjury were brought against the informants.

There was even an attempt to involve our legal adviser in criminal charges: a summons under the Prisons Act was served on Mr. Stuart — at 1 a.m.! — and he was charged "as agent and legal adviser of South African Associated Newspapers Ltd." The charges were withdrawn only some 15 months later.

Yet prisons, as closed institutions, are in their nature peculiarly susceptible to undesirable conditions. The whole fact of erecting walls to keep people in lends itself to the growth of abuse, particularly because the guards have so much power over the inmates, and the inmates are, in their nature, prone to anti-social behaviour. This is not unique to South Africa but is a situation which applies throughout the world. To overcome it, prisons should be, more than most public institutions, as open as possible to investigation and reporting. The effect of Section 44(f), however, is to ensure entirely the opposite.

This is, I submit, an extremely grave restriction on what should be the ability of the Press to report on matters of public concern. It is also, because of this, a worrying curtailment of the public's right to know.

To reinforce this point, it can be noted that, in handing the Department of Prisons this sort of power, it cannot even be said that the department, through its headquarters, can be certain of knowing everything that is happening within its jurisdiction. As an example of this, in the State vs. Theron and the State vs. Setshedi (both were among my informants about Cinderella Prison, Boksburg) they were charged with making false statements and publishing false information because of their sworn statements about the electric shock torture of prisoners. Obviously, the Attorney-General framed the charges acting on information supplied by the Department of Prisons. Yet they were both acquitted on these particular charges. It was found that it had not been proved that electric shock torture had not taken place.

An additional problem is that, once this type of restrictive wording starts to be used in legislation, it inevitably spreads. That has happened with the spirit of 44(f): it was carried over into the Mental Health Act, No. 18 of 1973, so that the country's mental hospitals are protected by it.

As matters stand at present, members of the Newspaper Press Union are specifically excluded from this restriction. It would seem that the restriction was brought into law as a result of the activities of the Scientologist movement in focusing on alleged conditions in mental hospitals. Without wishing to speak on behalf of the Scientologists, the point must be made that once a restriction of this nature is applied, the entire community must suffer from its effects. In addition, it must be obvious that should a newspaper come across undesirable conditions in mental hospitals and give extensive publicity to them, it will be natural for the authorities to remove the

present exclusion of NPU members. Once the principle of restriction has been applied, further and wider applications are only too easy; they become ready-made shortcuts for authority in getting out of difficult situations.

I suggest that it is simply because Section 44(f) has had such success in throwing a blanket of secrecy over prison conditions that the Government has extended it into yet another area of crucial importance: the police.

Hence the Police Amendment Act of 1979 which, in language strikingly similar to 44(f), makes it an offence for any person to publish "any untrue matter" about the police "without having reasonable grounds...for believing that the statement is true." The onus of proving "reasonable grounds" is again on the accused. The penalty for transgressors is high: a fine of up to R10,000 and/or imprisonment for five years.

As with prisons, so now too with the police: the Press is very much in the hands of the police when it comes to deciding what can or cannot be published. Can it be doubted that, if the situation is left untouched, the publication of information concerning the doings of the police will follow the same road as has occurred with prisons? That cannot be a welcome prospect for our country.

There is, I submit, no special reason why these institutions should receive special legislative protection. They should be as open to reporting as most other

institutions. Should newspapers perpetrate any errors in their reporting, the same remedies as apply to other areas of government activity are available: in the case of individuals, they can turn to actions for damages; otherwise wrong information can be countered, as it always can be, by statements setting out the true position. In the long run these remain the best remedies: newspapers which do, over a period of time, repeatedly perpetrate mistakes finally lose out where it matters most, in the market place of their readers. In any event, this is a rare phenomenon, and indeed one unknown in South Africa at the present time: we simply do not have newspapers which as a matter of policy set out to perpetrate untruthful reports.

Not only is the existence of the present 44(f)-type restrictions inimical to the public interest, but their existence, and success in suppressing information, make them tempting models to be extended into other areas of our national existence.

I therefore wish to urge the Commission to give consideration to recommending the repeal of Section 44(f) of the Prisons Act, as well as the similar clauses in the Mental Health Act of 1973 and the Police Amendment Act of 1979. □

Reprinted from the Rand Daily Mail.

Nieman Selection Committee, 1981-82

Four journalists and three members of the Harvard Faculty have been appointed by President Derek Bok to serve on the committee to select American Nieman Fellows in journalism for the academic year 1981-82.

The Fellowships provide for a year of study at Harvard for persons experienced in the media. The Fellowship awards will be announced early in June.

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

Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education and Sociology, Harvard University.

David Kraslow, Publisher, *The*

Miami News, and a Nieman Fellow in the Class of 1962.

Patricia Nelson Limerick, Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University.

Frieda Williamson Morris, Midwest Bureau Chief, NBC News, Chicago.

Gary Orren, Associate Professor of Public Policy in the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

George Wilson, Publisher, *The Concord Monitor*, New Hampshire.

William Woestendiek, Executive Editor, *The Arizona Daily Star*, Tucson, and a Nieman Fellow in the Class of 1955.

About twelve Fellowships will be awarded to American journalists for

1981-82. Another six to eight Fellowships will be awarded to foreign journalists who will be selected later in the spring by another committee. Each grant provides for nine months of residence and study at Harvard, beginning in September, for journalists on leave from their jobs.

The current Nieman class includes twelve Fellows from the United States and seven from foreign countries.

The 1981-82 class will be the 44th annual group of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. The Fellowships were established in 1938 by a bequest from Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius, founder of *The Milwaukee Journal*. □

Books

Solving Inner Puzzles

The Medical Detectives

Berton Roueché. Times Books, New York, 1980. \$15.00.

by LAUREL SHACKELFORD

Curious things happen when you read Berton Roueché's medical detective stories. Before eating pork chops you wonder, "What did this pig eat? Anything lethal?" You promise that regardless of how stubborn a child is when you approach with medication, you'll never — no never — suggest that pills taste like candy. Richard Poole's mother neglected that old maxim. When Richard got hungry several days later, he ate a bottle of children's aspirin and died within hours. And when you have a touch of vertigo you remember Rosemary Morton and momentarily wonder, "Is it labyrinthitis? Will the walls start caving in?"

Reading *The Medical Detectives* will not turn you into a hypochondriac, but it can cause queasiness and will make you sweat until you learn, "What caused it?" Reading Roueché is much like reading Agatha Christie: when you see a shadow you shudder, wondering who is there. Aha, your umbrella.

That's comforting, but the shadow lingers.

Roueché is an extraordinary reporter who has carved a special place for himself in the annals of American journalism. Roueché writes medical mystery stories. He writes about

strange illnesses, rare diseases and scary epidemics that can appear in a corner of Manhattan, in Mountain Home, Arkansas, and in a Miami Beach school. Roueché's heroes are almost invariably epidemiologists — those physicians who study epidemic diseases — public health officials, and workers at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta. What makes their work so challenging — and so fascinating to read about — is that the telltale link is often as memorable as a twinge of gastritis.

Imagine the challenge faced by epidemiologists in March 1955 as they traveled to Mountain Home knowing that twenty-nine school children, one teacher, and a melodious parakeet named Liberace, were in the grip of an epidemic. The victims' symptoms included fevers as high as 106 degrees. Medical sleuthing indicated they suffered from histoplasmosis, a disease transmitted through fungus, which was thought to be rare and usually fatal. Health officials soon determined that the victims must have been exposed to the fungus about February 1.

When asked what occurred around February 1, school officials were dumbfounded. They could remember nothing unusual. The school janitor (whom Roueché does not name) solved the riddle. He remembered that a truckload of coal was shoveled into the school's bin on that windy day. More epidemiological detective work revealed that the coal had not come from a big established mine. It came from a strip mine. "A strip mine is an open pit. There's all the difference in the world between an open pit and a modern deep-shaft mine..."

Curiously, Roueché seldom gives the victims and their family mem-

bers, who must surely watch in horror as their loved ones suffer, the same hero's treatment physicians receive. Throughout this collection of columns that have appeared in *The New Yorker* since the 1940's, Roueché's bedside manner remains one of cool detachment. His empathy rests with fellow professionals; his zeal follows the chase.

He wavers once. In his masterful story about Carol Terry, Roueché reveals that he is as appalled as the reader by her ordeal.

A crooked smile, a slight limp and an occasional halt in her speech are "the only remaining signs of her dismaying experience" that started in 1971 when she awoke with "this feeling that I had to do something. I can't explain it any better than that. I went into the bathroom got down [the] razor... and began to slash my wrists."

Psychiatrists treated her as a "category," a suicide, saying, "This was my way of showing resentment toward my husband." When her hands began shaking uncontrollably making it almost impossible to button a blouse, psychiatrists "put me to work making things — working with my hands." She drooled. She limped. She slurred.

After her divorce, she heard more bad news from psychiatrists: "The cause of all my trouble now was simply that I didn't want to go back to work..."

About two years after her symptoms first appeared, Mrs. Terry met Dr. John Shields, an internist who tentatively diagnosed her problem as Wilson's disease. "I drank in every wonderful word of it. But the thing that mattered most — the thing that put me in seventh heaven — was that I had a real disease. I wasn't a

psychiatric case. I wasn't crazy."

Wilson's disease is essentially a genetically inherited chronic copper poisoning that rots the liver. It often responds dramatically to drugs. Carol Terry is living proof of such success.

In a thoroughly unself-conscious way, Roueché also emerges as one of the heroes. In spite of the midnight heebie-jeebies his columns may leave us with, we thank him for reviewing thousands of pages of medical lore and literature (about aspirin, rabid bats, electroshock, and mass hysteria) and distilling the essence for us; for pursuing the sorts of unconventional topics for which *The New Yorker* is noted, and for giving us twenty-two fascinating stories. □

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Defining A Career

Investigative Reporting — From Courthouse to White House

Clark R. Mollenhoff. Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1981. \$9.95 paperback text edition.

by PAUL LIEBERMAN

I was less than a year into my first newspaper job, at a suburban daily outside New York City, when I first met someone who called himself an investigative reporter. The fellow had been sent by the headquarters of our newspaper chain to inject some excitement into our local coverage, and I recall that he strode confidently about the newsroom, a pen-and-pencil set ready in a holder con-

veniently attached to his belt, almost like a holster.

His first story, produced several weeks after his arrival, was a piece announcing that our newspaper had identified through its own investigation a series of potential trouble spots in our county; indeed, there on a front page map they were pointed out — all the neighborhoods in the county with substantial populations of poor blacks or Spanish-speaking residents.

Several months later, there was, in fact, some minor violence in one of these communities. Our article reporting the incident proudly noted in its third paragraph that the newspaper had predicted the violence. I had little experience at the time to tell me just what investigative reporting was supposed to look like, but even then I strongly suspected that this stuff was not the real thing. And this first exposure stuck in my mind and made me a bit uncomfortable a couple of years later when, at another newspaper, people began calling me an investigative reporter.

A half dozen years later, I still feel uneasy with the title. Even if I have come to have my own idea of what investigative reporting is, I have learned to assume that other reporters, and certainly readers, are likely to have a different conception of this journalistic specialty. So when asked what kind of reporter I am, my solution is to respond that I am a "so-called investigative reporter." It is not a very good solution, I admit.

I was reminded again of the difficulty of defining the craft while reading Clark R. Mollenhoff's new book, *Investigative Reporting*. Written essentially as a textbook for journalism students (Mollenhoff now teaches at Washington and Lee University), the book is not so much a guide to investigative journalism as it is Mollenhoff's professional autobiography. Mollenhoff recounts his pursuit of government corruption from his days as a beat reporter

covering the Polk County courthouse in Iowa to his years as an aggressive fixture in the Washington press corps. Mollenhoff's long career unquestionably can serve as a model for aspiring reporters on several counts: for his never-ending willingness to do leg work (marching through a corn field at night to discover a secret meeting of government officials); for his persistent searching through public records for facts in order not to have to rely on confidential sources, and, of course, for his legendary determination not to let a story he believed in die. I couldn't help but be disappointed, however, that amidst all the war stories, and several how-to-do-it lists, Mollenhoff never makes a direct attempt to define the activity that gives the book its title.

I do not believe it is essential to define investigative reporting, or any other kind of reporting. The business is putting words on paper, and as the lawyers like to say, the words themselves — our stories — are the "best and highest evidence" of what we do. Nevertheless, definitions can be helpful in understanding a body of work. And it probably should not be surprising that so-called investigative reporters differ in their understandings of what they do.

In a six-page foreword to Mollenhoff's book, *Newsday's* Bob Greene, arguably the godfather of investigative reporters today, repeats the definition he has spread around the country for years. "Investigative reporting is subject to definition," Greene writes. "It is reporting through one's own work product and initiative, matters of importance which some person or group want to keep secret." Greene continues: "The three basic elements are that the investigation be the work of the reporter, not the work of others that he is reporting; that the subject of the story involves something that is important for his or her readers to know, and that others are attempting to hide the truth of these matters..."

Greene's definition clearly distinguishes investigative stories from most journalism, and excludes from coverage under its terms many projects most journalists think of as investigative. Publication of the Pentagon Papers, for instance, is not investigative reporting because the newspapers involved were publishing someone else's study of the Vietnam war, not their own. A five-part series on poverty in a city also would not be investigative under the Greene definition, because more than likely no one was trying to keep the poverty secret.

At another pole of definitions are those which maintain that every reporter really is an investigative reporter as long as he or she just checks out the facts. Woodward and Bernstein, for instance, insisted in their book on Watergate that they did little more than act as good police reporters making a few phone calls to check a few leads.

Mollenhoff does suggest his own definition several times in *Investigative Reporting*, in passages reflecting the crusading principles which have driven him in his own career. "All of the attributes of a fine investigative reporter are attainable by the average, intelligent, inquisitive person," he writes early in the book. "All that is really necessary is an interest in establishing the responsibility for the inevitable malfunctioning of government agencies that wastes tax money, causes injustices, and creates a climate for corruption."

Unlike most reporters, Mollenhoff is obsessed not so much with getting a story as achieving reform. The only success to him is not the blockbuster series but instances where "exposure of wrong brought swift action to correct the wrong." He writes of recruiting "comrades for reform" — private citizens or government officials — in a "battle for good government."

Mollenhoff's obsession with obtaining results is presented as the

product of frustrations during his exciting early years covering a corrupt county government in Iowa; government, he found, could not be counted on to correct payoffs protection against vice raids, double billing



and the like. "Initially," Mollenhoff writes, "I believed, as did some of my superiors, that bringing the evidence of corruption to light was the end of our responsibility and that public opinion would force prosecution and reform." But he adds elsewhere: "Several unsuccessful attempts to stir [an]... investigation of circumstances and charges of payoffs demonstrated to me that it was not enough to expose the evidence indicating corruption."

It was after his Nieman Fellowship year — Mollenhoff salutes his 1949-50 class in the preface — that he was promoted to a Washington bureau reporter, and it was during his years in the nation's capital that he acted on the philosophy that writing stories was not enough. Mollenhoff described himself almost as a lobbyist for investigations by Congressional committees, taking actions that would make many reporters, myself included, uncomfortable.

Mollenhoff matter-of-factly describes going to ask Senator Estes Kefauver to use his organized crime committee to investigate a Des Moines man believed to be tied to the Al Capone gang in Chicago. Mollenhoff passed to investigators several tips he had for the committee, which finally agreed to take on the case.

"The story that Lew Farrell was under investigation by the Kefauver Crime Committee was big news in Iowa," Mollenhoff recalls. "However, I sat on the story for several weeks, and then, when I wrote it, I kept it as straightforward and factual as possible, with only minor speculation on the focus of the possible hearings, even though I knew precisely what the record would show."

Mollenhoff explains simply: "I was willing to risk almost any cooperative alliance that would expose wrongdoing in government."

A Minneapolis editor who heard of mismanagement of Teamster Union pension and insurance funds tells Mollenhoff "he hoped I would be able to get a congressional investigation started." Mollenhoff later concluded that "the facts of the Minneapolis case were relatively easy to develop from records and interviews, but getting these facts into a hearing was an ordeal." The federal action is again his preoccupation. He explains his philosophy: "As I saw it, Congress had passed laws that made stealing the pension and insurance funds of union members a violation of federal criminal laws. The government had a responsibility to see that those laws were enforced and the funds protected, and Congress had not done enough to call public attention to this serious problem."

Mollenhoff describes a variety of tactics to force government investigations — cooperative efforts with other reporters; attempts to get other newspapers to pick up his stories (he frustratingly, and correctly, observes how exposés can fall on proverbial deaf ears unless printed in the few most powerful newspapers), and, frequently, through his own face-to-face campaigning. "In 1955, I talked to Robert F. Kennedy and suggested that the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee should try to investigate the labor rackets in the Teamsters Union... Periodically, I would try to stir his interest and the

interest of Chairman John L. McClellan." Or in the Billie Sol Estes case: "It was apparent that Attorney General Kennedy, like so many predecessors in that job, did not understand the facts or the law and was going to permit the Kennedy administration to bungle its way into serious trouble. I spelled out the hard facts and law, as I had researched it..."

Mollenhoff presents his own subtle efforts in contrast to "the general laxity of the press" at following through stories. On several occasions, Mollenhoff championed the causes of government employees he became convinced had been fired or denied promotions for whistleblowing, or for no good cause. Mollenhoff comments that after he failed to help one such man — in part because other reporters did not stay with the story — he came to agree with one news source "that most of the press corps was interested in the initial, sensational developments and would not follow through with consistency."

I tend to agree with Mollenhoff's observation on the failure of many reporters to follow up their stories. As I indicated above, however, I myself would not feel comfortable using many of Mollenhoff's tactics. My own philosophy is patterned after that of Saul Alinsky, the great community organizer. "When we go into a community, there are no issues," Alinsky used to say. "There are only sad scenes. Our job is to turn the sad scenes into issues."

I believe a good investigative project should at least create issues. But I believe we can play only minor roles in the resolution of the issues, with our part limited to what we write. I wish Mollenhoff had included more of his own writings in *Investigative Reporting*. He tells us at every stage in his career the new lessons he was learning about forms of corruption and cover-up in government, but only several times quotes for us just

what he was sharing with his newspapers' readers.

As a textbook on investigative reporting, Mollenhoff's work also should have included more discussion of investigations which have little or nothing to do with government. While Mollenhoff's extensive work relating to the Teamsters and corruption in commodities markets involved institutions outside government, his interest always seems to be primarily on deficiencies in government oversight.

A complete text on investigative reporting should encourage investigations of corruption and exploitation within and by large corporations and industries, within and by the professions (medicine, law, journalism, etc.), by vendors in the marketplace, or within organized religion — all organizations or groups which may exercise as much power over our lives as does government. Of course, questions must be raised as to why relevant laws and regulations may not be working, or whether regulatory groups, governmental or otherwise, are doing their jobs. But I still think documenting what Alinsky called the "sad scenes" is the first task.

I would certainly have journalism students read Clark Mollenhoff's *Investigative Reporting*, not as a textbook on its title, but for its profile of an unusual journalist, some of whose idealism and determination should be given a chance to rub off on future reporters.

I am reminded of the story told in Washington newspaper circles of the fired government employee who claimed he was unfairly railroaded out of his job. He had a pretty good case, but one man's plight is not much of a story and as he tried to peddle his case to reporters around the city, he was dismissed by most as a nut. He found only one reporter who, despite a Pulitzer Prize to his name, would listen to his story, then follow it up with dogged questioning

of government officials. When the man dropped dead one day, the only thing in his pocket was a piece of paper with Clark Mollenhoff's name and phone number on it. □

Paul Lieberman, Nieman Fellow '80, is a reporter with The Atlanta Constitution in Georgia. With four other reporters, he received a 1980 Kennedy Award for the series "The Underpaid and the Underprotected."

A Singular History

First Person America

Edited and with an introduction by Ann Banks. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1980. \$13.95.

by MARY ELLEN LEARY

The most remarkable Christmas gift of the year, it seemed to me, was presented to her grandchildren by a friend of mine named Blanche Burnett, a retired newspaper woman in San Francisco. Neatly cased in a dispatch carrier were some 25 hour-long tapes which she had prepared over the past year: the story of her life, as she herself told it.

Granted that such episodes as sharing her husband's foreign service in the Pacific and then his capture and war-long imprisonment by the Japanese provided more than ordinary story material. Granted also that her reportorial experience taught her how to cull details with tantalizing vividness. It is nonetheless a provocative model for any family.

Younger generations seem to be edging towards a sense of history or at least a search for their "roots." Stories about the "olden times"

which a grandfather used to relate after supper in a more slow-paced era are lost to a generation now absorbed in television. But hunger for such linkage back to the family source is innate, a yearning to know the ordeals, luck, training, chance or mischance that set the stage for the current generation.

Today almost anybody can leave a personal family history to their offspring, thanks to the ubiquitous tape recorder, and reporters in particular should get this onto their retirement agenda since theirs is the skill to quicken remembered incidents with the detail that does, indeed, constitute history. Perhaps local colleges should be offering courses in "electronic story telling" for the amateur.

If the legacy my friend gave her family were not preparation enough for delving into *First Person America*, Ann Banks's rich depository of one-generation-back stories (or two back, depending where you stand), the 1980 recession gave me further reference. I had already been recalling the 1930's for my children. Jobs scarce now? Far easier than hunting one in the Depression. When I finally wangled my way into a San Francisco newspaper office, to be secretary to the city editor, they threw at me the task nobody wanted — interviewing the constant stream of job applicants. First day, scared I might not last until 5 o'clock, I spent most of the time in the dark, inhospitable office entry talking with worn, anxious men and women looking for newspaper work. Most of them were twice my age and all, it seemed to my college-fresh viewpoint, immensely experienced. How I envied their know-how and how appalled I was at the number who kept coming around. Nobody was hiring reporters then, only kids for the bottom of the ladder.

Many of those mendicant news hounds found that the only jobs available for them were with the Federal Writers' Project, part of the government's Works Progress Administra-

tion, which at one time employed 6,500 writers. In part they set about developing a splendid set of guide-books for various parts of the country. Another and less appreciated part of their work was the collection of first-person narratives.

These interviews with people from all walks of life, or at least from the humbler walks — factory hands, stockyard workers, street peddlers, housemaids, tobacco growers — were intended at first to become a series of anthologies that would form a composite tale of American life. They fell victim to political negligence, red-baiting suspicions, and then World War II. Much of the material drifted into neglected boxes in the basement of the Library of Congress.

How splendid that Ann Banks, a research associate at Boston College's American Studies Center, has tackled the monumental chore of extracting some of these long neglected first-person interviews from the thousands of pages she had to consider.

Her book conveys that original purpose, the vignettes of a time past. For younger readers, it can give a vivid impression of how ordinary Americans lived in the early part of this century. And it's good to read in her introduction that the interviewers were paid \$20 a week for their work. Reporters weren't getting much more, in those days before the Guild.

It seems appropriate that the accounts vary in their style and liveliness. Some come through haltingly. But they convey a quality of genuine-

ness. Some, such as Sam Ross's interviews with jazz players who knew and played with Bix Beiderbecke, Louis Armstrong and Muggsy Spanier, or Ralph Ellison's marvelously alive characters from Harlem in the 1920's, make very exciting reading. They alone are worth the book.

But every interviewer sought to catch the true speaking style, the rhythm and vocabulary of people talking about their own lives, and some even struggled to convey what is almost dialect. The effort to be true to the vernacular and to catch the unique viewpoint is what gives special character to this book. The interviewers extracted their accounts with a passion for being faithful to the original. As a result this is not so much about people as of people, and the spirit they put into their lives is what comes through most.

Many of the subjects kept a surprising sense of fun in trying times. There is, for instance, the joy the tobacco auctioneer took in mastering his skill: "In my selling, I use a little bit of everything to keep from getting monotonous. I make the syllable or sound; I don't sound out the whole word... I'm a baritone and at times you can hear me clear across the warehouse — when I'm feeling good." Or, from the section on immigrant lives, Mary Patton Taylor told of her family's trek west: "Mother always said they had an awful good time crossing the plains. There wasn't any Indian trouble... and after camp was settled down for the night the young folks would turn to and dance..."

But there is plenty of tragedy etched through such stories: blacks who couldn't get the better-paying jobs in the Chicago stockyards; stonecutters in the granite works who took silicosis as a matter of course. "The life of a stone cutter is fifty years. No more," said one. "Every one of them, they all die in their fifties... Big strong men... they die and



people cry and the family starves. . ."

Or in the stockyards, from a woman who worked on sausage casings: "Wet departments like mine are no good to work in. You get rheumatism in no time at all and that really cripples lots of people. If you get crippled like that, they're supposed to pay you something like one-fourth of your weekly pay for one year — but they can't cure rheumatism, and if you can't work at the end of the year, it's just too bad. . ."

To me, the most important quality in this book is its recreation of a pre-New Deal world where no social security or welfare and few job safety standards cushioned the physical and financial blows an industrial society dealt its lowest-paid workers. Unions, especially the CIO, were just reaching to these ranks. The interviewers may have been poor, but they had in the Works Progress Administration the first solid help the government extended to the unemployed. The life-experiences they collected dated usually from an earlier and more starkly unprotected decade.

It all seems chillingly long ago, until one realizes that only in the mid-'70's did coal miners get decent sick-pay for black lung disease, and now debate arises over whether the federal Occupational Safety Health Administration goes too far or whether minimum wage levels need to be moderated.

The detail about individual lives that comes through in *First Person America* may seem distressing in the bleakness it reveals, but the greater quality the book captures is the liveliness of spirit, the courage, and the sense of reality. Lacking a massive government effort today to capture such interviews, one wonders if individual efforts with a tape recorder ultimately can yield as telling a set of personal histories of America at the end of this century. □

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From A To ZZZ

**Words on Words:
A Dictionary for Writers
and Others Who Care about Words**

John B. Bremner. Columbia University Press, New York, 1980. \$22.50 cloth, \$7.95 paper.

by **BRUCE MacDONALD**

Since the publication of Edwin Newman's *Strictly Speaking*, the defense and improvement of English has become something of a cottage industry, John Bremner's *Words on Words* being one of the more recent efforts.

As a group, linguistic curators are concerned with two major issues: usage and semantic precision. At one extreme is Mrs. Grundy, bemoaning the use of "prioritize," and at the other is George Orwell, who still has the last word on fuzz-speak.

The Grundy gang is cranky about such things as *who/whom*, *lie/lay*, *between/among*, *like/as* and "This is he." Those with the most exquisite sensitivities will dither over *farther/further*.

None of this is an issue to professional linguists, who know that living languages get simpler as they get older. Our stock of irregular forms has been eroding for centuries. Only incessant use keeps pronoun case alive and even then, the clergy are uncertain about the choice between

thee and *thou* when they risk extemporaneous prayer.

Usage, after all, is a matter of manners and not meaning — "a social choice among synonyms," as linguist-educator James Sledd points out. "Whom did you see?" and "Who did you see?" are synonymous. Nor is there virtue in resuscitating the predicate nominative, an artificial form clamped onto the language by Renaissance pedants determined to improve the coarse tongue of Chaucer and Shakespeare with a transfusion of Latin grammar. Still, Mrs. Grundy will confirm to the long-distance operator that "This is she." And I once heard a Boston-born headmaster of a private school in Tucson dismiss the entire Southwest for its unwillingness to say "dove" rather than "dived."

At the other extreme is the well-founded concern that sloppy language permits — or even encourages — sloppy thought. This is not a modern novelty, however, nor is it related to usage; the precise matching of word and thought is an issue of different magnitude.

The extent to which imprecise expression is the professional concern of linguists is moot. The fault lies in thought or willingness to accept approximate meanings in place of exact expression, neither of which is the province of descriptive linguistics. Strunk and White offer useful advice for dealing with the symptoms, but have little to say about the disease. To be sure, bad thought readily exposes itself in bad writing, but we have no evidence that better proofreading will yield better thought.

Linguists, then, are confronted with the twin frustrations of countermanning the tide of linguistic change and solving the mystery of improving thought-in-words. Perhaps this accounts for the tendency of Newman and others to revert to pet puns and verbal games when their sermons have been exhausted. Bremner is in



that tradition.

After a ponderous introduction — “I have witnessed the steady growth of literary ignorance during a career of more than a third of a century... Yes, words are symbols for ideas...” — Bremner relaxes a bit and serves up a potpourri of japes and gripes which is sometimes engaging, if not profound.

Bremner is a bit to the left of Mrs. Grundy. Use of “between” with three or more items is acceptable; infinitives may be split; and Edwin Newman is mocked for spending 362 words condemning the form “convince...to.” (Newman endorsed “persuade...to.”) On the other hand, Bremner holds that *like* is most definitely not a conjunction; *who* and *whom* are distinct, and the spelling *nite* is an “abomination.” He is a bit wobbly on using *contact* as a verb, quoting Strunk, Fowler, Evans, Bernstein, and Barzun before giving his reluctant approval. One can’t be too careful when the purity of English is at stake.

Such pea-under-the-mattress sensibility is the source of bemusement to Robert Birchfield, chief editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, who visited the States this fall to see what English had come to in the former colonies. “Not to worry,” says Dr. Birchfield. “The language is proceeding in its stately way, unaffected, undented. The language cannot be corrupted. To be sure,” he concedes, “there has been a great deal of expansion in vocabulary. But if a change is not wanted, it will be

rejected by the language.”

He goes on to remind his listeners that the seventeenth century verb *violenced* has disappeared through this linguistic natural selection. Birchfield’s recommendation to purists is “to sit back, observe the changes that are happening, not wringing one’s hands or growing apoplectic.” Such advice, if taken, would considerably thin the audiences for Newman and others who have turned a profit by hand-wringing.

To his credit, John Bremner goes beyond shaking his shillelagh at neologisms. Beginning with *a/an* and working through *zzz* (“the party’s over”), he has produced a 400-page alphabet book of acronyms, phrases, words and idioms which have caught his interest and provoked comment. Included are newspaper argot, words commonly confused (*rebut/refute*), etymology, homonyms (*pore/pour*) and so on.

The tone is idiosyncratic. While willing to sponsor *studentry* — as an analog to *citizenry* — Bremner frowns at the mixture of metonymy in “White House at odds with Brezhnev,” preferring “White House at odds with Kremlin.” Since the Kremlin is a fortress complex rather than a particular building, the cause of figurative symmetry is not completely served by this revision. Purists are apt to be subjective about their Immutable Laws.

Bremner’s humor requires more charity, however, running to puns and poor taste. Thus having established that *lady* derives from the Germanic word for “one who kneads a loaf,” he observes that most modern women “see no need to loaf. Many bring home the bakin’.” *Guest speaker* seems to be included so the author can attempt the following thigh-slapper: “In the United States...where two or three are gathered together for chrissake, there is a guest speaker.”

The format of *Words on Words* is

agreeable: bold type, wide margins and good quality paper. It is a pleasant scrapbook of verbal trivia collected over a lifetime of writing and teaching, a career which began in Sister Mary Philomena’s class in Brisbane, Australia, and continues at the University of Kansas.

Reading it is like seeing the neighbors’ slides: Some of the stack is out of focus, some is overdeveloped, sometimes one wonders why they bothered. But if you like your neighbors — and they seem to be amiable sorts — you can appreciate a stack or two for an evening without supposing that any of it is very definitive. □

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The Mighty Megabyte

**Goodbye Gutenberg: The
Newspaper Revolution of the 1980’s**

Anthony Smith. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1980. \$16.95.

by **HOWARD S. SHAPIRO**

Despite a misleading title and a subtitle that hardly clarifies it, *Goodbye Gutenberg* is not, blessedly, another breathless treatise heralding the death of printed language and the beginning of a Complete Cathode Ray Age.

It is, rather, a sort of journalist’s *Cosmos*, a thoroughly researched account of the way news has been

disseminated from the time people first cared about their world and an intelligent look at how this hodge-podge process will be broadened — not murdered — by inevitable technological advances.

The history of journalism is many histories drawn together. It is the history of business, of various social and political theories, of a communications industry with a continuing technological revolution, of the evolution of urban, suburban, and rural lifestyles. It can include almost any development that enhanced our ability to read, listen and think, from the invention of the telephone (what would newsrooms do without it?) and the lightbulb (what would readers do without it?) to the creation of a libertarian principle.

Anthony Smith, director of the British Film Institute and a writer on media affairs, has taken such diverse material and made a host of edifying connections. These are constructed by using a large number of statistics involving the state of newspaper reading and publishing around the world, but no matter; the figures and occasional tables make the reading sometimes slow, but Smith's clear explanations, his choice of examples and a pleasant writing style turn the book into a fluid collection of facts worth knowing and ideas worth considering.

Smith's central theme, that newspapers always have undergone changes in cosmetics, content, production, distribution and audiences and will, in some form, continue as social necessities, is reasonable enough. "The traditional media are not necessarily on the verge of some kind of slump," he writes. "Rather, they find themselves in the position of having helped stimulate a far wider range of tastes than they can now gratify. The reader of the economic pages of a newspaper is less likely to be satisfied today than in the past with the level of information he is receiving, even though the

daily provision of financial information is far greater now than a decade ago..."

Adding to the quandry that this thirst, on the part of readers, has presented to publishers are the problems of logistics and changing markets. Cities decay, small dailies encroach on traditional big-city circulations, the prices of gasoline for trucks and of newsprint continue to rise, the jammed road network is more and more a hindrance to delivery and the entire process of hitting the urban street (several times a day, no less) with sixty pages of collected thought plus advertising is enormously labor intensive. "The newspaper simply has to work much harder for a living," Smith concludes. Who but a masochist would want to own one?

The answer, according to Smith's account of the bottom-line potential for newspaper publishers today, becomes clear: a masochist (or corporate group of same) who realizes that profit margins in the newspaper business are still higher than those in many other enterprises. One reason for this, Smith documents, is that movers and shakers in the newspaper industry have been willing to adapt and exploit new technologies, generally in the past half-century and particularly in the last ten years.

"There is sacrceley a field of modern science into which the newspaper researchers of America have not trodden to find something to help them," writes Smith. "...Today the problem is no longer to 'invent' in a primary sense, but to work out and engineer 'coincidences' between different areas of existing development — points of convergence of convenience, knowledge and industrial need — so that production break-

throughs can be made."

These technological changes have accompanied new concepts by editors, reporters and photographers about what a newspaper is. Smith's lengthy chapter on changing journalism is remarkable for its insight and organization. "Journalism has always had a shifting set of ethical principles," Smith writes, "complicated by the fact that prevailing catchwords have often been expressed in the same tones and phrases ('separating fact from comment,' 'objectivity,' 'accuracy,' 'impartiality') which have had widely different meanings at different times and places." That shifting set of principles, the very foundation of a new journalism almost every decade in this century, is wonderfully explored.

Smith's book ends with a look at the newest methods of electronic information dissemination, most of them employing home television screens, and an inquiry into how these could affect newspapers in the future — not the dawn of a new information age so much as another expansion of the old one. That particular way of looking at the technologies already has proved to be realistic; officials from one wire agency and several newspapers announced this summer a joint venture into "television newspapering" as an extension of their current services.

A word to the editors of Oxford University Press: One wonders why, in a book that so diligently traces the history of technological advances enhancing the editing process, there appear a number of very old-fashioned typos. Not a good way to demonstrate a theme of Smith's — that electronic wizardry has created some exciting new roles within the publishing industry. But without yeoman editorial work, we can kiss our fancy hardware goodbye. □

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A Conversation with Barbara Tuchman

continued from page 7

population. That's why I started looking into the whole thing.

But I found that you really couldn't pinpoint the cause of the deteriorating quality of the fourteenth century — you couldn't ascribe it all to the Black Death, and it was hard to know what you could ascribe it to because there were so many other disasters going on — the Hundred Years War, the schism in the church and the plague and taxes.

I ended up that book thinking that the major problem in almost any period of history is taxes — money, and the oppression of taxes. I've been doing something now about the British handling of the events that led to the American Revolution, and basically, what that came down to was, again taxes — at least in the eyes of the Americans. They just didn't want to be taxed.

The sources on the Black Death were very interesting because people of the time didn't assess it. They didn't sit down and say, look what's happened to our civilization as a result of this terrible thing that has visited us. They didn't seem to question it. The common people, people on the whole, felt it was an act of God — the wrath of God. How else could they explain it? And if God was that wrathful he must mean to destroy the human race, like the period of Noah. He got fed up and was going to wipe them out and this of course, did not make people feel very happy. It was pretty terrible to believe that this was what was in the mind of God.

You didn't have sociologists sitting down afterwards and analyzing the results of the Black Death, or the effects of the Black Death the way we would today. You had a lot of what

were called plague tracts. That is, doctors or scientists describing what had happened. Many of them decided that it was a confrontation of the stars Saturn, Venus, et cetera. But they also described the effects, and what the disease looked like, what people suffered from, some of the so-called cures — which were not cures but rather treatments — and what would happen in an enclosed institution like a monastery where the entire population might die. You might get the one survivor who would write a record.

In one case there was one survivor who wrote and finally he, too, died. The brother of Petrarch, for example, who was the last survivor of a monastery and got out — that kind of source, you could find — but you wouldn't really find assessments.

Question: Since the "malicious" reviews, have you any second thoughts that the century was "a distant mirror?" Or do you still feel we can really learn something —

Answer: I did not change my mind as a result of reviewers. I do feel it to be a mirror in the sense of disintegration of institutions and of accepted concepts or beliefs. Things were dropping out from under people at that time — the things they took for granted, their assumptions and I think exactly the same thing is happening now. Many of the things that we used to take for granted are no longer valid — we can't count on them. The same thing was happening in the fourteenth century — and was very upsetting to people. Their moorings get untied and they don't know where they are.

For example, when the Duke of Brittany invited Olivier de Clisson to his castle and then imprisoned him,

and would have murdered him if he hadn't been stopped by his associates, this had a terrible effect on other noblemen of the time because it destroyed all concepts of chivalry. A nobleman might murder a peasant at the drop of a hat — but to betray, to murder, a fellow knight who is a guest in your own castle! This was unheard of.

The schism between the two popes was also very destructive to the beliefs of the people of the time. Things like that were crumbling throughout the century — things that the people hitherto had believed in.

I think we have been going through very much the same sort of thing with standards of sexual and political morality — and in all sorts of other things. That's what I meant by mirror.

Question: James Michener puts into popular form certain forms of history which are not similar to your writings. How do you compare the audience that he writes for and the audience that you write for? Do you feel he does an accurate job of broadbrush portraying of an era?

Answer: What he does is to assemble a great deal of information partly through a corps of assistants, or so I've heard.

I should say here that one reader wrote to my publisher and said, "Is it true that Mrs. Tuchman has thirty-eight research assistants?" I don't have any because I find that I would no more assign research to a helper than I would the writing. To me the research is just as important because that's where I get my ideas. A helper wouldn't know what to pick out of a book that would strike me, so I have to do it myself.

Whether Michener's picture is

accurate — it is, I think, filled in with a lot of his imagination, which is something I don't do either because I have a different method. I think he embroiders a great deal and that is his privilege.

I got interested in history by first reading, when I was a child, historical novels which are very much embroidered, but if it hadn't been for *The White Company* by Conan Doyle or *The Three Musketeers*, I would never have been interested in history, so I think historical novels are valid if they are well done, but it is not my thing.

Question: I was reading your description of the castle in *The Distant Mirror*, and I was conscious of how many words it took you to describe the castle, whereas on television, one good wide shot would have shown it all, complete with perspective and scale and everything. Have you thought of television docudramas as being something that would be a logical extension for you as a historian?

Answer: I don't think it would be logical for me, because when you say that the picture would do it all in one glance, I have to differ with you there. I don't think it would do it all. You would get no significance, you would get no relationship. By using words I'm able to say, for example, that the castle was the central focus of medieval society, and why it was, because it was for defense.

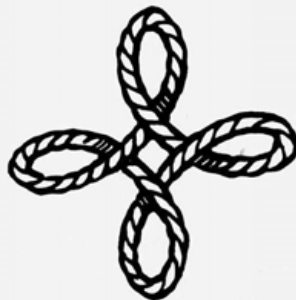
This particular one at Covey required words to convey the extra size of it, the largeness of the risers of the steps, and the height of the window seats and the enormity of the donjon and so forth. I used the phrase, "as if it had been built for race of titans," which I think expresses its quality. It gave you a sense of the terrific power of these people. Whereas a television picture would just be a television picture. It would look like a post card. It wouldn't say anything much. I still

think words can tell you more. Besides you could not get a picture of the castle because only the ruins are left.

Question: You leap about in time and space, obviously — China and Europe, and so on. How do you decide where you are going to land next?

Answer: Well, I leap about because my subject is human conduct and I think that one can learn more about it and tell more about it if one can study it as it is affected under different circumstances. That way you find out what is permanent, what is deep in human nature how it's affected in different times. To me this is more interesting than constantly going back over the same period.

Of course you lose in expertise and in knowledge if you leap about, but on the other hand, you find great refreshment when you start some-



thing new. When you start something about which you know nothing and you have to begin from scratch; it's very exciting, and it's a challenge and I rather enjoy that. I know that I lose in depth perhaps, but I like finding my own way in something new.

The first book I did, *Bible and Sword*, was about Palestine and the origins of the Balfour Declaration. I started it as a result, in 1947, of the

creation of the state of Israel. It struck me with a terrific impact because it seemed to me a unique historic event. Here was a country recreating itself in the same area with the same people and the same language as three thousand years ago. This has never happened before in history, ever, and while I didn't have the knowledge or the languages to go into the indigenous history, I chose one aspect of it that I could handle, which was the effect of the Old Testament on English history, and how the Balfour Declaration came about. As a result of that book, which ended with the Balfour Declaration in 1917, I got to the Zimmermann Telegram.

It happened that my publisher insisted that I bring the book up to the Mandate period, and I did almost a year's research on the modern period and wrote it, but it was no good because I had stopped being a historian and started being an advocate, so I threw out that part of it. But in the course of the research I read the memoirs of William Phillips who had been the American member of the last Anglo-American Commission to Palestine. He was Under Secretary of State in 1917 and in his own memoirs wrote a paragraph on the Zimmermann telegram and it just struck me.

It was pure chance. I looked into it and found no one had written about it. Then, as a result of Zimmermann, I realized that 1914 was really the moment when the clock struck for our century, and I should do something about that, so I did in *The Guns of August*.

As a result of that, I thought I should do something about the world the war came from. Because it was quite clear to me it didn't come from Sarajevo and all that stuff about what Lord Grey said to Poincare and so forth, it came from the forces in society. That was the cause of my next book called *The Proud Tower*, which covered the years 1890 to 1914.

Stilwell came next. After college I worked for an organization called the Institute of Pacific Relations, and I had a year in Tokyo with them. When I came back and the War started, I had a certain acquaintance with the Far East, so I got a job at OWI and was on a Far East desk and I did the bulletins on the Burma War for broadcasting to Europe. Our job was to explain to Europe why so much American effort was being invested in the Pacific. The San Francisco office did the broadcasting to the Far East, but we did the stuff to Europe.

I became interested in Stilwell then, but I kept that in the back of my mind for nearly twenty years. But when we got involved in Vietnam, here we were doing the same thing, it seemed to me, making the same mistake we had made with Chiang Kai-shek. I felt that the American people didn't know anything about America's relations with the Far East or with China, specifically. And it was high time to do something. I thought that Stilwell would make an excellent vehicle because his life covered exactly the period I needed.

Question: Could you comment on the contribution, if any, that new journalism has made to literature, to history? By new journalism I mean Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* and Thomas Wolfe and the early Gay Talese stuff. Is it good, is it fictionalized, where does it fit?

Answer: Things like *In Cold Blood* and *The Executioner's Song* are rather disturbing, I think. I don't understand their *raison d'être*. In *The Three Musketeers*, for example, you don't feel that the author is trying to impose some view of humanity derived from the events.

But *The Executioner's Song* or *In Cold Blood* — although I found Mailer's book fascinating, I ask myself, Is it valid? Is this really how the people behaved; how they thought and felt? Or is this the

novelist's perception?

I think the Mailer book had more validity than the Capote book, because I felt that Mailer had a fascination with crime, with morbidity, with sadism. There is something unhealthy about that book — I certainly didn't sleep very well after reading it.

Solzhenitsyn tried it with his *August 1914* which I think is a failure because of so much he invented — or at least you don't know whether he has invented it or not — so what is the purpose of it?

On the other hand, when I was doing *The Guns of August*, I used a lot of novels as sources, but you have to have a kind of smell for what's valid and what isn't.

For example, Proust tells how in the Dreyfus affair, the ladies of the *haut monde* used to carry parasols on which was marked "à bas les juifs." That's the kind of thing he wouldn't have made up. You feel that it is real.

Blasco Ibanez wrote a famous book about World War I called *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* which has a vivid description of the retreat from the frontiers after the first battle — the horses all stumbling and starving, the guns that had started off all shiny, now covered with mud and grey, the red pants of the soldiers' uniforms all torn and tattered, and the soldiers' haggard faces.

There are novelists who give you material which you often don't find elsewhere. But in answer to your question about the Capote-Mailer type of thing as a form of literature, I find it hard to evaluate. I am made uneasy by the business of applying fictional techniques to real people.

Question: What are you working on now?

Last year I did a magazine piece called "An Inquiry Into the Persistence of Unwisdom in Government" — unwisdom meaning the adoption of politics contrary to self-interest.



I am going to enlarge this into a book, the theme of which is the pursuit of folly when there is a feasible alternative. I start with the Trojan horse, just as a symbol — not as an historic episode. The Trojans looked at it and a whole lot of people said, "It's a trick — throw it over the cliff, burn it." Laocoon came down and said, "I fear the Greeks bringing gifts," and threw his spear at it, and there was a big clang, and you could hear the echo of spears inside, but in spite of all that, they thought it was a sacred tribute and broke down their walls and dragged it into the city — to their own destruction. It is a kind of symbol of the thing that happens so often, and it must be very deep in the human record, otherwise it wouldn't exist in legend.

Question: To what extent do you use primary sources — things that aren't available in the National Archives? Do you go on sleuthing expeditions? Do you get letters from family archives? Contemporary letters, diaries, first-hand interviews with survivors?

Answer: The only time I could get first-hand interviews was for the Stilwell book. I could hardly do that with the fourteenth century or World War I except in one case: Sir William James. He was the man who told me about the first hostile act of the war — at least by the British — which was the ship that went out and cut the German cable, which I hadn't known. Actually, I don't think I was the first to write that, but it was through him I found out about it, and I did one or two other interviews for that book.

For the *Guns*, you know there's so much material about 1914, God... you don't have to go interviewing

anybody. I did get a little car and drive around the area of the battle of the frontiers and that was very helpful. It's even better than interviews because you see things. For example, I was trying to find the British Headquarters of that month in Belgium. I couldn't find it for hours, following one country road after another. But eventually I found the place, it was an old manor house. Lord, the British affinity for the country house! Sir John French picked it for his headquarters, with the result that nobody could find it even then. This is one reason why many of the urgent dispatches took forever to be delivered. Whereas the French located their headquarters in the railroad station where there was a telegraph — anybody can find a railroad station. That kind of thing you get only if you go to the terrain.

Obviously for *The Proud Tower* I didn't do any interviews, either. It was too late.

For Stilwell I did a great many, besides Mountbatten and Frank Dorn, Stilwell's aide, who gave me a lot of help, and General Wheeler, and many other people.

As for letters and unpublished documents: I used the National Archives, both for Zimmermann and for a piece I once did called "Perdicaris Alive or Raisuli Dead." This was an episode of Theodore Roosevelt's period when this chap got kidnapped by a Moroccan bandit called Raisuli. It happened just at the time of the Republican convention when Teddy Roosevelt was going to be nominated in his own right for the first time. He sent the Atlantic fleet to rescue Perdicaris from the Moroccan bandits, but, after the fleet was underway, the State Department got a message from its consul in Tangiers, Mr. Gummere his name was, saying that unfortunately Perdicaris was not an American citizen. During the Civil War, he had quietly resumed Greek citizenship so he wouldn't have to fight, or be drafted.

What were we going to do? Here we had sent the fleet to rescue a fellow who wasn't an American citizen. I came across this in one sentence in the biography of Hay by Tyler Dennett, just one sentence.

I wished in the worst way there were some documents of what Hay said to TR and what TR said to him but there was nothing. I imagine Hay walked across the lawn from the State Department to the White House and they talked it over, and decided to risk it. Hay sent the thrilling message — "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead!" and it was read out at the Republican convention and electrified the delegates who stood on their chairs and cheered.

One of the factors in the decision was that none of the Republicans really wanted to nominate TR; he was



going to get nominated anyway, but they didn't want him. He was afraid that the effect of the grim glum convention might spoil his chances. Here he had a great opportunity: the rescue of an American from bandits. They took a chance on the secret and no one found out. Perdicaris was rescued and the consul in Tangiers was instructed to get him to sign a paper immediately...which he did, confessing the whole business.

There was an interesting sequel when my piece was published in *American Heritage*. They ask for a list of your sources, not to publish but just to be sure you got everything right. I gave them everything including the reference to Perdicaris's confession in the Archives. Subsequently they received an angry

letter from his stepdaughter, who was still alive; up in Maine or Canada somewhere. She had never known he was not a citizen. She was furious, and was going to sue and one thing and another. Fortunately I was able to cite the letter and I can tell you I was pleased that the consul in Tangiers had been so careful.

Question: What, as a historian, do you think accounts for the renewed interest in Teddy Roosevelt?

Answer: I suspect it may have something to do with Reagan in the sense that I think Americans are really craving something to be proud of, like some person who stood up on his feet and shook the big stick. I think this has a lot to do with the landslide. I doubt very much that Regan is going to wave any big sticks but he uses the rhetoric. He says we've got to be strong; we've got to make America feel good again; and Americans want to do that. I don't think Reagan can make it happen any more than Carter could but Carter was getting nowhere and not standing for anything, not being anybody. I think it's made us all feel unhappy, and humiliated.

TR was obviously the opposite. He has caught people's imagination.

Question: We are so envious that you've gotten to lose yourself in so many wonderful periods of history. Have you learned something about human beings, about their spirit? Have we progressed? In a general sense, are you pessimistic or optimistic? Do you see some trends? Do you want to share with us those higher thoughts that you might have after you finished one of your great works?

Answer: I don't know that I have any higher thoughts. I do feel that in the course of a very uncomfortable century, we have with every reason felt very uncomfortable about our-

selves and we lack confidence. We feel things have gotten out of control. No one can really hold on to events, and I have a feeling that the effect of that uneasiness and almost self-disgust — self-distrust, as well as disgust — causes us to forget the extraordinary capacities and marvelous accomplishments of the human race. That's why I did that piece for the Jefferson Lecture called "Mankind's Better Moments." I do think that there is a coping mechanism, as the psychologists call it, in human capacity and that when things get terrible, we find a way of coping, fixing, moving on. I don't think the human race is going to knock itself out. If the bomb goes off, an awful lot of us will be dead, and radiation may destroy the world — it's possible — but if you live with history, I think you get a feeling that things keep moving. I don't really know that there's any rule to it or any plan or pattern, but things do move from

disaster into some other stage, and things do change, and people get hold of themselves.

I think there are cycles: there are dynamic periods and there are ebb periods, but there's a tremendous amount of knowledge, imagination, energy, and just sheer capacity in our species which we have to remember exists. I don't know about progress — certainly everyone thought that by, let us say, 1900, we had progressed far ahead of previous periods. We had presumably stopped torturing people; we didn't put people through routine torture to get confessions; we didn't murder and massacre to the same extent; we had certainly developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a far greater consciousness of humane responsibilities and rules for the less fortunate in society.

Then with the Nazis came a revival of savagery which indicated that these qualities in mankind were very

thinly buried — very close beneath the skin. I think this episode left an enormous impression, probably more than we realize. The fact that humankind could be capable of such conduct again, and has continued it ever since, not quite on the Nazi level, because not as purposeful, but the last fifty years have been a pretty sorry record. I don't think it's a permanent one; I don't know what else to say.

Ernest May, Professor of History, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, was the evening's host and closed the seminar. Let me thank you, but I want to voice one word of reproach if I can. Maybe I should do it privately, but I think you really much too easily give away the basic trade secret that it's enormous fun to be an historian, and I'm afraid you may have contributed to enlarging the competition. □

Transatlantic Miscommunication/Andrew Knight

continued from page 15

Because American newspapers are low circulation, appealing to those local cross-sections of "A," "C," and "D" readership, and above all because they are local rather than national, they rely heavily on local retail outlet advertising at a relatively low rate per page.

Again, I'm not indulging in any conspiracy theory there. I'm an unashamed supporter of advertising propping up newspapers. James Wilson, who founded *The Economist*, said in 1847 that "whether a journal can be sold to its readers for one penny or sixpence with profit to its proprietors depends on the revenue it can obtain from advertising. In addition to the financial and other

advantages which advertising confers on the government and the public, it sustains in wealth and independence that press which is the best guardian of public liberty."

But the point is that, because they are small and local by comparison with newspapers in Europe, American newspapers rely on volume of cheap rate advertisements. In Europe high circulation papers depend on a low volume of highly expensive advertisements.

So — and this is crucial — American newspapers are vast in bulk, very heavy because they have small circulation and low rates per page, and therefore rely on vast reams of relatively low cost advertising.

This has a critical impact on the

way news is carried. Whereas in Britain and on the Continent stories usually have to be pithy because there isn't that much newsprint and there aren't that many advertisements and what there are are very expensive, the choice of stories has to be selective.

In America newspapers tend to run on and on. The huge volume of newsprint conditions the front pages of your newspapers, which have many different stories which then continue on to page 98 and which are a license for undisciplined journalism. Similarly, your sports stories tend to ramble for pages.

No reader learns much from a single story about a single subject that he or she doesn't know much about already, however analytical or

well described. As in the classroom or in an art gallery, one learns from frequent repetition and from attacking the same subject — the same painting in an art gallery, the same subject in a lecture hall — from many different angles.

The American local newspaper tends on mainline stories to have either a blockbuster or a nothing approach. Whereas the European newspaper tends very rarely — because it has limited space available — ever to do a blockbuster story. While there is some disadvantage in the British method, the advantage is that it allows the same story to be covered, often in a hundred words, day after day so that over a period of time you learn about it. The British method is the “drip-drip” method of imparting knowledge.

Of course one can be very bored by reading the same story day after day, but good journalists do learn to find ways of attacking that picture hanging in the gallery or the lesson in the lecture hall from a different angle each time they do it. But it is, if they are good reporters, the same story.

In the American press my feeling is — and this goes even for the serious and heavy newspapers on the West and East coasts — that, except for the celebrated story of the day, there is little preparation of readers by “drip-drip” news and analysis in advance; and then little keeping them up with the story after it has broken.

Because papers are owned by chains now — the eccentric proprietor-editor is a creature of yesterday — and hold local near monopolies in their markets, the virtues needed in American editors and journalists today are orthodoxy, regularity, and professionalism. Very good attributes, but am I alone in longing for a little unorthodoxy, irregularity and amateurism — in the French meaning of the word *amateur*?

The British popular newspapers, of course, exaggerate Einstein’s dictum that everything should be as simple

as possible, but no simpler. They make everything too simple to achieve anything useful by way of popular education in overseas news. Turning then to the British serious nationals, where I think serious journalism exists, my “drip-drip” theory of newspaper knowledge certainly continues in a number of fields — foreign affairs, sports, and business — to the benefit of British journalism. That’s the plus, as compared with the American press, of serious British newspapers. The minus is that in their tight low-page format there is little space for the detailed story. Indeed the function of analysis and commentary in depth of individual stories is passing in Britain, amazingly, to television.

The next difference, looking at the British as compared with the American press, is the position of the editor. In popular and serious newspapers in Britain, the editor is intrinsically far more powerful than in this country and has greater opportunity for idiosyncrasy than in the American local chain operation.

British newspapers — even the popular papers, such as *The Sun* and *The Mirror* — are major national institutions in one way or another. Although the proprietor of such an institution takes a very strong interest — obviously some stronger than others if one thinks back to Beaverbrook — nevertheless the editors are often appointed to a sort of flagship on a national scale. And those editors do in fact have a public place which very few editors do here.

Take in Britain the present editor of *The Sun*. *The Sun* is really a very low-ambition paper in terms of editorial coverage, but with a magic formula. This is to have on page three naked ladies and on page two, facing page three, a really hard-hitting editorial, rather right-wing but bril-

liantly written. The editor of that newspaper is effectively a national figure — indeed he was recently knighted by the Queen — and the proprietors know it when they appoint him.

Moreover, on a number of serious newspapers the editors are protected from their proprietors by an actual or moral trust to be independent.

In my own case — this pattern used to be more widespread but its moral force has survived thus far on *The Observer*, on *The Times*, and to some extent on *The Sunday Times* — I am appointed by a board of four trustees who have nothing whatever to do with the board or the ownership of the paper. The trustees are four very distinguished public figures. They are self-perpetuating; when one of them dies or retires, the other three appoint a successor without reference to the board or the chairman. And they appointed me as editor on recommendation from the board. The board, of course, of the paper is therefore something to which I pay a great deal of attention, but basically my independence is ratified in that way.

There is no editorial board such as you have on most of your papers here. The editor is very far from being an absolute figure, of course. The underlying basis of his authority is largely consensual over time. That goes actually for all leaders of business or any other activity of life, however absolute their authority may seem: if they lose a consensus of those who are working with them, after a while they will not survive. But provided that consensus is maintained, the editor can be fairly dictatorial on individual decisions or editorial lines.

Here is a very important difference between us and you: there is little or no split between overall command of the editorial page with the editorials and opinions on it and the op-ed page also with opinion on it on the one hand, and the news pages on the

other. The editor is in charge of the whole paper and will supervise a news editor and possibly an editorial page editor, but there is no doubt, if the editor is any good, about who is the boss.

This is in vivid contrast to the case in some papers in this country. I recently heard that in a very well-known Midwestern paper, the editorial writer, who may be writing about the Kennedy-Carter struggle, may not even speak to the reporter covering the Kennedy campaign. The reasons for this are excellent and have been strongly reinforced by Watergate and since Watergate. But in my view it is purity gone mad. It is a recipe in the longer run for making the reporter into a frustrated automaton and the editorial writer into a sort of ethereal prig.

The defects of the British system will be self-evident to Americans. Analytical, compressed reporting is dangerous because it is the journalists's analysis, and the journalist (or the editor) who compresses may be very biased. The mix of reporting and views is dangerous. The idiosyncratic editor can be dangerously removed from reality. Television, with extended discussion and interview programs can, as I mentioned before, take over the in-depth function from newspapers, which I think would be a pity. But I believe that the dangers are worth running.

Most Americans and most British just do not realize the tremendous differences that exist between our two forms of newspapers and the very different forms of journalism and forms of communication of American news in Europe and European news in America that this implies.

For example, on the subject of the alliance between America and Europe and Japan, other than during the Mansfield years in the early 1970's, there was very little "drip-drip" daily news in the American press about the state of European

countries, and I think that a sort of unknowing happens in America as a result.

Whereas in Europe, where we have a constant "drip-drip" of stories, sometimes long, sometimes short, sometimes medium, there is almost a familiarity with American politics which breeds a form of boredom.

The American doesn't know much about Europe because the local newspaper in Omaha is unlikely to cover it very much. The European reads about America all the time and gets bored. And when an alliance crisis arises, neither side really understands the other.

If you take the Iranian crisis, the United States was largely unprepared for the cultural change and shock that happened in Iran before the hostages were taken. It all came to America as though from the moon simply because there was little real understanding about what sorts of forces were at work in Iran. In Europe the vice was the other way around. We understood something about Iran, and thought we understood more than we did. In Europe I think we were almost weary of the Iranian problem, about the Shah's regime and about its fall, so that when it happened we sloughed it off as not really, in a funny way, being terribly important until the hostage story overcame us.

This is a deliberately crude example of the sorts of different reactions which come out of our different news coverage and different cultures.

If you take Afghanistan, the American press, having not really probably ever mentioned Afghanistan before and having paid very little attention to Iran, suddenly became given to the long blockbuster story every day.

Afghanistan became a major event in American politics, for a short while "impacting" itself — if I may use a horrible Americanism — on American political thinking every day.

And that conditioned a president to take a decision a day, which is a bad way of making decisions. By contrast, we British have been three times in the same position as the Russians are now in in Afghanistan. Three times we have sent British troops into Afghanistan and three times we have been mercilessly drubbed by the Afghans to the extent that Afghanistan is almost, to us, one of those imperial nineteenth century jokes. A lot has been written about it all the time.

If you ask for one reason why the Europeans were in my view disappointingly unsolid behind Carter on the Afghan crisis, it was because there is a very large strain of opinion in Europe, still a minority, which is saying, "We've been through all this and it's not really our major interest and the Russians are going to be in the most terrible pickle there, and let's not bother about it."

It is another vivid example of how differences in news coverage condition people over time to react in apparently similar democracies in quite different ways.

There is in America a sort of weariness about the European alliance and the European problem. That weariness is partly that America is getting on with its own business most of the time. Its press is concerned with what is going on in big and little local places around America and only covering the Cypriot problem, let us say, when it gets so big that it has to be covered, and then it is covered at boring length.

Mutual ignorance is part of our culture, and I don't want you to imagine that I am blaming all miscommunication that goes on between us just on the ways our media respond and are structured by their circulations, by their local nature in America, or by their pattern of advertising. That is just one element in what is a major cultural difference between the two communities either side of the Atlantic. □

Letters

A PANOPLY OF GIFTS

Little escapes Louis Lyons, and little of consequence did in his appraisal of Robert Manning (*NR* Winter 1980).

His diversion to Charles Morton, however, deprived that great man of fame far more lasting, practical and deserving than "elongated yellow fruit."

I came late in life to Harvard, but it was not until Charles Morton took me aside at a Leverett House levee that I learned how to tie my shoes — properly. A simple technique (and all the more admirable for that) that produced a proud, parallel-to-instep bow that defied gravity.

I treasure the Nieman Year for correction of some sloppy thinking, and for friends made, but Morton's beautiful shoelace bow may exceed all other gifts bestowed.

Harold Liston (NF '57)
Editor, *The Daily Pantagraph*
Bloomington, Illinois

A REFUTATION

To provide a point by point rebuttal to Ben Bagdikian's review of *Who Owns the Media? Concentration of Ownership in the Mass Communications Industry* (*NR* Winter 1980) would bore most of your readers. Nonetheless, I cannot let the overall tone of his indictment go unchallenged.

First, Bagdikian makes use of that well worn journalistic practice of quoting out of context. Where I say that the true market for the mass communications industry must be measured by the 35,000 to 40,000 outlets, I add immediately that "Clearly, not each outlet has equal

weight" to influence thought or ideas, but that a media outlet such as the *New England Journal of Medicine* need not have the audience of *Charlie's Angels* to be influential on opinion, on culture, or on policy.

Bagdikian also castigates me for selective use of data and cites some studies that seem to support his case that big is bad. First, I cited any studies' conventional methods of research unearthed and came from a responsible source. Special interest-group sponsored studies were so identified and were introduced as part of the voluminous data from competing interests and sources. At the same time, Bagdikian did not mention a study that I included, reported in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1978, that examined content in three Louisiana cities. One city had competing dailies, another had a large national chain owning an a.m. and p.m., and a third city had a small local chain owning the two newspapers. The study reported there was no significant difference in newshole and that even where a single entity controlled both the morning and evening paper, there was little duplication of either news or editorial page content (Hicks and Featherstone, 1978). While this alone does not prove a universal case, it is one part of the evidence I cite, some of which is critical and some supportive of newspaper chains. My conclusion in this area, which never came through in the review, is not that large corporate entities are always a blessing, but rather that the weight of the evidence fails to support the hypothesis that newspaper chains are serving the public worse now than in the past 100 years. Indeed, they *might be* responsible for improving as many cash poor or otherwise

stagnating newspapers as they are blamed for degrading.

Moreover, Bagdikian ignores the well underscored thesis of my concluding chapter. While he is worried about the traditional newspaper industry, events are rapidly making the boundary line between industries less clear. Before radio and television, the newspaper was *the* medium for keeping local communities informed. It was also about the only way advertisers (who pay about 75 percent of the freight) had to reach a local audience. Technology has made the newspaper a less central item on the media menu. News, entertainment and advertising are also available through a multitude of radio stations (not more than two in any market commonly owned), and an increasingly number of television stations (with eight or more separately owned outlets, counting PBS and increasingly popular UHF channels) in many major markets. Now, mass penetration of cable channels, operating under finite franchise agreements with local government bodies and, anxious to fill up dozens of channels with news, sports, entertainment, ethnic, religious, cultural, children's, etc. programming from a multiplicity of sources, are providing further diversity of ownership and content.

Need I go further by elaborating on the potential that video discs and cassettes play in making it possible for even small video publishers to have their programming available to special interests audiences, in much the same way that small publishers of books and magazines thrive quite well next to the so-called giants? And national data bases, such as those now being offered by CompuServe and Source Telecomputing, are

making it possible at ever decreasing cost for consumers in Zanesville, Ohio, or Carrollton, Georgia, to have access to the best newspapers in the country or the world, while similar data bases could be implemented for relatively low cost at the local level as well.

At any rate, I make no apology for trying to provide an objective look at the total mass communications industry, removing myself from the everyday emotions that appear to cloud the judgments of many journalists. Over the years I have written for newspapers owned by the largest companies and have worked for small weeklies. I have had books published by small and large corporations. I know they are not the same. I know that as individual entities they may err in their judgments or abuse their clout. But neither my personal experience nor the results of the research for the book indicate that there are fundamental or structural weaknesses with the mass communications business. Fine tuning of the structure may be necessary, but certainly not the major overhaul implicit in the attitude of Ben Bagdikian.

Benjamin M. Compaine
Cambridge, Massachusetts

SPRING SEMINAR

I thought readers of *NR* would be interested to know that a conference on the future of the First Amendment will be held at Tufts University in Boston, June 18-21. Sponsored by the Cato Institute and the Playboy Foundation, the conference will include panel discussions led by experts in their fields who will focus on First Amendment areas of conflict. I will be glad to send more information upon request.

(Ms.) Robin Fightmaster
Cato Institute, 747 Front Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

DEALER'S CHOICES

I want to respond to "Type & Tune" (*NR* Autumn 1980) and say even though it is true that a myriad of words evolve from the alphabet's only 26 letters, and a similar number of musical compositions from the piano's 88 keys, I must point out that the mathematical combinations from a single deck of playing cards are equally multitudinous.

For sixty years I have been an avid bridge player — averaging at least two sessions a week — and in that time I have never held the same bridge hand twice.

How about that?

Barbara T. Kelley
Delray Beach, Florida

AN AUTHOR'S OBSERVATION

For too long a time photography was the stepchild of the arts, and it is commendable that you featured it (*NR* Summer 1980).

Of the baker's dozen letters commenting on "Writing with Light," mine was the only sour note. Yet my observation was sincere, correct, and instructive. I hope it served its purpose.

This reminds me of a scrapbook my long departed friend, a celebrated artist, treasured highly. It contained only those press comments which played on the shortcomings of his work. When I expressed surprise, he asserted that compliments come cheap, while constructive criticism requires thought and a willingness to take the time to formulate an opinion.

Alexander Alland, Sr.
North Salem, New York

OOPS, SORRY

NR Winter '80 looks terrific, so terrific, in fact that I went into only a semi-funk when I saw that one of my telephoned-in corrections had not been made on my Carter piece — penultimate graf; XXX beat out Carl Sanders for the 1960 (sted 1970) Georgia Democratic, etc. It is amazing, however, what a little White-Out and a black fountain pen can do.

The minor correcting is a small price to pay for such an excellent issue. In all candor, the mix of articles lately has been especially good. Keep it up.

Frank Van Riper (NF '79)
Washington bureau
Daily News (New York)

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Reflections of a Small-Town Editor

HOUSTOUN WARING

I am 79 years old now and have jotted down some conclusions that I have reached as a newspaper owner, editor, business manager, and journalism professor in three universities. My observations are not as weighty as the Niemans of New York City or Washington, but they bring a different perspective on our profession.

In 1925, as a journalism student at the University of Colorado, I was told about the four purposes of the editorial page: to inform, to interpret, to crusade, and to entertain.

As a working newspaperman for 54 years, I have added to my understanding of the role of an editor in a small city. My outlook is different from the big city editor in two respects. I have managed all aspects of the newspaper — business, production, circulation, news, and editorials. And while my audience has been less than large dailies, I have the independence that many metropolitan editors envy.

From the beginning, I have clung to the belief that the weekly press should devote itself to local news, but cover the world with the editorial page. How else do the president, the congress, governors, universities, corporations, and others learn the grassroots viewpoint?

I support journalism schools primarily because they imbue students with the ideals of the profession and introduce them to traditions laid down by yesterday's editors. I prefer

few technical journalism courses to allow time for a liberal education. How can we cover the news until reporters are equipped with broad knowledge? I would make three courses mandatory: economics, political science, and biology.

I have failed to get more than two percent of journalism graduates to enter the weekly field. They would like the independence, but lack the business acumen to turn a profit. Even today, opportunities abound for starting a weekly and farming out the press work.

By 1940 I had decided that the purpose of a newspaper was to help readers understand their environment, and to help them change it when this seemed wise. Lately I have come to believe that newspaper editors, who are generalists, should help create a stable society in which specialists may work and bring about orderly change. I believe in evolution. Revolution sets everything back for fifty years.

I advocate local ownership of the mass media, for diversity of information is the secret of republics. We have had competition among giants; yet most Americans have never learned the balanced facts about Chiang Kai-shek, the Middle East, domestic communism, or the conglomerate buying of books, periodicals, and broadcasting systems.

We are moving from diversity to uniformity. I recall that Walter Lippmann, whose column I published for thirty years, once wrote: "Whenever everyone thinks alike, no one is thinking very much."

I like such maxims of our great

minds. As I have slogged away over the years, I keep telling myself what Theodore Roosevelt said: "I am just an ordinary man but I work harder at it than most men."

And when each edition has had its flaws, I have pressed it to my bosom with the words of Spinoza: "Happiness comes, not in possessing perfection, but in striving to approach it." I have also been sustained by Edna St. Vincent Millay's words. In substance she said: "Do not expect to find happiness as a continuing feeling of exultation. Look for peaks of happiness throughout the day."

Editors find those peaks as the distributors' trucks roll out of the plant — and when they hear people discussing the paper when they attend a function that night.

I feel that the unsung heroes in our profession are the newspaper owners who don't tug at the reins when their editors arouse community ire or cause an advertising boycott.

My first lesson in such heroism was the *Ladies Home Journal* case in 1917. Edward Bok, the editor, lost 100,000 subscribers by a series on venereal disease, a no-no topic in those days. Bok asked Curtis if he should stop riling the nation. Curtis, like dozens of publishers since then, told him to continue the crusade.

For two generations a debate has raged concerning the editor in the ivory tower. I have known such editors who keep themselves uncontaminated. I know many others who mix with the multitudes and especially with community leaders (not just the country club establishment). The former are less tempted to pull

Houstoun Waring is a member of the Nieman Class of 1945.

their punches, but they haven't heard all sides to the question. The latter, especially in social situations, learn new angles and undercurrents when in relaxed association. They need, of course, more backbone to take a stand contrary to their friends.

Long ago I found that the five main pressures on an editor, in this order, are: 1) friends who expect editors to think like them, 2) public officials upon whom the newspaper depends for news, 3) the dominant institution in the state (church, industry, etc.), 4) advertisers, and 5) people and firms who have given their all to help a newspaper's big promotion event.

The *Littleton Independent* became an independent newspaper 62 years ago, but few readers believe this. As a registered Democrat in a Republican county, I feel that my editorials were discounted by that fact. Hind-sight tells me that I would have been more effective by being registered as an independent. For this is what I was.

I have been honored for building a community out of a Denver suburb, an unending task. An unheralded contribution is my long story of keeping out the underworld, thanks to close attention to sheriffs and district attorneys. Another self-imposed job I've had is to secure and study all outside CPA audits of each governmental agency. An accountant once told me that, "Most people are honest if they think there's a chance of being caught." So I have found only four public thieves by examining audits — not bad in 54 years.

I question the social value of awards by industry to feature writers and editorial page people. To win such cash, journalists must slant their material for the firm which calls the tune.

I am not sure that newspapers or television present a balanced story in photographing sign-waving activists who leave the scene a minute after the journalist departs. The public

never obtains a halfway accurate account of complex events.

I am flabbergasted at polls which reveal the lack of trust people have in newspapers. One means of counter-acting this belief is for the editor and publisher to make themselves role models in the community. Another way, perhaps, is to return to some of the niceties. At least half of one's readers are repelled by four-letter words and as many long for the good old days when a woman, upon second mention, is called Mrs. Johnson instead of Johnson. We make enough enemies by necessarily being controversial. Why not wear gloves when we can?

I organized the first press council in Colorado in 1945, weeks after completing my Nieman year. Eight newspaper editors met with eight remarkable critics every quarter. For the past decade, the Littleton Press Council has been substituted. Twelve alert citizens keep us on our toes. I consulted with some of the national leaders who created the Robert Hutchins report, "A Free and Responsible Press," some thirty-four

years ago. This report made me aware of the need for a national press council. I urged some foundation to make a single endowment so that the press council members would not have to trim sails in order to get additional funds. Such a press council should, in my judgment, publish an annual statement of around 800 words. This would not usually deal with the handling of specific stories, a direction the National News Council has taken. Instead it would tell the American people what forces are governing their thinking, what individuals are at the throttle, how near-monopoly in the networks, print media, and book publishing may become a reality. The public needs to know trends and the big picture in communications.

As of now, Americans can easily obtain information from hundreds of sources. No other great nation can compare with such accessibility. The average citizen, in the last analysis, is responsible for reaching out for the truth. A free press means that the nitwit can express his thoughts as well as the wisest citizen. □



The Blizzard of '81. The weather forecast did not mention snow, but a blizzard of paper whirled inside Walter Lippmann House on February 2nd, deadline day for Nieman Fellowships. Applications, supporting letters and work samples blitzed Nieman staffers Betsy Ryles, Gisela Dittmer, and Daphne Noyes.

Nieman Notes

Our warmest thanks to the countless Niemans and other friends who sent us cards and letters at Christmastime. During the holiday season these colorful reminders of friends here and abroad stood in a delightful parade on the mantelpiece in our office.

Again, from all of us at Lippmann House, thank you!

— 1940 —

OSCAR BUTTEDAHL writes in a Christmas letter that he and Hazle are "enjoying our retirement to the hilt. The pace has slowed, but we still have good health and always find plenty to do to keep us out of mischief.

"Hazle is still a member of the board and secretary of the Bethlehem Tower, a residential home for senior citizens, sponsored by the Bethlehem Lutheran Church. She has been a member of the board since the planning stage and... she is the heart and conscience of a board made up of hard-headed businessmen. The Tower is the tallest building in Santa Rosa (16 stories!), and it was built ten years ago at a cost of \$3 million... It has 160 apartments and provides comfortable low-cost housing for about two hundred elderly....

"Oscar is... into wood-working as a hobby and is compiling a family history, but he's not the shark he used to be in shooting pool and playing croquet...."

The Buttedahls' daughter Susan is assistant head nurse at Memorial Hospital in Salem, Oregon; their daughter Sally works for IBM in Santa Rosa. Oscar and Hazle spent Christmas in Salem with both daughters and three grandchildren.

GLENN NIXON and Irma, in their Christmas letter, wrote: "The year 1980 has been a glorious year. Many of our dreams of travel became a reality. In January and February we toured South Africa... and were personal guests of lovely families in Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown. A safari to Kruger Park,

the spectacular views of Victoria Falls, and seeing the Passion Play in Oberammergau in July were things one dreamt of when growing up.

"In July we took a tour to Scandinavia which was super. After returning to Copenhagen we took a plane to Stavanger, Norway. We rode ferries to Olesund on the island of Randay and to Tau... On Randay we saw the house where Irma's maternal grandmother lived until she came to Illinois in 1865....

"Glenn is free-lancing and Irma is keeping the home fires burning, along with her many varied activities... We are so thankful for the many blessings which the Lord has given us."

The Nixons included in their letter a picture of their first grandchild, Kimberly Kathleen Arsenault.

A.B. GUTHRIE observed his 80th birthday in January.

A piece about the novelist in the January 9th edition of *The Great Falls* (Montana) *Tribune* noted that he counts himself as "one of the lucky newspapermen." That is because he was able to make a living writing fiction and could afford to abandon the grind of a newspaper editor. However, he's still grinding out words at his home on the Teton River 25 miles west of Choteau, but at his own pace and without daily deadlines. "I write about two or three hours a day. That's long enough," Guthrie said.

He was on the staff of the *Lexington* (Kentucky) *Leader* for 21 years, and was executive editor when he resigned in 1947, after *The Big Sky* was published.

Guthrie was born in Bedford, Indiana. He moved as an infant with his family to Choteau, where his father taught school and for six years was editor and publisher of the *Choteau Acantha*, a weekly newspaper.

HOUSTOUN WARING, editor emeritus of the *Littleton* (Colorado) *Independent*, writes: "I am still working five and a half days a week, but devote my time only to writing news and a column. It is great to lose the stress." (See page 46, "Reflections of a Small-Town Editor.")

— 1946 —

ROBERT MANNING, writer, journalist, and former editor in chief of *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine, has joined the Boston Publishing Company as editor in chief. He will assume fulltime duties on June 1 after completing the spring term at Harvard University as a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Mr. Manning will head Boston Publishing's staff of historians, writers, and editors, already at work on the 14-volume series, *The Vietnam Experience*. Volume I, *Setting the Stage*, which covers early Vietnamese history, will be published in late spring 1981.

The *Vietnamese Experience* is Boston Publishing's first project. The company, founded in 1980, plans to establish an extensive list of continuity series, trade, and professional reference books.

— 1949 —

GRADY CLAY, editor of *Landscape Architecture* magazine, is at work filming a television documentary for Channel 15, a public station in Louisville, Kentucky. Titled "Unknown Places: Exploring the Obvious," the special is looking at five U.S. cities which represent a cross-section of the country. Work has been completed in Los Angeles; Columbia, Maryland; Manhattan, Kansas; and Boston. The crew will also film in its Louisville home. The documentary is scheduled to be aired in the fall. "We look on this film as an exciting pilot for a possible future series," says Clay.

He has also been chosen as one of eight internationally known designers to judge entries in the nation-wide design competition for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, to be established in the nation's capital. The memorial will honor the 2.7 million Americans who served in the Vietnam War and especially the 57,661 who died. The VVMF, a private non-profit corporation, is raising \$3 million in private gifts for the project. The site chosen is two acres in Constitution Gardens park, directly northeast of the

Lincoln Memorial. Use of the federal land was authorized by Congress and approved by President Carter last summer.

Grady Clay, a lecturer and consultant on urban development and changing landscapes, is the author of *Closeup: How to Read the American City* (1980) and the editor or co-author of several other books.

— 1950 —

CLARK MOLLENHOFF, Professor of Journalism and Law at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, writes that he "had a fine fall at University College, Oxford, studying British press-government relations...."

"The Oxford Fellowship experience is...almost as enlightening as the Nieman Fellowship. I have taken part in a one-hour documentary for Granada Television on the Fitzgerald case and the C-5A jet transport scandal. It showed nationally here. I am also doing a half-hour show for Granada on the need for open government in any democracy, and I will be doing a post-election program analyzing the British press treatment of the American election.

"They need a Freedom of Information Act. Instead, the British Official Secrets Act, the 30-year Rule and an ancient Privy Councillors Oath combine to make life difficult for the inquiring press. Even land records are secret."

The 1980 National Convention of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, in November elected Clark Mollenhoff a Fellow of the Society. That honor is the highest the Society confers on a working journalist.

Mollenhoff's textbook, *Investigative Reporting*, was published in January by Macmillan. (See review, page 30.)

— 1954 —

RICHARD DUDMAN, chief Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, will retire April 1 after 31 years with the newspaper. He plans to move to Maine to help manage radio stations WDEA and WDEA-FM in Ellsworth, which he and his wife, Helen Sloane Dudman, purchased last May.

Joseph Pulitzer Jr., editor and publisher of the *Post-Dispatch*, said of Dudman: "As chief Washington correspondent, he has maintained high stan-

dards and contributed many exclusive stories for *Post-Dispatch* readers. His foreign correspondence from the Far East particularly represents a distinguished chapter in *Post-Dispatch* journalism. His reporting from Vietnam and Cambodia has been recognized widely in the current histories of that area."

— 1956 —

As the result of a writing-editing enterprise last spring by staff members of *The Washington Post* under the direction of RICHARD HARWOOD, deputy managing editor, Berkeley Books has published a paperback book, *The Pursuit of the Presidency 1980*, one of several printed in the wake of Reagan's landslide victory in last fall's presidential election.

ROBERT L. HEALY, who has directed the political coverage of *The Boston Globe* since 1963 and has been its pre-eminent political correspondent for nearly 25 years, was named in November head of *The Globe's* Washington bureau.

He has been at *The Globe* since 1942, when he started as an office boy. His career has been interrupted twice — once when he served three years in the Army Air Corps and once when he was awarded a Nieman Fellowship.

— 1957 —

To the best of our knowledge, ANTHONY LEWIS, syndicated columnist with *The New York Times* and lecturer at the Harvard Law School, is the first Nieman to have his name appear in the caption of a *New Yorker* cartoon (October 6, 1980).

At an elegant dinner table scene drawn by Saxon, a woman asks her dinner companion, "Would you please tell me if there is room in *anyone's* camp for me and Anthony Lewis?"

— 1958 —

PETER KUMPA, chief European correspondent for *The Sun*, Baltimore, from 1967-79, has returned to that city and is now a columnist for the *Evening Sun*. He says he "writes about anything from politics to problems to pets. [I] did win the 1980 Jay S. Lewis Journalism award given by the National Association of

Alcoholism Treatment Programs for six columns on the subject of alcoholism. The award will be presented in New Orleans in April."

— 1961 —

JOHN HERBERS, reporter in the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, was awarded first place in executive branch reporting by the National Press Club in its second annual Washington correspondents competition in December.

JOHN POMFRET has written a Christmas letter to Louis and Totty Lyons, who have in turn conveyed news of the Pomfret family to the Nieman office.

From John Pomfret's letter: "This has been my first full year as general manager of *The New York Times* — the year in which we started the national edition...."

"Maggie continues to do the Lord's work, teaching in a so-called 600 school, which is for emotionally handicapped high school students. In her spare time she continues to paint, and had a successful show earlier this year.

"Our son is in Beijing learning Chinese at the Beijing Language Institute. He gave us a marvelous Christmas present this morning, calling for the first time since he went out there in September.

"Dana is doing routine clerical work in a publishing house...but spending most of her time working on a new show. She did one this summer — off, off, off, off Broadway and was encouraged by the results. She hopes with the next one to knock at least one of the offs off and attract the attention of Joe Papp...."

In his accompanying note, Louis Lyons added, "I remember the son, riding on John's shoulders, the first time I saw John on his first day in Cambridge."

— 1962 —

GENE ROBERTS, executive editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and currently editor of the year of the National Press Photographers Association, was named a member of the faculty of the second annual Photography in Journalism Conference sponsored by the San Jose *Mercury News* last spring in San Jose.

J. Bruce Baumann, the *Mercury News* director of photography and art, proposed

and organized the two-day meeting. Several hundred people — roughly a third of them photographers, a third picture editors, and a third word editors and reporters — gathered to help build bridges and to discuss problems and perceptions of presenting the news.

— 1964 —

DANA BULLEN, former foreign editor of *The Washington Star*, is currently journalist in residence at the Edward R. Murrow Center, Fletcher School of Law and Public Diplomacy, Tufts University. (See page 8 for his article.)

— 1967 —

ANTHONY DAY, editorial pages editor, *The Los Angeles Times*, has been named one of the judges for the 1981 awards of the American Society of Newspaper Editors Distinguished Writing Awards.

— 1968 —

JEROME AUMENTE, chairman of the Department of Journalism and Urban Communication, Livingston College, Rutgers University, was named director of Rutgers' new Journalism Resources Institute in November. The Institute is becoming a national center serving as a bridge between the press and the academic disciplines. Student researchers, for example, are preparing materials for future sessions dealing with environmental coverage, health education, and women and minorities in the media.

"Our first stage of activity has shown that there is a tremendous interest on the part of print and broadcast professionals to interact with the life of the university," Mr. Aumente said. "Students and faculty show an equal fascination with the press. It seems like we are on the way to a perfect marriage. It's matter of the right introductions."

— 1969 —

PAUL HEMPHILL, senior editor of *Atlanta* magazine, author and novelist, visited Lippmann House in November and led a seminar for this year's class of Nieman Fellows. His return to Cam-

bridge was enhanced by the presence of James Stewart, reporter with *The Atlanta Constitution* and currently a Nieman Fellow, who is Paul's first cousin.

Hemphill's latest book, *Too Old to Cry*, a retrospective collection of autobiographical experiences, was published in January by the Viking Press. His other books include *The Nashville Sound*, *The Good Old Boys*, and the novel, *Long Gone*.

— 1970 —

HEDRICK SMITH, Washington bureau correspondent, *The New York Times*, is one of five staff members who were co-authors of *Reagan: The Man, the President*, published in December by Macmillan and Company. The other writers are: Adam Clymer, Robert Lindsey, Richard Burt and Leonard Silk.

WALLACE TERRY, Gannett Professor of Journalism at Howard University, Washington, D.C., and national radio news commentator, is the author of a work in progress on the success stories of black journalists in newspaper and broadcast careers. Sponsored by the Gannett Foundation, the book is scheduled to be published in 1982.

— 1972 —

H. D. S. GREENWAY, national/foreign editor of *The Boston Globe*, was promoted in December to assistant managing editor. He joined *The Globe* staff in 1978 and previously had worked for *Time* magazine and *The Washington Post*. He has been stationed in London, Washington, Boston, Saigon, Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Jerusalem.

— 1976 —

GENE CARLSON, formerly in Hong Kong for *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, and now in New York City for *The Wall Street Journal*, was a recent visitor at Lippmann House to attend a Nieman seminar led by Benigno Aquino, former senator in the Philippines. Gene had spent a year in Manila, but had never met Aquino, as it was during the latter's seven years in solitary confinement, 1972-80. He had long wanted to meet the Filipino politician, and was pleased to have this opportunity.

GUNTER HAAF writes from Germany: "We have been pretty busy this year, moving into this spacious house with a large, wooded garden 16 miles outside of downtown Hamburg. I am struggling to keep my science page in *Die Zeit* going strong while nightly pushing ahead the book (on environmental conservation in Germany) and still finding time to play with and to watch Niki (he's 3 already) and Susanne ('Susu' is turning 2 soon) grow. So Elga is carrying a heavy burden right now to keep the Haaf family in proper shape, and she's doing a great job."

The Haaf's new address is: Am Hunengrab 6, 2055 Aumuhle, West Germany.

— 1977 —

DOLLY KATZ, reporter with *The Detroit Free Press*, was awarded a citation for a first-person article by the National Press Club's seventh annual Excellence in Consumer Journalism competition in December.

— 1978 —

KENNETH J. FREED, *The Los Angeles Times*' correspondent for South America, wrote from Buenos Aires last fall: "I find my life [here] a mixture of boredom, anger, excitement, and bewilderment. All the travel is boring; I am on the road about three out of every four weeks. My anger comes from the stupidity found in most countries and the resulting bad governments, poverty and violence. But all that makes for interesting and exhilarating work. But there are a dozen different cultures and I am constantly confused and boggled by it all ..."

WILLIAM HENSON, former editorial writer with the *Times Herald*, Dallas, moved to California last fall to be editor of the op-ed page of *The San Francisco Examiner*.

Bill and Judy's new address is: 4662 Wilson Lane, Concord, CA 94521.

— 1979 —

TOMAS DILLEN and Ulla Tegemark announce the birth of a son, Oskar, on September 12, 1980, in Stockholm.

Tomas is executive producer and director, Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, and Ulla, studio director, Swedish National TV News.

— 1980 —

JONATHAN Z. LARSEN, former editor of *New Times* magazine, has been named news editor of *Life* magazine.

WILLIAM GRANT, formerly education writer with *The Detroit Free Press*, has moved to California and joined the staff of *The San Francisco Chronicle*.

Bill and Ellen's new address is: 297 18th Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94121.

BISTRA LANKOVA and Charles Sawyer were married on October 31, 1980, in White River Junction, Vermont. Bistra is executive producer-writer, Bulgarian Television Corporation, Sofia; Charles, freelance journalist and photographer, is the author of *The Arrival of B.B. King*. The last we heard, plans were for the bride and groom to return together to Bistra's home country of Bulgaria.

— 1981 —

Nieman class members who chose to stay in Cambridge during the Christmas holidays celebrated the day by treating themselves and their guests to an international dinner at Walter Lippmann House.

While the temperature dropped to a record minus seven degrees outside, the forty-two celebrants dined on specialties prepared by several of the group. The menu included roast goose with oyster dressing, two turkeys, and a baked ham, complemented by such local favorites as Turkish rice pilaf, English tipsy tarts, sake soup, and Southern cornbread dressing.

Representing such diverse countries as Great Britain, Argentina, South Africa, Turkey, Japan, and Atlanta, Georgia, the Nieman Fellows, spouses, and families seated around the table were: PETER ALMOND and Anna, their son Nicholas; ROBERT COX and Maud, with four of their five youngsters — Victoria, David, Ignacio and Ruth; MUSTAFA GÜRSEL and Nuran with daughters Zeynep and Umut; JAMES STEWART and Jo with their children James, Patrick, Elizabeth;

FLEUR DE VILLIERS; MASAYUKI IKEDA and his parents.

John Rigos, UPI bureau chief, Athens, Greece, and Jeff Morby, a vice president of the Bank of Boston, were among the guests. The youngest diner was not quite two Nicholas Almond; the most senior of the group, Dr. and Mrs. Ikeda.

DOUGLAS MARLETTE and Melinda J. Hartley were married on January 17, 1981, in Charlotte, North Carolina. Doug is an editorial cartoonist with *The Charlotte Observer*. His book, *Drawing Blood: Political Cartoons by Marlette*, was published in November by Graphic Press. Melinda has worked at WBTV, a CBS affiliate in Charlotte, for the past three and a half years. She produced and directed local live television shows, varying from news to children's programs.

RANDOM NOTES

JULIUS DUSCHA ('56), director of the Washington Journalism Center, and CARROLL KILPATRICK ('40), former White House reporter for *The Washington Post*, have been named members of the commission, appointed at the University of Virginia in November, to recommend changes to do away with the "circuslike" atmosphere of the White House press conferences. The announcement was made by former Virginia Governor Linwood Holton and Ray Scherer, a former NBC White House correspondent, now a vice president of RCA. The project is one of the studies of the presidency being conducted by the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University.

The new commission intends to present the newly-elected President Reagan with proposals designed to make the press conference better serve him, the press, and the public.

The November convention of The Associated Press Managing Editors Association in Phoenix, Arizona, was planned and presided over by LARRY ALLISON ('69), APME vice president and editor of the *Long Beach (Cal.) Independent and Press Telegram*.

ROBERT GILES ('66), executive editor, *Democrat and Chronicle* and *Times-Union*, Rochester, New York, as part of the proceedings chaired a program titled "Campaign '80: Rating the Press."

Among the 55 editors serving as nominating judges for the Pulitzer Prize in journalism for 1981 are 8 Nieman Fellows.

They are: ROBERT F. CAMPBELL ('57), editor, *The Times*, Gainesville, Georgia; NORMAN CHERNISS ('59), executive editor, *The Press-Enterprise*, Riverside, California; ANTHONY DAY ('67), editor, editorial pages, *The Los Angeles Times*; JOHN O. EMMERICH ('62), editor and publisher, *The Greenwood (Mississippi) Commonwealth*; CHARLES A. FERGUSON ('66), editor, *The Times-Picayune/The States-Item*, New Orleans; ROBERT C. MAYNARD ('66), editor, *The Oakland (California) Tribune*; REG MURPHY ('60), editor, *The San Francisco Examiner*; and RALPH OTWELL ('60), executive vice president and editor, *The Chicago Sun-Times*.

In addition, JOHN HUGHES ('62), president, The Hughes Newspapers in Orleans, Massachusetts, is a member of the Pulitzer Prize Board.

1981 Nieman Reunion



With the April 1981 Convocation approaching apace, the beehive logo on the reunion letterhead seems even more appropriate — the April dates (25th, 26th, 27th) are flying ever nearer.

Most classes are well represented in the registrations that have already been received, but let this be a reminder to those who have not yet sent in their reservations to do so soonest.

Meanwhile, the Nieman Fellowship deadline for American journalists is tomorrow, as it is for this issue of *NR*, and by the time the magazine is in your hands, the deadline for newspeople from other countries will be upon us. Like the bees, we are a-buzz, but anticipation is sweet and we look forward to the spring's festivities.

February 1, 1981

— T.B.K.L. —

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