Nieman Reports

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Graphic Examples — Howard Shapiro

Latin American Press — Daniel Samper

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Puerto Ricans in Connecticut

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The Duality of Perception and Sight

Anyone whose energies are consumed by the rigors of daily commuting in a hostile world of ice and snow has little tolerance towards sporting types who yearn for a heavy snowfall and the unfettered exhilaration of the downhill run or the cross-country trek. Commuters who must travel to home or office view the initial swirling of snowflakes with apprehension; skiers, on the other hand, welcome every drift and contour.

A difference in attitudes lends zest to the daily routine; various ways of seeing ordinariness often give root to small discoveries. For example, the calendar at Lippmann House includes notations of four wintertime anniversaries. Those with Nieman ties may not be aware of these dates: Agnes Wahl Nieman, born on January 26, 1861, died on February 5,

1936. Lucius William Nieman was born on December 13, 1857. Volume I, Number 1 of *Nieman Reports* was published in February 1947. Agnes Nieman's bequest "to promote and elevate the standards of journalism" set the injunction that led to establishing the Nieman Fellowships. Her will also instructed that whatever program evolved should be named in memory of her husband. With this issue, *Nieman Reports* — the Foundation's quarterly magazine — begins its 35th year of publication.

These wellsprings of the Nieman enterprise warrant quiet recognition on the personal calendars of the more than 660 journalists who have been awarded the gift of a Nieman Fellowship and its academic year at Harvard University. For all who are connected with the Nieman endeavor, the anniversaries may give a lift to the bleak months of December, January, February, and bring a new acknowledgment to an old season.

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A different way of seeing is the theme of this issue. Howard Shapiro looks at mundane statistics and introduces the reader to lucid, imaginative ways of presenting figures. Daniel Samper sees the press in Latin America from his stance as a native Colombian; J.K. Galbraith views the economy in a witty but solid framework. Kenneth Freed offers his observations on the events in one man's life; Gerald Stone scrutinizes polling mechanisms in presidential voting and finds importance in the percentages of indecision. John Long looks through his lens and photographs a surprising segment of a growing population in the Nutmeg State; Tom Johnson perceives the Freedom of Information Improvements Act of 1981 as a misnomer. George Kennan calls for an adjustment in American stereotypical concepts of the Soviet Union as a first step towards building a global architecture for peace. Paul Lieberman gives a glimpse behind the dazzle of awards, and Peter Brown sees a currently acclaimed film through critical eyes.

*

In this season of wintry fastness, Pleasure suggests that you invite the good company of the printed word into the warmth. Then Prudence dictates that your door be closed against the rough weather, and while the storm holds, let the writers on these pages be your guide to new ways of seeing.

—T.B.K.L.

CORRECTION

A Conversation
with Oriana Fallaci

On page six of the Winter issue of *Nieman Reports* there was an inadvertent transposition of two blocks of type.

The editors apologize for any inconvenience this may have caused Ms. Fallaci or our readers.

Nieman Reports

Vol. XXXVI, No. 1
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Cover: Maria Rodriguez, 23, and Brenda, one of her five children. Brenda's bed is a hammock slung across the bedroom of their Hartford apartment. Photo by John Long.

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Giving a Graphic Example: The Increasing Use of Charts and Maps

HOWARD S. SHAPIRO

The use of demographics on the business side of newspapers has filtered into some newsrooms as an attractive tool.

Vincent Barabba, the retired director of the U.S. Census Bureau who oversaw the decennial headcount in April 1980, used to pick up his daily paper and wonder about the way editors perceived their readers' intelligence. His curiosity stemmed from reading the sports page, where Barabba noted a daily presentation of records, scores, and other statistics — the agate summation of the professional world of games.

It was obvious to Barabba that readers throughout the United States knew a lot about — or, at least, had easy access to — current RBI's, ERA's, pass completion percentages, sacks per game and the like.

He also knew that not many reporters covered the Census Bureau.

Seven days after the 1980 census was taken, Barabba voiced his curiosity about such news judgment in a speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors meeting in Washington.

"Why is there such a difference in the way newspapers treat certain types of statistics?" he asked. "We find there is a Financial Section, with a certain number of pages, where the reader knows he or she can find data day after day. There is also a Sports Section in the same place day after day, with a set, recognizable statistical format.

"But considering how statistics are used in a daily paper, you would have to assume that very few people are interested in social statistics, since this kind of statistical reporting is not regularly included. Yet, these are the statistics about the people — the numerical presentation of how the population is changing."

Barabba then posed some rhetorical questions that go to the heart of news judgment and, at the same time, may have shown some naiveté on his part about the selling of newspapers: "Are people truly more interested in yards rushing and RBI's than how daily life is changing around them? Are the statistics about the Dow Jones Industrials more meaningful to the average person than those dealing with family income, educational attainment, the increasing size of the elderly population, and divorce and marriage?

"Have editors and reporters failed to do the digging needed to unearth the significance of the steady stream of social statistics flowing from the federal statistical system? Or has the federal statistical system failed to do the job it should in making social statistics more easily accessible to newsmen and readers alike?"

In the two years since his speech, there has been some change in the way newspapers reflect statistical trends in American life. Relatively few reporters cover the Census Bureau or demographics as a fulltime beat, but the ranks of those who occasionally look into such material has grown.

"Editors and reporters are recognizing the potential for stories, particularly because of the federal money attached to the census, especially with the rise of federal revenue sharing and other grants based on census figures," says Ray Bancroft, a public information officer at the bureau. "This has caused a lot of interest among local government people, and when they get into it, the press gets into it. Much use of the information is also used by business, and when businesses get into it, the press does too."

This reporting trend was somewhat predictable in a period immediately following the taking of the census — although after the 1970 census, very few reporters seemed to be beating down the bureau's doors. Probably the first

Howard Shapiro, Nieman Fellow '81, is a reporter and editor with The Philadelphia Inquirer. *His beat is Census and Demographics.*

was Jack Rosenthal, now deputy editorial page editor of *The New York Times*, who cultivated the bureau and found it a goldmine.

Rosenthal's editor at the time, Eugene Roberts (NF '62), now executive editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, remembers that "in 1971 when we decided to go ahead with it full force, Jack had the field all to himself. It was completely open and ready to be tapped. Other papers checked with the bureau from time to time, but none on a systematic basis." That beat is still being covered at the *Times*, currently by John Herbers (NF '61).

Many federal officials say that the quest for demographics has not stopped at the Census Bureau; they see a general increased demand on many agencies for statistical information.

The use of statistics in news stories is growing because of several changes in the newspaper industry itself. This trend could be seen in the early 1970's, when Philip Meyer (NF '67), then in the Knight Ridder Washington bureau, began making journalists aware of the possibilities for stories by using computers to aid in analysis. In doing so, he was the most visible leader of a new branch of reporting which came to be known as "computer journalism" and is now widely used by reporters and editors who work with information that can be programmed and scientifically researched.

Some other factors have spurred the use of statistics as either the basis for news stories or an integral part of reporting them. More important, perhaps, than any other factor, are the editors and reporters who are coming to recognize that trends in American life are often newsworthy.

These stories, sometimes culled from statistics and sometimes merely enhanced by them, are more visible than ever. Because they straddle the line between hard news and features, trend stories can be highly readable and pertinent to breaking news topics, giving an almost cosmic quality to events on Main Street.

As demography becomes a full-fledged science and demographic information becomes available on a wide scale, these stories become more accessible.

American Demographics, perhaps the leading non-academic organ devoted to the field, continues to grow in popularity. The analysis of such material is the venue of scores of new firms around the country, many of them tailoring census data to the needs of clients.

The use of demographics on the business side of newspapers has, no doubt, filtered into some newsrooms as an attractive tool. Many newspapers, as well as radio and television stations, have been using computers for some time to predict audience and advertising patterns.

Computers (not just the word processors that have come to replace pencils and paper, but computers that can be programmed to sift and spew data) were once far removed from newspaper buildings, as were the computer programmers who run them and the statisticians who analyze the material from them. But now, in many larger newspapers, these facilities and the professionals who operate them are only several floors removed from the city room, and reporters have in-house guidance for using them.

"I think a lot of the people who enter into journalism are also people who can't count," Kristin McGrath, research director of *The Minneapolis Tribune*, says with only half a chuckle. In her job, McGrath is the *Tribune*'s statistics maven. She not only aids reporters in using statistical information, but also runs an operation the newspaper calls the Minnesota Poll, which uses scientific research to understand how readers feel about certain issues. These are not simple "what-the-public-thinks" articles, McGrath says. The operation recently produced a three-part series on the state's elderly.

Santa Clara County hospital costs

January-June 1981

Hospital	Average daily cost	Average patient bill	Percentage increase
Countywide	$544	$3,615	21.4
Alexian Brothers	$612	$3,426	16.1
Stanford Children's	$735	$5,988	5.3
Los Gatos-Saratoga	$436	$2,623	25.6
El Camino	$454	$2,436	34.8
Good Samaritan	$502	$2,807	13.9
Monte Villa	$184	$4,268	-7.9
O'Connor	$564	$3,554	13.2
O'Connor, Campbell	$249	$5,680	-24.5
San Jose	$448	$3,389	22.1
Valley Medical Center	$531	$4,671	18.1
Stanford Medical Center	$715	$5,453	22.8
Valley West	$536	$3,369	13.9
Wheeler	$463	$1,760	18.0

The figures, provided by the California Health Facilities Commission, compare only the average cost of hospital stays at Santa Clara County hospitals from January to June 1981. Room rates and other charges for specific surgical procedures or treatments vary widely among hospitals. Some hospitals offer expensive, specialized procedures, and because they attract patients in search of those services, their average bills can be much higher. The county's two Kaiser Foundation hospitals, Santa Clara and Santa Teresa, do not provide the data shown in the chart and are not included.

Language Usage

Which language is *usually* spoken in your home?

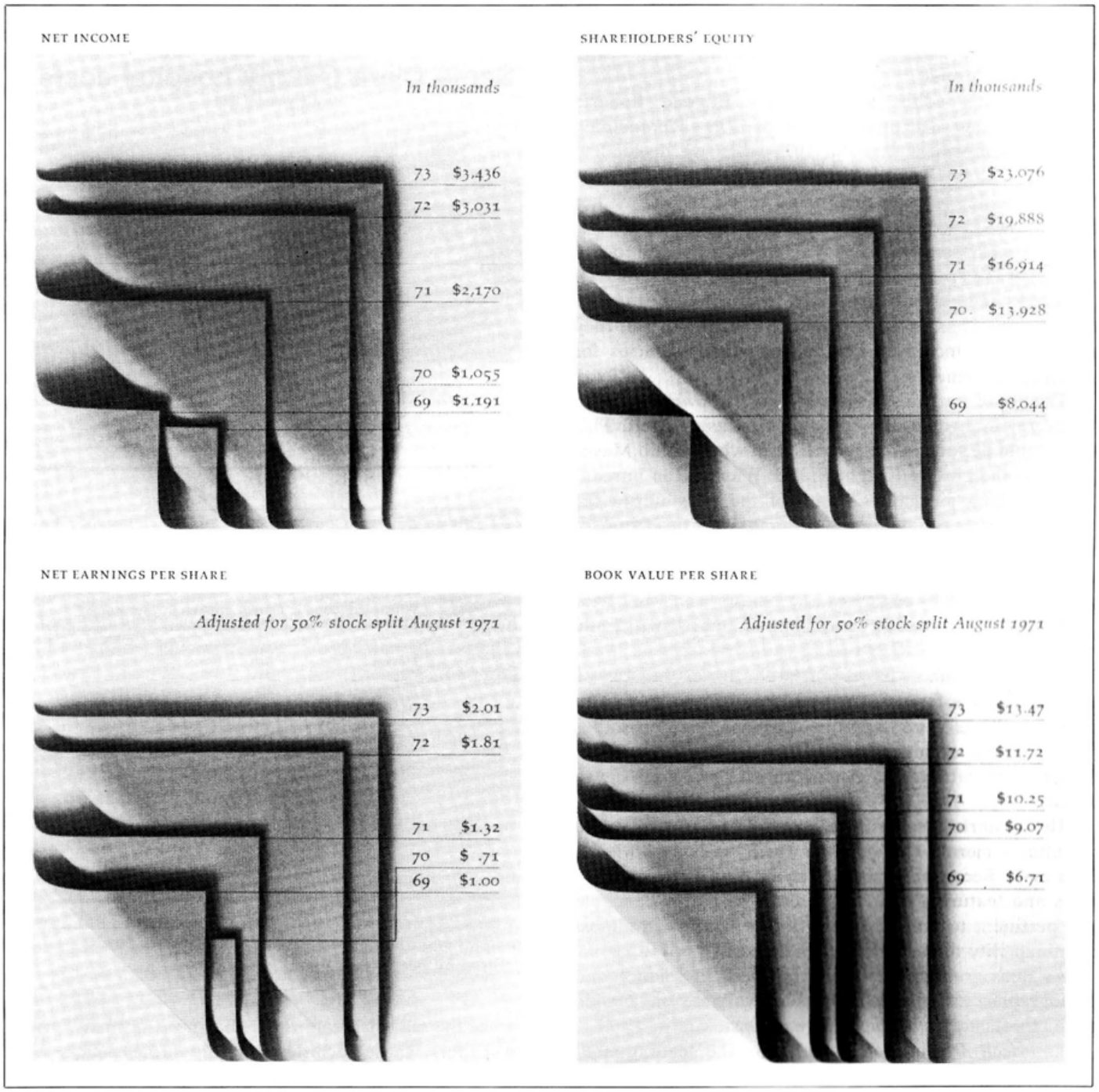
Country of Origin	Spanish	English	Both	Number of Interviews
Mexico	54%	26%	20%	544
Cuba	83	5	12	109
Puerto Rico	48	23	29	119
All other	52	28	20	258

Which language do your children *usually* speak with their friends?

Country of Origin	Sp.	Eng.	No Children	Both	Don't Know	Number of Interviews
Mexico	12%	49%	22%	15%	2%	544
Cuba	17	46	20	13	4	109
Puerto Rico	8	56	16	14	6	119
All other	10	52	18	18	2	258

Source: 1978 survey by The Gallup Organization for *Our Sunday Visitor*, a Catholic newspaper

Examples of graphics from the San Jose Mercury-News*; reprinted by permission.*



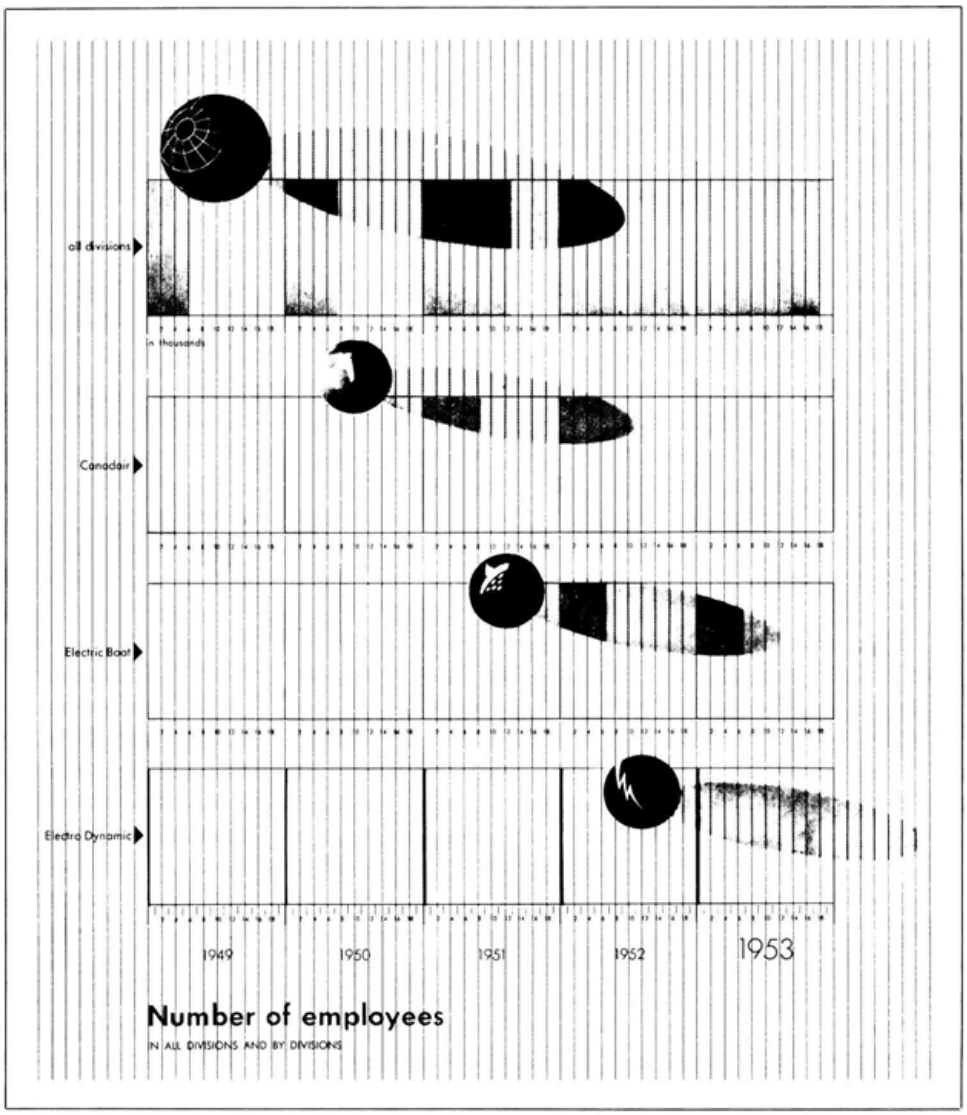
This page from the 1973 annual report of Colwell Company is a good example of new graphics used for stats by business long before newspapers picked up the idea.

"The danger always is, in these stories using statistics, it could be dull," says McGrath. "And that's also the challenge."

A new interest in graphics has accompanied the growing use of statistical material in stories. Maps and charts, only years ago considered dull, necessary evils by many layout editors, are becoming snazzier, more readable and, in many cases, invaluable to the explanation of complex stories. There are two sides to this. Sometimes, in the quest to wow readers, the graphics fail in their basic purpose: numbers are left undefined, bars and circles are in the wrong perspectives, and readers are misled.

Perhaps that is because the graphic representation of statistics in the press is at a turning point. The move to brighter maps and charts, pioneered by newsmagazines,

Even before newsmagazines got into statistical displays, corporate America was snazzing up graphics to communicate stats. This wonderful thing is from General Dynamics, the annual report of 1953.



is being made possible by both graphics editors who are willing to explore and the new technology that can help them. Plotting a complex graph once meant hours of labor; now with such technology as IBM machinery used by *The New York Times*, the plotting is a cinch. "It's a whole new field for the graphic artist," says Ron Couture, managing art director for the *Times*. "The machinery is a tool, not a replacement."

Couture stresses that the graphic material also is a tool, not a replacement for good writing. "We think the graph or the chart should be an extra added attraction, so to speak, to give the reader a little reference point or to draw people into the story. Some editors feel that if you have a chart, you don't have to have numbers in a story. We don't. We feel they should live together peacefully on the page."

It is likely that they live together in the *Times* more than in any other newspaper. Couture is overseer of a graphics bureaucracy that produces material for 22 sections a week; in addition to the regular graphics work needed to produce a newspaper, that includes roughly 30 maps and 50 charts every seven days. In order to make all this work, Couture's division employs 60 people, including nine who do nothing but maps and charts.

That department, managed by Andrew Sabbatini, is the one most involved in stories using statistics as their basis. Sabbatini, a 40-year veteran *Times*man, easily explains the difference between earlier years, when he only occasionally drew small, one-column maps, and now, when he oversees newfangled 3-D charts. "There is," he notes, "an expanded sense of news."

And Roger Fidler, corporate design consultant for Knight-Ridder newspapers, says, "The use of statistics in stories and in graphics all revolves around trying to communicate effectively. We've become much more aware of being a visual medium as well as a word medium. We are initiating efforts to find new ways to hold readers." □

The Latin American Press in Recent Times

DANIEL SAMPER

The past — and the future — of the press in Latin America is full of contradictions.

Daniel Samper, Nieman Fellow '81, is a columnist with El Tiempo *in Bogota, Colombia.*

The history of the Latin American press is a record of the struggle between the media and the military. Political colors aside, all military regimes — and there have been quite a few — have tried to put their leather gloves on the press. Most of them have done so in the name of capitalism: in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Others have used the name of socialism: in Cuba and, recently, in Nicaragua. And still others in the name of a very special brand of liberalism: for example, former President Figuereido of Brazil, who defended the *apertura* (opening) of his regime by warning that he would crush anyone who was against the democratization process.

Of course, the absence of a general in the Presidential Palace doesn't mean that freedom of the press is complete. In Latin America, freedom of the press has to be protected not only against the military, but also against civilian governments that try to prevent certain information from being released; against private enterprises that try to influence the media through fat advertising budgets; and even against press barons who put their newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and television programs at the service of political parties or *caudillos*.

The presence of forces opposed to the people's right to be well-informed covers a wide spectrum of interference. They go from the closing of printing plants to the manipulation of licenses to import newsprint and the withdrawal of official advertising to small magazines with a precarious economic life.

The main area of press suppression in Latin America during recent years has been the so-called Southern Cone: that is, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, even Bolivia. All these countries are ruled by military dictatorships. The degree of control varies from country to country, but not dramatically. In general terms, all leftist press organs are banned, political information is carefully restricted; and news items about labor or social

movements have to be handled as if they were TNT — which they are in these countries. Economic information, even though it may be unfavorable to the government, is allowed in a more or less free way.

Perhaps the most unstable press has been the Argentine one. It has gone from complete freedom to brutal suppression, reflecting the drastic changes that the political system of the country itself has suffered. The case of Jacobo Timerman, the editor of *La Opinion* who was tortured and harassed by the government, is well-known but by no means unique; many Argentine journalists are among the lists of people killed or disappeared.

In Chile, when the junta presided over by Augusto Pinochet overthrew Salvador Allende in 1973, freedom of the Chilean press fell to zero. According to Robert N. Pierce, an American scholar who wrote a book about media and government in Latin America, the coup in Chile brought "the most decisively effective restriction of media in Latin American history." After this experience, the junta has gradually relaxed the control of the press: There are now several magazines that, from time to time, give voice to moderate critics of the government. Perhaps it is due to the incalculable economic crisis that has emerged in Chile and that has spread the seeds of financial difficulties and bankruptcy to local industry.

Brazil has a history of media suppression that goes back to 1964, when the military seized power. For a time the suspension of newspapers was a frequent plate in the menu. However, with the passing of years, governmental censorship has been replaced by self-censorship. Some outlets that were chased week after week, like the satiric *Pasquim*, are enjoying more freedom than before. This doesn't mean that everything is sweet and beautiful in the Brazilian press. Topics related to the military are still extremely touchy. In mid-1981 *Jornal do Brazil* published a confidential memo from the Army command to the military police revealing the participation of two agents in a terrorist act. This disclosure raised enraged voices from the Army charging *Jornal do Brazil* of being "infiltrated by elements of the left."

The situation is different in the northern part of South America. Civilians came back to power in Peru, bringing to an end the adventurous press reforms that were started more than ten years ago by the military. Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela maintain democratic systems that, although far from perfect, manage to allow a notable degree of press freedom. The printed media are freer than radio, and radio is freer than television, so it is possible to find different voices expressed in these countries, as well as in Costa Rica and, to a certain degree, in Panama. It is true that South American democracies have more democracy than freedom, but at least press control there has to take zig-zagging roads instead of following the brutal suppression that is practiced by the Southern Cone dictatorships.

Meanwhile, Mexico is a peculiar case. There is no official censorship of the press in Mexico. But with the one-party Mexican democracy, there are ways to control information without the nasty presence of black-dressed, dandruff-spotted censors. To begin with, there is an unwritten code, known by all journalists, stating how high you are allowed to shoot when you criticize the government. "You never attack the President and can only do so very softly with generals," explains Carlos Monsivais, a famous Mexican writer and columnist.

Cuba has done a very important job in promoting Latin American literary values through massive, inexpensive book printings.

If you attack the President, one of the things that can happen is that the President decides to oust you from your paper, a measure that is taken by sophisticated means. In 1976, when President Luis Echeverria decided that *Excelsior*, the leading Mexican daily, had crossed the line, he manipulated the cooperative that owned the paper and, within a matter of months, the paper had changed hands, its well-respected editor and his team were out, and the newspaper changed its policies when it came to evaluating Echeverria's performance.

Being a Communist country, Cuba has only an official press. This doesn't mean that other voices aren't heard in the island, since it is possible to tune radio sets to programs broadcast from Miami in Spanish. But the Cuban print press not only is not free, it also shows a tremendous lack of imagination — one that worries even Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It is dull, badly written, disarmingly propagandistic. Cuba has done a very important job in promoting Latin American literary values through massive, inexpensive book printings edited by *Casa de las Americas*. However, the performance of its press and its news agency, Prensa Latina, is incredibly poor.

Last year's hottest point concerning freedom of the press in Latin America was the case of *La Prensa*, in Nicaragua. After helping to defeat Anastasio Somoza and paying a high price in the struggle — its owner was assassinated — the publishers of *La Prensa* supported the new democratic government. Pedro Chamorro's widow was even a member of the junta that replaced Somoza. Later on, *La Prensa* expressed some criticism against the government. The official response was the suspension of *La Prensa*, a symbolic blow to the pluralistic society that is being built in Nicaragua.

From *La Prensa* in Nicaragua to *La Opinion* in Argentina, the Latin American press sometimes becomes one more contradiction in a contradictory continent. □

Reagan Economic Policy: Another Confession

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

Supply-siders and monetarists square off in the Washington arena.

In the modern Washington fashion, I begin with a confession: I never thought Reagan economics would work. In thus following the example of the now distinguished Director of the Office of Management and Budget, I am naturally impressed by the way he has risen in public esteem in these last weeks. Previously he was thought to be fooling both himself and the press. That, we now know, was only half right.

But my own doubts about the Reagan economic program began when I saw that, like other unfortunates before him, Mr. Reagan was bringing his economists to town. Harry Truman, you will recall, yearned for a one-armed economist who could not say, "On the other hand, Mr. President." Mr. Reagan avoided that problem; his economists are not given to balanced judgments. But he has brought not one but two schools — or shoals — to the city. That was a cause for real pessimism.

There was, first, the supply-side school. A few days ago the *American Heritage Dictionary*, which is not related to the American Heritage Foundation, and to which I am an adviser, wrote me to get a definition of "supply-side economics." I told them not to bother; by the time the new edition came out, no one would want to know.

Mr. Stockman has said that supply-side economics was merely a cover for the trickle-down approach to economic policy — what an older and less elegant generation called the horse-and-sparrow theory: If you feed the horse enough oats, some will pass through to the road for the sparrows. Others have referred to it as the Willy Sutton syndrome. Republicans, like the late Mr. Sutton, always go where the money is.

But one should avoid metaphors, especially those involving horses. Let us take supply-side theory at face value, however modest that may be. It holds that the work habits of the American people, journalists possibly excepted, are tied irrevocably to their income, though in a curiously perverse way. The poor do not work because they have too much income; the rich do not work because they do not have enough income. You expand and revitalize the economy by giving the poor less, the rich more. If you believe that, you will, in a recurrent tendency of your profession, believe anything.

Specifically, the supply-side theory requires you to believe that businessmen and business executives, because of their tax bracket, are now idling away their time — in the forthright language of my Canadian youth, buggering off. Tax reduction will put them back to work. And they will save and invest the income so released — even in Dallas and Palm Springs. I have a far better view of the American businessman; I judge him to be working very hard now, and I believe him to be decently ensconced in the American dream. Given more money, he will spend and enjoy it; he will not put it away in an office safe and forget it.

Such is one school that Mr. Reagan brought to town. With them came the monetarists. Inflation, we all agree, is the most persistent disorder of the modern economy. The monetarists seek to control inflation by a rigorous control of the money supply. There is no magic or mystery here, as journalists are frequently told and some believe. You control the money supply by a strict control of bank lending, primarily through high interest rates.

Unlike some of my liberal colleagues, I believe that monetary policy will work against inflation, in its own grim fashion is working now. It is only that in a world of large

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John Kenneth Galbraith, Paul M. Warburg Professor of Economics Emeritus at Harvard University, made the above remarks before a gathering of Washington journalists, December 5, 1981.

corporations, strong unions, OPEC, and politically well-wired farm organizations, the restraint on lending must be very stiff, the required level of interest rates very high. The restraint must be great enough, the rates high enough, to force heavy losses on all credit-based or strongly unionized industry; on General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and International Harvester; on the airlines; on the house builders; on small business generally; on the afternoon press; and on the several million citizens and noncitizens who lose their jobs. It is this hardship which forces the stabilization of prices and brings the requisite pressure on unions so that wage claims are reduced. Monetary policy works against inflation only as it produces a painful recession.

It helps a little that quite a few people attribute the recession so-caused to natural cyclical factors. It is said that the economy, in its autonomous and innocent way, *has moved* into recession, not that it *has been moved* into a recession by monetarist policies. This is one of those small changes in the print that can produce a large change in meaning. In his recently published letters, James Thurber muses on what the simple deletion of an "s" can accomplish. It turns "God helps those that help themselves," the slogan of the present administration, into "God help those that help themselves," a slogan for which there is some apparent need.

I return to the two schools. The supply-siders seek to expand the economy; the monetarists succeed by contracting it. One school swims upstream with Professor Milton Friedman; the other swims downstream with Professor Arthur Laffer. One cuts taxes to stimulate investment; the other uses murderous levels of interest rates to squelch investment. That you cannot combine economic expansion with economic contraction deserves a place in the small archive of impeccable economic truth.

At the moment the monetarists are having the best of it. And this is leading on to a brand-new doctrine. It is surely one of the curiosities of our time that we have this commitment to untried theory by an avowedly conservative administration. The new doctrine is one to which Murray Weidenbaum, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, along with the President and other members of the administration, has regressed. It is the peristalsis theory of economic policy. It has been much in the news in recent weeks.

The peristalsis theory holds, by analogy to medicine and physiology, that the recession remedy we are now suffering is very bitter medicine indeed. And the effects and side-effects will get worse. But in consequence of the suffering, inflation will be extruded — eliminated — from the system. Inflation as a disease is a one-time thing — get it out of the system and it is gone forever. By next summer the economy will be expanding; prices will be stable; Republicans up for reelection will rejoice. It is nonsense. Once the recession is over, if nothing else is done, we can count on inflation to resume. If analogy there must be, it should be to an organic condition, not — I intend no pun — to a passing ailment.

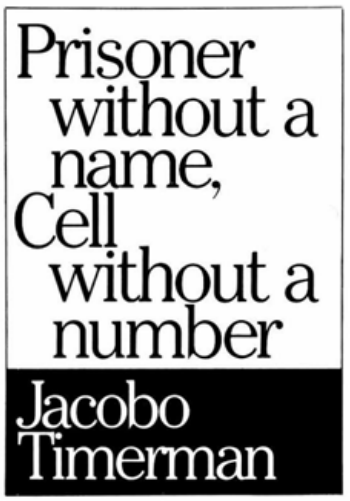
> One should avoid metaphors, especially those involving horses.

You will ask what we should do. Let us cease to think of economic policy in terms of liberalism or conservatism and retreat to common sense. It is better to pay taxes than to suppress investment with high interest rates. It is better to have a balanced budget than a big deficit that must be financed at those high interest rates with further adverse effect on investment. For as long as inflation persists or threatens, all sensible liberals should be fiscal conservatives. And conservatives even more so.

Let us also be very cautious about cutting support for the urban poor; social tranquility in our cities is good for both Democrats and Republicans and for New York mayors who are both. Let us have direct restraint on incomes and prices in the highly organized sector of the economy. A prices and incomes policy is better than unemployment and idle plant capacity and the business failures that are now being used to control inflation. The present policy of deliberate punishment for the automakers, car dealers, small business, the housing industry, and the so-called thrifts is a remarkable manifestation of conservatism. No one can say that Republicans do not bite their own.

Let us stop supposing, as now, that the Pentagon is the only bureaucracy incapable of waste and incompetence. Here again Stockman was right. Let us accept that the arms race drains capital and accomplished manpower from our aging and needful civilian industry. More urgently it threatens life itself; thus the powerful case for arms control. Not even the most passionate ideologue will be able to tell the ashes of capitalism from those of Communism, for, among other reasons, he too will be dead. □

The Complexities of Jacobo Timerman



KENNETH FREED

Some different perspectives on a controversial figure.

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina and Jacobo Timerman: they are like parts of a word-association test. Mention one and the other automatically comes to mind.

What they conjure up as well are charges of torture, anti-Semitism, corruption, and shady connections with bloody terrorism. Increasingly lost in the bitter exchanges between the Jewish journalist and his enemies in Argentina and elsewhere is a sense of perspective. What follows is an attempt to restore that perspective, or at least to separate reality from fantasy.

The latest flap centers on the Columbia University School of Journalism's decision to give the Maria Moors Cabot Prize for promoting inter-American understanding to Timerman for his book *Prisoner Without A Name, Cell Without A Number.*

The slim volume, which recounts Timerman's torture and degradation at the hands of Argentina's military rulers in 1977 and 1978, and charges the country's Jewish leaders with craven cowardice in the face of widespread anti-Semitism, was loudly condemned here. But the Moors Cabot Prize was greeted with an even angrier reaction, particularly from Timerman's former colleagues in the press.

The outrage included the denunciation of the prize by every past Argentine winner. *La Prensa*, a paper closed by the dictatorial President Juan Domingo Peron and holder of an international reputation for independence, stripped its four Moors Cabot plaques from its walls. A leading magazine's story about the award was headlined, "Moors Cabot Was an Insult."

The gist of the press reaction centered on various and sometimes contradictory charges: Timerman was a shady businessman; he was subversive; he supported terrorism; he was connected to a crooked businessman who bankrolled terrorists; he was in bed with the military; he opposed democracy.

As the Al Smith cliché goes, Let's look at the record.

First for the book. There is no serious question about the accuracy of *Prisoner Without A Name*...; Timerman's detailed account fits in with the documented methods used against others, and even government officials acknowledge privately that he was subjected to barbaric treatment.

On his other charges. Yes, Argentina is an anti-Semitic country, although not in the official, systematic way of Nazi Germany. But anti-Semitism exists and it is pervasive through distrust, fear, and hate.

It is evident in the discrimination practiced in the military, in the foreign service, and in government ministries.

It is evident in the discrimination within the large and influential banking and industrial establishment, and within Argentina's uniquely powerful social institutions.

It exists in the failure of the police in a police state to arrest even one suspect for the hundreds of attacks and threats against Jewish schools, synagogues and other institutions.

And it exists in the reaction of the Jewish community itself: nearly every Jewish leader pleads against publicizing charges of anti-Semitism for fear of making an already precarious situation worse.

Nearly every Jew I know with any money has opened a foreign bank account to finance an escape when — not if — things get worse.

Zionism is widely considered "a Marxist variant" (in the words of the general who led Timerman's interrogation) and a sign that Jews are not loyal Argentines. As a result, there are no large, public fund-raising drives for

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Israel, not even in the synagogues during the Jewish High Holy Days.

What about Timerman? To his critics, he is a sly, slimy manipulator, a totally unprincipled journalist who worked every side of the street; a supporter of Peronism one day, the generals who overthrew Peron the next. A man who screamed for the overthrow of two constitutionally elected presidents and then preached the need for democracy.

Even antigovernment human rights advocates are wary. "Timerman is the wrong man with the right message," said one who asked not to be identified.

According to those who knew and worked with him, Timerman was first of all a businessman, and a successful one. He made money. He was flamboyant and he flaunted his wealth. He enjoyed hobnobbing with those in power, including the generals who plotted against constitutional governments. And it is a matter of record that he supported coups.

But being a successful businessman, even in journalism, is no sin in Argentina. But what might have been a sin was Timerman's failure to be a part of the old, established circles of oligarchs who dominate the media here. He entered the field with splashy magazines and newspapers that immediately threatened the competition. He attracted many of the best editors and writers by paying high wages, and he remained independent of the big names in the trade.

For a man who now cries out for Argentina's lost democracy and criticizes Israel for alleged antidemocratic tendencies, Timerman's record is suspect.

In 1965, he viciously attacked the elected government of moderate President Arturo Illia and welcomed the troops who overthrew him.

But he was not alone. Most other newspapers and many other civilian elements supported, even demanded, the coup because of the Illia government's unpopular economic policies.

Timerman supported the 1976 coup against the constitutional government of Peron's widow, Maria Estela Peron, although he originally backed the elections that brought the Peronists to power.

Again, he was far from alone, particularly among his fellow journalists, many of whom constantly decried the ability of elected officials to handle the nation's affairs.

To understand the Timerman business, it is instructive to look at the records of the important newspapers here. Nearly all are conservative and often opposed to full democracy — at least if it means allowing Peronism to regain office. Even *La Prensa* accepted coups and to this day does not protest the exclusion of Peronists if and when elections are allowed.

Nearly every paper practices self-censorship and remains more than cautious in questioning the human rights violations of the military, which include the death and disappearance of perhaps 15,000 people.

And no major paper, including *La Prensa*, has condemned either the seizure of Timerman's *La Opinion* by the military or its sale without compensation. Likewise, Timerman's arrest and torture went without protest by his colleagues, who have continued to charge him with unproved crimes.

Being a successful businessman, even in journalism, is no sin in Argentina.

This brings us to the alleged reasons for Timerman's arrest in 1977 and the charges that he supported terrorism and was himself subversive — charges that were renewed in protesting the Moors Cabot Prize.

There are two parts to the accusation. First, that Timerman, through *La Opinion*, approved of and promoted leftist terrorists, based in part on his publication of the names of people who disappeared at the hands of government agents.

Second is the charge that *La Opinion* was secretly financed by David Graiver, a Jewish industrialist accused of laundering money that terrorists had acquired through robbery and extortion.

In spite of the charges and in spite of every government effort, not even a military court was able to prove any of the accusations.

In 1978, the Argentine Supreme Court reviewed Timerman's case and found no basis for the charges. Although he was ordered released, he was held anyway until September 24, 1979, when he was stripped of his citizenship and his property and exiled to Israel.

It is true that 45 percent of *La Opinion* was secretly owned by Graiver, a fact that Timerman admitted while under arrest. His critics still say this is incriminating because the industrialist, who supposedly died in a mysterious plane crash in Mexico, allegedly laundered at least $17 million on behalf of terrorists.

But the charges against Graiver were never proved, although his machinations led to the collapse of bank holdings in the United States and Europe and the conviction in Argentina of several of his family and associates for what is called here financial subversion.

To this day, no evidence has surfaced that Timerman was connected to Graiver's financial manipulations. Still, two former winners of the Moors Cabot Prize were quoted in *La Prensa* as terming Timerman a "comfortable and wealthy arm of the guerrillas."

All of the above is fact. What is speculation is why Timerman remains an open sore in Argentina. Mario de Carill, a writer for the small English-language *Buenos Aires Herald*, has a theory as good as any: "Timerman was a success before his ordeal, and, worse, he is a huge success after; he will make money, the thinking goes, because he is a Jew. All this is not easily forgotten." □

The Indecision-Makers: Problem for the Pollsters

GERALD STONE

Presidential election polls could be improved by measuring the "undecideds."

The early evening of the 1980 Carter vs. Reagan presidential election left a betting person with much to be desired.

I customarily place a few nominal bets with my brother the day of the presidential election — an on-going test of national political insight between the world of journalists and the entire legal profession, represented in micro scale by the two of us. This year's contest found me more uncertain than I had been during the last several such contests.

Not that I always win, mind you. In 1975 I got cocky. I knew Carter was going to take it, but the polls were predicting a real squeaker and I figured Carter would do better when the early reports of voter turnout that election day indicated there was a record turnout. (Since there are more registered Democrats than Republicans, a big turnout is good news for the Democrats.) So I foolishly spotted my brother three full percentage points in the popular vote and made a side bet with him that Carter would sweep thirty states.

Carter won, but the victory was less than three percentage points and Ford took more states than Carter. I lost both bets.

Perhaps the largest journalistic election coverage problem of that day was, as Jay Rosenstein wrote in *Columbia Journalism Review* (January-February 1977), "What Became of that Heavy Vote?"

The trades ruled later that precinct workers always perceive the presidential turnout as "record" heavy, when in fact it's just heavier than turnout for lesser elections. The turnout in 1976, according to *Newsweek* (November 15, 1976) was 55% of registered voters, compared with 55.6% in 1972 and 60.6% in 1968.

It was pretty simple, I thought: In the future I would remember this foible about precinct workers and not be duped by the media again on election day.

But on election eve 1980 I was faced with a different dilemma. It was not who would win. I thought Carter was out, because of the bungled Iran hostage rescue attempt, and "Billygate" only confirmed my suspicions. I watched the polls, read the campaign rhetoric and heard the Carter vs. Reagan debate. All indicators supported my gut feeling Reagan would be the next president. The problem was, my brother had also determined it would be a Reagan victory. The only way to redeem myself on the four-year-old score was to accurately guess by how much.

Herein lay the difficulty. The polls showed Reagan ahead, but neither candidate had anywhere near a majority. *Newsweek*'s November 15, 1980 recap said Gallup put Reagan at 44%, Carter at 43%, and Anderson at 7%. Other national pollsters gave similar figures: the last ABC News-Harris Survey showed Reagan by 5 points; NBC News-Associated Press Poll put Reagan ahead by 6. But nobody was going to call the race in advance with those statistics.

The best any pundit would do for me was to say the race was going to be narrow — probably more so than in 1976. There were just too many still in the "undecided" category to make an accurate projection on the available measurements. I could go either way, and by an inch or a mile.

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Republican Convention, 1980

Anestis Diakopoulos, *Providence Journal-Bulletin*

During the day of November 4, I heard the same "heavy turnout" predictions I had heard in 1976, and following my earlier lesson, I discounted much of this hoopla. So when it was time later that afternoon to risk chattel, my strategy was success on all fronts with a razor-thin Reagan victory. I bet Reagan would win by less than 2 percentage points of the popular vote, and I placed several side bets on individual "toss-up" states and combinations of toss-ups, predicting Carter would take most of the traditional Democratic strongholds in a close race.

We settled in for a marathon television evening of eager channel switching and were prepared to remain in the throes until 4 a.m. if necessary.

There are two times in recent memory when most adult Americans can recall exactly where they were at a momentous event: we can all remember being told of the John F. Kennedy assassination; and we all know how we spent the rest of the evening when Carter conceded the election at 8:30 p.m. Central time.

I lost every bet I placed in the 51%-to-41% Reagan romp. I have to live with another four years of "all lawyers are superior to all journalists on all topics pertaining to national politics," by a sibling who is so gratified by his win that he won't even stoop to a smug, "I told you so."

But forget personal embarrassment for a moment. Consider that the press and national pollsters took it on the chin as well that evening of November 4. So much so, in fact, that *Presstime* (December 1980), raised serious doubts that election forecasts will ever again receive the trust and coverage they got before this 1980 presidential contest. We may envision a host of crusty editors across the nation who, as Roper said in *Polling on the Issues*, never liked social science research in the first place — feeling just as smug as my brother does today.

The difference is that their "I told you so" may result in some radical changes in the dissemination of public opinion polling efforts. Some indication of editor's souring on the polls appeared in the APME Research Committee's special October 20, 1981, report, and much of their current feeling flows directly from the last presidential election botching.

In one respect, a curtailment of election forecasting might have the positive effect of reducing the "horserace" coverage of elections by the media. On the other hand, some progress in understanding public opinion during elections was just beginning to be made, and it would be a shame for that advance to be halted by the 1980 miscue.

More importantly, the serious threat of being off base

in a presidential election — a time, as Michael Wheeler explained in *Lies, Damn Lies, and Statistics*, when poll watchers realize no expense is spared in being accurate — is that editors may become even more leery about financing and publishing public opinion polls on significant national policy issues. The advances in precision journalism per se may have been dealt a staggering blow.

There isn't much that can be done to erase the impression editors got of polls in the 1980 faux pas, especially as Brian Vargus noted in the APME special report, "Centered beneath the 'Reagan wins' headlines of last November, many newspapers ran biting critiques of the inaccuracy of the national polls concerning the election."

Dave Zweifel in the APME report said most of the nation's prominent pollsters denied flubbing, but in analyzing what happened said, "The biggest factor — which the polls couldn't detect — was the last-minute making up of minds..."

I'm not placing blame; my chief concern is 1984, and I'm worried that too little is being done to prevent a future recurrence of the last disaster. Let's look at the thing closely and try to find out what went wrong and how to keep it from happening again. Obviously a better understanding of how the electorate makes voting decisions is needed, and the focus of that inquiry seems to be better measuring of the undecideds — those whose final choice has eluded detection. We can begin by trying to determine if the 1980 election was a fluke or part of a trend.

Mary Thornton in the ASNE *Bulletin* (October 1981) chronicles the election day:

All the major public surveys had called the race too close to call and predicted a very long night. There was even talk that with a contest so close, the House of Representatives might have to make the final choice.

But, as became obvious, the election wasn't close at all....

And although the American public was not privy to the information, it was obvious a full day before the election that Jimmy Carter would lose.

Time magazine detailed the events of the last few days before the election in its November 17, 1980, edition. Reagan came out of the summer party conventions with a lead which, though narrow, seemed to be holding into late October. Before the big debate of October 28 *Time* reported, "There were a few omens that Carter might be gaining ground.... In Illinois, a Chicago *Tribune* poll showed that Carter had taken a lead over Reagan (34% to 29% with Anderson at 12.5% and a vital 17.5% undecided)...a *New York Times*-CBS poll showed the President within 2% of Reagan."

After the debate, a Reagan poll showed him ahead of Carter 45% to 34%; CBS News and the Associated Press supported with nearly the same figures. But the CBS poll showed undecideds going 2-to-1 for Reagan after the debate while AP said the two candidates were splitting the undecideds evenly, and the undecideds, *Time* said, amounted to 13% of the electorate just before the debates.

In the final days between the debate and the election, *Time* said, Carter was losing steadily. "In weekend polls before the election, both Harris and Gallup recorded a Reagan edge — but not enough for either to predict that he would win the industrial states that were thought to be the election's key."

Patrick Caddell, the White House pollster, had measured a 41%-to-40% Reagan over Carter split before the debate. He waited 24 hours after the debate, until the dust had settled, before measuring again and found Carter down 4.5 points. On Saturday, Caddell found Carter and Reagan in a dead heat again, although Reagan's pollster said Reagan was ahead by 10 points.

Sunday brought news from Iran that a settlement of the hostage crisis might be in the works, but this apparently only reminded Americans of that international embarrassment. Caddell found Carter trailing by 5 points Sunday night and by Monday night Caddell reported Carter was down 10 points and falling. Reagan's pollster had reached the same conclusion Sunday night.

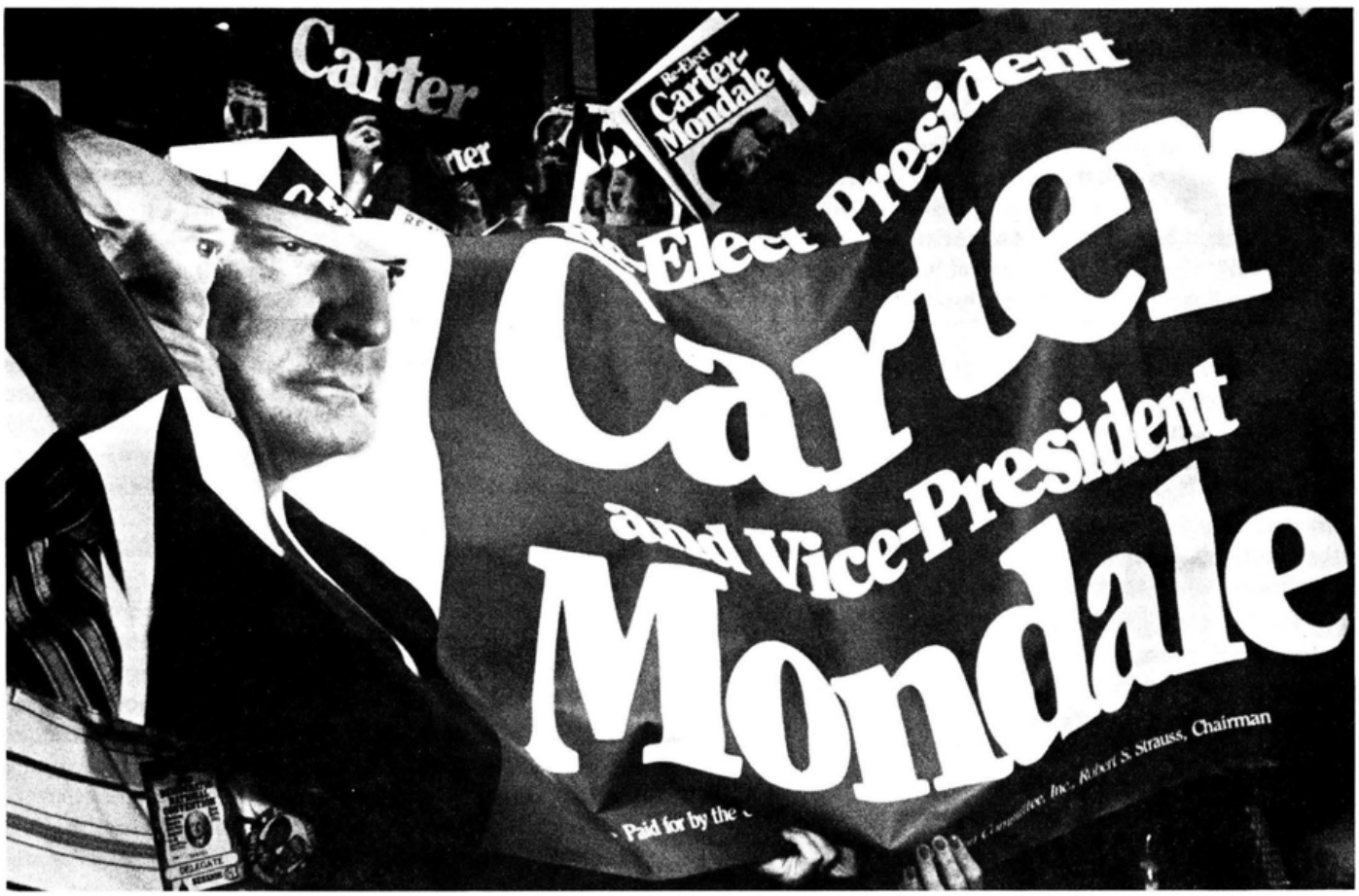
In all, then, the debate had an impact among undecideds, but, as Sidney Kraus has documented in the 1976 *Great Debates*, it was not a key factor. The trend of undecideds settling on a candidate did not really occur until the weekend before the election; they were going to Reagan in unmistakable droves.

Was this unusual?

In 1968, when Nixon defeated Humphrey, the latter had been picking up undecideds steadily between September and election day. The final tally was close enough for speculation that if the voting had been a week later, Humphrey might have won it. In 1972, *Time* said Nixon had an "invulnerable lead" at 56%, McGovern 30%, undecideds 14%, and Nixon swept it with a 23% victory. In 1976, 20% of the voters were undecided until the final week. *Newsweek*'s November 15 post-election article on how well the pollsters did had Gallup's last poll showing Ford over Carter 47%-to-46%; Harris had Carter over Ford 46%-to-45%; NBC had the candidates deadlocked at 41%; and Roper had Carter ahead by 4%. Apparently there was a late movement of undecideds to Carter in 1976.

These statistics from recent elections support recent writings by C. Anthony Broh (*Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1980), Jean M. Converse (*POQ*, 1977), W. De Vries and L. Tarrance in *The Ticket-Splitter* and Joe Francis and Lawrence Busch (*POQ*, 1975). Recent elections show the undecideds are usually the deciding factor and that a lot of movement can take place in the final few days of the presidential election.

So the 1980 polling problem is not new; it should be



Democratic Convention, 1980

David Woo, *The Dallas Morning News*

anticipated for every election, and might be the cause of an upset in a two-candidate race even when one of the contenders is well ahead before the voting takes place.

The implication is that if undecideds are such a consistent problem, more should be done to overcome it or at least minimize it as much as possible. A number of approaches exist which should be emphasized lest the national pollsters forget there are people out here with just as much pride on the line as the pollsters themselves. A new wrinkle in methodology might be tried next time.

Perhaps the easiest approach to measuring the undecideds is in better questionnaire design. Instead of merely asking which of the candidates respondents will vote for, such questions must be followed with items that tap voters' leanings more accurately than is being done now.

Most national pollsters do attempt to zero in on the probability of actually voting and often report separate findings for registered voters versus likely voters. But it is apparent not enough is being done to focus on this critical group of undecideds. The New York research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc. unveiled a new technique reported in the June 13, 1981, edition of *Editor & Publisher*. As its "professional response to the problems of measuring the volatility of public opinion," the firm instituted a "mushiness index" or questions designed to tap "the likelihood that an opinion will change over time with no intervening change in events related to the issue." This is fine, but the pollsters might go farther.

We may hypothesize that an undecided voter may not actually be totally uncommitted in the final weeks of a national election. For instance, some decision may have been made about which candidate the respondent is definitely *not* voting for. If asked, "At this point, who are you leaning toward?" the response may be "No one." But if asked, "Have you definitely decided not to vote for one of the candidates?" part of the decision may be elicited. The suggestion is that more innovative questions may yield some useful results in measuring undecideds.

A "thermometer" type question might be effective, such as, "If you could describe your present feelings about the candidates in terms of percentages, what percent of your feelings currently go with candidate A?"

It might also be possible to tap undecideds by focusing on a single major issue of the race, if there is such an issue. Pollsters might ask, "Although you may not vote for this person, which of the candidates do you think would do the best job in solving the nation's economic problems?"

Finally, there may be a standard question which would work in every presidential election — a question that has not yet been found. As pollsters used to compare potential presidential candidates against a standardized public father figure, such as Walter Cronkite, there may be a key phrase through which the pollster can discern undecideds' later choice. Perhaps, "Which of the candidates do you believe would best represent America to other peoples of the world?" It is not inconceivable this question, or a similar one, would tap the true leanings of an undecided voter.

My recommendation here is that some new questions or sets of questions be tested until a workable way of better measuring the undecided vote is developed. The time and expense of doing so is not prohibitive, and there is no risk of public error before a proven solution is reached. Testing for a usable measurement tactic avoids the error of pushing the respondent into commitment for a candidate, when there really is no such conviction.

Evident from past presidential elections is the fact that a better job must be done in timing polls. It is common knowledge in the research world that a survey is only a measurement of public opinion at a static point in time: when the field work was being done.

If a major event in the final election hours alters opinion after it's been measured by the last round of national opinion sampling, there is every reason to believe the polls will be wrong. Such a major event would be unusual, but, from the past statistics on presidential elections, it appears that a substantial tilt in the figures will always occur as the undecideds who intend to vote make their choice.

The lesson should have been learned in 1948 when Truman triumphed over Dewey and embarrassed most of the national pollsters who had timed their final survey for more than ten days before the election. We may assume that few voters who had already made up their mind switched in the final days because there were no major disruptive events. Instead it is probable that the undecideds were the factor in that election and they did not begin splitting heavily for Truman until those final days of the campaign. We should remember also that the pace of life — and communication in particular — was slower in 1948. It is reasonable to believe undecideds can comfortably put off their decisions even longer in the 1980's. Today it is probably just as foolhardy to time the final poll at four days before the election as it was to aim at ten-plus days in 1948.

One recommendation is that pollsters aim their final survey for the Saturday night prior to the Tuesday presidential election. If limited to only the few "horse-race" questions necessary to make a final prediction, results of the last survey may be disseminated for the late Sunday evening broadcasts and in time for the morning papers Monday. A more complete explanation of the final poll and the trend it caps could be the lead story during the day Monday.

Since the suggestion here is to measure better the late choices of former undecideds, survey strategy should lean more towards panel designs rather than single-shot random samples.

A massive panel could be randomly selected in early September with the intent to survey it twice in September and again every weekend between October 1 and the election, including the Saturday night before the election. Panel designs with as many as seven intended measurements present some problems of their own, but the sampling techniques of national pollsters are sophisticated enough to avoid pitfalls by alternating calls between subsamples and clever use of control groups.

The panel design has the distinct advantage of most accurately revealing trends in voter choices. It is surely the preferred method to detect the late decision-making of undecideds.

Vargus, who directed the Indiana University-Purdue University poll which predicted a landslide victory in Indiana for Reagan and an overwhelming defeat for Indiana's Senator Birch Bayh when all other polls said both races were too close to call, discussed his techniques in the APME October 1981 report. He used a panel of registered voters and "followed them as a panel over a 10-week period with three interviews... We progressively forced choices on respondents over a three-wave panel and found a significant and durable 'don't know' group that turned out to be largely non-voters."

It worked for Vargus in 1980 and it can work again. Using the logic of a panel, it is certainly possible to establish a random sample of undecided voters early in September and make this the group that is to be called on alternate weeks until the election. A total of 1,500 undecideds might be queried in a number of different ways to track their decision-making process accurately throughout the election. In a normal random sample of voters, the undecideds will be too small to further subdivide into groups from which meaningful data can be gathered, but an entire random sample of undecideds may add quite a new dimension of understanding for future elections.

A final component in improving the measurement of undecided voters is a search for better methods of parceling them into candidate camps they might finally choose. Thornton's October 1981 ASNE *Bulletin* article was a reflection on techniques pollsters used during the 1980 election, and it included screening and weighting procedures for probability of voting. My suggestions here would affect the way pundits deal with respondents who will probably vote, but haven't yet decided for whom.

The safest procedure, of course, is simply to leave such voters as undecideds and add the sampling margin of error to the total percentage of undecideds: if the margin of error is +3.2 and 7% of potential voters are undecided,

the possible voting tilt in the undecided camp is 10.2%. This assumes that those who have decided on a candidate don't change their mind. If all 10.2% went to a single candidate, the tilt is large enough to decide most presidential elections, and certainly large enough to leave most such elections too close to call.

Another method of parceling undecideds is to accept the pure mathematical assumption that a person faced with a dichotomous choice has a 50-50 chance of settling on either candidate. Following this logic, the undecideds are split equally between two candidates (or among three or more candidates), and that percentage is added to the totals already committed to each: Reagan's 44% becomes 47.5% and Carter's 43% becomes 46.5% when parceling the 7% undecided between the two from the Gallup-generated *Newsweek* poll of 1980. This method doesn't help much in a close election, but if the parcelled undecideds create a gap wider than the margin of error, the pollster could make a clear prediction.

The 50-50 parceling of undecideds is a kind of mathematical lunacy no right-thinking prognosticator would practice. One hopes that the selection of a president is not a random decision for those who vote under the worst of circumstances. The patterns of past elections — including 1980 — show that undecideds do not split 50-50.

Perhaps a better parceling scheme is to proportion the undecideds with an assumption that if those voters who have made a decision are split into fixed percentages, that the undecideds are likely to split the same way (perhaps for the same reasons) when they have reached their decision.

A 45%-to-40% split between the two leading candidates, with 10% of the voters undecided, would be proportioned thus: 85% of the voters have decided, so this becomes 100% of the decided voters. Since 45% is 53% of 85%, the 10% of undecideds is divided with 5.3 percentage points added to the decided vote for candidate A, and 4.7 percentage points to candidate B. The prediction, then, is 50.3%-to-44.7%, or enough separation to call the vote for candidate A in most margin of error situations.

Although the calculation here is really pretty straightforward, and makes better intuitive sense than the random 50-50 split of undecideds, past voting records show that the proportioning of undecideds is still a worthless gamble.

According to these records, at some point as the campaign nears election day, the undecideds begin to make their decision. They may split evenly between two candidates or the majority of them may choose one candidate. In instances where one candidate is the beneficiary of a large share of the undecideds — and there is enough time prior to the election — that candidate will likely be the winner. The trick is to be in the field surveying when such a pattern occurs.

Going back to the 1968 election, we find the majority of undecideds turning to Humphrey, and doing so early enough to be detected by the polls. However, Nixon's lead was too great for the time that remained, and the ultimate potential turnaround never happened. In 1976, sometime during the final week, the 20% of undecideds split with a thin majority for Carter, putting him past Ford by less than three percentage points. And in 1980, there were obviously a few changes among decideds and the undecideds went for Reagan in the last 48 hours of the campaign. Is there a pattern here that might offer a clue in future parceling?

If there is a clue, it may be that some formula for parceling undecideds can be found. The figures seem to be indicating:

1) When undecideds begin to make their selection relatively early in the campaign — say in early October — the pattern is a steadily growing or perhaps accelerating choice for one candidate. But in such early decision cases, the percentages the gaining candidate will earn will be small and will mount slowly.

2) When undecideds begin to make their selection relatively late in the campaign — say in the last two weeks — the pattern will be somewhat more fast-paced with the gaining candidate likely to capture the majority of undecideds, but no more than 60% or 65% of them.

3) When undecideds wait until the closing moments of the campaign — say the last few days — the pattern will be a very swift change with the gaining candidate likely to capture as much as 85% of the undecided vote, or a combination of undecideds and switch voters equivalent to 85% of the last tallied undecided vote.

That, of course, is only a theory, and one that assumes no major event has occurred to upset decided voter trends before the election. But such a formula may exist and may explain the outcome of many previous presidential elections. No pollster should assume the theory is valid without substantial analysis of what has happened among undecideds in both presidential elections and other similar political campaigns, but if a formula of this type does exist, it would provide the best method of parceling undecideds in major elections.

Although the primary beneficiaries of better election forecasting might be the harried bettors of the nation, a case can also be made that affects public opinion measurement generally. Erroneous presidential predictions are damaging the confidence in precision journalism that has been gained so painstakingly during the past decade.

Those who have a stake in national polling — both in elections and the more meaningful between-election measurement of opinion on critical public policy issues — must make every effort to improve their art at the four-year showcase. Editors who were so badly burned in 1980 are counting on it, and there are a few of us out here with grinning siblings who need some help, too. □

Skeptic with Scruples

ANTHONY LEWIS

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Jan. 24 — When President Reagan spoke last week of his "determination to have an open Administration" — as his people frantically tried to close everything down — I thought of a man whose life has been a challenge to such official pieties. He is Louis M. Lyons, who made the Nieman Foundation at Harvard a force for understanding and seriousness in American journalism.

Twenty-four years ago, before the dubious phrase "investigative reporting" was born, Louis Lyons was calling on the press to forsake glamour for digging.

"As the role of modern Government inescapably grows greater," he said, "its functions more complicated, the penetration of these forests of our public affairs becomes an increasing challenge to the talent, energy and manpower of the press....

"Three hundred correspondents [appear] at a President's press conference where only a dozen can ask a question. Such spectacles and the pageants of great hearings mobilize the press in incredible duplication of services. But only a handful of hardy reporters take up the lonely search of the less publicized, more impenetrable corners of the public domain. Their tribe must be increased."

Quoting a speech does not really convey the essence of Louis Lyons. His influence has been largely personal, and it is hard for those of us who felt it to explain exactly how it worked. But the point is more than parochial. For as Jack Nelson of *The Los Angeles Times* put it, "More than any single person, Louis Lyons has left his mark on American journalism as practiced by leading reporters, writers and editors."

His students were the dozen or so Americans and a number from around the world who were Nieman Fellows at Harvard each year. He presided over them from 1939 to 1964, and among that many journalists there was a lot of ego. But most of them learned something that is still visible in them, in Pretoria or Washington.

It is a matter of character as much as of professionalism, I think. Louis is a shy man, but there is an uncompromising quality in his soft New England voice. It is impossible to imagine him saying something that he thinks may be untrue — or unfair. In an age of image-making and exploitation, he stands for old-fashioned decency.

His character enabled him to see, long ago, what some in the business have still not grasped: that the press, while militant in the performance of its role, must be sensitive to the rights of others. To act as if the interest of journalism must always come first is to threaten public confidence in the profession.

"A bold press is called for," he said in 1958, "to prevent, by vigilant reporting, the overriding of individual rights by demagogic politicians.... But a decently restrained press is needed in dealing with the private lives of individuals. Particularly is this true when exploitation of their situation threatens the rights of individuals to a fair trial."

Louis Lyons is 84 now, and retired. But his principles are as relevant as ever. What is happening in the press and Government today bears out his life-long view of what a journalist should be: a skeptic with scruples.

Over recent years the American press has indulged occasionally in what looked to the public like gratification of its own power. There was a sense of hubris, self-destroying pride. There was insufficient sensitivity to other rights, valued by ordinary people: not only fair trial but reputation and privacy. And the public, not surprisingly, has come to believe that the press has too much power.

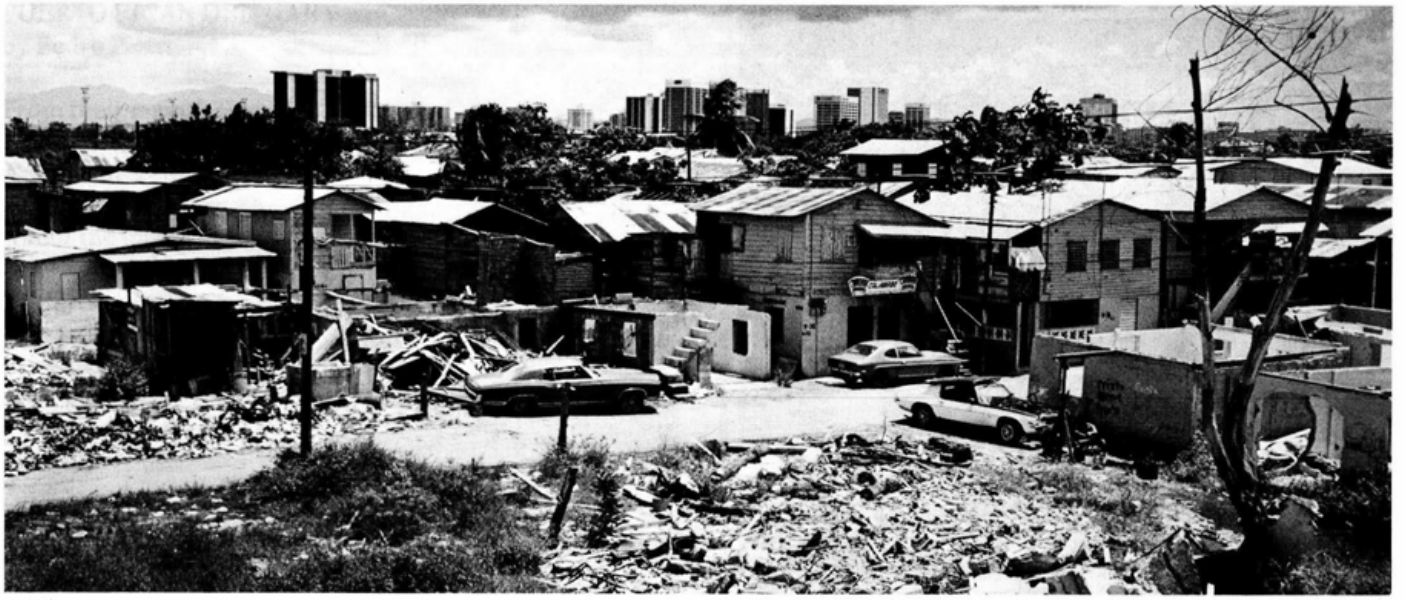
Yet the need for a strong press is this country has never been greater than it is right now. The Reagan Administration is working in many ways to conceal information from the public: asking Congress to gut the Freedom of Information Act, making it easier for officials to classify documents, increasing the secret powers of the intelligence agencies.

A wonderfully revealing episode is the Pentagon's current administration of lie-detector tests to 25 senior officials. That humiliating tactic has been used to track down a leak — not of secret weapons or codes but of one official's comment in a meeting that the Reagan defense program may cost not $1,500 billion but as much as $2,250 billion. In short, what is feared is political embarrassment.

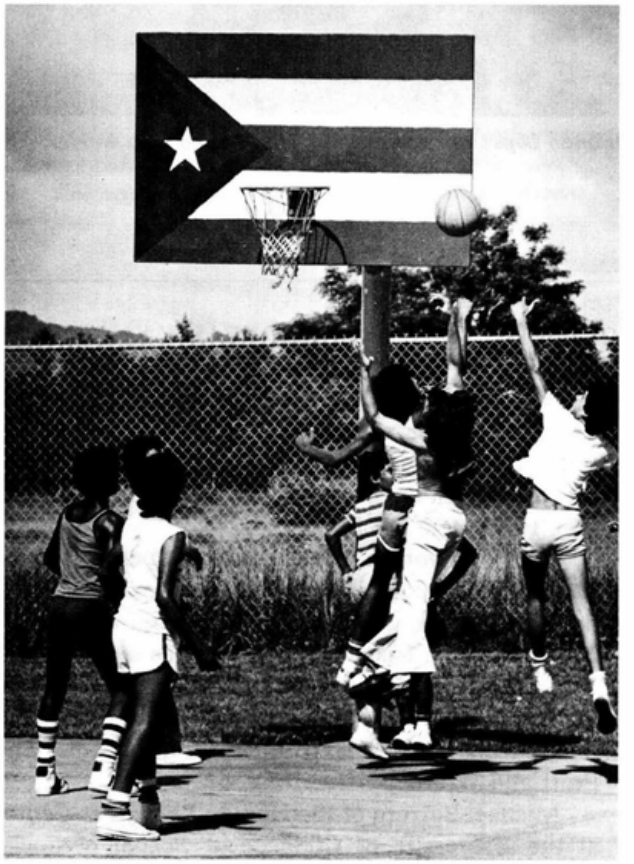
"Timid and incompetent officialdom inevitably seeks to shield itself from close public scrutiny," Louis Lyons said when suppressive techniques were simple by today's standards. "The effort to screen the news of Government has reached such proportions as to outrage the sensibilities of the Washington correspondents and those Congressmen capable of such feelings."

The impatience of Louis Lyons, his mistrust for slickness, is what we need. In the early days of television, he was doing a commentary when the scheduled time ran out and a director tried to get him to stop. "Don't wave your arms at me, young man," he said. "I'll let you know when I'm finished." □

Anthony Lewis, Nieman Fellow '57, is a syndicated columnist for The New York Times. *He is also a Lecturer on Law at the Law School, Harvard University.*



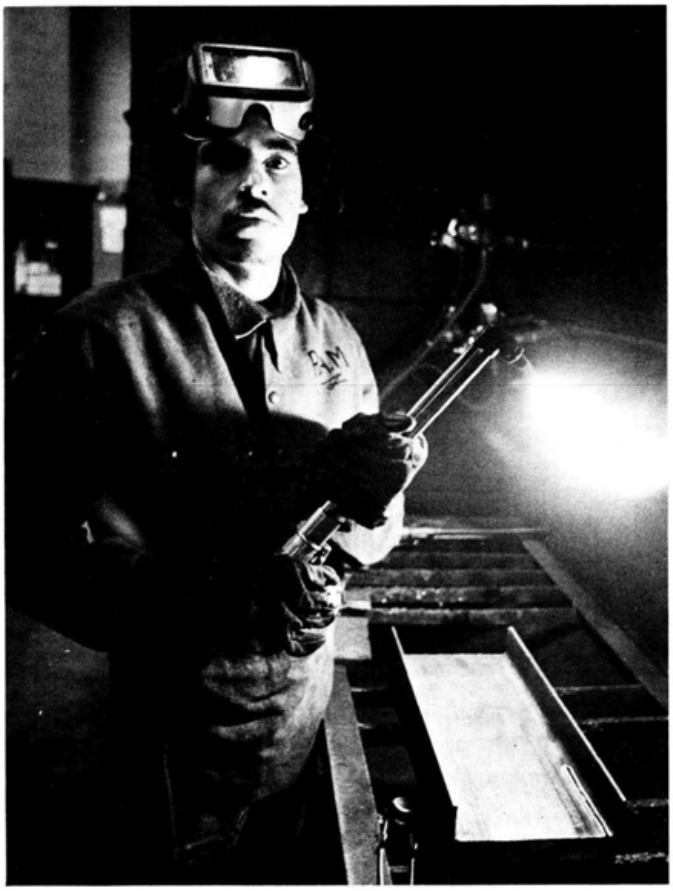
PUERTO RICANS IN CONNECTICUT
An Island in the American Mainstream



PHOTOGRAPHS BY
JOHN LONG

Photographs and text courtesy of
The Hartford Courant.

All photos this page taken in Puerto Rico.
Top: In the foreground, Hato Rey's "Tokyo" residential section; background, the high-rise business section.
Left: Edgardo Trinidad, 10, a former resident of Hartford, Connecticut.
Right: Basketball, once a mainland sport, is becoming more popular in Puerto Rico.



Orlando Lopez of Hartford recently trained as a welder.

Wilfredo Alicea, 5, at play during a heat wave.

THE COUNT: NOBODY REALLY KNOWS

Nobody really knows. U.S. Census data from 1970 were inaccurate. The 1976 U.S. Census update counted 81,000 Connecticut Hispanics, a figure accepted as an undercount. The 1980 census figures aren't complete yet.

So it's anyone's guess, and the best guess is 200,000 Hispanics of all origins — an estimate from the state Department of Human Resources, based on 1978 data from Hispanic social service agencies.

Some with precise statistics about Hispanics in the state are reluctant to release them, like Travelers Insurance Cos., The Hartford Insurance Group and Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Group.

Michael Borrero of the Human Resources Center at the University of Connecticut School of Social Work said the center is trying to become a central data bank on Hispanics. He says information, or the lack of it, is power.

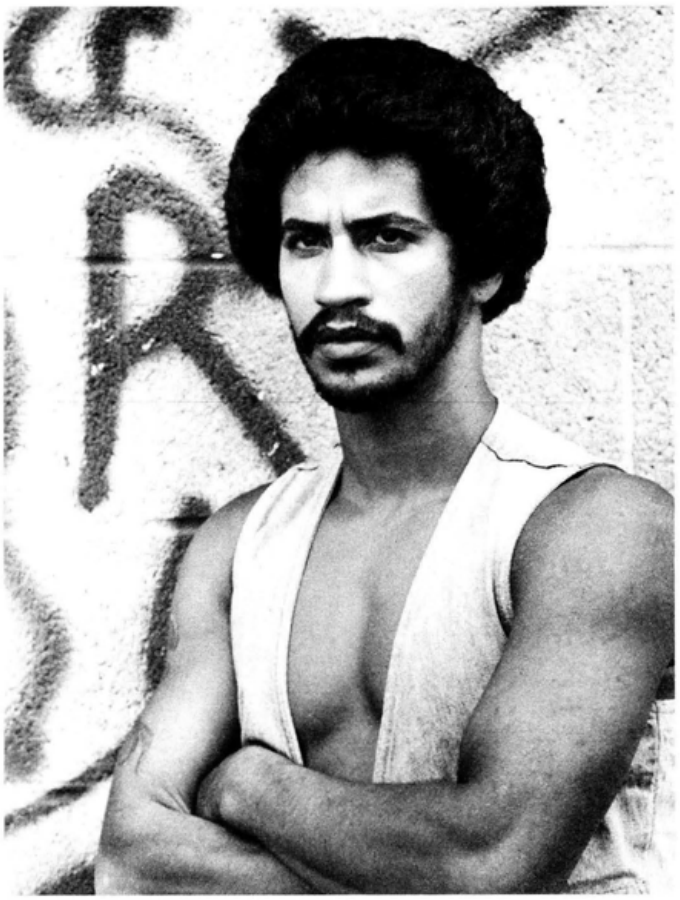
"There are some things people don't want to know," he said. "Information is a powerful tool for change." □

PUERTO RICAN OBITUARY
by Pedro Pietri

From their make believe bedrooms
Their parents left them
Are the aftereffects
Of television programs
About the ideal
White American family
With black maids
And Latin janitors
Who are well trained
To Make Everyone
And their bill collectors
Laugh at them
And the people they represent

Juan
Died dreaming about a new car
Miguel
Died dreaming about new anti-poverty programs
Milagros
Died dreaming about a trip to Puerto Rico
Olga
Died dreaming about real jewelry
Manuel
Died dreaming about the Irish Sweepstakes

Carmen DeJesus, kindergarten teacher at the Ann Street bilingual school in Hartford, with her students.



Benny Gonzalez, president of Hartford's Ghetto Brothers gang and a former paraprofessional in the Hartford public school system: "I'm just like you, but I'm into something different."

Lilian Rodriguez, 5, holds her 6-month-old sister, Brenda. Both are daughters of Maria Rodriguez, a 23-year-old mother of five (see cover).

In the last two decades, the Puerto Rican population in Connecticut has grown from some 20,000 to 160,000; Puerto Ricans now comprise up to one-third of the people in the state's two largest cities, Hartford and Bridgeport. *Hartford Courant* reporters Carol Giacomo, Jon Sandberg, and C.L. Smith Muñiz, with photographer John Long, spent six months examining the lives of Connecticut's Puerto Ricans, conducting nearly 200 interviews in Connecticut, New York City, and Puerto Rico. *The Courant*'s eight-part series appeared in January 1981 and was reprinted in both English and Spanish. The pictures for this series were displayed in Hispanic neighborhoods and in downtown Hartford.

John Long, an award-winning photojournalist, has been with The Hartford Courant *for ten years. He is past president of the Connecticut News Photographers Association and serves as Chapters Chairman of the National Press Photographers Association.*

The State of the Fourth Estate

TOM JOHNSON

The working title for the new order is the Freedom of Information Improvements Act of 1981. It is hardly that.

I cannot recall a time when the communications industry — itself a powerful institution — has been under broader or more insistent assault by other powerful institutions in our society. But, just as disturbing, the Fourth Estate is held in low estate by much of the American public. Poll after poll reveals declining confidence in our ethics and practices and inevitably, stimulates media critics to ever bolder attempts to restrict the constitutional guarantees of a free press.

Yet it is important to place our differences in the proper context and to understand that none of the media's antagonists is willfully intent on repealing the First Amendment. Their quarrel is with the manner in which we exercise our First Amendment Rights.

There is a concern in government that the Freedom of Information Act, in its present form, seriously inhibits its freedom of action and may actually pose a danger to the national security.

There is concern among jurists that the exercise of our First Amendment rights is abusive of the Sixth Amendment rights of defendants.

There is a concern in the private sector that many in the media are hostile to free enterprise and that the reporting of its activities is rife with bias.

In most cases, the criticism of the press evolves from a clash of self-interests — one institution reacting to what it regards as an invasion of its prerogatives by another. Our critics argue that we have too much power — that we interpret our unique protections under the Constitution as a license for excess, and as an automatic defense against accountability for the damage we can inflict on others. Our response, of course, is that the greater danger to a free society lies in the timid, not the aggressive, exercise of our First Amendment rights.

The conflict is not a new one. What is new is the scope of current efforts to stifle the reporter's right to inquire — or, more to the point — the people's need to be informed. Also new is the degree of intensity, even outrage, that motivates certain of our critics.

Not long ago, I had an opportunity to speak before the California Roundtable, an organization whose membership consists entirely of high-ranking corporate executives. I must admit that I had fair warning that it would not be the friendliest of audiences. In fact, my hosts told me in advance that they would like to hear my explanation for the media's perverse treatment of the free enterprise system.

I, of course, denied that the media were out to destroy the very interests on which their own profitability depends. I said that the differences between the media and the private sector are both inevitable and desirable and the natural consequence of our conflicting responsibilities — theirs to their stockholders' interests, ours to the larger public interest.

The first person to respond after the speech told me straight out that the media in general — and *The Los Angeles Times* in particular — do not deserve public confidence.

There were other comments — none of them as succinct as that — but all of them reflecting a concern that the media were insensitive to the corporate interests.

No editor or publisher would deny that we have, at times, been guilty of inaccurate or prejudicial reporting. But responsible journalists are doing their best, I think, to guard against bias and to upgrade the quality of their

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This article has been adapted from the Fourth Annual Frank E. Gannett Lecture, which Tom Johnson, publisher of The Los Angeles Times, *delivered last December at the Washington (D.C.) Journalism Center.*

coverage. We are doing it not only because we have an obligation to be fair generally, but also because the decisions of the economic community, in particular, have become more important to our readers than ever in the past. Long gone are the days when the stock tables and corporate handouts were the totality of our financial coverage.

Many corporate executives might not like it, but business news has become page one news because of the emergence of highly controversial issues in which there is an obvious potential for conflict between the corporate and the public interest: the safety and siting of nuclear power plants and the disposal of nuclear waste... proposals for offshore oil drilling... demands for the opening of public lands to resource development... de-regulation, safety in the work place... the equities of the tax structure. All are complex and volatile issues and all have come dramatically to the fore in recent years. The increasing public ownership of securities and the increasing strength of the consumer and environmental movements are other factors that are focusing media attention on corporate responsibility to a degree that was unheard of a decade or two ago.

It is not that we are insensitive to the free enterprise system. It is simply that we are more sensitive to its impact not only on the economic health of society, but also on the very quality and amenities of life.

While many executives might yearn for the good old days when we might settle for a handout, or even for a "no comment," progressive companies accept the responsibility to at least explain their decisions to the public. And,

Business news has become page one news because of the emergence of highly controversial issues in which there is an obvious potential for conflict between the corporate and the public interest.

in the last year or two, there has been a cooperative and substantial effort to reach at least an understanding of our respective roles. It is unlikely — and probably undesirable — that we will ever reconcile our differences entirely. But we can arrive at a greater appreciation of our respective obligations, and we can do it in good faith.

Our contention with the courts is of much longer duration. Reporters, editors, and publishers have felt the wrath of judges since the revolutionary era, and will continue to feel it as long as many members of the judiciary continue to rule that the Sixth Amendment has primacy over the First. We witness, year after year, an increasing number of closed proceedings, gag rules, and other impediments to the people's access to what ought to be the most open of all processes in an open society. Journalists continue to go to jail for protecting the confidentiality of their sources, and newsrooms are still subject to police search.

Not one of us would challenge the courts' insistence that nothing should interfere with a defendant's right to a fair trail. The issue of potentially adverse pretrial publicity is a vexing one that all of us have had to wrestle with from time to time. But I believe there has been an over-reaction by many judges who close the doors on proceedings that could be left open without harm to the defendant. In doing that, they abridge our right to report the trial to the infinitely larger party of interest outside the court.

The judicial branch of government is not the only one bent on the denial of access. The executive branch, historically, has taken the position that it, too, may determine what the public may or may not know. It was not until the enactment of the Freedom of Information Act fifteen years ago that reasonable guidelines were laid down for the appropriate classification of government records. The intent of the act was clear: there must be no secrecy around government decisions or acts that can be made public without injury to the national interest. Later amendments to the act had the effect of strengthening that requirement.

The present administration appears determined to apply a new standard, and one that tilts sharply toward greater secrecy in government.

Richard Nixon also was willing to accept the assumption that public documents should be routinely accessible in the absence of proof that their publication would be damaging to the national security. But an executive order, now circulating in the administration, would eliminate that presumption and seal many categories of records now available to the reporter and the public.

Jimmy Carter went even further than Nixon. He decreed that, when in doubt, the bureaucrat with the "confidential" or "top secret" stamp in hand should *not* use it. The proposed new guidelines would require that he *must* use it. Carter's executive order said the bureaucrat must weight the public interest in access to information against national security interests. The Reagan executive order would require no such evaluation.

The working title for the new order is the Freedom of Information Improvements Act of 1981. It is hardly that. More accurately, it is an attempt to subvert the purpose of the present law and to convert it into an act of censorship. And, believe me, it is a serious attempt. Witness the current policy of the Justice Department to defend even the most marginal suits under the Freedom of Information Act, and its request to Congress to repeal its most effective sections.

Our work is cut out for us. The case must be made to

Congress, and to the public, that a return to the mass suppression of public documents is more than an abridgment of the public's access to information. It is an abridgment of the fundamental assumption that people are sovereign over government. And the best defense of the Freedom of Information Act is that it renews the vitality of that assumption.

Up to this point, it might appear that I hold the media guiltless in its many disputes with its many critics. To the contrary, we have laid ourselves open for criticism — and for more aggressive efforts to limit our rights.

We have done it through lapses in editorial judgment; failure to meet reasonable standards of accuracy and fairness have lent substance to the suspicion that the media's own ethics are suspect.

The Los Angeles Times did a national poll recently on the public's perception of us. The results did us little credit. Nearly 40 percent of the respondents said they think that the mass communications industry misuses its great power by acting irresponsibly. Nearly 20 percent said the abuses of the media should be dealt with more sternly by government regulators. Only one in four thought the media are essentially ethical. Only one in three said we are fair in our handling of the news.

The inescapable impression one receives from the poll is that the public sees us as an artful dodger, darting out from the sanctuary of shield laws and the First Amendment, using our powers to do mischief, then darting back to the shelter to escape retaliation.

We ought to admit it: there are too many violations of journalistic ethics. One violation alone should ring alarms all through the profession. And it is no defense at all to argue that there are far fewer offenses today than there were in the full flower of Yellow Journalism, and that it's possible there are fewer than ever before. The fact is that many in our profession have been guilty of conflicts of interest; have been guilty of presenting outright fiction as fact; have been guilty of irresponsible and prejudicial reporting.

In this atmosphere of suspicion, the corporation or the government agency with an axe to grind find themselves on common ground with a public that also believes the media may have gone too far. I believe that this suspicion will persist until we are willing to apply to ourselves the same standards we demand of others.

We investigate conflict of interest on the part of public officials. Yet too many media executives are reluctant to acknowledge their own conflict of interest when they take editorial positions on legislation or community projects that can affect their own company's holdings. And that potential for conflict of interest is becoming ever greater in this era of diversification.

We insist on greater access to government, to the courts, and to corporate board rooms. But too many of us apply a double standard when inquiries are made into the probity of our own actions. The common dismissal of such inquiries is that "we stand by our story" or "no comment" — a response we would not accept from others.

Too many of us turn critical reporters away from our doors, while objecting strongly to the expulsion of our own reporters from the courts or sessions of government. We cannot have it both ways — pleading our rights under the First Amendment while opting to remain silent under the Fifth. We exempt ourselves from accountability, while demanding it of others.

We hold too much power for that. I would think that the media are the strongest influences in the communities they serve — and, in the case of newspapers, the increasing number of monopoly situations requires greater accountability from us. In the more than 1,500 cities in this country with daily newspapers, fewer than 50 have two or more under competing ownership. The 10 largest newspaper chains, including the one I represent, have one-third of the nation's total readership — 20 million out of 60 million. And the influence of the three major networks may be even more pervasive.

We cannot have it both ways — pleading our rights under the First Amendment while opting to remain silent under the Fifth. We exempt ourselves from accountability, while demanding it of others.

We are entirely right when we expose conflicts of interest in government; when we challenge secrecy in the courts; when we reveal the often negative impact of corporate decisions. But until we are as open as we expect others to be, the public will continue to regard us as one powerful institution doing battle with other powerful institutions — and also as having a dubious advantage because of our unique constitutional protections. That being the case, we can also expect the assaults on our rights and our credibility to continue.

Despite the decline in confidence in our own profession, the public still ranks us a notch above most of our critics and detractors in government and elsewhere. The people — the ultimate beneficiaries of a free press — still look to us as the guarantor of their right to know.

But if Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of the press, the public also expects us to adhere to standards that are worthy of that freedom. We know what those standards ought to be — and the thought I would leave with you is that we must strengthen our collective resolve to meet them more responsibly. □

Reflections on World Peace

GEORGE F. KENNAN

New guidelines for political action toward global well-being.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn put forward, in a monumental work entitled *World Peace through World Law*, their ideas for a program of universal disarmament and for a system of world law to replace the chaotic and dangerous institution of unlimited national sovereignty upon which international life was then and is now based.

To many of us, these ideas looked, at the time, impractical, if not naive. Today, two decades later, and in the light of what has occurred in the interval, the logic of them is more compelling. It is still too early, I fear, for their realization on a universal basis; but efforts to achieve the limitation of sovereignty in favor of a system of international law on a regional basis are another thing; and when men begin to come seriously to grips with this possibility, it is to the carefully thought out and profoundly humane ideas of Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn that they will have to turn for inspiration and guidance.

However, my purpose is not to deal with the historical significance of this vision of the future, in its entirety, but rather to recall one passage of it which has obvious relevance to this present moment. This is a passage which occurred in the final sections of Grenville Clark's preface to the substantive parts of the book; and it concerned nuclear weaponry. After describing the appalling dimensions of the nuclear weapons race, even as it then existed, he went on to express his belief that if the various governments did not find ways to put a stop to this insanity, the awareness of the indescribable dangers it presented would some day, as he put it, "penetrate the general masses of the people in all nations" with the result that these masses would begin to put increasing, and indeed finally irresistible, pressure on their governments to abandon the policies that were creating this danger and to replace them with more hopeful and constructive ones. And the dominant motivation for this great reaction of public opinion would be, as he saw it, "...not fear, in the ordinary sense, but rather a growing exasperation over the rigidity and traditionalism which prevent the formulation of adequate plans to remove so obvious a man-made risk."

How prophetic these words were, as a description of what we are witnessing today. The recent growth and gathering strength of the anti-nuclear-war movement here and in Europe is to my mind the most striking phenomenon of this beginning decade of the 1980's. It is all the more impressive because it is so extensively spontaneous. It has already achieved dimensions which will make it impossible for the respective governments to ignore it. It will continue to grow until something is done to meet it.

Like any other great spontaneous popular movement, this one has, and must continue to have, its ragged edges, and even its dangers. It will attract the freaks and the extremists. Many of the wrong people will attach themselves to it. It will wander off in many mistaken directions.

George Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow, gave the above address on the occasion of receiving the Grenville Clark Prize at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, last November. Established in 1971, this triennial award bearing the name of the former New York lawyer furthers the causes to which he devoted his life — personal liberty, academic freedom, civil rights, world peace, and good government. Mr. Kennan, an historian and a specialist in Soviet affairs, is co-chairman of the American Committee on East-West Accord, a non-governmental group promoting improved Soviet-American relations.

It already shows need of leadership and of organizational centralization.

But it is idle to try to stamp it, as our government seems to be trying to do, as a Communist-inspired movement. Of course, Communists try to get into the act. Of course, they exploit the movement wherever they can. These are routine political tactics. But actually, I see no signs that the Communist input into this great public reaction has been of any serious significance.

Nor is it useful to portray the entire European wing of this movement as the expression of some sort of vague and naively neutralist sentiment. There is some of that, certainly; but where there is, it is largely a reaction to the negative and hopeless quality of our own Cold War policies, which seem to envisage nothing other than an indefinitely increasing political tension and nuclear danger. It is not surprising that many Europeans should see no salvation for themselves in this sterile perspective and should cast about for something that would have in it some positive element — some ray of hope.

Nor does this neutralist sentiment necessarily represent any timorous desire to accept Soviet authority as a way of avoiding the normal responsibilities of national defense. The cliché of "better red than dead" is a facile and clever phrase; but actually, no one in Europe is faced with such a choice, or is likely to be. We will not be aided in our effort to understand Europe's problems by distortions of this nature. Our government will have to recognize that there are a great many people who would accept the need for adequate national defense but who would emphatically deny that the nuclear weapon, and particularly the first use of that weapon, is anything with which a country could conceivably defend itself.

No — this movement against nuclear armaments and nuclear war may be ragged and confused and disorganized; but at the heart of it lie some very fundamental, reasonable and powerful motivations: among them a growing appreciation by many people for the true horrors of a nuclear war; a determination not to see their children deprived of life, and their civilization destroyed, by a holocaust of this nature; and finally, as Grenville Clark said, a very real exasperation with their governments for the rigidity and traditionalism that causes those governments to ignore the fundamental distinction between conventional weapons and the weapons of mass destruction and prevents them from finding, or even seriously seeking, ways of escape from the fearful trap into which the nuclear ones are leading us.

Such considerations are not the reflections of Communist propaganda. They are not the products of some sort of timorous neutralism. They are the expression of a deep instinctive insistence on sheer survival — on survival as individuals, as parents, and as members of a civilization.

Our government will ignore this simple fact at its peril. This movement is too powerful, too elementary, and too deeply embedded in the human instinct for self-preservation, to be brushed aside. Sooner or later, and the sooner the better, all the governments on both sides of the East-West division will find themselves compelled to undertake the search for positive alternatives to the insoluble dilemma which any suicidal weaponry presents, and can only present.

Do such alternatives exist?

Of course they do. One does not have to go far to look for them. A start could be made with deep cuts in the long-range strategic arsenals. There could be a complete denuclearization of Central and Northern Europe. One could accept a complete ban on nuclear testing. At the very least, one could accept a temporary freeze on the further build-up of these fantastic arsenals. None of this would undermine anyone's security.

These alternatives, obviously, are not ones that we in the West could expect to realize all by ourselves. I am not suggesting any unilateral disarmament. Plainly, two — and eventually even more than two — will have to play at this game.

And even these alternatives would be only a beginning. But they would be a tremendously hopeful beginning. And what I am suggesting is that one should at least begin to explore them — and to explore them with a good will and a courage and an imagination the signs of which I fail, as yet, to detect on the part of those in Washington who have our destinies in their hands.

This, then, in my opinion, is what ought to be done — what will, in fact, have to be done. But I must warn you that for our own country the change will not come easily, even in the best of circumstances. It is not something that could be accomplished in any simple one-time decision, taken from one day to the next. What is involved for us in the effort to turn these things around is a fundamental and extensive change in our prevailing outlooks on a number of points, and an extensive restructuring of our entire defense posture.

What would this change consist of?

We would have to begin by accepting the validity of two very fundamental appreciations. The first is that there is no issue at stake in our political relations with the Soviet

Union — no hope, no fear, nothing to which we aspire, nothing we would like to avoid — which could conceivably be worth a nuclear war, which could conceivably justify the resort to nuclear weaponry. And the second is that there is no way in which nuclear weapons could conceivably be employed in combat that would not involve the possibility — and indeed the prohibitively high probability — of escalation into a general nuclear disaster.

If we can once get these two truths into our heads, then the next thing we shall have to do is to abandon the option of the first use of nuclear weapons in any military encounter. This flows with iron logic from the two propositions I have just enunciated. The insistence on this option of first use has corrupted and vitiated our entire policy on nuclear matters ever since such weapons were first developed. I am persuaded that we shall never be able to exert a constructive leadership in matters of nuclear arms reduction or in the problem of nuclear proliferation until this pernicious and indefensible position is abandoned.

And once it has been abandoned, there will presumably have to be a far-reaching restructuring of our armed forces. The private citizen is of course not fully informed in such matters; and I make no pretense of being so informed. But from all that has become publicly known, one can only suppose that nearly all aspects of the training and equipment of those armed forces, not to mention the strategy and tactics underlying their operation, have been affected by the assumption that we might have to fight — indeed, would probably have to fight — with nuclear weapons, and that we might well be the ones to inaugurate their use. A great deal of this would presumably have to be turned around — not all of it, but much of it, nevertheless. We might, so long as others retained such weapons, have to retain them ourselves for purposes of deterrence and reassurance to our people. But we could no longer rely on them for any positive purpose even in the case of reverses on the conventional battlefield; and our forces would have to be trained and equipped accordingly. Personally, this would cause me no pain. But let no one suppose that the change would come easily. An enormous inertia exists here and would have to be overcome; and in my experience there is no inertia, once established, as formidable as that of the armed services.

There is no inertia, once established, as formidable as that of the armed services.

But there is something else, too, that will have to be altered, in my opinion, if we are to move things around and take a more constructive posture; and that is the view of the Soviet Union and its peoples to which our governmental establishment and a large part of our journalistic establishment have seemed recently to be committed.

On this point, I would particularly like not to be misunderstood. I do not have, and have never had, sympathy for the ideology of the Soviet leadership. I recognize that this is a regime with which it is not possible for us to have a fully satisfactory relationship. I know that there are areas of interaction where no collaboration between us is possible, just as there are other areas where one can collaborate. There are a number of Soviet habits and practices which I deeply deplore, and which I feel we should resist firmly when they impinge on our interests. I recognize, furthermore, that the Soviet leadership does not always act in its own best interests — that it is capable of making mistakes, just as we are, and that Afghanistan is one of those mistakes, and one which it will come to regret, regardless of anything we may do to punish it.

Finally, I recognize that there has recently been a drastic and very serious deterioration of Soviet-American relations — a deterioration to which both sides have made their unhappy contributions. And this, too, is something which it will not be easy to correct; for it has led to new commitments and attitudes of embitterment on both sides. The almost exclusive militarization of thinking and discourse about Soviet-American relations that now commands the behavior and the utterances of statesmen and propagandists on both sides of the line — a militarization which, it sometimes seems to me, could not be different if we knew for a fact that we were unquestionably to be at war within a matter of months: this in itself is a dangerous state of affairs, which it is not going to be easy to correct. So I don't think I underestimate the gravity of the problem.

But, all this being said, I must go on and say that I find the view of the Soviet Union that prevails today in our governmental and journalistic establishments so extreme, so subjective, so far removed from what any sober scrutiny of external reality would reveal, that it is not only ineffective but dangerous as a guide to political action. This endless series of distortions and oversimplifications; this systematic dehumanization of the leadership of another great country; this routine exaggeration of Moscow's military capabilities and of the supposed iniquity of its intentions; this daily misrepresentation of the nature and the attitudes of another great people — and a long-suffering people at that, sorely tried by the vicissitudes of this past century; this ignoring of their pride, their hopes — yes, even of their illusions (for they have their illusions, just as we have ours; and illusions, too deserve respects); this reckless application of the double standard to the judgment of Soviet conduct and our own; this failure to recognize the commonalty of many of their problems and ours as we both move inexorably into the modern technological age; and this corresponding

tendency to view all aspects of the relationship in terms of a supposed total and irreconcilable conflict of concerns and claims: these believe me, are not the marks of the maturity and realism one expects of the diplomacy of a great power; they are the marks of an intellectual primitivism and naiveté unpardonable in a great government — yes, even naiveté, because there is a naiveté of cynicism and suspicion just as there is a naiveté of innocence.

And we shall not be able to turn these things around as they should be turned, on the plane of military and nuclear rivalry, until we learn to correct these childish distortions — until we correct our tendency to see in the Soviet Union only a mirror in which we look for the reflection of our own superior virtue — until we consent to see there another great people, one of the world's greatest, in all its complexity and variety, embracing the good with the bad — a people whose life, whose views, whose habits, whose fears and aspirations, are the products, just as ours are the products, not of any inherent iniquity but of the relentless discipline of history, tradition and national experience. Above all, we must learn to see the behavior of the leadership of that people as partly a reflection of our own treatment of it. Because if we insist on demonizing these Soviet leaders — on viewing them as total and incorrigible enemies, consumed only with their fear or hatred of us and dedicated to nothing other than our destruction — that, in the end, is the way we shall assuredly have them — if for no other reason than that our view of them allows for nothing else — either for us or for them.

These, then, are the changes we shall have to make — the changes in our concept of the relationship of nuclear weaponry to national defense, in the structure and training of our armed forces, and in our view of the distant country which our military planners seem to have selected as our inevitable and inalterable enemy — if we hope to reverse the dreadful trend towards a final nuclear conflagration. And it is urgently important that we get on with these changes. Time is not waiting for us. The fragile nuclear balance that has prevailed in recent years is being undermined, not so much by the steady build-up of the nuclear arsenals on both sides (for they already represent nothing more meaningful than absurd accumulations of overkill), but rather by technological advances that threaten to break down the verifiability of the respective capabilities and to stimulate the fears, the temptations, and the compulsions, of a "first strike" mentality.

But it is important for another reason, too, that we get on with these changes. For beyond all this, beyond the shadow of the atom and its horrors, there lie other problems — tremendous problems — that demand our attention. There are the great environmental complications now beginning to close in on us: the question of what we are doing to the world oceans with our pollution, the problem of the greenhouse effect, the acid rains, the question of what is happening to the topsoil and the ecology and the water supplies of this and other countries. And there are the profound spiritual problems that spring from the complexity and artificiality of the modern urban-industrial society — problems that confront both the Russians and ourselves, and to which neither of us has as yet responded very well. One sees on every hand the signs of our common failure. One sees it in the cynicism and apathy and drunkenness of so much of the Soviet population. One sees it in the crime and drug abuse and general decay and degradation of our city centers. To some extent — not entirely but extensively — these failures have their origins in experiences common to both of us.

This entire preoccupation with nuclear war, which appears to hold most of our government in its grip, is a form of illness.

And they, too, will not wait. Unless we both do better in dealing with them than we have done to date, even the banishment of the nuclear danger will not help us very much. Can we not cast off our preoccupation with sheer destruction — a preoccupation that is costing us our prosperity and preempting the resources that should go to the progress of our respective societies — is it really impossible for us to cast off this sickness of blind military rivalry and to address ourselves at long last, in all humility and in all seriousness, to setting our societies to rights?

For this entire preoccupation with nuclear war — a preoccupation which appears to hold most of our government in its grip — is a form of illness. It is morbid in the extreme. There is no hope in it — only horror. It can be understood only as some form of subconscious despair on the part of its devotees — a readiness to commit suicide for fear of death — a state of mind explicable only by some inability to face the normal hazards and vicissitudes of the human predicament — a lack of faith, or perhaps a lack of the very strength that it takes to have faith, where countless generations of our ancestors found it possible to have it.

I decline to believe that this is the condition of the majority of our people. Surely there is among us, at least among the majority of us, a sufficient health of the spirit — a sufficient affirmation of life, of its joys and excitements together with its hazards and uncertainties, to permit us to slough off this morbid preoccupation, to see it and discard it as the sickness it is, to turn our attention to the real challenges and possibilities that loom beyond it, and in this way to restore to ourselves a sense of confidence and belief in what we have inherited and what we can be. □

Prizes and Surprises

PAUL LIEBERMAN

Of silver microphones and heart-shaped plaques.

The Womble Award arrived in the Christmas mail, in a plain brown wrapper. It was a heart-shaped plaque eight inches high on a well-lacquered wood base covered by a thin tin plate. Engraved lettering on the tin formally announced that I was being honored for "Outstanding Service in Newspaper Reporting." No explanation for the award was included in the package, but I did not need one. I knew immediately that the plaque had been bestowed on me by a committee of one: Fred Womble. And my outstanding service, I also knew, was having once written an article about the same Mr. Womble.

Two years earlier Fred Womble had wandered into the newsroom, and into my life. He had asked the receptionist if he could speak with a reporter "who investigates things," and she had pointed toward my desk. Thus was I approached by a slender, earnest-looking black man in his mid-30's dressed in jeans and a blue work shirt and carrying a large envelope in one hand and a tape recorder in the other. "I came to tell you about the numbers preachers," he said, "the false reverends, preachers and prophets who prey on the poor people of this city."

Womble made it clear that I was not his first candidate to be told the story, explaining that he had already visited the television stations around town, but that no one had been willing to listen to a ninth-grade educated truck driver given to quoting from the Bible. The newspaper was his last hope.

Womble's story involved radio preachers who made their livings by promising, in code language, to deliver from God the winning three-digit number in the illegal daily lottery game. These preachers beckoned listeners to visit them in hotel suites, small churches, or other meeting places. One fellow held "services" in the chapel of a funeral home and specialized in divining a winning number — for a fee — on a slate board while he reclined in a coffin.

Womble was a religious man who thought such practices were blasphemy, and he had become enraged after his mother was bilked by several of the preachers. Eventually Fred decided to go see these men himself, posing as a customer and recording his experiences on notes and on tape, the same materials he now carried into the newsroom. "I am after the guys who abuse God," he said, "who use His name to lure people into a web of unhappiness and financial suffering."

The article appeared two months later. As much as it focused on the scam perpetrated by the numbers preachers, which was confirmed by independent investigation, the piece also described the remarkable truck driver who was inspired to crusade against an injustice.

The article further inspired Fred, who discovered a calling as an expert media tipster. With considerable persistence, he began to call several times a week with story ideas. He reported a truck stealing water from a city hydrant. He reported his suspicion that the health warning signs on huge cigarette advertising billboards were shrinking. He urged a campaign to increase spirit at high school football games by firing off a small cannon at half time. And he suggested an article on wild hog hunting in the swamps of south Georgia.

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On occasion, one of the tips did result in a small article for the newspaper. After a while, I also began to notice Womble ideas materializing on the local television news. Once I could have sworn I even saw Fred being interviewed as a "secret source," his back to the camera and his voice muffled.

Then, two years after the first article, the package arrived.

The Womble Award has not yet earned a listing in *Editor & Publisher*'s impressive directory of journalism prizes, but if I have Fred figured right he will make it in there some day. No one would argue that he deserves equal standing with Columbia University or Sigma Delta Chi. But he is at least as well-meaning as the sponsors of the Eagle Rare Bourbon Awards, the American Osteopathic Association Awards, or the American Express Awards which are given "for articles and programs that encourage people to travel in Canada." Like the other award sponsors, Fred sought to reward journalism on a subject close to his heart. He could argue, in addition, that his simple plaque was in better taste than the big-money inducements dangled before writers and broadcasters by the commercial concerns — $6,000 in "cash, plus trips and art objects" for the articles that help draw tourists to Canada, for instance.

There has recently been a healthy debate among journalists on the merits of awards, prompted both by the proliferation of cash payments for special-interest reporting, and by the discovery last year that the competition for prizes might encourage the fabrication of a story. The debate has led to the discovery that competition for money and prestige has positive and negative ramifications in any profession. So it is in journalism that awards may appropriately encourage enterprise and public service, but also may inspire exaggerated stories, embellished quotes, and overly slick contest-packaging layouts.

I finally decided, nevertheless, that the Womble Award had only a positive effect, and that effect was one too rarely noted in the competitive process: the potential of an award to flatly humble the recipient.

I had seen hints of this phenomenon before. For example, a colleague produced a series of exposés on health care that resulted in indictments and changes in state law. It was not a surprise when he was told that his work had won the state's top journalism prize. When he went to pick it up, however, he learned that he actually had tied for the award with a feature writer who had described a bowler's battle against heart disease — based on the bowler's own book about his battle against heart disease. Each reporter was given a check for $12.50 by a master of ceremonies who was a bit wobbly in the wake of the awards cocktail party. Then there was the time the members of an investigative team were notified that they were being named journalists-of-the-year by a regional business publication. The announcement was accompanied by a form asking them to subscribe. Similarly, the newspaper was notified that it would receive a public service citation from a distant university — if reporters attended a conference there and paid a healthy participation fee. They paid.

Probably no one was quite as humbled as a one-time colleague of mine who was invited to a dinner honoring reporters and editors in a small newspaper chain who had helped win awards in the previous year. Each person was given a $50 check by the president of the chain. This particular reporter used the rare meeting with the top boss to ask about raises that had been promised employees during a unionization drive. The promise had helped to defeat the union, but the raises had not yet materialized and the award-winner got no answer that evening when he inquired about the delay. The next morning, he was told with a pink slip that he would have to win future prizes at another newspaper.

When the mailing came from Fred Womble, I did not notice the error on the plaque myself. It was a friend who spotted the opened package on a kitchen table, read the inscription, and asked, "Who is Womele?" The pronunciation — Wom-L-ee — startled me. Only then did I look closely and recognize the mistake: Fred's plaque misspelled his last name. The thing said Womele Award, not Womble Award.

"Well," I speculated, "I guess the trophy shop got the name wrong, so he sent this one to me and gave the real one to someone else."

A day later, Fred called.

"I hope you will be in town for the banquet," he said.

"What banquet?"

"For you and the other winners," Fred replied, rattling off the names of some of the city's radio and television personalities. "You were the only one to get a plaque. The others got silver microphones," he explained.

I never did tell Fred about the misspelling. But several weeks later, a few of us Womble Award winners did get together with him. We each bought him a beer and toasted, in turn, the one person who deserved recognition for outstanding service. □

AT CARPENTER CENTER

The work of three photojournalists will be on display at Harvard University's Carpenter Center from March 5 through April 2, 1982. Barbara Norfleet, lecturer on Visual and Environmental Studies at Harvard, is the curator of the show featuring the work of Susan Meiselas (Nicaragua); Geoffrey Biddle (New York's Lower East Side); and Alex Webb (Africa, Mexico, and the Caribbean). Meiselas and Webb are photographers with Magnum; Biddle is freelance. All three studied at Harvard's Department of Visual and Environmental Studies. □

Malice in Medialand

PETER BROWN

Reflections from Hollywood's mirror distort the newsroom.

Absence of Malice, a motion picture by Kurt Luedtke, is something like supply-side economics: on the surface it seems like a good idea, but behind the scenes, those in a position to know don't believe a word of it.

The film which, which stars Paul Newman and Sally Field (as most readers know by now) raises a serious question: have the media become too powerful in this society? But the vehicle used to deliver this message badly needs a tune-up. Although the film is excellent entertainment, it lacks the internal cohesion to make those in the journalism business wonder if they could ever really be as dumb as some of the characters portrayed, especially Field's role.

Neither this writer — nor most other journalists — would argue the fact that the media need to be taken down a notch or two; that there are no rules for journalists to follow; or that someone should present the other side of *All The President's Men*.

But the problem with *Absence of Malice* is that it clearly shows a newspaper wronging innocent people in a way that may, unfortunately, ring true to the general public — but not to anyone who has spent a significant amount of time inside a newsroom.

Screenwriter Kurt Luedtke claims that the practices and characters in the film are consistent with his own experiences at the *Detroit Free Press*, where he rose through the ranks to become executive editor at age 33, before he left for Hollywood. (If Luedtke's presentation is accurate, then Knight-Ridder should clean house at that generally well-respected newspaper where he was employed; if not, they should sue him for libel.)

Luedtke has created a scenario that shows even though journalists, law enforcement officials, and lawyers all do their job well — in the narrowest sense — private citizens suffer through misleading and damaging leaks to the newspaper.

The movie begins with a federal prosecutor leaking to reporter Field that his office is investigating businessman Newman in connection with the disappearance and presumed murder of a union leader. Although he is convinced that Newman — the nephew of a Mafia don — is both honest and innocent, the prosecutor takes this course of action in the hope that the pressure will force Newman to help him find out who committed the crime.

Luedtke's plot has holes in it that the Dallas Cowboys' offensive line couldn't create on its best day. For example, the original leak comes from a prosecutor who generally shuns the press in a way that would make any experienced journalist wary — yet reporter Field, without giving it further thought, happily writes a story based on this leak.

Also astonishing to this viewer is that the editors at the fictional *Miami Standard* abrogate their roles: they don't tell Field to verify her story elsewhere and they seem unconcerned about getting Newman's response to the investigation. Any real-life newspaper editors planning to lead with a story pegged to unnamed sources would at least get some research on the subject. In this movie, the reporter just goes through some back clips.

Then the paper's libel lawyer tells Field it would be nice to get a response from Newman — but if he isn't there when she calls, not to worry; she will have made a good faith effort. In this portrayal, the screenplay ignores the differences between how public and private figures are actually treated by the media. The *Miami Standard* of the story treats Newman like a public

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figure, although to do so seems highly questionable; it ignores the libel implication of such reporting on private figures.

Later, we see our star reporter as she gets a telephone call from a friend of Newman's who offers to supply an alibi for him on the day of the crime. This friend, who is something of a surrogate daughter to Newman, is a devout Roman Catholic who works for a parochial school and lives at home with her father. And as it happened, Newman was with her in Atlanta when she went there to get an abortion — the deepest dark secret of her life.

Field, displaying a lack of sensitivity all reporters should be leery of emulating, goes ahead and writes a story based on the alibi — including the abortion, and naming names.

Again — this time even more amazingly — the editors let it fly. They make no effort to check for airline, hotel, or abortion clinic records that would provide verification of the story.

It seems to me that it was poor journalism not to send someone — armed with pictures of Newman and friend — to Atlanta to do this legwork. Why take the word of Newman's obviously distraught friend when there were impartial witnesses and records that could verify the story? But more importantly, it was stupid. Even if the newspaper used her testimony, there was no reason to say the woman was in Atlanta for an abortion. This event was not germane to the story and is a case of holding a private figure up to public ridicule in a way that would make any libel lawyer drool, contemplating the likely judgment.

But the friend doesn't sue — she commits suicide.

At last, Newman decides to get even. He does a masterful job of framing the local prosecutor — apparently he couldn't think of a way to get at the one who did him dirty so he figured they are all alike, anyway.

A federal agent leaks word that the feds think the local prosecutor who ended the investigation of Newman did so because of a payoff. Meanwhile, in violation of any ethical guidelines, Field has an affair with Newman — yet she continues to cover the story, writing about the alleged payoff.

By this time you would think she might be a little wary, but once again, our heroine makes only the most cursory effort to check out the story.

Absence of Malice left this viewer angry: angry at the prosecutor for using the media, and angry at the paper for letting itself be used in the name of truth when its only goal was to sell newspapers.

In the end, everyone sits down together — law enforcement officials, Newman, Field, and lawyers — with a Justice Department honcho. He fires the federal prosecutor, suggests that the local prosecutor resign (even though he's done nothing wrong), and acknowledges that everyone involved has been very good at using the media. And that — rather than the abusive power of the media — may be the actual message of the movie: Everyone is very good at using the media.

Absence of Malice left this viewer angry: angry at the prosecutor for using the media, and angry at the paper for letting itself be used in the name of truth when its only goal was to sell newspapers.

Clearly, Field portrays a very lazy reporter: she makes no effort to discern whether her sources have vested interests. She rushes stories into print when there is no evidence of competitive pressures that would require such haste. Luedtke argues that she is meant to be average. I disagree, and think no newspaper in Miami or any other major city would hire or retain such a reporter, much less give her (or him) what appears to be a top investigative beat.

But even more striking is her editor, who behaves like none I have ever met. Instead of asking the tough questions that would lead a reporter either to soften or at least question her own stories, this editor accepts her copy and even sharpens it. Further, he gives no thought to the effects the stories will have or, indeed, whether the newspaper is acting responsibly.

Although these characters will probably seem realistic to the general public, journalists in the audience will find much that is not valid. A believable portrayal of journalism shouldn't be that difficult for Luedtke — the television show *Lou Grant* does an excellent job of it.

A small group of law students, mid-career public administrators, and Nieman Fellows saw a preview of the film in November shortly before its official release. The politically-oriented types thought the movie was on target; virtually all cited anecdotes of how they had been wronged by the press. Most of the Nieman Fellows felt that the portrayal of the journalist did not ring true, but the theme was solid and one that needed to be discussed. There was much talk about lack of ethics and guidelines for the media — such as those that exist for doctors and lawyers. But inevitably the discussion got around to the problems of enforcing such standards, and finally led to the question of licensing journalists, thus raising questions of constitutionality.

On the surface, *Absence of Malice* brings out some points that need to be considered, but just as those on Wall Street don't believe Reagan can balance the budget, so no one with any journalistic experience will believe a newspaper can be run like the *Miami Standard* and retain its credibility — and its libel insurance.

If Luedtke is trying to do anything more than make money and take the media down a peg or two in the public view, he shouldn't hold his breath. □

Books

The Once and Future Fund

Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic

Frank K. Kelly. The Free Press (A division of Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc.); New York; 1981; $19.95

by GARY L. CUNNINGHAM

The Fund for the Republic, originally financed by the Ford Foundation in 1952, was created in response to the menace of McCarthyism. Its underlying conviction was that a society increasingly obsessed with national security need not sacrifice its liberties to ensure its continued existence. Accordingly, the fund financed investigations of government loyalty programs and blacklisting in the entertainment industry, underwrote research on communism in America, and provided aid to groups involved in racial and civil-liberties disputes.

At the forefront of all these activities was the director of the fund, Robert Maynard Hutchins — dean of the Yale University School of Law at the age of 26, president of the University of Chicago at 30, and, if not the finest, certainly the most prominent educator of his time. Once described as "6 feet 3 inches, white-haired, (and) more handsome than egalitarian Democrats would think just," Hutchins was admittedly stubborn and vain, and inclined toward bluntness and confrontation, but he could motivate, lead and inspire almost at will, as Kelly makes abundantly clear.

A charismatic, compelling figure, Hutchins appears here as a sort of intellectual Natty Bumppo, an educational path-finder who would lead us all to ever greater heights if only we would follow. Convinced that the continued protection of democratic liberties was possible only through an understanding of the workings of the modern bureaucratic, technological society, Hutchins attempted to draw together the finest minds available to study what he identified as the critical issues of our time. He called this group the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

In a time Apocalyptic
on the mountain Eucalyptic
Full of thought Acropolyptic
Stands the Hutchins Hutch.

In this intellectual Attic
Institutions Democratic
Are studied by the Mode Socratic
With the Midas Touch.

So wrote one of the visiting scholars at what Hutchins called "El Parthenon," a mansion built by a shirt manufacturer on Eucalyptus Hill in Santa Barbara, serenely isolated from the chaos of the modern world and yet right at its most obvious cutting edge, California.

There residents and visitors met for nearly twenty years to participate in what became the ritual of the dialogue. And in the early years at least, no one seems to have doubted that the fate of free humanity depended on the questions they asked and discussed.

"The leisure of the theory class," scoffed one critic. Perhaps, but it was not all tweeds and pipes and elbow patches and pregnant pauses. Not when Paul Newman sits on the board of directors and Dinah Shore is invited to a dialogue with Bayard Rustin on civil rights.

While much of what they did was undoubtedly preaching to the already converted, the problems they dealt with were largely of crucial, prophetic and continuing importance: presidential power, atomic peril, ecology, crime and the quality of life. But all too often the only tangible result of the ensuing dialogue was yet another pamphlet or position paper.

A combination of factors ended time on the hill. There was an ill-conceived reorganization attempt by Hutchins, with a less-than-compassionate ousting of most of the long-time members, in order to create a "world academy" for the best minds on earth. Then the center failed to attract some of them. There was the inability to find an acceptable replacement for the aging Hutchins. There was undeniable financial irresponsibility, coupled with a declining economy; the center couldn't find a new endowment. In the end, members weren't even able to convince their own board of directors of the necessity to continue.

So in 1979, after the death of Hutchins, the property on the hill was sold and the center became part of the University of California at Santa Barbara. It continues there today as the Robert Maynard Hutchins Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

In retrospect, the center has been much more than, as one critic put it, "the longest running talk show in existence." And it has been some-

thing more than just another California Utopian society, unable to withstand the loss of its revered leader. But whether or not it has ever been anything more than the bureaucratization of Robert M. Hutchins has yet to be decided.

Frank Kelly [NF'43], who was with the fund for almost twenty years, has written a straightforward if not always objective account of its existence. His admiration for Hutchins and the Jeffersonian ideals of the fund is clear, apparent on nearly every page. He is not one to underestimate the fund's impact on American life. He would have us believe that all of the struggles were for our salvation, and perhaps they were. Hutchins, I think, would be pleased.

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A Suspense Story with a Moral

The Soul of a New Machine

Tracy Kidder. Atlantic-Little, Brown; Boston; 1981; $13.95

by STEVE ONEY

To most of us, computers are the embodiment of all that is complex and beyond easy understanding. They seem, by turn, damnable, inscrutable, and, most of all, soulless. Yet in *The Soul of a New Machine*, Tracy Kidder's illuminating study of the Data General Corporation, one of America's largest computer manufacturers, Kidder contends that computers can have a sort of soul when engineers with vision, personality, a dedication to craftsmanship, and a sense of poetry pour themselves into the making of the machines. By presenting computers as works of human care and genius, Kidder hopes to make us feel less alienated from the increasingly technical nature of the world.

The Data General Corporation of Westborough, Massachusetts, was founded on a shoestring budget in an abandoned beauty parlor in 1968. Ten years later, it had become a member of the Fortune 500 group and was grossing $507.5 million a year. Its modern headquarters and laboratories were constantly monitored by closed circuit television cameras to protect them from raids by technology pirates. Commercially sensitive work was nearly always underway at Data General, and in 1978 Kidder began to spend time with a small group of engineers laboring on a new computer in a basement lab. As successful as Data General had become, the efforts of the Eclipse engineering groups to create a "32-bit supermini" computer as quickly as possible would be vital to the firm's survival. A year in the high technology business, Kidder reports, is like a year in a dog's life — a very long time. If the Eclipse group engineers could not quickly invent and market a new "supermini," the company stood a good chance of losing its primacy in the business.

The Soul of a New Machine, then, is a suspense story with a moral. The tension grows from Kidder's fascination with a group of frantic engineers playing high-tech beat the clock. The moral is part of Kidder's larger design — he wants to bridge the widening gap between those people who understand machines and those who are afraid of them. He succeeds on both counts, although his efforts might have been more efficacious had he paid closer attention not only to the sense but the sound of his sentences. Too much of *The Soul of a New Machine* reads like a computer-produced reworking of famous passages from classical literature. We learn of workers' "dangerous commutes," and are told "per instructions" that the machine was moving "much too fast for prudence." But the clumsy diction that at times plagues *The Soul of a New Machine* pales beside the book's numerous strengths. Kidder has done an inspired job of comprehending the technical complexity, the drama, and the importance of computer engineering. *The Soul of a New Machine* is a significant book and an accessible one — for at the heart of Data General's efforts was a group of intense, highly individual people, engineers whom Kidder renders not as technocrats but as compelling human beings.

From the moment when we meet the Eclipse project's chief engineer, Tom West, aboard a heaving, storm-driven sailboat in the Atlantic, we know this isn't a story about white-shirted IBM minions. West — a driven, technically accomplished engineer who lives in a farmhouse that he restored and who once played guitar on the Cambridge coffee house circuit — is, Kidder tells, a good man in a storm. The laboratory storms at Data General, where inner-office competition is as stiff as any nor'easter, provide a climate where West thrives. Officially, Data General's management has assigned the job of creating the new computer to another team of engineers, but West is not deterred. He puts together his own engineering team, giving them so much freedom that they start wondering just who they work for. Left to their own devices, West's young, well-educated, iconoclastic

group creates a marvelous machine in record time. Although a few of the engineers burn out from the frantic pace (One resigned in the middle of the project, leaving this note: "I'm going off to a commune in Vemront and will deal with no unit of time shorter than a season."), most of them found great creative fulfillment. Invoking nineteenth-century philosopher John Ruskin, who believed that Gothic cathedrals were grand because artisans put their souls into building them, Kidder asserts that Data General's 32-bit supermini was inspired because its makers were inspired.

Kidder excels in creating the atmosphere of the Westborough labs during the hectic drive to build the new computer. At one point, he reports that West believed in "flying upside down." Thus West drove Data General's Eclipse group engineers to labor like a group of brilliant students cramming for an exam. There was Carl Alsing, who often played a psychologically harrowing computer game called Adventure on the basement lab machines. The game set the engineer on a long trek through the computer's memory searching for clues that could lead him to safety or kill him, and it so adroitly tested both man and machine that the Eclipse group engineers applied it as the final diagnostic hurdle for their new supermini — if Adventure could be played on the machine, it was good enough to be on the market. There was Steve Wallach — who designed the specs for how the machine would be used and appended literary subtitles from Nietzsche and T. S. Eliot to his work. It was a touch that managed to make vital and clear what otherwise might have been dry and tedious stuff. Other engineers felt so enthusiastic about their efforts that they would regularly counterfeit computer warnings of "system crashes" and flash the message to all the other engineers' terminals in order to drive them from their machines and thus have the computer to themselves. West dubbed his young soldiers the "microkids" and the "Hardy Boys," and Kidder conveys with novelistic immediacy, the enthusiasm with which they went about their work.

Although he professes to be an amateur when it comes to science and technology, Kidder manages to be a perfect guide for those of us with a taste to learn about computers. He shows virtuosity in dealing with complicated details, explaining them lucidly and simply without becoming patronizing. Early in the book, he deftly inserts all the background information we need to know about the history of computers and the technical terms used by engineers, and then he sets to work building his tale on this small but sufficient foundation. (A minor quibble: I wish he'd included a glossary of terms at the book's conclusion. As the narrative progresses, it's easy to forget the technical words defined early on.)

This is an ambitious book, and Kidder is intent on at least broaching just about every question one can imagine that concerns computers. He bounces all kinds of them off the members of the Eclipse group. Will computers end up running the world? Probably not. Do computer engineers feel uneasy about working for defense contractors? Many do. Has there really been a computer revolution? Yes, in the sense that computers have made a great deal of medical technology and research possible, but in another sense, no: Kidder convincingly asserts that computers actually give more power to autocratic supervisors and corporations intent on monitoring an employee's every breath, a salesman's every call.

Such musings, though, are extras. The soul of this book is its human story, the ways in which a remarkable group of engineers made a machine something special. In conveying that story, Kidder has done us all a favor. Robert Pirsig, author of *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, provided a flattering jacket blurb for Kidder's book, and that is telling. Pirsig is one of the most ardent advocates of the notion that beauty can exist in technology; he meditates long and convincingly on the loveliness of a motorcycle engine in his book. With the computer that was eventually marketed as the Eclipse MV/8000, Kidder too has found a symbol for the artfulness that can be seen in machines whose builders really care about their work.

Things were not all roses, though. Corporate forces within Data General disbanded the Eclipse group not long after its drive to create the computer that kept the company afloat. Kidder gives Tom West the last word on that: "It was a summer romance. But that's all right. Summer romances are sometimes some of the best things that ever happen." □

Steve Oney, Nieman Fellow '82, is a writer for Atlanta Weekly *magazine in Georgia.*

Letters

A NEW PROTECTION

In the article "A Conversation with Oriana Fallaci" published in the Winter 1981 issue, one of the Fellows suggested that it would be a good idea to form a journalists' organization concerned with protecting colleagues who have been imprisoned abroad. I thought you might be interested in knowing that such an organization was founded last year to do just that. The Committee To Protect Journalists was created out of concern for the increasing risks facing journalists that have taken a heavy toll in terms of murders, disappearances, arrests, torture, and intimidation. It seeks to inform journalists in the U.S. about such practices and to organize support for those who suffer from them, and for freedom of journalistic expression generally.

We are presently organizing a mission to Central America. A delegation of five to six prominent journalists will visit El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua in early March to examine the conditions in which journalists work, to protest incidents of violence against individuals, and to express concern about violations of press freedom.

In the past year, the committee has worked on 138 cases in 30 countries, compiling information from rights groups and foreign journalists, correspondents and unions and protesting directly to offending governments. We have worked with several Congressional committees in drafting letters to South Africa and Uruguay. We have distributed a bi-monthly case list to 400 U.S. journalists; held two press conferences; brought an exiled Salvadoran newspaper editor to New York for interviews; and helped obtain the release of an American reporter imprisoned in Colombia. We helped circulate a petition against violence in El Salvador that was signed by 1,000 U.S. journalists. We are also planning seminars for journalism students to be given in the spring at New York University and the Center for Communications.

Laurie Nadel
Michael Massing
Co-directors
New York City

Editor's Note: Three Nieman Fellows are among the members of the Board of Directors: H.D.S. Greenway ('72), Anthony Lewis ('57), and John Seigenthaler ('59).

CLOSE CALL

Seems like I'm fly-specking again. But in the Oriana Fallaci q-a, the good lady says, bottom of page 8:

"Why should they (journalists) have a special status like Rome open-city, you don't bomb Rome? You bomb Florence, you bomb Bologna, but you don't bomb Rome...."

I don't argue with Fallaci about journalists not rating special status. I think she is wrong, really, about bombing Florence.

I assume she is referring to bombing in World War II. Well, technically she is correct, for the Allied air force mounted one raid on Florence, a hit on the marshalling yards away from the center of the city with its wonderful art and architecture.

The planes were led into the target by an American navigator-bombardier who had been a student in the city before the war. I interviewed him (I was on the Army paper *Stars and Stripes*) after the raid and he said no bombs went astray, and nothing in the city proper was damaged. Even so, as a sensitive fellow he was all jelly-belly on the mission, fearing some of the planes might stray.

Other than that one time, Florence was never bombed. Germans destroyed some bridges (but not the Ponte Vecchio) when they withdrew. Otherwise the magnificent city survived unscathed.

Jack Foisie (NF '47)
Johannesburg, South Africa

OF MILLS AND THE WIND

The winter issue of *Nieman Reports* was excellent. I especially appreciated "The Press on El Salvador."

But I wish that you heard more often from members of classes before 1943. Some of us are still alive and busy.

This year a partially updated paperbound edition of *Wind-Catchers*, my history of windmills, came out, and I flew out to San Francisco for the dedication of a rejuvenated giant. It was one of the two biggest Dutch windmills ever constructed.

This one was erected in 1902 to irrigate the Golden Gate Park. Mrs. Eleanor Rossi Crabtree raised nearly $25,000 for materials needed to reconstruct it. Seabees from Treasure Island then volunteered to do the work. It is a beautiful machine again now, that no visitor to San Francisco should fail to see.

Volta Torrey (NF '40)
Washington, D.C.

Nieman Notes

We wish each of you had been here in December to see the bright array of holiday cards that came to the Nieman office. We stood them up in a nice crowd on the mantelpiece, and soon had so many that we had to build up a second colony on a table nearby. Please accept our deepest thanks for all your greetings and messages. Such visits — whether by mail or telephone — make it a special time of year; we admit to saving every single one against the leaner months. Again, thank you.

— 1939 —

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS, vice president of the World Future Society, writes: "I'm working on my third unpublished book. It covers 150 years of family and personal history from 1845 to 1955; from my maternal grandmother's birth to my own projected demise. The chapters on my State Department career, especially right after the war, tell of some events which have never been adequately described. But I'm shooting for something much bigger — a sense of perspective on twentieth-century history, and a look down the road at the twenty-first century, when we may be in a totally new paradigm."

Niemans will want to know that LOUIS LYONS is in the hospital. Notes may be sent to his home (7 Kenway Street, Cambridge, MA 02138), as Totty brings mail to him on her daily visits.

— 1940 —

Margaret and WELDON JAMES from Alexandria, Virginia, were recent visitors at Lippmann House. The Jameses were in Cambridge to spend some time with their daughter, Sarah de Besche, who often caters meals for the Nieman seminars.

A Christmas letter from Irma and GLENN NIXON includes news of their trip to Alaska last summer. "We traveled from Seattle to Skagway, via the Alaska Ferry Liner over the very scenic inland waterway. We found Alaska to be a frontier state of startling scenic contrasts. Unbelievably magnificent mountain views, many snow-capped, climaxed by a glimpse of Mt. McKinley in Denali National Park. Many more glaciers than anywhere else on the North American continent. Irma's pictures of the calving from Columbia Glacier in Prince William Sound have been enlarged and framed so as to be suitable for our living room. Our Christmas card picture was taken at the international border between Alaska and Yukon Territory, about 300 miles south of the Arctic Circle."

— 1941 —

GEORGE CHAPLIN, vice president and editor, the *Honolulu Advertiser*, has become a member of the Board of Governors of the East-West Center in that city. This national educational institution, established by Congress in 1960, aims to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. Each year more than 1,500 women and men from many nations and cultures participate in Center programs.

News from VANCE JOHNSON: "I retired at the end of 1980 after fifteen years as a development officer, first at the University of Chicago and then, for six years, at Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke's Medical Center (Rush University) in Chicago. Though I occasionally saw the newer and older Niemans in Chicago, I have not been able to return to Cambridge for many years." Johnson's address: 104 Northbrook Lane, Ormond Beach, Florida 32074.

ALEXANDER KENDRICK sent a note: "1981 was the fortieth anniversary of my own Nieman bounty ('Forty years on,' as the Harrow song has it) and I can see from the transcripts [in *Nieman Reports*] that the vigor and crustiness of Nieman seminars have not diminished...I am sorry only that I could not attend the last convocation, but like Fats Waller, 'Don't get around much any more.'"

— 1943 —

FRANK K. KELLY is the author of *Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic*, published in December by the Free Press. See review, page 36.

— 1946 —

BEN YABLONKY, retired director of the Fellowships in the Humanities for Journalists at the University of Michigan, writes in a letter: "After a self-imposed year on the bench, I've returned to teaching a freshman seminar this fall. I could not resist the entreaties of the Liberal Arts College Dean who invited, along with me, a dozen or so emeritus profs to return to active duty to teach one course. It's fun; the youngsters are animated, bright, hang on to every word. I plan to do it again if invited.

"Otherwise, I've continued to do a bit of consulting work, recruiting for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and the Detroit PBS station, as well as serving as a critic for three television stations (in Boston, Miami, and Detroit) in assessing broadcast editorials. I manage to keep active."

— 1950 —

MURREY MARDER writes: "Starting in 1980, I worked out an arrangement with *The Washington Post* under which I work eight months of the year (as senior diplomatic reporter) and take off the other four months to do research on a hugely ambitious project I began in 1978. The latter is now personally financed (meaning by me), but it began with, and still carries, the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. Administrative support was provided for the first year and a half (when I was on full sabbatical leave from *The Post*) by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"The subject of this continuing study, which is intended to produce a book, is interacting perceptions of American-Soviet foreign policy since Sputnik (1957).

"The current work schedule with *The Post* (eight months on, four off) evolved

from a provision in our Newspaper Guild contract which authorized 'phased retirement' (deliberately unspecified to allow flexibility). Physically it means I work eight months and get 8/12ths of a year's pay — along with customary medical insurance, vacation day credits, etc. as a fulltime employee.

"After some inevitable adaptation requirements, it seems to work out. I try to avoid daily-deadline stories, partly so as not to cause tangles with the fulltime diplomatic staffers, but mainly to concentrate on what daily journalism too often overlooks — that is, the historic depth and parallels behind any seemingly new crisis — Poland, Cuba, etc.

"*The Post*'s staff, fortunately, is large enough to permit this, but I do not consider it a journalistic luxury; at times we turn up major current news by this approach, and always more penetrating background than we would otherwise find.

"So I commend to other papers who are not aware of it, instead of shoving upstairs your most experienced newspaper people who are the repositories of your accumulated history (and the nation's), explore 'phased retirement.'"

— 1952 —

JOHN HARRISON sends word of classmates: "CHARLES MOLONY, Shirley and SHANE MacKAY are spending the winter months in Florida. The MacKays have recently bought an apartment in Atlantis, where they have previously rented quarters while escaping Winnipeg winters.

"Shirley and JOHN HARRISON managed a reunion with Charles Molony at his home in Lexington, Kentucky, just before he left to spend the winter in Sarasota.

"The Harrisons, who live in Iowa City, spent several weeks last May in central and northern Italy. They expect to go to Yugoslavia this year, headquartering in Dubrovnik."

— 1953 —

KEYES BEECH writes: "After 33 years in Asia, 30 for the *Chicago Daily News* and three for *The Los Angeles Times*, I'm turning in my trench coat, again, although nobody believes me.

"Anyway, until I can find a place to live in Washington, my address will be: In care of Mr. George McArthur, 4633 Rockwood Parkway, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. This is effective as of January 15."

— 1954 —

From RICHARD DUDMAN, living in Maine after his retirement as Washington bureau chief for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Another finding in our new life up here: The Ellsworth Rotary Club is a lot like the Washington Gridiron Club, and both can be fun if you just relax and accept them for what they are."

— 1957 —

MARVIN D. WALL informs us: "I am

Neil

EDMUND J. ROONEY

Neil V. McNeil '60 was often the first. The first with a wry and appropriate comment. Or, the first with a laugh-provoking observation or a most intelligent, and penetrating question. At 54, Neil is now the first of us known to die.

Police reported they found the bodies of Neil and his wife, Doris, 57, on Wednesday, November 18th, in what they described as an apparent murder-suicide.

Dr. Brian Blackbourne, deputy chief of the Washington (D.C.) Metropolitan medical examiner's office, pronounced the couple dead in their home, located for twenty years in the city's Cleveland Park section. Dr. Blackbourne said McNeil's death was listed as a murder and his wife's as a suicide.

Detectives said Doris shot her husband in the back of the neck with a 9 mm. semi-automatic pistol, then went to the basement of their townhouse and shot herself in the chest. The handgun was found nearby.

The couple, police said, had been estranged for about a month before the shootings.

Neil had divided his journalism career between reporting and teaching. And in both, he reeked integrity.

His reporting career began in Texas where he had graduated from the University of Texas. In the 1950's, he worked as a Washington correspondent for several papers including the *Houston Press*, the *Herald-Post* and the *Fort Worth Press*. He was a native of Houston, and the late President Lyndon B. Johnson encouraged him to land his first reporting job at El Paso.

Neil McNeil's impact as a teacher was considerable. He joined the faculty at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, in 1961. He founded, and was the only director of, the school's Medill News Service in Washington. An estimated nearly one thousand of Medill's graduate students worked in the program since the 1960's. And now among them are some of the finest reporters and editors in the nation.

A longtime colleague, Medill Professor Benjamin H. Baldwin described Neil as "one of the smartest, best-informed persons I've ever known."

Roger Boye, a former student and now general manager of *The Quill*, the monthly magazine of The Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, visited Neil in Washington only a few days before his death. "He appeared happy and relaxed," Boye said.

McNeil was at Medill in Evanston, Illinois, only a little more than thirty hours before he was shot, but said he was hurrying back to D.C. "to do some grading and get to the office early in the morning." He never made it back to his desk.

The Neil V. McNeil Memorial Scholarship has been established at Northwestern; the fund's co-chairmen are Gregg Ramshaw and Arthur Rotstein. Donations to the fund may be made in care of: Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, 1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill. 60201.

Neil and Doris are survived by a son, Pitt Nieman, and a daughter, Mrs. Jenny Foerester. □

Edmund J. Rooney, Nieman Fellow '60 and a classmate of Neil McNeil, is an assistant professor of journalism at Loyola University of Chicago and an associate editor of The Quill.

in the process of relocating. Please note my new address: Apartment J-23, 2924 Clairmont Road, Atlanta, Georgia 30329." Wall formerly lived in Chevy Chase, Maryland.

WILLIAM WORTHY is one of three Boston-area freelance journalists who are suing FBI Director William Webster and other FBI and U.S. Customs Service officials.

The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit on January 20th in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia on behalf of these journalists, whose copies of books on the American involvement in Iran were seized by FBI agents at Logan Airport early in December. The suit claims that the government officials have violated the First and Fourth Amendment rights of the journalists.

The ACLU lawsuit charges that the FBI unlawfully seized, searched, and detained the journalists' luggage for nearly a week, without a warrant or probable cause, on its arrival in Boston at Logan Airport, after the journalists returned from nearly two months in Iran under contract with CBS News. During that initial search the FBI seized eleven books the journalists had purchased at bookstores in Iran. The FBI has refused to return these books. Published in Iran and widely available at bookstores there, the books provide documentary evidence concerning the role the United States embassy in Tehran played in the years prior to and just following the fall of the Shah. The books are said to contain reproductions of U.S. government documents found in the American embassy during its capture by Iranian students.

— 1959 —

JOHN SEIGENTHALER, publisher and editor of *The Tennessean* in Nashville, was conferred with the Mass Media Award for courageous journalism by the American Jewish Committee, in recognition of a series of articles in which the newspaper exposed Ku Klux Klan activities in the South. See also note on NANCY WARNECKE, '81.

— 1960 —

NEIL McNEIL, director of Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism's student-operated Washington news service, was shot to death on November 18th, apparently by his wife of 31 years, who then killed herself.

See also separate item written by his classmate, EDMUND J. ROONEY, page 41.

— 1962 —

MARTIN GOODMAN, president of Toronto Star Newspapers Ltd., died on December 20th after a year-long battle with cancer.

In October he had received his country's highest honor, the Order of Canada. At the ceremonies in Ottawa, he was the only journalist in the group of 62 distinguished Canadians receiving the insignia from Governor-General Ed Schreyer. He was cited for providing leadership in Canadian journalism and showing a deep and fundamental concern for national unity. Upon accepting the award, he said, "I think the honor is a significant recognition of journalism. My contribution is not personal so much as on behalf of the profession. I am delighted to see journalism represented in this group."

For further tribute, see opposite page.

Goodman is survived by his wife, Janis; a son, Jonathan; a daughter, Lauren; a brother, Jeffrey; a sister, Barbara; and his parents, Aaron and Rosalind Goodman.

Plans in the United States and Canada are in effect for the establishment of the Martin Wise Goodman Memorial Fund to support a Nieman Fellowship for Canadian journalists. This is the way in which he himself chose to be remembered. Full details will appear in the next issue of *Nieman Reports*. In the meantime, contributions may be sent to the Goodman Memorial Fund, Nieman Foundation, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138.

MURRAY SEEGER was appointed director of the AFL-CIO Federation's Department of Information in December. Since 1972, he has reported from Europe for *The Los Angeles Times*, serving as bureau chief in Brussels, Bonn, and Moscow, covering the Soviet Union, Eastern European communist countries, West Germany and the Nordic and Benelux countries. His new home address: 9801 Hillridge Drive, Kensington, Maryland 20795.

— 1965 —

RAY JENKINS, since November editor of the editorial page, *The Evening Sun*, sends his new mailing address: 4418 Norwood Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

SMITH HEMPSTONE, with Brit Hume and Judy Frank, has edited the book, *An Illustrated History of St. Albans School*. Under a bequest from President Buchanan's niece and hostess, Harriet Lane Johnston, the school opened in 1909. "The reminiscences of alumni in this authorized history may not interest others, but the book's pictures constitute a flawless portrait of an enclave of wealth, privilege, and the love of learning." (*The Washington Post*)

— 1967 —

REMER TYSON, mentioned in an earlier batch of Nieman Notes as opening an Africa bureau for Knight-Ridder Newspapers in Nairobi, Kenya, writes from Salisbury, Zimbabwe. "I've been here — or at least I've had a house here — since November. I've been traveling a good deal. Africa is a frightful challenge, mostly to patiences. I'm glad I'm here.

"Enclosed is a card that tells you or any one else you wish to refer to where to reach me in case any of you should visit Salisbury and need a place to stay, someone to pick you up at the airport, and someone to take you around. I'd be pleased to see anyone from the Nieman program or from Harvard."

His address: Detroit Free Press, Knight-Ridder Newspapers, 372 Birkdale Drive, Glen Lorne, Salisbury, Zimbabwe; telephone 4675213; 25812, 25897; Telexs: 4339; 4251.

— 1970 —

J. BARLOW HERGET, Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Commerce in Raleigh, North Carolina, was a recent visitor at Lippmann House and was pleased to see these Nieman headquarters for the first time. His recollections of Cambridge center about the

offices at 77 Dunster Street; he commended the change.

HEDRICK SMITH, chief Washington correspondent for *The New York Times*, writes: "The arrival of a political year will probably bring more of us back into Massachusetts and the Boston area. I hope to get a chance to drop in. I'd enjoy seeing and talking with some of the younger reporters on the program this year. The other night Dave Broder, JACK NELSON ('62) and I had a round-table on the Larry King show from midnight until 3 a.m. Reminded me of Nieman days, except we had no good beer to drink."

— 1971 —

JAMES D. SQUIRES, editor of *The Chicago Tribune*, is serving as one of the judges for the Meeman Conservation Awards sponsored by the Scripps-Howard Foundation.

JO THOMAS, Miami and Caribbean bureau chief for *The New York Times*, announces with joy the birth of her daughter, Susan Elizabeth Thomas, on December 24, 1981.

— 1975 —

THOMAS DOLAN writes: "I've left television to take over as associate editor of the *Chicago Lawyer*, a spirited little monthly that often scoops Chicago's daily papers."

— 1976 —

Herbert and MAGGIE SCARF have announced the marriage of their daughter, Martha Anne Scarf, to Paul Reid Samuelson. The bride is an associate in the Boston law firm of Herrick and Smith; the groom is studying for a doctorate in finance at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Maggie Scarf is the author of *Unfinished Business*; her spouse Herbert is Sterling Professor of Economics at Yale.

— 1978 —

BRUCE LOCKLIN, investigative news editor, *The Record* in Hackensack, N.J. wrote us in November: "We've had a beautiful autumn here — golden days and some satisfying moments. First, I entered and completed my first marathon — the New York mob scene. The time was a not-too-glorious 5:32, but I finished the thing. Could be viewed as the culmination of an effort begun during my Nieman year — started running then.

"And then last week I was notified that I've been awarded an Alicia Patterson Fellowship for 1982. That means a year away from the office to do research and writing. My topic: organized crime."

FRANK SUTHERLAND Jr., city editor of *The Tennessean* in Nashville, was elected treasurer last November at the national convention of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, in Washington.

— 1979 —

FRANK VAN RIPER, Washington bureau correspondent for the *New York Daily News*, writes: "The holidays were great fun. Among other things, I had a dinner party New Year's eve that included Marcia and BOB PORTERFIELD. The next day Bob, Marcia, and Emily and GRAEME BEATON came by for brunch. The Beatons also brought along at my request the heir to the Beaton fortune,

Martin Wise Goodman

This is a sad day at *The Toronto Star*. Martin Goodman's year-long struggle with cancer has finally ended and we have lost our president, our colleague and friend.

Marty, as we all called him, was a giant of a man in everything from sheer energy and determination to intellectual ability, executive leadership and the game of softball that he loved so much. But the things we admired most were his warm and generous personality and his compassion for people.

He saw the newspaper as the conscience of the community — a warning bell that should ring when people's rights were trampled upon, when the legitimate needs of people were neglected or when someone deserved a helping hand. His proudest moments came when an article published in *The Star* provoked public discussion and eventually a solution to a community problem.

Marty had a deep love of Canada born out of his childhood in Calgary and his early working years in Montreal. He acknowledged that people in Quebec had legitimate economic grievances but regarded talk of separation as a personal affront. "No one," he would say, "can be allowed to break up this country."

His publishing philosophy sprang from his firm belief in free speech as the foundation of our democratic society. So long as newspapers are free to report and comment on the news, he believed that democracy would be secure.

In his relatively short business career — he was only 46 years old — Marty enjoyed remarkable success. He joined *The Star* as a reporter in 1958, was promoted to Washington correspondent, and then in quick succession to Ottawa bureau chief, city editor, managing editor, editor-in-chief and finally president.

The respect he commanded in the newspaper profession was recognized several years ago when he was elected president of Canadian Press, Canada's co-operative news gathering agency.

It was a year ago last month when Marty learned that his days were limited. He insisted on carrying on as if nothing had changed. He steeled his courage and determination to fight the pain and with the firm resolve that marked his entire life carried out his duties until the very end.

To Marty life was more than receiving; it required giving, too. As a young reporter he was awarded a Nieman Fellowship which enabled him to study for a year at Harvard University. So others could benefit as he had, he established a trust fund that will enable promising journalists to spend a year at Harvard as he did.

Marty will be sorely missed at *The Star*. But we will long remember him for his courage and inspiration. □

Editorial from The Toronto Star, *Monday, December 21, 1981*

Benjamin Beaton, 14 months old and built like a fireplug in Doctor Dentons. All are doing well." Bob and Graeme are classmates of Frank.

— 1980 —

LYNDA McDONNELL has left her post as business and labor reporter for the *Tribune*, Minneapolis, to join the staff of the *St. Paul Dispatch* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* where she will cover economics and write a weekly column. She sends word about her children (Michael Christian was born on September 11th) and her spouse: "Michael is big, beautiful and happy. Ben's got the usual mixture of ardor and envy. Steve took a two and a half month paternity leave, which has made my return to work far easier." Steve (Brandt) is now covering agriculture at the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

JUDY NICOL, Maryland editor, *The Washington Post*, and her husband, Joel Havemann, announce the birth of a daughter, Ann Elizabeth, on November 3, 1981.

JAN STUCKER, formerly special assignments writer with *The State*, Columbia, South Carolina, has joined the staff of *The Charlotte Observer*, to write about business and economics. The newspaper has started a new weekly section called "Business Monday."

Jan continues: "Several of the Knight-Ridder publications are doing the same. It's an area I'm very interested in, and in which I think there is a future, journalistically speaking. Since I studied economics during my Nieman year, that should be a help. So I'll be joining other Niemans, such as DOUG MARLETTE ('81), ED WILLIAMS ('73), and FOSTER DAVIS ('76).

"My free-lancing is coming along, too. I had a piece about the Barnwell (S.C.) Nuclear Fuel Plant in the *New Republic* in January, and have an article about what women need to know about the new tax law in the March 1982 issue of *Ms*."

ROBERT TIMBERG left his position as the *Baltimore Evening Sun*'s one-man bureau last summer to join the *Baltimore* (morning) *Sun*'s 14-person Washington bureau. He writes: "I'm now the congressional correspondent and have been since mid-July.... We've bought a house in Bethesda.... Our new address is: 5607 Gloster Road, Bethesda, Maryland 20816.

"Kelley, by the way, has retained her maiden name of Andrews. Since March she has been on Secretary Lewis's staff at the Department of Transportation where she is director of intergovernmental relations."

— 1981 —

Word has come to us that Anna and PETER ALMOND are expecting a new member in their family next summer. Peter is a reporter with the *Cleveland Press* in Ohio.

MASAYUKI IKEDA, news writer and editor, Radio Japan in Tokyo, writes: "Some weeks ago, Professor Reischauer visited Japan, because our corporation are making special series of TV program on his academic life. At the final party to see off him and his wife, I asked him to let me know beforehand if he has another schedule to disclose something on U.S.-Japan relations. The answer was No.

"Almost every day, I cover news related on U.S.-Japan relations, many cases, frictions. I strongly wish that the Fulbright Committee will send the White House staff to Japan for a year to study this country, then I can expect a bit better remarks on Japan.

"I hope the new Fellows are enjoying, and will enjoy, continued 'days of wine and roses' year after year.

"I'm writing this letter at the end of this year just before all the bells of Japanese temples start to ring 108 times to cleanse people's troubles and prepare for a fresh year. Wishing you all a happy new year."

DAVID LAMB, former bureau chief for *The Los Angeles Times* in Nairobi, Kenya, has been assigned to Cairo, Egypt, to cover that region for the newspaper. Following his Nieman year, Dave and his wife Sandra Northrop, a film editor, resided temporarily in Washington, D.C.

Their new address, effective January 15th, is: In care of *The Los Angeles Times*, Box 1535, Cairo, Egypt. Telephone: 986-134.

DANIEL SAMPER and his classmate David Lamb were among the 24 journalists from the U.S., Canada, and the Third World who gathered at the American Press Institute early in November for a five-day meeting at Reston, Virginia, on "Reporting the Developing Nations."

Daniel is a columnist and heads the investigative unit at *El Tiempo* in Bogota, Colombia. "The difficulty in dealing with NWIO (New World Information Order)," he said, "is to see the tones of gray. There are good points on both sides.... I defend freedom of the press, but international coverage is biased, crisis-oriented and a quasi-monopoly...." Samper declared that some of the best reporting of South America has been by Northern American — rather than Latin American — journalists.

David Lamb said that the Third World wants booster journalism and most nations distrust free journalism. They want to regulate the flow of news out, as well as in.

As we were compiling news about Niemans for this issue, the staff at Lippmann House received in the mail an invitation to attend the wedding of Susan Kershman and HOWARD SHAPIRO on March 7, 1982, in Philadelphia.

Susan is coordinator for a program to prepare teachers of the blind and visually handicapped at Temple University; Howie is a reporter and editor with *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

NANCY WARNECKE, staff photographer with *The Tennessean*, Nashville, was one of the reporters attacked during the assignment for a series of articles exposing Ku Klux Klan activities in the South. The American Jewish Committee conferred its Mass Media Award on *The Tennessean* for this endeavor. See also John Seigenthaler '59.

— 1982 —

CHRISTOPHER BOGAN, staff writer with the *Spokesman-Review*, Spokane, Washington, is the recipient of a Howard W. Blakeslee Award from the American Heart Association for his "realistic and skillfully written" newspaper articles about open heart surgery and blood.

FAY S. JOYCE, political editor of the *St. Petersburg Times*, shared with Charles Staffer first prize from the American Association for the Advance of Science for science writing in newspapers over 100,000 circulation. The series they wrote was on "Economics, Technology, and Goals of the Space Shuttle."

RANDOM NOTES

WILLIAM McILWAIN ('58) has been elected to the 17-member Pulitzer Prize Board. He is editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*. Three other Niemans are among the 55 journalists appointed as Pulitzer Prize nominating jurors to consider candidates for 1982 awards in journalism categories. They are: CHARLES A. FERGUSON ('66), editor, the *Times-Picayune* and *The States Item*, New Orleans; GENE ROBERTS ('62), executive editor, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; and JOHN STROHMEYER ('53), editor and vice president, *The Globe-Times*, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The Christmas Books number of *The Sunday New York Times* on December 6th, in the "Notable Books of the Year" columns, selected two books by Nieman Fellows. *Asking for Trouble: Autobiography of a Banned Journalist* by DONALD WOODS ('79), and *Too Old to Cry* by PAUL HEMPHILL ('69), were listed in the category of Autobiography and Biography.

One of the gifts under the editor's Christmas tree held some interesting surprises. A book, titled *The Great American Writers' Cookbook* (edited by Dean Faulkner Wells, Yoknapatawpha Press, Oxford, Mississippi, 1981), included contributions from many familiar journalists — especially ten Nieman Fellows. They are, in no particular order:

TOM WICKER ('58) — Skihouse Cabbage Soup; Stonewall Cookbook Doughnuts; Mr. Hick's Brown Derby Hushpuppies; Swordfish Steak with Cucumbers

LARRY L. KING ('70) — Party Boy's Midnight Snack Purée

DAN WAKEFIELD ('64) — Good Mood Chili

JACK NELSON ('62) — Striped Bass with Mustard Sauce

HODDING CARTER ('66) — Betty Carter's Barbequed Shrimp

HAROLD HAYES ('59) — A Traditional Writer's Breakfast

J. ANTHONY LUKAS ('69) — Krautsvakerl

JONATHAN YARDLEY ('69) — Zucchini and Rice

ANTHONY LEWIS ('57) — Carrot Bread; Granola

ELLEN GOODMAN ('74) — "I don't write recipes, I read them. My own favorites are, blush, limited to things chocolate."

We now welcome notes from any who are interested in recipe swaps. Beating batter in a big mixing bowl, it seems, is a good and efficacious antidote to long hours with page proofs — or writer's block. Bon appetit!

—T.B.K.L.

Committee Named to Select Niemans

Four journalists and three members of the Harvard faculty have been appointed by President Derek C. Bok to serve on the committee to select American Nieman Fellows in journalism for the academic year 1982-83, the 45th year of the Nieman program.

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

S. L. (Sue) Cline, Assistant Professor of History, History and Literature, and Social Studies, Harvard University

Paul A. Freund, Carl M. Loeb University Professor Emeritus, Harvard Law School

Marc J. Roberts, Professor of Political Economy and Health Policy, Harvard School of Public Health

John Seigenthaler, President, Publisher, and Editor, *The Tennessean*, Nashville; Nieman Fellow '59

Lester Sloan, Photographer, *Newsweek* Magazine, Los Angeles; Nieman Fellow '76

Jean Alice Small, Editor and Publisher, *The Daily Journal*, Kankakee, Illinois

Richard C. Wald, Senior Vice President for News, ABC News, New York

The Fellowships provide a year of study at Harvard University for persons experienced in the media. Announcement will be made in early June of the eleven American journalists appointed to the 1982-83 class of Nieman Fellows.

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

Joe Alex Morris Jr. Honored Posthumously at Harvard University

A memorial lectureship honoring Joe Alex Morris Jr., longtime Mideast correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*, has been established by Harvard University's Nieman Foundation for Journalism.

Scheduled to begin in the spring of 1982, the Joe Alex Morris Jr. Memorial Lectureship will be awarded annually to an American overseas correspondent or media commentator on foreign affairs by the Nieman Foundation, in consultation with each year's class of Nieman Fellows. The recipient will spend three days at Harvard meeting with the Fellows and other groups within the University. The award includes appointment by the Harvard Corporation as a Visiting Nieman Fellow, expenses, and a modest honorarium.

In announcing the lectureship, James C. Thomson Jr., the Foundation's Curator, said, "We are heartened by this prospect for a permanent, appropriate, and educational memorial to Joe Alex Morris Jr., at the university which meant so much to him and in a program he esteemed."

Mr. Morris, a Harvard graduate in the class of 1949, was killed while covering the Iranian revolution in Tehran in February 1979. Before joining *The Los Angeles Times* in 1965, he was a reporter with *The Minneapolis Tribune* and *The Hartford Times* and foreign correspondent for United Press International, *Newsweek*, and *The International Herald Tribune*. His overseas assignments began in Europe, but soon focused (for about 25 years) on the Middle East. He is survived by his father, also a journalist; his wife, Ulla; and their three children.

Members of the Morris family were prime movers in establishing the memorial lectureship; their donations have been augmented, and will continue to be, by gifts from Morris's Harvard classmates and journalist colleagues. □

Visiting Nieman Fellow

Ake Ortmark, senior editor in the News Department of Swedish Television, Stockholm, has been appointed a Visiting Nieman Fellow at Harvard University for February and March 1982.

Mr. Ortmark, who will be joining the eleven American and six foreign journalists whose Nieman Fellowships started in September 1981, plans to study the decision-making process in America. While at Harvard, he will concentrate on the role that business leaders play in political life, especially with regard to their influence on political decisions in advertising, consumer regulations, and economic and foreign policy.

Before rejoining Swedish Television in 1978, Mr. Ortmark held several positions in the Swedish print media, including editor-in-chief of the weekly business magazine, *Veckans Affarer*. He has reported on economics and politics for Swedish Radio and from 1967 to 1974 was senior executive producer for Swedish Television. In 1954, he received a degree from the Stockholm School of Economics and has studied economics at the University of Stockholm and the University of California, Berkeley. He has written several books on politics and economics, and is co-author of *Television and Political Life: Studies in Six European countries.* □

Laurels

The photographs of Central America that appeared in *Nieman Reports* Winter 1981 have netted photographer David Woo three prizes in the National Press Photographers Association monthly newsclip contest. The photograph on the top of page 22 received third place in the feature-single category; at the bottom of the same page, second place in the same category; and the entire portfolio from *NR* placed second in the feature-picture category division.

The regional competition for December included 226 entries from 62 contestants.

These prizes, combined with his previous winnings, placed Woo third in the photographer of the year category for Region 8 — Texas, Louisiana, and New Mexico. □

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