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A Conversation with Fred Friendly

Electronic Messenger

Edward Fouhy

America's Obsession

Norman Lear

A Southern Portfolio

Nancy Warnecke



Paul Hemphill • Clark Mollenhoff • Leonard Sussman

On the Wing

Daydreaming in a British Airways 747, humming its way six miles above the ocean, we were brought back to reality by a question from the silver-haired traveler at our left. He pointed to the cup he had just placed on his fold-down table.

"Remarkable — the coffee isn't even rippling. Do you see any tremors?"

"None at all." We wondered what kind of parlor game this might be.

"Remember how everything rattled and shook in the old prop-driven planes? You could hardly hold a magazine steady, and the racket was deafening. At the end of a long flight your bones felt displaced."

"Oh, yes," we agreed. "And how about the Ford Tri-Motors on the Boston-to-New York run? Bare floors, wicker seats, and one hostess giving each passenger a package of gum to chew."

Glancing at his coffee cup, our fellow passenger said, "When the first jet-powered 707's came off the assembly line, Boeing invited writers and journalists from the trade magazines for an introductory flight, and company engineers demonstrated the smoothness of a jet ride by balancing a twenty-five-cent piece on its edge.

"Before then, during World War II, when the jet prototype for the P-59 fighter had passed its flight tests, the first groups of Air Force officers who checked out the new aircraft were honored upon landing by a little ceremony of initiation.

"The crew chief — a sergeant — would produce a pair of diagonal pliers, solemnly approach the pilots,

and clip the tiny propellers from each officer's lapel insignia. After that, anyone who wore winged insignia sans propeller blades had a much envied badge of distinction — until, of course, jet engines became commonplace."

This casual conversation shortly became prophetic when, after that long flight, we attended the 30th General Assembly of the International Press Institute in Nairobi. During the business sessions we were reminded yet again of the complex balancing acts carried out by journalists — especially those in areas of press trouble — as they maneuver between the realities of political or governmental suppression and their personal commitment to report the news.

Two hundred and seventy delegates — including 34 journalists from the United States — had come from 65 nations to exchange information and discuss media issues. The program offered panels on reporting Africa, analyses of the media, reports on the status of the press around the globe, issues of

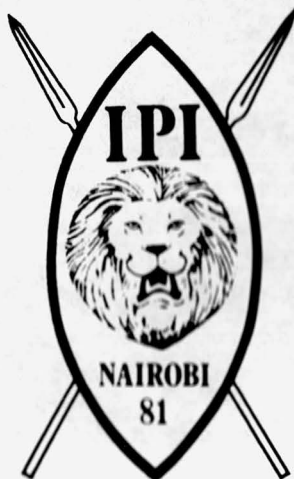
conflicting rights such as the press versus privacy, UNESCO proposals for protection of journalists, and a question-and-answer session with Kenyan cabinet ministers.

In his opening address, President Daniel T. arap Moi of Kenya asked Western editors and publishers to use their power, not only to print what is "fit to print," but also to fight injustice in the world, particularly in such countries as South Africa. In his view, the press cannot afford to sit on the sidelines where human suffering and injustice are concerned.

In the keynote address, the Aga Kahn called for higher press standards throughout the world, and greater understanding by the West of Third World aspirations. He asked for real assistance to the Third World press in forms more meaningful than the donation of reconditioned printing equipment. He then suggested a novel idea — the "twinning" of newspapers in developed countries and the Third World, a mechanism which he thought might help to transfer skills and technology to Third World journalists, as well as give more balance to Western coverage of Third World events.

Jacobo Timerman, exiled publisher and editor-in-chief of *La Opinión*, focused attention on Argentina. In addressing the meeting he told how his Buenos Aires newspaper, opposed to terrorism from the left and the right, asked almost daily what had happened to one or another person who seemed to have "disappeared."

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EDITOR

Tenney Barbara K. Lehman

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Daphne B. Noyes

BUSINESS MANAGER

Kettee J. Boling

PRODUCTION

Jan Morgan

CIRCULATION

Betsy Ryles

PUBLISHER

James C. Thomson Jr.

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

A CONVERSATION WITH FRED FRIENDLY

In March 1981, Fred Friendly, Edward R. Murrow Professor of Journalism Emeritus at Columbia University, held an informal discussion with the Nieman Class of 1981. This text is taken from the transcript of his comments.

I've been asked to say something about Walter Lippmann. There would be no Niemans without him; I don't think American journalism would be as good as it is — and it's not as good as it ought to be — without him. I'll try to tell you what I think he contributed.

When Walter Lippmann was dying in a nursing home in New York, my wife (who is a schoolteacher) and I would visit him two or three times a week. Once I asked him "What's wrong with this country; why doesn't it work?"

He answered, "We have lost our comity."

I went to the dictionary and looked that up because it's not a word you hear very often. (It means social harmony.) Democracy only works when you have gentlemen and ladies, Lippmann felt.

Modern Americans have a kind of adversarial disease which, when controlled, works. When out of control, which I suggest it may be, we have battles between the First Amendment and the Sixth Amendment, battles between those who want to do something for poor people and those who want to do something about inflation. We've reached the point where there is such a lack of comity, to borrow from Lippmann, that the very thing we prize the most, the democratic system, may not be working.

And what's that got to do with journalism? Everything.

I'm so old I can remember when there was no such thing as radio. We lived on 110th Street in New York. In

1922 my father — I can remember because it was the year of the Dempsey-Carpentier fight — took me up Broadway, to right near where I teach now, and we bought the components to put together a crystal set. He held one earphone and I held the other, and we listened to Graham Macnamee describe the fight. When I eventually met Graham Macnamee, I asked him, "Gee, you seemed to understand that fight, but could you really describe everything you saw?"

"No," he said, "I made that up as we went along."

That's the way radio was at the beginning, and that's not a joke. The way radio was and also the way television might have been, had it not been for the Murrows and the Cronkites and the Severeids and some other people who tried to make it serious. But one thing I learned from all those people I used to work with — more from Murrow than from anybody else — is that a journalist is an explainer of complex issues, and you can't explain something you don't understand.

Every time I read a news story that doesn't work, or listen to the radio and it doesn't tell me what I thought I was going to understand, if I analyze it — and too often I don't — it's because I'm aware that the reporter doesn't know what he or she is talking about. We live in a world that's litigious, cantankerous, adversarial, full of journalists who love to use the word "controversy." It's almost a byword — if you have a weak story, you put the word controversy into it, and that hypes it. If you want to hype it more you say "very controversial." But most of all you have journalists, like me, like you, explaining things they don't understand, whether it's El Salvador, productivity, what's going on in Poland, or at Three Mile Island, or in South Africa. This is not because they are venal or sloppy people. It's because they are not given enough time and because journalism is, as Lippmann said, an underdeveloped profession. It is more developed now than ever before. Fellowships like this help. But we live in a world in which the gatekeepers, whether they be television

Fred Friendly was advisor on communications at the Ford Foundation from 1964 to 1981 and was producer of "See It Now" with Edward R. Murrow. The former head of CBS News, he is the author of Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control; The Good Guys, the Bad Guys, and the First Amendment, and, most recently, Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press.

producers or newspaper editors, don't really have time to let people understand what they're reporting. You have people writing about productivity who have no sense of understanding the problem of productivity in this country. They don't know whether it is a problem of labor strife, of depression, of reform, of health benefits, or of management out of control.

When I was that young man, I used to laugh at a President named Calvin Coolidge, who said, "The business of America is business." I thought that was a great joke.

But that's what it has all become — it happens to be true. Detroit is one of the great American stories — a tragic, horrendous story. How can reporters who have been trained to write who-where-why-what-when, and get-it-in, get-it-out, how can they possibly begin to explain anything as important as why Ruth Friendly buys a Honda because it is so much better made than the automobiles of the country that invented the automobile? That's about as complicated a story as you can find, and the roots of it go all through our society. People say, "Let's put tariffs on, that'll fix it; let's put a quota system on"; other people say just the opposite. And a journalist with a microphone and a camera, or a typewriter, or a pen, has to sit down and try to explain it.

The news is the biggest consumer item we have — more important than whether caffeine gives you cancer, more important than which automobile is the best import, more important than whether "x" food or "y" food is better, and yet the news media doesn't report on itself at all — is offended at the very thought of it. Only a few newspapers have ombudsmen and women.

In between the time that Mr. Lippmann suggested to the president of Harvard University, James Conant, that there be a Nieman Fellowship program, journalism has become a major industry, a major factor in America. We run the elections — you may not like that, but we do. Television and newspapers set the agenda. There was a day when, in smoke-filled rooms, politicians like Jim Farley and Al Smith decided who was going to run for president. We thought that was bad, so the reformers came in — yet most of the people who have been nominated in your adult lifetime have not been very good candidates.



Question: If we are setting the agenda — and a lot of people do not like the way the agenda was set by television and newspaper this past election — you've been in television management, how would you do it differently?

Answer: I don't think because we set the agenda that

it's our job to run the country. That's not what I meant to say. What we do is focus attention. If you lived in New York, you would see attention focused on the Scarsdale murder by the greatest newspaper in the world. I was at a social occasion with the editor of that newspaper, and I said, "Abe, I've gotta admit that I read some of that stuff,

What I am talking about are not the micro-editing decisions, but why there is only 22 minutes of nightly news on the networks.

but why is it such a big story?" He said, "Fred, I've gotta tell you — that's our kind of murder."

What I am talking about are not the micro-editing decisions, but why there is only 22 minutes of nightly news on the networks. That's almost obscene. To say to the American people, "We are now going to tell you the news," and have the people in Providence, in San Antonio, in Louisville, say, "This man that I respect, this great news organization with 80 correspondents, one of the great news organizations in the world" — I'm talking about CBS — "is going to tell me the news, and therefore I'll know all about the news."

But in 22 minutes all you can do is an index. People get up from the set and they say, "Now I know everything that's happening in El Salvador and Detroit and Poland and everywhere else" — they have not just been cheated, they have been cheated without knowing they've been cheated. There's no reason. You can't do the news in 22 minutes. The tragedy is most people think they are getting the news. So they say, "Well, I don't have to read a newspaper, certainly not an afternoon newspaper. I heard all the news; that man said, 'That's the way it is,' so that must be the way it is."

But that isn't the way it is; it's a bunch of very good reporters running around Washington with cameras. You clock the nightly news and you'll find a lot of emphasis on Washington. Why do you think that is? Because Washington's important. Why else?

Cronkite and I have talked about this a lot; you do in television what you predict you're going to get. You can't start at 4 o'clock getting this story, and get it on the air at 7 o'clock at night. You can't. You can say it but you can't do it, so you make up a day book of where you can get your cameras.

If there's a war in Vietnam or El Salvador, you know you can get a picture out of there every day. You have 20

camera crews in Washington, and senators and congressmen say, "When would you like a hearing, we'll do a hearing on the environment whenever you want." McCarthy invented that. He'd say, "We're going to have a hearing, and we're going to have So-and-so, who's a

Television can make so much money doing its worst that it can't afford to do its best.

Communist, there — what day do you want us to do it, Fred?" And up to a time we did it that way.

The people in Washington have learned to manipulate the news. El Salvador is a big story now, because it's a Washington story, and it's a way for a new administration to show that they're going to be tough. There's an El Salvador story every day on the news, because it's a story you can get your hands on. There's a White House story every day. There are eight or nine Washington stories every day, not because they're important but because they're there.



Question: Would you comment on Murrow and Cronkite?

Answer: Murrow and Cronkite — two different men. Cronkite got an honorary degree here at Harvard. With a sense of awe and almost embarrassment, he said to me, "You know, Anna Freud got an honorary degree, Professor So-and-so who won a Nobel got one, and yet when I stood up, there was a standing ovation. What's it all about?" he asked, without a tinge of false modesty.

I said, "You know what that's about."

He said, "You mean television?"

"No," I answered. "Not television. At a time when everybody has been lying — fathers, mothers, teachers, presidents, governors, senators — you seemed to be telling them the truth night after night. They didn't like the truth, but they believed you at a time when they needed someone to believe."

Cronkite has a capacity to make people believe him. I hate it when people talk about his avuncular quality. I don't know how that ever started, but he's no more of a nice old man than Walter Lippmann was. He's a very smart man who understands his limitations and who

thrives on explaining complex issues — the space program, the four dark days of the assassination. There's no way of explaining what he has contributed. In many countries during four such traumatic days there would have been a revolution. Television, which stayed on the air for four straight days, played a role. All the things that are wrong in that billion-dollar penny arcade paid off in those four days, and that's the tragedy of television — at its best, it is so very good. But television can make so much money doing its worst that it can't afford to do its best.

Walter Lippmann couldn't do the nightly news, he couldn't. Just to get him to do an interview was hard. What Walter Lippmann was good at doing was understanding, and he would spend two-thirds of his time understanding an issue, and then he would sit in his study all morning and write or dictate his story.

Murrow was a completely different kind of person from Cronkite. He could not do the nightly news. When I read news magazines and they quote these two men, they're completely different characters with different strengths. Murrow did a nightly radio program which some of you remember, in which he read the headlines of the news for eight minutes and then he did a think piece, a news analysis, and he did that very well from about 1948 to 1959. But the two things he did best were in the Battle of Britain and during the McCarthy period. And that's what I'd like to talk about in the little time that you can spend with me.

Murrow was not an intellectual in the academic sense of that word. He would tell you that. His father was a railroad engineer and he was born in Polecat Creek near Greensboro, North Carolina, and then moved to the Olympic peninsula in Washington. He got to be on radio by accident. He had originally gone to Europe as the head of the International Education Association that exchanged students from European countries — McCarthy eventually tried to use that against him. And he was later director of talks for CBS which meant that he would arrange for scientists and scholars to talk on the radio for fifteen minutes on Sunday afternoons. Then World War II began. Suddenly, Murrow was on the air. He had a remarkable ear, and because he understood the grammar of broadcasting, he could write well. There was no tape in those days, in fact no tape throughout World War II. Everything had to be live. And Murrow had the sense of curiosity that all journalists have to have, a need to understand something before he talked about it, and a marvelous ear for copy.

I would play you two things if we had time. They show you the value of radio — still the best teacher of electronic journalism there is. One is the tube, the underground in London, during the blitz. Part of the problem was to make the American people understand what was at stake — that Western Europe was blowing up. Murrow in London was

There is something in the mind's eye that is the most graphic scene-dresser there is, the best photographer there is: the imagination of the human being.

trying to explain this to the American people. How do you do that without hortative editorials that don't achieve anything? He didn't want to be a preacher. Murrow reporting from the London subways, which were air raid shelters. Switch to Murrow, live, 7:45 at night: "This is the underground near St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Listen . . ." And what you heard was children's feet running on a subway platform, air raid sirens going off, their special wail in time of war, ack-ack guns, and that was all. And Murrow just held the microphone there and said, "Listen to that orchestrated hell," and he let that run for three minutes which would be almost unheard of today.

That was not just journalism, that was being in the transportation business. You could take 20 color cameras and put them in London, put them in that subway, put lights there, sound men there, all kinds of equipment, videotape, ENG, and you still could not, I submit, transport the American people to that war that way. Because there is something in the mind's eye that is the most graphic scene dresser there is, the best photographer there is: the imagination of the human being.

That's why reading is so important. When you read, it's not just a passive thing, you're working at it. All kinds of thoughts and ideas and dilemmas pounce through your mind and manufacture themselves into pictures in your head. That's what radio was able to do, when used well. It can't be done when somebody says, "Do it and wrap it up in a minute and a half," which is what happens today.

The British people will tell you that for all of Churchill's eloquence and the American vote for the draft, the American willingness to do something in Europe was as much the result of radio, and therefore, Murrow, as was any other single force.

Another Murrow sequence: Buchenwald. I run it for my students; it's 24 minutes long. Did any of you ever work at a radio station? Ever hear about one piece by one man or woman that runs for 24 minutes? Buchenwald is overwhelming. April, 1945 — the day of Roosevelt's death, concurrent, accidental, related only in a certain sense. Murrow, then your age, countless bombing missions over Germany hated the Germans, follows the Third Army into Buchenwald, sees what you know was seen there, was profoundly moved, depressed, angered. His anger was his greatest weapon, but he knew how to control it. He described people being piled up like cords of wood. No adjectives, I don't think I ever heard him use an

adjective. People piled up like cords of wood, ten deep, and the smell. Without saying that he vomited, you knew that he had.

Murrow had been giving money to some people there when he met a leather worker from Pilsen. And this man said, "You an American?"

"Yes."

"I am a leather maker. I have been in this prison camp for five years." The man weighed 95 pounds. He said, "I haven't touched leather in six years, could I touch your wallet?"

Murrow described that better than I can. And he went on like that for 24 minutes. There is no way that any other reporter — not Lippmann, not Cronkite — could have done that. Walter Lippmann could have written about that but unfortunately he never saw the concentration camps. Cronkite could have explained it to you with words and pictures but he wouldn't have let himself become involved. But there was a quality in Murrow and intensity of purpose, a consciousness — he was an American conscience. Walter Cronkite was an American presence: present at the lift-off, present at the assassination, present when we laughed and cried, present when it happened. Lots of integrity. Walter Lippmann was an explainer, an analyst, detached, quiet, very carefully selecting what he did, and that's why there are such gaps in what he reported.

Murrow, who couldn't write nearly as well as Walter Lippmann and who could not ad lib in the same league with Cronkite, had an ability to transmit his intensity and his sense of caring that no other journalist in history, I suggest, has ever had, or will ever have. He was present when television was invented, when a half-hour of air time cost a sponsor some \$15,000. Today a one-minute announcement in prime time costs \$300,000 or \$400,000. But Murrow had a half-hour every Tuesday night.

I think Murrow, and those who worked with him, get too much credit for the McCarthy period. If Ed were here, he would tell you that we were a year late doing the McCarthy program. It was the only time in his whole life when he preached. We did six or seven programs about McCarthy and McCarthyism. It was my job to put the elements together and then he and I would write the script. If Joe Weshba or I did the first draft, he would rewrite it. But the night of the McCarthy program I asked Ed to write the last four minutes — which turned out to be a scathing analysis and denunciation of McCarthy. After

writing it, he said instinctively, "We'll offer him a half-hour of time next week." And McCarthy took it three weeks later. Murrow felt that if we tried to be too fair on

Those three characters — Murrow, Lippmann, Cronkite — have contributed more to journalism than any other three people I have been privileged to work with.

this program it wouldn't work, and yet if we're not fair to him it's lousy journalism, so we gave him a half hour. Bill Paley wanted it that way too. The way it turned out — if you've never seen those two programs they're worth seeing back-to-back — the program in which McCarthy attacked Murrow was a bigger indictment of McCarthyism than the program that we did.

Those three characters — Murrow, Lippmann, Cronkite — have contributed more to journalism than any other three people I have been privileged to work with. There were others, perhaps as gifted, all different, and probably all *sui generis*. I don't think you'll see another Lippmann, I know you won't see another Murrow. The opportunity just won't be there, to have all the equipment, all the capacity, all the intellect, all the caring. I don't suppose you'll even see another Cronkite; that mold changes. But they're models, and they changed the profession, and they held the country together.



Comment: I read that you resigned from the presidency of CBS News because the network didn't allow you to drop a rerun of "I Love Lucy" in order to air some Vietnam coverage —

Answer: Right, among other reasons.

Comment: This struggle of news department against entertainment department has been going on for a long time. Perhaps a few years ago it was a struggle between two different compartments, but now there has been a pollution of news programming by the entertainment department. One Boston television station gives credit to Bloomingdale's for supplying the wardrobe of an anchor-

woman, for example, so I guess the entertainment department is winning the competition. What is your impression of this?

Answer: I call it the trivialization of news. I don't mean to be offensive — I know that some of you work for local stations — I think that local news is a very special problem. I'm speaking about a hundred American cities. There is a movement, which I don't think will get very far, that news programs and documentaries should not be rated. The business of taking 1,200 homes and figuring out with a computer that those 1,200 homes extrapolated and projected represent what 210,000,000 Americans do, is obscene to start with. It's accepted because it worked. I once tried to mount a campaign against it, and a high executive of the corporation said to me, "We know it's not very accurate." I said, "It's like measuring space-age tolerances with a dip stick from a Model T Ford." This executive replied, "I know that, but it works, don't knock it."

Now, it's interesting that generally the only thing that local stations can do themselves is news. They can't do entertainment programs, they can't do situation comedy or a cowboy or a detective drama, or even a musical show as in the radio days. The only thing they can do is the news, and news never makes money. The station managers are not newspeople; they're not professionals; they are interested in the numbers, because they can charge more for the commercial minutes of the news program if the ratings are good.

They have trivialized the local news because it is always easier to do the trivial well than the substantive well. It is easier to do news and mock it or laugh about it, say "Thank you, Joe" and have fancy hairdos, than it is to do it seriously. It's very hard to do it in a more serious way. And more and more stations, there are a few very good local stations and I don't want to be a bad journalist and try to generalize, but most local stations, particularly in New York, do the news very badly.



Question: Where do you see CBS News going now under Dan Rather?

Answer: The news is not done "under" Dan Rather, or Walter Cronkite. I know the titles list him as "managing editor," but television is a producer's game. No, the "Evening News" will not change a lot. The same producers will still be there.

Walter Cronkite cared a lot about what I call the magic. Magic is a word used around CBS News — when you take out the videotape pieces from Washington, from Vietnam,

They really do believe that John Chancellor or Chet Huntley and David Brinkley put that whole program together — wrote every line.

from London, from Gastonia, the “magic number” is the amount of time remaining for the anchorman to tell you the news — without pictures, except for maybe a still or a cartoon. That’s the magic number. And that’s what the anchorman contributes or edits. Walter Cronkite cares a lot about that and does a micro-editing for that time. Rather will probably want to get out more and report. I think that’s a mistake because I think what the people want is a steady hand there, someone who has been in the shop since 8 o’clock that morning, watching the news, getting it ready. There is the fiction — nobody made it happen, it just happens because television is so powerful — that one man or woman put that news show together all alone. They really do believe that John Chancellor or Chet Huntley and David Brinkley put that whole program together — wrote every line. Nonsense. Nobody could do it, nobody should do it, nobody does do it.



Comment: I think you were too harsh on the local stations, because the networks are also giving two hours of tongue-in-cheek news every day, in the morning and evening broadcasts. The local news looks up to the national, looks up at them and sees the salaries they are getting, and tries to emulate them.

Answer: CBS “Morning News” happens to be very serious — and the third-rated program, by the way. I have a lot of respect for Tom Brokaw, but I agree with what you said. They’re so nervous about ABC that they’re trivializing the news. I call it the laughing of hard news; it makes me despondent.

I’ll tell you something else that is anti-serious news, and it’s also anti-serious drama. You look at a story like the Atlanta story — horrendous story, bothers me as much as the hostage story. I’m sorry to say that but it does. (By the way, I’m not sure I approved of ending the news night after night with “The 404th day of the hostages... the 405th day of the hostages.” That was an editorial all by itself — a way of saying that *this* is the most important story.) It was a terrible story — and an important story — but the Atlanta story bothers me even more. When I see a good report on Atlanta, or see something about somebody being thrown off a rooftop in New York or San Francisco, and then I see those color commercials with the sprightly

souped-up singing and everybody looking better than anybody in the history of the world ever looked, there’s a message coming to me — and I’m a consumer who knows how to consume the news; think of a less sophisticated person.

Look at the way those people in commercials live. Every home looks so marvelous, so good. But nobody’s refrigerator looks the way people’s refrigerators look on television. They don’t open refrigerator doors now as often as they used to, but 20 years ago they used to open the refrigerator and every inch of it would be filled with milk, steak, roast beef, and so on.

The news captures a person’s attention: That’s a terrible thing in Atlanta, what are we doing in El Salvador? Why did that man throw his three children off the rooftop in Bedford-Stuyvesant?

Then the commercial comes in with all that music. The commercial costs \$450,000 and is far better produced than anything else, and it brings with it a sense that all is right in the world, or else that beautiful blonde on the Sealy mattress wouldn’t be saying, “Yeah!”

When you get down to setting the agenda, part of the problem is to keep people on track. First, they get intoxicated with animosity and lack of comity and litigiousness — and I don’t mean just the court kind, I mean the adversity in our system — and then, when you finally capture them, every four minutes you interrupt, telling them subliminally that things aren’t bad. God is in his heaven and the mattress is eight feet thick. And the country is hemorrhaging, and no matter how good the journalism is — I happen to be partial to the network nightly news — no matter how good the local news is — and some of it is pretty good — those commercials speak louder than anything. And they’re cleverly done. The audience that the advertiser wants is not the discerning viewer because the discerning viewer knows that you’re not going to get to sleep with anybody you want, just by what deodorant you put under your arm or what kind of pantyhose you wear or what kind of aftershave you put on your cheeks. They don’t want those people. It’s almost a billboard kind of exposure, how many exposures per minute they get out of the Nielsens, who will watch those commercials bursting, exploding in front of them, and say “That’s what I’m going to buy.” So it really has become a billion-dollar penny arcade but the drama that is playing is the story of our lives. That’s what I want to leave you with. □

America Is Strangling On Its Obsession With The Bottom Line

NORMAN LEAR



Boston's Ford Hall Forum, established in 1908, presented its first annual First Amendment Award to Norman Lear, producer of such television shows as "All in the Family," "Maude," and "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman."

The award, in memory of Justice William O. Douglas, was presented in March by the Honorable David S. Nelson, Judge of the U.S. District Court.

Mr. Lear's acceptance speech has been lightly edited.

At an occasion such as this, it is customary to say how honored one is. Well, I had hoped to say something different to you tonight — but the fact is, I am honored to be receiving this award from the Ford Hall Forum and to follow the distinguished men and women who have been honored here.

And I am honored to be mentioned on this special occasion in the same breath as the First Amendment. I wish I could share this moment with all of the people I have loved and who loved me, and who helped me through the years to this evening. Such as my father, long gone, and my grandmother.

If my mother's mother were alive today — she died some years ago at 94 — I would rush to her linoleum-and-oilcloth kitchen in that tiny, third-floor walk-up that always smelled of freshly baked bread — and show her a copy of tonight's program and say: "Look, Baba, see? They gave me an award in the name of the First Amendment!" My

grandmother would have looked hard at the program for a long moment — and then said: "The First Amendment? That's good for the Jews?"

Yes, Baba, the First Amendment is good for the Jews. And for the blacks, and the Poles, and the Irish, and the Hispanic, and the poor, and the elderly, and the infirm, the enfranchised and the disenfranchised — yes, Baba, the First Amendment is good for all people!

And here, tonight, I find myself associated with the First Amendment. Suddenly I feel stately...venerable...old! But I love being associated with the First Amendment. With the Constitution. The Declaration of Independence. As a writer, I treasure the words in these documents. (We all know them — but like the classic songs we sing throughout our lives — they can't be repeated too often.) These, from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness..." Terrific words — precise; impeccable — I love them.

And the First Amendment itself: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

I am a fool for those words. I am a fool for the concept. To me, the words of the First Amendment are absolute. "Congress shall make *no* law..." it says. It doesn't say that there will be freedom of expression provided said expressions do not run contrary to popular thought. It doesn't say that there will be freedom of expression provided said expressions have no tendency to subvert standing institutions.

In the Soviet Union, and within the governments of dozens of other totalitarian nations, there are debates concerning courses of action to follow and procedures to be used — but no one is allowed to challenge the government itself, nor any activity of the government. How different it is in America, with the blessings of the First Amendment.

Now, I am not comfortable with many of the excesses that take place in the name of the First Amendment. No need to enumerate them, we all know what they are.

Wait — I know you won't want me to get away with that. How can I tell what *you* may judge to be an excess? And isn't that just the point of the First Amendment? Even when it comes to expressing or publishing the most unpopular idea or the most admittedly offensive material — unless, perhaps, the material is designed and likely to produce imminent lawless action — excesses must be tolerated. Because the First Amendment speaks in absolute terms. It recognizes that what may be trash or trivia or indecency or obscenity to me, may be quite another matter to you. In the words of Justice Harlan, "One man's vulgarity is another's lyric."

John Stuart Mill believed that literature and morality should enjoy competitive coexistence. Literature, the vehicle of ideas, must be unrestricted by the political, religious, or moral dictates of the controlling group of the day. There can be no freedom of expression in the full sense, Mill said, unless all facets of life can be portrayed, no matter how repulsive the disclosures may be to some people.

"Those who desire to suppress an opinion deny its truth," Mill continued, "but they are not infallible. They have no authority to decide the question for all mankind and exclude every other person from the means of judging. To refuse a hearing to an opinion because they are sure that it is false, is to assume their certainty is the same thing as absolute certainty. All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility. Every age has held opinions that subsequent ages have deemed not only false, but absurd. How, then, can an individual be infallible when ages are not?"

And every generation must deal with its own Infallibles. In the 1950's, Joe McCarthy considered himself an Infallible. To challenge his thinking or his methods was to be tagged immediately with being soft on Communism. Today, the self-styled Infallibles are known as the Religious New Right, or the Christian New Right. To disagree with their conclusions on numerous matters of morality and politics is to be labeled a poor Christian, or unpatriotic, or anti-family.

The National Christian Action Coalition publishes ratings of congressmen and senators — based on how they voted on what the Coalition describes as "fourteen key moral issues." During the 1980 election, on the basis of these ratings, it listed 36 members of the House and Senate whose voting records established them, in the eyes of the Coalition, as having a "poor moral voting record." In California, for example, Alan Cranston was rated a double zero on his moral voting and Senator Hayakawa a plus-90.

Christians Concerned for Responsible Citizenship

circulates a booklet which lists: "Your five duties as a Christian Citizen." The main duty is to "help elect godly people" whose godliness is determined by their voting record. How arrogant the use of the word *godly*...with the implication that office-holders who cast differing votes are ungodly.

The Plymouth Rock Foundation, another member organization of the Religious New Right, issues a list of "Biblical Principles Concerning Issues of Importance to Godly Christians." To qualify as a godly Christian, the elected official here must agree with the Foundation on matters ranging from the Salt II agreements to nuclear superiority, capital punishment, the ERA, abortion, defense spending, the Department of Education, and more.

Similar activities are engaged in by the National Political Conservative Caucus, the Christian Roundtable, the Campus Crusade for Christ, the Christian Voice, and the Moral Majority, which, through the clever media manipulation of its founder, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, has become a kind of generic term describing the mindset of the Religious New Right.

Currently sitting on every television talk show that will have him, Mr. Falwell appears benign, insisting he does not mix religion and politics. Yet Mr. Falwell is the author of a paper entitled "Ninety-five Theses for the 1980's," which he suggests as a litmus test to determine the Christian dedication of elected officials. Number twelve in this list states that any attempt to weaken our defense systems — which means disagreeing with the Moral Majority's version of defense — is an act of treason! (Sound like the 1950's?) Number 21 states that all elected officials found guilty of sexual promiscuity, whether heterosexual or otherwise, be promptly removed from public office. (Some claim that to accept that thesis would be to rid Washington of most of the Congress.) Number 35 says that the husband is looked upon as the divinely appointed head of the institution of marriage — and numbers 49 and 52 tell us the Equal Rights Amendment is wrong because it is anti-family and ridicules the historic role of the woman as the faithful housewife and mother.

The Christian Voice favors a constitutional amendment to balance the budget because "The Bible tells us we should not live in debt." The Christian Roundtable says: "The Constitution was designed to perpetuate a Christian order." And the Committee for a Free Congress says: "We're working to overturn the present power structure in this country...we are talking about the Christianizing of America."

Then there is the Reverend Jim Robison, one of the "biggies" among the electronic ministers, who has said on television, "Let me tell you something else about the character of God. If necessary, God would raise up a tyrant — a man who might not have the best ethics — to protect

the freedom and the interests of the ethical and the godly."

Too kooky to be a threat? Not when you realize how far the Religious New Right has come in the six-plus years it has been active. In the 1976 and 1980 general elections they were instrumental in defeating numerous congressmen and senators — Republicans and Democrats alike. And they are targeting a new group of senators and congressmen to defeat in 1982.

According to reports, there are now more than 1,300 Christian radio stations broadcasting religious programming — with one new station being added each week; there are some 40 independent Christian television stations with a full-time diet of religious programming; and two Christian broadcasting networks — largely fundamentalist. There is Falwell, Baker, Robertson, Robison, Humbard, Roberts and others — the "super-stars" among television evangelicals — many of them taking in more than \$1,000,000 a week from their direct solicitations and the sale of religious merchandise. There are also scores and scores of local television and radio evangelicals — blanketing the country — espousing the same far-right, fundamentalist points of view — while attacking the integrity and the character of anyone who does not stand with them.

It is estimated that the electronic church attracts 130,000,000 viewers and listeners a week. According to the Gallup Poll, that is more people than go to church. Then there are the millions of pieces of computerized mail that are pumped, weekly, into homes across the nation by the ultra-right organizations that are their secular counterparts. In the name of these organizations — and in ad hoc organizations without names — let's look at what else is going on at the local level across the country:

- The American Library Association reports that libraries in some 30 states are being pressured to remove as many as 132 titles and authors from library shelves. They include John Steinbeck (*Grapes of Wrath*), Kurt Vonnegut (*Slaughterhouse Five*), Aldous Huxley (*Brave New World*), George Orwell (*1984*), Bernard Malamud (*The Fixer*), and J.D. Salinger, who had the temerity to write *Catcher in the Rye*. In many states, librarians are being taken to court by groups seeking the names of people who had taken certain books out on loan. On television news broadcasts we have seen the spectre of bookburning in Indiana and Louisiana. And textbooks across the country are not being bought by some school boards — under pressure from local groups — until all "liberal dogma and secular humanism" has been excised by the Gablers, a fundamentalist couple in Texas.

- After traveling long distances, speakers on such subjects as sex education and the nuclear arms race have

arrived in towns to find that their speaking engagements have been canceled because the local Holiday Inn had been threatened with a boycott if the event took place as scheduled.

- In the states of Indiana, Washington, and elsewhere, suits have been filed to roll back the laws covering wife and child abuse — on the fundamentalist grounds that the state may not interfere with "the husband's divine right to discipline" his own family.

- And in California and other states we are witnessing attempts to pass laws that would require doctors to report any sexual activity by unmarried female patients under the age of 18 to law enforcement authorities.

In response to all of this, I hasten to say — and this is both the pain and the glory of the First Amendment — that these leaders and organizations have every First Amendment right to express themselves as they wish. But if we agree that the American experiment is based on the conviction that a healthy society is best maintained not by an attempt to impose uniformity, but through a free and open interchange of differing opinions, then the dogma of the Religious New Right violates the spirit of the First Amendment — and the spirit of liberty.

What is the spirit of liberty? Learned Hand once raised the question — and answered it. "I cannot define it," he said. "I can only tell you my own faith. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is a spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even one sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of him, who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind a lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten."

The spirit of the New Right and the Religious New Right is antithetical to the spirit of liberty, as defined by Judge Hand.

It is not difficult to understand how the current, self-appointed Infallibles have grown so strong as to threaten the spirit of liberty for this generation. Throughout history, in times of hardship, voices of stridency and division have replaced those of reason and unity. The results are a tension among races, classes, and religions; a deterioration of free and open dialogue; and the temptation to grasp at simplistic solutions for complex problems.

In our time of hardship, it is the Moral Majority mindset that feeds on the deep and valid concerns of Americans. There is widespread feeling today that our society is seriously flawed. With rampant inflation, the decaying of our most vaunted industries, the increase of

street crime and violence, the surging growth of our drug problem, the increase in alcoholism, the splintering of family life, and the mounting concern over nuclear proliferation and the potential for nuclear holocaust — our people are more frustrated, anxious and fearful than at any other time in our history.

Responding to this time of crisis is the Religious New Right with its simplistic solutions to our most complex problems. We have lost our way, they say, because we have turned our backs on God and followed the devices and desires of our own hearts — and America's purity and strength can be restored only if the nation submits to the political and moral answers which they see as self-evident. There follow positions on the Panama Canal Treaty, Taiwan, nuclear superiority, a scuttling of the Department of Education — and the issues they feel are destroying the American family: the ERA, abortion, sex education, prayer in school, gay rights, and others.

I have listened for years as the Moral Majority mindset has offered these issues as an explanation for all the country's ills. I disagree, as you may know, and helped to form an organization to counter them. In so doing I have traveled the country several times forming an association with the leaders of most of America's main-line churches. As we formed People for the American Way and worked through our agenda, we came to feel that perhaps we owe a debt of gratitude to the Religious New Right. In the marketplace of ideas, our adversaries do us a very big favor. They force us to think through, to reappraise, to hone, and ultimately to strengthen our own convictions.

One of these convictions is that we must take the Religious New Right seriously. Because they are serious. They are sincere, dedicated people, consumed with the rightness of their mission. They attempt to fill a great spiritual void. Heightened by an absence of convincing leadership and the continued deterioration of our society, the spiritual need has grown greater in most of us — and the Religious New Right reaches people by tugging at those common umbilicals of the spirit: the need for faith and hope and love and warmth and assurance, and the comfort of belonging.

These are great needs — and it is no wonder that so many Americans have fallen into the embrace of Falwell and company. It's obvious that we have to do more than criticize. We have to offer our own solutions, go public with our own set of moral priorities. What do we believe are the reasons America is so beset with problems? It's time for each of us to make a declaration of our beliefs.

We have reached the place where we know what we think as a society only when Lou Harris or George Gallup tell us what their polls reveal. The polls say: More Americans are for ERA than not; more Americans are pro-abortion than not; and more Americans favor gun control than not. But the political tide on these issues is not



Throughout history, in times of hardship, voices of stridency and division have replaced those of reason and unity.

turning in the direction that the polls would suggest. Because the 2,000 people who may participate in any given Harris poll are outnumbered by single-issue zealots, while the rest of us are failing to speak out — and we must speak out if we want to see the process working again. In that spirit, I would like to tell you where I stand.

I believe in God. And I was born a Jew. Therefore I am unable to accept Jesus Christ as my saviour. Several Sunday mornings ago, I heard Jerry Falwell, on his "Old Time Gospel Hour," tell an estimated 20,000,000 viewers that only those people who accept Jesus Christ as their saviour will go to heaven, and that all others will roast for an eternity in hell.

With all respect to Falwell and his interpretation of scripture, I don't believe that my spending eternity impaled on a spit is necessarily a *fait accompli*. Because God, whom Falwell would be the first to say is responsible for all life, obviously arranged for me to be born of Jewish parents — and I cannot believe the God of us all would follow so closely the mating habits of my parents simply to condemn me to hell the instant I was conceived!

Nor that He would play the game of putting me on this earth as a Jew just to see if one day I might renounce my faith and the faith of my father and mother to accept Christ as my saviour. I don't think He plays those games.

No, I think God placed Christians and Jews and Buddhists and Moslems and other religions on this earth (the *Encyclopedia of American Religions* lists 1,200 practicing religions in this country alone); I think God placed them here because He wanted them here. Maybe because He knew He would be bored to tears if 4,500,000,000 people worshiped Him in exactly the same way. So, I think there's a chance that maybe God favors this Jew every bit as much as He favors Jerry Falwell. And tonight maybe even more — because William O. Douglas could be putting in a good word for me up there!

Now — about abortion: I am pro-choice. I don't know when life begins from a scientific standpoint, but I *do* know that I do not resonate to the belief that life begins at conception and — this is a big confession — in a world where the suffering and starvation of 10,000,000,000 displaced persons goes relatively unfelt, where I admit,

though it shames me, how difficult it is for me to really relate to those photographs of hungry children across the globe with bellies distended from malnutrition — photographs that represent the plight of millions of children through the years. I look at those photos, I feel sorrow, perhaps I write a check — but then I forget and go on with my life. I am touched — but how much, and at what distance?

Now, if it is true, as I suspect, that most of us react this way; if, much as it shames us, people are generally unable to relate fully to distant horror, then I do not understand those who declare themselves to be more concerned with the thought of aborting a fetus than the thought of bringing another unwanted child into the world — to a 14-year-old unmarried mother, or a pregnant rape victim, or to a family whose emotional or economic situation would make another child an impossible and tragic burden.

I think it important to mention my admittedly unfortunate lack of understanding of the right-to-life position because I respect the fact that they don't understand the right-to-choice position. My point, then, is: I can't control the way I feel — but, even as I "seek to understand the minds of other men and women," to repeat Learned Hand, I can control my behavior. So, while it is my First Amendment right to point fingers and call names, I will decline that right — even as I would like to see those who don't understand me decline the right to label me a murderer.

As to what may be the root cause of some of our most serious concerns, my sense of things tells me that the problems America faces are not a consequence of the women's movement, or the fact the gays have come out of their closets and wish to take prideful places in American life, or that sex education is taught in some public schools, or that children may pray privately and individually in school or out of school, but not in school as matter of law. I would submit that none of these, and no combination of these, is the reason why our automotive industry, once America's greatest non-military symbol of pride and macho, is lying limp and flaccid, a symbol of how far we have fallen. School prayer and sex education are *not* the reason why more than 7,000,000 individuals are out of work. Homosexual teachers are not the reason why Americans are losing faith in our basic institutions. And neither the ERA nor the Department of Education is responsible for what inflation is doing to our nation's poor, nor for all the wealthy Americans who are now talking privately of establishing residences in other parts of the world to which they can retreat if things should get too tough here.

To me, the most destructive societal disease of our time, and the biggest reason for the decline of public morality and ethics, is American leadership's fixation with what has come to be known as the bottom line. Whether it

is in industry, government, or academia, leadership everywhere seems to be all too ready to sell the future short for a moment of success. We are observing a growing misuse of human potential for short-term gain at the expense of all of our tomorrows.

Because of its high profile, my industry — television — is a prime example of this destructive phenomenon. Fanned by the daily press — which operates on its own bottom line — the fires of competition between the networks have resulted in an unparalleled and hysterical competition for ratings — ratings which translate to profits. I've talked to many television programming executives who are trapped in this rating war, and who wish things were different.

The network programmers are trapped in the system for short-term gain, and they know they will have to pay for it in the long term.

As if all the new technology were not threatening enough, they're under daily attack by a ton of organizations for the taste and the quality and the unoriginality of their programming. Yet they go on, blithely pandering with anything they can put together for that high rating and the profit statement that follows.

"It's suicidal," says one. "If everyone at the network were to stand in a big circle and slash each other's throats, we wouldn't be expressing a death wish better than the way we're going now. You might think we would learn a lesson from the three motor companies. They saw the handwriting on the wall once, too. But what did they do about it?"

He's right. Wasn't it Detroit's fixation with the bottom line that brought it to its present state? Years ago, the big three watched the growth of Volkswagen imports and observed the Japanese tooling up to follow suit, and they had to know that eventually we might be overrun with smaller, less expensive, more fuel-efficient cars from abroad — unless Detroit directed its talents and energies and some of its profits to developing its own small cars. But to do that would have resulted in a diminished current profit statement — and the name of the game then, as now, for each chief executive officer was to show a larger profit statement for every succeeding quarter.

The New York Times recently reported that America's business leaders are so obsessed with short-term gain that, in an almost total preoccupation with quarter-to-quarter profits comparisons, more and more contracts for chief executive officers call for bonuses tied to short-term performance.

The *Times* traced the career of an executive who ran a fast-food restaurant chain for the parent company, a large conglomerate. His contract called for a substantial bonus if his second year's profits, quarter-to-quarter, were higher than his first — and initially he succeeded, but not by the margin that his company set as its goal. So the



executive cut back on investment, stopped construction of new franchises, and began to show a spectacular return. He earned the bonus he set for himself all right, but the most important strategy in the fast-food restaurant business is market share and new franchises — so his short-term profit and subsequent reward came at the expense of the long-term growth of the company he ran. Eventually the company went belly-up — but not before his bonuses had provided all the money he would ever need.

There are situations when this obsession with the bottom line affects more than profits and jobs. The Food and Drug Administration, for example, has banned several pesticides because scientific research has established that they do chemical harm to the body. But the companies manufacturing the pesticides have a big investment in them, so rather than discontinue their manufacture, they have been exporting them. But the irony is that these pesticides are purchased and used overseas by large multinational corporations — most of them American corporations. The outlawed chemicals then find their way into foods prepared abroad by these American companies — foods which are shipped back home to be sold in the United States. Last year, Americans bought 600 food commodities — worth more than \$13,000,000,000 — that contained the restricted pesticides.

The New York Times has written: "In contrast to Japan's long-term planning, American corporations have been unduly attentive to next quarter's profit. Such short-run, bottom line thinking may avert personal risks, but it jeopardizes the corporation's ability to survive."

I would suggest that since this is occurring everywhere; since we see the same obsession with short-term gain in government, in sports, in education, and ultimately, in our *individual* lives; that what we are really talking about is the nation's ability to survive. I believe the nation will survive. Someone once said that hope is the adrenalin of survival; so I will continue to hope. One day leadership, at the highest levels, will face the fact that America is strangling on its obsession with the bottom line. We have created a climate of opportunism in our country in which this obsession thrives, and all of us in leadership positions — as parents, teachers, employers — control our part of that climate.

But the master thermostats are in the Congress, and in the room with the greatest potential for educating us all: the Oval Office. My hope is that one day there will be sufficient members of the Congress — and perhaps an occupant of the Oval Office — who will find these thermostats and begin to adjust the climate by telling us what we need to hear: That in this country the individual still matters. That so long as we believe, we can still affect the course of our lives — and in groups, we can still affect the

Whether it is in industry, government, or academia, leadership everywhere seems to be all too ready to sell the future short for a moment of success.

course of our nation. The New Right is proving that point every day. The rest of us must be encouraged to come back into the process, to take positions, to declare ourselves on every issue that faces us: for guns, against guns; pro-choice, against choice; pro-high defense spending, against high defense spending.

We can control the political, emotional, and spiritual climate in which we live. We don't have to steal from all of our tomorrows to satisfy our todays. And we don't have to continue this lunatic obsession with the bottom line — in the false and unproductive and anti-human belief that life is about winning and losing and that there is nothing in between!

There is something in between. It is succeeding at the level of doing one's best. We all ride on the same carousel in this life — and occasionally there is a brass ring. It is exciting to reach for that ring. Let's never stop reaching — but since only a few can ever possess it, the rest had best enjoy the reach and be happy with the ride.

I thank you for tonight. I like living in a country where I can speak out. I like the First Amendment. I like pluralism. I like diversity. And I like the flag; it is not the exclusive property of the far right. Call me a liberal, or a moderate, or a progressive — I think I'm a bleeding-heart conservative — but it's my flag too. It is more than a symbol of America's might. It is a symbol of America's people. Fifty stars stand for more than fifty gun boats; they stand for fifty states — and that's us.

Yes, the flag flies with "the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air" — but it also flies over our libraries and our schools and our courts.

And yes, patriotism can be the last refuge of the scoundrel, but it can also be the first refuge of the individual who isn't so afraid of the cynicism of our time as to say, "I love this country."

And I do love it. We all do. Let's face it, we love the premise that we are all created equal in the eyes of the law. We love the notion that our government, including the President, works for us, on our payroll. We love the Constitution. We love the Bill of Rights. And we love the American experiment. So let's cut the lunacy with the bottom line and get on with it! □

This text appears here courtesy of WGBH Radio, Boston.

THE ELECTRONIC MESSENGER

EDWARD FOUHY

Journalists are not historians; journalists are not political scientists;
journalists are messengers to very busy people.

We meet at an interesting time for those of us in network television news. The leadership position among the networks is up for grabs for the first time since June 1967, when the public anointed Walter Cronkite as the man it wanted to hear from when there is important news happening. We meet just ten days after he handed the baton to Dan Rather, and ABC was so moved by all of that, they took full page ads in newspapers like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to lament Mr. Cronkite's departure from his accustomed time slot.

Despite the fact that there are about 998 other employees at CBS News, including me, the people who I am asked about most are Cronkite and Rather, and for good reason. It is Dan's face that the 19 million people see when they tune in the "Evening News" on an average weeknight. And it was Walter who built that audience over the years, starting in 1963 and ending only a little over a week ago. How is Dan Rather doing? I will anticipate that question. He's doing just fine and I expect he will be sitting in the newsroom at CBS for a long time to come.

Taken together, the three networks reach about 50 million people each night with their newscasts — more than one in four Americans and something like one in three of voting age. That's a remarkable statistic, even

more remarkable when you consider that the news service the networks offer comes at a time of day when many Americans simply cannot sit and watch television. Perhaps the day will come, and soon I hope, when the network news programs will be longer and will be broadcast at a time when it is more convenient for more people to watch.

When they tune in, the public expects to see pictures and reportage on the events of the day. And that's what we deliver in a small daily miracle of logistics. We put pictures of the hijacked plane on the screen whether it's in Damascus or Djibouti; the Secretary of State whether he's in Bonn or in Bangkok; and the tanker on fire in the Houston ship channel or in the Strait of Malacca.

For 23 minutes and 35 seconds on CBS, and slightly less time on the other two networks, viewers are bombarded with facts and pictures on the main stories of the day. Our frustration usually is that we must define the news rather narrowly in order to make it fit into that brief time strait jacket.

We define news generally as threats to the peace and security of the world and broadbrush treatment of national events that have the potential for helping or hurting our pocketbooks. We rarely have time for the live interview with the newsmaker, the new work by the notable artist, the new film or book or play. In the morning, when we have far more time — though only a fraction of the viewers — we can and do approach those subjects and include them in our menu of the news.

On Sunday morning when we have 90 minutes, we broaden our definition of news even more and look seriously not only at some of the art forms I have mentioned but music, dance, and sports as well.

The question that's asked most often, or has been in the past month, is: Will things change now that Rather is

Edward Fouhy, formerly vice president and bureau chief of CBS News in Washington, D.C., was named CBS's Vice President and Director of News on April 1, 1981. His offices are now in New York.

Mr. Fouhy, a native of Boston, met with the Nieman Fellows on St. Patrick's Day to discuss the role of television news. This transcript of his remarks has been edited for publication.

at the "Evening News" anchor desk? I doubt if they will. In his final broadcast, Cronkite said that he was a front man for a large news organization — and that is true of Rather as well.

At CBS there has always been a well-accepted, though unspoken, agreement as to what a news story is and rigorous adherence to a set of principles regarding the way we gather and present the news. This comes from the tone set by Paul White, the first news editor of CBS, and the men he hired, most notably Elmer Davis and Edward R. Murrow. Dick Salant, who was our president for many years until he retired and went to NBC, upheld those principles, and Bill Leonard, who has spent something like 35 years at CBS News, has carried them out during his presidency, which began in 1978.

Things won't change much for another couple of reasons. The first is that the public brings high expectations with them every night when they sit in front of the television set. They expect the news pictures and reporting to be of a certain high standard, unbiased, unvarnished, and untainted by fear of government or special interest groups. So they wouldn't let us change, even if we wanted to. We have, in other words, done something that no other form of journalism has ever done — made a high standard the only acceptable standard for a mass audience.

The other reason that things won't change is that the same factors that shaped our broadcast from the start still shape it. We are a national news service — so we can do no local news stories unless they have some sort of national angle. We cover the national government. The White House is to us what city hall is to *The Boston Globe* — the place where the man who affects the lives of all our viewers sits and governs. The national reach of the network news program has defined much of what we do, and that will not change.

What is changing is the technology we use to cover the news. The 1970's brought lightweight mini-cams that shoot videotape, not film, and satellites that were cheap and available worldwide. Those two developments have made possible same-day broadcast coverage of events almost anywhere in the world. The 1980's have already brought digital video effects which allow us to manipulate the television picture in a hundred ways, and quickly and cheaply make the graphics we need to illustrate stories on ideas and abstractions that previously have been difficult for television to do.

And the 1980's will bring a host of other technical advances too numerous to mention, although I should say a word here about Teletext. This technology employs an unused line of the picture spectrum to bring — on command — the output of a computer's memory — millions of facts printed out on the home screen. Facts like the stock tables, the scores of every game played last night

and today and the racing results, too, as well as the specials in the supermarkets and the classified ads that are such moneymakers for our friends in print journalism.

In other words, Teletext closes the gap between the newspaper, with its hundreds of factual items and ads, and television, with its ease of home delivery (because Teletext does come over the air, not on a cable). Can you imagine how excited we are — soon we will be able to do a

I am amused to see the generation gap in journalism being reversed.

story on a subject, such as an automobile recall, and then have the year and model numbers of all the recalled cars available to interested viewers by dialing a precoded number in their Teletext pads? It opens a whole new dimension in our news reporting.

Perhaps a word might be in order on another topic of interest primarily to newsmen who have spent their lives in print journalism, as I understand most of you have. I am amused to see the generation gap in journalism being reversed. When I began in television news here in Boston in the late 1950's, television newsmen were very young. Print reporters were the crusty old hands who knew the fire chief by his first name.

In Washington at least, that situation is now changing. Television networks pay rather well, so a man or woman can spend a lifetime in reporting. For many newspapermen, the old axiom still applies: "Get in, get smart, get out." Many of the print reporters of my generation are now public relations men. They couldn't raise children and send them to college on a newspaperman's salary.

So today, the crowd of reporters at the congressional hearing includes many grey hairs at the broadcast reporters' table and many heads still wet behind the ears at the print reporters' table. For some newspapermen there has been a migration into television, with its higher salaries and ego gratification. For example, Fred Graham of CBS, Jim Wooten of ABC, and Michael Jensen of NBC are all recruits from *The New York Times*.

What's it like to make the switch? Ask most who switched and they will tell you television is harder. A television newsman needs three basic skills, a newspaperman just two — reporting and writing. The television man needs those two and the ability to communicate his story clearly. The person who combines all three of those abilities is rare.

David Andelman, who recently joined CBS News after a decade at *The New York Times*, told me something surprising. He says he gets more rigorous editorial supervision at CBS. He says one editor read his copy at the

Times. At CBS, a piece going on the "Evening News" is reviewed by as many as five people, all of whom have the authority and the responsibility to try to challenge the facts in a reporter's story.



Question: There are so many people who review copy, the charge has been made that it is news by committee. How do you answer that?

Answer: I think that television news is very collegial. It's not just the editing process, it's the news gathering process. For most stories, there are four people who have to work together to get the story — the correspondent, the producer, the soundman, and the cameraman — and the paradox is that television news appears to be a highly personal form because you see a person on the screen. But the final product is almost always the synthesis of three or four people's ideas.



Question: Do you ever have a yen to be on camera, or do you like being behind the scenes?

Answer: I guess I realized early on that I was not going to replace Walter Cronkite. And I figured if I couldn't do that I would like to be the executive producer of the Cronkite news, and I went that route. I didn't get to be the executive producer of the Cronkite news, I got to be executive producer of the "NBC Nightly News" and I did that for long enough to know I didn't want to spend my life doing that. You wake up in the morning and you say, what am I going to lead with today? And you know you're not doing something you want to do all your life.



Question: What differences between the two networks could you see after you were at both for a while?

Answer: To me there were great differences. It's somewhat unfair of me to make those comparisons because I left about three years ago, and NBC News has improved a lot since then, I think. To say it in a few words, CBS News is very self-conscious; when you walk in the door at the Broadcast Center in New York there is an etching of Murrow on the wall and some words from when that was designated an historic site of journalism by Sigma Delta Chi. That sets the tone, so you are conscious of Murrow and the Murrow tradition. A lot of books have been written about it, everybody who works at CBS news knows about it. At NBC there's no institutional memory,

and there's not a great collective pride in the past, even though NBC News has had some salad days. I think that's the biggest difference — there's not the consciousness of excellence at NBC, although I believe that's changing.



Question: About the possible or probable expansion of network news, something that the affiliates of all three networks have historically been opposed to — are you giving any hints that the affiliates are now changing their minds? If not, what are you planning to do to persuade them that this is the way to go?

Answer: Well, the persuasion is personal at each of the conferences that we have, and we have three or four a year with our affiliates. We tell them why we want to do it, and they tell us why we shouldn't do it. And so it's a matter of wearing their resistance away. I talked to a member of the affiliate board in Los Angeles at a conference last May, and he told me he thought the only way for it to come was for us just to do it, and that most affiliates would carry it, even the ones who've expressed their opposition to it. The affiliates who are for it have been for it a long time, and the ones who are opposed haven't changed their opinions very much. I think it's an idea whose time will come, and fairly soon. Incidentally, we just announced that we're going to take the 4 to 4:30 p.m. time slot weekdays at CBS News and we're going to do an information program in that time slot, which we're interested in and excited about.



Question: Speaking of getting extra airtime, does what ABC News has done bother you, like grabbing it up at the other end with the "Nightline" program at 11:30 p.m.?

Answer: Yes, that was a good move on their part. The interesting thing about that is how many people there are with an appetite for news and information at that hour of the day. It turns out that a lot of them are younger people who are not available to watch television in the early evening. There are a lot of people who can't sit down and watch the news at 6:30 or 7. I've just been in the mountain time zone doing some skiing with my son, and the CBS "Evening News" comes on, I think, at 5:30 in Denver.



Question: Is CBS thinking about putting on a "Nightline" type of show?

Answer: We've looked at it, and we haven't, for a

variety of reasons — not the least of which is, there's a real question as to whether one can be successful or somewhat successful, but with two, both would probably be unsuccessful. The number of viewers with an appetite for news and information at that hour is somewhat limited. It comes to around 8 million viewers, which is not large by television network standards.



Comment: About the reach of television news, when the New York newspapers went on strike, many surveys showed that people who were used to reading them were kind of lost after ten or fifteen days. About the excellence, we know that television had nothing to do with breaking Watergate, the biggest story in the recent history of the United States.

Answer: Your assertion that television had nothing to do with Watergate is not correct. I was in Washington at the time, and I remember it differently. We were the first news organization to report that it was a political crime. We reported it on a Saturday, *The Washington Post* reported it the next day, but we reported it and that's on the record. Secondly and more broadly, I don't want to go through it story by story, but we broke a lot of stories. I don't want to detract in any way from the work of *The Post*, which was the pioneering work and the best work, but memories fade. Other people did very good work too; *Time* magazine did very good work, *The Washington Star* did a lot of ground-breaking work on Watergate. We did as well. I'm very proud of the stories that we broke on Watergate. We broke a lot of exclusives and won some awards for stories that we broke, and I'm very proud of those awards.

But what television really did on Watergate was to take that story and put it across the country as a national story and made it a story that everyone had to pay attention to.

One of the functions that television news at the network level serves is to put things on the national agenda. If we choose to ignore a story, people in Denver aren't going to know about it, because their local newspaper doesn't do very much with national news.

And that brings me to the first part of your question, the assertion that people in New York were lost and looking for serious news during the newspaper strike. I don't know what your data is for that, but I find it a little hard to swallow. Not only because we do a lot of national and international news in the 23 minutes and 35 seconds that we have every night, but also because during the strike there was a lot of serious television news that concentrated on national and international news. Also, I think it should be said that New York is almost unique among American cities — perhaps Washington is also —

but most American cities are not served by excellent daily newspapers.



Comment: Fred Friendly told us last week that there was something he found obscene in the idea of most Americans sitting down in front of their television sets for 23 minutes every evening and saying, "I now have been told the news," and that is all they know. He was obviously campaigning for much longer treatment, but television has the ability to produce a certain passive acceptance that all the news the world has to offer that day has been covered.

Answer: I don't know that we're saying that's all the news there is; we sort of say that's all the news we have time for, it seems to me. Americans are very lucky to have a wonderful press that's free and unshackled, but it takes a certain amount of effort. We think it's very important that people be informed in a democracy and therefore we have the First Amendment, but we can't stick a gun in people's stomachs and say, You've got to read *Foreign Affairs* quarterly this month, or you just won't pass the test on U.S.-Tunisian relations and therefore you will be a bad citizen. It just doesn't work that way.

We make a lot of information available. I don't think we say that our view of the world is the complete view. I think the public responds to stimulation, and if we do a

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nothing to do with Watergate is not
correct.**

documentary, for instance, on El Salvador, there will be more interest stimulated in events in El Salvador and then people can go and read about El Salvador, and I think that's generally what happens.

It's certainly the pattern when we do a piece of fiction. For example, if we do a film on a classic, let's say *Oliver Twist*, libraries report soon after that the number of people who come and request to borrow the novel increases. So I think there is a bit of sophistry in Mr. Friendly's using that word "obscene" to characterize network television news reporting.

The fact is, on some days there's not a lot of news for a national audience. Most stories are part of a continuing thing. The two that come to mind now obviously are El Salvador and the budget. There's not an awful lot of other news to tackle, given our definition of news, as I mentioned.



Comment: I thought that the television news in this country — and I don't believe I'm alone in this — tended to trivialize the issues in the last presidential election to the point where they literally disappeared. The question of who looked better, or whether Reagan looked like a war-monger seemed to prevail, and there was really no in-depth discussion of the issues.

Answer: I love to talk about that. That's really probably another seminar for another day; that's a debate we have with the American Society of Political Scientists every four years.

Issues are not very important in American politics. The presidential candidate of the Republican or Democratic party has very little interest in developing sharply defined issues. And journalists try to get presidential candidates to develop issues and they generally fail. But I don't want to take the rap because the candidates don't want to discuss issues: I really don't think that's our responsibility.



Question: So you're prepared to follow the parameters set down by the candidate rather than push the candidate to the wall?

Answer: No. As a matter of fact we have over the years — “we” being the company I work for as well as the industry I'm in — we have tried to repeal various laws that seriously restrict the amount of discussion you can have on radio or television, of presidential politics or any other kind of politics, for that matter. Section 315 of the Federal Communications Commission Act, the so-called equal time provision, makes it very difficult to have any real discussion of issues in any election on radio and television. We are not allowed to be involved in debates, other than to cover them. Even when you do have debates, you run a serious risk of getting into an equal time situation. There were about forty candidates for president in this last election, so had we decided to defy the law, which of course is not a very responsible act, we could have gotten into an even worse situation. It is not a simple question that you ask.

You cannot ignore the fact that there were 33 primaries, and for the six months of the campaign, who won or who lost was the relevant part of the story.

Also, you're not going to have great discussions of issues in American politics as long as you have consensus political parties. It just isn't going to happen. We do not have ideologically based political parties in this country and therefore, the candidates do not feel constrained to discuss issues, no matter how much the intellectuals

Issues are not very important in American politics.

would like them to do so, no matter how much some citizens would like them to do so, no matter how much journalists would like them to do so. I just don't think you're ever going to see that. But that's a failing of the political institutions, not of the journalistic institutions.



Question: But don't you think that television has affected the way candidates are running their campaigns? In other words, it's a vicious circle.

Answer: Sure, they run on television, they run in the living room. I'm not blaming the politicians, I'm blaming the political institutions, which, by the way, I think serve this country rather well. I'm blaming them for not developing issues. Our kinds of political parties are very good for a country as large and diverse as this one. Ideologically based parties — such as they have in France, for example — in a country of 210 million, with widely diverse backgrounds, would be madness, and I don't think democracy could be sustained. The genius of American politics is the consensus that we do have, the consensus parties we have, which are not based on ideology. I'm not unhappy with this.



Question: How does the network justify Walter Cronkite's being a member of the board of Pan Am? The network has already expressed the view that whenever Pan Am is involved, the assignment won't go to Cronkite, yet Pan Am is involved in wanting to get into outer space passenger service — and Cronkite is the lead man of CBS coverage of the space shots.

Answer: How do I justify it? Well, his contract with us is exclusive only insofar as his activities relating to news broadcasting are concerned. He has a contract which allows him fairly wide-ranging latitude with what he does with the rest of his time. And in that clause, or whatever it is, he is a free person and allowed to do whatever he wants to do. The fact that he opted to join the Board of Directors at Pan Am is his personal decision, and we have to exercise judgment to see that he's insulated from getting into stories that would affect their interests.



Comment: When it comes to covering Latin America, the networks seem to concentrate only on coups, natural catastrophes, hurricanes — what have you. Do you see other reasons to cover Latin America?

Answer: It's not just Latin America; our view of foreign news is a restricted one. I've talked to Africans who felt that we didn't focus on Africa as much as we ought to. I don't know; I suppose everybody is correct to some degree. We tend to relate foreign news to our own country and I don't apologize for that. When *The Washington Post* which has a 200- to 300-page newspaper on certain days of the week, has space to put in a story on the Libyan invasion of Chad, I think that's fine. But the amount of time that we have to devote to what I would call secondary or tertiary stories is very limited, and I don't think it's a wise use of our resources — either our material resources in the news division or the time we have on the network — to spend a lot of time on secondary or tertiary stories. We didn't cover Asia until American soldiers were being killed in Vietnam. And until the Middle East very forcefully became a part of our world when we sat in gas lines in 1973, we didn't pay an awful lot of attention to what was happening there, but that's fairly understandable. When I go to foreign countries I don't find a great deal about the United States in their newspapers. People are focused on their own concerns, their own world.



Comment: This is not only a complaint about television news but about all American journalists. The fact is, some of the journalists are still thinking that tertiary news items are tertiary news items, and they don't relate them to major problems — and then you have the problem of not knowing how and when the oil problem started. And then you have the problem of Iran — do you know how Iran started? And then you have Nicaragua, which was a tertiary story, and then you hear that Nicaragua is a very important story because El Salvador is related somehow to Nicaragua. So the failure is in not relating those stories to major problems. There is an underground connection in the stories that many journalists are not perceiving.

Answer: Well, I partially agree with what you said. But on the other hand, we call it the "CBS Evening News." We're conducting a news service; we're not conducting a seminar in international relations. We are trying to report what is the news in the world. We did cover Nicaragua when it became relevant to people in this country, who we are trying to serve. The United States has diplomatic relations with something like 155 sovereign nations around the world, and I suppose every one of them has a

claim for some measure of attention, some measure of importance. Obviously we can't deal in those terms.

What we try to do is report what's happening as we believe it relates to the people who rely on us for information. I think you're asking a hell of a lot more than any form of journalism is capable of delivering.



Question: You called the Libyan invasion of Chad secondary or tertiary. How is that decision reached?

Answer: As journalists, we make news judgments every day, and I don't want to sound cavalier about it, but it's pretty easy to make those decisions. You don't have to be a genius — it's not brain surgery.

I know what an important news story is and so do you; I suspect it's because we have been doing it for a long time. Chad is a long way from the United States; there are no Americans being killed there. Right away those are two factors in my news judgment as to whether or not the Libyan invasion of Chad is a major news story for my viewers. Those are easy rules of thumb. Now, when that story becomes a major story, we'll cover it. And maybe it will become big enough for us to do a special about it, and if we do a special about it, we will include an historic section in our program.

Again, I don't want to be offhanded, but journalists are not historians; journalists are not political scientists; journalists are messengers to very busy people — and in a world where there are other people walking down the street hawking their newspapers, too.

So we make a lot of news judgments based on rather parochial or chauvinistic considerations, but I submit to you that this is not a failing unique to American journalists. I don't know journalists anywhere who consider stories that happen outside the borders of their own countries more important than the stories that happen inside their borders.

We are privately supported; I work for a company that has to make a profit. There is a finite limit to the number of resources that you can put in. We have "x" number of minutes on the air, although we can get more when we think the story is relevant to our viewers, relevant enough to do a special for an hour. And we are in a competitive world where we must be not only complete and correct, but we must be interesting. And that's okay, I kind of like those tests. It's self-indulgent for people to sit and think how relevant the changing economic conditions are in Jamaica, for example. I think it's terrific that there are scholars at the State Department and elsewhere who can do that, but I'm not sure that journalists should do that. We are what we are, and I don't think our mission is to save the world. □

A SOUTHERN PORTFOLIO

by Nancy Warnecke



Blossom Perkins, 38-year-old brick cleaner, Nashville

Different facets of photography have been a subject for progressive explorations during my seven years with *The Tennessean*. Although the demands of daily assignments require taking pictures of sports, fires, and fashion, my greatest interest lies with in-depth studies of American culture, and a concentration on ways to draw out the psychological and sociological perspectives of changes taking place today.

When I began at the paper, combining my own interests with those of *The Tennessean*, I often spent a couple of weeks independently researching and photographing stories before presenting them to a writer or editor — a reverse approach to the tradition of most newsrooms. It was a protective measure, I'm sure, to allow the time needed for a photographic interpretation — a "luxury" usually reserved for words.

One example of this kind of effort, combining words and pictures, was an essay on two of Nashville's retirement homes. On the surface, the rundown condition of the homes — the oldest in the city — could have been the story. However, after spending a great deal of time interviewing the director and the occupants of the home, I found another story to be the indigent elderly men and women and the difficulty they had in conditioning themselves to the in-

activity of retirement. They had worked all their lives — yet most had lived at poverty level since childhood. They felt uncomfortable and foreign to the usual senior citizens' activities — card games, dances, and crafts. They were (still) segregated by race in the two homes. Their attitudes toward death and their desire to mingle among one another were some of the many differences I found between the two groups. This background information enhanced the potential for both the visual and the written portions of the story.

Many times photographers are not expected or encouraged to do anything other than follow a reporter to "snap shoot" a story; "Take enough and you'll get one to fill the space" is an attitude common to most newsrooms. For this reason some photographers have sought to increase communication with writers and editors in content analysis of stories and picture editing.

At *The Tennessean*, a close team effort was involved in May 1979, when a reporter and I visited 11 Nashville schools to report on desegregation 25 years after the Brown decision. We continually exchanged ideas and impressions as we interpreted the sensitive and controversial subject.



Since those earlier stories, many others followed, and a better understanding and a closer working

relationship developed between writers and photographers attempting to combine words and pictures.

In discussing these in-depth projects, I do not mean to overlook the importance of the single picture. In five minutes or five seconds, a photographer's selection and abstraction of an image to tell a story can yield as powerful a picture as any group of photographs. But again, it is an interpretation not merely of visual selection, but that of heart and mind.

The sixth news photographer to hold a Nieman Fellowship — and the first female photojournalist to do so — Nancy Warnecke is a staff photographer with The Tennessean in Nashville. She is a graduate of Peabody College with a major in psychology and a minor in art. She also attended the University of Tennessee, Graduate School of Social Work.

Among her many prizes are first places in the NPPA Pictures of the Year competition, the Tennessee AP Managing Editors Award, the Southern Photographer of the Year contest, and the Headliner Award, shared with four Tennessean reporters.

A native of California, Ms. Warnecke is a frequent lecturer at Southern universities. She is a member of the Nieman Class of 1981.



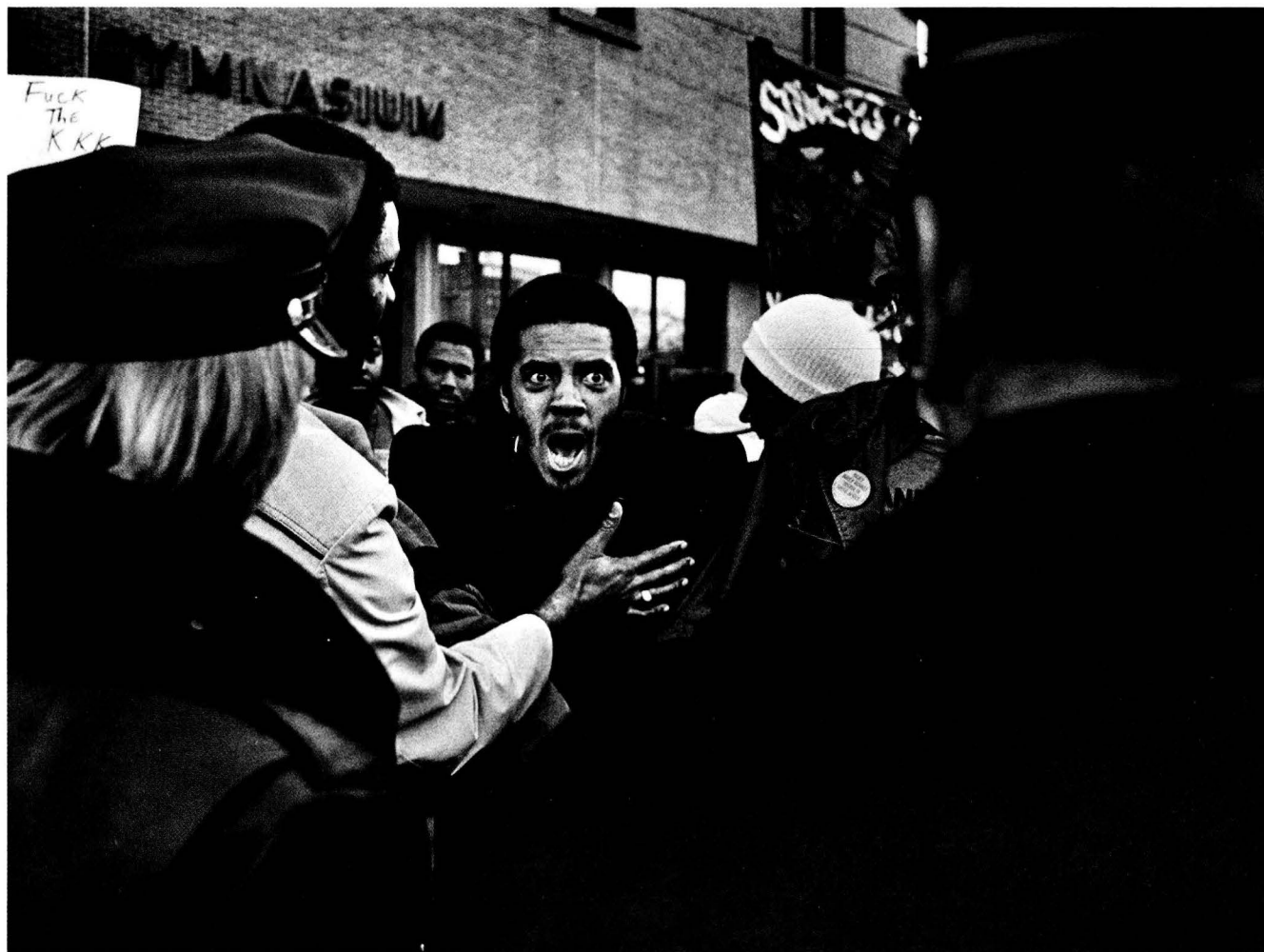
Grandmother and grandson, Macon, Georgia



Cross-burning, Lexington, Alabama



*Youth Corps meeting,
Tuscumbia, Alabama*



Protest march against South African apartheid, Nashville



Housing project, Nashville



Albert Gore, Jr., first Congressional campaign, Tennessee



Child molester, Nashville



Country Music Fan Fare, Nashville



Dancing in the street, Nashville



Bicentennial celebration, Nashville

— Weighing Sources — Anonymous and Otherwise

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF

The fiction of Janet Cooke and the Pulitzer Prize surprise.

The most distressing aspect of the whole “Jimmy’s World” scandal has been the reaction of a number of editors that it could have happened to any newspaper. If this false story could get through the safety nets of any large number of newspapers, then the newspapers have been involved in much worse laxity than I had imagined. I hope this is not true.

In the first place, I believe that most editors are too cautious to permit a reporter, particularly a young, totally inexperienced and untested reporter, to write this kind of story where there was no way to corroborate any aspect of the fanciful yarn about the eight-year-old heroin addict. A large number of editors would properly balk at publishing such a story from an experienced and tested reporter unless the material from the anonymous source was only one aspect of a story that could be otherwise documented and attributed to specific credible sources.

Janet Cooke’s Jimmy story used one device that should have caused questioning immediately. Public officials were quoted on the general drug problem in the District of Columbia to give an authoritative base to the story, but their statements had no specific comment on an eight-year-old heroin addict. This meant the story was devoid of any specific corroboration of the Jimmy incident.

The fiction of Janet Cooke is the natural and inevitable consequence of one of the myths of Watergate — that a Deep Throat source was such corroboration, was in fact a credible and sound “second source.” Woodward moved smoothly from Deep Throat to second, third, and fourth hand hearsay in *The Final Days*, and then to the questionable use of 227 anonymous Supreme Court clerks and others as his authority in *The Brethren*.

Even if there was a Deep Throat (and I believe it is only sensible to be skeptical until he is named), that mysterious figure did not represent a sound corroboration. It is said that he did not purport to tell Bob Woodward anything that Woodward did not know already from some credible source. Deep Throat, according to what we have been told, simply volunteered that he would listen to what Bob Woodward told him and give Woodward some indication as to whether he was “right” or “wrong” or “hot” or “cold” on the facts.

Any rookie cop would be fired for any reliance upon the techniques that Woodward says he used to get the second source (Deep Throat) that he was required to produce to meet executive editor Ben Bradlee’s standard. Police rarely tell an informant witness what they know, but test his credibility constantly by insisting that he relate what took place with the kind of physical detail that can be established by other evidence.

The great contribution that Woodward and Carl Bernstein made to the Watergate story was their tireless checking of records and interviewing and reinterviewing of dozens of witnesses to spot contradictions and to obtain elaborations to bring the role of the Nixon White House into focus. That was fine reporting, and they were energetic and imaginative in the manner in which they did it. However, the injection of Deep Throat was without independent value except as it filled Ben Bradlee’s demand for a second source.

The resignation of President Richard M. Nixon and the conviction of dozens of Watergate defendants is irrelevant to any discussion of the value of the Deep Throat source.

Washington Post reporters could just as well have developed a “third source,” a “fourth source” and more by repeating the Watergate developments to other persons until such time as they found others who would assure them that the facts as recited were “about right.” With four, five or more so-called “sources” developed in this manner there would still be no true independent corroboration.

Clark R. Mollenhoff, *Nieman Fellow '50*, is Professor of Journalism at Washington and Lee University. His latest book is *Investigative Reporting — From Courthouse to White House*.

If Woodward and Bernstein or any of their editors truly believed that Deep Throat was an independent and credible second source, it says a great deal about the superficiality of their own analysis and the lack of discrimination between firm corroboration and what can well be a contrived "second source."

It is well to remember that one good solid source, a direct witness with no axe to grind and with a record of high credibility, is better than two, three, four, or five sources who are relating second- or third-hand hearsay. The source who does not volunteer new information without prompting may be one of the horde of people in and out of government who like to pretend that they know more than they do to build their own reputation or simply want to be accommodating to a newsman who is seeking assurance that he is on the right track.

Any type of "two-source" or "three-source" rule is nonsense unless there is a sound standard for weighing the credibility of the source. It is also necessary that the editors establish uniform policy for administering and enforcing the "source" standards in a way that genuinely weighs the evidence, and is not a mere seeking of a minimal justification for printing a sensational story from a questionable source.

All effective investigative reporters rely to some degree upon confidential sources that must remain anonymous for varying times, depending upon the nature of the threat to the source's life or livelihood. However, every really experienced investigative reporter knows that few informants are totally reliable even though they may believe they are telling the reporter the full truth.

Frequently these informants will expand on what they know from direct conversations and observations because they believe it is probably true — and they know it is what the reporter wants to hear. A witness who is totally reliable on one subject may be deceptive and misleading where his own interest or those of his family members are involved or where he has reason to dislike the person involved in the alleged mismanagement or corruption.

Any really experienced investigative reporter knows that many public officials who are quite reliable when speaking on the record will peddle a large amount of malicious misinformation when talking on a confidential basis. The investigative reporter must constantly be on guard against being used by clever informants who may make unjustified accusations against those whom the informants wish to damage.

The only real protection a reporter can give a good informant is to avoid mentioning his existence in a story and to have every paragraph fully supported by documents or independent witnesses or both. In such cases, the information taken from the confidential source is used only as leads to public records, other documents

and direct witnesses who can be quoted to establish the soundness of the informant's allegations. While this is not always possible, it is well to keep in mind that every mention made of an anonymous source is waving a red flag in the face of lawyers for defendants or other critics. On this point, it well to remember that even the broadest shield laws that have been enacted in some states are of little value when balanced against the Sixth Amendment rights of a defendant to have access to all of the witnesses and documents that may be of use in his defense. Myron Farber learned that sad lesson, and all of the financial resources and clout of *The New York Times* couldn't save him from jail.

While I am not ruling out the possibility that there are occasions when it might be essential to quote an anonymous source in a controversial news story, it should be done sparingly. It must not be done impetuously, but must be done with careful consideration of all questions of ethics and news policy.

In pointing to the need for uniformly sound standards in the corroboration of news sources, it is not necessary to accept or reject the arguments that "Jimmy's World" got through because *The Washington Post* editors and the Pulitzer Committee had undefined "pressures" to demonstrate some symbolism. Adoption and enforcement of sound operational standards for all reporters — male or female, black or white, liberal or conservative — is possible. While only a few publishers, editors, or reporters have taken the time to think their policies through completely, a sense of fairness combined with caution has served as an effective check on many newspapers. This is not enough.

The burden of proof should be upon the reporters and editors to explore thoughtfully all of the pros and cons of ethics, news policy, and general public policy. While errors can creep into any newspaper, there should be a genuine interest in making a full correction of those errors at the earliest point possible. From this standpoint the "Jimmy's World" story was a continuing fraud that ignored the challenges with a Watergate-like attitude that called for drawing the wagons in a circle to defend against the critics. This precluded any real internal investigation. That attitude continued through the arrogant submission of the story for the Pulitzer award and the proud reprinting of the story in a full-page promotional advertisement on April 14, 1981.

The continuing fraud of a "Jimmy's World" story would not escape the editors of any responsible newspaper who are interested in sound reporting and are not seeking bare justification for publishing a colorful yarn. There are times when sticking by a reporter and a story takes courage, but there are other times when it is foolhardy. Mature judgment in weighing corroboration for informants is the difference. □

Third World News and Foreign Relations

LEONARD R. SUSSMAN

The counterrevolution as a threat to press freedom

Make no mistake, the worldwide controversies over the role of the mass news media in foreign relations are inflammatory. The mounting anger displayed on all sides is a threat to international discourse and the freedom to convey ideas across national borders. Indeed, the concerted efforts now to limit the free flow of ideas — particularly news — may be regarded as a counterrevolution.

The initial revolution — the familiar communication explosion — began 100 years earlier in the formation of French and British news agencies. They followed their countries' lines of colonial communication. These systems nurtured economic as well as political expansions or exploitations. By the 1940's, two American services joined the news competition. These four systems together set the stage for great change in domestic and foreign affairs — particularly in those industrialized countries which could link their own news systems to the growing worldwide

networks. In the last quarter of this century, satellites and ground-line systems have made possible — almost overnight — communication achievements not even dreamed of 50 years ago.

Information is power — economic, political, military power. Today's sophisticated information systems seem to increase the power of a nation in which that system is headquartered. Yet Western journalism increasingly seeks to be independent of governments and, recently, free as well of other nonjournalistic objectives. That is generally the Western norm, even when observed in the breach. Unquestionably, the impact of journalism on all public and private spheres — certainly on the conduct of foreign affairs — is immense. The key question is whether publics, everywhere, are better served by journalists striving for pluralistic reporting — sometimes supporting governments, sometimes adversarial — or by newsreporting "guided" by government officials without a plurality of sources and voices. Whichever the dominant system, using computerized word-processing tied to satellites and radio, the faltering heartbeat of a president can now be reported around the world in seconds. Indeed, The Associated Press in New York has computers dispensing news at the rate of 15,000 words a minute. That is one revolution of which we are generally aware.

But there is a reaction, stemming from the first. That is the deepening complaint of developing countries that the communication revolution has worsened their position vis-à-vis the developed world. At least, Third World nations argue, they are not yet gaining the advantages of the vast, new communication technology. And that, they say further, amounts to a growing disadvantage. For economic and social progress to proceed in their

Leonard Sussman, executive director of Freedom House in New York City, is also editor of Freedom at Issue, a bimonthly covering press freedom questions as well as analyses of political rights and civil liberties in all countries. Mr. Sussman is a board member of the World Press Freedom Committee, and was the only nongovernmental American to address UNESCO's Belgrade conference last year.

He delivered the above address in April as a George D. Aiken Lecturer at the University of Vermont during the seventh annual event named in honor of Vermont's former governor and senator. Sussman adds, "Senator Aiken took part at age 94, with Mrs. Aiken."

developing countries, they add, the technology and techniques of mass communication must be geared to national development programs. Many Third World countries go further: they claim that present practices of the world news media deepen Third World dependence upon the West — a form of neocolonialism — distort the world's perception of life in the Third World, and inhibit communication among the developing countries themselves.

Defenders of the Western news media disagree. They readily admit that the four world news services — The Associated Press, United Press International, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse — represent a distinctly different approach to journalism than is practiced in most countries raising objections: The world services originate in the United States, United Kingdom, and France which have established press and wire service traditions that separate the independent news media from government control.

The challenge to that philosophy of journalism began eleven years ago in the UNESCO general conference when the Soviet Union complained that cross-border broadcasting by U.S. Freedom Radios was a violation of the USSR's sovereignty. The complaint was generalized, of course, for the international forum. The complaint languished until the 1976 UNESCO general conference at Nairobi. By then, the Soviet Union's interest was deftly linked to the growing complaints of Third World countries against Western journalism. That is not to say the Third World complaints were monolithic, nor were they generally oriented to the Marxist requirements of the Soviet Union. Only 10 percent of the developing countries are themselves Marxist-oriented and share the ideological objectives of the USSR. Many Third World countries have their own reasons for joining the attack on the Western media. About 40 percent of the developing nations are ruled by nationalist regimes that fully control their domestic print and broadcast media. Such regimes naturally regard visiting foreign correspondents as upsetting, and their reportage as generally "negative" and harmful. Another 30 percent of Third World countries have governmental systems that may be regarded as partly free. Their news media, even though generally owned and/or controlled by government, are nevertheless given some leeway — provided national security, very broadly defined to include economic development, is not harmed. Then, some 20 percent of the developing nations are free, and their news media are free. Yet virtually without exception Third World nations complain about Western journalism.

They regard the great volume of news flowing daily around the world over the four Western systems as "Western news." It is true, some 3,000,000 words a day are put out by these four big services. These same words

Why on earth would America prevent international efforts to protect journalists on dangerous missions?

are moved through different international circuits, around different regions, rewritten for radio and again for business publications. All told, the original volume each day increases ten-fold, until the Third World countries profess to feel overwhelmed.

Yet there are 105 national news agencies — more than 80 run by Third World countries themselves. These agencies move about 1.3 million words each day. More than that, they all subscribe to one or more of the large Western services. These national agencies select incoming world news for the eyes and ears of the elite in their own countries and permit the public to read or hear only that deemed proper for them. There are also important regional news services in the Middle East, Southern Europe and the Caribbean. And, since 1976, there is the Nonaligned Press Agencies Pool of the developing countries themselves. All of these feed Third World news around the world. Altogether, however, they cannot compete with the four major services for coverage of all parts of the world.

Most important, in terms of the present inflammatory debates, the content and not the volume of the news flow is the primary focus of the struggle I call counterrevolutionary. I cite as a case history one particular aspect of the world news media controversies. I shall use this to show the fundamental issues and the roles played by those engaged in the struggle.

The lines of the debate and the intensity of the exchange can be seen from this headline leading off the first page of the March 1981 newsletter of the Soviet front headquartered in Prague, the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ):

Concerted actions of the USA prevented adoption of measures for personal protection of journalists on dangerous assignments.

Why on earth, one may ask, would America prevent international efforts to protect journalists on dangerous missions? The origins of that February 16-18 debate at UNESCO in Paris include violent deaths of reporters in Korea in the 1950's, Vietnam in the 1960's, and Africa and Latin America in the 1970's and '80's. No one denies that journalism is one of the most dangerous professions. I

addressed a Latin American journalists' reunion conference last April in Costa Rica which had been decimated by assassinations and death threats to the participants in the preceding weeks. American and European journalists are

Four Western-oriented groups from Europe and America were quickly dubbed the Gang of Four.

still missing in Vietnam. The recent death toll includes Americans in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and scores of Latin Americans all across the benighted continent.

What can be done to protect journalists who seek to report from countries engaged in international or civil war? What, too, can be done to protect journalists reporting from countries not engaged in active strife but whose regimes find balanced reportage displeasing — and which nations then subject the correspondent to censorship, expulsion, imprisonment or worse?

These are related subjects, but those who have controlled the international debate regard only the first question as relevant — protection of journalists in wars of all kinds; they profess to regard governmental maltreatment of domestic or foreign journalists as the prerogative of governments, and a matter of national sovereignty.

Shortly after World War II, in August 1949, an international protocol was added to the Geneva Convention on war. Article 79.1 defined as civilians, journalists engaged in professional missions in combat areas. As long as they act as civilians they are to receive treatment accorded civilians under the Geneva Conventions.

As world news issues became increasingly inflamed in the past decade, the question of the protection of journalists was added to the controversies. Those who favored expanding governmental censorship, news management, or guided journalism saw protection as an emotional issue that could quickly gain adherents. Who could oppose protecting journalists? Yet by the manner in which the case has been put, those journalists and governments that defend the separation of press and state have come to oppose statist protection of journalists.

Examine further the February struggle in Paris. UNESCO originally invited to this meeting representatives of nine organizations drawn overwhelmingly from the Soviet bloc and related Third World groups. One background paper was distributed in advance. This was written by Pierre Gaborit, professor of political science at the University of Paris-Nord. His paper's title reflected the

conclusion the meeting was to have reached: "Project for the Establishment of an International Commission and a Periodical International Conference for the Protection of Journalists." Still, one may ask, what's wrong with that?

In reading the paper the issues become clear. Several American organizations read an advance copy and insisted — with the help of the State Department — on belatedly gaining invitations to the meeting. There were, then, four Western-oriented groups from Europe and America. They were quickly dubbed the Gang of Four.

Gaborit's paper eminently sets forth the issues. He says at the outset that the objective is an international structure for the protection of journalists guaranteed either through the United Nations or UNESCO. He acknowledges there is little interest so far in states guaranteeing the protection of journalists, but he cites the numerous recent conferences on the subject at UNESCO and elsewhere. He then describes efforts needed to reassure states that protection of journalists is in the interest of the states. Such reassurance, indeed, is at the heart of Western objections to the concept of protection.

For example, Gaborit says a journalist must first be defined in a manner satisfactory to the state. A government would not risk protecting a journalist, says Gaborit, who commits "espionage or illicit propaganda." He speaks sympathetically of the fear of states that "certain media will take advantage of an international system of protection for journalists to mount campaigns of propaganda and denigration against them." In three-quarters of the world in which journalists function "illicit propaganda" can readily become an excuse for expulsion or worse. And it is in such countries that protection of journalists is most needed. The right to define who is, and who is no longer, a journalist will determine a person's means of livelihood and inevitably the quality and nature of reportage. The defining becomes a licensing process. Indeed, the heart of Gaborit's proposal is the form licensing would take.

He would provide an identification card for which the commission he proposes would assure sole responsibility. These cards, however, would have to be approved by the respective governments. Under Gaborit's proposed formula, journalists would be expected to abide by a code of professional ethics. He uses the word that UNESCO has come to favor: deontology — a duty, moral obligation and "right" action. The governments would, then, agree to protect a journalist who is committed to "right" reporting, and carries a card saying so. Gaborit acknowledges that there must be "convergence" regarding "deontology and regulation." In other words, journalists must come to accept regulation or policing of the code of professional ethics in order to achieve protection of their bodies while in a foreign country.

This is precisely the objective of every press-control

resolution at UNESCO since the Soviets introduced this paragraph in their 1976 proposal:

States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all news media under their jurisdiction.

That draft failed after bitter debate over many months. There were several consequences. A moderate resolution on the mass media was passed by acclamation in 1978, and the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (the MacBride Commission) was formed. Its two-year stint ended in 1980 with the releasing of a 312-page report on many channels of communication. The 16-person commission could not reach a decision on the protection of journalists. "The Commission [it declared] does not propose special privileges to protect journalists in the performance of their duties. . . . Journalists are citizens of their respective countries, entitled to the same range of human rights as other citizens. . . . To propose additional measures would invite the dangers entailed in a licensing system since it would require somebody to stipulate who should be entitled to claim such protection. Journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are guaranteed."

Chairman MacBride, a long-time proponent of protection for journalists, termed this paragraph "inadequate" and wrote a separate paper (Commission document no. 90) setting forth his views. And as if to prove the

An emblem on a reporter's arm may draw bullets just as easily as not.

diverse composition of the MacBride Commission (only five of whose members reflected a Western-style news orientation) a strong loophole was provided in the very next paragraph. The Commission then recommended convening "round tables" to review the protection of journalists and "propose additional measures to these ends."

The February 1981 meeting at UNESCO was such a meeting, but it did not produce the "convergence" Professor Gaborit anticipated.

Dana Bullen, representing the World Press Freedom Committee, expressed amazement at the "persistence" with which UNESCO and other groups promote "an idea that would *not* protect journalists, that can *not* be implemented without diminishing freedom of the press"

and would "have the effect of licensing and otherwise controlling journalists in the name of 'protecting' them." The WPFC is a consortium of some 32 associations of journalists, publishers, broadcasters, editors, and related groups in the United States, Europe, India, and Australia. Bullen said that as a journalist for 22 years, correspondents working for him had been expelled, jailed, and killed by assassins while reporting overseas.

But, he added, "a card in a reporter's pocket will not save him from a sniper or a mob or a fast-moving car. An

For the first time in a formal UNESCO meeting on news media issues, consensus failed.

emblem on a reporter's arm may draw bullets just as easily as not." Newsmen, he added, "are *not* expelled or jailed because nobody knows they are reporters. . . . but *because* they are reporters."

The Gang of Four and the Nine produced separate drafts of a final communique but no compromise could be reached. For the first time in a formal UNESCO meeting on news media issues, consensus failed. Both distinctly different drafts stand on the record. And properly so.

There are two distinctly different political systems in the world. One defines itself as based upon collective responsibility. In that system the government is paramount. The other system declares itself to be founded on individual responsibility. In such a system the individuals who comprise the nation are sovereign, and the government is expected to serve them. No nation is a perfect model of either system (though there are nearly "perfect" totalitarian examples). Each system has forms of news and information dissemination that are appropriate to its respective political system, and not to another.

For that reason, every effort in UNESCO or elsewhere to establish a universal standard for newsreporting — even under the guise of protecting the lives of journalists — must be rejected.

Some of the criticisms of Western journalism by moderate Third Worlders — particularly journalists — should be listened to attentively by Western news media managers. Some improvements in the coverage of developing-country news have been made in recent years. More needs to be done. But nothing validates the overt or covert efforts at UNESCO or elsewhere to determine the news content and reporting style of independent journalists. □

Books

The Stormy Channels of Communication

Without Fear or Favor: The New York Times and Its Times

by Harrison E. Salisbury
Times Books, 1980. \$17.50

by WILLIAM J. MILLER

In 1960, Jerome Wiesner, on a board of science advisors to President Eisenhower, and later president of M.I.T., went to Moscow to negotiate the release of American RB-47 reconnaissance pilots who had been shot down within Soviet airspace. At the time, the public was told the planes had accidentally strayed, and the Soviets were denounced for their barbarity in downing them.

Wiesner got the pilots out, but in agreeing to the release of the Americans, Vasily M. Kuznetsov, Soviet foreign minister, told him to look into the overflights and penetrations of the Soviet frontier. "Wiesner lent himself to this task when he returned to Washington," writes Harrison Salisbury in this fascinating book. Wiesner told him:

"The Navy had been carrying out an enormous overflight program to flush out Soviet radar and air defenses. There was continuous intrusion over the Soviet borders of a kind that had it been done to us by the Soviets probably would have led to war."

"But neither the higher levels of government nor the people knew anything about it," adds Salisbury. "Maybe, he mused, if the people had known they would have approved it.

But they could hardly have been indignant when the Soviets finally retaliated and shot down a U.S. plane.

"'Once in a while,' Wiesner said, 'I see the cost of not having secrecy and yet the big problem remains. Toward the end of the war Mao Tse-tung tried to establish relations with Roosevelt. But it was all kept secret in the State Department. Nobody knew about it. You cannot calculate what this secrecy cost us over the years.'"

Nineteen years later, warlike clamor arose when a Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane was shot down in a similar intrusion over North Korean airspace, a mission which, according to Salisbury, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird thought stupid because "there were far better and more modern means of intelligence."

"The White House [Nixon and Kissinger]," writes Salisbury, "wanted to retaliate with a B-52 strike on North Korea," against the urgent warning of both Laird and Secretary of State William Rogers that North Korea might retaliate with an invasion of South Korea. According to John Erlichman, as cited by Salisbury, in such a case Kissinger proposed nuclear strikes against North Korea.

The two episodes, almost a score of

years apart, illustrate how close the United States can come to war on needless provocations when facts are hidden beneath cloaks of secrecy and loud cries of outraged patriotism. They illustrate also the lasting value of Salisbury's painstaking digging through an enormous maze of facts spanning a quarter century.

His subject is *The New York Times* and its pioneering reporting of the South, long before the Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision; the Pentagon Papers; and the *Times's* race with *The Washington Post* to uncover the secrets of Watergate. Salisbury sees these as not isolated, but interwoven events, and he seeks to bring them together — I think successfully — into a unified significance.

Since both Pentagon and Watergate are well-remembered (though perhaps their lasting meaning is not understood) and also since the *Times's* distinguished leadership in civil rights reporting preceded those events, perhaps a reviewer should start with the unsung heroes like John Popham, of Virginia, and his successor, Claude Sitton, a Georgia farm boy, who set a pattern for objective reporting of Southern conditions which every major newspaper eventually had to emulate. Salisbury himself belongs to the group for his reportage of conditions in Birmingham which triggered the historic criminal libel suits against the *Times* by Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor and Montgomery Commissioner L. B. Sullivan.

Three of the last four managing editors of the *Times* were Southerners — Edwin L. James from Irvington, Virginia; Turner Catledge from Philadelphia, Mississippi; and Clifton Daniel from Zebulon, North

Carolina. All were equally convinced, and all (as they would later concede) mistaken that the "New South" was "slowly but irreversibly changing; a society in which the forces of good, of 'the right thing,' of industrial progress, of political enlightenment was [sic] healing the warped and ugly wounds of the [Civil] war."

Shortly after World War II, Catledge decided to cover this development in depth by sending the ex-combat Marine, John Popham, who had kept his Tidewater accent despite covering the slums of New York, to make his base in Adolph Ochs's old home town of Chattanooga, and to rove the South as he willed.

He became so familiar with its every nook, crook, and bayou, traveling the pre-interstate roads in his dusty "Green Hornet," that, in time, any reporter sent to cover the South was told to "see John Popham."

But Popham shared the views of Catledge and others that the new progressive South would accept and adopt to *Brown v. Board of Education* a demand for desegregation with all deliberate speed. That it did *not* accept it, that terrible violence flared at Little Rock, in Birmingham, at 'Bama and Ol' Miss and many other places, that he and other reporters covering the riots often had to flee for their lives, Popham blamed on Eisenhower's flaccid failure to enforce the Court's decision.

"Eisenhower could have done it," Popham told Salisbury in December 1978. "There would have been no trouble. The power structure was ready to do anything for him. Any committee he wanted to form would have carried it out. It was his fault that trouble followed. He didn't understand anything. He was more Southern than we Southerners. He grew up in Kansas and the border states. We had eight years of drifting. That was the price we had to pay."

A heavy part of the price was the

murder of three young Northern Freedom Riders in 1964 near Catledge's own Philadelphia, Mississippi. But the catalyst in the *Times*'s coverage of the South's explosion was Salisbury's own visit to Birmingham on April 1, 1960, the week that the sit-in wave — which began at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, the previous February — hit Birmingham. Ten black students went, two by two, to five downtown stores, made small purchases, and then sat at the lunch counter. All were arrested and jailed on trespassing charges.



People courageous enough to talk to Salisbury warned him, "Be careful of what you say and who you mention. Lives are at stake."

"By this time I realized that Birmingham was no ordinary story and I quickly compiled a list of horrors — beatings, police raids, floggings, cross burnings, assaults, bombings (dynamite seemed to be as common as six-packs), attacks on synagogues, terror, wiretapping, suspicion of even worse, grist for a dispatch published under the headline 'Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham,' in which I wrote:

Every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, enforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."

The reaction in Birmingham was violent. Both newspapers, the *Post-Herald* and the *News*, denounced the

Times and Salisbury. In the first paper, the nationally known editorialist John Temple Graves set the tone: "This almost total lie...this throwback to tooth-and-claw hate...letting Mr. Salisbury foam at the mouth."

A month later, Police Commissioner Connor and two other city commissioners filed criminal libel suits against the *Times* and Salisbury. Then three city commissioners of the nearby steel-making city of Bessemer did likewise; so did a former Montgomery commissioner (Sullivan), and even the Governor of Alabama sued for \$1,000,000. In all the *Times* faced suits for \$6,150,000 and Salisbury for \$1,500,000 (as well as a possible jail sentence of 21 years). The *Times* counsel, Louis Loeb, would say later: "In all the years I have practiced law, nothing had ever arisen that was more worrisome. Nothing scared me more than this litigation."

The pattern soon became clear. By 1964, the total of similar libel actions against newspapers, magazines, television, and other public media was nearly \$300 million, from actions filed in Southern states from Florida to Texas, with the clear purpose of making every editor fear to send a reporter into their area. By then, Commissioner Sullivan's suit, upheld in the local and appellate courts, had reached the Supreme Court. Had their verdicts been upheld, says Salisbury, "censorship and official intimidation might well have enabled the 'southern judicial strategy' to prolong lawlessness as a final barrier against the revolution in Civil Rights." But on March 4, in the decision read by Mr. Justice Brennan, the *Times* was upheld, 6-3.

Mr. Justice Brennan reported: "The constitutional guarantees require, we think, a federal rule that prohibits an official from recovering damages for a defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless he proves that the statement was



made with 'actual malice,' that is, with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

As for "Bull" Connor, a jury gave him a \$40,000 award, but two years later he lost it when the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that under the Sullivan Rule, Connor could not recover unless he could show "reckless disregard for the truth." Neither Connor nor his defender, editor Graves, pursued the matter further.

A fascinating part of Salisbury's truly "uncompromising look at *The New York Times*" is the deserved credit he gives the paper for the first massive investigation of the CIA (born of Catledge's 1965 question, "What is this CIA?"), and the unsolved questions he raises as to whether (as Watergate's Carl Bernstein would charge in *Rolling Stone* in 1977) the late publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger and his nephew, chief of correspondents Cyrus Sulzberger, had been listed by the CIA as "assets" since the Cold War peak of 1950. Salisbury can neither confirm nor disprove, but does report that "James Angleton, chief of CIA counterintelligence, said privately that he had his own men on the *Times*, men whom he could meet on street corners, men who weren't on his payroll but to whom he provided expense money."

There is no question of the flawless integrity of Abe Rosenthal, as managing editor, in his determination to flush out and purge any such hidden CIA agents who might be on the *Times*. He relentlessly pressed publisher "Punch" Sulzberger to sue the CIA under the Freedom of Information Act for the names. Punch had then-CIA chief George Bush to lunch and requested his help, which Bush

promised to provide, but failed to do. Rosenthal then acted on his own to have his reporters investigate *The New York Times* itself. He assigned John Crewdson to the story, assisted by Joseph B. Treaster. "I just couldn't laugh it off," Rosenthal said. "There were just too many reports. I could not rest until we got it all on the table."

"Rosenthal was proud of the Crewdson series, which began publication on Christmas Day, 1977, and continued for three days. [A week, it may be noted, when few read anything.] It was the most comprehensive examination of the relationship between the CIA and the press which had been published... It named *Times* correspondents and stringers who had possessed ties to the Agency. It revealed that in the case of Wayne Phillips, the Agency had deliberately sought to recruit a *Times* man for its staff and had openly boasted of a connection with Arthur Hays Sulzberger that would have permitted the CIA to place Phillips in Moscow. But it left unresolved the major allegations of the Bernstein article — the question of what relationship, if any, had existed between the Agency and the two Sulzbergers. This question continued to echo in the corridors of the *Times*, the subject of gossip, of speculation, of frustration."

Salisbury adds one testimony of his own: that just before his departure for Moscow in 1949, Arthur Sulzberger spent several days escorting him about the *Times*, and in their last conversation said: "'You know, it's possible that you may be approached by our intelligence people. I just want you to know that you should feel under no obligation to do anything for them.' He then added that 'in fact we would be happier if you didn't.'"

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Pentagon Papers story is that, as Salisbury clearly shows, the Nixon White House had not the slightest concern with security (only

with the "public relations" possibility of besmirching Kennedy and the Democrats), and that the government's frenzied demands to stop publication lest secrets be blown arose from the fact that no one, from the White House down, had the slightest knowledge of what was in those 47 volumes, which had been in official hands since the days of McNamara.

The nation's top, and most secret, security agency — the code-breaking National Security Agency — had only one concern — to have nothing published that would reveal the breaking of friendly or hostile secret communications.

To get their assurance on this, the agency's Top Spook arranged a meeting in New York with *Times*' counsel and executives. He came with his own bodyguard. They shared a hotel room, since he was not allowed to sleep alone. When they appeared at a carefully arranged secret meeting the next day, the bodyguard wore two holstered revolvers, and Top Spook two more, one prominently strapped to his chest. "My impression," one witness said later, "was that the bodyguard had orders that in any attempt at kidnapping he was to shoot the Top Spook."

Top Spook was pleased that foreign editor James Greenfield, a former Assistant Secretary of State, had edited the massive papers to prevent any such leak, and received the promise that Greenfield would go over them again. Nevertheless, at one of the court hearings, Vice Admiral Noel Gayler, director of NASA sent an aide with armed guards and a double-locked briefcase to show Judge David Bazelon such an asserted threat to security so secret it was contained in a large manila envelope inside which was a smaller manila envelope containing, finally, a small white one bearing a red seal and ribbons. It enclosed a cable which Gayler said would reveal that

the NSA had broken the North Vietnamese code. There was a hush as the *Washington Post* lawyers, defending a similar suppression of publication, handed the message to George Wilson, the *Post*'s defense correspondent and principal technical advisor on the Pentagon Papers' evidence.

"It was a moment of unbelievable tension," said Wilson. "Suddenly it came totally clear to me. I had seen it on page 34 of the 1968 Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the Tonkin Gulf." By an incredible coincidence, he had a copy of the hearings in his back pocket and produced it for the judge and stunned government lawyers to see. The latter immediately asked for a recess.

What had all this accomplished? Thomas I. Emerson, Lines Professor of Law at Yale, First Amendment specialist, called *Sullivan* a watershed case in the evolution of twentieth-century American doctrine. He felt the Pentagon case was "probably more important." He put it alongside that of John Peter Zenger, on which the basic American freedom of the press rested.

Salisbury returns to his theme of a unified thread:

"Placing the Pentagon Papers ruling and *Sullivan* back-to-back, a careful analyst could see that there



were few matters indeed which were likely to resist the probing powers of the press if the will to probe was present. *Sullivan* liberated the newspapers as never before and the combination of *Sullivan* and Pentagon was greater than the sum of its parts.

"Out of the crucible of Bull Connor, the sit-ins, the thrust of Southern blacks to win the rights guaranteed by *Brown v. The Board of*

Education, the determination of Turner Catledge to present the full and dramatic story of the 'Great Revolution' in the South; out of the turmoil of a nation riven by the Vietnam war had been forged the instruments which would soon expose what John Dean later was to call

'a cancer — within — close to the presidency, which is growing.'" □

William J. Miller, Nieman Fellow '41, and former editorialist for Life and the New York Herald Tribune, is the author of The Meaning of Communism, and lives on Cape Cod.

An Experienceless Voyage

The Camera Age

by Michael J. Arlen

Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, New York, 1981. \$13.95

by ROSE ECONOMOU

Journalists who detest television but who are fascinated by its power and influence, may enjoy reading Michael Arlen's *The Camera Age*.

This collection of essays (originally published in *The New Yorker*) will no doubt confirm any existing prejudices against television — a medium that Arlen compares to a "passive... experienceless airplane ride." The only demand that television makes of the viewer, according to Arlen, is a commitment to "nonaggressive and uninvolved behavior."

But Arlen's purpose is not to rally television haters. He is genuinely concerned about the perception of the world that we get through television — a primary source of information for many people. Is the world that the camera eye perceives reality? "The television cameras stare out across the world, peering into politics, into space, into back yards, into courthouses, casting their eyes at family life, public life, sports, sex, revolution, war, famine as well as plenty, while we stay at home, also staring — living our lives in terms of what we think the cameras tell us."

Arlen's analysis of television reality is presented in a dispassionate but engaging style. Nothing escapes his eye: the most popular television shows are opened for dissection. From the "juicily wicked" night-time soap opera "Dallas" to "a special sportscasting moment" from the Winter Olympics at Lake Placid; from the "finely tuned, overdirected" Oscar ceremonies to "Shogun" — the story of "Anglo-Saxon captivity in the inhospitable wilderness" — all are examined. One essay discusses commercial television's obsession with youth — more specifically, adolescence. After reviewing the characteristics of successful television heroes like Baretta, Fonzie from "Happy Days," and the doctors in "M*A*S*H," Arlen concludes that they possess a single common virtue: "adolescent rebelliousness" which he describes as a "certain surface coolness that conceals a passionate and usually misunderstood nature, and an alienation from the adult world ('the system') which often takes the form of outright rebellion." This continuous drama, Arlen says, is played and replayed by entertainment programs.

And when it comes to hard news, or a breaking story, Arlen finds that television — “purveyor of electronic journalism and the fabled techniques of fast-flow information” — falls on its face when presented with the opportunity for a scoop. As an example, he cites a major development in the 1977 Middle East peace talks: At 2:30 in the morning, from a press conference at the United Nations Plaza Hotel in New York, Jody Powell announces to the world that the United States and Israel have reached a sudden agreement to reconvene the Middle East peace talks in Geneva. It was a chance for television to cover a major story with no competition from the newspapers. But, Arlen says, television did “just about nothing.” The network morning shows gave the development little more than headline coverage with a soft-news touch. And, he adds, it wasn’t “the first occasion . . . when it wasn’t so much the times that were out of joint as the way we look at them.”

“Television news managers,” he continues, “have been able to point to the contently viewing, or dozing, mass public as signaling approval of the news fare that is being given it, and so continue about their business, which often seems little more than engaging in old-fashioned circulation wars with one another and then taking out ads in *The New York Times* to announce how many ‘households’ have been captured.”

Arlen has difficulties with the popular CBS program “60 Minutes” as well. He accuses it of an “increasing tendency to have prosecutorial indignation do the work of actual investigative reporting” and, for an example, points to Dan Rather’s story “uncovering” corruption in a small town in Wyoming. After doing some investigation of his own, Arlen concludes that Rather’s story was based on questionable information — a charge that CBS executives later tried to refute.

In addition, Arlen implies that “60 Minutes” has become a vehicle for the “star.” He explains, “the news-gathering process itself has become part of the story — sometimes a key part, with the television news man first shown outside, trying to get in; then inside, facing down an uncooperative or hostile subject, who in turn is shown in close-up on the screen, . . . often caught by the camera in a carefully edited grimace or expression of seemingly revealed truth which may later turn out not to have been truth at all — or truth of a quite different sort.” Concerned that the public is “all too likely to follow the seductive flow of the news-gathering drama without paying very

close attention to its content,” Arlen would like to see journalists like Rather give up “their trial robes and courthouse righteousness” to return to solid, forthright reporting.

In conclusion, those who are tired of the gossip - columnist - turned - television - critic; who realize the importance of television and who have missed Arlen’s writing in *The New Yorker*, should take time to read *The Camera Age*. While some may want to “experience” kicking in their television set afterwards, that will not be Arlen’s fault. □

Rose Economou, Nieman Fellow '81, is a producer with WBBM-TV in Chicago.

Parsing the Pastoral Life

Second Person Rural

by Noel Perrin

David R. Godine, Boston, 1980. \$10.00

by DONALD GRANT

Noel Perrin teaches English at Dartmouth, New Hampshire, and lives in the country, in Vermont. *Second Person Rural* is the latest of two books of essays he has written about the rustic part of his life.

“During the week,” he writes, “I wear a coat and tie, and am a professor. Students have been known to call me ‘sir.’ Weekends I wear sweaty overalls, and shovel manure. Students, seeing me at a distance as they drive past my place, have been known to shout, ‘Hey, Mac! Which

way to Union Village?’”

What is it that leads a professor of English to spend so much time tapping maple trees and boiling down the sap, cutting up timber, taking care of animals, and growing crops? For one thing, he seems to be fascinated by the processes of farming — how to move rocks, split logs, or make apple cider. For another, he obviously enjoys the sort of human encounters that take place in the country. Away from city crowds, individual human beings become more visible.

Sounds and sights and smells may be more pleasant in the country. Perrin has an essay about the woods in winter: “My winter woodlot may be the quietest place I’ve ever been.”

There are many legitimate reasons



for preferring a country life. Working outdoors makes one feel good. Food you have produced for yourself seems to taste better, and so on.

Those of us who have left an urban, middle-class setting to live in the country are not entitled to feel superior to either the city people we have left behind us or the rural-bred people who now are our neighbors. Nor, I think, are we really closer to nature, as we sometimes pretend to be. Wherever we live and however we earn our living, we are all biological specimens, inescapably a part of nature.

When working with plants and animals, and feeling the good, friable earth with bare hands, I think one is more likely to attain a true perception of self, as a tiny segment of a total natural system of incredible complexity and size. Along with a sense of humility at being so small a part of this marvelous system, one may also sometimes feel a little bucked up to be connected with it at all. The great engine that is the sun, powering green plants, creates food for us where there was none before.

This familiar miracle is variously translated. Perrin tells how he picked up windfall apples from an old orchard, put them in a cider press, got the juice out. "The pressing is where the thrills come. As the plate begins to move down and compact the ground apples, you hear a kind of sighing, bubbling noise. Then the trickle of cider begins to run out. Within five or ten seconds the trickle turns into a stream, and the stream into a ciderfall. Even kids who have done it a dozen times look down in awe at what their labor has wrought.

"A couple of minutes later the press is down as far as it will go, and the container you remembered to put below the spout is full of rich, brown cider. Someone has broken out the glasses, and everybody is having a drink."

There is a fine immediacy of satisfaction in this particular farming

process. However, I guess they don't have bullfinches in New England. Here in Ireland, where my wife and I have our small farm, these lovely little birds sometimes invade the orchard when the fruit is just budding, and strip the trees clean. As a result: no apples, no apple cider.

Keep the birds away, and tree fruit and berries grow very well in Ireland; vegetable gardening is a joy. There are few trees in our part of Ireland, though, and I envy Perrin his woodlot — and his maple trees. He makes not only maple syrup, but "tub sugar, maple candy, and finally, just in the last few years, the highest art of all: granulated maple sugar that pours as readily as the white stuff you get in a five-pound bag at the store."

Living in the country, in New England, seems very attractive indeed, so much so that Perrin fears the countryside will become overrun with former city people. One friend of his, he says, moved away from New England — to Wyoming — to get away from the crowds of amateur farmers.

Perrin gives many examples of incompatibility between old rural New Englanders and city people recently moved to the country. He

also gives examples of how these incompatibilities can be overcome. City people, he says, long not only to be accepted by their rural neighbors, but to be one of them.

Somehow I doubt if the rural parts of the earth are going to be overrun by people from the city. I also doubt if those of us who are city people, removed to the country, will ever succeed in becoming insiders in the rural communities.

Fortunately, cultural — or sub-cultural — differences need not be serious barriers to human communication. Living in rural Ireland, my wife and I have found that we do best simply to be ourselves — urban-background Americans.

Naturally, we try to understand our neighbors, as they try to understand us. We all succeed pretty well, I think. Maybe it is a good thing that our area is not overrun with former city people, Americans or otherwise.

If that should happen, either in Ireland or New England, it would, I suppose, be a problem. I shall not worry about it much. □

Donald Grant, Nieman Fellow '42, lives and farms on Bantry Bay in County Cork, Ireland.

Musings of a Magazine Maven

The Magazine Maze

by Herbert Mayes

Doubleday, New York, 1980. \$14.95

by RON JAVERS

Magazine editors are to the literary life what vice presidents are to the political life: Nobody ever remembers their names. Who recalls that Thackeray was the editor of *Punch*? Or that

Theodore Dreiser edited a women's magazine called *The Delineator*? Or that Disraeli was the moving spirit behind a magazine called *The Representative*?

Yet, anonymous as they are, editors — especially editors of popu-

lar magazines — lead lives that are at least as precarious as the lives of writers, who are almost always better known, better paid, and better thought of. The writer may be thought of as a romantic figure, but the editor is seen as a nitpicking nonentity who sits chewing his pencil, waiting for inspiration or last month's circulation figures, in that twi-lit limbo between the powerful publisher's suite and the finicky public's affections.

"Other than to be his creative self," writes Herbert R. Mayes, who ought to know, "an editor has insignificant reward." Mayes has been editor of a number of America's most famous and successful mass-circulation magazines, among them *Cosmopolitan*, *McCall's* and *Good Housekeeping*. His memoir is the



parting salvo in a lifelong battle with "management."

"It is management," he writes, "that receives the big money, salary being but part of it. Management gets the profit-sharing deals, the really fat bonuses, the company-owned apartments to live in, the company-leased cars, stock options, enormous 'consultant' fees after retirement... Members of management take seats on their company directorates and vote the perks for themselves. Editors rarely get to be board members, are almost always rigidly excluded. They do not end up poor, but one only has to look around to see that management ends up bloody rich."

If the editor sounds bitter, perhaps he has reason. It was management, after all, a management he had served faithfully for 32 years, that one day dumped him unceremoniously without pay or pension. But Mayes was not quite ready for the

back-issue file. At age 58 he enlisted the financial support of Norton Simon and proceeded to turn a shabby, struggling publication called *McCall's* into one of the nation's most successful magazine properties ever.

It has been said (disgustingly often) that each really great magazine is the creation of a single great editor. The usual obeisance is to *The New Yorker* under Harold Ross — both William Shawn and Brendan Gill have had to labor under that hindsight judgment. While it is perhaps still true that only God can make a tree, magazines continue to be made every day by fools like you and me. The task of the editor is not so much procreation as it is provocation. Having pinched and prodded, the editor must stand back and let all the elephants enter the tent. Sometimes editors must also follow along behind them with a shovel.

Editors spend their days ensuring that their magazine's internal creative processes continue to flourish unimpeded. This can be tricky when one considers that surprisingly often the greatest impediment to a great magazine is the publisher, who is also the guarantor of paychecks great and small.

Herbert Mayes seems to have spent a career wrestling with this paradox. Between bouts with "management" there was, however, time to meet and even dislike an extraordinary number of literary and political celebrities — everyone from Dorothy Kilgallen (who was Not Nice) to Dave Garroway (who was); from Ayn Rand (who, when told her article was going to be cut, retorted: "Would you cut the Bible?") to Eleanor Roosevelt (who wrote for him) to Jackie Kennedy Onassis (who gracefully declined).

Over lunch at "21" or dinner at Sardi's, the self-educated editor measured articles and their authors' lives with unrelenting gusto, remaining to the end unabashedly low- to middle-brow in his search for the

stories that would keep America reading. Though he numbered Willa Cather, Rebecca West, and William Faulkner among his friends, he prized above all the talent of a writer called Hendrick Willem van Loon. He managed to miss altogether the gift of a fellow named Joseph Heller, who toiled for years right under Mayes's nose in the *McCall's* promotion department. Evelyn Waugh he describes as "a quirky genius" who, "as a human being... was a creep." Scott Fitzgerald was always short of cash, didn't object to revisions of his stories and, in the editor's view, "had made a significant contribution to contemporary literature," despite his turning out "a tidy amount of trash" as well.

This book, like the editor's filing system, is a hodgepodge. But it is an often delightful and revealing hodgepodge, laced with piquant observations like this one on the state of contemporary magazine publishing: "The present editorial scene is manifestly under the control of management dedicated to profit and devoid of sense of propriety... the single purpose to squeeze the last dollar for management coffers, every vestige of decency unslyly and disgracefully put aside."

If such indeed is the case among the new breed of magazine managers, the profit squeezers are not meeting with wholesale success. In the first half of 1980, one of every three general-circulation magazines had lost circulation. This year, analysts are forecasting a continued squeeze on advertising profits as well.



Despite the obsession with management interference in the editorial suite, Mayes's book, like many of the magazines he edited, manages to

convey something interesting — if not compelling or even important — on almost every page. If a similar judgment could be rendered concerning a number of America's "finest" magazines today, there

would doubtless be a lot less gloom at the bottom line. □

Ron Javers, Nieman Fellow '76, is articles editor of Philadelphia magazine.

Tricks of the Trades

Business, Media, and the Law — The Troubled Confluence

by Robert Lamb, William G. Armstrong, Jr.,
and Carolyn R. Morigi

New York University Press, 1980. \$15.00

by CALVIN MAYNE

The tenuous thesis of this book is that "a fierce conflict" exists and is accelerating "between three major institutions in the United States: business, media, and government."

Obviously, there is warfare, declared or undeclared, between business and the media, between business and government, and between government and the media. But, beyond the authors' assertion that one exists, a "troubled confluence" among the three is never clearly established in this rather stiffly written book.

They do make the valid point that, according to the polls, all three institutions have plunged to discouraging lows of public confidence. Whole books could be, and are being, written on how each might improve its rating, or on how truces might be reached in the separate battles of each against the other. But combining all of this into only 124 pages of text, 42 of which are devoted to the admittedly burdensome regulations and disclosure requirements government imposes on business, means that each area is treated about as superficially as the authors accuse

the media of often treating complex and important business news.

Nonetheless, the book is an acceptable primer on how business can improve its relationship with the media. Busy business executives might find it valuable airplane reading for that reason, if only to confirm what their public relations people probably have been telling them all along.

And journalists can find value in skimming this book to see how business people may be on to some tricks of the trade. These include softening up television interviewees with friendly questions before hitting them with toughies while they're actually on the air, or the virtue of combining good "visuals" with voice-over interviews. Journalists should also be wary of the technique noted by the authors whereby an interviewee ignores difficult or tangential questions to get across in limited time or space the basic message the interviewee wants to impart (most American presidents are good at that). Newspeople will also appreciate the authors' advice to business people that the best way to communicate with journalists is to talk with them, albeit carefully.

Authors Lamb and Armstrong are current and former faculty members, respectively, of the New York University Graduate School of Business Administration, and both were once newsmen, apparently briefly. Ms. Morigi served as "research and conference coordinator."

None displays excessive knowledge about the media and the training of journalists — for example, they seem under the misimpression that a disproportionate amount, if not the majority, of time spent by collegiate journalism majors is devoted to learning their future trade, as opposed to other academic subjects. They also hold a surprisingly dim view of newspapers: "The American newspaper system as we have known it is fading away — consumed by broadcast competition." Nibbled, yes, and perhaps even munched. Consumed, not yet.

The authors draw heavily on material from the popular conferences for business executives and journalists conducted by the Los Angeles-based Foundation for American Communications (FACS). The Gannett Foundation has subsidized some FACS conferences, as do various businesses and other foundations. This type of seminar, which has been increasing under the sponsorship of various business schools as well as FACS, seems to be based on the assumption that if business people and journalists spend a day or two together in pleasant surroundings and are exposed to the views of notable journalists and business executives, they will understand — and maybe even like — each other more. Could be, although circus trainers who combine such natural enemies as lions and tigers in their acts might contend that a snapping whip and blank cartridges also help to keep the peace.

The book accurately describes some real problems that business encounters with the media and vice versa: a reluctance by business to

disclose any but the most favorable news, a press preoccupation with bad news, a fear of the press among many top executives, the anti-business bias of some reporters and an ignorance of the complexities of business and economics among even more, the simplistic condensation often forced by limited television time and newspaper space, the aversion of most reporters to the insulation of top management by public relations people.

But, nonetheless, business reporting is getting better with each passing year, and this book recognizes that improvement, if insufficiently so from this reviewer's standpoint.

The stunning success of *The Wall Street Journal* — which can be tougher than even Ralph Nader on unethical or dishonest business practices — has not been lost on the rest of American journalism. Not only most large newspapers but also many smaller ones are devoting more space and staff to business coverage. Some are now out of the rut of business pages devoted largely to the stock

market, corporate reports, personnel changes and such, and are telling readers everything they'd like to know (and sometimes even more) about all the ways in which money affects their lives, and what they can do about it. Such television programs as "Wall Street Week" handle business news responsibly, although television still seems to dwell too much on what's bad about business.

All in all, it is doubtless true, as the authors contend, that business coverage in the American media has not advanced to the same level of sophistication as has been attained, say, with sports and politics. This book does contain some useful tips on how to achieve that, assuming editors consider it worth the time, money and trouble. But in this reviewer's judgment, it is hardly the definitive text on the subject, even when it occasionally tries to be. □

Calvin Mayne, Nieman Fellow '53 and former editor of the Rochester Times-Union editorial page, is director of communications for the Gannett Foundation.

tion of essays written mainly in the mid and late 1970's, when Bell became a leader in the movement known as neoconservatism. Unlike



others in the movement, who are merely hard-line anti-communists or opponents of affirmative action, Bell is a scholar dedicated to exploring and understanding the origins and validity of traditional values. Bell's range and erudition are breathtaking, almost exhausting, to behold. I found myself underlining and margin-writing on nearly every page, and also envying the life that gives one time to absorb not just Veblen and Marx, but ancient philosophers and modern poets and the news of the day as well, and envying, too, the mind capable of such broad absorption.

The essays are harder to read than they need to be, though. Bell never uses an English phrase when he can find a foreign one, or an everyday term when he can use jargon. Even so, his ideas reward the effort to get at them, as when he discusses the concept of "antinomianism," the assertion of individual conscience against institutions. In its up-to-date form, "antinomianism is quick to defend heresy at any cost, on the presumption that heresy must be right and orthodoxy wrong."

Similarly, Bell holds that modern liberalism has abandoned its traditional dedication to individual self-realization ("liberty") and has turned instead to self-gratification ("liberation"). Bell's book is no fast read, but it is an enriching and provocative one. □

Morton Kondracke, Nieman Fellow '74, is executive editor of The New Republic.

A Baedeker for the Intellect

The Winding Passage: Essays and Sociological Journeys 1960-1980

by Daniel Bell

Abt Books, Cambridge, 1980. \$25.00

by MORTON KONDRACKE

Daniel Bell is living proof that a journalist can become an intellectual without being a Nieman Fellow, but this book suggests that the transformation can be hazardous to one's writing. Professor Bell, who spent most of his first 20 working years in

journalism (as managing editor of *The New Leader*, a writer for *Fortune*, and a columnist for *Commentary*), for the past 20 years has been an academic sociologist: 10 years at Columbia, 10 at Harvard, where he is now Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences.

The Winding Passage is a collec-

The Louis M. Lyons Award

The Louis M. Lyons Award for conscience and integrity in journalism was awarded posthumously at the April 1981 Nieman Convocation to Joe Alex Morris Jr., a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent who was killed February 10, 1979, while covering the Iranian revolution.

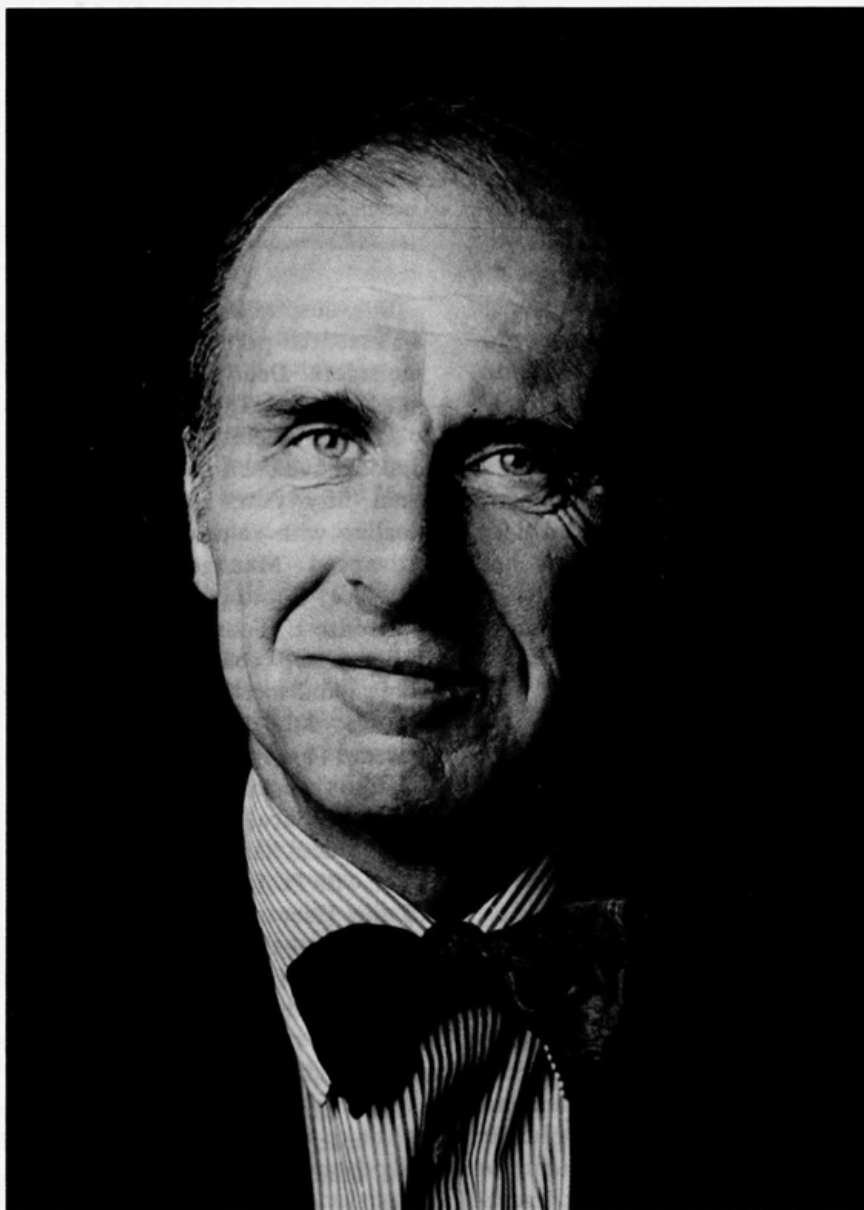
Morris, who was struck in the chest by a bullet during street fighting near Tehran, had reported from the Middle East for 25 years. He was known as a kind, sensitive man with a broad knowledge of the Moslem world and the willingness always to go the extra step for a story.

The *Tehran Journal* said of the 51-year-old correspondent: "Morris was respected for his fairness; his untiring quest for truth; his willingness to listen, to learn, to observe. Among the press corps covering the Iranian revolution... he was loved as a humorous and very human elder statesman."

Mr. Morris's widow, Ulla, accepted the award on behalf of her husband. Also in attendance were their daughter, Maria, a student at Trinity College near Hartford, Connecticut, and Joe Alex Morris Sr., a former foreign editor for United Press International and the (New York) *Herald Tribune*, and former managing editor of *Collier's* magazine.

Full details of the award presentation will appear in the Autumn 1981 issue of *Nieman Reports*.

—David Lamb



Joe Alex Morris Jr.

Thinking about Ethics

MAX HALL

Development of courses in ethics comes as the absence of ethics in business makes frequent news headlines.

The Harvard Business School has always been uncertain over how best to bring ethical issues into the training of managers. Classroom discussions of right and wrong, if they seem to include "Sunday School talk" or the mandating of one person's moral values upon another, are usually unacceptable to both teacher and taught. Even when such pitfalls are avoided, and even though many students want more ethics in the curriculum, ethics is widely perceived as a sort of "soft topic," not for rigorous analysis. It eludes sharp definition — "ethics," "values," and "social responsibility" seem intertwined. Whatever it is called, there are mystifying controversies in the subject, whether it is viewed as a branch of philosophy or as a complicating factor in already complicated business problems. Besides, good teaching materials are hard to obtain, because managers are seldom prone to share their touchiest dilemmas. For all these reasons, many faculty members do not feel comfortable or professionally competent in discussing ethical questions even if they favor the general idea.

Max Hall, Nieman Fellow '50, after retiring as senior editor in 1977 from the Harvard University Press, has been a consultant at the Business School and editor of Explorations, a bi-monthly publication of the School. The above is excerpted from Explorations, October 1980, with permission of the Division of Research, Harvard Business School.

But, despite the difficulties, this is an essential part of training general managers. Dean John H. McArthur likes to express it in terms of values.

Leading faculty members at the School have been grappling for more than fifty years with methods of dealing with value elements. In the Advanced Management Program, John B. Matthews, former Dean Lawrence E. Fouraker, and Donn B. Miller have conducted classes on ethical and social issues, to the great interest of the executives who participated. Three years ago Professor Matthews created an MBA elective called "Ethical Aspects of Corporate Policy" and has taught it in collaboration with Professor Preston Williams of the Harvard Divinity School. In other courses, some faculty members have encouraged their students to think about the ethical and moral aspects of the decisions posed by the cases studied.

But, throughout the School's history, many faculty members, alumni, and others have been dissatisfied with the effort in this field. The dissatisfaction is not confined to academicians. For example, last December a group of top-management executives, namely the Board of Directors of The Associates of the Harvard Business School, urged that more be accomplished in this field and emphasized the importance of ethics in the education and life of the business leader.

The effort continues. In 1980, as one part of the effort, a new research program has been started under the

direction of John Matthews. Nobody expects this program alone to result in a "solution" of the problem. Matthews's purpose is to develop newer and more effective teaching materials and at the same time to "demystify" somewhat the subject of philosophical ethics.

His approach to ethics in the curriculum is about like this: "We are not trying to preach, or impose a particular point of view, but are trying to help students discern the existence of a moral or ethical dimension in a business problem so that they can think in a more organized and systematic fashion about the nature of the problem and ultimately forge a set of personal beliefs — moral standards — that will help them be socially responsible professional managers."

Two Post-Doctoral Research Fellows are taking part in the new research project. They are Laura Nash and Kenneth E. Goodpaster.

Laura Nash is a 1976 Harvard Ph.D. in Classical Philology who has taught at Harvard, Brandeis, and Brown. She came to this school by way of the *Harvard Business Review*, where she had done summer work as a student.

Dr. Nash is investigating how companies structure their institutional values. For example, she has become particularly interested in a large British firm, S.B. Cameron Ltd. (a disguised name), which drew up a statement of its values in tandem with a statement of its financial objectives. She interviewed all the

top people to see what, if anything, these guidelines have meant in their lives, and she has written some cases on difficult decisions that Cameron managers have had to make. These cases were thoroughly discussed by Cameron's top managers in a meeting last month, and she will be publishing an analysis of the results.

A couple of American cases prepared by Nash, taken from life but disguised in the writing, are on these topics:

- A carpet salesman found, on his very first day, that in order to obtain a certain large order he would have to give the customer a discount to cover freight costs and falsify it as an allowance for "defective merchandise"; moreover the salesman's immediate boss told him to do so.

- A company president requested that the company's charitable trust make a \$100,000 donation to a medical foundation which supported a medical school which was associated with a hospital which had received an application for a residency from a young doctor who was the son of the Secretary of War of a Near Eastern country which was the company's largest overseas customer for military equipment.

The mission of Kenneth Goodpaster at the School is to explore how helpful the discipline of philosophical ethics can be. Goodpaster is a philosopher who is sympathetic to the needs of managers. He received his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Michigan in 1973, and he comes here from Notre Dame where he was an assistant professor of philosophy, teaching courses in business ethics and environmental ethics. His involvement in business problems began in 1972 when he was a member of a Notre Dame team studying values in the electric power industry.

Books on philosophical ethics are not ideal for business students. Goodpaster will write notes on the discipline itself — what its various

schools of thought have to offer — and also on business cases from a philosophical viewpoint.

In his research and published writings, Goodpaster argues that more effective models are needed for the ethical analysis of corporate behavior. Toward this end, he is interested in systematically pursuing the analogy between the individual and the organized group — that is, organizations are better understood if seen as "macro-versions of ordinary, personal moral agents." He calls this "the principle of moral projection," and he thinks it "points to something like the following generic prescription: organizational (corporate) agents should be *no more* and *no less*

morally responsible (rational, self-interested, altruistic) than ordinary personal moral agents."

Says Goodpaster, "This thing called corporate responsibility or corporate ethics is not a clear idea. Everybody seems to think there is something there; but it needs clarification. The 'moral projection' analogy is not perfect. I want to follow it where it leads. It could turn out to be philosophically interesting. But my point is fairly pragmatic. I get tired of hearing people say that corporations should be responsible without being able to say what they mean by this. What I am after is some kind of definition of corporate responsibility." □

The Newspaper Is A Lone Wolf Business

Our business, and it stands to reason it is a business as well as a kind of zealous professional calling, is unlike any other in the universe.

It is a lone wolf business, without any real sentimental alliances in other businesses. For its success, it depends not on manufacturing or chopping up some commodity which the public will buy and learning how to market it and produce efficiently.

It depends on that strange combination of somebody's will to be heard in print, somebody else's ability to imagine what truth may be like without ever closing his mind to the opposite change; somebody else's honest ingenuity about getting to the scene of the crime or getting the public official to talk, or going to some source no one else has thought of; somebody else's reflective thoughts at the last moment before going to press; somebody's money to back this combine to do two things, make at least enough money to exist, and as much more as possible, and to give the public a source of fact and counsel which will make that com-

bine and everybody connected with it respectable, respected, and interesting.

The manufacturing and production end of it pales into insignificance alongside of the will of each performer in the combine to do something better than somebody else can do it. For if any member of the combine is listless or lacking in the necessary ideals, it will all flop.

There is no cooperative effort in all civilization like the high-speed publishing of a daily newspaper, and I, who as a managing editor twice got out extras forgetting to notify the circulation department, and saw those extras rot away on the loading dock, ought to know it.

—Nathaniel R. Howard, from his address given to the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild, 1947. At the time he was editor of the Cleveland News and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and had had thirty years of newspapering, starting as a cub reporter.

Letters

FREE AT LAST

Please send me a copy of the Summer 1980 issue of *Nieman Reports* [the special on news photography].

It is a beautiful and provocative edition. Having seen the light, I no longer need be enslaved to *Columbia Journalism Review*.

Thank you.

Bruce L. Ehrmann
Deal Park, New Jersey

WHITE IS RIGHT?

The new format and cover color of *Nieman Reports* are great, give it a more professional aspect.

Barbara Tuchman's seminar talk is the most absorbingly fascinating piece the *Reports* ever printed, I think. I had read other pieces of hers on writing history, but none so full, so illuminating, so provocative, so wise.

Louis M. Lyons (NF '39)
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Bring back the white cover. The latest issue looks like something someone dropped on the floor. Either that or the product of a balky Xerox machine in need of toner.

White is classy. Grey is, well, grey.

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

FIGURING IT OUT

In "Transatlantic Miscommunications" by Andrew Knight, he cites

that "*The Daily Telegraph*... sells over 1.5 million copies a day, one and a half times more than *The Los Angeles Times*."

Since *The Los Angeles Times'* daily circulation has been over one million copies for some years now (my latest paper says 1,043,028), I think Mr. Knight's math is wrong.

Otherwise, the Spring 1981 issue was good, as always.

Jack Foisie (NF '47)
Johannesburg bureau, South Africa
The Los Angeles Times

Our thanks to fact-finder Foisie, whose math is accurate.

WORDS OF TONGUE OR PEN

One of my best journalism students wandered off into the English Department recently and returned perplexed. "They don't seem to know what's right and wrong over there," he said. "Anything goes." He had discovered descriptive linguistics.

Those of us who discovered it earlier may smile, but we are not shockproof; we can still be startled by a statement like Bruce MacDonald's in the last *Nieman Reports* [Spring 1981; review of *Words on Words*]: "Usage, after all, is a matter of manners and not meaning."

I don't intend to take general issue with Mr. MacDonald; I liked some of his points. But his pen drips contentiousness. In the long war between descriptivists and prescriptivists, the skirmishers have had all too much fun discharging their muskets at each other. While the battle rages, we non-combatants — who are merely journeyman writers — crouch in the cellar, hoping that the winners won't

shoot the wounded and that there will be enough potatoes left for the winter.

I am as tired of this phony war as a Cambodian peasant is of fall offensives. After observing the Grundy and anti-Grundy forces for many years, I feel about both sides as the man did who wrote: "If you see someone approaching with the intent to do you good, run the other way."

Descriptive linguists, as far as I can tell, are scholarly gentlemen who serve a high calling by recording how we speak and by charting the currents of inevitable change in the language. I honor them for this, but their job description should bar them from commenting on usage and meaning. Their job is counting things, not thinking about them.

Prescriptive grammarians are noble warriors, ready to fight and die for the hyphen in ice-cream cone. But they have a policeman's mentality. They are watchmen who know only last night's password. In their rule-making they resemble a security guard who once taxed me with letting a reporter bring a bicycle up an elevator and into a fourth-floor newsroom. "What would things be like," he asked, "if *everybody* brought their bicycles up in the elevator?"

Somewhere must be the abode of reason where a recognition of language's inevitable change can live peaceably with a decent respect for the conventions of usage.

We might start the search for it by examining Mr. MacDonald's statement that "usage is a matter of manners and not meaning." I suspect he is treating "usage" narrowly as "anything the Grundy Gang stews about." But even in that sense, usage demonstrably concerns both manners and meaning.

Mr. MacDonald points out that there is no difference in meaning between "Who did I see" and "Whom did I see." Yet the distinction between subject and object is far from meaningless. A sentence that begins "The linguist who I saw was wool-gathering" means something much different from one beginning "The linguist whom I saw was wool-gathering...."

You might straighten out the meaning with commas, but why should you have to? The ancient distinction between nominative and objective pronouns does it nicely. Could that be why the distinction has persisted?

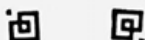
Instances in which usage clarifies meaning could be multiplied easily. A while back I wrote a letter to be sent by our college Admissions Department to prospective students. In it I noted that "we are one of those schools that try to combine practical training with the liberal arts." A typist called to tell me that I surely meant "one of those schools that tries." No, I replied through bared teeth, I wrote what I meant: there are schools, glorious if dwindling in number, that try, and our college is in that company. She hung up quickly, convinced that there was not only a curmudgeon in the Journalism Department, but an illiterate one.

Wilson Follett, in his *Modern American Usage*, steered carefully between pedantry and license. If he lacked some of the fine crustiness of grammarians like the Fowlers, he grounded most of his advice in good sense. One of the most sensible things he told writers was to abide by conventions when they do no harm and when some discriminating readers would be offended by their violation. An older correspondent of mine, a careful writer of good prose, has lost his faith in *The New York Times* copydesk because it no longer knows or cares to write "persuade to" instead of "convince to." I am not as bothered, having been reared in

decadent times, but I observe the convention in order not to offend. It costs me nothing.

Another correspondent sent me, several years ago, a review from the *Times Literary Supplement* in which Joseph Epstein both defended standards of usage and demolished the pretensions of William and Mary Morris's *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage*. In his review, Epstein noted that thinking grammarians have always run like hell from the Grundys of both the left and the right — from those who said usage was nothing and those who said it was everything. I will be happy to send a copy of the review to anyone who wishes to settle the debate permanently.

William Bridges
Chairman, Journalism Department
Franklin College, Indiana



Bruce MacDonald replies:

Mr. Bridges confuses grammar and usage.

The study of grammar is the study of the necessary rules by which a particular language establishes meaning in combinations of words. No rules, no language. Mr. Bridges mistakenly offers "...one of the schools that try/tries..." as an example of usage, when it is, in fact, a grammatical issue. Subject and verb agreement is a fundamental requirement of English. "One of those schools that tries" means something different from "one of those schools that try." That distinction is grammatical.

Usage, on the other hand, deals not with rules but conventions. And conventions change. The meaning of "persuade to" is identical with "convince to," as Mr. Bridges

suggests. That is usage — a choice between synonyms.

A common difference between descriptive linguists and prescriptive grammarians is that the latter mistakenly assume that conventions of usage are rules of grammar. But they are not. The distinction between "This is me" and "This is I" lies not in meaning but in taste. (Winston Churchill preferred "This is me.") To be sure, either alternative will strike somebody as "right" and the other as "wrong." But that is merely another way of saying that one is more familiar than the other.

Mr. Bridges flatters the squabbles of prescriptive grammarians when he employs the metaphors of muskets and storm cellars. A battle of bladders in a Punch and Judy show would be more apt. Nevertheless, readers who enjoy that sort of harmless squirmishing will like Jim Quinn's *American Tongue and Cheek* (Pantheon Books, New York, 1980), which comes as close to being scholarly about the opinions of Ed Newman *et al*, as one can be expected to get. □



Advisory and Faculty Committee Membership Enlarged

President Derek C. Bok has appointed five new members to the Nieman Foundation's Advisory Committee, and six to the Nieman Faculty Committee, enlarging the total membership of both committees and replacing those whose terms have expired.

The new members are:

Hale Champion, Executive Dean, John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University; Nieman Fellow '57.

Michael Gartner, President and Publisher of the *Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Tribune*.

Ellen Goodman, Syndicated Columnist with *The Boston Globe*; Nieman Fellow '74.

Anthony Lewis, Lecturer on Law at Harvard University; Columnist for *The New York Times*; Nieman Fellow '57.

Wallace T. MacCaffrey, Professor of History at Harvard University.

Robert Maynard, Editor, *The Oakland (California) Tribune*; Nieman Fellow '66.

Jack Nelson, Bureau Chief, *The Los Angeles Times*, Washington, D.C.; Nieman Fellow '62.

Barbara Norfleet, Lecturer on Visual and Environmental Studies at Harvard University, and Curator of Still Photography in the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts.

Jean Alice Small, Publisher and Editor of the *Kankakee (Illinois) Journal*.

Evon Vogt and Catherine Vogt, Co-Masters of Kirkland House, Harvard University. Mr. Vogt is Professor of Social Anthropology and Curator of Middle American Ethnology in the Peabody Museum.

Members of the Advisory Committee serve three-year terms; Faculty Committee members, two years. Appointments may be renewed from

time to time. Members of the two Committees whose terms expire in June are: Richard Dudman, Washington, D.C., Bureau Chief, *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Clayton Kirkpatrick, President, *Chicago Tribune*; William Alfred, Professor of English at Harvard University; Chris Argyris, Professor of Education and Organizational Behavior at Harvard University; and Frank Freidel, Professor of

American History at Harvard University.

The Advisory and Faculty Committees, which now comprise 27 members, meet semi-annually with James C. Thomson Jr., Curator of the Nieman Foundation, the Foundation's administrative staff, and the current class of Fellows to review the progress, problems, and general health of the Nieman program.

Archaeologists Link Discovery to 1638 Press

Cambridge, Mass. — Four pieces of type excavated at Harvard University from beneath the Wadsworth Gate in 1979 have been linked with the earliest printing press in America, a spokesman for the Institute for Conservation Archaeology (ICA) said yesterday.

Archaeologists found the pieces of type in various pockets of earth, all dated prior to 1674. The first American press was built in Cambridge in 1638, and the second, built in Boston, was not commissioned until after 1674.

"Archaeologists are very interested in the pieces," Gray C. Graffam, the ICA archaeologist who identified the pieces, said yesterday.

Dr. William H. Bond, librarian of Houghton Library, agreed, calling the find "a very exciting discovery."



The find includes a blank spacer, an italic "1", an upper-case "O", and a cross-forme, a symbol similar to the Maltese cross. Printers used the cross-forme either to mark an almanac or to indicate the taking of a breath in a hymnal.

Each type piece comes from a

different font, and thus differs somewhat in size from the others.

The type pieces, which originated in England or Holland, are made of lead, tin, and antimony — the same components as pewter.



Construction workers extending the Red Line subway of the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority moved the Wadsworth Gate back ten feet in 1979 to protect it from damage. Archaeologists examined the new site for the gate before the move, and found the type pieces.

"Almost everything at Harvard without a building on it is an archaeological treasure-trove," Charlie B. Steward, Environmental Coordinator of the MBTA, said yesterday.

The discovery "proves that even in the most disturbed environments like Harvard Square, very important information lies intact under the ground," Michael E. Roberts, director of the ICA, said yesterday. "This is just the tip of the iceberg." □

Reprinted with permission of The Harvard Crimson, from the March 19, 1981, edition.

China Launches English Daily

Newspaper company twinning — a concept exemplified by a cooperative venture between a firm of Australian publishers and the staff of the People's Daily in China.

A six-day English language newspaper is about to be launched in the People's Republic of China — the *China Daily*.

A sister publication of the powerful *People's Daily*, the country's official party newspaper will be photocomposed and printed web-offset.

Behind its appearance on the streets of Peking and other major Chinese cities in about three months' time lies a remarkable story of friendship and cooperation between the *People's Daily* organisation and David Syme & Co. Limited, of Melbourne, Australia, publishers of *The Age*.

The Syme company is reluctant to give details of the amount or the nature of the help it has given, but it is increasingly obvious that it has played a significant role in assisting the Chinese, not only with editorial training but also with technical and management advice during the run-

up to the launch.

Mr. Ranald Macdonald, chief executive of the David Syme organisation, headed an official Syme delegation to China in November last year.

He was accompanied on the trip by Mr. Jack Beverley, Special Projects Manager.

The Syme delegation's four-week stay in the People's Republic was an official expression of thanks by the Chinese for hospitality in Australia earlier in the year to an executive team from the *People's Daily*, including Mr. Jiang Muyue, head of the preparatory committee for launching the new paper, and Mr. An Wenyi, deputy secretary-general of the *People's Daily*.

During their stay in Australia, the Chinese team produced the first dummy of their new paper. Copies were printed for them to take back to Peking.

It was typeset on U.S. manufactured Compugraphic photocomposition equipment which Syme experts had suggested the Chinese should use.

Discussing the new English language daily, Mr. Beverley said problems had arisen because in China

there is no newspaper and magazine distribution system similar to that operating in the rest of the world.

"The *People's Daily* issues more than six million copies every day. It prints in 20 major cities in addition to Peking. All the copies are sold on a subscription basis and distributed through the postal system.

"Even in Peking it's impossible to get a *People's Daily* before 10 a.m. when the postmen start deliveries — and that's to special areas."

How many copies would be distributed of the new *China Daily*?

Mr. Beverley said the figure is still "under wraps," but pointed out that about 25 million of China's 1,000 million people are currently learning English.

"The *People's Daily* has extremely ambitious long-term plans. They have ordered four double-width Metroliner web-offset presses, each with a double delivery system."

Mr. Beverley reckons that a set-up like that is capable of delivering in excess of 400,000 copies an hour.

"They mean business," he said.

Reprinted with permission, The Daily Nation, Nairobi, Kenya.

On the Wing

continued from page 2

In April 1977 members of the military junta kidnapped Jacobo Timerman. He was put in prison, and tortured for two and a half years. His offense? To be a Jew and a Zionist — and one who publicly queried the government. Worldwide outcry against this injustice, including protests from organizations such as IPI, eventually gained his release. He was stripped of his citizenship and sent to Israel, where he still resides.

After describing the Argentine strategy of making unwanted jour-

nalists disappear, he put this question to his listeners: "How can newspeople discuss freedom of the press with nations like Argentina, when they are killing, torturing and persecuting journalists?"



Local press coverage of the IPI Assembly was extensive. Some accounts noted that only a handful of Kenyans and Nigerians were there to represent the journalists of Black Africa, and that this also had been the case 13 years earlier, when more than 200 IPI delegates had met in Nairobi. Some suggested that this

lack of interest was due to the fact that most African nations believe in a government press, and the vast majority of African journalists are either civil servants or employees of ruling parties, whereas IPI stands for a free and independent press.

Thus, at the gathering of international press people in the Kenyatta Conference Center, irony was an added presence, and the badges of identification worn by all IPI participants, unlike the clipped Air Force insignia, were of limited distinction.

—T.B.K.L.

Nieman Notes

As we go to press, we are still coasting along on the excitement and warmth engendered by the Nieman Reunion last week (April 25-27). Nearly 300 Niemans, spouses, and friends gathered in Cambridge, and all but 3 of the 43 classes of Nieman Fellows were represented. The next issue of *NR* will focus on the Convocation, and will include photographs, as well as transcripts of some of the speeches and panel discussions.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that the occasion marked the presentation of the Louis M. Lyons Award for conscience and integrity in journalism. (See page 43.)

To all who came to the three-day event, we say again how heartening it was to be together. To those who could not be there, we send word that they were missed.

— 1939 —

As the only returning class with near-perfect representation at the Reunion — just one member was lacking — the Class of 1939 set a remarkable record. At the opening dinner a table of honor was reserved for: Dorothy and IRVING DILLIARD, Louise and FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS, Totty and LOUIS LYONS, EDWIN J. PAXTON, Jr., and OSBURN ZUBER.

In a spontaneous message to their Curator, Archibald MacLeish, they wrote the following:

Roscoe Pound Hall
April 25, 1981

To Archie MacLeish —

Dear Archie: We want you to know that no one is missed more at the Nieman Reunion and Convocation than you your very dear self. Love and blessings on you all from us all!

Class of 1939

Irv Dilliard	Osburn Zuber
Frank S. Hopkins	Ed Paxton
Louis M. Lyons	

In a postscript, Irv Dilliard added:

Archie: Five of the six (three have gone to their reward) living are here tonight and we lifted a glass to you and sent cheers to Conway. Our best wishes always.

— 1941 —

WILLIAM M. PINKERTON, living in retirement on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in South Orleans, writes about "the flux of retired military and naval brass and sound business executives [nearby]. Lucile and I take great delight in a Canadian neighbor from New Jersey, who led his town's band of Highlanders in the invasion of France and spent three years in a German prison — and then found his way to being treasurer of Prudential Insurance by thinking otherwise.

"We find good company, too, by singing together in the Chatham Chorale, and by my weekly venture down Route 39 to practice with the Harwich Town Band — a jolly crew with all the instrumental challenge my finicky clarinet can take. A good life, withall."

— 1948 —

LESTER GRANT, Professor of Pathology at the University of Texas, Galveston, paid an unexpected visit to the Nieman office early one February morning. In Boston on other business, he took a taxi to Cambridge directly upon his arrival at Logan Airport, to see Lippmann House and meet some of the staff. Our only Nieman M.D., he said he found all to his liking.

— 1954 —

BARRY BROWN informs us that he retired in March from the former U.S. Information Agency (USIA), now called the International Communication Agency (USICA). He and Roberta plan to remain in the Washington area, at 3666 Vacation Lane, Arlington, VA 22207.

After retirement the Browns took an extended trip through New Zealand and

Australia, where they had hoped to renew contact with their Nieman colleagues from Down Under, GARY MEAD and LIONEL (BILL) HUDSON. They were saddened to learn that Gary had died suddenly about a year earlier. They did have a most pleasant visit with his widow, Joan, in Wanganui, and she gave them a copy of Gary's obituary notice. (See below.)

Barry and Roberta found Bill Hudson outside Sydney, in Newport Beach. He is doing very well with stringer work for NBC radio news, lecturing and writing for the Audubon Society, and some media consultant work for the Australian branch of UNICEF.

GARTH LADLEY (GARY) MEAD, general manager of Wanganui Newspapers, Ltd., New Zealand, died suddenly yesterday after becoming ill at Levin while driving to Wellington.

In 1938, after attending Nelson College, Mr. Mead began his career in journalism as a cadet reporter in Nelson. He rose through the ranks to become sports editor and deputy chief reporter of the *Nelson Evening Mail*. Over the years, he was a reporter for the *Vancouver Sun*, and served as managing editor of the *Bay of Plenty Beacon* at Whakatane; a Reuter correspondent; a feature writer with the *New Zealand Free Lance*; and associated editor of the *Daily Post*, Rotorua. He was appointed general manager of the *Chronicle* in 1964; leaving the post of general manager of Rotorua Newspapers Ltd., which he had held since 1960.

Under Mr. Mead's guidance, the latest in newspaper technology was introduced to Wanganui, and right up to the day of his death, he was supervising arrangements for the installation of the latest in sophisticated typesetting computers at Wanganui Newspapers.

Mr. R.F. Smith, chairman and managing director of United Printing and Publishing, parent company of Wanganui Newspapers, remarked: "During Mr. Mead's 20 years with our group, he proved himself a very able newspaper administrator, having through his earlier training the big advantage of a sound basic knowledge of a rather complex

industry...."

Mr. J.A. Burnet, president of the Newspaper Publishers' Association, said, "At industry level Mr. Mead contributed much as a director of the New Zealand Press Association....His colleagues appreciated his ability...and elected him a member of the general committee, the most senior committee of the association."

Outside of his newspaper company, Mr. Mead had many other interests. He was an active member of the Wanganui Golf Club, and had served a term as president. He was also a first-class soccer player, and he had a long association with the local Chamber of Commerce, where he was president for one term.

He is survived by his wife, Joan, and a daughter and a son.

—Excerpted from the *Wanganui Chronicle*; no date given.

RICHARD DUDMAN, retired Washington bureau chief of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was one of seven selected by

the University of Missouri School of Journalism at Columbia to receive a 1981 Missouri Medal for Distinguished Service in Journalism. The Missouri Medals are awarded in recognition of continuing service to the profession and were presented to winners during the 72nd Annual Journalism Week Banquet in April.

— 1957 —

ANTHONY LEWIS, syndicated columnist with *The New York Times*, delivered the Ralph McGill Lecture in April at the opening of a symposium titled "Perspectives on the First Amendment" at the University of Georgia, Athens.

The event was sponsored by the University's School of Journalism and Mass Communication and the School of Law. Mr. Lewis, twice a Pulitzer Prize winner, assessed the issues he feels are most important in the battle for press freedoms.

— 1958 —

DEAN BRELIS, deputy bureau chief of *Time's* New York bureau, writes, "Through the years I have met up with Nieman classmates for pleasant reunions — most recently with JOHN LINDSAY ('58) at the Democratic National Convention. Memorable, too, meeting with Jim Thomson in Athens." Brelis returned to the United States in 1980 after 11 years in the Middle East.

WILLIAM McILWAIN, deputy editor of *The Washington Star*, acted as one of the judges of the newspaper division of the Roy W. Howard Public Service Awards.

— 1959 —

JOHN SEIGENTHALER, president, publisher, and editor of the *Nashville Tennessean*, delivered the Howard Rusk Long Honor Lecture at Southern Illinois

Where A Writer Belongs

by Paul Hemphill

Well, now. My fifth book has just come out to celebrations from *The New York Times* and *Playboy* and *The Detroit News* and the *Montgomery Advertiser* and a lot of places I have never heard of. They say Dick Cavett is interested in speaking with me. I thank you very much, Mister Cavett, and New York and Chicago and Detroit and Montgomery and all the ships at sea. But, see, I'm a very tired man. Talk to my agent. The irony is that I'm 45 years old and the title of the book is *Too Old To Cry*.

God knows. When you turn 45 you just don't get excited anymore. I've done the "Today Show" three times with my books. The first time was ten years ago and the publishers flew me up to New York and I didn't even sleep the night before because I was so nervous (I even had what I felt was a minor heart attack at three o'clock in the morning at the Warwick). Hugh Downs interviewed me — I was resplendent in a double-breasted blazer and white pants bought the day before

in Atlanta — and I said wondrous things about my book. The second time up there I sort of slumped out of bed and wandered over to NBC to get made-up at six o'clock in the morning to insult Doug Kiker. The third time I took my wife with me and we got three hours' sleep and I thought about not even making the walk to the studio until it became wiser to address fifty million Americans than have breakfast with one woman. Dick Schaap seemed pleased with my decision.

The point is that you get tired when you've been around the block a couple of times. I feel embarrassed to say this in front of other writers who haven't been reviewed in *The New York Times* or been on the "Today Show." I apologize to them. I've worked hard and they've worked hard. I just got luckier than they, I suppose, however temporarily. The other day I was talking with my agent up there in New York and he told me that now Hollywood was talking about Dustin Hoffman for the lead in a movie based on

my first novel. I told him I had reached the point where I no longer believed what I couldn't see. My agent said, "That's a very mature attitude." I told him I had by-God worked for it and then I rang off.

So here I am, on the road again, and I don't like it very much. You have these call-in radio shows and the need to shave and bathe and look decent at autograph parties in suburban malls and be witty on television with somebody who has only read the flap copy of your book. You really want to be back home, writing, rather than taking a slug of whiskey and stomping off to play celebrity. Somebody once said about Johnny Cash's belief in Jesus that he was afraid not to believe in Jesus. I suppose that's the way I feel about the "Today Show": I'm afraid not to believe in it. The bottom line is that a writer belongs in front of a typewriter. □

Paul Hemphill, Nieman Fellow '69, is senior editor of *Atlanta Magazine*.

University, Carbondale, in March. He issued a warning to reporters, cautioning them: "You're surrounded by a number of media myths that threaten the quality of your work, your public credibility and your rights." He added, "We should tell ourselves and the public the truth about what we do, and continue to be dedicated to a high degree of professionalism. It is crucial that we maintain public credibility and freedom of the press."

— 1960 —

Although for the first time since 1935, no Pulitzer Prize was given this year for editorial writing, the Pulitzer jury offered the work of three nominees for that award. JOHN (JACK) BURBY of *The Los Angeles Times* was named as one of the editorial writers.

HOWARD SOCHUREK, former *Life* photographer and New York freelancer, served as one of the judges to select the Pictures of the Year at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism in Columbia.

More than 1,000 photographers submitted 15,000 single pictures in 28 categories. Sochurek said he approached his part in the judging from "a photographer's point of view. My judgment would be based on how are these people doing? How do they solve the problems? How do they cope under an assignment's pressure and still bring back something different? What did they contribute to the situation they ran into? That is how I have to judge."

TOM DEARMORE, editor of the editorial page, the *San Francisco Examiner*, was named winner of the Walker Stone Awards for editorial writing excellence, sponsored annually by the Scripps-Howard Foundation. Dearmore received the award in Cincinnati at a luncheon in April when winners of other Scripps-Howard Foundation competition also were honored.

The judges, in selecting the winners from more than 100 entries, said:

"Tom Dearmore is one of those rare editorial writers who wraps his message in the beauty of language.... Dearmore proves that editorial writing need not be dull or pedantic, and that successful writing enhances the art of persuasion."

— 1961 —

A. M. (MAC) SECREST has sent us a brief biographical update: "In May 1961, after returning to Cheraw, South Carolina, where I published a weekly newspaper, *The Cheraw Chronicle*, I went to Washington, D.C., to help create the Community Relations Service (located first in the Department of Commerce, then in the Department of Justice) from June 1964 to July 1966. While with the service, I worked in many parts of the country to help settle civil rights disputes. My most notable area of work — Selma, Alabama, with SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference). We were involved with issues that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

"I returned to Cheraw in 1966, sold my newspaper (for a disgracefully inflated amount!), and returned to university life as a student when my two sons entered Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. I enrolled in graduate school there to pursue a doctorate in history in September 1969, at age 47. I received my doctorate in September 1971, and began teaching at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) School of Journalism, 1971-76.

"In 1976 I went to North Carolina Central University, Durham, as a professor in the Department of English, to set up a journalism curriculum at the predominantly black university in the greater University of North Carolina. I suppose I'll stay with Central for the remainder of my academic career. I practiced journalism for 20 years, and have been on the teaching end for 10 years.

"I often think of Nieman years, Louis Lyons and crowd, with appreciation. I notice many of the 'old faces' meeting with us from the University in 1960-61 are still meeting with the current crop of Niemanians... Best regards."

— 1962 —

MURRAY SEEGER, European Economic correspondent in the Brussels bureau of *The Los Angeles Times*, wrote in January: "We are heading into a busy last six months here, as we know now we will be coming home this summer for sure, after nearly nine years in Europe — Moscow, Bonn, Brussels... Hope to see you all soon..."

— 1963 —

CHIU-YIN PUN has advised us that his present post is assistant general manager, Hong Kong Commercial Broadcasting Company, Ltd. His address: 3 Broadcast Drive, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

— 1964 —

MORTON MINTZ, reporter with *The Washington Post*, was one of the speakers this spring at the First Annual Student Conference on Investigative Reporting sponsored by Ralph Nader's Center for Study of Responsive Law in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Mintz was cited with "laurels" in the March/April issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* for his January 4 report on the controversy over American marketing of infant formula in Third World countries.

— 1965 —

RAY JENKINS, formerly Special Assistant to President Carter, is now editor of the *Clearwater* (Florida) *Sun*.

— 1966 —

ROBERT H. GILES, executive editor of the *Rochester* (New York) *Times-Union* and *Democrat and Chronicle*, has been promoted to editor of the two newspapers. He assumed responsibility in April for the editorial pages of the newspapers, in addition to directing their news departments.

— 1967 —

DANA BULLEN was one of four key speakers this spring at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization conference in Paris, France. Mr. Bullen was the representative for the World Press Freedom Committee. (See "Third World News and Foreign Relations," page 30.)

REMER TYSON, political writer for the *Detroit Free Press* the past 10 years, will open an Africa bureau for Knight-Ridder

Newspapers this summer in Nairobi, Kenya.

— 1968 —

CATHERINE (CASSIE) MACKIN, formerly news correspondent with NBC, has become ABC Washington correspondent for "20/20" and for the "Special Assignment" series on "World News Tonight."

— 1969 —

LARRY ALLISON, editor of the *Long Beach Independent/Press Telegram*, on behalf of that newspaper accepted the 1980 Media Award — Daily Newspaper, from the Los Angeles Trial Lawyers Association in February. The award was presented in recognition of the "continuing excellence in news coverage and editorials informing consumers of their rights and objective presentation of consumer-oriented legal and legislative issues."

Allison writes that he became president of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association (APME) last fall at its convention in Phoenix, Arizona.

JONATHAN YARDLEY, book editor of *The Washington Star*, was awarded the 1981 Pulitzer Prize for distinguished criticism for his reviews dealing with a broad range of fiction and non-fiction.

Yardley was book editor of the *Miami Herald* from 1974 to 1978, when he moved to the *Star*, and was previously book editor of the *Greensboro* (North Carolina) *Daily News*, and a writer for *The New York Times*. He is the author of a biography of Ring Lardner, and is presently at work on a biography of H.L. Mencken.

— 1970 —

Nieman Fellow classmates LOUIS L. BANKS and HEDRICK SMITH took part in the annual meeting of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, held in April in Boca Raton, Florida.

Louis Banks, Adjunct Professor of Management, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, addressed the group of advertising executives at a breakfast session. He is the author of an article in the

January issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, "The Rise of the Newsocracy."

Hedrick Smith, Washington correspondent, *The New York Times*, was a panelist with John M. Lee, William Safire, and James Reston, at the opening of the general session.

— 1971 —

JAMES SQUIRES, editor and vice president of the Sentinel Star Company, Orlando, Florida, has been elected executive vice president.

— 1972 —

The Lexington (Kentucky) *Herald* was named winner of the Edward W. Scripps First Amendment Award. JOHN CARROLL, editor, was cited by the judges at the awards luncheon in Cincinnati in April.

"We salute the *Herald* for its vigilant defense of its, and the public's, First Amendment rights throughout 1980. But the *Herald* did more than fight the battles a good newspaper could be expected to fight. In news stories that were forthright but not self-congratulatory, and in editorials that quietly but clearly explained difficult issues to its readers, the newspaper carried the First Amendment banner in every way.

"Journalists cannot hope to choose the cases which will lead to a testing of the abilities of a free press to serve free citizens. It fell to the *Herald*, under its editor, John Carroll, to fight and win cases of extraordinary public sensitivity and at the same time to explain its position not in terms of press privilege but rather of public right."

— 1973 —

MICHAEL RITCHEY informs us that he is writing a column for the *Fort Worth Star* in Texas. He and Susan, his wife, are the parents of a 3½ year old daughter, Marianna, and a son, Buck, age 2. Their address: 2724 Sixth Avenue, Fort Worth, TX 76110.

— 1974 —

SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN, Latin America correspondent for the *Miami Herald*, was

awarded a 1981 Pulitzer Prize for international reporting, for her dispatches from El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America. The jury cited her reports as "human stories—the peasant, the soldier, the landowner."

Ms. Christian was also a recipient of a George Polk Award in Journalism in New York City. She was honored in March in the foreign reporting category for "courageous and incisive coverage of political violence in Guatemala and El Salvador." She is the third woman correspondent to win the foreign reporting category in the 33-year history of the award.

NICHOLAS DANILOFF, formerly international affairs specialist for United Press International in Washington, now is based in Moscow, USSR, as correspondent for *U.S. News and World Report*.

Before going overseas, Mr. Daniloff was host at a March luncheon at Lippmann House, when papers belonging to his grandfather, General Yuri N. Danilov, were donated to Harvard University.

The Danilov Papers were presented to Professor Edward L. Keenan, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Roger Stoddard, Associate Librarian at the Houghton Library, by General Danilov's two sons, Serge and Michael (both Harvard '21), his granddaughter Ellen C. Krawiec, and his grandson, Nicholas Daniloff. In accepting the gift, Mr. Stoddard said, "The papers of General Danilov, including first-hand recollections of some of the great events in Russian history that he witnessed from 1909 to 1918, offer fresh material to scholars."

General Danilov was involved in rebuilding the Russian military after its defeat by Japan in 1904, and served on the northwestern front in World War I until his resignation in 1917. After the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II in that year, he served as military expert on the Soviet delegation to the negotiations for a separate peace with Germany in 1918. He subsequently joined the White Russian Generals who sought to unseat the Bolsheviks. He was an exile in Paris until his death in 1937.

ELLEN GOODMAN, syndicated columnist with *The Boston Globe* and 1980 Pulitzer Prize winner for distinguished commentary, was a speaker at the annual

Inter American Press Association

JAMES C. THOMSON Jr., Nieman Curator, attended the midyear meeting in April of the Inter American Press Association in the Barbados, West Indies.

After a nation-by-nation analysis of press freedom, the IAPA Committee on Freedom of the Press reported its conclusions to the board of directors. A summary of their findings follows:

- Journalists of the Americas continue to face threats and pressures from many sources, whether these come with the speed and finality of a bullet, or simply erode more slowly, but no less finally, the freedom to gather, publish and comment on the news.

- Violence and insecurity are still the worst plagues on America's journalism.

- In El Salvador, the number of dead or maimed or self-exiled journalists mounts daily.

- In Guatemala, terrorism has led to the murders of 12 journalists, and another 5 have sought exile in the face of threats.

- The common thread running through many of the challenges to America's journalists is one of control over what they can write or say. Much stems from attempts by UNESCO to

encourage governments to influence journalists and provide them with so-called "protection." We can only conclude that these proposals, such as the recent one to establish reporter identity cards and ethics standards, are made primarily for the impact they will have on official controls at the individual national level.

- Despite protests by the IAPA, compulsory licensing of journalists spreads in the Americas and now exists by law in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela.

- A licensing bill has been introduced in the Senate of Puerto Rico, despite its apparent conflict with the United States Constitution.

- In Argentina, the chairman of the council of university presidents considers such a [licensing] law necessary as perhaps a tool for recruiting journalism students.

- In Chile, licensing takes a different form. Any new publication must have the approval of the country's president.

- Government pressure, political violence or terrorism account for fear and self-censorship among journalists in Nicaragua, Haiti, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

- In Grenada, the country's only independent newspaper — *The Torchlight* — remains closed and the government plans to take it over.

- In Bolivia, *Presencia* was shut down for several days, restrictions continue on the dissemination of information, and expelled journalists still cannot return.

- Newsprint also is subject to government abuse. In Argentina a tax of 53 percent weighs heavily on the newspapers. In Mexico the government monopoly on newsprint distribution continues in operation, and newsprint importation licenses are required in Jamaica and Guayana.

Despite this bleak picture, the IAPA Freedom of Press Committee maintains an optimistic outlook. The absence of significant new challenges to press freedom in several countries, the return of Lima's confiscated dailies to their owners after six years, the appearance of independent press in Panama, and the closing of Brazil's Secretariat of Social Communication are positive signs which encourage us to continue our unceasing struggle. The fight is worthwhile, and we feel it must go on for the good of newsmen as well as the benefit of all the people of the Americas.

meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in April in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Goodman will be one of the keynote speakers during an eight-day seminar in June, sponsored by the University of Hartford's Department of Communication faculty. The sessions will incorporate classroom discussion, analysis and review.

— 1976 —

RON JAVERS, articles editor of *Philadelphia Magazine*, has won the Charles Stewart Mott Award for magazine reporting. Presented in April by the Education Writers Association, this honor is given for the best education reporting

in the United States and Canada.

Mr. Javers's prize-winning entry, "The Hardest Lesson," focuses on teachers' strife; they are winning power but losing everything else.

JIM HENDERSON, columnist with the *Dallas Times Herald*, won the Headliners Award for column-writing. We are told by his classmate David McNeely that "the Headliners is the most prestigious contest in Texas."

LESTER SLOAN, photographer with *Newsweek* in Los Angeles, had occasion last fall during a European trip to spend a few days with two of his Nieman classmates. In Budapest, Hungary, he visited JANOS HORVAT and his wife and two daughters. He also saw Elga and GUN-

TER HAAF and their son and daughter in their new house near Hamburg, West Germany.

— 1977 —

AL LARKIN has been named editor of the Sunday magazine of *The Boston Globe*. He has been with the newspaper since 1972, and since 1977, has been a Sunday magazine writer.

— 1979 —

V.K. CHIN, formerly news editor of the *National Echo*, Selangor, Malaysia, has been named editor-in-chief and managing director of that newspaper.

BOB PORTERFIELD, currently studying as a Bagehot Fellow at Columbia University, recently addressed a gathering of students at Yale University's Silliman College on the subject of investigative reporting. He said, "For lack of a better term, I think journalists are public surrogates. They are the eyes and ears of the public. They try to provide information and have to do it in as unfettered a way as they can."

DONALD WOODS is the author of *Asking for Trouble: Autobiography of a Banned Journalist*, published earlier this year by Victor Gollancz Ltd., London.

Woods, as many will recall, was the editor of the *East London* (South Africa) *Daily Dispatch*, a leading anti-apartheid newspaper. Until he was banned in 1977, he wrote the most widely syndicated column in the country. He and his family now reside in London, England.

ROSE ECONOMOU, producer, WBBM-TV, Chicago was honored with two awards for her part in producing the television documentary "Agent Orange: A View From Vietnam." In January, the film was given a Hugo Award at the Chicago Film festival; and in March, it was named winner of the 1981 Ohio State Award in the category of Natural and Physical Sciences. That citation read:

"While the conflict rages regarding the effect of agent orange on American troops in Vietnam, this documentary has chosen to look at the effects of this contaminate on the Vietnamese people.

"This documentary raises questions about chemical warfare and its effects on future generations. This in-depth look at a controversial subject provides the viewer with new information from a new perspective.

International Press Institute

TENNEY K. LEHMAN, executive director, represented the Nieman Foundation at the 30th General Assembly of the International Press Institute, held this year in Nairobi, Kenya. On a brief stopover in London, we had time to visit JOHNNY GRIMOND ('75) at *The Economist*, and enjoy a cup of coffee in his office with its spectacular view of the city.

In Africa also attending the IPI meeting were Nieman alumni OLESEGUN OSOBA ('75), *Daily Sketch*, Ibadan, Nigeria; ALLISTER SPARKS ('63), *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg; and ROBERT STEYN ('64), University of Cape Town.

Mr. Osoba reported on the press in his country; Mr. Sparks was one of the speakers on the panel "The Press Looks at Itself: Editors and the Public."

The following resolutions were adopted by the Assembly:

- Protest against the South African government's continuing acts of repression against the press and its harassment of journalists.

- Restatement of IPI opposition to the UNESCO proposals, emphasizing

that protection of journalists "must be meaningful and not an excuse to exercise governmental control — not a way to protect the governments from the journalists."

- Expression of grave concern over the fate of several dozen Argentine journalists who have disappeared.

- Pledge to increase IPI efforts to develop the press of Africa.

- Urge Portugal to turn five government-owned publications over to private ownership to insure plurality of news and views.

- Recognize the lifting of martial law in South Korea and express the hope that press freedom will be increased in that country.

After the close of the IPI gathering, we spent an instructive hour in JACK WHITE's ('77) office. For the past year he has been Nairobi bureau chief for Time-Life News Service; his beat is all of Africa south of the Sahara to South Africa, and we learned a great deal about the vagaries of covering 26 countries on that vast continent.

For further comments on the meeting in Nairobi, see "From the Editor's Desk."

"The investigative report is hard-hitting, well-produced and very informative. It is an imaginative program which provides the American public with additional information regarding the effect of the use of chemical weapons on and around civilian populations."

— RANDOM NOTES —

A card postmarked Madrid informs us of "a summit meeting between Niemans of the East and West of Europe. After a free and frank exchange of views, it has been decided to send this card as a sign of our continued solidarity with those who suffer endless beer-and-cheeses. Both sides agree that a Nieman year is simply great. Yours — Ana, Karol and Jose Antonio."

JOSÉ ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ SOLER ('77) is editor of international news and economics, *El País*, Madrid. Ana, his wife, surveys the news and provides a daily summary for the Minister of Economics. Her book for children on sex education — the first of its kind in Spain — has gone into its third printing, and she now has a contract for another.

KAROL SZYNDZIELORZ ('78), their visitor, is senior columnist on foreign affairs for *Zycie Warszawy* and commentator on energy and disarmament for Polish radio in Warsaw.

The Nieman Curator, James C. Thomson Jr., and three Nieman Fellows are among the members of the editorial advisory board to the forthcoming television series on press performance. Titled "Inside Story," the 30-minute series is scheduled to start on the Public Broadcasting Service early in May.

The Niemans are: JOHN HUGHES ('62), former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* and now owner of a group of Cape Cod weekly newspapers; JULIUS DUSCHA ('56), director of the Washington Journalism Center; and H. BRANDT AYERS ('68), editor and publisher, *Anniston* (Alabama) *Star*.

As mentioned in an earlier batch of Nieman Notes, HODDING CARTER III ('66), former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, will be anchorman and chief correspondent. The program will air on Thursdays at 8 p.m. for an 8-week trial run, and will take a look at how individual news organizations in different cities cover major news stories.

— T.B.K.L.

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