Nieman Reports

Published Quarterly by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University

Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 **Winter 1980/$3.00**

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Jack Nelson

The Electronic Newspaper
James Boyd

A Seminar with Gloria Steinem

Money as Motivator
Cary B. Ziter

Robert Manning and The Atlantic
Louis M. Lyons

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John Midgley
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Patricia O'Brien
Murray Seeger
Ben Bagdikian
Jonathan Larsen

Beyond the Blueprint

Now that all the clocks in this part of the country have been set back to Eastern Standard Time, it is dark at the end of the day when we leave the Nieman office. The sidewalk to the parking garage, a pleasant two blocks away, is lined with streetlights that form complicated shadows on the orange and yellow leaves overhead. Those matted in the gutter give off a faint acid aroma; a stray cat picks its way across a backyard.

Across the street from the Cambridge High and Latin School, the garage is lit up like daytime. This utilitarian oblong of cement is layered with twelve parking levels. Mornings, we drive up the ramps in corkscrew fashion until an empty space is found.

Often, returning in the early evening after a particularly full workday, we climb the inside stairway with no recollection of which floor shelters our car. Levels 1-A, 1-B, 2-A, 2-B, and so on, are carbon copies of each other. The only clue as to where the morning's search ended may be a crumpled candy wrapper in a corner, or an empty Coke can on a stair. Pausing to peer around on various floors, we become disoriented: four hundred and fifty cars look too much alike.

The other evening, after our hunt for a green Nova with a distinctive crunch on the frame of the right headlight, the car was found on 5-A, exactly where it had been parked in the early morning sunshine. But after sunset, the view across the street was transformed. We looked down on the high school, and the lighting created a theatrical illusion — the classrooms were a stage. Those not in darkness revealed a group of students working on a science project. In another room, a custodian swept the floor. Next door, three teachers were absorbed in discussion.

A magazine is a building.

Visitors to these pages might find the setting of one room to be high tech — that style of trendy decor using metal mesh and plastic planes in primary colors — a "now" look for the future. Here articles make predictions or explain that what's ahead, has already arrived. Such modern signposts lead the way to James Boyd's piece informing us that tomorrow is indeed today. He tells about the recent strike against the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, and forecasts how its causes and effects will resonate throughout the media industry.

Gloria Steinem, in prophetic stance, urges women and men to step over the threshhold into a brave new world. Jan Stucker, another harbinger, writes on the pioneering women in the Nieman Class of 1980 who carried both books and babies at Harvard, and her account of breaking ground verifies Ms. Steinem's portents.

In a living room with comfortable and friendly furnishings, readers can settle down for a chat about presidential candidates with Peggy Simpson and Frank Van Riper, who traveled with the Reagan and the Carter campaigns.

Money and labor are everyday issues, like the morning's first cup of coffee. Some may be surprised at Cary B. Ziter's claim that although many in the work force require more than money to motivate them to optimum performance, most journalists' salaries are below par. Labor reporters Lynda McDonnell, Robert Porterfield, Danny Schechter, and Frank Swoboda are panelists in a timely discussion about public access and the right to privacy as these issues relate to union negotiations — frequently conducted behind closed doors.

Another room, set aside for conversation and reflection, holds Louis Lyons's tribute to colleague Robert Manning and his distinguished career. Jack Nelson recalls the experience of returning to his past, with its alleged misdeeds, and the FBI's misconception that he was a threat.

Glimpsed through a hallway, as if they were bright travel posters, are two articles about the press abroad. Michael Henderson examines Indira Gandhi's Emergency in India, and Atsushi Kuse portrays the Giant Press in Japan.

Finally, the library. For winter reading, reviewers offer critiques of ten books. Nieman Notes and Letters to the Editor are bits and pieces — framed photographs of family and friends — that lend the warmth of association to any interior.

We build this magazine-house four times a year. We look for sound material, and construction that is true. We try to avoid making rooms the same. We hope the decor is distinctive, and the entranceway inviting.

These pages are doors. Be assured that the latchstring is always out. **—T.B.K.L.**

Nieman Reports

Winter 1980
Vol. XXXIV, No. 4

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Nieman Reports (USPS #430-650) is published quarterly by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Subscription $12.00 a year; add $6.00 for foreign mailing. Single copies $3.00. Back copies are available from the Nieman Office.

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

Second-class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts, and additional entries. POSTMASTER: Send form 3579 to P.O. Box 4951, Manchester, NH 03108.

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My FBI File: *(Censored)*

JACK NELSON

J. Edgar Hoover was highly agitated. He read rapidly from a dossier, repeating himself several times as he talked about a newspaper campaign to "get" him and the FBI.

It was October 13, 1971, and the second meeting Hoover had held in two weeks with *Los Angeles Times* executives to complain that a drunken reporter with a Jekyll and Hyde personality was spreading a lie that Hoover was a homosexual. The reporter's aim, Hoover said, was to "destroy" him and the FBI.

Earlier Hoover had sent messages containing the same allegations to the White House and Attorney General John N. Mitchell. But now he was carrying it a step farther in a campaign calculated to destroy my career as a reporter.

For a long time I thought that Hoover's obsession that the *Times* and I were out to "get" him was no more than a figment of his imagination. Not until I utilized the Freedom of Information Act to obtain the FBI's file on me did I learn that Hoover acted partly on the basis of information — however erroneous and scurrilous — from informants.

In the thick file the FBI maintains on me there is an official two-page document dated June 11, 1970, and headed: "Proposed Articles Derogatory to Director J. Edgar Hoover, By Jack Nelson, Los Angeles Times." The FBI censored the document heavily before releasing it to me so it tells nothing of the informants. But it does report that I "was temporarily assigned to Washington, D.C., to write a series of articles concerning FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, which would begin in July of 1970. Nelson indicated that he had derogatory information concerning Mr. Hoover and that the tone of the articles would be derogatory towards the FBI."

The document, which originated in an FBI field office, included this comment: "The above information is being furnished to the Bureau for whatever action they deem appropriate."

On September 28, 1971, just before Hoover met with *Times* executives, FBI officials prepared a typed memorandum summarizing my FBI file for the director. It was eight pages, single-spaced, and cited several articles I had written as well as *The Orangeburg Massacre*, which I wrote with Jack Bass (NF '66).

The memo also offered the first clue as to the source of some of Hoover's information — or misinformation:

"Nelson's attitude toward the FBI and the Director is best described by the information we received in January of this year from two investigative reporters of the (censored) after identifying themselves, interviewed (censored). At that time, he indicated that he was out to get the Director and the FBI and voluntarily described himself to these men as 'paranoid.' There is no indication in our files that Nelson has swerved in this determination. On the contrary, he utilizes every opportunity to embarrass and harass us."

Embarrass and harass? It's a fact that beginning in 1970 I started writing articles — and eventually was co-author of two books — that reflected adversely on Hoover and the FBI and that should have embarrassed them. The gross abuses by the man and by the agency were well documented. (The other book, *The FBI and the Berrigans*, was written with Ronald J. Ostrow, NF '65, also of the *Times*'s Washington bureau.)

In reviewing the FBI's file on me I was appalled at the false information and allegations it contains. I never even remotely suggested that Hoover was a homosexual, and there never was a campaign or even talk of a campaign to "get" him or the FBI. And it's too ludicrous to even consider that I would have described myself as paranoid to two other reporters or anyone else.

At my request the FBI put into my file a memorandum in which I explicitly denied every one of Hoover's allegations, including the one about heavy drinking. I wrote, "I deny that prior to the repeated statements by Mr. Hoover and the FBI that I was a drunk, that I was in fact known as a heavy drinker.

"Those are serious charges for the director of the FBI to level against a man, especially in conversation with his employer," I continued. "They are the kind of charges which, if substantiated, could wreck a man's career. Even unsubstantiated, such charges repeatedly made by men in high government offices could seriously damage a man's career and reputation."

For the most part the FBI file on me is innocuous. It includes records dating back to August 1949, when, at the age of 20, I was offered a clerk's job with the FBI in

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Jack Nelson, Nieman Fellow '62, is Washington bureau chief for The Los Angeles Times.

Washington, but declined it in order to remain in Biloxi, Mississippi, as a reporter for *The Daily Herald*. The records also include a FBI civil rights investigation into the time I was assaulted in 1953 by a deputy sheriff who operated a whorehouse, a fact I reported in a series on organized vice. And there are memoranda about my receiving "a very special tour" of FBI Headquarters in Washington in 1960 and a notation that in conversation with an FBI agent conducting the tour "Mr. Nelson stated Ralph McGill, publisher of *The Atlanta Constitution*, had a very high opinion of Mr. Hoover and that he, Nelson, concurred in that opinion. He spoke highly of the Director and the work of the FBI."

But by September 1971, an FBI memo declared: "The numerous references in our file on Jack Nelson clearly identify him to us as an individual who has a deep-seated hatred of the FBI. He has written numerous articles criticizing the Director and the Bureau (censored)."

Among the articles cited in the memo or contained in my file are:

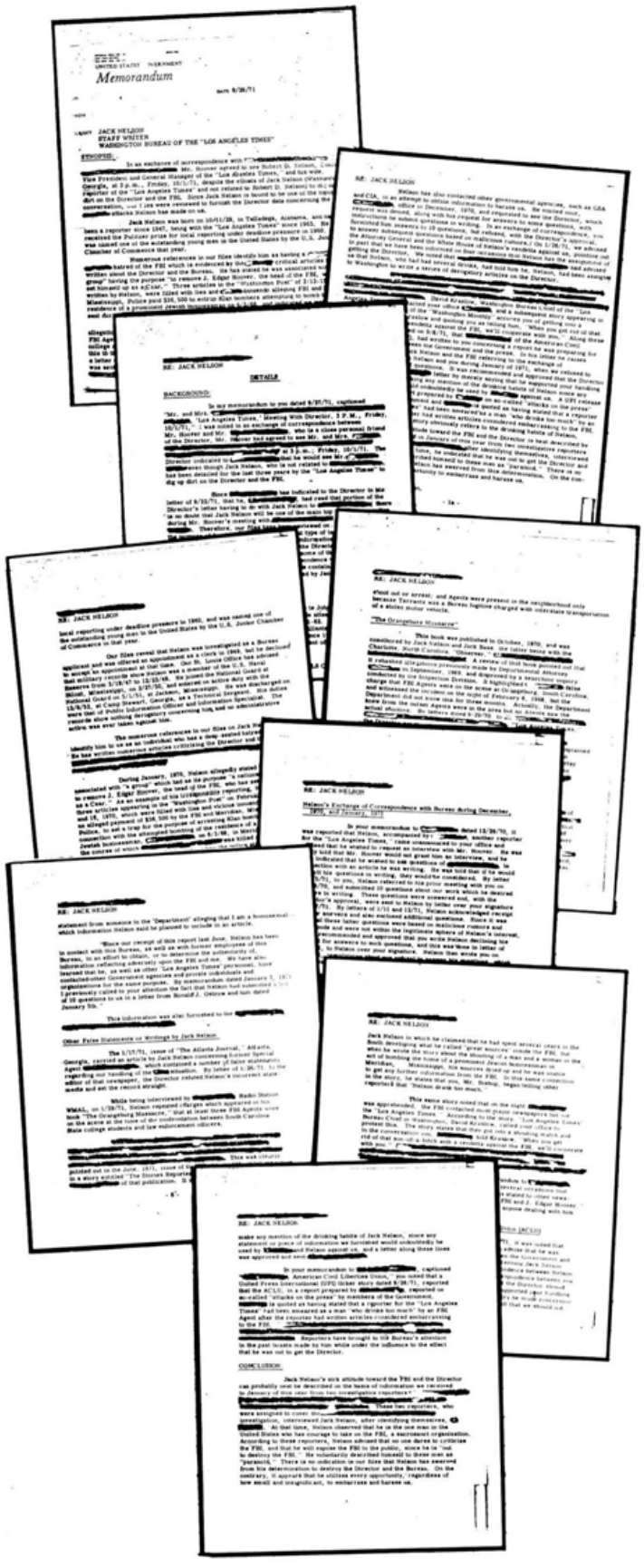
- A 5,000-word story detailing how the FBI arranged to pay $36,500 to a Ku Klux Klansman who acted as a provocateur in setting up a bombing attempt in which a woman member of the Klan was killed by Meridian, Mississippi, police. (The Klansman-provocateur had previously been convicted of a civil rights violation in the murder of three civil rights workers at Philadelphia, Mississippi.)

- Articles detailing how the FBI used paid provocateurs in the flimsy case Mitchell's Justice Department brought against Philip and Daniel Berrigan and others in the alleged conspiracy to kidnap Henry Kissinger.

- *The Orangeburg Massacre*, in which it was reported that three FBI agents actually were witnesses when state troopers shot thirty black students at South Carolina State College, but that the agents denied to their Justice Department superiors that they had been present.

The file includes a number of other articles, but nothing to justify either Hoover's obsession that I was after him or the lengths to which he went to discredit me.

In a January 26, 1971, memo to Attorney General Mitchell, Hoover said he had been informed "on four distinct occasions that Nelson has been given this assignment of 'getting' me, and I have also been informed that he was assigned to the Washington Bureau of *The Los Angeles Times* for this specific purpose." Hoover said he had been told that I said I "had a statement from someone in the 'Department' alleging that [Hoover is] a homosexual —


Memorandum

JACK NELSON
STAFF WRITER
WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE "LOS ANGELES TIMES"

SYNOPSIS:

RE: JACK NELSON

DETAILS

BACKGROUND:

RE: JACK NELSON

RE: JACK NELSON

"The Orangeburg Massacre"

RE: JACK NELSON

RE: JACK NELSON

RE: JACK NELSON

CONCLUSION:

THE FBI AND THE FOI

Under current law, the FBI must disclose to the public and the press a whole range of information about its investigations. But the law includes broad exemptions from provisions of the Freedom of Information Act — if disclosure would "interfere" with a pending investigation; if it would "constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy" or if it would "disclose the identity of a confidential source."

The FBI has used these exemptions frequently, successfully, and often without regard to whether the FOI Act actually required that the information be released. At one time, in the large room where FBI employees worked on files while answering FOI requests, a slogan was emblazoned on the wall: "When in doubt, cross it out."

From my own experience in securing my file under the FOI Act, I can tell you that the FBI must be in doubt much of the time because there were numerous cross-outs, many of which had nothing to do with privacy, confidential sources, or interference with a pending investigation.

Despite such resistance to the act, the FBI — in replying to FOI requests — has told the public about its surveillance and harassment of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., its extensive counter-intelligence activities against Americans at home, and other cases of abuse of power.

Under pending legislation, the FBI could keep such information secret despite the FOI Act.

To quote an editorial in *The Los Angeles Times*, the Freedom of Information Act is the essence of democracy and would be inconceivable in most countries. Some fine tuning of the act may be necessary, the editorial continued, but "its purpose was sound when it was passed fourteen years ago and it remains sound today. Its purpose is to increase the flow of information from the government to the people. An informed people is the bedrock upon which open government rests." **—J.N.**

which information Nelson said he planned to include in an article."

David Kraslow (NF '62) was the second *Times* executive to listen to Hoover read from my dossier. (The first was Robert Nelson — no relation — who was then general manager of *The Los Angeles Times*.) Kraslow, now publisher of the *Miami News*, was then the *Times*'s Washington bureau chief.

"The rapidity with which he spoke was an indication of his agitation," Kraslow said in a memorandum shortly after his session with Hoover. "He was intense. It was quite evident that he was upset, particularly on the question of the homosexual charge."

Hoover invariably read from documents, Kraslow wrote, adding, "The first document seemed to be a summation of an FBI report pulling together all sorts of information from unnamed informants concerning Jack Nelson's behavior and his alleged remarks concerning the FBI and Hoover on various occasions and in various places."

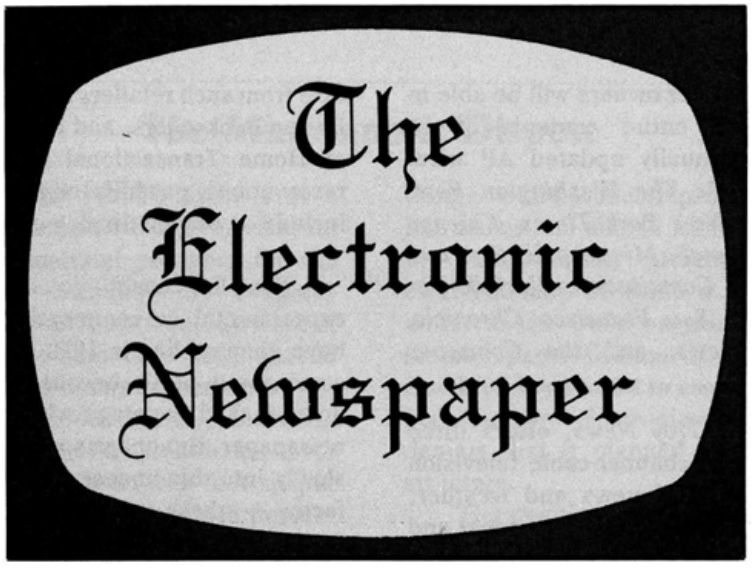
Kraslow said, "The question of Hoover's being accused of being a homosexual by Jack came up several times in the conversation and each time more heatedly than the previous time. And at one point Hoover said he recognized that a paper as reputable as *The Los Angeles Times* would never print such an allegation and if they did, of course, he would sue for criminal slander. . . ."

In his memo Kraslow also said, "I made it plain to Hoover that I had known Jack for ten years and that we were Nieman Fellows together at Harvard, that I was distressed and shocked over some of the allegations which Hoover was relaying to me because they did not accord in any degree with what I knew of the man, and that I was at a loss to reconcile my information, my instincts, my experience, with that contained in the documents from which Hoover had been reading."

Hoover finally conceded that Kraslow probably did know me as a professional newsman of unquestioned integrity. "But he said obviously we were dealing with a Jekyll and Hyde personality," Kraslow continued, "and again he made reference several times that Nelson was on guard in his behavior in my presence, that when he was under the influence of alcohol, he became a different person and I was not aware of it."

Long after Hoover's death on May 2, 1972, the FBI continued to compile dossiers on American citizens who said or wrote things that were critical of the FBI. But the practice finally faded, both because of reforms undertaken by Hoover's successors and because the Privacy Act prohibits the FBI from collecting information on citizens that is not pertinent to a criminal investigation.

"We're out of that business forever," FBI Director William H. Webster told me. "We have no 'friends and enemies' syndrome now. When I first became director I received a couple of reports that contained pejorative characterizations. I sent them back as inappropriate. I haven't seen any since. Along with the rest of the country, we are keeping pace with what the First Amendment is all about." □



JAMES BOYD

The electronic newspaper — delivered on a home computer or television screen rather than on paper — burst into the consciousness of Minneapolis on a wet, windy Saturday early this September. Members of the Twin Cities Newspaper Guild Number 2, AFL-CIO — staffers at the *Minneapolis Star* and *Minneapolis Tribune* — gathered early at the labor temple to hear a negotiation report from union leadership. The Guild had been without a contract for more than a month, and a strike deadline had been set for the previous midnight. Talks, Guild members knew, had continued far past the deadline. But most members were unconcerned as they arrived: they expected to receive an acceptable contract offer, ratify it, and return to work or go home to finish out a normal weekend. The pattern in recent years had been the same: the contract expired, talks started, then lagged, a strike was authorized, a deadline set. Inevitably, hours before deadline, the company would bring in an acceptable compromise and publication would continue without skipping a beat.

But the pattern had been broken. The negotiating committee had voted unanimously to reject the company's latest offer. The mood in the hall turned somber as a tired, disgruntled committee began its report. Of the several issues outstanding, the most serious concerned jurisdiction over and compensation for material disseminated by electronic means — an electronic newspaper. The Star and Tribune Company had served notice that it intended to pursue this new technology and wished to write provisions for it into the new contract.

James Boyd, a member of the Nieman Class of 1980, is an editorial writer for The Minneapolis Tribune.

Feeling suspicious and abused by the company's efforts to push too fast and too far in a direction they did not comprehend, union members voted almost unanimously to uphold the negotiating committee's recommendation. The first Guild strike in this unit's 46-year history was on. It lasted four long weeks.

The vote, which took only a few seconds, had far-reaching effects: 450 Guild members were thrown out of work; approximately 230,000 daily *Tribune* readers, 212,000 *Star* readers, and 600,000 *Sunday Tribune* readers lost their newspapers; advertisers, from the weekend garage-sale holder to the *Star* and *Tribune*'s largest retail accounts, scrambled to find alternate outlets; cultural activities were disrupted — in short, the daily routine of an entire city was altered over an issue few in the Minneapolis media community had understood to be anything more than a vague, Buck Rogers-ish idea that made an occasional feature story for television, but always remained just a few years down the road.

But Minneapolis quickly began to learn that the electronic newspaper is not so futuristic after all — it's here and now. Furthermore, the speed with which a newspaper gets into the electronic data retrieval field may well determine its long-term financial security.

While little publicity has been accorded the electronic newspaper in general interest media, trade publications are full of news about this technological revolution. And it is an explosive revolution. Consider the following:

• On July 1, the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Dispatch* produced its first electronic edition — available to home computer owners anywhere in the United States. The Ohio newspaper is the first to go electronic in an experiment being conducted jointly by CompuServe Inc. and The Associated

Press. Within a year, home computer owners will be able to summon to their screens the entire contents of 13 newspapers, as well as a continually updated AP wire. Participating newspapers include *The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, Chicago Sun-Times, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Norfolk Virginian Pilot and Ledger-Star, San Francisco Chronicle, Middlesex* (Massachusetts) *News,* and the *Columbus Dispatch.*

• Another Ohio paper, the *Troy News*, offers three channels of news on the city's 26-channel cable television system. One channel provides local news and weather; another, sports and financial news; the third, national and international news. Except for local news, the Troy cable news originates with United Press International's cable news wire.

• At this writing Dow Jones and Company is to begin, in November, to make cable news available to residents of two Dallas suburbs. The information includes business news, current stock quotations, and historical quotes. Under the Dow Jones plan — a two-way cable system — a small home terminal is hooked up to a television set, thereby providing the viewer with access to Dow Jones stock information 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. Families in the two suburbs who do not subscribe to cable television can lease a home computer and arrange to receive the Dow Jones service over regular telephone lines. The Dow Jones system is not an experiment, but a truly commercial venture.

• Also in Dallas, but on an experimental basis, the Dallas *Morning News* has linked its computers to those that operate the Dow Jones system in order to offer the *Morning News* to thirty families in the same suburbs. In addition, the *Morning News* will provide restaurant guides, entertainment listings, airline schedules, and retail and classified advertising.

• American Telephone and Telegraph and Knight-Ridder newspapers began this summer to provide about 160 families in Coral Gables, Florida, with an experimental service called Viewtron. Perhaps the most ambitious electronic data retrieval service yet offered, Viewtron supplies two types of service to participating families. One, the Home Information Management Service, provides users with continually updated news reports from the *Miami Herald*, The Associated Press, and *The Wall Street Journal*, plus additional information on a multitude of subjects: sports, education, health, money management, a community bulletin board. The second service, called Home Transactional Service, allows users to purchase merchandise from such retailers as Sears, Roebuck; J.C. Penney; B. Dalton Booksellers, and Grand Union grocery stores. Users of Home Transactional Service may also make airline reservations, pay bills, or peruse classified housing ads that include a graphic display of floor plans.

The list could go on and on. The number of experimental or commercial data retrieval systems that have gone on-line in 1980 is enormous. The explosion has come about partly because computer technology has just now reached the stage where it can support the electronic newspaper. But one suspects newspapers would move more slowly into this uncharted territory were it not for another factor — the need to protect their advertising revenues from raiding by other giant firms eager to enter the home data retrieval business. American Telephone and Telegraph is anxious to get its hands on classified advertising in particular.

Newspaper advertising executives who met in Boston in July received dire warnings about the vulnerability of newspaper classified ad revenues to raiding by AT&T. The ad managers were advised to become involved in cable television *now*, while channels are still available — otherwise, their newspapers may wake up in the not too distant future to find that the telephone company has beaten them to the punch.

Al Gollin, associate director of research for the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, spoke to the ad managers and was quoted in *Editor & Publisher*: "As any surfboard rider can tell you, the best way to ride a wave is to stay ahead of the crest." Gollin told of a test in Albany, New York, in which the telephone company provided a service "that allows subscribers to dial up a large assortment of items on home video screens: you might call it an electronic 'Yellow Pages.' But with a computer database that can be updated daily, it comes dangerously close to newspaper classified. And Ma Bell represents a powerful competitor for newspapers."

Gollin continued, "The computer has made it possible for information to be delivered by broadcast, telephone wire, or special cable to ordinary television sets — without newsboys and girls, without newsstands, without ink, without paper. Whether it will and how we should react to this — as a threat or as a new opportunity — are questions we'll return to. The point is that it can, and your classified ad pages represent one of the most attractive possibilities for conversion to electronic storage and retrieval by individual consumers in a new electronic era."

Although Gollin was speaking to advertising managers, journalists as well should heed his warning, for two

The Minneapolis Dispute

The Minneapolis dispute initially arose over a clause in the previous contract providing for a sharing of profits from resale of material prepared for the daily newspaper. If, for example, the company prepared a calendar full of witticisms from the work of a feature columnist, the columnist would get 25 percent of the profits, the company 75 percent.

On copy disseminated electronically, the company offered to give the Guild jurisdiction over material while it remained within the newspaper division, but wanted it exempted from the 25 percent clause. A simple tradeoff: Extended jurisdiction in return for exemption from the profit-sharing language.

The offer came late in the negotiations — only two days before the strike deadline — and the Guild was suspicious, a feeling fueled by the timing and what Guild leadership said was a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude by company negotiators. While there was reticence to give up an apparently valuable bargaining chip in the profit-sharing language, that was not the major issue with the Guild. Indeed, many in the Guild felt that the 25 percent clause had been devised for an entirely different, narrow purpose and would be artificial and inappropriate if applied to the electronic newspaper.

More important to the Guild were two other considerations: job security and jurisdiction. Almost one quarter of Guild members are employees of the circulation department. Should the electronics experiments prove successful, a number of those jobs might prove unnecessary. Therefore, the Guild sought to get contractual language to insure job security for present employees.

Second, there was concern that the language proposed by the company, with its pointed reference to jurisdiction within the newspaper division, would allow establishment of a non-union division that would control editorial functions for the electronics end of things. Guild leadership argued that journalists are journalists and should come under Guild jurisdiction no matter what. Moreover, they worried that establishment of such a division would severely undercut the Guild bargaining position even within the newspaper division. To protect its own future, the Guild felt it essential to establish jurisdiction over any potential new electronics division, despite company denials that it planned to develop such a parallel structure.

The positions went through several refinements as the two sides jockeyed back and forth during the four weeks of the strike. The settlement that did result is a bit artificial because it was forced by a non-striking union, the teamsters.

During the fourth week of the strike, the sides made a run at settlement, and seemed very close. Then negotiations fell apart. The teamsters, who had been observing the Guild picket line, brought Guild leadership in the day after the collapse of negotiations and issued an edict: a settlement should be obtained that afternoon. The message was clear: Settle now or we go back to work. Without teamster support, the strike would have been hopeless, so settle they did.

The Guild did achieve some important concessions. Reference to the newspaper division was dropped and language was added to strengthen the Guild's jurisdictional authority. In return, the Guild conceded the exemption of electronically disseminated material from profit-sharing. The company refused to add job security language to the contract, but in an accompanying letter stated its belief that no job loss would occur. Also, the company agreed to establish a management-worker committee to study the potential effects of the electronic newspaper on the work force. The committee is to report to the company and Guild three months before expiration of the new contract, which runs until August 1, 1983.

—J.B.

reasons. First, if AT&T or some other telecommunications concern succeeds in undercutting the classified advertising revenue base, the American newspaper's ability to support and present a quality news package will be seriously eroded.

Not so obvious is the effect a decline in advertising might have on newspaper readership. A recent survey by the Newspaper Advertising Bureau found that while virtually all Sunday newspaper purchasers cite the news as reason for the purchase, 80 percent also cite advertising. This survey suggests that news content alone does not have the drawing power needed to sustain circulation.

The severity of this threat to newspaper classified advertising is illustrated by attempts made during the 1980 session of Congress to rewrite the 1934 Communications Act. First drafts of the proposed revision, the Telecom-

munications Act of 1980, would have allowed the Bell System to produce as well as carry information such as that now included in classified advertising. Under the guidance of Katharine Graham, the American Newspaper Publishers Association pulled out all the stops in its attempt to beat back the legislation. Late in July, the House Commerce Committee amended the proposed legislation to prohibit AT&T from becoming a supplier of mass media information. Under the amendment, AT&T would not be able to offer newspapers, magazines or portions of them electronically. The legislation failed to secure passage before Congress adjourned early in October, and it will apparently be on the agenda for the 1981 session.

Magazines pose a similar threat to the daily newspaper; in fact, national magazines have already dipped into newspaper advertising revenue in major markets through zoned or regional advertising. Should magazines move to electronic distribution, their ability to tailor advertising to the reader will be greatly enhanced. Unless newspapers move expeditiously to develop this same electronic capability, daily journalism could lose still more of its vital advertising base.

The threat or promise that this new technology holds for newspapers surfaced at the recent global conference on the future which convened in Toronto. Cameron Smith, executive editor of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, told those assembled that newspapers which move quickly to embrace the challenge of electronic dissemination will find "glory days ahead." Those who fail this test, who react timidly, will go under. Technology will take away from five to ten newspaper jobs for every one it creates, Smith said, and newspapers will inevitably lose advertising revenue with the advent of two-way cable television. As advertising revenues decline, the cost of a newspaper will increase and a deadly spiral will set in. The newspaper with no stake in the electronic game will be "in deep trouble," and, according to Smith, "a lot of newspapers will have to fold."

A more hopeful word comes from England, where the Birmingham *Post and Mail* has been airing an electronic newspaper, the Viewtel 202, since October 1978. Editors at the *Post and Mail* have come to view the electronic newspaper as an adjunct to the printed word, not a replacement. But again they stress the need to adapt. Pat Montague, technical development director for the Birmingham papers, was quoted in *Editor & Publisher*: "Newspapers will change; they will have to adapt and build their strengths. But whatever anyone says, the printed newspaper will not die for a long time, and that comes from our experience of producing the printed and electronic newspapers at the same time."

He adds, "There is a great future for the electronic newspaper; of that there is no doubt, but don't believe for a moment that anyone, not even those of us who have been working so long with electronic journalism, knows what the full impact of it is going to be."

As Montague says, the full impact of electronic data retrieval will not become evident for years, but it is certain to be enormous. This certainly provides a clue to the importance of the labor dispute that has halted production of the *Minneapolis Star* and *Tribune*. The 1980-82 Guild contract at the *Star* and *Tribune* brings together for the first time a company involved in the CompuServe experiment and dedicated to taking the electronic revolution as far as resources will allow; and a strong Guild unit, in a contract period during which jurisdictional and compensation questions raised by electronic dissemination could finally become critical. Thus all publishers of major American dailies and the international offices of the American Newspaper Guild have a stake in what happened at Minneapolis. The outcome set an important precedent. In a sense, the Star and Tribune Company and the Minneapolis Guild unit fought a proxy battle for publishers and Guild units elsewhere — a battle that was forecast in July, when CompuServe and The Associated Press held a two-day workshop on electronic news delivery. During that seminar, newspapers interested in electronics were told that they should begin to explore answers to two important questions. The first involves libel. Who is guilty of libel in the CompuServe experiment — the newspaper or CompuServe? The other is precisely the question on the table in Minneapolis: How does reuse of a reporter's material in an electronic edition affect jurisdiction and compensation?

John Cowles Jr., president of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company, acknowledged this aspect of the strike in an interview with another newspaper. "I'd say the main reaction from other newspaper people around the country," Cowles said, "is that it [the electronics issue] is a phony issue, and they obviously hope we won't create some kind of inappropriate precedent here." Whether an inappropriate precedent was created remains to be seen. The company bargained hard and well, and seems to have given up little in the final settlement (see sidebar). Only time and the inexorable roll of technology will show how well the contract jibes with electronic reality.

In Minneapolis, it took a strike to bring journalists and the public face-to-face with the future as represented by the electronic newspaper. But the labor dispute was transitory. It was resolved, as everyone knew it would be. Much more important is the technology which promises a tremendously exciting, challenging era for journalists and managers alike — at least those with the vision and quickness to become involved now, at the beginning of this revolution. □

A Seminar with Gloria Steinem

In April 1980, Gloria Steinem, journalist, feminist, and one of the founders of Ms. *magazine, held an informal discussion with Nieman Fellows in the Class of 1980. This text is taken from the transcript of her comments.*

On the Press

I must confess to you that I still read the newspapers with some sense of alienation — or at least, a feeling that some good stories are being missed. I hope we have passed through the stage in which we see headlines that read "Grandmother Wins Nobel Prize" and the unemployment rate is reported in terms of white male heads of households. During the Nixon era, for example, this was the primary rate that was published. I could imagine Nixon thinking, "Obviously minority men can't work, and younger, unmarried men should be at Harvard, and women — well, women should have a man to support them."

I would therefore like to make my usual plea that all the stories we write, and all the studies we do, be considered as they affect the entire population, not just part of it.

When we look at stories about unemployment, we still see such divisions as "women and minorities" — which present minority women with an unacceptable decision to make, and prevent us from learning that black teenage females have the highest unemployment rate in the country. While we have progressed a little bit in defining welfare as a women's issue, in addressing the questions of poverty in general and welfare in particular, I still don't think we make social policy giving consideration to the true population that is being affected.

I hope that it is a truism by now to say that there really is no story that isn't changed by considering its impact on the whole constituency. I hope we have seen the end of the narrow view of women's issues being only child care or abortion. And I look forward to the day when all of you journalists will make it unnecessary for us to have *Ms.* magazine, which I regard as a remedial, temporary publication.

There is often a failure in news stories to differentiate among women. I still note that from time to time, when women are in disagreement on the issues, it is because we "can't get along with each other." This can reach alarming international proportions when the news coverage is of a story like Mexico City or the mid-decade conference in Copenhagen. Both were, in fact, conferences of governments, not of women. The people who were delegates to those conferences were selected by their governments, not by a constituency of women. Nonetheless, the stories that come out of these conferences assume that women are speaking on behalf of themselves, whereas male representatives of governments are assumed to be speaking on behalf of their governments.

Often stories on human rights are very frustrating to me, because the female half of the world is not really included in the human rights debate. The inability of Soviet dissidents to leave the Soviet Union is much regretted and written about, but the inability of entire populations of women in Middle Eastern countries who cannot leave their countries without the permission of their husbands or fathers or even their younger brothers — this is something I have not seen written about.

A couple of years ago, President Carter went to Saudi Arabia — a real backwater as far as women's rights go — and stood next to the leadership there and said, "I feel so at home here." There was not the kind of public outcry that there might have been had he gone to South Africa and stood next to the white leadership there and said the same thing, or had he gone to Chile and made a similar statement.

Some of us expressed our concern about this, and commented that if Henry Kissinger had not been allowed to go to a state dinner in some Middle Eastern country because he is Jewish, it would have been quite a news story. But Rosalynn Carter and other members of diplomatic parties were not allowed to go to state dinners because they are female and this was not a news story.

In response to the question: Does it make a difference whether a man or a woman is sent to cover conferences, such as the one in Copenhagen?

I think it makes the same kind of difference that it might make if you sent a white reporter to a black conference. There is no rule about it — there are some men who understand feminist and other political issues better than many women do — but a male reporter's access could be limited by the fact that he is a man. He might be very conspicuous in a way that he would prefer not to be.

At this moment, I don't think there are many male reporters with the sophistication about feminist issues necessary to cover these issues well. This doesn't mean there couldn't be such a man. If men would devote themselves to this beat, if they would try to work out the politics of it, if they would try to understand it, then it would probably work out the same as for a woman covering the beat — with the possible exception of access.

On the Draft

A large part of the recent discussion about the draft centered around the question: Should women be registered? The response to this from many women was, "Why should we go fight on the side of those guys?"

Here is a very interesting situation in which eliminating discrimination against women by allowing them to join voluntarily or to be drafted could save men from the draft. But, for me, the exclusion of women raised the question, "Why don't they want us there?" Then I began to hypothesize about what could happen if all the battered women, underpaid waitresses, rape victims, and other angry women had a little military training... maybe that's why they don't want us there.

Another part of the draft debate was the assumption that women should not be in combat zones. There was of course the assumption that women know what combat zones are, since women who are fields communications officers and nurses and so on are in combat zones. I concluded that it is okay for us to get shot at, but not for us to shoot back.

On the Equal Rights Amendment

In response to a request for an estimate of the realistic possibilities for the ratification of the ERA, and the impact if it is not ratified.

We could spend the next month figuring out the possibilities, because each state resembles a Russian novel in its complexity. It all boils down to what factory or industry is moving into whose district, and who has influence in what community. The problem is long past the point of obtaining popular support for the ERA — the support is there. In Florida, polls showed it was three-to-one in favor of ratification, yet the ERA was defeated by one vote.

It is still possible — though difficult — that we will get the additional three states by the deadline. If we do not, then there will be a lot of soul-searching. I suspect there will also be an angry, we're-going-to-do-this-again-till-we-get-it-right impulse. What I am not so sure of is whether women will retain faith in the electoral system, or will sink back into voting less and less — which would be a shame, since women are one group who are now voting in increased numbers.

On the Lives and Wives (and Husbands) of Politicians

A man's private life is his private life; a woman's private life never has been. A woman in public life has always been judged by her private life: "Why aren't you home with your children? How does your husband feel about your running for office?"

I think it is fair for us to assess the character of our leaders and candidates by taking a look at their treatment of women of all races and of black men. To do this, we study the total payroll for their gubernatorial staff, senate staff, or whatever applies, and see what percentage of the payroll — it's usually quite infinitesimal — is black men, white women, black women. We also take a look at whether or not this candidate can tolerate independent women in his own life. I think it has been very unfair that the press has focused entirely on Ted Kennedy in this matter. Because frankly — and I'm speaking personally — I would rather have Kennedy than Carter, whose total idea of equality for women is an equal ability to do what he says. At least Kennedy needs women for *something*.

Martin Abzug and Conrad Chisholm took a lot of grief: they were accused of being abnormal men; they were

constantly being solicited for negative comments about their wives....

I suggest that we be willing to look, within reason, at those areas of a candidate's life that seem to reveal character. So far this has been done in an unequal and conservative way: firstly, directed mostly toward Kennedy; secondly, as if it were a plus for Carter that he has a "traditional" marriage with a wife who never disagrees with him in public. I have more confidence that Gerald Ford could deal with an independent woman as a person than I do that Carter could, based on the evidence we see from their wives. We were once going to make a button that read, "I sleep a little better every night knowing that Betty Ford is sleeping with the President."

Progress for women lies in increased independence, and I don't think Rosalynn has been as helpful a role model as was Betty Ford, or, for that matter, Joan Kennedy, who has honestly gone through a whole set of changes that are very familiar to many women, and that they relate to very viscerally.

I have not seen any independent opinion from Rosalynn, and I think that as a result she suffers two ways: she suffers criticism from conservative, anti-woman folks who think that a wife should have no serious role in the government; and she suffers criticism from pro-woman, feminist people like me, who think that she ought to be an independent person. If she is exercising power, it is totally behind the scenes, in a very private way.

On Equal Opportunities

In response to the statement, "Some people claim to have statistics that prove white women are taking the executive and middle-management jobs that blacks should be getting."

I think that the impulse to divide and conquer — to make it seem as if most of us have to scramble for 5 percent of the pie and keep each other occupied while guess-who has 95 percent — that this impulse is quite profound and never-ending. We have to keep struggling against it by putting forth the statistics as they really exist. Obviously, black women are still on the bottom of the employment ladder; it is not true that black women are hired as double tokens. By every measure of income, status, and so on, black women are lower than black men — and white women.

The point is to band together and insist on a kind of equality. People exist in the population, and in the work force, in a certain percentage, which is the sinister part of saying "women and minorities." We really ought to talk about specific groups of people: Hispanic women, black women, white women — otherwise we get into this impossible bind.

The divide-and-conquer forces are there all the time. It's very easy for them to exist in a country that resents the power of black women so much that it created the myth of the black matriarch (courtesy of Daniel Patrick Moynihan) and the crazy idea that white women control the economy. What is unique about women of all races as a group is that we are resented as if we already had political power; we aren't even recognized in our powerlessness. I think this is due to the fact that most of us have experienced the power of a woman at home, so we have perceived women as being powerful when we are not in the outside world.

In spite of all these pressures, women of every race and minority have been pretty good about working in coalition when it comes to pressuring candidates on issues, working on legislation, working for reform inside the political parties. On the political front, however, the silence is deafening. A recent Gallup poll shows that number of people who support free universal child care as an issue has climbed steadily, yet there is not, as far as I know, one single candidate who is addressing this as social policy. Our theory is that the money invested in such a national child care system would yield more jobs, would get more people off welfare and into the labor force, and would increase the tax base more than a similar amount of money invested in the Chrysler Corporation, where high-technology jobs must be filled. This should be a question of social policy that is considered at the federal level, and it's simply not happening.

In the 1970's, in a general way, we raised our hopes and our ideas of what justice is — and we discovered, among other things, that kids have two parents. The burden of what we have to do in the 1980's is get the government to respond to the special needs of parents and children: there is not parental leave, there is only maternity leave; there is not a shorter work day, or work week, for parents of young children; there is no system of day care for children of working parents. These are the kinds of institutional changes that have to be made. The fact that we are at a dead end in terms of money in union negotiations may allow us to take some of these issues and bargain around them.

On Labor Unions

There never has been a woman at the top level of the AFL-CIO; only courtesy of our need for their support on the

Equal Rights Amendment have they failed to be picketed. I don't think there's a great amount of hopefulness on the part of women that the existing unions will be an active force in improving women's wages and working conditions. Very often the unions are as guilty as — or more guilty than — the employers who have discriminatory job labels. The union that controls the cleaning personnel in my office building has "cleaning women" and "maintenance engineers" — and both do the same thing. At Columbia University, the cleaning women had to sue to become maintenance engineers.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women is very important — it was a big step for women in unions to band together and be forceful on their own issues, because women who are members of unions are such an elite inside the female workforce that they felt very privileged and not like rocking the boat.

What we need is a democratization of the existing unions — some of which are much better than others. For instance, the United Auto Workers is better than the teamsters, whose idea of unionizing women was to go to a meeting of organized prostitutes in San Francisco — *that* they connected with! The UAW has the ability to organize clerical workers — the single biggest occupational category now for women, and indeed, if you count paperwork, the biggest category altogether in the economy.

In addition to making the existing unions more democratic, there's also the necessity of organizing women into new unions around female occupations. In Boston, there is 9 to 5, and in most of the other major cities in the country, there are the beginnings of the organization of clerical and secretarial workers. I think this is terribly important, because in the last decade, there was an impression that what women wanted was to integrate men's jobs. The press supplied endless stories on the first woman jockey, the first woman board member, the first woman this-or-that — stories that did nothing for women. The "first woman" category is important, but it is even more important to give more pay and more honor to the jobs where women are — to the 80 percent of women who work in female jobs.

We need a way of unionizing like the 1930's labor movements. What we are seeing now is parallel to the organizing of farm workers ten and twenty years ago — you start with an organizing committee and a caucus, then you sit back and say, "Okay unions, court us if you want us, but we aren't going to come into any union unless we have enough of a membership base so that we can have a say-so in the union." I like to think that women are too sophisticated to join unions one by one and see their issues bargained away — which is what has happened in the past.

On Women's Movements

The women's movements in most of the countries that I am familiar with have parallel concerns. A first, primary issue of women's movements everywhere is reproductive freedom — that is, the freedom, the ability, and the medical support to have or not to have children. There should be access to safe contraception and legal abortion. We should have the right to reproductive freedom in the same way that we have the right to freedom of speech. No government should be able to tell us, through differential social policy, to have or not to have children. This is a fundamental human right.

There are religions, including Judaism, that count the health and safety of the mother as being more important than the fetus. So if you deny a woman the right to the medical services of abortion, you can additionally be said to be interfering with her freedom of religion. There are other pro-choice arguments, including the simple right of privacy.

However, we are in a patriarchy, and the bottom line of patriarchy is to control women as the means of production — the means of reproduction. There could be an overriding national interest in forcing women to have children, and I am not sure we will be able to overthrow it. In response to this need to make more radios or more things — a need which they tell us we have — are we going to force more women, especially minority women, to have children to be used as cheap labor?

Religion is politics made sacred. They get us to worship a nice, white, male authority — and if we will believe in life after death, if we will even behave against our self-interest for life after death, then we will fall for anything. Patriarchal religions are a way of reinforcing male authority; racist religions are a way of reinforcing racist authority.

Within each different religious group, there is a very conservative cluster — Orthodox Jews, fundamentalist Baptists, conservative Roman Catholics — who oppose some of the issues, even though the majority of the people within that religion may have a very different view.

So some of the opposition to abortion has been religious, some has been centered on the future need of the work force. But I think that another reason, even more important than controlling money, is to control the means of reproduction. By allowing reproductive freedom to the individual, the government gives up the ability to control the population.

A second, universal concern is the redefinition and revaluing of work. In an industrial society, this may take the

form of trying to give economic value to the unpaid, uncounted work that women do in the home, as well as to create a redefinition of work outside the home, so that women are not concentrated in certain levels of employment — for example, in America, 80 percent of women work in "female" jobs.

In many African countries, women are trying to redefine work by explaining that they produce most of the food their families eat, while men work on cash crops for export. The feminist magazines in Kenya and Ghana are especially focused on this issue. They say, "Look, this is work, and it should be counted as such. We need new ways to grind grain, instead of simple grinding stones; we need better wells." In short, they need appropriate technology to fill their needs in addition to the massive machinery that seems to be readily available to others, because their work is directed toward producing cash crops for export.

The minute an occupation becomes mostly female — whether it's clerical or nursing or library work or teaching school — then it is denigrated. This is true most of all for housework, but that is not courtesy of the feminist movement. The movement was invented by housewives — women who were sitting in the suburbs saying, "There must be more to life than this — Can't I use my degree?" Feminists believe that housework and other female jobs are worthwhile work — which is why men should do them, too. And which is why housewives should have Social Security and disability pay.

I would be happy to claim feminism as an American product — the only healthy export we have ever sent to anybody — but I don't think it is. Because America is a young country, there was a first wave of feminism here from the mid-1800's to the early 1900's — a wave that also existed in Egypt and India and other countries. In India, for example, there was a very conscious movement against suttee and in favor of the vote [for women]. When I went to India a couple of years ago, I saw a feminist friend, a Gandhian economist.

My friend and I got very excited about the prospect of surveying Gandhian teachings as a kind of textbook of tactics for women's movements. So we traipsed around, picking up Gandhi's material from letters and so on, and visiting people who had known him. Finally we came to one woman who knew him, we explained our project to her, and she smiled and said, "Well, my dear, we women taught him everything he knew."

She recalled that there had been an enormous women's movement that preceded the independence movement, and that had developed the tactics of nonviolence and consumer boycott and civil disobedience — tactics that were subsumed by the independence movement later. I might add that some of the women were subsequently guilt-tripped out of some of their own priorities because they were told that after the independence everything would be fine for women — a very familiar refrain — which did not turn out to be the case.

Indira Gandhi's leadership in India is not a testimony to the strength of the women's movement there, because her position is a patriarchal inheritance — I mean, if her father had had a son....But he had the misfortune of not having a son, and the caste or class feelings were strong enough about that kind of inherited power that she was able to become a leader. I don't think the women's movement in India would claim her position as a result of their activities.

There is international cooperation among women's groups, although not yet nearly enough. For instance, the first time to my knowledge that many of the women's organizations, even some of the official government ones

On the New Ms. Magazine

Ms. tries to be a forum for many different kinds of experiences. If you compare the articles to those of the early days, we have become much more radical — we publish pieces on phallic imperialism and all kinds of far-out things that would have been much harder to do in the beginning. But the culture has changed, so the sense of *Ms.*'s strangeness or newness or shock has worn off. I hope that we can continue to be a forum, and that we will have many more feminist publications. One of the great problems is that we are the only national, visible one.

We would love to start a feminist *True Confessions* because it would reach an entirely different group. Obviously the people who read *Ms.* read all-text magazines, and no all-text magazine has a circulation of more than 600,000 or 700,000 — a very small percentage of the population. So we need to reach out in other ways. We did the television show *Free to Be You and Me* and I hope we will be able to branch out even more.

And I say with crazy optimism that the day will arrive when we don't need a publication such as *Ms.*, because it is essentially a remedial publication. If *Time* and *Newsweek* and *Esquire* and everybody else were covering the whole population, as opposed to only part of it, many of our stories would not be necessary. **—G.S.**

from Africa and the Middle East, have come forth at a United Nations conference, was to talk about clitoridectomy and infibulation — topics that by their very nature are very difficult to make official resolutions on — and these women's groups got together and presented the problems and asked for support.

On the Future

If you had asked me ten years ago what I would be doing now, I sure as hell wouldn't have told you that I would be running a magazine. I was the last of the lone freelancers. I had never worked in an office. I had never had a job. I wouldn't have dreamed of working with more than two people. I had never spoken in public.

So I don't know if I'm very good at predicting the future, except to say that what has continued throughout all this change is an identity as a writer. I know that I am a writer, because when I'm doing it, I don't feel guilty; when I'm doing anything else, I feel I should be writing.

As far as the future of the movement goes, we are talking here about overthrowing — or humanizing; we pick the verb according to how patient we feel on that particular day — patriarchy and racism. That is a rather large order. There have been waves of movement against the caste divisions of race and sex for thousands of years. There may well have been a prehistoric — a term reserved for pre-patriarchal history — a prehistoric gynecocracy and a time when the current racial structures didn't exist. For many thousands of years these movements have existed, and each one of them has budged patriarchy and racism a little.

Legal rights are important as a means to changing the culture, but the most effective rights are the rights you simply have without fighting for them. What we are struggling for is a society in which nobody is marked for a certain kind of existence because of sex or race. After achieving that, there would be, I hope, a wide variety of societies. We are after choice, not Utopia. The creation of Utopias is a masculine trip — the ultimate authority trip: "Not only am I going to control you, now I'm going to tell you what's good for you."

After the women's movement? I don't think there is an after. The movement is a process of organic, anthropological change, and we will always be struggling to reach our highest capabilities, to use the major, now-unused portion of our brains. At a minimum, in the future, I am hopeful we won't have to struggle against a crazy, obscene system that fundamentally says your hormones or a little bit of melanin in your skin determine your whole life. There are movements toward this kind of liberation all over the world; this has been the thrust of most populist movements.

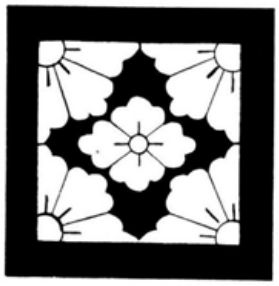
Finally, I ask all of you, as journalists, to do one outrageous thing in the cause of simple justice — whether it is a story idea, or something you are writing, or saying, "Pick it up yourself!" (that can be very outrageous), or saying, "What am I doing in this white ghetto — I'm culturally deprived." Just do one outrageous act this twenty-four hours, maybe every twenty-four hours, and I swear to you, I'll do one too. And we'll see what happens. □

U.S. Postal Service
STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of Publication: *Nieman Reports.* A. Publication No.: *USPS 430-650* 2. Date of Filing: *9/10/80* 3. Frequency of Issue: *Quarterly* A. No. of Issues Published Annually: *4* B. Annual Subscription Price: *$10* 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: *One Francis Avenue, Middlesex County, Cambridge, MA 02138* 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: *One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138* 6. Names and Complete Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: *Publisher: James C. Thomson Jr., One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138; Editor: Tenney K. Lehman, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138* 7. Owner: *Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138* 8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: *none* 9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: *Have not changed during preceding 12 months* 10. Extent and Nature of Circulation *(first figure is for "average number copies each issue during preceding 12 months"; the second is "actual number copies of single issue published nearest to filing date"):* A. Total number of copies printed: *1,800; 1,300* B. Paid circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: *none; none* 2. Mail subscriptions: *800; 808* C. Total paid circulation: *800;808* D. Free distribution by mail carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: *675;325* E. Total Distribution: *1,475; 1,133* F. Copies not distributed 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: *325;167* 2. Returns from news agents: *none; none* G. Total: *1,800; 1,300* 11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. *Tenney K. Lehman, Editor*

Japan's Giant Press: Domination and Dilemma

ATSUSHI KUSE



Japan is a media-saturated society. Sixty-six percent of its 115 million people read daily newspapers; 63 percent own television sets, and 46 percent have radios.

According to the United Nations statistics, a total of 58,580,000 newspapers were circulated daily in 1975 in Japan, ranking only after the Soviet Union and the United States of America in terms of circulation. Another statistic shows, however, that Japan's newspaper circulation topped that of the United States in 1977 with 64 million. As Harvard sociology Professor Ezra F. Vogel put it: "...if one combines readership of books, magazines, and newspapers, Japan is clearly ahead of any other country."

Unlike the American and European newspapers, the most influential dailies in Japan are national, and most of them are as politically neutral as they profess to be.

There are five such nationally circulated papers in Japan. Their combined circulation accounts for about one-half of the nation's total daily newspaper readership.

Among them, called the "Big Three," are *Asahi Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun,* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* (*shimbun* means newspaper). Morning editions of those three largest dailies, distributed almost entirely to individual homes across the nation, reach about seven million, five million and eight million in respective circulation. In addition, each distributes more than half as many copies of an entirely different evening edition. (Morning editions are usually 20-24 pages and evening editions 10-16 pages.)

Because of their massive publishing operations and staggering circulation figures, it is appropriate to describe Japan's national newspapers as all-around publishing houses rather than newspaper companies. The *Mainichi Shimbun*, for example, the nation's oldest Japanese-language daily now in its 108th year of business, is engaged in publishing not only morning and evening papers, but also a wide variety of different kinds of papers, weekly and monthly magazines, and books.

In addition to Japanese-language dailies that are, of course, the company's main business line, the Mainichi is publishing three other dailies — one specially designed for the readership of elementary schoolchildren aged up to 11-12 years old; one for junior high school students aged up to 15 years old; and an English-language paper, the *Mainichi Daily News*. The firm's weekly publications include an English-language paper, mostly for English-learning people; a feature magazine, a graphic magazine, a colorful paper for those who read to kindergarten children; and a specially-manufactured weekly in braille for sightless readers, as well as a specialized weekly on business and economy. On the list of its monthly publications are five magazines ranging in coverage from photography and human health to education and a reduced-size edition of the Japanese-language dailies. The Mainichi is also publishing one bimonthly magazine, two annuals and about 150 books every year. The latest additions to that publication list have been the monthly Japanese-language edition of the *Journal of American Medical Association* (JAMA) and the Chinese-language quarterly on the Japanese economy and business, inaugurated in January 1980 and October 1979, respectively.

Another major feature of Japan's Big Press is its heavy involvement in a variety of social, cultural and sports activities and events as part of their newspaper business. The Mainichi, for instance, is annually sponsoring or supporting about 3,000 such activities and events across the country ranging from annual high school baseball championships, international art exhibitions, lecture series, and music concerts to swimming schools, local festivals, and athletic meets.

Atsushi Kuse, Nieman Fellow '80, is a reporter in the Osaka bureau of Mainchi Shimbun, *Japan.*

In order to support such massive business operations, the *Mainichi Shimbun* has 6,100 employees on its payroll, including some 2,000 who work in various editorial departments. For newsgathering, it has its own branch offices in 82 major cities and correspondents' offices in 293 smaller cities and towns throughout Japan. The editorial department produces nearly 110 regional editions daily. One or two full pages of local news, supplied by a network of regional offices, are inserted in the standard national edition and printed at five different printing centers, such as Tokyo and Osaka. The *Mainichi* is also sending its own staff correspondents to 16 cities in 15 countries around the world for coverage of international news. The company owns a fleet of eight Cessna planes and helicopters and especially designed vehicles for photodeveloping, news transmission and wireless communication in major news centers.

A major question and wonder among observers of the Japanese press is what other factors have made it possible to create and maintain such mass-circulated newspapers.

First of all, the creation of such mass circulation can be attributed to the overall changes in Japan's social environment that took place during the postwar period. The traditional high standard of education and literacy of the people also cannot be ignored. The newspaper circulation continued to increase as Japan's population increased and split into smaller households. As mentioned earlier, the newspaper subscriptions in Japan are heavily on a household basis.

Secondly, the aggressive sales efforts (endemic in Japan's business) on the part of newspaper companies helped a lot to create the so-called era of the Big Press. For many years the Big Press put its utmost management priority on the expansion and improvement of its own news dealers, who distribute each paper exclusively, and made them prosper with much financial assistance, maintaining the home-delivery system. This unique system is the basic method of newspaper distribution and marketing.

Thirdly, because of their capacity of machines and equipment, both for news transmission and processing, members of the Big Press have enjoyed for a long period of time an overwhelming superiority over the country's regional and smaller local papers. Also, the Big Press had dominated young, capable, and talented journalists. This is no longer true today, primarily because of the rapid development of domestic news service organizations. Now employment with major regional and local papers is becoming a favorite choice of brilliant university graduates who prefer to live in their home towns, rather than metropolitan areas.

Last but not least, and despite harsh competition, members of the Big Press have protected each other through cooperation, particularly in terms of price-setting of their newspapers. They have produced the same subscription prices at almost the same time for many years.

This type of cooperation, called by some people the "price cartel," has been a source of criticism in recent years. In fact this system is beginning to collapse, newly creating a substantial change in subscription rates among major papers.

The Big Press, which hopes to remain big in an age when small is beautiful, is, however, faced with several major challenges and difficulties, internally and externally.

The biggest worry is that the traditional intensive door-to-door home delivery system has now come into serious question. The diversification in choice of occupation that took shape during Japan's high-economic growth period has made it difficult to attract and maintain enough labor force for home delivery, especially in metropolitan areas. The so-called newspaper boys, who had been the stars of paper delivery service, have been replaced by housewives working part-time. Surveys show that, due to the hard work, approximately 40 percent of those who deliver the papers have changed their employment within a one-year period. In addition, the rising cost of delivery itself is becoming a major threat to the maintenance of this system.

Another serious factor troubling newspapers is the shortage and rising cost of newsprint, the most severe situation since late 1973, and one experienced in many other countries.

The characteristic cutthroat competition among each major paper is also trembling and weakening the foundation of the Japanese newspaper business. Leading the van of the continued unfair sales competition, the Big Press is massively using the so-called subscription giveaways in an attempt to win new readers. Most of Japan's papers are also offering discounts or often free subscriptions, together with giveaways, to new subscribers for the first several months — all in violation of Japan's Antimonopoly Law.

Faced with the grave drawbacks and mounting criticism of such an excessive sales competition, the Japan Newspaper Editors and Publishers Association and its member newspapers pledged in an unprecedented joint announcement in July 1977 that they would no longer continue to engage in such unfair sales tactics. The reality is, however, such dealings are still going on and are even showing signs of getting worse.

As a result of its prolonged participation in such a

money-consuming practice and its own mismanagement, the *Mainichi Shimbun* faced a serious financial crisis in 1977, when the financial plight at one of the three largest papers came to light for the first time. Although the crisis hit the *Mainichi* first, other major papers are potentially faced with similar challenges.

Another important point is that although the Big Press is creating an image that they have literally dominated the Japanese archipelago with their huge circulations, it has been only in Tokyo, Osaka, and Fukuoka where they have enjoyed an overwhelming domination and advantage or have competed equally with leading regional papers.

Despite numerous difficulties, problems, and challenges in their relation to one each other and many regional papers as well as the industry as a whole, Japan's Big Press still has maintained a massive influential role and impact. It plays an increasingly sizeable role, as it reflects and creates social, political, and historical phenomena. It is a special force in society, which links people, informs and also misleads them, and helps shape the future of the nation often enough to form "a" or "the" strong public opinion in Japan.

Through major dailies, the ordinary Japanese reading public gets a breadth of information about basic world development. The largest papers, each with more specialized reporters and more foreign correspondents than any American paper, can provide their readers with highly detailed background information. Public awareness of national and international issues is greater perhaps than in any other country in the world, and few adult citizens can escape being exposed to those issues.

Japanese cabinet meetings are said to begin with an exchange on press comments, and anyone who has dealt with officials and politicians in Japan will recognize that sensitivity to editorial criticism and press treatment is probably as acute and inhibiting as it is in any other democracy.

Typical criticism of largest papers is that those dailies are surprisingly uniform and conform to each other in format and content as well as in treatment of news. The main news appears on the front page, and more detailed political, foreign and economic news, editorials, letters, special features, art and theater sections, home news, and the like are to be found on almost the same pages in every paper. They commonly come out with headlines and editorials that seem to be almost paraphrases of one another. The Big Press has been also criticized for its similar opportunism, sensationalism, and authoritarianism. Other points include the treatment of erroneous reports, corrections, and loose protection of privacy. The attitude and behavior of reporters and the existence of notorious reporters' clubs have been also under fire. The usual criticism of the press as a public watchdog is that the prevailing system of reporters' clubs in the government agencies and assignment of reporters to major politicians, as well as influential economic/business organizations and businessmen, amounts to reliance on handouts and personal favors rather than on independent newsgathering.

But for all that, the coverage of Diet debates, for example (the more raucous the arguments, the better the coverage), and of the factions and their internecine struggles, as well as the incessant editorial preaching at the politicians, make the press a vital part of the political scene. In particular, the role of the national press in publicizing and generating debate and controversy cannot be underestimated in Japan.

In an almost classic case, the Big Press was criticized for its failure to report on and to expose former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's financial dealings, but the relationship of the Big Press with influential politicians was such that this was no surprise.

Political reporters, who maintain that the extent of their relationships with politicians and their reliance on personal favors from them depend a great deal on the personal style and belief of the individual reporter, can draw on much to make a rebuttal to this kind of argument about news coverage — just one aspect of the dilemma faced by the Giant Press in Japan. □

CHOOSING A PROFESSION

For many years university graduates have given journalism as their favorite career choice — particularly if they could be a reporter at one of the three largest newspapers.

However, admission to major dailies is highly competitive. Journalists at most of the nation's leading papers are well paid, and are relatively highly respected in comparison to other professionals such as doctors, lawyers, and university professors. University graduates — mostly men — have dominated the editorial staff at these papers. According to a 1978 survey of 106 newspapers conducted by the Japan Newspaper Editors and Publishers Association, of the nearly 18,000 people working in editorial rooms, women numbered only 146. **—A.K.**

Ronald Reagan

PEGGY SIMPSON

Hollywood couldn't have designed it better: with its frame and shingle houses brilliantly lighted in the late afternoon September sun, the modest, somewhat frayed, Polish neighborhood square in Milwaukee looked like a movie set of small-town America thirty years ago. From a makeshift bandstand in the middle of the intersection, an accordionist with flowing white hair led a piano and banjo ensemble with old-world flair. Around him, townspeople stood shoulder to shoulder, spilling against the fire station on one corner and neighborhood bars on two other corners.

Into the square strode the candidate — Ronald Reagan, confident and glowing in the sun's angles — looking as much at ease as if he were on a set with the cameras rolling.

But this was not Reagan the actor, nor Reagan the right-wing challenger of 1976. This was Reagan the contemporary candidate, challenging President Carter in the traditional Democratic constituencies such as Eastern European ethnics. This was a Reagan who put on a yarmulke in the Jewish temples, who put on a coal miner's hat in eastern Ohio, who talked to the despairing in the country's inner cities as well as to the comfortable in the suburbs.

Reagan turned out to be a less cooperative target than Carter had imagined. The President, whose economic record was so conservative that he drew a stubborn liberal challenge from Ted Kennedy in the primaries, was confident he would win — despite a dismal economy and hostages held in Iran — because his opponent was Reagan.

Carter considered Reagan little more than a puppet of the knee-jerk conservatives, a man who was not very smart and who had simplistic solutions to complex problems. He relished the prospect of publicizing Reagan's labor record, of resurrecting Reagan's comments that had infuriated blacks. Reagan himself would be the issue — not Carter or his record.

From that afternoon in Milwaukee, it was clear that Reagan would be an elusive opponent, far more flexible than Carter had anticipated — and far more appealing to the traditional Democratic blocs. This aging but affable man would be hard to portray as an ogre.

When Reagan took the podium, he couldn't help but look at a half-dozen members of the United Auto Workers positioned toward the front of the crowd of several hundred. "Reagan supports Fat Cats, the UAW supports Carter," read one of their placards.

He took up the challenge right away. It was a preview of what some sarcastically called his "Union label" speech: about his being the first union president ever to run for president, about the severe unemployment he'd seen in Kokomo, Indiana, and Flint, Michigan — and how workers were hurt not just by inflation but by excessive reliance on government to fix all the ills in society.

He was well into the argument when there was a bizarre interruption, the kind that will test the most seasoned politician. Someone had collapsed in the crowd and possibly was dying. After making sure this was not a trick by a demonstrator, Reagan called for paramedics. While the medics treated the man, Reagan suspended his

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Peggy Simpson, Nieman Fellow '79, is Washington correspondent for The Boston Herald American.

Jimmy Carter

FRANK VAN RIPER

Last October, in the midst of his bitter campaign against Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter was interviewed on television by local reporters in Philadelphia. As Carter bantered with his questioners before air time, the television station prepared its viewers — with unintentional irony — for what was to come.

"Because of the following special broadcast," the station announcer said, "*To Tell the Truth* will not be seen tonight."

Anyone who covered Carter regularly was not surprised at the mean spirit of the campaign he waged against the former California governor. The standard line about the President was that campaigning for office was what he did best; it was governing that got him down. But that analysis said nothing about the way in which Carter fought for public office. The presidential campaign of 1980 brought out the best — and worst — in Carter the politician.

The campaign, from its formal Labor Day opening to a tense election night two months later, showed Carter to be as capable of stirring an audience with demagoguery and cant as with eloquence and warmth. I came away from Campaign '80 — my fourth presidential race — with my feelings for Carter greatly diminished. By election night, the President had confirmed only too well the impression my colleagues and I had formed of him more than a year earlier: that here was a man who didn't know the difference between being mean and being tough.

Some glimpses from the campaign trail:

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

Where else but in a presidential campaign, or perhaps a New York mayoral race, could you find policitians so shamelessly pandering to all manner of ethnic voters — and doing it badly?

Listening to Carter speak Spanish was an experience. He has a fairly good reading comprehension, but his accent is dreadful. The audience loved it, though, whenever he did lapse into the language, usually in response to a question at a "town hall meeting." But his clerical staff dreaded it because they had to come up with instant "as delivered" transcripts for the press. It was bad enough to try to dope out what Carter was saying in English — he never overcame his habit of swallowing words at the end of phrases — but Spanish was frequently impossible. Often, press office staffers would ask reporters who were fluent in Spanish for help in deciphering what the President had said. Just as often, though, the official transcript read: "The questioner spoke in Spanish; the President responded in Spanish."

In Philadelphia, Carter campaigned for votes in the Italian South End. He played *bocce*, the Italian bowling game, with a group of elderly men who suffered the Georgia interloper with bemused exuberance.

"Attaboy, President," cried Joe Vellotede with theatrical enthusiasm as Carter rolled a ball. "That's a beauty; the new champ!"

Minutes later, though, as a grinning Carter was departing, Vellotede made sure to let everyone know *he* was still the *bocce* champ of the South End.

Carter then toured the Italian Market. Shaking hands with the folks as the television cameras dutifully followed

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Money as Motivator

CARY B. ZITER

Can good journalism be bought?

Most media outlets are very much alive and earning money — a quick look at this year's Fortune 500 shows that several newspaper chains turned in a much higher percentage of profit than many other major industries.

But this fiscal prosperity is usually not shared with reporters. Granted, the low salaries of the newspaper profession are a factor of supply and demand — the number of people trying to enter the field is high and there are simply not enough openings for would-be investigative stars. And even newcomers lucky enough to find work may have to moonlight to supplement the average weekly pay for beginners ($170 to $180 in 1979).

However, no matter what the reason, pay in newspapering is rotten.

• In 1979, Women in Communications, Inc., reported that salary increases for women in the communications field have been less than the rate of inflation. Based on 1977 data, the survey showed that "general news reporters" were paid from $115 to $173 per week, while those in the "writer-editor" category received weekly salaries that ranged from $230 to $288.

• Conditions are slightly better at the wire services. For example, United Press International pays about $254 weekly for the first year of service; about $460 for the sixth year of service. The Associated Press pays more than UPI at both ends of the scale: $273 and $474 respectively.

• While reporters at *The New York Times* are paid a starting minimum of $587 (the going rate is usually higher) this figure is far from representative of the industry. It should be noted that many of the top-scale reporters live and work in big cities, where it takes every penny of their $400 to $500 weekly salary just to get by.

• Most important of all, of the approximately 1,750 dailies in the United States, no more than 200 are under contract with the Newspaper Guild. Therefore editors at most newspapers are able to hire enthusiastic labor at low prices.

Abusing employees by means of low paychecks catches up with editors and publishers in a number of ways, most notably in the form of high turnover. While neither the Newspaper Guild, the Newspaper Fund, nor the American Newspaper Publishers Association keeps tabs on job mobility, David Eisen, director of the Guild, states that "even with the leading people there is a lot of turnover. We are aware of it but it is hard to document. We don't have numbers, but we do have impressions."

Would bigger paychecks help to motivate reporters?

Edwin Locke, professor of industrial psychology at the University of Maryland, is among the researchers who say yes. Locke feels that money does increase productivity — especially when the pay raises are tied to certain production goals.

John Piamonte, supervisor for manpower planning and research with the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority, agrees. Writing for *Personnel Journal*, he notes that many American researchers have put monetary reward on the bottom of the motivational list, "and perhaps even off the list altogether." But, he adds, "one powerful, generalized, acquired incentive — which will be found to be of tremendous importance to organizations — is money."

After working as a journalist for six years (four in the print media; two in radio broadcasting), Cary B. Ziter joined the media relations division of the public affairs department of a major oil company. Also, he is writing a book on the quality of work life in the newsroom.

(He warns however, that many raises fail to motivate because they are "dispensed on a time contingency unrelated to performance.")

Mitchell Fein, a consulting industrial engineer, points out that increasing productivity and pleasing the worker is a many faceted proposition. He claims that "the most effective results will be obtained when management creates conditions which workers see as beneficial to them. But the changes must be genuine and substantial, in forms which are eventually turned into cash and continuity of income." Dissatisfied workers, Fein says, are frustrated in obtaining what they believe they are entitled to: a bigger piece of the pie.

Of course vast amounts of research can be found to support the opposite approach. Several studies made by psychologists and behavioral scientists suggest that high achievers — and many reporters certainly fall into that category — need something more than just a big paycheck in order to be satisfied workers.

Writing in the *Harvard Business Review*, Frederick Herzberg concludes "the only way to motivate the employee is to give him a challenging work in which he can assume responsibility." Herzberg explains further that certainly a kick in the pants is the surest way to get someone to do something, but it leads only to movement, not motivation.

"I can charge a man's battery, and then recharge it, and recharge it again. But it is only when he has his own generator that we can talk about motivation. He then needs no outside stimulation. He wants to do it."

Herzberg argues that the opposite of job satisfaction is not job dissatisfaction, but *no* job satisfaction. To him, the job growth or motivator factors intrinsic to the job are achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility, and growth or advancement.

The corresponding factors that are extrinsic to the job include company policy and administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, status, security, and — last of all — salary.

Thus, according to Herzberg, problems with the "hygiene factors" of work — such as salary — can cause extreme dissatisfaction, but only making the work itself better and taking advantage of the job's intrinsic value will lead a person to like his or her job better.

Daniel Yankelovich, president of the public opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly & White, appears to side with Herzberg. "I can sum up what is happening in the American work force today in a single phrase: a growing mismatch between incentives and motivations." The tools management has traditionally relied on to motivate workers, he continues, "have become blunted." These tools include money.

"Money is still important to people; you'd have to be deaf and blind to believe otherwise." But, he adds, motivating people takes a lot more than a fatter paycheck. "Increasingly, we will need a cafeteria concept of incentives, tailoring the incentive package to each individual."

Where does all this leave us? We still have two sides of the coin: pay more money to make the worker happy, or realize that the work itself could have motivational intrinsic value and change the job to satisfy journalists' egos — their desires to be part of the product, to have control over it, and to help guide editorial management.

The factors of work that Herzberg and Yankelovich want satisfied would require a substantial amount of job redesign — starting at entry level. (The Columbia Graduate School of Journalism tells incoming students they should have "a capacity for hard work and long, irregular hours.")

Professional, dedicated journalists do not mind hard work, but getting little or no reward for that work eventually takes its toll and forces them into other, more lucrative areas. Media relations, speech writing, company publications, advertising, and public relations are full of ex-newspeople. Eisen comments, "Reporters are paid a hell of a lot more than they used to be paid, but there is no doubt that they are underpaid for the most part, and too many are moving out into other fields because of it."

In the short run, therefore, editors and publishers may have no choice but to give bigger paychecks. In the long run, these same people must become aware that their employees are valuable resources — more valuable than printing presses and video display terminals. Until newsroom managers train themselves in the art of job redesign and human resource management, newspaper reporters are not likely to see better days ahead. And there seems to be little indication that such a scenario is imminent.

If nothing else, at least for now, newspaper reporters should be paid like the college-educated, hard-working, smart-thinking professionals that editors contend they want to hire. In any enterprise, a better product costs more money. And, as long-time *New York Times*man Lester Markel once noted, "Penny-pinching in the editorial rooms is as unwise as it is unhumanitarian." □

Robert Manning and The Atlantic

LOUIS M. LYONS

Robert Manning has phoned that in clearing out his editor's desk at *The Atlantic Monthly*, he'd found an old paper of mine and was mailing it to me.

His call gave me a twinge of guilt that I had just retired from broadcasting, and so had lost my outlet for a public appreciation of Manning's innovative fourteen-year editorship of *The Atlantic.*

But a note of recognition belongs in the Nieman annals.

"Rescue" of *The Atlantic* from financial crisis by a local real-estate developer promised new resources for the magazine. But the rescue backfired. The developer has dismissed the editor who had brought *The Atlantic* to a new peak of circulation and reader interest.

A magazine of the distinctive quality of *The Atlantic* or *Harper's* has had periodic need of financial support, as a Broadway play needs an angel, or a university chair an endowment, or a public television program a "sponsor."

By my count, this is the fourth time during its 123 years *The Atlantic* has found new support to its need, but the first that has caused readers concern rather than fresh expectation.

It is also the fourth transition in Robert Manning's career. But the others were voluntary — two resulting from clashes of his principles with employer policy.

At each turn of his life, *The Atlantic* was making passes at Manning, starting in his Nieman Fellowship year, 1945-46, till they landed him nearly twenty years later to become the tenth editor in the notable line that began with James Russell Lowell.

Manning at 25 was, till then, the youngest Nieman Fellow. He had had four years' lead time over his college-graduate colleagues. For he started reporting at 17 on his home-town paper, the *Binghamton Press*. After four years he was in The Associated Press bureau in Washington. Next year the United Press recruited him to cover the State Department and White House. With two years out in the war, he returned to head the UP bureau at the United Nations.

Perhaps consciousness of a missed earlier chance at college accounted for Manning's voracious appetite for what Harvard offered. The impression he made on the faculty spilled over to alert Charles Morton of *The Atlantic* and start him on a persistent siege to land Manning on *The Atlantic* staff.

But the larger world of New York pulled Manning back to his UN job. There, four years later, Time Inc. discovered him. In another five years he was a senior editor, and before 40, was chief of *Time*'s London bureau, with responsibility for all the Commonwealth's coverage.

But he was finding Henry Luce's chauvinistic "American-Century" policy increasingly incompatible with the real world Manning was reporting. After three years in London, he resigned to come back, with no job.

The *New York Herald Tribune* offered a quick haven with its Sunday editorship. But the *Trib*, long the "bible" of moderate Republicanism, changed character after the death of Ogden Reid; failed to survive the destructive printers' strike in the 1960's.

Manning had escaped that calamity in a return to Washington with the Kennedy administration as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, a post first held by Archibald MacLeish, first Curator of the Nieman Fellowships. MacLeish had invented its liaison function with press and public. Hodding Carter, a later Nieman Fellow, was to make its role familiar, through television, as the voice of the State Department.

For Manning the changed climate of Washington under Lyndon Johnson was enough to make him finally susceptible to the importunings of *The Atlantic*. In 1964 the magazine appointed him executive editor, with the understanding he would succeed Edward Weeks, preparing to close his 28-year editorship two years later.

Manning naturally gave the magazine a more contemporary journalistic emphasis. Its rival, *Harper's*, had always been more topical. Weeks's chief interests were in biography and the humanities.

Louis M. Lyons, Nieman Fellow in the first class and Curator of the Nieman Foundation for twenty-five years, has recently retired from broadcasting news commentaries on WGBH, Boston's public radio station.

To have a voice in public affairs, *The Atlantic* editor had a problem that the newspaper editor does not have, in the magazine's lead time of six or more weeks to print, on top of the time to assign an author and prepare a manuscript for publishing. Manning's ability to sense the shaping direction of issues several months ahead was a key to the lively pace of interest he sustained in *The Atlantic*. He was able to short-cut the time lag for reports on strategic areas of the world, by inserting them in the opening pages, ahead of the lead article.

A big thing he had going for him was his inheritance from Weeks of the financial independence of the magazine. This was the extraordinary contribution of a wealthy Bostonian, Richard Danielson, who had become an admiring neighbor of *The Atlantic* while conducting his own publications in the same building. Danielson bought the magazine to make it possible for Weeks to swing it. In his memoirs Weeks wrote that he "had been given by the Danielsons for 28 years such a latitude and backing as my predecessors would have envied."

Danielson's widow had continued the support until the ravages of inflation costs became too much for her, to bring the crisis and sale of this summer.

The Atlantic first required rescue after its first four years, when Lowell gave up the editorship for his own literary work. James T. Fields, of the notable publishing house of Ticknor and Fields, stepped in to carry it on for five years, till he persuaded William Dean Howells to take the editorship for fifteen crucial years; then to recruit Thomas Bailey Aldrich, poet and author, whose editorship through the decade of the 1880's established a quality of style and taste that set a standard for magazine writing in America for a hundred years.

But Fields's publishing successors tried running the magazine out of their printing plant, and after five years had to call in Walter Hines Page, probably the leading magazine editor of his time, to revive it. Page transformed the character of the magazine to give it a truly national voice. But in four years Page left to start his own publishing house, Doubleday and Page, and *The Atlantic* lapsed into genteel tranquility, that by the end of its first half-century had made it a liability to its owner, Houghton Mifflin and Company. They were relieved to dispose of it to a brash young man who had publishing experience in New York and $35,000 cash, mostly borrowed from his in-laws. The dubious owners stipulated in the sale to Ellery Sedgwick that no garish colors should replace the demure brown of the cover that carried the index of its contents.

But what Sedgwick changed was its contents, to revitalize it with his own enormous vitality and energy that raised it to new levels of circulation and interest through his thirty-year editorship. He particularly sought stories of human experience. One long remembered was "The Stump Farm Woman," her own story of pioneering in Canada's Northwest.

By the mid-1920's, the rise of *The Atlantic* invited feature stories. When I asked his publisher, MacGregor Jenkins, the secret of Sedgwick's success, he pulled a letter from his file of new subscribers. It was from a grocer in Iowa who said he had happened on a copy of the magazine and to his surprise found himself reading it with interest.

"I know *The Atlantic* is highbrow," he wrote. "I always thought I was lowbrow. But I must have one high brow and one low brow."

"He's just the customer Ellery is after," said Jenkins, "and he's finding them."

When Sedgwick relinquished the editorship to his assistant, Edward Weeks, in 1938, Weeks found himself in the rather uncomfortable situation of being editor while Sedgwick still owned the magazine, and being without capital.

That is when Danielson bought *The Atlantic* to assure the editor independence.

"An exceptional editor" is Weeks's judgment on his successor. Manning could not match the author fees of the big magazines. But his initiative brought in new writers for a list that for its time may suffer little by comparison with those of Lowell and Howells, when writers found recompense for a place in *The Atlantic* in old Professor Schlesinger's spelling of F A M E: "Fifty and my expenses."

Important in Manning's inheritance from Weeks was Charles Morton. Weeks had acquired him from the demise of the *Transcript* and created a new department for him, called "Accent on Living." Morton's accent is suggested by the title of his book, *A Mild Sense of Outrage*. He savored all the world's congenital foolishness that fueled his crotchets about practically everything, and in his wry sense of humor enlivened the back of the book. I remember his report on the absurd lengths some sports writers would go to avoid plain English. It yielded a list of such prized examples as "the elongated yellow fruit," for bananas. He was a relentless perfectionist in style, as in everything else, and an indefatigable recruiter for the magazine of such choice subjects as Thurber on Harold Ross.

Manning rejoiced in his maverick associate. "One of a kind" he called Morton and appreciated the contribution of his provocative views to the diversity of the magazine.

Successive groups of Nieman Fellows through more than twenty years relished Morton's ever entertaining companionship.

That paper of mine that Bob Manning found in clearing out his desk at *The Atlantic* was given at the memorial service for Charlie Morton in 1967. □

Privacy vs. Public Access

At their annual meeting in November 1979, the Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution sponsored a panel discussion chaired by Arthur Stark, a professional arbitrator, and featuring four labor reporters who have held Nieman Fellowships at Harvard University. This text is taken from a transcript of the proceedings.

The Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution was formed several years ago to provide a forum for people from various professions who are involved in the resolution of labor disputes: the membership includes people from academic life, government mediators, professional arbitrators, and union and employee representatives.

•

Arthur Stark, son of noted labor reporter Louis Stark, was instrumental in the creation of an endowment in memory of his father, to be used for the support of Nieman Fellowships for journalists who specialize in labor reporting. For more than thirty years, Louis Stark was a labor reporter for The New York Times *in their New York and Washington, D.C., bureaus. His pioneering achievements in the field of labor reporting are remembered through the Louis Stark Memorial Fund.*

Stark: Today's panelists have been asked to discuss their experiences in covering labor disputes, particularly as they illustrate what negotiators, mediators, and arbitrators do wrong from the viewpoint of the press, and how we, as negotiators, might resolve the conflict between the public's right to know and the desire of private parties to keep silent when negotiating.

Frank Swoboda attended the Virginia Military Institute, which prepared him for his future career in labor reporting. He worked as a reporter for the Paterson (N.J.) *Evening News* and for United Press International. For several years he was the national labor reporter for McGraw-Hill Publications in Washington; most recently he has become the finance editor for *The Washington Post*. He is a member of the Nieman Class of 1975.

Swoboda: When I was first asked to talk about privacy versus the public's right to know in labor relations, I thought it's one of those tempests in a teapot; it doesn't matter and you can't resolve it. As I thought about it more, I concluded that the conflict between the public's right to know and the right of the parties to privacy is at a rather critical crossroad at this point. In the decades since the CIO began to organize industrial workers, the labor movement evolved from a visionary class struggle into a much more narrow-based protectorate of economic position. That's where we are today. The shift has been mirrored in labor coverage. At the height of the Taft-Hartley era there were more than two hundred labor reporters and editors listed in the annual directory of editors and publishers. Today, there are at most a dozen in the major newspapers and magazines.

More important than these numbers is the fundamental shift in labor reporting: making labor part of the economic beat. That is shown best by the fact that probably the most faithful coverage of labor, at least of organized labor today, is done by *The Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week* magazine. They are not doing it out of any great concern for the plight of the common people. It's just the devil they know. They see it as an important part of economic coverage today. This is the vein in which I see a crisis over the question of the right to privacy versus the right to know.

I've been covering labor off and on now for nearly fourteen years in Washington. Throughout that entire period — with one exception — we've been involved in a federal incomes

policy: the Kennedy-Johnson guideposts, the Nixon controls program, the Carter guidelines. Clearly, throughout this period, it's been a matter of public policy to attempt to control the size of union wage settlements as a matter of public interest. If it is considered in the public interest to control the size of the union contract settlements, then what is the role of the press? And what right to privacy should the parties be allowed? Right now the parties in labor disputes, I think, continue to hold the upper hand over the press. I can't recall a labor dispute I have covered where I really felt that I knew all I should know about the contract settlement. True, I knew about the size of the wage settlement, but I had no idea what happened as to fringe benefits, new developments that would affect economics, would affect the lives of the workers and the lives of the company they dealt with. While reporters have the ability to blow up a negotiation by writing something when perhaps they shouldn't, they don't have much control. I don't think they have the inside track on what happens to negotiations.

As incomes policies become more important, reporters are going to have to know more. Just before I came up to Cambridge for the Nieman Fellowship, Chrysler had settled a labor contract with the United Auto Workers that called for a pension increase equal to all the previous pensions combined in the history of the company. As a consequence, the government knew this and decontrolled the auto industry rather than confront it with its wage-price control program.

Now, six years later, Chrysler comes, hat in hand. The UAW and Chrysler are asking for a billion and a half dollars in federal aid. Where is the public interest now? Wouldn't the public interest have been better served by the disclosure of the size of that settlement in 1974 rather than let it trickle out six years later?

That's the kind of question we're dealing with today in terms of the public interest and the private parties' right to privacy. Added to that today are the state sunshine laws, which require that bargaining with public employees be done in public. While they may not have great effect in public bargaining, in private bargaining they are having an interesting effect on the cozy relationships that the federal government has had in these tripartite committees. Historically, every time we have gone to an incomes policy, it has ended up in these tripartite committees, with government, labor, and management members. Because of the sunshine laws, they are now having a hard time putting these committees together. The new pay advisory committee includes two people who represent a broader public interest, and blacks and women. That will change the entire focus of the committee since for the first time, they will not be allowed to operate in the dark.

I think that the public interest is a matter of public policy. It's not a question of whether it should be debated. It's a question of how do you live with it; how do you preserve collective bargaining and protect the public interest.

Stark: Our next panel member is Danny Schechter, a member of the Nieman Class of 1978. He attended Cornell University and London's School of Economics. He has been a contributing editor of *Ramparts* magazine, director of an African research group, news director of WBCN, and a reporter for WGBH's *Ten O'Clock News.*

Schechter: To me, the real issue is not so much whether or not we can get a mediator or an arbitrator to tell us what's going on at the table, but how we can get the American media to take seriously the lives, the problems, and the struggles of the majority of the people who work for a living in this country. I think the problem is suggested by the supreme irony that business publications report best on labor because management people need to know about it. But as far as the public's right to know, there is only an occasional piece that is in-depth and not related to a strike.

Last Saturday, I was reading *The New York Times* — the bible of American newspapers — and saw a story on page 26, below the obituary of a noted Italian clothing designer and above the obit of an authority on childhood development. This article said that very significant elections had been won by textile unions at two Southern plants of the J.P. Stevens Company. They were the first elections since the company agreed eighteen months before to refrain from illegal, anti-union activities. This is a story that American labor has been focusing a considerable amount of attention on. It has been at the center of both AFL-CIO concerns and the attempt to organize workers in the South. Yet it is treated in this rather contemptuous way on the obituary page of *The New York Times.*

Undoubtedly, if there were racial violence connected with the elections, they might have been elevated to a page one story, but I think it's indicative of the problem. *Harlan County, USA*, a dramatic, Academy Award-winning feature about a coal strike, was an exceptional film that suddenly put conflict into context. It gave viewers a compassionate sense of this labor struggle, as well as its humanity, its principles, and its contradictions. It was great reporting which by contrast showed what is missing from most labor reporting in the media.

Labor disputes tend to be covered only when they annoy people and threaten to disrupt the convenience of the public. The public's right to know is generally linked to the public's right

not to be inconvenienced. Unions are viewed as institutions that defend the interests of their members. This type of reporting distorts our understanding of how working people advance their economic needs. And this type of reporting also carries through into coverage of consumer affairs: stories about substances that may impair the health of consumers rarely mention that these substances usually impose an even greater threat to workers. A whole series of articles about such substances may appear without a single reference to workers or the work place.

An interesting campaign in this area is about to be waged by the machinist's union. They have just launched a nationwide television monitoring project and are spending $100,000 to set up a training program for their shop stewards in every city where they have members. They are going to train them how to watch television and to confront stations and the networks about the way working people are presented, in both the news and the entertainment programming. It is an attempt to expose and change prevailing caricatures that stereotype how working people think and live.

Stark: Number three is Robert Porterfield, a Nieman Fellow in the Class of 1979. He had one of these gaps in education that we're so familiar with: University of Oregon in 1964, then Lane Community College in 1974. In between, he managed to corral himself a Pulitzer Prize with two other reporters in Alaska for work on the teamsters union called "Empire — The Alaska Teamsters Story." He has also been a reporter for *The Boston Globe.*

Porterfield: For the last five years I have been in Alaska. While that is not the end of the world, it's a backwater in some respects, so I can't address some of the labor-management relationships that you find in the Lower 48. In Alaska, which has one-fifth of the land area of the other 48 states, there are 450,000 people and 25,000 of them are members of one labor union. There are 40 other labor unions and approximately 20 percent of the work force is represented by AFL-CIO affiliated unions or the teamsters union. This excludes the public employees associations. Up there a minor wage increase for teamsters will result almost immediately in a major across-the-board increase in prices of the products they handle. For example, they represent the bakers and also all the transportation workers of the state. Two years ago the bakers got a $5.25 per hour wage increase. Three weeks later the price of bread went from $1.03 a loaf to $1.33 a loaf. That was directly attributable to the wage increase.

In any event, I'm going to have to criticize my own profession to some extent. Aside from the larger East Coast papers and a few of the West Coast papers, I would have to describe the labor coverage as mediocre. Part of the reason is a basic lack of knowledge of the history of labor unions in this country, the structure and internal operations of labor unions, the law applicable to organized labor, and the function of negotiations and mediators and arbitrators in the process. I also think there is a little inbred bias that we find in the Alaskan media and elsewhere because newspapers are first and foremost businesses. The three largest newspapers in Alaska are nonunion. All have effectively kept out any type of employee labor organizations. Consequently, when you examine some of the editorial decisions about coverage of labor disputes, you find there is some subtle bias.

On the other side of the coin, because the media lacks in-depth knowledge about negotiations, they at times tend to be a sitting duck that is extremely usable by various parties. The longest strike in the history of Alaska was settled recently — the Air Line Pilots Association against WIEN Air Alaska. The wage issue and the fringe benefits issue certainly did not get as much attention as did the featherbedding issue. The story generated a lot of interest from the standpoint of strikes and picket lines and union violence. But nobody, including my own newspaper, got into the real heart of the matter until certain aspects of it went into mediation and arbitration. At that point, we had an arbitrator who felt that apparently some of the issues had reached an impasse and could not be resolved without a little external pressure. He became very willing to discuss some of this with the press. He accomplished what he set out to do. I suspect the fact that he even talked with the media helped cut at least six months off the strike.

Stark: Lynda McDonnell, Nieman of the Class of 1980, attended Marquette University and the University of Minnesota. She has worked for the Rochester (Minnesota) *Post Bulletin*, for the Center for Auto Safety in Washington, D.C., and since 1974 has been with *The Minneapolis Tribune.*

McDonnell: Labor simply isn't seen as a big story by the American press today. I think that has really been true for the past decade, and I think it is going to continue to be true. Labor is seen in many ways as a protectionist, narrow organization. The primary interest in labor is when strikes inconvenience people, or when they affect the public, or when settlements are going to have a major economic impact. I don't think that's going to change regardless of what we say at conferences like this. What you need to do as arbitrators and negotiators is recognize that you are going to be dealing with people, many of whom have little experience with labor relations. Rather than turn inward and

close the doors and stop answering the telephone, your response should be to start explaining the basics. Take more time to explain things. You often get a vicious circle: Union guys or management people or arbitrators say, "Oh, the press, we're not going to bother to talk with them. Why should we take the time to explain? They're going to distort it anyway." Since the press must have some kind of report, we talk to people at picket lines and to lower-level management people. Therefore our information may not be as good as it should be. Your response to that fact should not be to say less to the press, but to say more. Labor and management negotiators could brief reporters on upcoming negotiations and let reporters sit in on negotiations. I suspect that would be far less traumatic than you expect once you got used to it.

Everybody in this field is operating very much in private, very much in secret. Any kind of change would be uncomfortable. Short of that, however, is the sort of story Abe Raskin did last year for *The New Yorker* about the negotiations in New York's newspaper strike. What he did was to talk to people throughout those negotiations, throughout the strike and settlement. He collected this information and six months later produced a detailed account of negotiations describing the personalities, the strategies, and so on. Certainly there are reporters in this country interested in writing that kind of piece if you take them into your confidence. Certainly the press does not do enough about labor, but we have to get used to the idea that labor is not seen as the big story. *The New York Times* is not going to devote twelve reporters to labor today, as they did in the 1950's. I don't think in most cases reporters are guilty of conscious anti-union bias. More often, the problem is the pressure of time, and our lack of experience or education about labor affairs. The press is generally much better at covering institutions when there is a meeting to go to and a person to talk to — a union leader, a city council president — than going out and talking to "the working class."

Swoboda: I would like to agree that your problem is not going to be where you have a labor reporter; your problem is going to be where you don't have one. In the 1930's, labor was part of the police beat, and I think newspapers have come full circle — labor is now back to being part of the police beat. I think it is a shame because I like labor reporting, but you're going to get somebody thrown in there at the last minute who doesn't know the first thing, and may care even less about it. I think you're at the stage where all the labor reporters in the country could fit in one Volkswagen.

The machinists union has a session of business agents that come to Washington quarterly and I've been lucky in the past two years to talk to them. They want to know how you get into a newspaper company. Who do you go talk to? It's a very elementary thing. You should settle that before trouble begins so that at least you have a chance of getting some context in the coverage.

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During the discussion and question and answer period that followed, the panelists agreed that today's labor beat should include more than the affairs of unions. Suggestions included profiles of the victims of structural unemployment, interviews with families in Northern climates who receive no paychecks when they are snowed in and can't get to work, inflation's effects on the average worker, and a review of the economic effects of union contracts — have they been too successful in terms of spurring inflation and reducing the ability of employers to invest in new plants and equipment?

The reporters agreed that mediators and arbitrators usually are excellent sources. They are, to quote Swoboda, "one of the great leaky ships of government."

Mediators usually have objective inside views, though they try to use reporters to send signals or apply pressure they think will help resolve a dispute. On a background basis, they often will confirm or deny information gleaned from other sources and act as a roadmap to negotiations.

Mediators in the audience expressed concern that they may be expected to enforce wage guidelines during negotiations. They then promptly agreed that a mediator would commit professional suicide by doing so. Neither union nor management would continue to believe in the mediator's impartiality, they said.

Porterfield described the impetus for the Pulitzer Prize-winning series on the teamsters' union in Alaska. The union shut down trucking on the state's highways in an effort to pressure a nonunion contractor to stop work. Asked about the strike, the teamsters' union leader remarked, "This is my state and I'll run it as I see fit." Whereupon Porterfield and his fellow reporters decided to find out how the gentleman was running the state.

The discussion broke up shortly after Swoboda noted the labor reporter's greatest frustration: not knowing what is going on behind closed doors.

He suggested that the best way to prepare journalism students for the labor beat is as follows: for the first lesson, take the students to an empty hallway in a hotel, in front of a closed door. Stand there for eight hours. Now insist that the students write an article.

In the advanced course, do the same thing — this time at night. □

Carrying Books and Babies at Harvard

JAN COLLINS STUCKER

When Lynda McDonnell, labor reporter for *The Minneapolis Tribune*, walked into the darkly paneled room at the Harvard Faculty Club for her Nieman Fellowship interview nearly sixteen months ago, she remembers that nine pairs of eyes stared intently at her face — and nothing but her face.

Lynda was eight and a half months pregnant, but the members of the Selection Committee studiously avoided glancing at her protruding abdomen. Nor was there any other reference to the obviously imminent blessed event. "We didn't dare," recalls Tenney Lehman, executive director of the Nieman Foundation and ex officio member of the Selection Committee. "No one wanted to be accused of sex discrimination of any sort."

Pregnant applicants for Nieman Fellowships had not been in abundant supply during the program's preceding forty-one years. The male atmosphere that characterized the Nieman program in particular and Harvard University in general (until 1965, the venerable Faculty Club had a separate entrance and dining room for women, including the rare female professor) dictated that the few female Niemans who were selected usually were single. The female Nieman Fellow with a young child or two was a curiosity.

But the Nieman Class of 1980 skewed the statistical sample for all time. Not only did Lynda McDonnell arrive at Harvard last fall with her infant son, 2-month-old Benjamin; I also brought along my baby, Sean, 4 months old, and my 7-year-old daughter, Jennifer.

Both Lynda and I were accompanied by our husbands, who shared child care and household responsibilities. Steve Brandt, Lynda's spouse and a fellow reporter at *The Minneapolis Tribune*, had taken a year's leave of absence to come with his wife and child to Harvard. My husband, John, an associate professor of government at the University of South Carolina, was on sabbatical leave.

Judith Nicol, an editor at *The Washington Post*, had a weekend companion in the person of her 16-year-old daughter, Terry, who came to Harvard on Fridays after finishing classes at a nearby boarding school.

Judith Stoia, editor of the *Ten O'Clock News* at WGBH-TV in Boston and the co-author of a recently published book on school desegregation, did us all one better. She earned the undisputed title of the First Pregnant Nieman Fellow Ever, thereby becoming scientific proof, she jokes, that "It's possible for Fellows to give birth." Judy's second child, Vincent, was born on March 18, 1980, joining brother Nicholas, 3, and father, Ronald, a social worker, at their home in Jamaica Plain.

By shrewdly planning Vincent's birth to coincide with the spring break, Judy missed only a week of classes. "I knew what having a newborn around entails," she says, "so it worked out well. I don't know that I'd advise it for a first-time mother."

It's too early to declare that our class initiated a trend. But I think it is fair to state that female Nieman Fellows with young children no longer will be viewed as exotic specimens. The times, as they say, are a-changin', and the journalism profession is changing along with the rest of the country. The likes of Ben Hecht and his hard-bitten, hard-drinking cronies from *The Front Page* days of newspapering still can be found in assorted newsrooms across the country, of course. But approximately half of today's working journalists are female, and many of us are juggling home and family responsibilities in addition to our careers. It was, therefore, only a matter of time until women journalists with young families began pressing for admission to the Nieman program.

"For so long, it was just an old boys' network," recalls Tenney Lehman. But, she continues, "In the 1980's, the program is a more accurate reflection of the composition of today's society."

Still, how does a female Nieman Fellow with a small child or children make it work? Can it be done — and done well? Do we who have already done it recommend such an endeavor to other women in similar situations?

The answers to the last two questions are yes and yes, with certain qualifications. Such a Nieman year can be done successfully — with considerable planning, some sacrifices, and sufficient money.

Finding good child care, particularly for very young children, is difficult in Cambridge. It is a city geared not to young families but to students. Most day-care centers are crowded, have lengthy waiting lists, and are costly, as well. We found that locating satisfactory day care was mainly a matter of luck, although steps can be taken to improve one's chances.

A few days after arriving in Cambridge, I hiked over to an apartment complex near mine, sought out the laundry room (always a helpful place to locate information about child care) and asked one of the women I met there if there were any women in the complex who took care of babies on a full-time basis. She recommended two, one of whom became my son's marvelous babysitter for the year.

Still, complications can ensue. Lynda McDonnell says she had "short-lived desperation" twice when her babysitters got sick or found other jobs, and she and her husband had to search frantically for replacements. Ultimately, they had three different babysitters for Benjamin during the year.

Then there is the problem of affording child care once you find it. The going rate for most full-time child care averages close to $2 per hour, so one could easily spend $70 to $80 per week if it is necessary to rely totally on outside care.

Needless to say, it is nearly impossible to live on the Nieman stipend alone and meet full-time child care expenses. More of a financial effort in helping female Nieman Fellows with young children probably should be made if the program is to have a realistic chance of attracting such women.

Failing that, couples who have a second income, Fellows whose salaries are supplemented by their news organizations, or couples whose children are either school age or who can switch off in caring for their younger children and do not have to rely on full-time day care would have an easier time making ends meet. (There is one bonus, however, child care expenses during a fellowship year are tax deductible.)

There were other difficulties as well. Coping with small children decreases the amount of time available for reading and study during the Nieman year. College-style "all nighters" or total weekends devoted to scholarly pursuits simply are not feasible. It is a bit trickier to take in all the activities and sights offered in the Boston and New England area when young children must be included, although the area's history and culture make it a marvel for older children.

But the good points of the year were many.

We had more time to spend with our families, since a Nieman year is more flexible than a year when one is pursuing a career full-time. "A lot of weeks I just took the day off and took Nick to the park or to a movie," says Judy Stoia. "I spent a lot more time with him than I would have during a regular year."

Children were a healthy balance to the earnest intellectualism that characterizes Harvard. "Harvard can be such an intense place with people busy being intellectual all the time," says Lynda McDonnell. "It was wonderful to go home sometimes and play peek-a-boo with my son."

The year was an unusual opportunity to get to know our children better, to enjoy them more fully, and to do more "family" things. It was a chance one doesn't often get while in the midst of a busy career.

The addition of female Fellows, along with their spouses and children, made for a more well-balanced, diverse group. "Every possible degree of diversity helps because the society itself is an unmelted melting pot," says James C. Thomson Jr., Curator of the Nieman Foundation. "Ideally the Nieman program should try to reflect that society."

Female Nieman Fellows with young children helped, I think, to deflate the notion that most successful journalists are single-minded males who are either unmarried or, if married, have wives to take care of the home responsibilities. Indeed, it is possible to be female, married, a mother and a topnotch journalist, though perhaps "success" no longer can be defined as eighteen-hour workdays and unending travel in search of a good story.

Having a large number of children (twenty in all) in our Nieman class humanized many events. Youngsters and crawling infants were regular visitors at certain affairs. Our class was the first to have a Christmas party at which a crimson-suited Santa Claus (posing as classmate Acel Moore, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter from *The Philadelphia Inquirer*) was the extremely popular guest of honor. The very young, says Jim Thomson, "seemed to do a great deal of consciousness-expanding among the rest of us." That consciousness raising extended to our class gift, which is a cheery room for Nieman families set up in the basement of Lippmann House, the Nieman Foundation's headquarters.

We got to know each other as parents, as people who change diapers and help their youngsters with their studies, not just as Super Reporters. We expanded our minds, met a gallery of fascinating people, learned more about our profession, explored a new region of the country. We did all this, and became friends on a different level, too.

And that, I think, made quite a difference. □

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The Indian Press — How Free?

MICHAEL HENDERSON

By world standards the Indian press is relatively free. As editor Rajmohan Gandhi writes, "The Indian press has a freedom not available to journalists anywhere else in Asia."

But when I asked two leading journalists in India how to ensure that it stayed that way, they gave conflicting replies. One said, "The greatest threats to freedom of the press come from government." The other remarked, "The real threat to press freedom is self-censorship and deliberate favorable writing by timid journalists and editors." Both added, "Don't quote me."

Events in the subcontinent in the last ten years, and in the nine months or so since Mrs. Gandhi's return, would justify these views and explain the reticence of the two men.

The key to Mrs. Gandhi's successful imposition of Emergency only five years ago was the censorship of the news media. As respected editor V.K. Narasimhan wrote in *Democracy Redeemed*, "The Emergency could not have lasted for a single month in the form in which it was maintained for nineteen months if the press had been free." It is doubtful whether it could have succeeded at all if there had not been reporters, editors, and proprietors prepared to submit to and even welcome censorship and the jailing of colleagues who dissented.

Surprisingly little time seems to have been spent in the last three years in considering how this state of affairs could be remedied. Of course, few journalists anticipated the urgency with which the matter needed to be addressed. Some feel now that a repeat Emergency is not the danger, that the Emergency was so abnormal that it could not have lasted indefinitely; whereas if the threats now discernible are not checked and reversed, they could become permanent, irrespective of the government in office.

It is to be hoped, naturally, that Mrs. Gandhi may value a free press more highly than she did. So far the predictions of what would happen to the press when she regained power have not materialized. Some journalists believe that as long as she feels secure with a near two-thirds majority in Parliament, as she has now, she may leave things as they are. But others, like H.R. Hari Kumar, editor of the *Deccan Herald*, are of the view that "with growing unrest she will try to control the press." Mrs. Gandhi has herself acknowledged that censorship was a mistake, that she has learned the danger of being misinformed about what is happening in the country.

But is the Indian press better prepared now than it was? "I am not sure we are any wiser on why the press behaved as it did," writes M.V. Desai, secretary of the Press Commission. "One guess can be made: journalists have not been able to make common cause when faced with issues and threats of common concern." A prominent editor, quoted in the *New Statesman* last year, said, "Some lessons have been learnt in the last three or four years and those who come to power in January will find it more difficult to control the press. I can confidently predict that this time any surrender will take place only after an honorable struggle."

In this bicentenary year of Indian journalism, a look at what has been going on could highlight — for journalists not yet engaged in that honorable struggle — weaknesses of structure and of character which, if tackled, could make any surrender unthinkable.

Some reporters point to the year 1969 as a watershed in Indian journalism. The London correspondent of *The Statesman*, V.M. Nair, says that between 1947 and 1969 journalists felt free to write anything; there was no attempt to impute motives or to brand journalists as reactionaries or stooges. "But then," he says, "you could see division growing, fostered by Mrs. Gandhi's bureaucrats. It was an extension of the political climate." This had continued until today "so that now you are either dubbed as pro-government or anti-government. You are not given credit as a person for trying to be sincerely objective."

It was in 1969 that Mrs. Gandhi's government made efforts to control the press through newsprint quotas and licenses to import printing machinery. A campaign of denigration was conducted in Parliament against its leaders and attempts were made to separate editors from publishers and to exploit jealousies and dissensions between press people.

In 1970 the Minister of Information told a seminar on press freedom that the ownership and advertising patterns were "coming in the way of democracy." The charge that newspaper proprietors were opposed to progressive policies worked like a hypnotic spell, according to D.R. Mankekar in *Government Versus the Press*: "They got guilt-stricken and

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squirmed under the lash. Thereafter they strove hard to prove that the charge was unmerited and in the process vied with each other in applauding Mrs. Gandhi's political wisdom and policies and giving more and more news space for government publicity."

In April 1971 Mrs. Gandhi took charge of the Information and Broadcasting portfolio herself. She defined the role of the press as one "to report to the people and not advise the government." Her Ministry launched a "diffusion scheme" to change the ownership pattern, introducing a 50 percent government vote and voice on the management, the other 50 percent to be divided among a newspaper's shareholders — which were to consist of its journalists and other employees, but each exercising only half a vote a share. This applied to papers with a circulation of more than 15,000. The scheme was only abandoned when the resistance of some papers forced the government to concede that a Parliamentary bill was really just a "working paper."

The following year the government tried another tack. It used its control of the import of newsprint to direct that no daily paper should be more than ten pages. This was challenged in the courts, and the Supreme Court ruled that the machinery of import control could not be used to curb or control circulation or the growth or freedom of a paper.

Under these onslaughts some journalists, as well as proprietors, began to curry favor and a privileged class was created. Those who were in the good books of government could get residential accommodation at nominal rents and preference in the allocation of cars and scooters. K.R. Malkani, editor of *The Organizer*, maintains that this weakness was evident earlier, that even under British rule, many in the press tended to toe the line. The editor of *The Daily Pratap*, K. Narendra, supports this view: "An overwhelming number of people working in the English newspapers had their training under those who worked with the British rulers and therefore had developed a feeling that preference must be shown to the Establishment."

Certainly by the time Mrs. Gandhi, using the pretext of an alleged breakdown of law and order, declared a state of Emergency in 1975, the professionalism of the press had been compromised. Her justification of censorship — there had been none during India's previous Emergencies, the war with China in 1962 and the second Indo-Pakistan war in 1971 — was that the principal weapon of the opposition was not their inner strength, but their publicity. "We had to deny it that weapon," she said, and added later, "Once there were no newspapers, there was no agitation."

Many big papers, particularly English-language ones, swung in enthusiastically behind the government's interpretation of events. "Most of them proved to be more royalist than the king himself," says Narendra. Forty-seven editors from the All India Small Newspapers Association called on the Prime Minister to tell her that they endorsed her action "including the censorship of the press." Editor Romesh Thapar described to the Shah Commission the atmosphere of fear that surrounded everyone in the profession so that even editors of national dailies dared not speak openly to protest the steps the government had taken against the media. The Commission itself noted "with concern" the observations made by Kuldip Nayar of the *Indian Express* that there were not many people, even among senior journalists, to go along with him when he took up the matter of censorship with the Press Council. The present government has withdrawn all copies of the Commission's Report.

Foreigners need to remember, of course, that in India there is no safety net of social security for the individual who steps out of line or for employees who may lose their jobs as a result. Some editors were deterred from resisting out of concern for their staffs. As well as the possibility of losing one's job, there was the threat of imprisonment — more than 250 journalists were arrested during the Emergency.

Early on, the Chief Censor gave the Special Press Adviser in Bombay an indication of what was expected of him: "Nothing is to be published that is likely to convey the impression of a protest or a disapproval of government measures." A High Court judgment concluded, "Censorship is not aimed at preventing public disorder but at indoctrination."

After a time censorship was officially relaxed to precensorship on specified matters and later precensorship gave way to guidelines. But this was window dressing — in much the same way that the censor's office in Parliament carried no notice to that effect on its door. Sixty papers were on censorship or precensorship through the whole period and 160 news items were bluepencilled. Guidelines only applied to papers which endorsed the government line and the guidelines themselves could not be published.

By February 1976 through Press Ordinances the government had abolished the Press Council, lifted the legal immunity of journalists reporting Parliament and made censorship permanent in all but name through a new law, the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Act. This Act gave the government the power to ban anything that would "bring into hatred and contempt or excite disaffection towards the central or state governments" or which would "cause fear or alarm to...any section of the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the state or against the public tranquility."

Changes in the law also meant that harassed newspapers could no longer avail themselves of writ jurisdiction. Arrested journalists, and everyone else, were deprived of habeas corpus.

In addition to the power to suppress dissent, the government monopoly of news distribution meant that propaganda for the Emergency could be pumped without hindrance into the current of national life. The government controlled All India Radio, which is the primary source of information for 80 percent of the population, the national television with a more limited audience, and Samachar, the one newsagency, as well as the government film unit which provides newsfilm for all cinemas.

Samachar, which had been formed by the "voluntary" merger of four existing agencies, was reduced, according to the *Working Journalist*, to the level of "an extension of the official government machinery." For instance, a Samachar release on the first anniversary of the Emergency stated that India had never been "more stable politically and viable economically." It listed one hundred gains of the Emergency from land reform to steel production, from coal output to crime control and summed up: "Academicians, petty officials, industrial workers, rickshaw pullers — indeed a cross section of the nation — told Samachar, 'Let the Emergency continue indefinitely!'" That night a Samachar reporter informed a correspondent of *The Guardian*, "The whole damned stuff was handed down to Lazarus (Samachar General Manager) by the Press and Information Bureau."

Against such a background, the first acts of the new Janata government in March 1977 were a great lift to those who believed in the freedom of the press. After the new Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, had broadcast to the nation, equal time was immediately given to the Leader of the Opposition to do the same. Imprisoned journalists, like other detainees, were released. The Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matter Act was revoked, and the government declared itself against any form of news management. It published a White Paper on the misuse of the mass media. The Press Council was reestablished by Parliament as an appelate on questions of journalistic ethics and pressures from the State as well as from publishers and the public. An Editors Guild was started. Its members were enrolled on a personal, rather than an institutional, basis as against a discredited editors' body which had approved Emergency curbs. Following the battle of many press people and the recommendation of a second Press Commission, the Constitution was changed so that under any future Emergency the reporting of Parliament and the legislatures would continue.

But the government's unwillingness to relinquish control entirely was revealed in the fact that it tried to retain Samachar and refused to implement the recommendation of the Verghese Committee that All India Radio be autonomous. Indeed, some legislation introduced by Mrs. Gandhi's successors has had the effect of making the press more vulnerable than before to any unscrupulous ruler. Under an Amendment to the Industries Act the government can not only take over "mismanaged printing establishments" but also control the quality, prices, raw materials, and distribution of the entire printing industry which, as *India Today* pointed out, is considered synonymous with the press.

Some areas where the press proved particularly vulnerable during the Emergency were not tackled. Scope for abuse would have existed whatever the government, but Mrs. Gandhi's return makes the issue more acute — for instance, the increased power of government through its setting of advertising rates. Before the Emergency, government advertisements took 10 percent of the advertising space in a paper. During the Emergency, as the government took over more of the public sector advertising, that percentage grew to 25 to 30 percent for the major publications and it could go as high as 75 percent for smaller ones. The danger still obtains despite the withdrawal of the Prasad Memorandum by which Mrs. Gandhi authorized the withholding of advertising from critical publications.

During the Emergency financial rather than legal constraints proved in many ways more effective sanctions and harder to combat. A third of all India's dailies, for instance, are printed on outside presses, which puts them in a very exposed position. In some cases newspeople with other business interests succumbed to pressure and sacrificed their papers for the sake of those interests. Even the *Indian Express* — which like *The Statesman* resolutely resisted government pressures of every kind — could not have held out financially if the Emergency had continued for another three months. Mankekar insists that a law requiring newspaper owners to be full-time newspapermen without business links should be a "must."

At the recent annual conference of the All India Newspaper Editors, a resolution was carried calling for measures to ensure editorial independence and press freedom. It referred to editors who are under pressure today "from various quarters, including some State governments, proprietors, advertisers, pressure groups, organized bodies, and mob violence."

However, some Indians in the press believe it is simply escapism to talk of institutional safeguards or structural or legal changes in the absence of a determination to fight. "Constitutional guarantees can only buttress the will of the citizen to be free," says C.R.

Irani, managing director of *The Statesman*. "They cannot function in the absence of such a will." Certainly the dividing line between those who resisted encroachments on the freedom of the press during the Emergency and those who, in Advani's phrase, "were asked to bend but chose to crawl" had little to do with their vulnerable position, the structure of their newspaper, or their years in journalism and much to do with that will to be free.

Such will is tested most in a time of fear. The Indian press is free. But it doesn't feel free. There is "timidity in the atmosphere" according to Kuldip Nayar, chief columnist of the *Indian Express*. He cites attempts to whitewash the Emergency period and suggests that events were played up by the press. Once again the ethical considerations inherent in public behavior are becoming dim, he contends. "Once the desire to act according to what is right goes," he says, "there may be no realization of what is wrong. This is precisely what happened during the Emergency."

Another journalist speaks of "a deliberate tendency" to explain away events like the dropping of cases against Mrs. Gandhi and her son, Sanjay (since killed in an air crash), the purge in the civil service, and retribution against police officers and others involved in the Shah Commission. In the news agencies there is a tendency, out of fear, for journalists to serve as an outlet for government propaganda, not to put out items highly critical of government.

As Rajmohan Gandhi, a member of the Editors Guild, wrote in *Himmat* during the Emergency, "Especially when there is a climate of fear, a journalist has a duty towards his vocation, towards his conscience, towards truth and towards his country to throw light on injustices. How are rulers to be helped if this is not done? How do the ruled find hope if no one does it?"

The new Minister of Information, Vasant P. Sathe, has proclaimed publicly "a national commitment to the freedom of the press" and told Parliament that any code of press conduct "should appropriately be voluntary." But actions by him and his Ministry (he has called it "her Ministry") have not been reassuring. He is giving "deep thought" to the question of reviving Samachar. He accepted the resignation of the Press Commission though it was submitted only as an act of constitutional propriety. He has said that freedom of the press requires the elimination of the stranglehold of vested interests over newspapers in the country. His Ministry has sent out instructions to All India Radio and television stations stressing the importance of "positive publicity." Kuldip Nayar likens this to "the reproduction of government handouts" and says that radio and television have been reduced to the status of a department of the Information Ministry. The *Tribune* has criticised Sathe, saying that he should attend to his ministerial duties "instead of treating professional organizations of journalists as if they were already a part of his ministerial establishment."

One of the country's largest papers, the *Indian Express*, had to get a court injunction to prevent part of its building from being torn down. Publisher Ram Nath Goenka described the action taken as "a reprisal for the independent stand of our paper."

K.R. Sundar Rajan, one of those imprisoned during the Emergency, thinks that journalists need to beware the carrot as much as the stick. In the name of press facilities, he wrote in *The Hindustan Times* that journalists have often demanded and received favors from government. "This makes it very easy for the government to subdue journalists by merely threatening to withdraw such 'facilities'." He recommends the code of ethics devised by the national chapter of Sigma Delta Chi in America. "Gifts, favors, free travel, special treatment or privileges can compromise the integrity of journalists and their employers. Nothing of value should be accepted."

On the credit side, the country's papers took a more independent line in their coverage and comment on the last general election. Journalism is a shade more adventurous and investigative than before. Some of the issues in the foregoing paragraphs are the subject of open debate. "The hopeful factor," writes Narasimhan, "is that both the press and the public are alive to the dangers and substantial sections of them will put up a fight."

The case of N.K. Singh is encouraging insofar as it demonstrates the alertness of the press. Singh, Deputy Inspector General of the Central Bureau of Investigation, in the course of his duty had been associated with the handling of cases involving Mrs. Gandhi and Sanjay. Earlier this year when police called at his home in the early hours of the morning and asked him to accompany them, he managed to get a call in to his newspaper. Within minutes, members of the press were at his home, and the resulting coverage brought the matter of his arrest to the attention of Parliament and the country.

Rahul Singh, editor in chief of the *Indian Readers Digest*, believes that much could have been done during the thirty months Mrs. Gandhi was out of power. He wrote in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, "Historians may one day say that press freedom died in India because its ostensible guardians committed hara-kiri."

As one who has had association with many deeply thoughtful and democracy loving Indian press men and women, I would like to think history will show that it was Indian journalists who preserved not only press freedom, but their country's democracy as well. □

Nieman Fellows from Abroad 1980-81

Seven journalists from other countries have been appointed to join the twelve American Nieman Fellows whose names were announced last June. The seven additional Nieman Fellows, who are funded by non-Harvard sources, are members of the forty-third Nieman class to study at Harvard. The Nieman endowment is ordinarily restricted to citizens of the United States. The Nieman Fellowships were established through a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius, who founded *The Milwaukee Journal*. The Fellows come to Harvard for a year of study in any part of the University. The newest Fellows are:

ROBERT J. COX, 46, editor, *Buenos Aires Herald*, Argentina. Mr. Cox attended Clacton County High in England and has served in the Royal Navy. At Harvard he plans to study philosophy and psychology, with a view to analyzing the defense of human values and freedom of expression, particularly in regard to Argentina. His Fellowship is supported by the Post-Courier Newspapers (Charleston, South Carolina).

FLEUR DE VILLIERS, 42, political correspondent and columnist for *The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, South Africa. Ms. de Villiers holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Pretoria. Her course of study will include international affairs, especially the conduct of United States foreign policy, political economy, and the political history of the United States, with special emphasis on the making of the United States Constitution. Her appointment is funded by the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, Inc.

MUSTAFA R. GÜRSEL, 36, Athens correspondent for *Milliyet* newspaper, Istanbul, Turkey. Mr. Gürsel has degrees from Robert College, Ohio State University, and the University of Southern California. His studies will focus on United States foreign policy, international economics, and the relationship between Turkey and the United States. Mr. Gürsel is the eighth recipient of a German Marshall Fund Fellowship for journalists from Europe.

MASAYUKI IKEDA, 34, news writer and editor, Radio Japan, Tokyo. Mr. Ikeda received his B.A. from Waseda University. At Harvard he will examine U.S. foreign policy towards East Asia, the decision-making process for the American presidency, and do research on President Carter's plan for troop withdrawals from South Korea and its effect on Japan. Support for Mr. Ikeda's Fellowship has been provided by the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars and the Ford Foundation.

DONALD F. McNEILL, 45, correspondent with Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Toronto, Ontario. Mr. McNeill holds degrees from Nova Scotia Technical College and Oxford University. He proposes to study the use of television in democratic politics, Canadian-American relations, and the history of the Middle East. His Fellowship is supported by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

DANIEL SAMPER, 35, columnist with *El Tiempo*, Bogota, Colombia. Mr. Samper holds degrees from Universidad Javeriana and the University of Kansas. His studies will focus on geopolitics and international affairs, especially in the Caribbean, consumerism in Third World countries, and modern American literature. His appointment is supported by the Ford Foundation and *El Tiempo*.

JINGLUN ZHAO, 56, senior editor and managing editor, Foreign Languages Publishing and Distribution Bureau, Beijing, People's Republic of China. Mr. Zhao has degrees from National Southwest Associated University (Kunming) and Vanderbilt University. He will concentrate on the history of the United States, Western political thought, international relations, sociological problems of the post-industrial society, and music criticism. Mr. Zhao's Fellowship is supported by the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars and the Ford Foundation.

Winter Reading

The suggestions for winter reading in this section offer various kinds of journeys. The media, following its well-worn track of introspection, sees itself through one of the journalistic giants of our time in Ronald Steel's biography, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century*. A more general commentary appears in *Who Owns the Media* by Benjamin Compaine. Backward looks yield reminiscences about *The Harvard Crimson*, an anthology edited by Greg Lawless; about newspaper checks and balances in *The Pillars of the Post* by Howard Bray; and about the career of Osborn Elliott in *The World of Oz*, an autobiography.

Moving out, we encounter the politics of campaigning in *The Permanent Campaign* by Sidney Blumenthal. An unusual voice speaks from the medical profession in *Patients*. Mark Rosenberg, M.D., equipped with a camera as well as a stethoscope, underlines his photographs of patients with their own descriptions of what it is like to be on the other side of the hospital bed. In *Unfinished Business*, Maggie Scarf ponders the puzzle of women and depression, asks questions and gives answers that lead to unexpected areas of women's lives.

Further afield, through *Unsettling Europe,* Jane Kramer invites the reader to participate in the perambulations of those who rove that continent. Yoella Har-Shefi takes us to Israel *Beyond the Gunsights* for a thoughtful portrayal of relationships in that part of the world.

The mood is set. So settle down by the fire, and in the comfortable tradition of armchair travel, choose your destination.

—T.B.K.L.

Sickness and Health

Patients: The Experience of Illness

by Mark Rosenberg, M.D. The Saunders Press, Philadelphia, 1980. $8.95.

by LESTER GRANT, M.D., D. Phil. (Oxon.)

The haunting suspicion that doctors tend to function in a mechanized system of medicine, concentrating heavily on cellular and tissue injury, and for the most part ignoring the social and psychological impact of illness on patients, led Mark Rosenberg, M.D., to assemble photographic vignettes of patients. His idea was that the camera might capture worry lines, expressions of fear, curiosity, confusion, dashed hopes and broken dreams, and moments of joy, creating a mosaic of reaction to disease that would plumb the patient's deepest emotional wellsprings.

Accompanying this graphic view are captions that represent spontaneous ruminations, morbid or angry or ecstatic, that add verbal testimony of a highly personal, almost privileged, character, reflecting in words what the photographs suggest in pictures.

All of this constitutes evidence for what Dr. Rosenberg, and many other physicians, consider a blind spot in the hallowed, maybe mythical, doctor-patient relationship. It is not so much that doctors are consciously hostile in their relationships with patients but more that they seem not always aware of, or not tuned to, the impact of disease on its victim.

What has emerged in this powerful and absorbing account of the experiences of six patients is a somewhat self-conscious document of 208 pages of personalized, anecdotal reflections on how the afflicted individuals, faced with a frightening medical diagnosis, view their lives changed by the sudden intrusion of an unanticipated biologic mishap.

There is no doubting the importance of the problem that Dr. Rosenberg is worried about: the isolation that illness can impose on patients and the dislocation of relationships — familial, fraternal and societal — that this can create. The awful prospect of a mastectomy in a woman who seemed to be in bubbling good health, of another woman who had to accommodate to the loss of kidney function, of a man whose intractable angina pectoris led to a coronary bypass procedure, of a 7-year-old child who underwent surgery for crossed eyes — these become the stuff of human agony that can make life all but intolerable.

There is some interesting reporting in here: the haunting second thoughts of a wife about her husband, who is being prepared for cardiac surgery. "I knew how bad his heart was and I didn't think he was ever going to come out of it. I was trying to think how I would ever go on without him, and he kept saying to me there's still time to pull back, we don't have to have this operation."

Again, post-operatively, a patient recalls: "That first day, right after the operation, I had feelings of desolation, a feeling of abandonment, a feeling that I no longer wanted to live. I had made up my mind that if nobody cared enough to come for me that day, that if I had to take the stretcher home, I was going to go into the subway and do away with myself."

And this: the 7-year-old with convergent strabismus, en route to the operating room, asks the surgeon, "Do you ever make a mistake when you operate?" Answer: "Yes, I do... but not very often." Maybe that is the only way one could answer, unafraid, a child who has the nerve to ask the question. It might not work for a more sophisticated adult. Another question: "If anything came out wrong, could I be blind?" Answer: "There's no way that could happen, Jenny." That is a nice response. It would work for all ages.

One of the patients had a bilateral nephrectomy — removal of both kidneys. She tells this story: "I had the urge to go to the bathroom, but every time I went nothing came out. I began to think I was some kind of a freak. Finally I asked the doctor how come I wasn't going to the bathroom and he said 'Didn't anybody tell you that when your kidneys are out, you don't urinate?' That was another crushing blow because you take it for granted that you are going to wake up in the morning and automatically have to go to the bathroom. So after a while I just went to the bathroom and said what the heck, I'll make believe I am going."

One can hardly imagine this kind of breakdown in communication happening between doctor and patient, but I guess it does, and it lends weight to one of Dr. Rosenberg's observations that the lines of communication between doctor and patient are often linked through fractured antennae, to the detriment of both.

Dr. Rosenberg's account is not wholly an indictment of doctors and hospitals. There are hopeful scenes, too, showing the profession at its best, perhaps at worst unconsciously neglectful or preoccupied with matters other than the spirit. There is a genuineness to the book, probably rooted in an undoctored reportorial style that sticks pretty much to the facts, saving it from the fate of a maudlin narrative that could have turned out to be more real than life itself.

Most doctors — maybe all of them, for all I know — have no difficulty in

understanding that illness can be a fearsome thing, often eliciting self-deprecating and damaging visions of one's mortal equipment and exaggerated thoughts of the perversity of human existence. Most doctors also know that they bear a unique relationship to the suddenly ill patient whose integrative mechanisms may collapse without the special support that the medical profession is in a position to offer. Most doctors mean to do right by their patients. But while physicians may have a special sense and understanding of human frailty, they have their own considerable limitations, too, because they have not been cloned for virtue, nor do they, by nature, possess the awesome attributes of "Amazing Grace."

It is perhaps unacceptable to account for physicians' lack of communication with their patients on the grounds that in the doctors' busy days, they must get on with their job; must get their work done. For most physicians, that, in fact, is a serious matter. But it could be argued, then, that there may be something wrong with the structure of a medical practice that permits the work load to have a higher priority than patient-doctor relationships.

There are two aspects of this matter that worry me: one has to do with the nature of medical studies, rooted as they are in Virchow's cell theory, and one has to do with a problem addressed recently by Lewis Thomas — modern attitudes toward death ("Dying as Failure," *Annals*, AAPSS, January 1980).

In the first instance, we are dealing with a study of biology in the midst of a biologic revolution where the requirements grow more and more demanding that medical students understand the nature of pathologic responses — host responses to injury — before they can hope to diagnose, with any degree of accuracy, the diseases they must treat. And then they must spend a lifetime, in practice, to keep abreast of a flood of new biologic facts and the changing concepts that grow out of new discoveries. Their hands, and their brains, are full. Physicians therefore become action-oriented, sifting the biologic variables in a diagnostic puzzle, convinced that medical intervention may mean the difference between life and death or, often, convinced that if they leave things alone, which is also a positive decision, matters will turn out all right. It could be argued that such an educational system creates doctors less aware of the not easily definable, often not easily discernible, psychological and social stresses impinging on the patient. I don't really see that there is a dichotomy here, certainly not one

that was obvious to me in my teachers in medical school or in the many practicing physicians with whom I have worked since graduation. But many students believe that physicians can use their social status, training, or education to intimidate patients, and Dr. Rosenberg himself makes this point.

The second point — societal view of death — may bear on some of the patient comments in Dr. Rosenberg's book. (A patient, post-operative, observed: "People seem to be a lot friendlier with each other here because they don't want to be afraid, afraid of leaving their families, afraid of death.")

Dr. Thomas noted that with the changes over the past 40 years in the way people die, and the ways they are cared for when ill, attitudes toward death have changed. When death seemed a metaphysical event, it commanded a certain kind of respect. Today, with the process of dying protracted — sometimes for years — death seems an evidence of failure. Death is now viewed as unnatural, the most unacceptable of all abnormalities. A dying patient is a kind of freak. In an age of stunning medical discoveries, we have somehow failed. In an earlier day when dying could commonly occur at any age — in the young, in the middle-aged, in the old — dying was not an event seemingly reserved for the elderly. It was expected...an event that interrupted living. Today it is more of a technical disaster. The machinery, which we should be able to fix, goes wrong. This comes as a shock to a pragmatic society which has become convinced that medical science can fix almost anything.

Given all the complexities of this problem, where can one look for mechanisms that will make life better for the patient? There are not many obvious ones at hand, and this carries an implication that bothers me: if doctors, who live by scientific communication, cannot correct the defects (whatever they may be, or are imagined to be) in their personal communication, is not the profession defaulting on a prime healing obligation? And if it is, should not the burden of change fall on physicians themselves? I guess it should, where and if doctors are at fault — often it is difficult to decide this — but I do not know of a selection process, or an educational process, that will guarantee this, lamentable though this may be.

There is a nice irony here. Dr. Rosenberg himself points to one solution, not a simple one, that might be an effective one: the patient may modulate this problem by forcing communication with the doctor. This would come about, in part, through a destructive mechanism that has to do with the perceived lower esteem of the medical profession in the public eye, a perception that may be growing at a time when medical diagnosis and treatment are setting higher and

higher standards. And it would also come about through a constructive mechanism, an awakening, in the public consciousness, of a right to share in medical decision-making. This change, if it is real, may make some physicians nervous, but the change, if it evolves in a nonadversary setting, can lead to a more perceptive relationship between patient and doctor, to the advantage of both sides. It would elevate the public's role in medical diagnosis and treatment, a mechanism that carries real risks of misunderstanding and great mischief, but one that may force doctors to pay more attention to the little things that for patients are big things. In other words, strange as it sounds, it may be easier to tune the less educated or uneducated patient into the variables of medical science than it is to tune some educated doctors into the variables of interpersonal relationships, which also can be a bit mysterious and, at times maybe, threatening.

If society can figure out how to handle this matter judiciously — I won't bet that it will be easy to do — we could all be better for it. The suggestion offered by Rosenberg in this book may be a step in the right direction. □

Dr. Grant suggests that those who are interested in reading more on this theme refer to an article by Ludwig W. Eichna, "Medical-School Education, 1975-1979: A Student's Perspective," which appeared in The New England Journal of Medicine, *Volume 303, Number 13, September 25, 1980.*

Lester Grant, Nieman Fellow '48, was an award-winning medical reporter for the New York Herald Tribune. *He decided to pursue a career in medicine, entered Harvard University's School of Medicine, and received his M.D. in 1955. In 1960 he received a Doctor of Philosophy in Experimental Medicine from Lincoln College, Oxford. After several residencies and further study, he spent sixteen years on the faculty of New York University, first as Assistant, then as Associate Professor of Medicine. He now serves as a Professor of Pathology at the University of Texas in Galveston.*

The Philosopher as Journalist

Walter Lippmann and the American Century

by Ronald Steel. Atlantic—Little, Brown, Boston, 1980. $19.95.

by JOHN MIDGLEY

Said Walter Lippmann at 26, "The fear of being wrong is a disease," and it is a fact that fifty years later he still refused, when writing a column, to bother his head with what he might have said about a given subject on a previous occasion. If his opinions might shift, his working rules did not. What he had for his readers was not a predictable public personality but the ability to think in a way that would help them to see; and think he did, starting afresh each time and, like Euclid, landing up with the proposition to which the thought led him.

Professionally, Lippmann's was surely the most imposing performance of this century. In the 1959 volume celebrating Lippmann's seventieth birthday, James Reston compared him with Edmund Burke, who did for British politics in the eighteenth century what Lippmann did for American and world affairs in the twentieth: drenched them in thought.

Manifestly this could not have been done without extraordinary powers of exposition. No one knew better than Lippmann how to organize an article — however complex its subject — around a single straightforward statement. His handling of language was at once rigorous, graceful, and fertile. Somebody called him "the man with the flashlight mind." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said Lippmann's writing was "flypaper to me; if I touch it, I am stuck till I finish it." More was needed: physical vigor and stamina, intellectual power, and sufficient emotional harmony to tolerate an orderly, systematic, diligent, planned, and regulated way of life. Lest this collection of qualities begin to seem obnoxious, Lippmann's friend Louis Auchincloss may be allowed to speak as he did (obviously of Lippmann) in his novel *The House of the Prophet*: "I had a sense of his making each chapter, even each paragraph, of life complete and interesting." Not only the elders who took him up when he was young, but the many juniors he befriended and encouraged in his maturity, would attest to that.

The texture and quality of the man are one aspect of a wide range of subject matter to which Ronald Steel addresses himself as biographer. Mr. Steel is the "official" biographer who started this work a full ten years ago with Lippmann's consent and cooperation; he continued it after Lippmann's death with the help of his friends, and based his work on the papers which were eventually brought together from various sources to form the Walter Lippmann collection at Yale University. The professional and intellectual history of Lippmann are inseparable from the times in which he lived — times of convulsive change, as he was among the first to anticipate. The body of material is vast, the length of time immense. Mr. Steel has come through this very severe test with great credit. (A failure for which he cannot be

blamed is the failure to comply with Lippmann's one injunction to him: "Don't let it be too heavy to read in bed.") This long, full, solid, authoritative biography is packed with action, rich in human detail, and consistently entertaining.

Lippmann wrote many books; was a distinguished lecturer; was, for a time, a radio broadcaster; and, late in life, surprised everybody with the quality of his television performances. There were times when he lent a hand in government or politics. But his chief contribution was his newspaper work. He was an absolutely genuine newspaperman, no question of it, but he differed from other newspapermen in his working habits, in the way he managed his time, and in the organization of his career.

As James Reston has pointed out, other journalists have to drop everything and scurry off to some distant place to attend some event, but not Lippmann. Not only did he know each morning how the day would be spent, he knew at the end of the year in what places, in what sequence, he would be spending the next year.

Most journalists who do well enough to be beyond being at the mercy of daily events or at the beck and call of their editors find themselves loaded with executive work and with responsibility for the work of others. With the exception of his period at the New

York *World*, Lippmann escaped that fate. Even at the *World*, excellent and ample as his contribution was and much as it added to the paper's quality in its last years, his work consisted chiefly in his own learned, lucid editorials, supplemented by the polishing job he would do on other journalists' writing when it was called for. He was not the passionate busybody that the real editors are. The novelist James Cain, one of Lippmann's staff, claimed to have detected that Lippmann let letters from readers go in the page without having first read them himself.

When the *World* folded and Lippmann was courted by publishers with offers, he took the one that seemed to promise the most readership with the least interference and the most regular rhythm of work. So was born the most successful of newspaper columns. "Today and Tomorrow" provided Lippmann with his chief occupation from 1931 until his retirement in 1967, when he was 76. His column purveyed no news, disclosed no secrets, and served no cause. The spectacle it offered was Walter Lippmann at work, thinking. Very often, to be sure, events forced him to think in haste and to render opinions without waiting for full information. Lippmann faced his journalistic obligation in a perfectly professional way: a deadline was a deadline. When he was in error on some aspect of a subject, it was sometimes for that reason, sometimes from ordinary fallibility.

Because it was his judgment and his judgment alone that Lippmann offered to his readers, and because his reputation was so far above that of any of his professional colleagues, it is natural that his mistakes should be seized upon with some glee. But in reality the value of the service that Lippmann performed did not, and does not, depend on any tally of "wrong" or "right," "consistent" or "inconsistent." What he did was help the public to understand what was going on, to appreciate what was significant in current events; help governments understand what they were doing; and enable his contemporaries to maintain that comprehension of the surrounding world that societies need if their politics are to be anything more than blind man's bluff.

The effort to understand Lippmann is well worth while, and Ronald Steel's very readable book contains a great deal of the material necessary to do it. Lippmann was an Atlanticist who saw the civilized or Western world as an arrangement of land masses around the Atlantic Ocean and its tributary seas — on occasion, his writings referred to North America as "over here."

After the Second World War, the settlement that he wanted to see pursued with the Soviet Union was a peace treaty in Europe, where he felt it mattered most, instead of the routine of attrition in Asia which he feared from the Truman Doctrine. The depth and intensity with which he felt this are much more readily perceived if, instead of checking his positions out episode by episode as "right" or "wrong," one looks at the whole span of his life.

Lippmann was born early enough to know the old European order and to feel its disintegration; his 25th birthday came just after the outbreak of the First World War. One can see the intellectual life of Walter Lippmann as a long labor to devise a workable replacement for what was then destroyed. Rather soon after the guns of August opened up he was back in New York helping to start *The New Republic*. There was no ambiguity about the young magazine's insistence that the American interest required Britain and France to be helped against Germany, but the typically temperate way in which Lippmann advocated this led to *The New Republic* being attacked as "pro-German" by pro-British enthusiasts. He replied with an editorial in which he stated his absolute refusal to waste energy on hating the Germans, and his total lack of interest in punitive war aims. That was in December 1915. He wanted a peace settlement that would not carry the seeds of future European wars. He wanted a stable Europe and a peaceful, prosperous Atlantic world.

That was what he always wanted, and the next great disappointment came for him when the peace conference (in which he served as a junior on the American delegation) produced a settlement that was both messy in its territorial dispositions and unacceptably harsh to the strongest defeated power, Germany. Lippmann was neither as surprised, nor as spontaneously indignant, as most other people when Germany soon produced a new type of nationalist government and the system set up at Versailles began to show its provisional and temporary character. He hoped that the new German ruler, Adolf Hitler, might prove amenable to negotiation and that some form of European stability might yet be preserved.

This was a misjudgment on Lippmann's part, one that he shared with many people, but it was attacked at the time, and is being attacked now, as particularly culpable on the ground that Lippmann, as a Jew — though an assimilated one — ought to have stood up against Hitler as a threat to the life of European Jewry. Thus Lippmann's welcome of Hitler's Reichstag speech of May 17th, 1933, as statesmanlike and offering ground for hope, has been treated as not only gullible but anti-Jewish.

Having recently, unlike some who have been severe in their condemnations, re-read Lippmann's column of May 19, 1933, in its entirety, I am bound to say that he might have phrased parts of it better. That might have avoided the loss of an impetuous friend like Felix Frankfurter and the censure of reviewers today who believe that he called Hitler "the authentic voice of a genuinely civilized people." He did not, but Frankfurter thought he did, some people do to this day, and that is all a great pity.

The moment was one in which Hitler was mixing his signals, letting some of his ministers drop heavy hints about German rearmament while others made reassuring remarks. The European governments were uneasy about him, but they had not given up hope of the disarmament conference at Geneva, where the German walkout was still five months off. In Washington the Franklin Roosevelt administration was worrying about the European future, and in mid-May the President launched his own declaration on disarmament policy. Hitler, in his speech the next day, thanked Roosevelt warmly and appeared to accept most of what he proposed, apparently throwing his own (German) hawks overboard. The Roosevelt administration was surprised and delighted by Hitler's olive branch, and it has to be supposed that its delight influenced what Lippmann wrote.

But whatever the judgment on the merits of the May 19th column in the context of the time (a thing about which Mr. Steel stays rather on the fence), it is certain that Walter Lippmann would not have thought it right to let his own Jewish origins influence his judgment of the German government, or of the outlook for European peace, or of the American national interest, or of any aspect of public policy. To him the anti-Semitism of the Third Reich was one ghastly aspect of the barbarism, hysteria, brutality, pride, and greed that soon made Hitler's Germany impossible for the world to live with. He never singled it out as the most important aspect. There was a lack of Jewishness in his view of the world which perplexes his biographer and positively irritates the Jewish critics of a different age, proud of the roots which to Walter Lippmann were a matter of apparent indifference. □

John Midgley is the contributing American editor of The Economist, *lives in Washington, D.C., and knew Walter Lippmann.*

A Different Journey

Unfinished Business: Pressure Points in the Lives of Women

by Maggie Scarf. Doubleday, New York, 1980. $14.95.

by PATRICIA O'BRIEN

To read Maggie Scarf's book on depression among women is something like looking into a mirror that you wish wasn't there. Peering back at you are myriad and painful images of yourself, your mother, your children, your friends — quick, glancing sights of the familiar that hurt like small electric shocks. *Unfinished Business: Pressure Points in the Lives of Women* is both illuminating and sobering.

If the long list of books on women produced in the past ten years needed anything, it needed the presence of a thoughtful, comprehensive exploration of why we are the way we are — without political arguments over sex roles. *Unfinished Business* fills that need, and more, as Scarf includes practical information for depressives about treatment, including the availability of helpful drugs, pointing out that depression can be cured.

Maggie Scarf (NF '76) wrote this book because of a single mystifying statistic: of the more than 40 million people suffering from depression in this country, two-thirds are women. Why?

From the ideology of the feminist movement came one answer that for years made sense — probably because it fit so neatly into the package of grievances labeled: We've Been Had. In *Women and Madness*, Phyllis Chesler argued that although women are no more depressed than men, they

are frequently diagnosed as depressives because they cannot accept their "true" feminine roles, thereby becoming victims of a male-dominated power structure determined to keep women in their places.

Sure, that made sense — plenty of women found themselves judged as aberrant in one way or another in the past decade when they broke from traditional roles. They could understand.

But not everything can be explained through political ideology. Rather than politicizing the presence of depression, Maggie Scarf set out to observe and interview dozens of women of all ages under clinical treatment, and to talk with researchers and mental health experts at several hospitals and mental clinics. What she has given us is impressive and valuable.

It is Scarf's belief that depression among women is tied irrevocably to the loss of emotional attachments. Men do not suffer as greatly because they are not biologically programmed for a nurturing role. Women mourn; men recover. Most of us have suspected that for years, but it has been one of life's truisms that we can't do much about it — just roll with the punches and try to keep the lower lip from quivering.

Scarf gets to the real costs. She divides the issues of depression by the decades of our lives, an organizing principle that makes the book profoundly impressive in its documentation. This could have come across as a slick marketing device, but instead it helps us understand what we went through as adolescents, where we are now, and what could be ahead as we reach old age.

As a teenager, a young woman struggles with the need to separate from her parents; during her 20's, she searches for connective intimacy with a man; by the time she reaches her 30's, she may feel trapped in her marriage. By her 40's, she finds herself stripped of identity when her children leave the nest. At 50, the attractiveness that gave reassurance of her femininity begins to fade; and with her 60's and 70's come loneliness and widowhood.

At each stage of life, a woman has to confront changing issues of nurturing, dependency and survival. If she fails to resolve the problems of one decade, warns Scarf, they drag into the next, eventually producing an almost unbearable weight of loss and rejection. It is Scarf's view that women must learn to be alone with as much strength and positiveness as they can muster, because they are going to be faced with aloneness at some point in their lives.

Lest this sound like some mighty soap-opera for self-pitying females, Scarf makes it clear that she isn't saying women are greater complainers than men, but that they are not as biologically able to deal with loss and change. This cannot be blamed on a heartless society; it's a problem that must be dealt with from within.

She takes us through stories illustrating many all-too-familiar symptoms — inability to make a decision, constant tiredness, manic highs, loss of appetite, and sometimes a pervasive, defeating sadness that defies explanation. At first, her claim that working women are just as subject to depression as housewives surprised me. On reflection, I was surprised at my surprise, because I should know better. Work does not ease the pain of loss for women in the same way that it does for men.

I also have problems with her dismissal of hormonal change as a cause of depression in menopause. The dismissal is just too firm, particularly when she gives the impact of hormonal change its due during adolescence and after childbirth.

On the other hand, the chapters on adolescence are wonderful. With lengthy (sometimes too lengthy), detailed case histories, Scarf does a marvelous job of showing the critical point of change when a young girl senses she is leaving childhood, slipping away from a familiar shore, and becoming — something else.

When that "something else" is somehow "bad," the child/woman is in agony, and so often nobody — not friends, not teachers, not parents — knows how to take this change seriously. An adolescent girl judges herself with the harshness of a baleful inquisitor, and no one tells her how to tolerate what is inside that is changing and she can't understand.

All this comes at the same time as the need to separate from the parent, the first occasion for mourning. A young girl will hold on, almost as if she is digging her fingernails desperately into a wall of ice, slipping, slipping all the time. The sad irony that comes clear in Scarf's book is what is happening at the same time to that girl's mother. For the mother in her 40's is slipping down the same sheer wall, trying to hold on to her children. What a strange quirk of life it is that both the adolescent daughter and the adult mother must go through similar experiences of change, totally at odds, each baffled by the other's behavior.

Mothers and daughters could do worse than read this book together. There is much to learn from it.

My criticisms are basically quibbles. At times Scarf's prose gets annoyingly filled with what I think of as stage-direction type writing: people are always shrugging or shaking their heads or frowning or pausing to look troubled. The style interferes with the flow of ideas; the book could have been cleaned up and tightened and nothing would have been lost. But this is compensated for by Scarf's remarkable lack of dogmatic writing. I'm really tired of the "experts" who won't just point the way and let us explore on our own. They have to shove their "facts" down our throats.

Scarf has enough confidence in her material and her point of view to present it calmly and non-judgmentally. *Unfinished Business* is the stronger for it. □

Patricia O'Brien, Nieman Fellow '74, is a writer for Knight-Ridder Newspapers in Washington, D.C. She is author of The Woman Alone *and* Staying Together.

Certainty in Cambridge

The Harvard Crimson Anthology

Edited by Greg Lawless. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1980. $16.95.

by JONATHAN Z. LARSEN

It's trivia quiz time. See if you can answer these three questions without having read Greg Lawless's anthology of the *Harvard Crimson*: 1. What position did the editors of the *Harvard Crimson* take when the notion of women in Harvard classrooms was first raised? 2. What was the *Crimson*'s position when Hitler's press secretary, Ernest "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, was proposed for an honorary degree? 3. How did the editors of the *Crimson*, who in 1969 endorsed the National Liberation Front, feel about the Vietnam War in 1965?

The answers: 1. *Crimson* editors came out against women's rights. In 1879 they opined, "We have too much respect for women to wish to have their association with us in our college course." 2. *Crimson* editors loved the idea. In fact, they had proposed gracing "Putzi" in the first place. Fortunately, President Conant said no. 3. In 1965, the *Crimson*'s editors wrote that a withdrawal from Vietnam "would now be more than international embarrassment. The U.S. has repeated its commitment too often, in words too strong, for any of its promises to be considered genuine if it reneges on this one."

Pronouncements like these — and there are many more in this book — should provide amusement if not comfort to anyone in the business of journalism. But in truth the main impression one draws from the *Harvard Crimson Anthology* is that the *Harvard Crimson* is every bit as good as its advocates have always argued it to be. By passing 100 years of the *Crimson* through a very fine sieve, editor-anthologist Lawless (Harvard '75) has given his readers some heady examples of college journalism. To cite but a few, there is Richard Burgheim's hilarious 1952 retelling of the 1939 goldfish-eating craze (the Harvard freshman who started it called it a "case of mind over matter — I didn't mind and the fish didn't matter"); John McNess's withering attack on the Princeton "eating clubs" in 1958; Stephen Lerner's sobering eyewitness account of the SDS-inspired mobbing of Robert McNamara in 1966; John Leone's review of Elvis Presley's television comeback in 1968 — a classic piece of Gonzo reporting; Jody Adams's moving first person narrative of the Harvard sit-in and bust in the spring of 1969; and Arthur Lubow's sardonic guide to academic politics at Harvard in 1972. The *Crimson Anthology* also gives us the young George Santayana philosophizing about *King Lear* (he spelt its author's name "Shakspere") and the young David Halberstam worrying about the impurities of the Harvard athletic department. Sprinkled here and there are some hilarious but unsigned bits of nonsense and doggerel, including a 1961 piece entitled "Nothing Very Interesting Takes Place at University." "Some people studied; some didn't. Some played tennis; some didn't. Bartley J. Crum '64 slept all day." As a member of the class of 1961, I confess I have never read a better summation of my own somnambulant generation.

"The Crimesown" as seen by *The Lampoon*
Illustration from *The Harvard Crimson Anthology*

But as fine as foregoing examples

are, it would be unfair of me to leave you with the impression that this book is uniformly entertaining, an easy read, or the perfect Christmas present. Lawless has actually tried to write three books in one — in addition to presenting a collection of excellent college writing, he is also attempting a history of the *Crimson* and, through the prism of the *Crimson*, a history of Harvard itself. As a result, the book is alternately disorganized and slow going — even turgid. Lawless's own critical gloss at times gets in the way more than it illuminates. There is, for instance, the following observation about Harvard: "If Harvard isn't exactly Wall Street, it *does* invest its money in stocks (and not always the most conscionable stocks); if the University isn't synonymous with government, it *has* worked closely with the government during wars, it *has* taken more and more money from the government, and it *has*, on occasion, given special dispensations to professors on extended leaves while they were working for the government." Perhaps Lawless should consider the distinct possibility that if Harvard had converted its enormous portfolio into $100 bills, say, some 50 years ago, and placed the entire sum in a strong box, and if it had rejected all government research funds and made free intercourse between the university and the federal government difficult, Greg Lawless himself would not have wanted to attend Harvard, nor would anyone be very interested in reading an anthology of its campus newspaper. Fortunately, however, Harvard has remained not only solvent but preeminent. And largely as a reflection of this preeminence, its campus paper has continued to be a showcase for some of the best college journalism in the country. For that reason alone, if for no other, Greg Lawless's modest anthology is worth a read. □

Jonathan Larsen, Nieman Fellow '80, was editor of New Times *magazine until its demise in 1979.*

Without Roots

Unsettling Europe

by Jane Kramer. Random House, New York, 1980. $9.95.

by MURRAY SEEGER

As a long-time addict of *The New Yorker*, I read these four long reports by Jane Kramer in their original form. Each of them is a good example of that special kind of reporting which *The New Yorker* offers regularly — a style that records every bit of fact possible about a particular subject, piling information so deep the reader can hardly fail to believe he or she has learned a great deal in a relatively short time.

When this style is well done, as in John McPhee's reports from Alaska, there is no finer journalism in the world. When it is misapplied, as in Ved Mehta's articles about his family in India, it is tedious.

Jane Kramer strikes a medium between those *New Yorker* writers whose work is in essay form and the others who seem to use tape recorders to take down verbatim accounts and put very little of themselves into the final products.

Each of these pieces stands strongly by itself. "The San Vincenzo Cell" describes the lives of an Italian family and their unique relationship with the Communist Party. "The Invandrare" is about a Yugoslav migrant living and working in Sweden. "The Ugandan Asians" are Indians suddenly and cruelly expelled from their African home to London. "Les Pied Noirs" are also refugees, Europeans forced out of Algeria by revolution and dropped into a France that really does not want them.

The four reports, written between 1971 and 1979, "are about Europeans whom Europe never expected to accommodate," Ms. Kramer says in her introduction. "They did not fit the exhausted conventional categories of European life." This introduction is essential to bring up-to-date much of the information in the individual articles and to attempt to put them into context with the general European environment of the 1970's.

Unfortunately, despite the fine introduction, it is hard to relate one case history here to another. It seems to me that these people are less left out of the European mainstream than Ms. Kramer contends. And, then, time has caught up with these cases. Now there are just too many refugees in the world who are suffering more than these people for the reader to be as moved as one was when the first article ("Les Pieds Noirs") appeared.

The case of the Italian communists, in my view, is the most valuable section of this book. As in all the case histories, names of people and towns are changed but this article comes from the region of Umbria and concerns the oldest party cell in the village. The members argue among themselves about the course of the revolution and state of the party. As we read on we learn a great deal of how Italy can be Roman Catholic and yet cast nearly a third of its votes for the communists. But that brings up the quibble — if 30 percent of the adults in the country vote communist, are the members of the San Vincenzo Cell really so isolated from the mainstream?

Predrag and Darinka Ilic are members of the vast wave of Yugoslavs who have spread north to find the kind of work and good pay that their own country cannot provide. They landed

in Sweden and Ms. Kramer accurately reports the cold weather, indoors and outdoors, there. (How Sweden gained a reputation for wild and loose living is anyone's guess.) In this case, Ilic is the misfit. He was a misfit at home, too, it seems. It is hard to sympathize with him despite the cool atmosphere all foreigners find in Sweden. One has to go to Yugoslavia, however, to witness the real "unsettling" that the migrant workers experience as they return with their money and independent amibitons.

It is easier to sympathize with Akbar Hassan and his big family who prospered in Uganda, the only homeland they knew, until they were robbed and exiled by Idi Amin's uglies. Here, Ms. Kramer masterfully portrays the atmosphere of lower middle-class English neighborhoods as they respond to the invasion of "wogs" and "black pigs." The emigration of Asians of all sorts as well as former colonial blacks into an economically distressed Britain has truly been unsettling. And the problems of members of a small, proud tribe trying to adjust to this alien atmosphere are truly moving.

Francophobes should like the oldest of these articles, the story of Mr. and Mrs. Martin and their children who barely escaped with their lives from

Algeria. Of the four cases of isolation in this book, this is most poignant. The Martins, unlike many of the other "Pieds Noirs," are French in the way most of us outsiders would understand. But the kind of mindless prejudice and cruelty they encounter in rural Provence is only slightly less ugly than what the Indians find in London or the Yugoslavs in Sweden.

Ms. Kramer has written four telling, human reports. Each is a noble tree but they do not add up to a forest. □

Murray Seeger, Nieman Fellow '62, has reported from Europe for The Los Angeles Times *since 1972 and is now its European economic correspondent, based in Brussels.*

Apologetics and Boosterism

Who Owns the Media?

by Benjamin Compaine, with Christopher Sterling, Thomas Guback, and J. Kendrick Noble, Jr. Harmony Books, New York, 1979. $8.95.

by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In *Literary Ethics,* Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote:

Truth is such a fly-away, such a slyboots, so untransportable and unbarrelable a commodity, that it is as bad to catch as light.

The message of *Who Owns the Media* is that news and public culture — that daily, messy groping for truth — is, contrary to Emerson, a transportable, barrelable commodity and if this commodity seems to be controlled increasingly by large corporations, there is nothing to worry about because giantism is good for you.

This characterization cannot fairly be made of the secondary writers whose too-few chapters in the book are not apologetics for corporate control of American ideas and information. Christopher Sterling wrote the chapters on broadcasting and cable, Thomas Guback on film, and J. Kendrick Noble, Jr., on the book industry. Their tabular information and discussion are in stark contrast to the conclusions of the book written by the main author.

Compaine, listed on the book jacket as "executive director of media and allied arenas at Harvard's Program on Information Resources Policy," is the primary author and responsible for the bulk of the book and its conclusions.

The cited statistics show a familiar pattern. A majority of newspaper circulation is controlled by the 20 largest chains. The 11 largest broadcast groups have 54 percent of all broadcast revenues. The 20 largest periodical firms have 69 percent of the magazine business. And the 20 largest book houses have 55 percent of the book business.

Compaine's writing is permeated by marketplace boosterism and insensitivity to the nature of news in the United States. His selective use of data is disingenuous. He says research leaves doubt that there is any difference in content between monopoly and competitive news operations, using as his main citation a 1956 study by Nixon and Jones, which he describes thusly: "The one significant difference was in reporting news of accidents and disasters, in which case competing newspapers carried more such news." In fact, the most significant difference in the Nixon-Jones study was that competitive newspapers had a larger newshole, that is, more news, than monopoly papers, a finding not given by Compaine. Despite impressive-looking reference notes there is no use of more recent and sound studies like Clarke and Friedin showing low levels of information in the least competitive markets and high levels in competitive ones.

In the discussion of cross-ownership, common control of a newspaper and a television station in the same city, he does not cite the landmark study by Gormley, a book published in 1976 that shows less news in cross-owned markets. Instead Compaine cites a work published in 1969 by the National

Association of Broadcasters, a lobby in favor of cross-ownership.

He writes that there is no evidence of difference between chain-owned and independent newspapers. The most systematic work on the subject (Keller in 1978) shows more hard news in every category for independent papers, a work that must have been known to the author since he quotes from a symposium in which the work was described.

Superficial and euphoric use of data is illustrated by the author's statement, "Ironically, *more* [his italics] cities had at least one daily newspaper in 1978 than at any time since 1923." That is true. But it is also true, though not mentioned by the author, that in 1923 there were only 2,855 cities in the United States and 2,271 daily papers while in 1978 there were more than 7,100 cities and only 1,756 dailies.

He cites a 1971 study showing that the 20 largest firms controlled 43 percent of U.S. daily circulation (the 1979 figure is 53 percent) compared with the 20 top firms in Spain with 54.9 percent, Canada with 88.5 percent, and Ireland with 100 percent. The author does not seem to understand the organization of news in the United States. In this country basic policy functions — education, land use, police powers, property taxing and much more — are left to local decision-making whereas in most other developed countries these are left to the central government. This, and high local consumer spending, explains why the United States has no national press but a local one. So Canada's 11 competing papers in its principal cities have 36 percent of all national circulation, Spain's 12 competing papers in its two principal cities have 42 percent, while all the dailies in New York City and Washington, D.C., combined have only 7 percent of national circulation. No general circulation daily in the United States is a truly national one. (The author's use of Ireland to show that the "top 20 firms" have 100 percent of all circulation is merely amusing. The Irish Republic has only 7 daily newspapers.)

The smooth apologetics of *Who Owns the Media* are unscratched by history. Compaine repeats the trade chestnut that "the weight of public opinion...can respond to fraud and tyrants in the private sector," as though the weight of public opinion can cancel the Spanish-American War and the rest of the 30 years of Hearst's fraud in the media private sector. Or as though the community protests against John McGoff's depredations did any good in the cities where he has monopoly papers, or in the state capital of California where his paper may have been bought with secret money from the South African government. Where there is monopoly, or market control, the reader is powerless.

Compaine seems to dismiss the danger of magnified control by large corporations by saying, "There are... those who will use their position to dictate content to promote their own interests." He adds soothingly and parenthetically, "this can include a night city editor as well as the chairman of a television network," thus equating the two. It seems to escape him that the night city editor of an independently owned single paper can distort the news for 17,000 households (median circulation of U.S. dailies) but the chairman of a network can do it (and did in the case of William Paley, CBS and the CIA) for 17,000,000 households.

Finally, the author discloses a bizarre view of "information" when he says, "There are a total of 35,000 to 40,000 outlets for the mass communications media covered by this book... policy-makers must avoid accepting at face value some assumed myths, such as that greater diversity yields higher quality."

The philosophy of the free marketplace of ideas — including, presumably, Harvard's Program on Information Resources Policy — never supposed non-diversity as a condition for "higher quality" knowledge. Whatever "higher quality" means in the mind of the author, if it is not limited to the Dow Jones industrial average then it should have something to do with the test of history and disparate circumstance. In this, multiplicity of voices is not a luxury but a necessity. Solo voices and big voices have poor track records in the history of truth.

The author seems to accept "information" as a standard commodity, like faucet washers or detergents, transportable and barrelable by 40,000 industrial outlets and therefore of highest quality when produced by large corporate organizations. But the existence of 40,000 "outlets for mass communications" is meaningless if one is sensitive to the needs of the individual citizen in his or her real environment.

When parents in Carrollton, Georgia, (population 14,000; no daily paper; no television station) need to know how the local school board altered their child's education the night before, they are not comforted in their civic need by the knowledge that some conglomerate publishes 59 different magazines or that a network with 200 outlets sends them *Charlie's Angels* and the latest bulletin from Afghanistan.

The term, "35,000 to 40,000 outlets for the mass communications media" refers to an economic and industrial artifact: 1,750 daily newspapers; 8,500 radio stations; 1,270 television stations; 10,000 movie theaters; 9,700 magazines; 1,200 book publishers; and 2,600 cable systems. When *Who Owns the Media* limits itself to simple numbers and tables it is a useful compendium. But when the main author attempts to translate these numbers into social utility and

"quality" of information, the book becomes industrial puffery. □

Ben Bagdikian is a journalist, an author of books on the media, and a professor at the Graduate School of Journalism at Berkeley.

Arabs in Israel

Beyond the Gunsights

by Yoella Har-Shefi. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1980. $9.95.

by ALEXANDRA DOR-NER

The half-million Israeli citizens who have the misfortune to be Arabs are the focus of Yoella Har-Shefi's *Beyond the Gunsights*. Ms. Har-Shefi is a Jewish Israeli journalist who attempts, using the thin guise of a novel, to illuminate the commonly ignored plight of the Israeli Arabs — the inhabitants of Palestine who did not become refugees and, at the end of the 1948 war, found themselves living within the boundaries of Israel.

The story revolves around Walid Abu Hana, a 23-year-old soccer player turned politician. His quixotic struggles against corrupt Arab village politics and a fearful Jewish establishment bring him to the attention of Maya Gilead, a journalist who works for a large Israeli daily. Her subsequent friendship with Walid and his family provides the framework for the novel: each member of the Abu Hana family is used as a prop on which to hang disturbing aspects of life as an Israeli Arab.

Representing the older generation is Walid's father, Abu Salah, who wisely decided years ago to live peacefully and therefore fruitfully with his neighbors, kibbutzniks farming land taken from him. Omar, his eldest son, is an Aramco executive who lives in Saudi Arabia. Despite his affluent existence there, he longs to return to Israel to live. The attempts of his family — aided by Maya and other influential Israeli Jews — to obtain permission for Omar's return provide a graphic example of the monumental bureaucratic and political problems that face any Palestinian who wants to rejoin relatives in Israel. And finally, the problems of mixed Arab-Israeli marriage and the role of women in Arab village society are dealt with through another of Walid's brothers and his sister.

At the heart of the book is the question: How are Arabs to live in a Jewish state, where the law both protects them and discriminates against them; where they are feared and not trusted by Israeli Jews? Can Arab citizens of Israel be loyal, productive, contented members of the state? Ms. Har-Shefi's hope is that Israel will realize all her potential by admitting her true binational nature. The author of *Beyond the Gunsights* does not want to see the Jewishness of Israel relinquished, rather to have it defined by the nation as a whole, not the religious establishment. While it is not clear exactly how the author thinks this would make a difference for Israeli Arabs, it certainly is a refreshing view.

Not often does an Israeli Jew write honestly about the Arabs of Israel and accurately describe their anguish without then adding, "But of course they are so much better off now than they were before...at least here they live in a democracy." Ms. Har-Shefi's effort is to be praised for omitting this patronizing tone. However, she is clearly a journalist and not a novelist. Every time Maya Gilead ("special correspondent...known for tough, sometimes ruthless reporting") sighed dejectedly while mulling over the depressing history of the Israeli Arabs, this reader couldn't help wishing that someone like Amos Oz had tackled the same subject.

The Arabs of Israel may not be the crux of the conflict in the Middle East, but they figure so poignantly in the problem that it is worth reading *Beyond the Gunsights* to understand their position better. □

Alexandra Dor-Ner is a photojournalist who has lived in Israel since 1969.

One Man, One Job

The World of Oz

by Osborn Elliott. Viking Press, New York, 1980. $14.95.

by PETER BEHR

Osborn Elliott spent 21 years at *Newsweek* magazine, half of them as its editor during an explosive period that began with the Bay of Pigs and ended with Richard Nixon's resignation.

The magazine and the times proved to be made for one another. During those two decades, *Newsweek* grew from a "dull, gray, pallid imitation of *Time*" into a respected power in news reporting and opinion making. Its circulation bloomed from 1,525,000 at the time of John F. Kennedy's assassination to 2,900,000 ten years later.

How all this happened is the subject of Elliott's book, *The World of Oz*. (Lest nearsighted grandparents assume it is a revival of L. Frank Baum's classics, the publishers have provided

a blaring subtitle: "An Inside Report on Big-Time Journalism by the Former Editor of Newsweek.")

Inside the covers, Elliott proceeds with a lighter touch. Now the head of the Columbia School of Journalism, Elliott generally manages to resist the temptation to lecture on the secrets of magazine editing and instead tells a revealing, often interesting, and sometimes amusing and moving story of the job he married.

Newsweek's growth was based upon a simple formula laid down by Elliott's predecessor as editor, the widely traveled John Denson. "Given the limited resources he had to work with at *Newsweek*, Denson did a remarkable job doing battle with *Time*. 'We've gotta end-run 'em,' he used to say. That meant big acts and special issues..." and exclusives shouted at top voice.

Under Elliott, this became a strategy of pushing harder and harder on the biggest stories, getting more reporters and photographers into the act than the competition, and sooner, and giving more space to the coverage. The stories were the civil rights/black power movements, politics and the growth of government, an upheaval in American lifestyles, Vietnam, and later Watergate and Nixon's battle against impeachment.

The vindication of this strategy came early, in Elliott's view, in the issue that followed the assassination of President Kennedy (which, as the presses began to roll in Dayton, was rewritten a final time to include Oswald's death).

"Next day, when we *Newsweek* people had a chance to look at the 'product' of our arch-competitor, *Time*, we found some professional consolation, at least. *Time* had devoted a mere thirteen pages to the assassination story versus *Newsweek*'s twenty-five; in unfeeling deference to an old tradition of never putting a dead man on its cover, *Time* featured a picture of Lyndon Johnson instead of Kennedy.

"...we felt we had bested *Time* on the biggest news event since the war. 'You did it right,' said my friend Dick Clurman, then chief of correspondents for *Time*, 'we did it wrong.'

"*Newsweek*, we believed, had arrived. Cockily, we began to refer to *Time* as 'Brand X.'"

The World of Oz is as much about Elliott as *Newsweek*, and he anticipates a question from his readers: Why the interest in blacks and civil rights — a dominant theme in *Newsweek*'s coverage in the 1960's — on the part of a high-born WASP, whose parents "were of New York's four hundred, or perhaps four hundred and fifty," who "grew up in a whites-only cocoon of private schools...?"

"Joe Alsop, Stew's brother, once suggested with a sneer that my interest in civil rights came from a sense of guilt. Perhaps he was right," Elliott says. He goes on to suggest that his case of guilty conscience was more conscience than guilt. As a beginning reporter at *Time*, Elliott was deeply influenced, he says, by Bill Miller, a product of the Depression and founder of the Newspaper Guild (and a Nieman Fellow '41), who taught Elliott to look for dignity and value among people far outside the circle in which he grew up.

The World of Oz works best when Elliott is describing the high-wire act of producing *Newsweek* each week, orchestrating 80,000 chosen words out of a bedlam of news, outside pressures, and internal conflicts. It is an insider's story: gossipy, personal, earnest.

It is less successful as a chronicle of the 1960's and 1970's, as Elliott relates his encounters with the newsmakers who passed his way.

For all its insights in covering the 1960's and early 1970's, Elliott's story probably doesn't provide his successors with much help in covering the fragmented 1980's, where targets like Vietnam, the civil rights movement, and Nixon are not standing broad in the sights.

But then he didn't set a monumental goal for his book. "I hope this notebook of people, places and events will entertain and even instruct those who have had more than a passing interest in the tumultuous events of the recent past," he writes. It should succeed in that. □

Peter Behr, Nieman Fellow '76, is a reporter for The Washington Post.

Building A Newspaper

The Pillars of The Post — The Making of a News Empire in Washington

by Howard Bray. W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1980. $11.95.

by WILLIAM J. EATON

This book tells you a lot you probably already know about *The Washington Post*, rightfully described as the most influential newspaper in the nation so far as government and politics are concerned. The *Post*'s Watergate coverage, justly celebrated, has made household names of Katharine Graham, Ben Bradlee, Bob Woodward, and Carl Bernstein — at least in a journalist's household. But Howard Bray's account, readable and spiced with gossipy insights, goes beyond the familiar events of recent years to put *The Post*'s rise into perspective. My criticism of the book is that it writes about the newspaper largely from the viewpoint of those in charge of it, rather than the view from the editorial trenches. It's as if World War II were reported primarily by discussing Eisenhower, MacArthur and Patton rather than by examining

the lives of Willie and Joe, the foot soldiers in the victorious army. The best parts of Bray's book, to me, were his chapter-long essays on the struggles of blacks for newsroom prominence and the successful effort by *The Post*'s publishers to crush the pressmen's union after a prolonged and bitter strike. While there are extended portraits of Kay Graham and her son, publisher Donald Graham, the book slights these other "pillars of the post" who have been its editorial stalwarts through the years.

Morton Mintz, for example, is a Nieman Fellow ('64) who could best be described as the conscience of *The Washington Post*. His tough, yet fair, reporting and his campaigns inside the editorial halls to get responsible coverage have become a minor legend in Washington. Yet he receives scant attention in Bray's account. There are others who have done as much over the years who seem slighted — the gentle civil libertarian, Alan Barth (NF '49); the irrepressible Herblock; veteran economics reporter Hobart Rowen and Murrey Marder, another Nieman Fellow ('50), who helped to pull the poisonous fangs of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Bray's story does have fascinating detail on the political maneuvering by some of the *Post*'s past publishers. Eugene Meyer, who bought the paper at a bankruptcy auction in 1933, was a prime mover in the successful effort to draft General Eisenhower for the Republican presidential race in 1952. Meyer's son-in-law, Philip Graham, was partly responsible for John F. Kennedy's selection of Lyndon B. Johnson as a running mate in 1960.

The book also makes clear that it was economics, rather than the editorial product alone, that transformed *The Post* from the fifth-ranking paper in a somewhat sleepy Southern town to the dominant publication that it is today. A merger with the *Times-Herald* in 1955 (which allowed the *Post* to acquire another page of comics as well as many more readers) might have been the pivotal point in its history. For my part, however, I would have preferred that Bray's reporting talents were devoted to a close examination of what makes the *Post* newsroom tick rather than a look at the paper's balance sheet. □

William Eaton, Nieman Fellow '63, is a reporter in the Washington bureau of The Los Angeles Times.

The New Political Salesmen

The Permanent Campaign

by Sidney Blumenthal. Beacon Press, Boston, 1980. $12.95.

by CARIN PRATT

Those readers who are not thoroughly disgusted by this recent season of banal political dogfighting, and who do not shudder at the mention of the word "campaign," would do well to pick up a copy of *The Permanent Campaign*. You might not like what you find: Sidney Blumenthal's view is often cynical and sometimes bitter, but his theory is realistic.

The author concentrates on the increasingly important role of the political and media consultant, whose job, combining "image-making with strategic calculation," of selling the candidate to the public has replaced the powerful party and machine politics of former years. "The consultant," Mr. Blumenthal claims, "manipulates candidates and voters. His image-making is expressed in a particular kind of strategy, and the politician who is created by it and uses it successfully to win, absorbs it as a philosophy of governing." If the reader keeps this concept in mind while observing campaign processes, a clearer understanding of politics may result.

Mr. Blumenthal might have done better to carry his theory through and discuss more the aspects of the permanent campaign after the election of a candidate (he does this only with Jimmy Carter), but what he gives us — fascinating profiles and some short biographies of a number of political/media consultants — is enough to make me want to read his next book, which I hope will be a continuation of his theory.

The book begins with a profile of Edward Bernays, America's first PR man, father of the "overt act" (today's "media event"), and the "forerunner of the modern political consultant." Bernays, a nephew of Freud, admits his debt to the now often debunked psychiatrist. "I was applying to the mass what he was applying to the individual," he says. Bernays concentrated on the "engineering of consent," and on "the manipulation of public opinion," phrases many readers could find offensive, although their application cannot be denied. He advised Herbert Hoover about public relations and worked on Calvin Coolidge's chilly image by publicizing a White House pancake breakfast attended by Al Jolson and forty other vaudevillians. The headline the next day ran: "President Nearly Laughs." Of Eisenhower, Bernays claims, "He didn't understand anything I said."

Mr. Blumenthal follows Bernays with a chapter on pollster Pat Caddell, who expresses his own theory bluntly and succinctly: "...governing with public approval requires a continuing political campaign." While public approval is necessarily important to the President, should it be a major

influence on decisions, on governing? Should the President have the ever-changing numbers of the polls ticking in the back of his mind when a crucial decision must be made? I don't think so. Mr. Caddell seems to have fallen victim to his own pragmatism. "The system is devouring itself," he laments. "In every election we disillusion more people. . . . I am looking into the void." He has a lot of company there.

Profiles of Jack Walsh (whose parents believed that "if you didn't participate in politics you were evil"), David Garth, Don Rose, Tony Schwartz, Joe Napolitan, and Stuart Spencer follow. The talents of these men are indisputable, but aside from Walsh — who still exhibits some idealism — these men seem depressingly Machiavellian. Some come across as behind-the-scenes powermongers and strategists whose idealogies change to fit their current candidate. Don Rose, who without and against the tactics of machine politics masterminded Jane Byrne's victory in Chicago, says of himself, "I think I am an idealogue, but a flexible one." He freely admits his aim in Byrne's campaign. He made Byrne a commodity, one that would sell in a city digging itself out from under piles of snow, and he did his job brilliantly, once even invoking Daley's voice as if from the grave to endorse Ms. Byrne. But now that Mayor Byrne has recruited into her fold those machine men she "excoriated during the campaign," Rose delights in the havoc she is wreaking. The once unified machine is now split and scared. Mayor Byrne "can't deliver like Daley. She's really wrecking things. Nobody will be able to put together a machine after she's done. I love it," Rose exclaims.

Joe Napolitan, who ran Endicott Peabody's campaign for governor in Massachusetts, tried to salvage Hubert Humphrey's campaign for president, and ran Mike Gravel's successful senatorial bid in Alaska, discusses the obsolescence of party politics today and underscores Blumenthal's belief in the influence of this breed of consultant. "There is no doubt that the rise of the consultant and the decline of the party have been running neck and neck for the last decade," Napolitan claims. ". . . Now you don't need the party. I work in lots of campaigns in lots of states where I don't even know who the Democratic party chairmen are. It doesn't matter to me or my candidates." Although Napolitan may be overstating the case, his remarks are repeated in roughly the same form by many of the other consultants Mr. Blumenthal interviews.

I found the chapter on Richard Viguerie particularly frightening. Mr. Viguerie, the helmsman of the New Right, is described by Mr. Blumenthal as a "sunny new-wave reactionary," who "embodies the Ayn Rand ideal, suggested in the title of one of her books, *The Virtue of Selfishness*." While in college, Viguerie's two heroes were Douglas MacArthur and Joe McCarthy. Viguerie takes his beliefs seriously and is very good, perhaps the best, at what he does — direct mail solicitation; he has 11 million names on computer tape. But his convictions do not seem to get in the way of making a profit. Mr. Blumenthal reports that in some cases of fundraising, more than 75 percent of what Viguerie raises goes to him and his subsidiaries. He is, according to the author, a modernist and an optimist, a superb technocrat who learns from both the defeats and the victories of his opposition. He is creating a strong grassroots base for the New Right, which will no doubt be aided by the rise of the "moral majority," ultra-conservative political evangelism.

In the chapter on a group of liberal consultants, the future of the liberal candidate appears to be bleaker. John Martila, Dan Payne, Tom Kiley, and David Thorne, whose firm is now disbanded, worked for candidates they believed in. Blumenthal calls them "The Magnificent Seven of consultants — gunslingers with a sense of justice." Targets still exist, but now ammunition is lacking. This group of consultants has lost heart, and who can blame them? "There is no meaning today," one claims. "Issues aren't clear cut," another says, and follows with "I know you can't take a walk on society, but politics per se is not a meaningful forum right now."

The Permanent Campaign ends with a chapter on Ted Kennedy, titled "The Return of the King." Given the events of the past months, it looks as if being the King just wasn't enough, and some of the comments Blumenthal quotes in that chapter take on an ironic ring in view of the demise of Kennedy's presidential campaign. To one adviser, Kennedy campaigns are "exemplars of political organization." That may be, but many observers disagreed after watching the Kennedy campaign repeatedly falter and finally fail. As David Garth said of Kennedy and his staff, "Their approach is from twenty years ago." Blumenthal may have ended his book with Kennedy because he wanted to present him as a candidate who straddles the past and the future; his ideas and policies are modern, but his technique harks back. Unless Kennedy adopts more modern tactics and prepares more competently, and unless his staff forgets about reliving those misty dreams of Camelot, the value of Kennedy's undebatable power of leadership (obvious in his stirring convention speech) will never be realized. □

Carin Pratt has worked for the Nieman Foundation and for World-Paper, *and most recently, with James Hightower during his campaign for railroad commissioner in Texas.*

Ronald Reagan

(continued from page 20)

speech and made awkward small talk — "Now that's the kind of government business we need" — and then, as the man was carried off on a stretcher (he was all right, it turned out later), Reagan tried in vain to hit his speaking stride again.

It didn't help that a bee tried to nosedive him or that he was further rattled, surprisingly, when in telling the crowd he needed their support, a burly man shattered the silence by yelling, "You have it!"

The man-collapsing incident didn't matter in itself and Reagan handled it with as much delicacy as anyone could. But the change in pace took him off-guard and made him susceptible to yet another surprise.

This one came when he somewhat lamely and distractedly ended his prepared speech — before the crowd expected it. When no one made a move to leave, Reagan gave his "aw-shucks" grin and said that was about all he'd come to say.

A young man called out, "But what about the ERA, Mr. Reagan?" And several other pro-ERA demonstrators picked up the chant.

Reagan had avoided looking at the ERA protestors, who were just as visible as those from the UAW, but to his right. This was the first week that the National Organization for Women had launched its move to place pickets against Reagan wherever he spoke, in protest of his opposition to the embattled amendment. In the dozen or so appearances of the week, Reagan had never responded to their taunts.

And he didn't intend to do so today. He searched the crowd in hope of a question from someone else. It was one of those moments when it was too late for his campaign managers to whisk him away — another dynamic had taken center stage.

As the ERA chants continued, a middle-aged man several feet in front of the demonstrators whirled around with an angry command: "Be quiet, woman!"

There was a shocked hush, then a ripple of laughter.

Reagan, giving no hint that he'd heard the put-down, still looked for someone to get him off the hook. Finally, he got a question about Iran and the hostages. He responded with a rare sniping attack on Carter's handling of the rescue attempt, calling it "grandstanding." Then he hugged a child wearing a Polish festival dress — and was off to the next campaign stop.

Reagan's straightforward dealing with the concerns of blue-collar workers — and his abandonment of past positions against occupational safety rules, the minimum wage and for antitrust action against big unions — helped him lure union voters despite the best efforts of their leaders. Carter's own record on managing the economy was his biggest weapon.

But Reagan's refusal to deal with the ERA protestors pointed up a weakness that undermined his campaign from the start, and caused him considerable erosion in the middle-income suburbs and among moderates of his own party.

Reagan was slow to realize the potency of the ERA issue. At the Republican National Convention, his strategists had given control of the platform subcommittee drafting language on the ERA and abortion to hard-liners opposing both issues. The Reagan people put their energy into outfoxing the conservatives who wanted to reopen ticklish foreign policy questions such as the Panama Canal treaty or Taiwan.

They knew Reagan could be labeled "a loony" if he were stuck with the wrong platform language on Taiwan or the Panama Canal — but they were convinced that virtually no votes were won or lost on the ERA or abortion issues.

Months later, with the ERA demonstrators still in pursuit, the polls began to show clearly that far fewer women than men supported Reagan. But Reagan strategists still insisted that this was because women were pacifists. They clung to their belief that the ERA and abortion platform stands played no part in Reagan's inability to attract the expected numbers of women voters.

And so, in mid-September when top Reagan campaign aide Anne Armstrong created a women's advisory committee of twenty-seven well-known persons (all but two of whom supported the ERA), Reagan's close conservative advisors tried to scuttle the whole concept.

"Don't these women know who won the convention?" stormed Lyn Nofziger in an internal memo, adding that the pro-ERA committee would enrage anti-ERA activist Phyllis Schlafly.

Armstrong ultimately prevailed. But a press release announcing the women's advisory committee never reached any reporters and never got in print. And someone did alert Schlafly, who put out the alarm to her Stop ERA forces. They bombarded the Reagan campaign with telegrams and telephone calls — the biggest internal furor of the campaign, far exceeding the flap over Taiwan — with some people wanting to know why "homosexual baby-killers" had been named to advise Reagan.

Schlafly subsequently had a stormy three-hour meeting with campaign chairman William Casey and won

control of a competing advisory panel on the family.

By October, Reagan pollsters were picking up unmistakable evidence that, along with a just-beginning problem on the war-and-peace issue, the ERA and abortion issues had proven sizable barriers to support for Reagan. This was especially true for women under 45 who work outside the home — and these women vote in the 90 percent range.

In mid-October, independent John B. Anderson was plummeting and Reagan and Carter were deadlocked in the key industrial states. Pollsters moved more states in the too-tight-to-call category — and noted that the undecided bloc was historically higher than for any previous presidential race this late in the campaign. Women far outnumbered men among those still on the fence.

Inside the campaign, the still-invisible women's advisory committee pushed for more explicit publicity about Reagan's record as governor of California where he had named women to top jobs and signed laws banning sex discrimination. (Of course, he also had signed the ERA ratification and a bill liberalizing abortions, two stands he later reversed.)

With time running short, Reagan then promised he would name a woman to one of the first vacancies on the Supreme Court. This brought him only slight comfort — it came so late, when his problems with snaring the women's vote were so widely known, that it was portrayed as a desperate political gambit by his opponents. And he didn't help matters by adding the gratituous statement that he'd search widely to find a "qualified" woman.

At a Washington fund-raiser, Ted Kennedy took note of Reagan's recent statement and quipped: "He's looking around for exactly the right woman — one who makes coffee and types ninety words per minute."

The Carter camp was engaged in its own political-expedience game on the ERA, revealing it was shaking up the staff that was handling the ERA ratification effort, adding to it more politically astute activists. Hamilton Jordan was quoted as saying he just hadn't realized it was that important.

As the campaign neared a close, it was clear that Reagan had finessed the pitfalls of having a strong record of opposing the goals of organized labor. Holding up a union card and going into the coal mines and walking through the rusting steel mills in Youngstown helped him win respectability. So did grocery store prices and home mortgage interest rates.

It was equally clear that Reagan had been put on the defensive on the ERA, raising questions about how he would handle contemporary issues involving women and the family. It was a reflection of his attitude that was evident as far back as that crisp September day in Milwaukee.

He gave an even more vehement signal during his final campaign speech in San Diego when he reacted to yet another ERA demonstrator by bursting out with, "Aw, shut up."

He then grinned at the crowd in his best cowboy-from-the-West manner and said his mother always told him not to say things like that. But he thought he was allowed one, because these people had been bothering him all year. The crowd roared its approval.

On Election Day, the revulsion against President Carter proved so overwhelming that advocates of the ERA, abortion rights, the environment, and labor law protections joined with the conservatives, helping to create the landslide for Reagan.

Reagan's attitudes forecast stormy times ahead when he is forced to grapple with these issues that won't go away. □

Jimmy Carter

(continued from page 21)

his every move, Carter didn't notice one wise guy winking to his friends. When Carter came up to the man, he held out a chicken leg. Oblivious, Carter shook it. (I can't imagine anyone doing that to Lyndon Johnson.)

What humor there was among the press corps and Carter's staff did not carry over to Carter himself. Outside his family and immediate circle, Carter was a humorless, single-minded campaigner, rarely given tc the kind of bantering that Ted Kennedy or Hubert Humphrey — or even Reagan on occasion — engaged in with the traveling press. (Can you imagine Jimmy Carter, for example, engaging in a towel fight in the sky with the press corps, as Reagan did, if only briefly, as his plane headed home after a long campaign swing?)

Carter's accessibility was nothing for him to brag about — though he did so with annoying regularity whenever he held a town meeting and fielded deferential questions like "How do you like your job?" Here, for example, is what Ed Walsh of *The Washington Post* wrote in a "pool report" to his colleagues after a ride on Air Force One in early September:

"...The President came back [to where reporters and others were sitting] to talk to [Jody] Powell and to look over some of the new photographs on display in the rear cabin of the plane. They included a picture of Carter at the Democratic convention with his running mate, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, and another picture of him with the man sometimes thought to be his running mate, John Paul II of Vatican City.

"The President was in a chipper mood," Walsh wrote, "but not chipper enough to talk.

"Helen [Thomas of UPI] asked him if he was ever going to debate Reagan and he grinned and said 'I hope so.'

"When? There was no answer as the President returned to the front of the plane."

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What a contrast the tightlipped, private Carter was to the public man, especially in his favorite format, the town hall meeting. Whoever thought of having Carter take questions from private citizens, selected at random, in a telegenically crowded hall or high school gym, was inspired. For, from a purely pragmatic standpoint, these meetings allowed Carter the appearance of accountability to the public, with the built-in assurance that the questions would almost always be softballs that Carter could bat out of the park with generalities.

Such criticism, particularly from a reporter who has been shut out from asking questions on a regular basis, is self-serving and to an extent, biased. The President, after all, was talking to his constitutents directly, with no holds barred. Hokey and structured though it may have been, the town hall meeting was an exercise in democracy unheard of elsewhere in the world. And when it worked, it was something to see: In Flint, Michigan, on October 1, what got to you was the emotion, the real affection that the audience felt toward Carter as he stood at the podium at the front of the North Community High School gym on the outskirts of town.

The high school band, a multiracial group of boys and girls decked in white, orange, and black parade uniforms, spent the hours before Carter's arrival nervously practicing *Hail to the Chief*, the stirring and difficult-to-master air that heralds a President's arrival. The rehearsals sounded awful; the real thing sounded fine. This was Carter's birthday, and the gym was decked with scores of hand-lettered signs welcoming the President and wishing him well.

Flint had the worst unemployment rate in the country, almost 26 percent, yet the audience applauded when Carter said: "As President, my heart goes out to those who suffer and I know that the people in Flint, Michigan, have been suffering and I came here to let you know that I as President, Vice President Mondale... [and] my whole administration, is working...to put Flint back on its feet."

There were questions about Iran (Carter said he hoped the formation of a government there would hasten release of the hostages) and about the draft (Carter said there wouldn't be one, except in an emergency).

There were questions about welfare, about foreign imports, about labor policy. In short, the questioning was unusually good and reflected genuine concerns. And Carter responded in kind, shedding his coat, draping both his arms over the podium and talking to his constituents like a friend. Nine-year-old Marlene Laro asked Carter to explain "the difference between the Republicans and you so I can tell my parents how to vote." Carter ran with that ball like O.J. Simpson, taking Marlene back decades to when there was no minimum wage, no rural free delivery of mail, no social security, and reciting the litany: "The Democrats were for it; the Republicans were against it."

But that was as partisan as Carter got. There were no snide cracks about Reagan not realizing that his policies could trigger war, no unsubtle references to "hatred" and "racism." This was Carter at his best and the crowd responded with the kind of emotion no advance man could manufacture. They sang "Happy Birthday" when Carter left, and those of us who covered this event said then that if Carter were to win re-election, the long march to victory may actually have begun in Flint.

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But, of course, there were only a few Flints. More typical of the 1980 Carter campaign were heavyhanded attacks on Reagan, larded with Carter's Nixon-like caveats that he didn't mean to suggest that his opponent wanted war, but that once in the Oval Office "I don't know what he would do."

The worst example, however, dealt with race, and said volumes about Carter as a person and as a campaigner.

Reagan, as was his wont, put his foot in his mouth when he criticized Carter for opening his campaign in Tuscumbia, Alabama, the alleged "birthplace" of the Ku Klux Klan. (It isn't, although a branch of the Klan is headquartered there.) Carter, who had eloquently damned the Klan in his campaign kickoff remarks, quickly attacked Reagan for resorting to "slurs and innuendo" against a whole region of the country. That was fine as far as it went. But Carter wanted to go further.

Several weeks later, in the pulpit of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Carter blasted Reagan for conducting a campaign tinged with "hatred" and "racism."

But Reagan's only reference to the Klan had been critical and obviously had no racist intent. He did say he supported States' rights during a campaign speech in Mississippi. But hatred? Racism?

What was even more significant was what Carter had left out of his prepared remarks at Ebenezer: a blast at his rival for opposing the 1964 Civil Rights Act as a "bad bill." Many of us, seeing Carter pass up this obvious applause line, immediately suspected that Carter's own record on the matter was suspect. We were right.

The most thorough piece on the subject was done by *The Washington Star*'s Phil Gailey, a Georgian who covered Carter when he was governor and whose files on him are extensive. Sure enough, Phil reported, Carter was among some two dozen Georgia state senators who had gone on record as supporting a "last hurrah" bill in the legislature designed to circumvent the intent of the landmark 1964 act.

Why did Carter behave like a demagogue? The best answer I think is that he figured he had to wave a bloody shirt at black voters to get them out to vote for him, so many had become turned off by his economic policies.

The second-best theory is that Carter was just doing what to him came naturally. Call your opponent a racist; call him a warmonger. Make your points with a ball-peen hammer.

This was after all, the same man who beat out Carl Sanders for the 1960 Georgia Democratic gubernatorial nomination by campaigning as an avowed "redneck" and the same man who ten years later allowed his aides to poison the political air around Ted Kennedy with references to "the spoiled fat rich kid" and to Chappaquiddick.

It had worked for Carter before. All he needed was for it to work for him one more time. □

Letters

The editors welcome correspondence from readers. Letters, subject to editing for clarity and space limitation, should be received by January 10th to be considered for publication in the next issue.

WEATHER OR NOT

The "partly sunny, chance of snow showers especially near the lake" weather forecast for Chicago on February 29 that Barbara Bell Pitnof ridiculed ["The Front Page," *NR* Summer 1980] was correct. That day was sunny throughout Chicago, except for a strip less than a mile wide along Lake Michigan where it "sun showered" several inches of snow. This "lake effect" snow occurs regularly in Chicago, where it can be sunny and clear throughout the area, yet snowing along the lake.

One problem in evaluating local news and weather coverage from a distance is a lack of familiarity with local terms and conditions.

Abraham Z. Bass
Department of Journalism
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, Illinois

CAMERA IN THE CLASSROOM

We found your issue, "Writing with Light," to be a most helpful resource in our course, Visual Projects, which we have developed for slow readers. The goals of the course are, first, to assist students who have difficulty with the printed word to come to an understanding of our world through visual images; and second, to use this understanding to aid them in creating their own visual commentary on society.

Your magazine helped them to see how so many other people over the years have used photography to make their particular statements about the world.

Thank you.

Philip Whitbeck
Master Teacher, Social Studies
Triton Regional School
Byfield, Massachusetts

FORGOTTEN LEGACY

In the photographic issue you have brought into sharp focus the intimate and intrinsic relationship between pictures and words in photojournalism. The picture of the look-alike boys carrying their large lunch buckets has an immediate intense emotional impact. These 10-year-old boys could be going to school or to a picnic.

The words tell a different story. These children are going to the mines and mills of Pittsburgh to work for twelve hours or more per day, seven days a week. They will work until accidents or sickness or exhaustion puts an end to their usefulness. They are part of the terrible human price paid for industrialization and great fortunes in the United States.

Jay T. Wright
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

SUITCASE AT THE READY...

About time I put it in writing — the *Nieman Reports* on photography was great. Everyone who read it thought it was really terrific.

Now, about this last issue with the travel article by Steve Brandt ["Foreign Travel — Passport to Contro-

versy," *NR* Autumn 1980]: I appreciate the fact that the author took the time to research whether or not the trips should have been taken by Nieman Fellows, but a couple of things bothered me. First, as the spouse of a Nieman Fellow, Steve was not in the position to choose whether or not to go, and that puts him on the other side of the fence. Also, I wish he had interviewed some of last year's Niemans who did go on trips to Canada and Japan to see what they thought. Although there was a small mention of that in his piece, I think some further reflection would be good.

Anyone who is a Nieman is going on the trip as a Nieman, and I repeat the advice I gave to the new class: Go-go-go.

Stanley Forman (NF '80)
The Boston Herald American
Boston, Massachusetts

OR, STOWED IN THE ATTIC

The high level of quality achieved and maintained by *Nieman Reports* is a regular source of pleasure. The balance between current issues and news of Nieman activity is just right.

On the latter count, I am moved by the Autumn issue to note that the Nieman program is like a Christmas tree: signifying charity and beautiful to behold, but evoking in its admirers a continual urge to add yet another ornament — at the peril of concealing or even endangering the basic structure.

The travel program is an example. The argument over the morality of it is interesting, and the opponents seem to have the stronger case, particularly when the most persuasive argument of the other side is that a reporter on leave for a year at Harvard is beyond the reach of his or her publisher's higher moral standards! Ethical considerations aside, foreign travel seems an unacceptable distraction from the Nieman year's main purpose. If the Fellows are trying to improve the standards of journalism by improving themselves, they should have designed and be following programs of study far too demanding to permit that sort of interruption.

On another note, I endorse the concept of the Louis Lyons Award and urge strongly that a committee of alumni/ae be formed to administer it. The current class should be so busy building its own traditions that it has no time to spare for maintaining others'.

Philip Meyer (NF '67)
Coral Gables, Florida

TWO JOURNALISTS?

After all the gush about Lippmann which the *Nieman Reports* has run over the years, how about running this, which appeared in the *Baltimore Sun*?

Neil V. McNeil (NF '60)
Medill News Service
Washington, D.C.

Mr. McNeil enclosed a column by Garry Wills titled "Mencken and Lippmann." In the columnist's opinion, Mencken was not a journalist but "an entertainer"; nor was Lippmann a journalist, but instead "a shameless flatterer of power." Wills sees a special irony in the fact that the publication of Ronald Steel's "brilliant new book," Walter Lippmann and the American Century, *coincides with the centenary of Mencken's birth, thus putting both men in the public eye at the same time.*

The editors of NR *were unable to reach Garry Wills to obtain his permission to reprint this syndicated column, so offer the foregoing paraphrase of its content. Interested readers may wish to seek out the original piece.*

WESTERN WHISTLERS

First, thanks for another interesting issue of *Nieman Reports* [Autumn 1980]. It was difficult to put down after starting at "Type & Tune". Here in California, Bob Dylan seems to have gotten more votes among the whistlers than Beethoven.

Again, thanks for broadening and updating the magazine.

Carl W. Larsen (NF '48)
San Francisco, California

NOSEGAY

My compliments on the Autumn 1980 issue of *Nieman Reports*.

I found it especially enlightening, provocative *and* entertaining.

Robert Manning (NF '46)
The Atlantic Monthly
Boston, Massachusetts

C.I.E.S. GRANTS

The Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (C.I.E.S.) would like readers of *Nieman Reports* to know about the availability of two grants of varying duration for practicing journalists.

Both grants provide for full-time study and research, as well as international travel — to Japan and Singapore, respectively.

The deadline for applying for either grant has been extended to December 31, 1980. Further information and application forms may be obtained from:

Marguerite Hurlbert
Program Officer, C.I.E.S.
Suite 300, Eleven Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036

Nieman Notes

— 1939 —

IRVING DILLIARD, Professor Emeritus, Princeton University, sends word that he was a visiting professor at South Dakota State University in the fall of 1979, and at Southern Illinois University Carbondale in the spring of 1980. He is currently an adviser to the National News Council. "I bowed off the Council after two terms, as I believe new members must come on regularly. I was a charter founding member and one of the three original incorporates."

LOUIS M. LYONS retired this fall from thirty years as news commentator on Boston's public broadcasting station WGBH-Channel 2. His program began with the start of "educational radio" in Boston in 1950, and was conducted out of the Nieman office until the station expanded into television five years later. Lyons continued on Channel 2 until his retirement from Harvard in 1964. The program received the Peabody Award in 1958, and the Du Pont Award in 1963.

Totty Lyons constituted its entire staff the first twenty-five years.

— 1940 —

The late HODDING CARTER, Jr., will be the subject of a biography written by HODDING CARTER III. These two journalists represent the only father and son to be awarded Nieman Fellowships. See also note under the Class of 1966.

— 1946 —

ROBERT MANNING, editor in chief of *The Atlantic Monthly* since 1966, left the magazine at the end of October. See page 24.

— 1952 —

CHARLES MOLONY has informed us of the death of his wife, Mary Moore Molony, on March 29th at their winter home in Sarasota, Florida. He has made a contribution in her memory to the Walter Lippmann Memorial Fund, and writes:

"As I'm sure the Nieman Foundation has always had a problem of assessing the role and weight to be assigned to wives of Fellows in its program, let me say that Mary Moore (the double names come easier to us Southerners than to others, I know) fit the goals and ideals of the Nieman program far better than I, and her presence lent much more grace than mine to the Class of 1952. When wives were by no means automatically accepted for Harvard studies, she was admitted to the Creative Writing course then given by Ted Morrison and...she demonstrated the ability that won her a Breadloaf Fellowship (plus a publisher's contract and advance which I'm sorry she did not elect to pursue).

"When she became managing editor of *The American Scholar* in 1960, after I had left journalism, it both pleased and amused me to think that her doing so, and serving with distinction in that post for a dozen years until we retired in mid-1972 (I as Assistant to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System in Washington), must not only have appeased but also won an approving smile from the Nieman gods, wherever they may be. But even before she joined *The American Scholar*, she assisted as an editor in the production of several books, as varied as Bob Donovan's *PT 109*, about John F. Kennedy's Navy service in World War II, and one of the early books about the CIA that scored such a critical and popular success that I am embarrassed that I can't now recall either its title or author; I am, however, vividly aware of Julia Child and her original work, *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, to which Mary Moore made a modest contribution and from which (in its manuscript and proof sheet stages) I enjoyed pre-publication testing of recipes.

"But my pleasure in her company over nearly forty years of marriage would not have been diminished in the slightest if she had not done any of these things, and I had borne, unatoned, the status of a journalism expatriate for these many years.

"I have told you these things because they may, I think, be of some help to you and others in considering matters that relate to the role of wives in the Nieman program. Perhaps I have given you a good deal more than you need or wish to know, but I suspect you'll be willing to forgive me that because of my great regard for her."

— 1962 —

MARTIN GOODMAN, president of the *Toronto Star*, has been made a member of the Eastern Regional Advisory Board of the American Press Institute, one of three recently formed boards representing the four quadrants of Canada and the United States combined: Eastern, Southern, Central and Western.

IAN MENZIES, associate editor of *The Boston Globe* and urban affairs writer, was named one of 350 "Grand Bostonians" in a poll sponsored by the Jubilee 350 Committee as part of Boston's summer-long 350th birthday celebration. All Grand Bostonians were feted at a reception on September 20th at the Boston Public Library garden, and were awarded ribbons for "outstanding contributions" to the community. The gala, held under four tents in Copley Square, was attended by a crowd estimated at five thousand.

— 1965 —

RAY JENKINS, special assistant to President Carter, was one of the speakers at the 77th annual convention of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association in September at Colorado Springs. His subject was press coverage of the presidential campaign. Jenkins is former editor of the *Montgomery* (Ala.) *Advertiser*.

— 1966 —

HODDING CARTER III, former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in the Carter Administration, and his wife, Patricia Derian, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State, joined in leading a recent Nieman seminar at Lippmann House.

Hodding, currently teaching at American University, is writing a biography of his father, the late Hodding Carter, Jr. As editor of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times*, Hodding Carter, Jr., won a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials on racial tolerance. He died in 1972 after becoming a world-famous journalist for his editorials attacking racists, isolationists and anti-Semites. His biography is scheduled for publication by Harper & Row in 1982.

ROBERT MAYNARD, editor of the *Oakland* (Calif.) *Tribune*, has been made a

member of the Western Regional Advisory Board of the American Press Institute. (See also Martin Goodman, '62.)

— 1967 —

DANA BULLEN, assistant news editor of *The Washington Star*, is spending the academic year as journalist in residence at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. He and his wife, Joyce, are living in Cambridge.

ANTHONY DAY, editor of the editorial page, *The Los Angeles Times*, was in Cambridge in September to visit his son, John, a freshman at Harvard. Tony came to Lippmann House and led a seminar for the current Nieman class.

JAMES R. WHELAN, former editorial director of Panax Newspapers, was named editor of the *Sacramento* (Calif.) *Union* on September 15th.

— 1969 —

RICHARD D. LONGWORTH with his colleague on the *Chicago Tribune*, Bill Neikirk, won an award from the University of Missouri School of Journalism in its sixteenth annual business journalism competition honoring excellence in business and economics reporting, for their series, "The Changing American Worker: A Special Report."

Longworth and Neikirk were also 1979 first place winners of the third annual Media Awards for Economic Understanding, sponsored by the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration at Dartmouth College.

JOHN ZAKARIAN, editorial page editor of the *Hartford Courant*, was named foreign tour chairman at the 34th annual convention of the National Conference of Editorial Writers in September at Huntington, West Virginia.

— 1976 —

CORNELIA CARRIER, former environmental writer with the *Times-Picayune* in New Orleans, has been named Assistant Secretary of the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, and Director of the Office of Tourism, in Baton Rouge. She started her new position in September and writes, "it is an exciting job...and involves a lot of travel in the United States and abroad."

PERCY QOBOZA, editor of *The Post*, Johannesburg, was named to the new position of editor in residence by *The Washington Star* in September. In announcing the appointment, *The Star*'s editor, Murray J. Gart, said the position was designed for "distinguished journalists who take up residence in Washington" and will be held for varying periods of time.

Mr. Qoboza, who was jailed during a 1977 crackdown by former Prime Minister John Vorster on the opposition to apartheid, said he welcomed the appointment as "an opportunity to pull away for a while from an atmosphere of intense pressure" in South Africa.

— 1977 —

HENNIE VAN DEVENTER, former news editor of *Die Beeld* in Johannesburg, writes that last June he returned to the Free State as editor of *Die Volksblad* (The People's Paper). His new address is: P. O. Box 267, Bloemfontein, 9300, South Africa. He adds, "Here in South Africa we are up to our usual bloodsport — politics. It remains a fine balancing act between hope and despair."

— 1978 —

KAROL SZYNDZIELORZ, senior columnist on foreign affairs for *Zycie Warszawy* and commentator on the fields of energy and disarmament for Polish radio, visited Cambridge in September and led a Nieman seminar on events in Poland as seen from Warsaw. He was in this country for a meeting of the International Editorial Board of the World Newspaper Supplement, published through the United Nations.

— 1979 —

In October Marie-Christine and DOMINIQUE FERRY, on a brief trip from Paris, visited the Nieman office and brought news of changes. First, Dominique, who was formerly president of EDI-7, is now corporate vice president for development, Hachette, and is also in charge of new technologies projects (audiovisual, electronic publishing, data banks) and chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Tele-Consulte, a data bank subsidiary of Hachette.

Secondly, Marie-Christine and Dominique have recently added to their family two Cambodian children, Yin Khoeung, 10, and Yin Saing, 7, increasing the number of children in their household to five. Stephanie, 12, Emmanuel, 10, and Marguerite, 5, were in Cambridge during their parents' Nieman year. Marie-Christine says everyone is flourishing.

Finally, they have a new home address: 4 Rue de L'Eglise, 92420 Vaucresson, France. Telephone: (1) 741-3548.

FRANK VAN RIPER, Washington bureau correspondent for the New York *Daily News*, sends in the following squibs about his classmates:

"The universe of potential Niemans grew by one with the birth of Benjamin Hugh Beaton, first child of Emily and GRAEME BEATON. Graeme (business and financial columnist, Washington bureau of News Limited of Australia) reports that Benjamin "is a wonderful kid, really, I mean it — even if he does look like his dad.' Benjamin was able to show off just how neat he was at a baby shower given in his honor by PEGGY ENGEL and attended by several Washington-area Niemans: Mary Fran and BILL GILDEA, PEGGY SIMPSON, MICHAEL McDOWELL, yours truly (all '79) and BILL EATON ('63).

"The party also served to bid bittersweet farewell to Michael McDowell, who left shortly thereafter for London. He has spent his post-Nieman year at the Carnegie Endowment in New York, was a regular commuter between Boston, New York, and Washington, and kept in close touch with his classmates, who will miss him a great deal, but who now will have an excuse to visit London.

"It is probably fair to assume that New York City does not hold the same fascination for BOB PORTERFIELD that it held for, say, George Gershwin or E. B. White. Bob, now on a Bagehot Fellowship at Columbia [after a stint at *The Boston Globe* and a trip to the West Coast], reports that 'for every cultural, social, etc., value a New Yorker can point to, I can point to ten more in practically every city with more than one million population....'

"Patty and JOHN HUFF report that they have bought a house in the Mt. Airy section of Philadelphia. John is now with *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Patty says she is looking forward to getting the new place

in shape and doing a lot of the woodworking herself. Her proficiency as a seamstress and quiltmaker became legendary during their stay in Cambridge.

"ROYSTON WRIGHT, assistant editor of Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service, Freetown, is traveling all over the country covering the U.S. presidential campaign. During his travels, he visited John and Patty Huff, then went on to see some of the Washington-area Niemans. In comparing campaign notes, Royston and your scribe discovered they both had been in the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta in September, when President Carter lambasted Ronald Reagan for allegedly waging a campaign tinged with racism.

"PEGGY SIMPSON, MICHAEL McIVOR and yours truly, covering the Carter campaign for *The Boston Herald American,* the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the New York *Daily News* respectively, all got together in Calabasas, California, last September to compare notes — on a mechanical bull. The three intrepid newsies took their turns on the beast at a late-night party with the White House staff and press corps after the President was safely tucked in for the evening. All survived."

RANDOM NOTES

The 1980-81 lineup of ASNE committees is well buttressed with a total of twenty-one Niemans. WILLIAM J. WOESTENDIEK ('55), *Arizona Daily Star*, is chairman of the Education for Journalism committee. Serving with him are: ROBERT GILES ('66), Gannett Newspapers, Rochester, N.Y.; REG MURPHY ('60), *San Francisco Examiner*; and JOHN SEIGENTHALER ('59), *Nashville Tennessean.*

The Ethics Committee includes DONALD J. STERLING ('56), *Oregon Journal*; and the International Communication Committee, GEORGE CHAPLIN ('41), *The Honolulu Advertiser*; and WATSON S. SIMS ('53), New Brunswick, N.J., *Home News.*

On the Freedom of Information Committee: JAMES AHEARN ('71), *The Bergen Record*, Hackensack, N.J.; ANTHONY DAY ('67), *The Los Angeles Times* (he is also serving on the Writing Awards Committee); ROBERT HEALY ('56), *The Boston Globe*; and JOHN STROHMEYER ('53), Bethlehem, Penn., *Globe-Times.*

Serving on the Minorities Committee is ROBERT MAYNARD ('66), *Oakland Tribune*; and on the Program Committee: RICHARD MOONEY ('56), *Hartford Courant*; GENE ROBERTS ('62), *The Philadelphia Inquirer.*

The Press-Bar Committee includes NORMAN CHERNISS ('59), *Riverside* (Calif.) *Press-Enterprise*, and JAMES SQUIRES ('71), *Orlando Sentinel Star.*

On the Nominations Committee are: LARRY ALLISON ('60), Long Beach, Calif., *Independent and Press-Telegram*; JOHN O. EMMERICH ('62), Greenwood, Miss., *Commonwealth*; EDWIN GUTHMAN ('51), *The Philadelphia Inquirer*; and HOWARD SIMONS ('59), *The Washington Post.*

ROBERT P. CLARK ('61), *Florida Times-Union* and *Jacksonville Journal*, is chairman of the Readership and Research committee.

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STANLEY KARNOW ('58), editor of the International Writers Service in Washington, D.C., in October met with the current class of Niemans for a panel discussion with some of the member writers of his group, including ATSUKO CHIBA ('68), specialist in social and economic issues in Japan. Others were: Godfrey Hodgson, commentator on London television; Thomas Von Randow, science editor of *Die Zeit*; and Adalbert de Segonzac, media adviser to the Atlantic Institute in Paris. The panelists talked about their impressions of the United States, especially during this election year.

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Other Niemans who have recently stopped in at Lippmann House include: ROBERT AZZI ('77), photographer represented by Woodfin Camp & Associates, N.Y.; PETER BRAESTRUP ('60), editor, *The Wilson Quarterly*; ARUN CHACKO ('78), associate editor, South Asia, for *WorldPaper*; MICHAEL GREEN ('68), editor, *Daily News*, Durban, South Africa; ROBERT LASSETER ('44), of Murfreesboro, Tennessee; and PEGGY SIMPSON ('79), Washington reporter for *The Boston Herald American.*

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The other day we received a telephone call from a West Coast Nieman who, we were informed, had not received any communication from Nieman headquarters for nearly three years.

Some intensive local bird-dogging revealed that alumni/ae mail had in fact been sent to this Fellow, but to an address not immediately recognized by our caller. "But wait a minute," came the response. "I never lived there, but I think that's where my bank is." Sure enough, pursuing the matter, we discovered this to be the case. The computer in New Hampshire has now been advised of the proper address, and the bank in California won't have Nieman mail to kick around any more.

1981 Nieman Reunion

A reminder that the forthcoming Nieman Reunion-Convocation will be held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 25, 26, 27, 1981.

Early registration is advised. To assist us in making arrangements, Fellows who plan to attend but have not yet sent in their reservation forms should do so as soon as possible.

Registration fees will be accepted between now and next February. Fellows who pay the fee, then find that a change in plans prevents them from attending, will receive a full refund after May 1st.

A letter with details about the April gathering was mailed to all Niemans in October. Please let Daphne Noyes (One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138; telephone 617-495-2237) know if you did not receive this information.

All of us at Nieman headquarters look forward to the festivities next spring.

—T.B.K.L.

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