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Free Press and Fair Trial By J. Russell Wiggins

It is intended by the title of these comments to indicate that the writer does not believe that the people must choose between having a free press and fair trials but that on the contrary they can have both. The title of the article in *Nieman Reports* [September 1963] by Judge Hubert L. Will seems to imply that it is necessary to make a choice.

Judge Will's opinions on the nature of freedom of the press and his argument that Americans do not have any "right to know" and his broad indictment of the whole press I will pass over. It always astonishes me to see a Judge, presumably skilled in the nature of justice, indict a whole profession without citing a single supporting instance of crime, and without taking the pains to narrow his charge to an identifiable accused person so that the guilt or innocence of the allegations may be fairly weighed. But let that pass. Two points engage my interest: (1) the assertion that the right of a public trial is the right of the accused only; and (2) the plea for voluntary press censorship of crime reporting.

Judge Will is very certain that the right to a public trial is a right of the accused only. "The presence of the press is merely an avenue by which the accused may obtain a fuller expression of this right (the right to a fair trial)." "Notwithstanding the abstract benefit which the press may

J. Russell Wiggins, editor of the Washington Post, is author of Freedom or Secrecy.

afford the courts and litigants, it must be remembered that its access to the courtroom is not based on any inherent right which it enjoys, but stems from the right of the accused to a fair trial and the assumption that the press will further this end. It is a right which like most rights can be and at times has been waived."

The right to a public trial is indeed a right of the accused, but it is not a right of the accused only. It has other advantages. They have been dwelt upon by our great law writers,

time and time again.

(1) The testimony given in court is improved by open proceedings because the witness is more inclined to tell the truth. Professor John Henry Wigmore has pointed out that the open court improves the testimony subjectively "by producing in the witness's mind a disinclination to falsify in the presence of spectators who may be ready to 'scorn a demonstrated liar.' Blackstone has emphasized the advantage in this language:

This open examination of witnesses viva voce, in the presence of all mankind, is much more conducive to the clearing up of truth than the private and secret examination taken down in writing before an officer or his clerk in the ecclesiastical courts, and all other that have borrowed their practice from the civil law; where a witness may frequently depose that, in private, which he will be ashamed to testify in a public and solemn tribunal.

And Jeremy Bentham has said of the witness in an open court:

Environed as he sees himself by a thousand eyes, contradiction, should he hazard a false tale, will seem ready to rise up in opposition to it from a thousand mouths. Many a known face, and every unknown countenance, presents to him a possible source of detection from whence the truth he is struggling to suppress may, through some unsuspecting channel, burst forth to his confusion.

- (2) Testimony is not only thus improved subjectively, it is likely to be increased and enlarged by disclosing new witnesses and calling forth evidence offered in response to earlier evidence.
- (3) The judge, jury and counsel are, as Wigmore puts it, "more strongly moved to a strict conscientiousness in the performance of duty" by public proceedings. Bentham points out that publicity "keeps the judge while trying under trial." He adds:

Upon his moral faculties it acts as a check, restraining him from active partiality and improbity in every shape; upon his intellectual faculties, it acts as a spur, urging him to that habit of unremitting exertion, without which his attention can never be kept up to the pitch of his duty . . .

(Continued on page 17)

The Wire Services In Latin America

By Peter Barnes

"So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about the Indians on the war path in the West, lynchings in the South and bizarre crimes in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America was ever sent. American businessmen criticized AP for permitting Reuters to belittle America abroad."

—Kent Cooper, former general manager of the Associated Press, describing how things were up to the early part of the century when Reuters was the only agency permitted by international agreement to transmit news of the U.S. abroad.

For some time now, Latin America has been at a turning point in its history, a turning point which has taken centuries to arrive at and may take decades more to navigate.

The paths behind this turning point are the outmoded semi-feudal social and economic structures and half-made political nations. The paths ahead lead toward economic development, social justice and some kind of political reorientation. The motive agents are the forces of modernism, popular government and nationalism, long without voice or power, now surging across the continent. Today, every contest for power in Latin America, every election, military coup or political act, is pregnant with the question: where is this developing nation going, and who will carry it there?

This turning point was reached in Latin America well before Fidel Castro made the United States somewhat vaguely, and uneasily, aware of it. But Latin America, one of the three major areas that constitute the western family of nations, was the forgotten member of that family—not only in our press, but in our educational system, in tourism, in the disposal of economic aid and in policy making priorities.

Then, on January 1, 1959, just eight short months after our vice-president, Richard M. Nixon, was stoned by a mob of angry anti-American students in Caracas, a bearded guerrilla leader led his khaki-clad band of fighters into Havana, Cuba, and in so doing ushered in a new era of American awareness of Latin America. This was reflected,

This is from a forthcoming book by **Peter Barnes**, now on the staff of the Lowell *Sun*, who spent some months in Latin America last year, on a grant from the Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard, exploring American news channels there.

reluctantly, in Washington policies, in university programs, and particularly in the press. The American conscience was pricked, and so was its movie fan-ish appetite for appealing personalities. A barrage of news stories flooded our communications media about Fidel Castro and about love or hate for the United States in Latin America. Then, communism became specifically the issue, the real perspective of Latin America's turning point was lost, and the Cold War became obsessively entrenched in the news presentation of our southern neighbors.

In maintaining our democracy on an even keel with reality, the press has one of its prime responsibilities. There can be no doubt that the press possesses the power to build up images and stereotypes, particularly about things distant from the reader. Two great wire services span the U.S., and between them provide Americans with the lion's share of their daily information about Latin America. The Associated Press and UPI both feed upwards of 1100 newspapers. The average reader has little other information with which to judge the veracity of the wire services, or question their emphases.

The questions that must be asked, then, are several. Do the news agencies keep the U.S. adequately and accurately supplied with hard news from Latin America? Do they keep us adequately and accurately provided with interpretive news from that changing area? Is the overall image created of Latin America by both kinds of news stories a just one, or is it, as most Latins who visit the U.S. and read our press claim, a distorted, "underdeveloped" image? For the answers, let us look into the history and the organization of the agencies in Latin America.

The American news agency activities in Latin America have their origin in the 1893 agreement between the then Big Four in news distribution, Reuters, AP, Havas and Wolff. Under the cartel arrangement, AP was given the rights to the U.S., and later to Mexico and Central America. Reuters distributed AP's American news abroad (giving rise to Kent Cooper's remarks that lead off this article), and handled the British Empire and the Far East. South America was ceded to Havas.

Then, in June 1907, what was later to burgeon into United Press International began as an aglommeration of correspondents incorporated into a single profit-seeking agency by Edward Wyliss Scripps. Unfettered by the agreements which bound AP, a cooperative news-gathering service, UP was eager to open up new markets.

The opportunity came in 1914 after AP's general manager, Melville A. Stone, loyal to his international commitments, discarded a plea from publisher Jorge Mitre of *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) to supply it with balanced World War coverage. Havas was giving neutral South America only the French side of the war.

UP, which next received Mitre's offer, snapped it up avidly. Roy Howard, news manager of UP, sent Charles P. Stewart down to Buenos Aires as the first U.S. bureau chief in Latin America. Then in 1916, Howard himself went down to South America, firmed up Mitre, and acquired several other clients for the UP.

Still, however, Mitre felt attracted by the greater prestige and fuller service of AP at that time, and travelled all the way to New York in 1918 to persuade that agency to break its agreement with Havas. There was much discussion at the upper level of AP about what to do with Mitre, South America, and the international cartel in general. It was argued that if UP was competing in Latin America with Havas, AP could not afford to stand idly by. Finally, the decision was made to send Kent Cooper, then traffic manager, to South America to seek new members; and La Nación was given the AP service.

What followed was one of journalism's most intriguing personal jousts—between Cooper and Howard, then on his second trip to Latin America. The two were old friends from Indianapolis, and after Cooper caught up with Howard in Buenos Aires in July of 1918, they travelled together visiting many countries, each not disclosing to the other what he was actually doing.

The big prize was Buenos Aires' outstanding newspaper, La Prensa, owned by the wealthy Paz family. Cooper scored a sweeping first-round victory by signing up not only La Prensa and La Nación, but 23 other papers in Brazil and on the west coast. UP was left with but a handful of small newspapers.

But AP's triumph was short-lived. Within six months, J. I. Miller of UP convinced Ezequiel Paz that La Prensa needed a different news service from its arch competitor, La Nación. And, with La Prensa lending its great prestige and paying the freight down to the River Plate, UP went on to dominate the Latin American market. As James A. Morris wrote in his history of UP, "It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of La Prensa on the growth and development of the United Press. . . . Whatever news La Prensa required outside of the normal field of a press association in the United States was provided as a special service and charged to La Prensa. In time, La Prensa's payments amounted to as much as \$10,000 or \$14,000 a week—or \$550,000 a year—probably the largest sum that any newspaper in the world paid to any news-gathering organization."

Today, after an aggressive, if belated expansion drive during the past few years, AP, with 306 Latin American subscribers, still trails UPI, with 650, and Agence France Presse, the government-supported successor to Havas. Among the major UPI clients are La Prensa and La Razón (Buenos Aires), El Espectador (Bogotá), El Universal (Mexico City), El Comercio (Quinto), Diario Carioca (Rio de Janeiro). AP has La Nación, Clarín and El Mundo in Buenos Aires, El Nacional (Caracas), El Telégrafo (Guayaquil) and Excelsior (Mexico City). Subscribers to both services include O Estado de São Paulo, El Mercurio (Santiago), El Comercio and La Prensa (Lima), El Tiempo (Bogotá), El Universal (Caracs), and Novedades (Mexico) and O Globo (Rio).

These various and mostly conservative clients provide the wire services with enough revenues to maintain a staff of correspondents in Latin America who, in turn, are the gatherers of news for the U.S. reader. The situation is such, however, that the Latin American countries are covered by agencies that are foreign to them, in the same way that agencies which report Latin America for the U.S. have their Reuters was foreign to the U.S.; and that the two American agencies which report Latin America for the U.S. have their own economic interests to defend. The influence of the agencies' clients will be mentioned later.

In staffing and organization, the AP and UPI are essentially similar in Latin America. Both fan out their communications networks from New York by way of radio, commercial and leased cable, telephone, and telex. Both maintain bureaus (two or more newsmen) in the major cities of the major countries, and stringers in the rest of the countries and smaller cities.

In all, UPI claims to have 124 full-time newsmen on its staff in Latin America (which is either an exaggeration or a gross stretching of terms), and AP more realistically says it has 43. Whatever the exact totals, UPI does have more than AP.

Approximately 70% of news agency staffers in Latin America are nationals, with UPI, because of its larger Latin American clientele, having a slightly higher proportion than AP. If any generalization can be made about these non-American staffers, it would be that the majority of them are underpaid, under-motivated, and under-trained, and that many of them have vested reasons—political, family, or other—for not giving an objective treatment of the news. The average salary for a fairly well remunerated local stringer in Latin America is around \$85 a month—and their gripe is that Americans get more.

Of the news that is sent to New York by the wire service correspondents about 20%, according to their own estimates

(it was less before Castro), gets through the foreign news desks and on to the domestic wires. A smaller part moves on to the world desk and off to London. And the bulk returns to Latin America where, along with the rest of the news agencies' Latin American services, the interested countries or regions pick it up.

The crux of the matter, however, is not really how much news gets sent (it is far more than is used by local American telegraph editors anyway) but what kind. Against those who claim that the agencies' coverage of Latin American news is too sensationalistic, too over-simplified, or too obsessed with saleable punch-lines, the agencies argue that you can only write news of unfamiliar lands by making it understandable in familiar terms. Were Latin American coverage not like this, few Americans would read news of that area at all. Better to have the public superficially informed than to have them ignorant of Latin American affairs altogether, runs the argument.

Regardless of rationale, the truth is that after decades of reporting, it is still largely the traditional standards of newsworthiness that apply to Latin America, especially in the hard news coverage: the disastrous, the violent, the curious, the "it could happen to us," and the "local boy makes good," are what constitute news.

A former AP bureau chief in Bogotá who previously worked on the foreign news desk in New York expressed his criteria this way: "For the A wire I file earthquakes, student riots, general strikes, assassination attempts, and plane crashes. These I send 'urgent' if a reasonable number of people have been killed. Most features, which I send by mail, also get put on the A wire.

"For the regional and secondary news wires I include items about coffee, oil—Texas is most interested—and banditry. A story about the economic readjustments caused by the devaluation of the peso would not be of A wire interest. It would probably move on the B wire."

Another agency correspondent, a bi-lingual member of the UPI Caracas bureau, explained: "I write the English material for the U.S. and Europe. This includes news with an international implication, such as the communist terrorism here, especially when the attacks are against U.S. companies. (It doesn't matter so much if the national Architecture School here is bombed.) It also includes crashes, disasters, baseball scores, and anything spectacular, such as the theft of pictures from the national art gallery. We used to do stories on the activities of the Cuban exiles in Venezuela, but people got tired of that. And we also do bits in English on odd things of international interest: Angel waterfall, the highest in the world, and the fact that you can ski in Venezuela just one hour from the tropical sea coast.

"On politics, the only things we send to the U.S. deal with

Fidel Castro, Betancourt's fight against communist subversion, and the Alliance for Progress, though that's a pretty nebulous thing. All the rest goes in Spanish for Latin American consumption, or it just doesn't get reported. We write up in Spanish a great deal more about national politics because the Latin American nations have similar problems and customs, and can more readily understand it."

A closer look at the selection process itself will help us determine in which of the several stages most of the items deemed unworthy for American eyes are weeded out. A breakdown by category of the news filed to New York during a six-week period from the Bogotá bureaus of AP and UPI yielded some interesting results. Between February 10 and March 24, 1963, AP filed 61 cable dispatches and UPI 148 radio-cast items from Bogotá. (In addition, over a longer ten month period, AP sent mailers at an average rate of one every 11 days, while UPI averaged one every week.) From these dispatches, the following percentages were obtained:

													AP	UPI
(1)	Banditry												10%	10%
(2)	Disasters												10%	9%
(3)	Sports .												3%	15%
(4)	Minor int	erna	tion	nal	CO	nf	ere	nce	es				20%	8%
(5)	People arr	ivin	g or	· le	av	ing	g B	og	otá	ί.			8%	8%
(6)	Political,	but	cer	ite	red	la	roi	uno	d	str	ike	s,		
	riots, ter	roris	sm,	or	su	bve	ersi	on					18%	13%
(7)	Political,	socia	l ai	nd	eco	one	om	ic,	bu	it i	noı	1-		
	violent												28%	28%
(8)	Miscellane	ous											3%	9%

When categories (6) and (7) are added up, we find that over 40% of the dispatches of both bureaus dealt with political, social, and economic phenomenon, and that a good two-thirds of these were "substantive"—they were news because of the time, place and meaning of the event, not because of the violence of the act. This was not a bad performance at all.

For the homeside view of the selection process, a recent study of Latin American coverage made by the Fund for the Republic is useful. This study, it should be said, has been severly criticized on methodological grounds by news agency executives and even by some newsmen participating in it. Nevertheless, taking its figures with allowance for this, the part of the study that tabulates the number of wire service items on U.S. trunk wires is still significant.

In the one month period of February, 1962, according to the study, four items about Colombia passed the AP foreign news desk and appeared on the A wire. A comparable figure held for UPI. Other countries, with the exception of

WIRE SERVICE BUREAU CHIEFS IN LATIN AMERICA

Location	Associated Press	United Press International
New York	Paul Sanders	Francis McCarthy
Mexico	Morris Rosenberg	John Alius
Colombia	James Bowman	Carlos Villar Borda
Venezuela	Richard Massock	James Whelan
Peru	Thomas Stone	Alberto Shazín
Bolivia	Jorge Canelas	Betsy Zavala
Chile	José Orlando	Martin Leguizamón
Argentina	Kenneth Davis	William Horsey
Brazil (Rio)	Frank Butto	H. Nenny Davis
Cuba	Daniel Harker	Unassigned

Cuba, got similar exposure to local telegraph editors' snippers. In short, Hal Hendrix of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, who worked on this part of the study, was led to conclude: "It seems from the month's sampling that the long-standing attitude of the Latin American about the presentation of news of his problems and of his nation in the U.S. still holds true—revolutions, earthquakes and other catastrophes make news in the U.S. press." For our purposes, it serves to underline where the brunt of Latin American news, and particularly the substantive news, gets selected out: not so much down on the scene, as in New York.

Other factors, besides hard news selection, contribute to the formation of an overall image of Latin America. The most important of these is style.

American news agency style, increasingly setting the pace for journalism throughout the world, is crisp, curt, and condensed. A passion for numbers adds an aura of factuality that is misleading. The pyramid structure, convenient for harried telegraph editors, arranges facts and meaning according to a journalistic scale of news value.

This agency style has many advantages, the foremost being the time and organization of thought it saves the reader. But it also lends itself in several places to distortions. First, the lead and pyramid form inherently blows up a single aspect at the expense of all others in the reader's mind. And since the criteria for lead selection on Latin American copy heavily favors deaths and crises—as does the criteria for news selection—these aspects again dominate the total image, or are not sufficiently counter-balanced by others. On riot or terrorist stories, the number of dead and the value of damages always precedes all other information. The political causes, pre-conditions, and motives, which all such events have and which should be of greater, more lasting importance than the number of deaths, are relegated to the tail ends of these stories, if they are treated at all.

Secondly, the hard-hitting American style calls for liberal use of descriptive nouns and verbs. Thus, people don't "tell" or "say" very much in U.S. journalistic jargon, they "charge" or "rap." The opportunities here for political coloration are boundless, and *Time* magazine has no monopoly on paint-brushes. Wire service dispatches have Castro "bellowing" to "mobs," Che Guevara spouting forth "harangues" at international conferences, and health campaigns in Cuba being labeled as "propaganda drives." In a dispatch from Chile, people were described as having been "lured" into voting for the left-wing FRAP. More palatable causes to the U.S., needless to say, get the opposite treatment.

Another predilection of the economy-minded U.S. style is the "nutshell epithet" to convey briefly the position of parties and men. While it is perfectly possible for such epithets to be without connotations of value judgment, all too many of them as used by the agencies are not as unintended to prejudice as they might be. Here are some actual examples of these ready-made labels which agencies insert almost automatically when mention of their wearer is made:

- "... Romulo Betancourt, first freely elected President of Venezuela to serve out his full term in office ..."
- "... Leonel Brizola, fiery leftist brother-in-law of President Goulart ..."
- "... the FRAP (Chilean Popular Front), a Communistled five party alliance pledged to make this Latin American country a Red-controlled state ..."
 - "... Peron, former dictator of Argentina ..."
- ". . . Alfonso Lopez Michelson (moderate Colombian progressive), whose party is rife with supporters of Fidel Castro . . ."

And so on. The upshot of this agency name-tagging, which fortunately other news sources such as the New York *Times* manage to avoid, is the creation of a virtual pantheon of heroes and bogey men in the world of U.S. press imagery. On the good side are men like Betancourt, Alberto Llevas Camargo, Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre (now), Juan Bosch, José Figueres, and others. The bogey men include Fidel Castro, Juan Perón, Francois Duvalier, Cheddi Jagan, Leonel Brizola, Hugo Blanco, and Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. There is nothing wrong with having preferences and dislikes, but not to the extreme where we know little in the U.S. about the legitimate criticisms raised in their own countries against the heroes, and even less about the legitimate accomplishments of the bogey men.

It even seems that once a man has been labelled, no amount of contervailing detail can dispel his original image. In a *single* story, for example, AP first epitomized Salvadore Allende, leader of Chile's FRAP, as "an outspoken admirer of Fidel Castro," and gave the above mentioned epithet for the FRAP itself. Then, when AP went on to talk about

brass tacks, it pointed out that: Alende is not a Communist, but a Socialist; he is also an aristocrat; he is trying to dissociate himself from Cuba; as a Chilean he advocates democracy, peaceful methods, respect for human rights, and adequate compensation for any nationalized firms.

If the agencies do not present the Latin American turning point wholly from the point of view of the nations involved, but tend to portray it from a U.S. and Cold War perspective, this may be partially attributed to the natural American prediliction to see things from our own viewpoint, and in many instances to prefer a Washington dateline to a Latin American one. It may also be due in part to the largely conservative nature of the agencies' major clients in Latin America.

There is no doubt that most of the publishers who provide the agencies with their Latin American revenues would be shocked and offended by a fairer treatment of the changing social forces at work in modern Latin America. (So would U.S. publishers, but since their lives and livelihood are not directly at stake, they aren't as sensitive as their Latin counterparts.) A UPI correspondent in Brazil, for example, wrote a story several months ago that was mildly critical of rightist Carlos Lacerda, Governor of Guanabara. This provoked *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires into protesting vigorously to UPI headquarters in New York, which relayed the protest to the correspondent with a "never again" advisement attached.

It must be recognized in any discussion of this subject that the agencies are facing an essentially thankless task in bringing Latin American news to the U.S. They are trying to inform a reading public about a land which it has never studied in its high school or college history classes, never fought in as a GI, hardly ever visited as a tourist, and with which it rarely has ethnic or ancestral ties. Yet, despite many shortcomings, the agencies have made considerable strides since the advent of Fidel Castro.

Most notable have been the advances in interpretive coverage, particularly on the part of AP. In the articles of such agency specialists as UPI's Phil Newsom and AP's William Ryan, and in the general increase in the number of background stories, the wire services are beginning to make inroads into the over-simplified image of Latin America they have helped perpetuate in their hard news coverage.

A remarkably high percentage of Newsom's columns in the past few years have been devoted to Latin American coverage, and he has handled the area well and imaginatively. The advantage of having an agency columnist make special efforts in presenting Latin America is that he can gain some of that vitally contested news space for the region. A Venezuela story by the regular agency correspondent might be choked off either at New York or by local telegraph editors, but a Newsom or similar column will become paper and ink. Thus, a recent flurry of land invasions in Peru—movements in which tens of thousands of people were involved—went virtually unnoticed in the daily press. UPI's Newsom caught it, however, and highlighted this dramatic event in a subsequent column that appeared in many newspapers across the country.

A further boost to balanced Latin American coverage has been the increasing agency tendency to send outstanding writers on swings through the continent. Recently AP sponsored a Latin American trip for its diplomatic affairs expert, John Hightower, which was the source of much good copy and undoubtedly will be the background for many excellent pieces to come.

AP, more than UPI, seems to have recognized the need for stepped-up interpretive coverage of areas where American familiarity is sketchy. Stanley M. Swinton, director of AP world services, has said:

We believe that the news from Latin America must convey two things—the event itself and the environment. For this reason, AP has placed great emphasis in the past few years on stepped-up background stories, wrap-ups, and human interest stories. We have created a new position of South American photo editor, to supervise increased photo coverage of the area. AP spotlights and newsfeatures have increasingly dealt with Latin America.

UPI's policy as a commercial enterprise has been to put on its wires what it thinks the market can bear. It can play an opinion-leading role in its news presentation—but only as long as there is the possibility of rendering some profit. And, as far as Latin America is concerned, the reaction to UPI innovations has been disappointing. In 1958, UPI mailed out an entire page of newsfeatures dedicated to Latin America, but evoked little response. In 1960, it carried two "situationers" a week for a while, taking one Latin American country at a time. This too was dropped due to lack of response.

Vice-president and editor Earl J. Johnson summed up UPI's position in a reply to the Fund for the Republic study:

Our New York editors have quick and constant access to the news of the 20 American republics—up to 8,000 or 10,000 words a day. Much of it is specialized neighborhood news, of no interest to the U.S. We are not easily discouraged, but it is a fact you must accept that when the newspapers don't publish it the UPI editors are inclined to switch to other subjects.

In the last analysis, the problem of wire service coverage of Latin America boils down to the fact that the U.S., despite Fidel Castro, still is not sufficiently aware of or interested in the 20 republics to the south. An informal poll of managing editors of 25 leading newspapers across the country, taken by this writer, showed that except for special cases on the southern border of our nation, the majority frankly felt that there just wasn't much interest in their community for Latin America. A typical reply was one such as this:

With all due respect for human interests, I think that, though there are some people in any community who have some interest in Latin American affairs, this number is nowhere near the number interested in a local murder. Readers are, and I suppose always will be, interested in events as they can see they are affected by them. The relevancy of most Latin American news is lost on them.

Yet, the press is a major factor in this general inability to see the relevance of Latin America, and the wire services, as main purveyors of news to the nation, must bear a substantial brunt of the burden of educating it.

Earl Johnson of UPI has noted that there are seasonal flare-ups of press interest in Latin America whenever a group of publishers or editors returns from a trip to that area.

Perhaps the most effective way to create a *lasting* press interest in Latin America is to give the opportunity to local telegraph editors to travel and to study about Latin America. It is they who are the link between the wire services and the public. It is they, armed with a deeper understanding of this continent in ferment, who could make better day-to-day use of existing agency copy, and demand fuller and superior coverage in the future.

News in Depth An Indian Commentary on U.S. Reporting

By T. V. Parasuram

An Indian correspondent in the United States necessarily compares the newspapers of the two countries. I never cease to marvel at the amount of news we are able to carry in India in an eight, ten or twelve-page newspaper. Crime news is treated with commendable restraint. The accuracy of Indian reporting of extempore speeches is proverbial. We lack the facilities that are available to the American reporter-prepared texts, transcripts, tape recorders, news bulletins on the radio every thirty minutes, television documentaries, telephones that work, secretaries of VIPs who always take down requests for interviews and call back and, by Indian standards, unlimited finance. Yet when Dr. Martin Luther King departs from his prepared text and delivers an oration that must rank among the greatest in any age or any clime, almost all the morning papers here miss it, though the speech was delivered in the afternoon. There will be chaos in American newspaper offices if a private company does not produce the transcript of the President's news conferences.

But in two areas, the American press is definitely superior to the Indian press—in depth of coverage and investigative and descriptive writing. Perhaps with our limited newsprint and shortage of staff we cannot attempt the latter although there is always room for improvement even with limited means. But depth of coverage is something we can and ought to tackle. What is needed here is not expenditure but a serious cooperative effort between the Government and the Fourth Estate. The need for it is urgent.

We have to change the concepts of news which we inherited in a different context. There is already a healthy trend in the Indian press away from speeches to reportage of events. But it has to be carried further, much further, if the Indian press is to perform the basic duty of keeping the public fully informed. The public has a right to know. Obviously it cannot know what is happening if the press itself does not know.

The gap can be bridged by adopting American techniques of briefing, suitably changed to meet Indian requirements. "Briefing" to an Indian official means all too frequently an opportunity to get some propaganda mileage for the activities of his department or Government as a whole. Every official in every country will to a lesser or greater extent attempt "news management," but this is where we can adopt the built-in checks that have evolved in the United States through usage.

Briefing is a combination of many techniques. First, every major Government department in Washington has a daily press conference where routine announcements are made, set functions revealed and prepared texts distributed. A warning note is also sounded on possible developments later in the day or night. There is always a "Duty Officer" whom correspondents can ring up in his office or home. These regular briefings are open to all accredited correspondents. Secondly, there are briefings to selected American correspondents. A variation of this is briefings to selected American correspondents and selected foreign correspond-

ents when the regions in which the latter are interested come up for discussion. Thirdly, there are interviews to individual correspondents or small groups of correspondents. Usually what one gathers in these interviews can be attributed to "U.S. sources" or "officials." Sometimes, when the interview is with a highly-placed Cabinet officer, the source cannot be disclosed under any circumstances. Rarely is an attempt made in briefings at this level to give or obtain "news". But a serious effort is made to obtain an insight into the motivations and drives, predujices and superstitions that go into the shaping of policy.

These techniques are only illustrative. There is a qualitative difference between the "darshan" and "chit-chat" approach that often passes for "contacts" in India and what obtains in the United States, A part of the American system is the deliberate "leak" of major impending developments. This serves as a sounding board of public opinion. One of President Kennedy's biographers pointed out that not a single Cabinet officer was appointed by President Kennedy unless he and his staff had had an opportunity to assess public reaction to the "leaks." In one or two cases Cabinet appointments which he had in mind were cancelled when the public reaction was found to be unfavourable. The "leak" saved him and the candidate himself from embarrassment. After all it was only a "rumour." It is obviously easier to cancel an appointment at the consideration level than after it has been announced. To take a recent instance, the wheat deal with the Soviet Union was not announced for ten days after the President had decided to go ahead with it. During this crucial period the Administration was able to judge whether it was politically safe to enter into it. The Administration left the way open to proceed or to retreat. News despatches in some newspapers revealed that the deal was firm. Other despatches raised doubts. The public is carefully prepared for any major Administration move through speeches, television and radio interviews and briefings at different levels so that when finally the event occurs there is no possibility of a violent reaction. One can only imagine what would have happened if in the course of the negotiations between the United States and the Government of India over the Voice of America transmitter had been "leaked" to the pressnot necessarily the full details but the major outlines. Either the public would have favoured the deal, in which case the Government of India could have gone ahead safely, or it would have reacted violently, in which event the Government of India could have quietly buried it. Examples could be multiplied. Had the public been taken fully into confidence over Chinese incursions into Indian territory in the fifties, the disastrous events of last October could have been avoided in a variety of ways. Something is surely wrong with a system in which almost every major

development comes to the public as a surprise. This ought not to happen in a democratic society. After all the public are the masters. They have the right to accept or reject a policy not only after it has been framed by the Government but during the process of formulation.

Two essential ingredients in a proper system of briefing are a certain degree of specialization in the affairs of a particular department by the reporter and a free and easy relationship between the Secretary or Minister and his information officer. If the information officer does not know what is happening in his Ministry, it is far better to abolish the post. Here again the American experience shows that the worst fiasco under the Eisenhower Administration occurred precisely when this golden rule was forgotten. The State Department press officer who indignantly denied that the American U-2 ever violated air space deliberately used expressions which he would have avoided had he been told by the Central Intelligence Agency what actually happened. There would have been a denial which in such instances is normal but not the moral indignation which he displayed.

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Newspapers For Africa By M. Neff Smart

The establishment of a system of community newspapers—non-political and government subsidized—is a surer key and a faster route to the emergence of the developing countries of Africa than the establishment of schools.

The above is a hypothesis, fixed so firmly that I have been unable to forget it or reject it since my return from Africa and to the classroom. It may not be the full-blown heresy it sounds like.

One year in Africa as a Fulbright lecturer in journalism at Haile Selassie I University is scarcely a basis for understanding all the problems of emerging Ethiopia; and Ethiopia's problems are not necessarily those faced by the other developing countries of Africa. Moreover, Africa's school programs show unquestioned promise.

But as extravagant as the claim is, the stakes are so high, the emergence of Africa is such a high priority enterprise, that the very least journalism professionals and journalism educators ought to do is to check it out.

There are many and good reasons for predicting that the establishment of a system of community newspapers could, more rapidly than schools, heal crippling illnesses that plague the African in four fields: in inducing literacy, in hastening industrialization, in establishing the African's dignity, and in making his government operate effectively.

Africa's most desperate need is establishing a literate society. Illiteracy is, indeed, the mother of nearly all the problems that plague the developing countries. This is true, not only in Africa but in Asia and Latin America as well. In illiteracy lie the seeds of primitive religion and tribal rituals which slow down the industrialization process; in it lie the seeds of primitive and ineffectual agriculture; and in it lie the seeds of ill health, of tribal conflicts, of scarcities and of poverty. Illiteracy is a stifling burden. Nearly 85 per cent of all Africans suffer from the handicap of illiteracy; they can neither read nor write.

The school is the conventional institution with which to fight illiteracy and its fruits, and there is no question about the ultimate success of schools. However, schools have serious limitations, particularly in Africa now. In the first place, schools are long-range, two-generation programs; and Africans are in a hurry. Schools are relatively expensive. They require the construction of buildings, the training of teachers, the establishment of a tax base on which to support them. In Africa they require the establishment of a tradition which will induce parents to send their children to school in preference to keeping them employed on the farms and sheltered in the age-old religious and tribal customs.

Newspapers, it would seem, have never been conceived to be an alternative to or a substitute for teachers. Journalists, rather, have looked upon illiteracy as an evil primarily because it provides no circulation base for newspapers; and they have clung to the idea that newspapers can succeed only in a literate society. These ideas are sound, certainly, in America's tradition of a private press, but a government newspaper need have no paid subscribers and can justify a subsidy of the press in terms of its value as a teaching device and in terms of its effectiveness in reducing illiteracy.

What is important about newspapers in Africa, and what seems never to have been fully examined, is that the close relationship between literacy and the circulation of newspapers is a two-way causal relationship.

While it is true that literacy permits and induces circulation growth, it is also true that the circulation of newspapers induces literacy. In an important study of the modernizing Middle East, Daniel Lerner found that newspaper circulations were, indeed, an index to literacy, but that they were also an agent of literacy.* The point here is that the availability, the accessibility of newspapers furnishes the motivation, the inducement required to push large numbers of people onto the rolls of literacy. In other words: flood a community with newspapers, particularly with an intimate,

personal press, and members of the community will struggle to read. Even schools can provide no finer motivation.

It is strange that the effectiveness of newspapers as teacher has never been properly tested. In countries where there are few schools, few teachers, few books, and little money with which to acquire schools, teachers and books, is there a better, cheaper way to fight illiteracy, to start the learning process, to create a love for words and ideas, than making a newspaper—preferably a local, intimate newspaper—available to all the people.

I would be less optimistic about the hypothesis if it were not historically true that both literacy and industrialization have been tied, invariably, to the use of the printed word.

Historically, the human race has gone from oral systems of communication to written systems, to printed systems, and then to media systems. And the greatest leap forward, in literacy and in industrialization, came to Western culture during the half century between 1830 and 1880, when the steam engine and powered printing presses brought into existence the so-called "penny press" and got a newspaper into the hands of nearly every citizen. During that half century nearly every adult in the U.S. and England became a media participant. Literacy skyrocketed, and almost immediately the Western world embarked on an industrial revolution and a fabulous productivity that has not ended yet.

This same phenomenon is seen in societies only now attempting to industrialize. Russia in 1915 was largely an agrarian, peasant, illiterate society. In less than half a century Russia has drawn its people through the oral and written systems of communication, and through the printed system to the media system. Russia today uses more newsprint than the United Kingdom, and seems to have learned that no modern industrial society can function efficiently without a developed system of mass media and a literate society.

Next to illiteracy—and related to it—lack of industry is probably the developing country's greatest problem. Ethiopians, for example, are desperately in need of jobs. There are few industries and thus few employers. The industrialization process depends of course on literacy, and also upon the formation of capital that can be invested in tools and machinery. Unless a society can sell at a profit its cotton, coffee, meat, fibers, leather, grain, sugar, wool, etc., it is doomed to agrarianism.

Developing countries have been slow to acknowledge the role of advertising in marketing their products, and as a result one can only speculate on how quickly an advertising program in an intimate community press would stir the economy. There is little reason to doubt that it would do what it always has done: increase the consumption of consumer goods, stimulate the production of goods and serv-

^{*} Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, the Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

ices to meet new demands, and thereby create payrolls and jobs.

A singular characteristic of the Ethiopian and of nearly all Africans is their estrangement from their own lands. They lack a sense of involvement in their countries' industries; they are reluctant to participate in merchandising, banking, transportation industries, or even entertainment. They have forfeited these enterprises, without apparent bitterness, to foreigners, and are insecure in the competitive enterprises of their own land.

The African needs to know—to be told—that he can succeed in business and the professions, and the community press is designed to tell him. Indeed, our own weeklies are specialists in dignifying the members of our communities by reporting their every authentic success. African weeklies could well do the same. What woud be the effect, for example, if African newspapers would carry success stories on their own farmers who excel in the production of cotton or wheat or coffee, on students who excel in school, on athletes who break records, on teachers who can teach, on retailers who can sell?

The role of the press is winning support and approval for the government's programs is well established. A government-owned newspaper is expected to support the government, just as a church-owned newspaper must give total loyalty to the church, or a party-owned newspaper must be the voice of the party. This does not necessarily preclude service to society, nor excellence. The issue here is that progress in a developing country, at least in the broad areas of health programs, agriculture, building and staffing schools, and road construction, depends upon the support of the people. This is true even in an authoritarian society. Only insofar as the people are aware of the programs, are convinced of their value, and are willing to work and sacrifice for them, will the programs move smoothly to completion.

The community newspaper may well have a great role to play in the modernization and the industralization of underdeveloped countries, but our State Department and foundation-sponsored people who carry the message of journalism abroad would do well to forget, temporarily at least, the cherished concepts Americans hold for a free and critical press. Let them, instead, tell the story of the community press as the moment's most effective opponent of illiteracy, as the moment's best prodder of the economy, as the world's most effective instrument to give dignity to man, and as a government's best instrument to gain support for worthy projects.

The best advice American journalists can give to their editor and reporter friends in developing countries has little to do with press freedom and the people's right to know—it is simply the admonition: Let the presses run; let news-

papers move into the market places, into the schools, and into the villages where they can do their work!

And it may be that journalists owe it to their profession and to the underprivileged people of Africa to measure the effectiveness of the press, and to compare it with schools as an agent of literacy and as an institution of learning.

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The Face of the Newspaper By Harold W. Wilson

The newspaper can no longer alibi that it lacks time to be a good looking product. Radio and television have taken on the transmission of spot news and the newspaper need not concern itself with "firsts," "extras" and the like. It can give more careful assessment to the facts and clothe these facts in typography and makeup which help tell the story honestly and in accurate relationship with other stories on the page. It must not only look good but communicate easily.

To prepare itself for this new emphasis the newspaper needs to look for a design director who is able to view the total physical production and develop a better looking product which is adequate for today's readers.

Many of our newspapers lack on overall integration of design. There are a number of reasons for this:

The production of the newspaper is in parts. That is, several departments take over the functions needed to produce the publication. On the creative side is advertising, news and photography. Mechanical departments do the typesetting, platemaking, makeup, stereotyping and presswork. All of these contribute to the production of the newspapers, yet it is possible that they do not work toward a unified makeup and appearance.

Introduction of process color, printing of camera-separated color, forced coordination since it proved impossible to produce effective production without it. This has been an important step forward but more work is needed.

The change in printing technology will force new formats and makeup techniques, new ways of using type-faces, new cooperation between type and visual elements. The small daily newspaper is turning to web offset printing and the large daily newspaper is looking to computer-controlled phototypesetting or even manual photocomposing to achieve more efficient production and a better looking product. In both types of production the pages are pasted up with reproduction proofs of type rather than makeup of metal slugs (hot metal makeup). Cold type techniques will free makeup from the restrictions of steel chases, column rules and lead slugs.

Our discussions in trade publications and textbooks accent fragmented makeup and typography for there is greater speculation on the merits of 2 or 3 point rules in boxes, use of kickers and sidebars rather than overall appearance. The uninitiated hears much about functionalism, hanging indents, circus makeup and rocket heads. This concern with sometimes piddling detail seems to generate the same in makeup, giving the newspaper pages a fragmented look which can be likened to the teenager's jalopy adorned with chromium tail pipes, dual carbureters, customized wheels which become more prominent than the basic automobile.

This is not to say that attention to detail is unimportant—but too often it overshadows the total appearance and design of the publication.

But other media have gone much further toward a better designed product by employing an art director to coordinate the overall design of the publication or film. The consumer magazine and supplement field has been eminently successful with coordination of type, pictures, paper and color in production. They give the art director an important place in the organization chart. Advertising agencies in television and print give art directors an important place since their clientele are particularly sensitive in the area of graphics and design.

One of the most recent efforts which seem to direct the newspaper toward the overall planner or art director is the New York *Herald Tribune*, which has gained considerable respect through the years by its accumulation of Ayer awards for its efforts to find new ways to put out a readable and carefully executed typography and makeup scheme. The current Sunday magazine is particularly noteworthy with its use of large blocks of white space to set off typefaces used in headlines. Advertising and news achieve a balance in display that takes nothing away from either. The Sunday magazine is an adventure in the use of white space, characterful typefaces and pictures.

Who is this art director and what should be his skills? He will have a broader knowledge of the total operation than the editor, advertising salesman, photographer or typographer. He must be more than these—he must see the entire page containing photography, display type, text rather than its individual units. He needs to be experimentative and he needs to have working knowledge of editing, photography, design and graphics.

A completely new newspaper technology appears as we enter the mid '60's. And this new technology requires innovators who will interpret in a more vigorous and communicative makeup and typography. This is not a job for those who know little more than to change the thickness of a rule or add a dingbat. The newspaper if it is to achieve communicatively what it expects to achieve technically must have a man with the "big picture" who can

combine new and constant elements into dynamic communication.

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The Women's Section

By Sister M. Seraphim, O.S.F.

Women's pages in newspapers are usually attractive and the pictures are often excellent. But these strong points often contrast sharply with inadequacy of news coverage.

A few months ago, the women's pages of five daily newspapers were examined for one week, excluding Sunday editions. The papers were selected on the basis of general reputation for news coverage and for geographic location. Included were the New York Times, Chicago Daily News, Kansas City Times, New Orleans Times-Picayune and Los Angeles Times.

Most women evidently like the fact that much space is given to society, in addition to news of fashions, family living, food and furnishings. But in the case of society, must the news be so superficial? The rules of good reporting should hold here as in other sections. Yet, so-called "depth reporting" seldom appears. For example, much society activity is carried on in the name of charity, and women are often pictured and written up as preparing for or attending this benefit or that. The charitable organization, however, too often draws only a mention in the news accounts.

The Chicago *Daily News* on one day led off with a story on "the Passavant Cotillion debutantes" and mentioned in the second paragraph "members of the Passavant Hospital Woman's Board." A few days later, there were a "United Charities of Chicago" benefit and an "English Speaking Union" benefit. In none of these was the purpose of the organization or its component members given, nor was the use to which proceeds would be put.

The Los Angeles *Times* and the New York *Times* do a good job here, offering either a self-explanatory title (Kidney Disease Foundation, Multiple Sclerosis Society) or else telling the purpose of the benefiting group—sometimes using as much as a paragraph for this purpose.

In the matter of fashions, the extremes of high fashion are too often stressed. Few women can afford high fashion—and the few who can probably would not rely upon the daily paper for information about it. (Even buyers for women's clothing stores would hardly depend on the daily press as a source of such information, except for the New York *Times*. The interest of the average woman would be satisfied with occasional coverage of high fashion. Better yet, modifications of these fashions might appeal to women

in any locality, on the basis of practicality as well as price. Reports on such things as durability of popular materials in dresses, suits and coats, added to coverage of styles available to the average woman reader, would strengthen fashion coverage.

Family coverage could include news on the home and on education. Ideas for more thorough coverage can be gained from many sources-other newspapers, magazines, discussions with women of varied social groups. Education coverage could be strengthened in this way. Creative reading of a paper like the New York Times, for example, will suggest many ideas. In one issue of the Times, an informative feature on a new method of teaching first graders, complete with excellent pictures, suggests stories on local schools or new methods in education. As an example, many mothers would appreciate a clear explanation of the new mathematics their children are working on. Comparisons and contrasts with the traditional mathematics methods would be invaluable. Again a carefully planned series or even an occasional article on improving reading skills would be a bonanza to harried mothers who nightly try to help Johnny or Janey to learn to read better.

The list of educational topics is endless, including not only all phases of school-home relationships but also legislation on education—local, state and national. Federal aid to education could be handled from a fresh viewpoint through interviews with parents holding differing views. A glance at the table of contents of *Parents' Magazine* or similar publications would be rewarding. These would suggest such perennially timely topics as Old Schoolhouse Going Modern, Good Schools Don't Just Happen, Federal Aid for School Construction Now a Must, Teaching Machines, and TV Lessons. There could also be information on local adult education classes for the woman's own cultural or professional improvement.

In the field of family living, there could be carefully developed reports on marriage problems and marriage counseling, on child psychology, and on any number of daily life situations a woman must face.

Parents today welcome information on how to understand and communicate with their teen-age sons and daughters. Further services for parents and children could include listings of books for boys and girls of various age levels, reports of entertainment and cultural programs for children, including such activities as story hours at the library, music and drama programs for children, and various exhibits.

Also in the family category, a training-ground for finance could be provided. Here family budgeting could have an important part, but the financial picture of the woman's own city or state could also be made clear, primarily in terms of its effect on the family. Other subects for discussion under finance would be the sometimes appallingly low minimum wage scales in various states and

workable remedies for the situation, possibilities for parttime jobs to be done at home or elsewhere, and means of creating baby-sitting pools which can be financially beneficial as well as worry-saving.

So far as food is concerned, most of the "coverage" consists of recipes. In some instances, the recipes are tied in with the foods being advertised in that day's paper. This is done particularly on Thursdays, when food advertising is heavy before the traditional shopping day, Friday. This is fine, but it isn't enough.

A Weekend Market Report similar to that of the New York *Times* would be a boon to housewives anywhere, with its listing of available foods and most economical food buys. Also, there could be more complete reporting of studies being conducted by the food industries. The Los Angeles *Times* suggests possibilities here in its "Food and Your Health" column. One column was devoted to "Cellulose Breakthrough Aids Dieters." Elsewhere the same paper printed a report on studies that the United States and Japan are sponsoring on the food possibilities of algae.

Home furnishings also could be covered more realistically. Women enjoy seeing pictures of unusual home furnishings, but their real interest is in making their own homes as comfortable and as attractive as possible. The modern woman wants to know what furniture and materials will stand up under hard use, besides being attractive and comfortable. Newspapers could get help here from a number of sources. For instance, the American Institute of Laundering in Joliet, Illinois, makes scientific studies of all types of fabrics to determine durability, fastness of dyes, and best methods of washing or cleaning various fabrics.

Other phases of home care or furnishings offer possibilities for coverage. A young woman I know is slowly but surely making her home a thing of beauty. The family income is limited but she has taught herself how to judge wood in furniture. When she finds a good but old piece of furniture she buys it and then begins a re-finishing job that would do credit to a professional. She first sands the wood to its original state and then works up from there. A column or a series on projects like this, within a woman's capability, would be highly practical.

Many newspapers obviously do care about women's sections. I understand that some have assigned top editors the job of updating the coverage of women's affairs.

This is as it should be. The twentieth century woman deserves better news than that written for a nineteenth century mentality. She will profit by updated coverage. And she will not be alone in this. Alert editors who develop really good coverage of women's news will find they, too, will benefit through greater readership and greater circulation.

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The Times Fails to Win the West By Elliott Marple

No one, except possibly a competitor, can take comfort in the closing of the western edition of the New York *Times*. For this edition carried at its launching in October 1962 the prospect that a great newspaper might in time become a national newspaper with regional publishing plants, perhaps in the pattern that the *Wall Street Journal* established for business news or the *Christian Science Monitor* for magazine-style general news.

The *Times'* western edition began with a circulation of 120,000; clearly a good-sized audience was willing to sample the fare. But for the first six months, ended March 31, 1963, weekday circulation averaged only 87,202, and in the six months ended September 30, the average dropped to 71,399. Clearly, 50,000 prospective western customers had said, "No, thanks, that's not our dish." A hard drive in recent months has done no more than push circulation up to 85,000, still short of the paper's early goal of 100,000.

The failure of the *Times* on the West Coast is historic. The paper's withdrawal will certainly stand as a warning in any other attempt to establish a national daily in the years ahead. Perhaps some observations are pertinent as to why the *Times* was unable to draw and hold the readership it needed or the advertising that would make the effort self-sustaining.

First, it should be recognized that the western edition of the New York *Times* was not a "western" edition or a western newspaper in any sense except that the typesetting and printing was done at Los Angeles. Essentially the western edition was no more than the thin echo of a newspaper written, edited and published for residents of New York and surrounding areas. It was not a national newspaper in the sense that a national newspaper would deploy its reporting staff to cover significant news around the nation for an audience sprinkled throughout the nation.

Newspapers in America serve a relatively concentrated local market. They must be published in the idiom of that market. The *Times* was not. The western edition remained essentially the New York paper, in body type, heads and make-up as well as editorial content. The newspaper to which readers in the East had become thoroughly accustomed was set down in an area where the manner of presentation was foreign and where the reader had to form

Elliott Marple publishes a news letter, Marple's Business Roundup, in Seattle. Earlier he was a reporter for the Springfield (Mass.) Republican and the Associated Press in Boston.

new habits. In this the reader was pulled in opposite directions, for if he wanted state and local news he had to continue taking a local paper. The *Times* made no attempt to cover western news, and it could not have covered the 13 western states if it had tried.

The body type in the *Times* was much the smallest and hardest to read of any metropolitan daily in the West. The pages were gray and dull. They put upon the reader the burden of finding the news rather than upon the newspaper in laying out the news in lively fashion to catch the eye and to draw in the reader.

The *Times* persists in jumping a large number of stories from page one to the inside, often 12 to 15 on a weekday; it's a rare story that finishes on page one. Yet no one reads a paper that way. Many western metropolitan dailies have given jumps up entirely and break a long story in two with a good-sized head for an inside page.

These are matters of mechanics, not editorial content, and yet I am satisfied that they were highly important in the failure of the western *Times*. As one who lived in the East for a number of years and was a devoted reader of the *Times*, I looked forward to establishment of the western edition. But when the paper came, I realized for the first time how far away I had grown from the *Times* reading habit. I had to force myself to pick up the sheet and dig in. I knew it contained good, solid fare. I'd take it home to read at the end of the day; by the time I had finished with the local paper, which I had to read, I had hardly energy left to battle editors and makeup-men who poured type into long columns seemingly to suit their own convenience rather than to make their product presentable for the reader.

Persons accustomed to the New York editions have little idea how solid and somber the inside pages of the New York *Times* can look. In the New York editions, inside pages are leavened with ads that have plenty of white space. An ad that takes six to seven columns on a page makes the column or two of news on that page stand out. But ads were scarce in the western edition; the first year carried only 2,184,000 lines (the western edition published six days a week). Often a pair of facing inside pages had no more than 10 or 20 column inches of advertising; sometimes none at all. Even when the top was broken by pictures, there remained a formidable, unenticing page. This was the New York *Times'* makeup at its worst.

The problems of the western edition were those of writing as well as typography. The *Times* still seems to equate length with quality in reporting. Yet there's competition for time and attention, competition undreamed of when the pattern of the *Times* took shape back even before radio had made its mark. News magazines have learned a lot about compact writing, and so have newsletters. Look what the

Wall Street Journal and Business Week have done with lively writing of what once was considered dull business news. But don't look at the Times.

The western edition might have made a great contribution to journalism by fitting the New York paper to the western idiom of lively presentation and shorter, tighter writing. But that was not the concept, and the cost would have been prohibitive. Besides, the change in writing would have to begin with the reporter, and what New Yorker would let the western tail wag the dog? Still, does the failure of the western edition carry a warning that even as solid a paper as the New York *Times* must recognize? Times change even though the *Times* may not.

Finally, in the competition for advertising the western edition might be called at least a dozen years too late. The years since the war have brought western regional editions of national publications, such as *Time*, *Life*, *Business Week*, and the *Wall Street Journal*; these supplement the highly successful western consumer magazine *Sunset*.

Together such publications give advertisers a variety of coverage of better-income families of the West. As a new-comer the *Times* could not match these publications in West Coast coverage. Yet its unwieldy coast-wide distribution resulted in too high a cost for advertisers who wanted only one or two states, or just parts of a state. An advertising-agency head observed, "The *Times* violated a cardinal sin in publishing: it did not satisfy a need."

As one looks back, the wonder is that the *Times'* management took as long as it did to conclude that its present product could not win the West.

Three Presidential Images By John Merrill

Time Magazine acts each week as a selector, camera, printer and reducer-enlarger of images. It is, in many respects, the most creative and skillful imagemaker among our printed mass media of communication. Each week it exhibits most all of the potent techniques of swaying reader opinion through the presentation of predigested "news." And it does it interestingly. It creates a kind of semi-fictionalized world in which the reader effortlessly receives his images of leading personalities through the slow, pervasive and progressive process of journalistic osmosis. And unless the reader is extremely wary, he does not realize what is happening to him.

Persons, especially, are forcefully and dramatically presented by the self-styled "newsmagazine." U. S. Presidential

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images, as might be expected, are formed carefully in the linguistic melting pots and rhetorical molds of *Time*. Week by week these images are reinforced by word and picture and are refined, not only by taking a very few items from a wide variety of Presidential activities, but by tying the many small packages of personalized "news" into brightly-wrapped cartons of editorial subjectivity.

Curiosity led me during the summer of 1963 to make a careful study of a random sample of ten copies of *Time* from each of the last three Presidential administrations. How had the magazine treated Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy? What kinds of stereotypes or images had the magazine created—or what kinds were in the process of being created? Rather cursory and non-analytical reading of the magazine had given the impression that the Truman image would be unfavorable, the Eisenhower image would be favorable, and the Kennedy image would be mainly neutral. Would a careful study bear out these impressions?

I was not really surprised to find that the study did bear them out. What was of greater interest about the study was the isolating of the images themselves—the actual determining of the characteristics of *Time's* Presidential stereotypes. Of equal interest, but which is not included in this article, was the analysis of the various techniques used by the magazine to "subjectivize" its news reporting, to "bias," if you will, its Presidential coverage.

Probably nobody would be surprised to learn that stories in *Time* evidenced many and clear-cut examples of subjective and opinionated reporting. This has been documented many times before in a variety of critiques of the magazine. Instead of going into this, therefore, I would like to expose the pictures or images of the three Presidents which emerged from the pages of *Time* during the periods studied. The following stereotypes, although necessarily abstractions of *Time's* images, accurately picture each President as seen through the verbal lenses of the "weekly newsmagazine."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN (April 2, 1951- June 4, 1951) was presented as a bouncy little man, an unpopular person with many inadequacies, a President who condoned all types of "shabby politicking and corruption" in his administration. Truman was a petulant President who practiced "careless government-by-crony," who "stubbornly protected shoddy friends," and who had "grown too touchy to make judicious decisions." Truman was a President who failed to give firm leadership to the country. His State Department was full of immoral people. Truman evaded issues and refused to face an argument.

In addition to being one who "breathed cocky belligerence," President Truman "contented himself with careful speeches and guarded silences." He was a man whose every action was motivated by shabby politics. He was one, who when he spoke, generally sputtered, barked, cracked, droned, or popped a gasket. He "grinned slyly" and "preached the Truman sermon." His speeches, according to *Time*, had "a thin, overworked and flat quality" and he spoke with a "flat, monotonous voice." He stirred up national crises and left the nation's nervous system "jangled and jumpy." He was blunt, sarcastic, belligerent, cocky, petulant, irascible, harried, lazy, vain, angry, sly, curt, and cold.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER (Jan. 24, 1955-March 28, 1955) was presented as a smiling, warm-hearted, sincere "political leader." He was a man of "earnest demeanor," whose strong leaderships brought united determination. Ike was a man of patience, of peacefulness. He was a President whose firm stand put the U. S. in a good light everywhere. Ike wanted to keep his campaign promises and was a "statesman" rather than a "politician." An humble man, Ike took his Presidential duties very seriously. He had the confidence to move—"quietly," because he was "on top of his job."

Ike was sensitive to the mood of the nation and did not like to stir up "unnecessary national crises." He was a big man who made no effort to punish his adversaries in Congress. Ike was a religious man, and he sincerely liked to talk with children. He brushed away misunderstandings and always sought the truth. He was a President who was cautious, warm, charitable, forgiving, modest, religious, happy, amiable, firm, cordial, effective, serene, frank, calm, skillful, and earnest.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY (Nov. 23, 1962-Jan. 25, 1963) was a sociable, well-travelled President, and one whose versatility permitted him to "wear many hats." He was wealthy, but generous in charity. He looked to Harvard for top advisers and fostered a kind of "forced togetherness of New Frontier society." His mistake was not so much to censor the press but "to talk out loud" about it.

He was a confident President, usually pleasant. However, he could launch a "hasty and whitelipped counterattack" against one who angered him. He was a President who would bring the full force of his power to bear to get his way. Kennedy was a President who talked tough to Khrushchev, and whose presence had great impact on crowds. He talked in strident and emphatic tones. Willing to take risks, Kennedy was a President of "conviction."

When speaking, he said, reaffirmed, announced, promised, added, stated, suggested, urged, maintained, concluded, and insisted. He was a man who was usually confident, informed, emphatic, pleasant, cheery, social, versatile, energetic, youthful, forceful, impressive, determined, and well-informed.

Why Diplomats Clam Up

By John Kenneth Galbraith

The resident American press corps during my time in New Delhi (1961-1963) was comparatively small—the two wire services, the *Times, Time*, the Baltimore *Sun*, NBC, *U.S. News & World Report* and, toward the end of my tour, the Washington *Post*—and very good. The members, with scarcely an exception, liked India and worked hard to understand the country, its culture and its problems. All were by way of becoming experts; at least three, Henry Bradsher of AP, Paul Grimes of the *Times* and Selig Harrison of the *Post*, were first-rate scholars. At the same time, all the members took a detached view of official pretense and mendacity which, both in volume and self-righteousness, is roughly on a parity with Washington.

Relations with the Embassy were on a similar level. I met with the members who were in town for an hour each Wednesday and more frequently if something were stirring. I tried to be liberal and with information that could be used; I am persuaded that, with rare exceptions, what must be said off the record had best not be said at all. The questions on State Department or Mission policy, or what passed for it, were informed and sharp. The questioners were sufficiently resistant to evasion, rotund generalities or misinformation to protect me from temptation. The flow of information was in both directions. I relied on these meetings for knowledge of what Indian officials were saying in their press conferences, background briefings or press leaks; for the rumors that were making the rounds of the parliament and press gallery; and for knowledge of the stories that members of the press corps were going to play. Members also kept me advised on spot news. Perhaps three or four times a week someone would call me-I remember Phil Potter of the Baltimore Sun with special gratitude-to say "I think you ought to know . . ."

I don't want to give the press a completely clean bill of health. From time to time high-level visits and especially the Chinese invasion brought to New Delhi the fire brigade that goes out with all great people or to all great events. It did much less well. Few were well informed on the country. Some rose above information to intuition. Not many put the event they were covering in proper perspective. All were, of course, relentless in their demand that I reform the public relations or security procedures of the Indian Government and (in the case of the military correspondents) get them immediately to the front line or a few furlongs beyond. But my comment here is on the resident correspondents with whom my relations were personally most agreeable, valuable as a source of information and (I think) useful as an avenue of information on

our public activities in India to the American people. It also provided a sharp illumination of the press problems of the State Department. In principle, the Department supports a liberal policy toward the press; those professionally responsible work hard and intelligently to further it. In practice, a policy such as the one followed in New Delhi runs into strong headwinds.

The first difficulty is the surviving conviction that diplo-macy is a privileged occupation into which the press and the public should not really be allowed to obtrude. This is a minority attitude but it exists and it is not confined to career officers. Some of the New Frontier appointees have reached extremes in stuffiness and even outright constipation in their press relations, partly in the conviction that this is the way diplomats are meant to behave. Fear is also a factor and the feeling that the press, like the Congress, exists largely to louse up foreign policy. In American diplomatic practice, the current policy becomes to a remarkable degree an article of belief. We are not cynics. So if the policy is to present the Nhu family as the arch-paragons of democracy or blame everything that goes wrong in Latin America on Castro, a differing view by a newsman seems not only wrong but willfully perverse. Better ignore the bastard.

But there is a more persistent if less visible source of restraint. Anything that comes in over the press wires is scrutinized by the score or more of people in Washington who are concerned in one capacity or other with that country. There is not much that can be said that will not strike someone as out of line even when the location of the line is known only to God. A bland comment on the advantages of peace or the need for better weather will be thought by someone to have hit the wrong note. This alert officer then tucks the clipping or tape in his pocket and, at the next meeting with his Assistant Secretary, say: "Did you see, Sir, what came out of Pnom Penh yesterday? Going a little far, I think. . . ." In all organizations, the cultivation of executive vanity is a considerable industry. The State Department is up to average. Officials are rather easily persuaded that their prerogatives are being prejudiced. Out goes a telegram of warning. "We note with some concern. . . ."

The danger that any politically experienced person will say anything really damaging is slight. In the course of two and a half years, I found myself in hot water only once. (That was a careless and somewhat disputable endorsement of one part of Pakistan's claim to Kashmir made at a press briefing in Washington which was relayed back to New Delhi at something greater than the speed of light. And like the rest of last year's headlines it had no permanent residue.) I also found that an ambassador can stand off this nitpicking as, I am sure, many do. My formula

was to ignore it except for an occasional very rude response. In the end, it stopped. But quite a few less securely situated people would have clammed up. As a result, they would have denied both themselves and the country valuable information. They would have a perfect record of no errors and no indiscretions at the price of a much reduced understanding both at the post and at home.

The remedy is scarcely novel. It is to see the problem of press relations as one of maintaining a high score. The man who seeks to avoid all error, all misinterpretation, will say nothing and do the worst job. He will live, as do a surprising number of our officials, in a mentally crippling fear of his own tongue. The man who consistently puts his foot in his own mouth and that of the press should obviously be retired or loaned to Barry Goldwater. The man who maintains a steady flow of sound guidance and information should know that he is allowed an occasional error or mishap. Washington must, of course, also know this and restrain itself accordingly.

Former ambassador to India, author of *The Affluent Society* and much else, **J. K. Galbraith** used to be a journalist himself (*Fortune Magazine*). He is now back at his post as professor of economics at Harvard.

Free Press and Fair Trial

(Continued from page 2)

under the auspices of publicity, the original cause in the court of law, and the appeal to the court of public opinion are going on at the same time. So many bystanders as an unrighteous judge (or rather a judge who would otherwise have been unrighteous) beholds attending in his court, so many witnesses he sees of his unrighteousness; so many ready executioners . . . so many industrious proclaimers of his sentence.

And Bentham concludes: "Without publicity, all other checks are insufficient; in comparison of publicity, all other checks are of small account."

- (4) The open court also protects the judges and officers of the court against unjust accusation and calumny.
- (5) The open court educates citizens as to their rights and duties. As Bentham puts it:
 - ... by publicity, the temple of justice adds to its other functions that of a school—a school of the highest order, where the more important branches of morality are enforced in the most impressive means . . . a theatre, in which the sports of the imagination give place to the more interesting exhibitions of real life.
- (6) The open court and publicity about it, acquaints the general run of citizens, while the trial is in process, of any manner in which the trial may directly affect their interests,

and permits them to avail themselves of legal means for their defense.

(7) The open court and publicity exhibit before the citizens examples of the bad consequences of wrongdoing and show them the certainty of punishment.

American courts have repeatedly held that the right to a public trial is not a right of the accused only, which he may, at the discretion of his counsel, have waived.

The District of Columbia United States Court of Appeals in 1951 vacated a sentence because the lower court had permitted a plea in mitigation to be made in chambers instead of in open court. It cited an English case in which under like circumstances a sentence was vacated and quoted the Lord Chief Justice as saying: "It may be they sent for this officer in the interests of the accused; it may be that the information which the officer gave was in the interests of the accused. That does not matter. Time and time again this court has said that justice must not only be done, but must manifestly be seen to be done."

Judge Charles W. Froessel, of the New York Court of Appeals, pointed out, in the so-called Jelke case, in a dissenting opinion, that "The right of the public to attend a criminal trial, like the right of the accused defendant to a public trial, stems from the deep roots of the common law."

The Ohio Court of Appeals on April 12, 1956, in ruling on a case in which a Common Pleas judge had allowed a closed trial, said:

A defendant has no right, constitutionally or otherwise to a private trial—that is one hidden from the public view . . . courts are public institutions. . . . Any suggestion that law enforcement has any private aspects as to the manner in which justice is administered is completely without foundation. To permit trials of persons charged with felony to be held in secret, the order of secrecy being based entirely on defendant's request, would take from the court its most potent force in support of the impartial administration of justice.

Judge Cooley, in discussing the privilege of court reports has said:

Trials at law, fairly reported, although they may occasionally prove injurious to individuals, have been held to be privileged. Let them continue to be privileged. The benefit they produce is great and permanent and the evil that arises from them is rare and incidental.

The right of access to judicial proceedings is a right that benefits the citizens who have committed no crime as well as the citizen who is accused of crime. The public is a party in all criminal proceedings—concerned to see that the law is enforced, and likewise concerned that the rights of the accused are protected. This public right does not expire even if the accused be indifferent to his own defense, oblivious of his fate or even anxious to embrace it. The public still has a proper concern in the protection afforded the accused by an open trial—however ignorant or indifferent the accused may be to that protection; for it is to the interest of all citizens to have justice soundly administered.

The majority opinion in the Jelke case held that the public's interest was adequately safeguarded "as long as the accused himself was given the opportunity to assert on his own behalf, in an available judicial forum, his right to a trial that is fair and public." But this opinion is at war with the decisions of other state courts and at variance with Cooley, Wigmore and Bentham and other great interpreters of the common law.

Lord Acton has rightly pointed out: "Everything secret degenerates, even the administration of justice; nothing is safe that does not show it can bear discussion and publicity."

Judge Will's anxieties about situations in which the right of an accused person may be adversely affected are legitimate anxieties that do him credit and that are shared by much of the press. He is, however, giving little weight to Judge Cooley's argument that the evils of which he complains are incidental to larger benefits. It would be helpful in bringing about a diminution of these acknowledged evils if Judge Will and his colleagues would pursue their criticisms of those responsible for these evils in the manner that they pursue justice in their courts—by the presentation of evidence against offenders; and not by the blanket indictment of a whole community for unspecified crimes.

If the administration of criminal justice in the United States, from the moment of a crime's commission to the pronouncement of sentence, constituted a flawless system of perfect purity arriving (except when frustrated by the press) at perfect justice, pleas of judges and lawyers for more secret processes would be more persuasive. But it is not that. From beginning to end, the process is infected with hazards and risks and interventions, the press apart. Secrecy would multiply these risks.

Newspapers, judges and lawyers alike ought to try to improve the reporting of criminal trials. What is needed is more and better crime reporting, not less of it.

Some comment must be made on Judge Will's proposal that we entrust to our colleagues the power to censure us in the reporting of criminal trials. The Constitution directs that Congress shall have no power to limit the freedom of the press; and it is not likely that it would allow that power by law to reside in a panel of newspapermen.

In the absence of legal power any self-constituted authority surely would be unable to coerce dissenting journals and certainly would be powerless to enjoin publication. As to legal remedies, sight should not be lost of the fact that

the penalties for court reporting that is inaccurate are likely to be severe and the hazards of libel to a publisher probably are quite as dangerous as the hazards of disbarment to a lawyer, and they are resorted to with much greater frequency.

Nor can one allow to pass the inference that the press lacks the high ethical standards of the bar because it does not have the power to punish by disbarment proceedings. There is nothing in the experience of the bar in this country to suggest that disbarment has proved equal to the task of ridding the legal profession of every undesirable practitioner and there is nothing in the precedents available to suggest that like methods would rid the country of every undesirable publication.

The Kennedy Story By O. W. Riegel

Winston Churchill remarks in his History of the English Speaking Peoples that the development of modern instruments and network of communications is the only really seminal, determinating difference between Roman and modern Britain. The assassination of John F. Kennedy gives us an extraordinary example of the meaning of Churchill's words, with some inkling of future prospects.

The mere quantitative dimensions of communications during that weekend are impressive enough. You are familiar with the unprecedented broadcasting performance, which some have called broadcasting's "noblest hour," and which even the sourest critics of broadcasting have applauded. For three and a half days the news departments of the networks responded to the challenge of a national disaster with superb efficiency, resourcefulness, restraint, and good taste. An estimated 2,100 network employees maintained continuous coverage for an average of about 60 hours of television broadcasting and about 67 hours of radio broadcasting. All of this is estimated to have cost more than 30 million dollars, if pre-empted commercial time and commissions are included. Substantial amounts will be recouped in "make goods," or later use of the commercials, but there is no doubt about the heavy expenditure, probably totalling many millions, for coverage by the networks and in commercial losses by networks and local stations. Some broadcasters argue that such contingency expenditures are a necessary price that must be paid for holding a government license for broadcasting in the public interest. A better view, I think, is that broadcasters could have found no more effective opportunity, at any price, to illuminate their public image than by this acceptance of a challenge to prove their capacity for public service.

But this is not all. By the communications satellite, Relay, portions of the events, including the march from the White House to St. Mathew's Cathedral, were televised live to 21 countries, via Eurovision in Western Europe, via Intervision to the Soviet Union and its satellites, and to Japan for deferred broadcasting. In addition, countless hours of film were rushed to scores of countries on all the continents by ABC, CBS, NBC, and UPI Newsfilm. There were special cable hook-ups for Mexico and Canada, and the Voice of America stayed with the story for nearly five days on all transmitters.

In brief, this was a new dimension of saturation, with millions of people over large areas of the earth simultaneously engaged in attending the same events, to the exclusion of nearly everything else. Survey companies have reported that 93 per cent of American television households watched. In New York City the average family watched 34 hours. I myself watched 11 hours in one day, an incredible record for me, something like flagpole sitting, but one which I am sure must have been exceeded by many.

The newspaper story is similar, with the same efficient, all-out marshalling of talent and production resources. All daily newspapers reported greatly increased sales. Apparently there have been some permanent gains in circulation, especially in New York, where circulations had declined as a result of last year's strike. The Kennedy story gave additional evidence that broadcast news stimulates the demand for newspapers, which are wanted for corroboration, for details, for the opportunity to inform oneself at one's own convenience and pace, for pictures and text to preserve, and for interpretation and opinion. It may be significant that the percentage of gain in newspaper sales was far larger after the assassination of Kennedy, in the age of broadcasting, than it was after the assassination of McKinley, when broadcasting did not exist.

What does it all mean? My thesis is that the media of communication not only transmit and describe events but have a part in determining their importance, and therefore have a part in shaping those events and giving them their tone and meaning. In other words, the capacity of the electronic media, augmented by printed publications and motion pictures, to concentrate the attention of millions of people upon a single subject, gives the communicator a creative part in the forming of the image of events. The communicator makes history as well as records it. I think we are aware of the significance of this fact only dimly. I also think that the future prospect, with the extension of relay and switching facilities to embrace still more hundreds of millions of people, is staggering both in its probable effects and its implications.

I think we were lucky this time. One effect of the mag-

nitude of concentration upon this particular event, I believe, was to promote a unity of feeling, of national and even international identity, arising from common sights and emotions shared. In this case, the remembered images will include, I think, such things as the dignity of the ceremonies, the composure and carriage and face of the widow, the salute of John-John to his father's bier, the spectacle of foreign heads of state marching together, and perhaps that incredible and unprecedented shot by the NBC cameras of murder being committed live, network, coast-to-coast.

The end of the deluge of publicity is not yet in sight. Already the country is flooded with LP records, including one called "Four Days That Shook the World."

These images will sharpen or fade; they will inevitably change as the legend-makers take over and as the events are covered with a patina of age. But for many of us "history" will always be the cluster of sharp images which the communicators showed or described to us during four days of 1963.

But what if this magnificent, almost over-powering arsenal of communications had shown less restraint, and more partisanship and fervor? One aspect of that restraint was an avoidance, except for two or three minor instances in the first uncertain hour or two of coverage, of accusations of conspiracy, in the absence of evidence. We should not forget that it was the conspiracy aspect of the assassination of Lincoln that provided the climate of acceptance for the harsh policies of Reconstruction, the evil effects of which are still with us, a century later. On the whole, I would say that the image of the assassin presented by the communicators was as politically neutral as they could make it. With reference to history, the prototype was Czolgosz, the lone-wolf, anarchist assassin of McKinley, rather than John Wilkes Booth, the member of the conspiratorial band.

At the time, I predicted that the charge of conspiracy would be unleashed in a month. I was wrong by a week. It was not a month, but five weeks before the John Birch Society brought out the charge in a mass appeal by means of a widely printed full-page newspaper advertisement. This too, I fear, is only a beginning, because this is an election year and politicians know that the conspiracy appeal is reliable for attracting votes.

I do not know whether Lee Oswald was a member of a conspiracy. I do not know whether he was a Manchurian Candidate, or an agent provocateur of the Reichstag Fire type, or a Stalinist agent, or merely, as seems most plausible, a frustrated and embittered ego, denied acceptance and attention, indulging in a manic act of revolt and self-assertion. I do know, however, or think I know, that if the broadcasters and newspaper writers had not shown

restraint, we might now be in a period of national vengeance and suppression worse than any we have had before and one that would both convulse this country internally and change our international image and course.

That is not all. What if this magnificent apparatus for concentrating the attention of the world's masses chooses not to report certain events, or concentrates on *some* events and circumstances to the neglect of others? It is not unsusceptible to manipulation, by governments, by private interests, or by public opinion. For instance, what if it failed to marshall the attention of the world on the Berlin Wall, or on the Washington March of last August 28?

Such events have only a minor existence—in fact, they are scarcely a part of either politics or history—without the great arsenal of communications that concentrates attention upon them and which says, in effect, these are the important things, these are the things you should be thinking about and acting upon.

It is quite possible, in this world of massed publicity armaments, that if you had a chance to think things over quietly, without the constant barrage of publicity pressure that determines what you think about, you would decide that something else is more important, such as a more equal distribution of food around the world, or the preservation of peace. What are we not asked to give attention to and think about? Increasingly, it seems to me, the power to select the issues, situations and personalities for public attention, and the power to mobilize an overwhelming concentration of publicity, are central instruments of political control.

John F. Kennedy was in a sense a creation, or child, of massive modern media of communication. He was suited to them; he knew how to use them; his policies as well as his personality were attuned to the kind of power that can be won and exercised through them. His death gave us a glimpse of how far those communication media have come; how sweeping can be their domination of our attention, and how they can determine what we know and how we know it. As we have seen, this is a power that can be noble in the public service. At the same time, in less scrupulous hands, it can also be a new way in which man can be corrupted, his individual stature diminished, and, ultimately, his existence on this planet put in jeopardy.

The vast communications network of the present is only a beginning. The A. T. & T. and other technicians promise us new wonders, all of which will be promoted by governments and private entrepreneurs to build audiences of more and more hundreds of millions of people all tuned in on an interlocking and interdependent network of print and electronic signals.

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Can a Yellow Rag Change Its Color?

By Max Hall

During my first ten years after college, 1932 to 1942, I worked on two Hearst papers. Each, in an earlier period, had sought circulation by noisy and sometimes questionable methods. Each, in my time, was trying to build more solidly by winning the respect of the community, especially the portion that buys advertising space. Each paper now is dead. One of them was the Atlanta Georgian & Sunday American, the other the New York Mirror.

Hearst had invaded Atlanta in 1912. A friend of mine recalls a day when a *Georgian* newsboy, "Foots" Guthas (who later became the paper's street-sales boss), sprinted down the middle of Euclid Avenue bellowing "Oh how horrible" in frightful tones. On that occasion a homicide of major interest had just occurred, but the *Georgian* did not require a murder case for its daily explosion of excitement. On a dull day a prowler in the basement of Tenth Street School, who was persuaded to leave by Jackson, the janitor, before he molested any of us children (if indeed he had this in mind), was awarded his Gothic eight-column banner. The city's residential neighborhoods were haunted by the chilling cry of "extra, extra" in the night. People learned that the shouts were often the equivalent of "wolf, wolf"—but, then, one never knew for sure.

In daily circulation the Georgian never did catch its two rivals. The figures in Ayer's American Newspaper Annual & Directory show that in 1937, the Georgian attained 93,000; but by then the other afternoon paper, the Journal, had risen to 107,000 and the morning paper, the Constitution, to 109,000. True, the Sunday situation was different. The Sunday American, powered by Hearst's American Weekly and comic section, had an awesome figure of 180,000, far ahead of the other two papers. But in neither daily nor Sunday circulation was the Hearst paper growing as fast as the other two, and it fell harder than they in the newspaper slump of 1938. Advertising revenues, as always, were disappointing, and in 1939 the Hearst organization sold out to James M. Cox of Ohio. He promptly killed the paper and took some of its best people and syndicated features to the Journal, which he had also acquired, and which now made a startling leap in circulation. (Governor Cox later bought the Constitution too, and by 1961 the

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Journal had 258,000 daily circulation, the Constitution 201,000, and the combined Sunday Journal & Constitution 499,000.)

A great irony of the situation is that the *Georgian* of the 1930's, under the respected publisher Herbert Porter, who had been hired away from the *Constitution*, had the best staff in town. At least we were in no doubt of it at the time, and, looking back, I am still convinced it was true. Tarleton Collier, Dudley Glass, Harold Martin, and many other gifted people kept the place humming. The sports editor, Ed Danforth, besides being something of a genius at the typewriter, was a one-man journalism school, peopling the paper with his graduates.

But the *Georgian*, despite its talented people and its superior spirit of enterprise, had three major disabilities. First, it printed Hearst editorials and went along with Hearst biases, and therefore found it hard to overcome the stigma of an alien, absentee influence that didn't really "belong." Second, it was weak in news originating outside Georgia, having no wire service but International News Service. And third, it was still commonly regarded as a sensational rag.

The lengths to which the paper went to rise above its past were sometimes amusing. I remember editing a lengthy I.N.S. story about a celebrated murder in Chicago or somewhere. Carrying out orders, I carefully removed the bloodiest passages, toning down the account as befitted the nicest family newspaper. The next morning the conservative old *Constitution* (where Ralph McGill was then sports editor), under a gray little headline on the front page, routinely printed an Associated Press story containing all the gore that I had mopped out of our story. I doubt that anyone accused the *Constitution* of being offensive, or noticed our righteous backward-leaning-over posture. After all, the *Georgian* still had a lively makeup with big clear pictures and readable type. People just wouldn't believe that it had reformed.

In 1937, two years before the *Georgian* was unmercifully put to sleep, I moved to New York. There, I began serving what would turn out to be a five-year term on the *Mirror*, the tabloid morning paper which, from the mid-1930's to its death in 1963, had the second highest newspaper circulation in the country, and yet never really emerged from the shadow of the paper that had the highest, the *Daily News*.

By 1937 the Mirror, like the Georgian, was trying to

make people believe that it was no longer a yellow rag. I was given a "taboo list." For example, the word "nude" must not appear in the paper. "Naked" wouldn't do, either; "unclad" was the word we always used. "Rape" was strictly outlawed in our shop—a special inconvenience in view of the ambiguity of the words we were forced to use, "attack" and "assault." Louis Lyons recalls that another paper where "rape" was in disfavor once reported that a woman was murdered but not "criminally assaulted"; I am sure absurdities must have appeared in the *Mirror* too. We were also forbidden to use the words "gossip" and "scandal." Even the word "rumor" was scrupulously changed to "report."

The Mirror of 1937, of course, had not turned its back on crime, sex, and folly. A slain unclad female was almost as welcome in its columns as a slain nude one had been earlier. "Balm suits" and other misfortunes of flashy persons were chronicled, often in a tongue-in-cheek sort of way. Sometimes, at night, the rewrite staff amused one another with writings not designed for publication in the Mirror, and on one of those occasions, in 1938 or 1939, I passed around the following stanzas:

OLD TABLOID'S SHRINE

(To be sung slowly and reverently, with hats off)

Dear old Tabloid—blessed days— Now we rise and sing to thee; Never shall we leave thy ways, Ne'er forsake thy formulae.

Let us sing a song of blondes, Lissom models with shapely calves, Mermaids nabbed in limpid ponds, Brokers suing their better halves.

Sing a song of Reno tangles, Starring highly social sluts; Rope that strangles, crash that mangles, Ax that hacks, and fire that guts.

Sing a song of slick attorneys, Filing suit for fifty grand; Sing of body charred in furnace, Torso hidden in the sand.

Sing a song of unwed mommies, Weeping tears in salty rivers, Toting gats and rods and tommies, Blowing out their lovers' livers.

Sing a song of chorus cuties Bedding down with wealthy oldsters; Clean young cops in course of duties Whipping pistols from their holsters. Dear old Tabloid—Alma Mater— Now we gather round thy shrine; May thy bromides never totter, May thy clichés ne'er decline.

Nevertheless, the Mirror had unmistakably entered a new era. The legendary Arthur Brisbane, who forty years before had been the principal founding father of the crimeand-underwear school of journalism, was gone. He had died at the end of 1936, having anticlimaxed his life during its next-to-last year by assuming personal command of the Mirror in a furious unsuccessful effort to achieve a million circulation as a trophy for the Lord of San Simeon. In Brisbane's place, Charles B. McCabe, a different kind of publisher, who had been hired away from the Denver Rocky Mountain News at age 36, was trying to make the paper a more attractive advertising medium. Circulation was still passionately desired, but there were fewer stunts, somewhat less sex and degeneracy, and an increasing effort to report the news that happened outside the tabloidal milieu.

It was not until 1941, when Emile Gauvreau published his fascinating book My Last Million Readers (E. P. Dutton & Co.), that I had any clear idea of what the Mirror was like in the period before I joined it. Gauvreau had organized the Evening Graphic for Bernarr Macfadden in 1924 and had conducted it in a struggle against Hearst's Journal until 1929, when he quit because, he said, all he could see ahead for the Graphic was a long period of financial drain. This paper, generally considered the most contemptible of all tabloids, faced the same problem as other sensational papers whose owners did not want to lose money forever. Gauvreau wrote, "When to tone down its sensationalism with the assurance that the paper still would hold a half-million readers and appease the advertisers was a problem I was no longer able to judge. Pulitzer had accomplished it although he had never aroused the wrath which had come down upon us." Gauvreau then served from 1929 to 1935 as editor of the Mirror, which, like the Graphic, had started life in 1924 and was a heavy loser.

Hearst had founded the *Mirror* in imitation of the *News*, whose readership had been growing fantastically ever since its beginning in 1919. The *Mirror*, too, grew fast by ordinary standards, but neither Gauvreau's predecessors nor Gauvreau himself could prevent the *News* from widening its lead. Toward the end of 1934, with the *Mirror* nearing 600,000 and the *News* over a million and a half, the Old Master came in with fanfare as Gauvreau's boss. Brisbane, now almost 70, succeeded Albert J. Kobler as publisher. His goal was a million at the very least. According to Gauvreau, he spoke of the circulation records he had broken on the *Journal* during the Spanish-American War,

smashed a massive fist on Gauvreau's desk, and said, "By God, if they want slush today, they're going to get it!"

Apparently they got it, but the circulation did not increase very fast during Brisbane's tenure, except temporarily during the kidnap trial of Bruno Richard Hauptmann. Even worse, some advertisers didn't care for the "slush," and Brisbane was caught in the dilemma of trying to appeal to a mass audience and appease businessmen at the same time. Gauvreau reported that Brisbane once told him in a memorandum: "Will you inform the editor of the pink edition that we would make a better impression on business people if we had left out last night's picture of the lady who keeps a 'gay house' in Chicago. At least off the front page. Also she is hellishly ugly. Let us print photographs of as FEW prostitutes as possible unless they commit an interesting murder, or otherwise force themselves into the news, as they are bound to do. I see also that the News used the word ADULTERER in a headline. Let them have it. That sort of thing will swing the church over to us. Stories of vice we want to tell coldly. By that I don't mean that we have to leave out the interesting facts, but we shouldn't tell the reader about it as though we were enjoying it."

But this virtuous behavior, like our substitution of "unclad" for "nude," must have been lost on the business people. According to Gauvreau, Brisbane later showed him a letter from Kenneth Collins, an executive of Gimbel Brothers, saying: "I was shocked at the preoccupation of the Mirror with nothing but cheap scandal, murder and arson." Collins listed some stories of degenerate crime he found in the Mirror and contrasted these with the important national and world news he found on the front page of the Times the same day. "I have a genuine interest in the success of the Mirror and, incidentally, a certain concern over a number of advertising failures we have had in the past few days from the paper. I believe that ideas of cheap sensationalism are still motivating most of your writers."

Gauvreau said Brisbane assumed the attitude of a misunderstood prophet, as follows: "The trouble with these people is that they don't know our problems. I should like to see THEM try to get a million readers with such news as they describe. They ought to know that when I get a million and a half more readers I'll tone the whole thing down, make room for more advertising and be smug like Captain Patterson. Pulitzer did it. He was yellower than Hearst, once, but now they're canonizing him. This is pure hypocrisy!"

In the light of this history it is no wonder that the *Mirror* of the late 1930's had quieted down. But, as the decade drew toward a close, another big reason for the changing emphasis was that even tabloid readers were becoming more interested in news from abroad and from Washington. Hitler's aggressions, Munich, the Hitler-Stalin pact,

and the outbreak of war in Europe pre-empted more and more of the meager space in what was, after all, a rather small paper. The Mirror, unlike the Georgian, had plenty of external news facilities; indeed it was the only paper in New York that could boast of having all three wire services, the Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service. True, the I.N.S. was as often a handicap as a help, for there was a standing order that at least one of the five or six major wire service stories of the day must be an I.N.S. story. This order was hard to obey, and sometimes was not obeyed, for the I.N.S., though it had a few stars, was generally weak on news coverage and furthermore tended to use language like: "Moving swiftly to launch a sweeping drive along a far-flung front." One of its favorite phrases was "in the wake of," and it was always reporting that somebody "moved" to do something instead of saying specifically what was done. But we were able to put together from all three sources a good daily account of the war news, concise, exciting, and readable.

An echo of the earlier *Mirror*—an instance of making and manipulating news rather than only reporting it—occurred when the gangster Lepke gave himself up after jumping bail and hiding out for two years. Early in the evening of August 24, 1939, Glenn Neville, our able night news editor, told me that Lepke had surrendered, that Walter Winchell had the news exclusively, and that I was to write the story under Winchell's by-line. We had nothing but two or three facts phoned in by Winchell and some clippings from the files. My lead was:

By Walter Winchell

Louis (Lepke) Buchalter, ruler of the rackets, abdicated last night. He surrendered to Head G-Man J. Edgar Hoover in New York City and was placed in the Federal Detention Pen.

As Neville took each paragraph from my typewriter and sent it to the composing room, I kept pounding:

The long-sought racketeer, termed Public Enemy No. 1 by District Attorney Tom Dewey but only No. 4 on Mr. Hoover's list, said he had never left New York State.

And so on. Most of the rest was from the clips, concerning Lepke's career and the charges against him. It was a large beat for Winchell and the *Mirror*. Later that night the other papers got the story when the FBI announced the surrender. But Winchell kept us ahead by writing an insert to my story giving some exclusive details on how Lepke looked and what he said to the G-Men. Hoover at a press conference commented mysteriously that Winchell had been of considerable assistance in leading to Lepke's apprehension. Winchell, when questioned by other reporters, said, "No comment."

Twenty-four hours later the truth came out. Winchell broke another exclusive story telling how Lepke had actually surrendered. The racketeer, fearing that the FBI would shoot him down like Dillinger, had arranged to meet Winchell on a street corner, and Winchell had taken him to Hoover. Thus did the *Mirror*, with the cooperation of Winchell's friend Hoover, get two days' mileage out of one day's exclusive.

Such journalism, however, belonged to an era that seemed practically over, mourned by some newspaper men, not by others. Even the news of Lepke's surrender could not dominate the paper as it would have done earlier. By the final edition the line LEPKE SURRENDERS at the top of page 1 had to share honors with a three-line head in much bigger type: 'NO WAR' F.D. PLEA TO POLES AND HITLER, and still another that said GERMANY POISED TO STRIKE.

The staff of the Mirror in the late 1930's was a strange mixture. To me the extremes of the spectrum were occupied by Dan Parker, the brilliant sports writer, and Nick Kenny, the so-called radio columnist, who devoted himself to tin pan alley and put one, two, or three exclamation points after his sentences. The paper had a number of superlative writers and skilled desk men. It also had hacks and phonies and nepotists and persons of the sort that would later write U.S. A. Confidential and similar books. There were young men on the way toward better surroundings, older men from the Mirror of yesteryear, still older men from pre-tabloid times, cynics, Communists, Communist-haters, and even some (I imagine) who agreed with the paper's editorials. The city room was a place of a good deal of tension and antagonism. It seemed to me that very few of this motley assemblage really had any respect for the paper or its top editors during that period.

Some of my most vivid memories are of small incidents. Once, when I was on the copy desk, perhaps a bit overaggressive because I knew I looked much younger than my twenty-seven years, I was publicly denounced by Howard Shelley-a beefy red-faced man who wrote the society column under the name "Barclay Beekman"-for changing the word "domicile" to "home." When I argued back he drew himself up and said, "I'll have you know I have two master's degrees!" I also remember coldly ripping to pieces, day after day, what seemed to me the wretched copy of a man named Sam Boal; a few years later, when articles by him began appearing in the New Yorker, I wondered whether my pencil had been too heavy. I was again bawled out in the city room, this time by John McNulty during an argument over what I maintained was a grammatical error in Dan Parker's column; but McNulty the next day admitted he was wrong.

After I moved to the rewrite staff, I learned to play chess from Pete DuBerg, a thin young man with a bushy

black mustache who told me that he had suddenly become fed up with Yale University while crossing the campus with an armful of books, and had deposited the books in a nearby mailbox and walked away, never to return. I will never forget writing a story that began with the following sentence, spread over five columns: "The astounding Dr. Jekyll-and-Mr. Hyde career of F. Donald Coster, indicted president of the \$80,000,000 McKesson & Robbins, Inc., giant drug, liquor and chemicals concern, was exposed last night when he was revealed as Philip Musica, notorious ex-convict and swindler of pre-war years." Nor will I forget being in the first press plane to spot the Queen Elizabeth on her secret maiden crossing of the Atlantic; collaborating with Edward O. (Ted) Berkman on a short story which, to our surprise, no magazine accepted; and being sent to the anteroom to represent the managing editor in greeting the angry family (mostly oversized males) of a decedent, not yet buried, whom the Mirror had incorrectly identified as a principal figure in a famous police corruption scandal of an earlier era. After I had served on telegraph and makeup and had become night news editor, I was impressed with the unusual talents of our rewrite man named Jim Bishop, who spent his spare time in the back of the room reading Sandburg's Lincoln; I thought of this later when his The Day Lincoln Was Shot was published.

I know little about the last twenty-one years of the Mirror before its death on October 16, 1963; for I joined the Washington bureau of the Associated Press in 1942 and never entered the Mirror's premises again, nor even looked at a copy of the paper more than once or twice. Apparently it expired of an aggravation of its old ailment-inability to convince advertisers that they needed to buy large space in both the News and the Mirror. The second biggest newspaper circulation in American history did not mean very much in terms of profits so long as the competitor stayed so far ahead. The million daily circulation that Brisbane had coveted finally came in 1947, but by then the Daily News had 2,400,000. In the same year the Sunday News led the Sunday Mirror 4,700,000 to 2,200,000. Both the News and the Mirror declined gradually in circulation between 1948 and 1963. The Mirrow is said to have lost 85,000 in the 1963 newspaper strike; by September its circulation was 834,743 daily.

My experience on Hearst papers in Atlanta and New York convinced me that once a paper dyed itself yellow, it was liable to remain yellow in the eyes of the community, regardless of its efforts to change. Perhaps a really drastic change, a noticeable metamorphosis to a different sort of newspaper, could have erased the old image—but wouldn't the old circulation have fallen away, and could it be replaced?

I do not claim to have made a thorough study of the fate of America's sensational papers, which, as everyone knows, are no longer the factor in national life that they used to be. But at least the hypothesis of fade-proof yellow should be tested by reference to two papers already mentioned, Joseph Patterson's *News* and Joseph Pulitzer's *World*.

Patterson himself has been quoted as saying, "The Daily News was built on legs, but when we got enough circulation we draped them." I am not sure at what period this draping is supposed to have taken place, and I don't know enough about the newspaper business in New York in the last twenty years to evaluate the effects of the draping. To the degree that this super-tabloid has freed itself from association in the public mind with crime, sex, and gossip, I suppose it was helped by the excesses—and the names—of its imitators in the 1920's and 1930's. With William Randolph Hearst and Bernarr Macfadden available as scapegoats, advertisers could with more comfort put their money into exposure to the News's multitudes. Whether or not the News has really overcome its original image, though, is not so important as the fact that its sheer power made draping of the legs not only more feasible but also less necessary. The News rushed so fast into so huge a vacuum in 1919, got such a formidable head start, and stayed so far ahead that no rival could compete as an advertising medium to reach that sort of reader.

The case of Pulitzer seems clearer. The World unmistakably won much respect in the twentieth century after giving the impression in the middle 1890's—in the words of Don C. Seitz in his Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters (Simon & Schuster, 1924)—that it "must be conducted by a combination of ghouls and perverts." Some of the circumstances that enabled Pulitzer to get away with it are, it seems to me, as follows:

Pulitzer, though hated by some, never became the symbol of infamy that Hearst did. Pulitzer, though he can't escape responsibility for his paper's excesses, at least did not plan them so deliberately, and indeed was not personally on the scene when they took place. They were engineered mainly by Brisbane; and Brisbane, after Pulitzer in alarm clamped severe restrictions on him, went over to Hearst, who gave him more leeway. Pulitzer was willing and able to take a cut in circulation and build it back later. The World's editorial page excited the admiration of intellectuals and helped to dim the memories of yellow journalism. Pulitzer continued to put out a live, aggressive paper, saying, "No paper can be great, in my opinion, if it depends simply upon the hand-to-mouth idea, news coming in anyhow." But-get this-he took care, especially on the Morning World, to reduce the size of the headlines.

In that connection a memorandum Pulitzer wrote on December 5, 1899, as quoted by Seitz, is illuminating: "I think both the bigamy story on Saturday (outside column, first page) and the Beecher story, same place Monday, may be good, but the four column head bad anyhow. It distinctly tends to lower the tone of the paper and to revive the idea of sensationalism, the giving of the foremost place and extraordinary headlines to what is, after all, a salacious story and not an important or serious matter. I think it tends towards the other extreme—sensationalism—and although the wisdom of placing such stories in the most important column is a question, there is no question about the four column headline being bad."

So maybe the real secret of getting rid of old yellowstain is: (1) publish a good newspaper; (2) change the typography; (3) not be named Hearst.

The Power of the College Press By Jean Heller

This is the story of a book-banning controversy that could have destroyed a city's educational system, and of the Ohio State *Lantern*, the student newspaper that helped prevent that tragedy. On Tuesday, October 15, 1963, the Columbus Board of Education met for what should have been a routine meeting. But a handful of people broke it wide open. They were members of the East Side Anti-Communist Study Group, the South Side Anti-Communist Study Group, the Franklin County Anti-Communist Study Group, Christians for Freedom, and the local chapter of the WCTU.

They were there to protest that certain books in the city's high school libraries were "filthy, blasphemous, revolutionary and anti-white." Specifically mentioned at the meeting were J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, and a volume of poetry by Langston Hughes, a Negro.

Later, George Orwell's 1984, Aldous Huxley's Brave New World and Harper Lee's To Kill a Mockingbird were placed on the "objectionable list.

The school board listened to the protests.

The next day, Wednesday, October 16, the city's two daily newspapers reported what had happened at the meeting. One played the story at the bottom of the front page. The other put it on the inside.

On Thursday morning, October 17, the Columbus Citizen-Journal reported that Dr. Harold H. Eibling, superintendent of Columbus schools, had said the school board would take action in the matter if any formal complaints were filed about the controversial books. No mention was made of what that action would be.

The same day, the *Lantern*, which is a morning daily, took an editorial stand. We felt the issue of book-banning

was of enough importance and had consequences so farreaching, that it was our duty to do what we could to prevent these self-sanctified "protectors" of our children from protecting them right out of the education of good literature.

The essence of our editorial, headlined "We Live Here, Too," was this: "The Lantern is the first to admit that one man's art may be another man's blasphemy. But the Lantern is the last to try to determine which is which. And when any self-ordained dictator tries to tell any individual or institution what is art and what is blasphemy, the Lantern feels compelled to stand in one hundred per cent opposition."

Phone calls and letters to the editor-all supporting our stand-poured in that day and continued the next. We had made our point.

Our next move was on Monday, October 21. That evening, the Lantern interviewed Ann Deitrick, a 22-year-old, second-year teacher at one of the Columbus high schools.

She said she believed she was responsible for starting the controversy over book banning. More than a year before she had given a suggested reading list to her tenth grade English classes. That list had contained the titles of most of the controversial books.

She told us there were about fifty books on her list, all of which had been suggested by the National Council of Teachers of English. The parents of one of Miss Deitrick's students saw the list and complained vehemently to the school's principal. Miss Deitrick was called in and told to be "a little judicious" in the future.

She heard no more of it until the following spring when The Catcher in the Rye was quietly taken from the shelves of the school's library and sale of the book in paperback to students was stopped. The sale of all other books was allowed to continue.

A second book was removed from the library at the same time, a book which Miss Deitrick termed no more than a non-political geographical tour of Russia, copyright 1935. There was no uproar or controversy at the time; the books just disappeared.

Not until this fall was the school board approached or any publicity given to the issue. Miss Deitrick concluded, as we did, that the reason for the long silence was one of timing. Had a controversy been started in the spring, so near the end of the school year, it would have died during the summer with no action taken.

But by waiting until fall, the book banners had nine months to stir up as much trouble as was needed to get what they wanted.

We warned Miss Deitrick, who had talked very freely, that we meant to publish her story and that it might cost her her job. She said she didn't care; that if she were not

backed by her superiors, if teaching methods were dictated, she would quit anyway.

We published her story in full as promised on Wednesday, October 23. In doing so we scooped both downtown newspapers.

The same day, anxious to know what effect our story had and looking for a follow-up, we talked to Miss Deitrick's principal, the librarian at her school and to Dr. Eibling. The principal refused to comment. The librarian stood firmly against book banning. Dr. Eibling said he would not give in to the book critics, that he had confidence that his teachers and librarians recommended worthwhile literature to their students, but that he would take no action in the matter until formal complaints about the books had been filed with his office.

Dr. Eibling's statement was heartening, but we could not be certain that he spoke for the whole school board or of how he would react if and when the issue reached a showdown.

We published his statement on Thursday, October 24, and editorially complimented both Dr. Eibling and Miss Deitrick hoping this would be incentive for continued work against the book banners.

But the issue had reached a stalemate. No formal complaints were filed and no action was taken to protect books in high school libraries.

It wasn't until 12 days later that anything but letters to the editor were published on the subject.

On Tuesday, November 5, the Lantern published an interview with Mrs. Vivian Suarez, chairman of the Franklin County Anti-Communist Study Group and the mother who had first complained about Miss Deitrick's book list. The Lantern was the only newspaper in the city she had

consented to talk to.

She pulled no punches in telling us of her hate for the controversial books. Mrs. Suarez called them "unfit for high school students because of references to whores, pimps, acts of prostitution, un-Americanism, blasphemy, habitual drinking, infidelity with a dog, race hatred and homosexuality."

She criticized Miss Deitrick, saying the teacher was not a parent and therefore did not know the responsibility of parenthood, that at 22 her thinking was immature, and that she was overstepping her authority in taking the liberty of recommending a book such as The Catcher in the Rye to a 15-year-old.

Comments received by the Lantern on this story were innumerable. Some people argued that we had no right to print such stupidity. To this we answered that out of fairness and in deference to good journalistic practice, both sides had the right to be heard.

Other people spoke of her sarcastically and harshly.

One instructor of freshman English at Ohio State wrote that he had counted nine instances of extremely poor logic in her statements and thanked her for supplying so many theme topics for his classes.

We published all the letters we received on the subject and one day added four open pages to the paper to take care of the overflow.

Letters and phone calls we received were overwhelmingly in our favor, and Dr. Eibling said the same thing was happening at the Board of Education.

The same day we published the interview with the aspiring book censor, the Columbus School Board unanimously approved a resolution reaffirming its faith in the ability of its professional staff to choose fit reading matter for high school students. It was announced that *The Catcher in the Rye* and the *Langston Hughes Reader* had been returned to the high school libraries.

There would be no book banning.

We published that story the following day.

Everything is quiet now. Whether it's the calm before another storm remains to be seen. The *Lantern* remains ready to fight again for what we believe is right.

It's impossible to know exactly how much the *Lantern's* campaign meant in this issue. We suspect it was a great deal. The *Lantern's* normal press run is 18,500. Our newspaper is available to the 30,000 students at Ohio State's Columbus campus, the 3000 students at our seven branch campuses, faculty, staff, advertisers and subscribers.

The subscribers include almost all the city, county, and

state offices in downtown Columbus. Our campaign reached all these people.

One fact is clear: a college newspaper can be more than merely a pre-professional laboratory for journalism students. The *Lantern* filled a void left by two professional newspapers that did nothing significant throughout the controversy.

They took no editorial stand. They made no effort to print the facts of the case. We took a stand, and we printed opinion from both sides. This did our case no harm. In the end we gained the respect of many people.

But the victory is by no means complete.

Good journalism is more than accurate reporting of automobile accidents, political campaigns and city council meetings. The *Lantern's* fight took the time and the energy that too many professional papers don't seem willing to expend.

The groups we fought in Columbus are not unique to this city. They grow up all across the country, existing on ignorance—their's and other people's. We agree with them that our American heritage is worth saving but we disagree over methods. The only defense against ignorance is information.

This is the heritage of newspapers. The college student and the professional alike must guard it closely.

Jean Heller was city editor of the *Lantern* during its campaign against book censoring in the Columbus schools and wrote two of the key interviews her article refers to, with Miss Deitrick and the superintendent of schools.

The Banners and the Bard

By Richard Hauer Costa

The work week of most college teachers—their in-class hours, at any rate—beats that of a banker. For the instructor who teaches in dual, even conflicting, disciplines, however, there are pitfalls of class scheduling that have nothing to do with time and everything to do with timing.

Spread-eagled as I am between journalism and literature, I often find myself in a limbo that borders on schizophrenia.

At 8, three mornings a week, I soar among the muses, in a heady world of Greek and Elizabethan tragedy, immortal poetry and stirring literary prose. My flight lasts one hour. At 9 o'clock I descend from the Introduction to Literature course to a seminar in Problems of the Press: one that commits me to concerns so immediate that the day's headlines frequently outdistance the textbook.

To cite just one recent example: The problems class last spring was studying a unit on confidentiality at the very time a major test case was being argued in a Philadelphia courtroom. We waited for day-to-day developments that were apparently climaxed by the jailing and fining of two *Evening Bulletin* officials for refusing to answer questions and produce documents requested by a grand jury investigating city hall. The semester could not wait until all the returns were in. The reversal of the convictions by the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court came two months later.

The journalism teacher need only keep his eyes on *Editor* & *Publisher* for valid and current cases to update the text-books.

But, where headlines helped at 9 o'clock, all during the earlier hour—the one spent in the company of Sophocles, Shakespeare, Yeats and Dostoyevsky—I was only too content to forget the topical for the timeless; too lulled by language to remember Archibald MacLeish's warning never to

separate the worlds of events happening and of men feeling:

separate the worlds of events happening and of men feeling: the worlds of the journalist and the literary artist.

My awakening to the light shed on the headlines of contemporary history by deathless works came recently in the midst of hearing an uncut recording of Shakespeare's Othello. Along with reading and hearing the play, we used as supplementary material an essay, "The Tragic Fallacy," drawn from Joseph Wood Krutch's The Modern Temper. Prof. Krutch's thesis is that no great tragic literature is being written today because written today because

We can no longer tell tales of the fall of noble men because we do not believe that noble men exist. The best that we can achieve is pathos and the most than we can do is to feel sorry for ourselves. Man has put off his royal robes and it is only in sceptered pomp that tragedy can come sweeping by.

Othello, prince of battle, enters the stage all virtue and triumph, only to yield to the insinuations of the evil Iago that the high-born Desdemona he wooed and won has been unfaithful. Yet even in the midst of self-deception, Othello, a fictional war hero, speaks for actual warriors of recent vintage—from MacArthur to Salan—who overextended their hands and some to print. their hands and came to grief:

Farewell the pluméd troop and the big wars
That make ambition virtue! Oh, farewell,
Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,
The royal banner and all quality,
Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!
... Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!

An emissary from Venice arrives to relieve Othello of his command on Cyprus. Thrilled by the heightened sentiment which keeps Othello heroic amidst ignominy, one cannot help contrasting it with the black, un-poetic headlines which announced (April 11, 1951) the recall by a courageous President of a heroic General:

TRUMAN FIRES MACARTHUR

Ridgeway Named Far East Commander

Something in the use of the pejorative "fire" takes the story down from the mantel of tragedy to the floor of give-and-take journalism. But who could top Shakespeare's words, written three and a half centuries before MacArthur and the war in Korea, as the epitaph for all men who lose their "occupation," whether in literature or life?

Othello, discredited and a murderer, recoups, at least for Globe Theater audiences, by the very act of closing out his life on a valiant note. His valedictory restores him to the larger-than-life stature impossible to conceive of today:

Soft you, a word or two before you go. I have done the state some service, and they know't. No more of that. I pray you in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am, nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice. Then must you speak
Of one that loved not wisely but too well. . . .

Projecting the tragedy of the Moor into mid-Twentieth Century, the schizoid teacher of literature who also teaches journalism cannot help but visualize how modern electronic journalism, an accessory to the nothing-sacred way of modern politics, would get in the way of any such noble swansong. Othello would be dispatched to a psychiatrist or censured by Congress. Krutch put the modern dilemma this way: "If the plays and novels deal with littler people and less mighty emotions it is . . . because we have come to see the soul of man as commonplace and its emotions as mean." the soul of man as commonplace and its emotions as mean."

the soul of man as commonplace and its emotions as mean."

This enfeeblement of the spirit can be dramatically illustrated by the farewell press conference, apparently premature, of Richard Nixon when he lost the California gubernational race in 1962. Here was a story with all the potential for high drama. Nixon's was a stature comparable, in terms of our world, to that of an Othello in Sixteenth Century Italy. Only two years before he had come within 110,000 votes of winning the world's highest office. Had any of a half-dozen factors been altered slightly, he would have become President. Instead, defeated again in a lesser battle, he appeared repudiated finally, his position in political life shattered.

This was the setting, then, shortly before noon on the morning of Nov. 7, 1962 when, after wiring his concession of defeat to Edmund (Pat) Brown, he made an impromptu appearance before the men he said defeated him: the press corps.

corps.

The last play. Gentlemen, I leave you now and you will now write it. You will interpret it. That's your right. But as I leave you I want you to know—just think how much you're going to be missing. You won't have Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference and it will be one in which I have welcomed the opportunity to test wits with you. I have always respected you, I have sometimes disagreed with you.

But, unlike some people, I've never canceled a subscription to a paper and also I never will....

Nixon, in contrast to Othello, wanted a national TV audience to "everything extenuate." His valedictory droned off in personal vindictiveness—a modern counterfeit of tragedy. The despair of Nixon became intolerable, not because it touched our hearts, but because it was no longer even significant—a bit, in truth, of a bore.

Yet, for its time, Nixon's valedictory was as appropriate as Othello's. What he said girded the globe in a matter of minutes. Had Othello's drama been lived, the news of his spiritual defection and dying plea would have passed back to Venice by man's slow telling. Nixon realized, perhaps without being aware of it, that in a society that exalts its heroes only so it can see them toppled, the voters would

remember him most vividly if his last words were of meanness. Othello, without the grinding news cameras but with the assurance that his creator's words would be resonant in centuries to come, spoke to a people confident of the greatness in man and made the most of his opportunity.

Professor Costa teaches at Utica College of Syracuse University.

A Look At The Future Of Education For Journalism

By A. L. Higginbotham

With the Nieman Foundation reaching its twenty-fifth birthday, now is a good time to look about and see where education for journalism is going.

For the Nieman program, although it does not fall into the standard pattern, is unquestionably education for journalism.

And it significantly points up the fact that journalism education takes many forms in a society with a great variety of journalistic types. This always will and must be.

It may, therefore, be profitable to ask where that common form of journalism education known as the school of journalism is heading during the next quarter century.

Prophecy is easy, especially for the distant future. But prophecy is only charting the path, and, in journalism education, this path is not unclear.

For, after fifty years or more of battle, education for journalism is here to stay.

It is still under heavy fire, both from the academicians and from the practitioners of journalism. Undoubtedly this will always be the case.

The function of journalism is criticism and it would not be living up to its obligations if professionals did not evaluate education for their vocation as well as all other things in the contemporary world.

So, journalism educators have had to prove to journalism practitioners that formal journalism education works. There is very little doubt that it does work. The record stands out sharp and clear. It is an undeniable fact that more and more leaders in American journalism are graduates of schools and departments of journalism. Reluctantly, the veterans have had to relinquish their loyalty to their alma maters of general education or the school of hard knocks.

Perhaps it is not surprising that the academicians, who

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are right on the job along with the journalism educators, have been far more willing to accept preparation for the profession in college than have many of the practitioners. The college teachers have seen that there are many ways to prepare for journalism and that attending a school or department of journalism is one of the best for many young men and young women.

Since education for journalism is here to stay, the question is as to what form it will take during the years ahead. Naturally, this form will change as the society which it serves and the academic community of which it is a part modify with the changing times.

It is likely, however, that education for journalism will remain basically much the same, but with modifications.

The term "journalism," certainly as applied to education for it, will come to have a much broader meaning than that of newspapers and magazines. It will include all journalistic media, and the nature of these changes with changing times. Today they encompass general magazines, news magazines, house organs, industrial and trade publications, radio and television journalism, advertising, public relations, wire services activities, and media where the basic principles of news evaluation, reporting, and editing are called for. Already many schools represent this great breadth and more will continue to adopt it. In all such media, the basic journalistic principles are essentially the same. Only the application is different.

Along with this modification, will be the acceptance of journalism, more and more, as a standard collegiate discipline. It will be recognized as both a professional subject and a liberal arts subject at one and the same time.

This will appear to many as being the marriage of two unsuited intellectual mates, but there is ample reason to believe that the example of Law as a discipline will be repeated in the field of journalism.

Journalism will be studied, therefore, both for its general knowledge and liberalizing qualities on one hand and as preparation for the practice of the profession on another. And, increasing stress will be put on the intellectual aspects, with much less emphasis on the mechanical.

As a consequence, higher academic standards will become inevitable as journalism becomes better and better established and recognized as a standard discipline. This is not to imply that high standards are not the rule today. In fact, academic requirements are higher in journalism courses in many institutions than standards in other subjects. Just ask any journalism student in a good department.

As a natural result of this acceptance of journalism as a standard collegiate subject, it will be expected that journalism is to be offered in nearly all standard colleges and universities in some form, shape or manner, as a recognized discipline along with the other liberal arts subjects.

But, schools of journalism will continue to vary greatly in type and organization. Some will be dedicated entirely to preparation for the profession on its higher levels. Others will be willing to prepare young people for work on the less demanding publications and electronic units. Some will specialize in work for the wire services while others will emphasize the country weekly, or house organs, or trade and industrial publications, or the electronics media.

Moreover, the approach to journalism education will vary just as the number of institutions and the variety of journalistic units.

This is right and proper, for there is no one way to get into journalism nor any sacred avenue controlled by any one person or group of persons. This must be true because journalism is not a licensed profession and because it is basically a liberal art. As many kinds of practitioners are needed as there are and will be types of journalistic units and approaches to the subject.

Journalism is democratic and journalism education must meet it in type and variety. What will be important is not size, location, kind, reputation, etc., but the quality of the instruction.

There will be, naturally, more journalism students and more journalism graduates. The schools of journalism cannot now meet the demand. Those with established reputations find from five to ten jobs awaiting every graduate at commencement. The media now find that they have to hire untrained and unprepared persons who often do not make good, resulting in a terrific loss in efficiency and a resulting poorer product with which to compete for the consumer's time and money.

Many journalism graduates will not plan to go into journalism professionally but into allied fields for which they find that journalism is a good, if not the best, preparation. This has been going on for years but will increase in tempo.

Many other students will take courses in journalism as part of a general education with no intent of practising it professionally. This, again, is like the study of Law. It is

good general education. Moreover, many college students these days are finding that a knowledge of journalism has uses and advantages in the practice of nearly any profession.

And, there will be proportionally many more women studying journalism—and practising it. This is an outgrowth of the continuing emancipation of women from the chores of a home in which their efforts are needed less and less.

Despite the objection of the entrenched veteran newsmen, women have battered down the city room doors, and will continue to serve as reporters and editors in increasing numbers because they have shown that they are often not only as good as men but sometimes very much better professional practitioners.

There will be more graduate work in journalism, more graduate study in journalism, and more graduate students in journalism. This is part of the extension of education as a whole in an affluent society which can afford to continue the education of its young people beyond immediate vocational needs.

It goes without saying that a journalist can use all of the education which he can acquire, whether formally or informally. In addition, practising journalists are finding that it pays them to return to college and take graduate study, often leading to advanced degrees, because it strengthens them professionally, just as graduate study does in other professions.

The question which continued study raises is to whether the professional rewards are worth the time and effort. Certainly journalistic media are going to have to be more remunerative if they expect increased education, and a higher level of performance.

The advanced study of journalism is, further, an interesting and stimulating intellectual occupation, and holds an attraction for many persons of good minds in the pursuit of it for its own sake.

And along this line, there will, of course, be more research in journalism. In many respects, investigative studies in journalism are comparatively new. A few of the larger institutions, mostly privately supported, have developed strong programs in this area, but only in very recent years have the majority of the schools done anything appreciable to look into journalism as such and to develop new ideas about it. So, journalism research is a comparatively untapped field which will develop strongly in the years ahead.

Funds for this purpose will have to be promoted by the schools, and journalistic media will have to be encouraged to understand that they must put up some money if they expect to get research which will be valuable to them in the increase of the efficiency and effectiveness of their units.

There are several grave dangers in research in any field

but particularly in journalism. It can easily be not very profound nor very useful. There is, of course, finger counting, which some consider to be a fascinating occupation, and also the proving of the obvious because of the fun of doing it.

Yet there is a grave danger in research, which is to try to make what is a professional *art* into a professional *science*. Journalism is, of course, an art, and as far as signs indicate, always will be. It has socially scientific aspects, and these can be probed profitably, but the conclusion must not be drawn that this is what journalism is all about, for a precious thing in journalism is that it is creative, and this can readily be lost.

Journalism schools and departments are becoming more and more centers of information and stimulus for the profession. They serve as unifying and rallying centers for those on all levels of journalistic practice. In these respects, they are like the professional schools in other fields, such as Theology, Education, Law, Engineering, Medicine, and Business.

Journalism schools, therefore, have several functions.

One of these is to produce well educated professional practitioners. Another is to do research and add to knowledge about the field of journalism. A third is to serve as centers of information and to offer by extension and other methods the variety of information which journalism needs.

These, in the same or modified forms, will continue to form the pattern of American education for journalism in the forseeable future.

Why Not To Start A Newspaper

By Houstoun Waring

The Arapahoe *Tribune* announced last week that, owing to lack of support by merchants, it was ceasing publication.

This was the fourth free-circulation paper operated here in the past three years. A lot of work went into them. Day work and night work. The editors were plucky men, but the four enterprises lost money. As a guess, I would say the losses totaled somewhere between \$8,000 and \$16,000.

I have seen many such newspapers come and go in Littleton. Over the years, 21 have failed to make the grade. I have just made a list in an attempt to determine why. Here it is:

- 1. First of all a new paper must cultivate a field that is already being farmed. I have always advised young journalists against this, suggesting they buy a rundown paper or get one from an editor who wants to retire.
- 2. A newspaper must have a secondclass permit and operate for a year in order to publish legal notices, one source of revenue.
- 3. I don't see how a newspaper can function without a so-called morgue or library. Thousands of pictures, statistics, biographical records, and maps take years to cumulate.
- 4. A paid circulation, demanded by advertisers, is not secured over-night.

- 5. It takes months to acquire a plant, install equipment, connect utilities, and put things in running order. These are months with no revenue.
- 6. It takes years to build up a staff such as we have at the Littleton *Independent*. Palmer Hoyt discovered this in 1946 when he began transforming the Denver *Post*.
- 7. The same is true of news carriers, Our 175 boys and girls are an asset to the paper and the community. It is not easy to assemble such a trustworthy aggregation.
- 8. A new newspaper must wait from two to fourteen months to get its name in the telephone book.
- 9. It must wait years before the public beats a path to its location. Even though the Littleton *Independent* moved into its present building in 1906, hundreds of newcomers don't know where it is.
- 10. A new newspaper experiences a prolonged drouth on out-of-town advertising, as state and national agencies can't find it listed in standard rate books.
- 11. A new editor is handicapped by his newness. He doesn't have the acquaintances or the knowledge of news sources.
- 12. If he starts his paper in a wrong year, he may find that he cannot get a newsprint supply. When we bought a web press in 1956, we were turned down by

Scrapbook

three wholesale houses who complained of a "newsprint shortage" in rolls.

13. The thing that cuts down the new editor, finally, is usually the fact he has run out of working capital. Having spent it all on getting ready to publish, he has nothing left for this week's payroll.

When I began in the newspaper business in 1926, a man could make a down payment on a good weekly for \$1,000. Since then, newspapers have become fewer and the remaining ones have grown much bigger. So have payrolls and the cost of machinery. Some of our states report a net loss of 300 newspapers during this period. Because of financial reasons, most towns like this can't support two papers. So all across America we find towns with a single newspaper ownership.

This isn't as bad as it sounds, as all cities now have access to other sources of news, such as radio, television, news magazines, the nearby daily.

Not a single big daily has been launched in America (and kept in operation) for a quarter of a century. Several dozen weeklies have become successes, starting from scratch, but hundreds of others have failed.

"Freedom of the Press" is not free to the courageous young editor seeking to launch a new publication. Times ain't what they were.

-Houstoun Waring's Column, Littleton (Colo.) Independent. December 27.

The Great Liberties By Irving Dilliard

THE MAN IN THE MIRROR: WIL-LIAM MARION REEDY AND HIS MAGAZINE. By Max Putzel. Harvard University Press. \$7.50.

ALIENS AND DISSENTERS. By William Preston Jr. Harvard University Press. \$6.75.

LEGACY OF SUPPRESSION: FREE-DOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY. By Leonard W. Levy. Harvard University Press (Belknap). \$6.50.

JEFFERSON AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE DARKER SIDE. By Leonard W. Levy. Harvard University Press (Belknap). \$4.50.

These four books have more in common than that all were published by the Harvard University Press, although that is noteworthy and says something about them as well as about the role of the Harvard University Press as a producer of books for the general reader.

All these books have to do, one way or another, with the rights of citizens under the Constitution—the great liberties that are written down in black and white in the American Bill of Rights. The first and second, while not exactly contemporary, deal with people and events in relatively recent times. The third and fourth go back to our early days.

Max Putzel's biography of the editor of Reedy's *Mirror* is a literary and journalistic service of the first order. The fact that so few readers will even have heard of the name of William Marion Reedy only makes that service the greater.

For Billy Reedy (1862-1920) opened the pages of his St. Louis weekly review to Stephen Crane, Emily Dickinson, Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Zoë Akins, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay and Sara Teasdale, to Padraic Colum, William Rose Benet, Babette Deutsch, Carl Van Vechten and Maxwell Bodenheim. He printed Edgar Lee Masters' Spoon River Anthology poem by poem as written. The late F. O. Matthiessen described the portly, affable, witty Reedy as Theodore Dreiser's "first real champion." And with good reason, for

Reedy saw what was significant in *Sister Carrie* when others were condemning it. From overseas Reedy brought to American readers Thomas Hardy and John Galsworthy and James Joyce.

Notable as were the services of Reedy in helping build reputations that towered above his own, he deserves grateful remembrance as a free-swinging editor who dealt resolutely with the domestic and international issues of his times. There was precious little in the three decades from 1891 (when he founded the Mirror as "a journal of opinion, a potpourri of political comment, social gossip and literary miscellany") about which he did not have his say. He could be far-seeing in politics as well as in literature. For example, as early as July, 1898, "when the Spanish War was young," Reedy picked Rough Rider Theodore Roosevelt "as a likely man for the presidency."

Max Putzel, who has performed the splendid service of brushing the dust off this unusual man and uninhibited exponent of free expression, writes with grace and verve as well as a scholar's accuracy. A Yale graduate, he teaches English and is assistant dean of the Graduate School of the University of Connecticut.

Aliens and Dissenters is a publication of Harvard's Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America and bears an appreciative foreword from the Center's director, Oscar Handlin. The author, a professor of history at Denison University, traces the origins and examines the consequences of the restraints on liberty that developed when concern with internal security and right of dissent clashed in the years after 1900.

Since the period under review closes with the "deportations delirium of 1920," following World War I, Prof. Preston's study covers almost the precise years of the publication of the *Mirror* by Editor Reedy. The immigrant as scapegoat, the challenge of the Wobblies from 1905 to 1915, the military repression during World War I, and finally the A. Mitchell Palmer "Red raids" plus the heroic counter efforts of William B. Wilson and especially Louis F. Post, in the Labor Department—these are the areas which the author covers in illuminating, if depressing, detail. It is a book that ought to be on the reading list

of every member of the John Birch Society.

The third and fourth books are related studies of the origins of our liberties by the

studies of the origins of our liberties by the Earl Warren Professor of American Constitutional Studies at Brandeis University.

Dean Levy concludes, on the basis of his reading of "primary sources," that the Founding Fathers were pretty much against free expression, notably in matters of politics. His "revisionist interpretations" give "some reason to believe that the Bill of Rights was the chance product of a chance political commitment rather than the result of principled liberalism." After his broader look at "freedom of speech and press in early American history," he turns, in the later book, to "the darker side" of Jefferson. Here the essence is that "Jefferson's ideas on many issues were not always libertarian, and when they were his practice did not always match his professions."

Now let it be said that the history and traditions of freedom in the United States will stand all the examination that anyone, including Dean Levy, wants to engage in. The Constitution was hammered out on the anvil of compromise. The drafting, the ratification, the preparation, submission and adoption of the Bill of Rights, as well, were the results of give and take among men who differed deeply on many things. Nobody in his right mind would say that everyone in the American colonies was a flaming libertarian. Yet the fact remains that in the new Republic's earliest hours our great Bill of Rights was drawn up by the first Congress, approved by the states and made an imperishable part of our basic law.

As for Jefferson, there is nothing new in stating the fact that he was not always consistent. Very few leaders in public life ever have been. But Jefferson did write the Declaration of Independence. He did create the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom. He did found the University of Virginia and thus give historic impetus to public education. Judged by the totality of his contribution, Jefferson remains an apostle for freedom, a towering figure among the torchbearers of liberty.

Irving Dillard, Ferris professor at Princeton, is former editorial page editor, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, a Nieman Fellow of 1938-9.

How the U.S. is Ruled

POWER IN WASHINGTON. By Douglass Cater. Random House, N. Y. 275 pp. \$4.95.

"The Struggle to Govern" is the final chapter heading in Douglass Cater's new book. It fairly describes his recital of the problem of managing any coherent pattern of government amongst the various warlords and arbuscades of power blocs in Washington. He examines the baronial power of intrenched committee chairmen; the subgovernments of bureaucracies favored by powerful congressmen; the highly developed arts of pressure and press campaign; and the innumerable practical dilemmas that hedge about a President and limit the choices he can make.

Cater's analysis is illustrated by frequent illuminating reports: the way sugar quotas are contrived; how a rural Louisiana congressman came to hold a veto on foreign aid; the ways Ghana and Guatemala and the Dominican Republic have bought access to American public opinion; how the walnut growers got into the farm program and the poultrymen failed to; and many more.

With the cumulative details from his reporter's experience, Cater builds up "disturbing evidence of power being exercised in unresponsive and irresponsible ways... The present disarray in our institutions of government tends to accentuate the role of the operators skilled in daily maneuver, in whipping together transient coalitions ... to diminish the role of the long-term strategists."

But the close observation that enables him to dramatize the problem restrains Cater in his conclusions. He sees no ready remedy and argues the impracticability of such reforms as proposed by James Macgregor Burns in his *Deadlock of Democracy*. In the long run the Supreme Court's insistence on making Congress more representative will erode irrational and irresponsible centers of power. Meantime effective government depends on the leadership of individuals "who by distant vision and capacity to see things whole come to play a superior role."

Douglass Cater became Washington editor of *The Reporter* in 1950, has served several brief hitches in government him-

self, is author of *The Fourth Branch of Government*, 1959. He did this book while a Fellow at Wesleyan's Center for Advanced Studies, last year.

L.M.L.

Murray Kempton

AMERICA COMES OF MIDDLE AGE. By Murray Kempton. Little, Brown Co. Boston. 382 pp. \$6.50.

For the Kempton fan, this is an omnibus of 150 of his columns over a 12 year span, starting in 1950. It covers civil rights, McCarthyism, Cuba, the Eisenhower years, Katanga, Birmingham, Mr. Nixon, Khrushchev, and the varied menu of events and personalities that made the passing scene. They are all very readable in the style that has made Murray Kempton an effective columnist. Many are penetrating observations, others light humor, more hard hitting at the abuses that need exposure—a graphic kaleidoscope of where we have just been.

Washington Report

THE PRESS AND FOREIGN POLICY. By Bernard C. Cohen. Princeton University Press. 288 pp. \$6.

Prof. Cohen, a specialist in foreign policy, finds our Washington reporting inadequate in this complex field. He holds the trouble is partly the effort to popularize the news in foreign affairs. This he says inevitably distorts the report to the general reader and fails to provide enough information for those with a special interest. His remedy is to give up what he counts a futile effort to interest the general reader and concentrate on a more professional job for those interested. This strikes the journalist as defaulting his primary role to inform the public on its public business. But his criticism of Washington reporting is worth the attention of the correspondent who takes his job seriously. Prof. Cohen complains of the lack of analysis of foreign policy, of the scamping of foreign news in most papers. But he attacks especially the restrictions imposed on correspondents by the cliches and conventions of what is news and how to present it, that keeps most of the press corps in lock step, trudging in packs in well-trodden news grooves; only the rare individual breaking away to discover news in a fresh area and write something new.

"He finds himself more in the grip of the news than in command of it." A provocative criticism.

L.M.L.

McCormick's Crusade

SPRUNG: The Release of Willie Calloway. By Ken McCormick. St. Martin's Press. N.Y. 244 pp. \$4.95.

The climax of Ken McCormick's 30 years with the Detroit *Free Press*, where he won a Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting, is told in this book. It describes his three-year campaign that brought release from a life sentence for a young Negro, imprisoned for a murder he never committed. In January, when this book was published, Ken McCormick was elected vice-president of the Michigan Gas Utilities Co. where he had been in charge of advertising and public relations since 1962.

His book *Sprung* is thus his valedictory to journalism. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1943.

In a review, February 16, in the New York *Times*, Emanuel Perlmutter wrote of *Sprung*:

"You will not find many detective tales more enthralling than this true story of how a newspaperman helped bring about the release of Willie Calloway, a young Negro serving a life sentence for a hold-up murder he never committed. The newspaperman had to find new witnesses. He had to overcome the obstruction of hostile Detroit detectives and the prosecutor's office—who had combined to convict Calloway. His feat proved a shining example of crusading journalism.

"Ken McCormick, a Pulitzer Prize crime reporter for the Detroit *Free Press*, was in Jackson, Mich., in 1953, when the warden of the State Penitentiary there told him he was convinced that a lifer in the reformatory at Ionia was an innocent man. In *Sprung*, Mr. McCormick tells how he went about the seemingly hopeless task

of trying to prove that the imprisoned man had been unjustly convicted of participating—with another Negro—in the street murder of a woman they had allegedly tried to rob.

"Calloway had been convicted on the confession of his asserted confederate, the hazy identification of the daughter of the slain woman who had been with her when she was killed, and the testimony of another Negro youth who said he had seen Calloway and his confederate with a pistol that night. The two defendants had had court-assigned counsel who persuaded them to waive a jury trial. They had been found guilty by a judge, after a one-day court appearance.

"What Mr. McCormick had to work with was Calloway's protestation of innocence, and subsequent statements by the confederate that he had been beaten by the police to confess and that he had falsely implicated Calloway. There was also a recantation by the other Negro—in which he charged he had been coerced by detectives to "finger" the two defendants. None of this was enough to bring about a new trial—so Mr. McCormick began studying all available records in the case and interviewing anyone who had been involved.

"The article he wrote produced new witnesses and won Calloway a new trial. The district attorney then decided not to re-prosecute the case. Calloway, the illiterate son of an Alabama sharecropper, was finally freed, after serving nine years in jail. Sympathetic persons found a good job for him in another city where he is now a respected citizen. If justice erred when he was first convicted, it atoned to him at the end."

Americans "Brainwashed"

To the Editor:

For something like fifteen years the American news media have been promoting the cold war through distortion of news and playing for headlines. As a result, Americans themselves have distorted notions of events both at home and abroad. It would doubtless surprise, and even infuriate, most Americans to be told that their concept of the world in which they are living is unreal. Some visitors from abroad have been heard to say that we of this country are the world's most brainwashed people.

Anyone whose mind is not closed, and who wants to find out the truth of such things for himself, can learn some facts to astonish him by reading the world news in the European press and comparing it with the news as reported here at home.

It will astonish many to read, as they may in the London *Observer's* "special report," that the United States is "embarking on a new revolution as significant for the rest of the world as the first American revolution, or the Russian and the Chinese revolutions in their time."

The *Observer* sees here "an attempt to built a modern, industrialist poverty-free society, on genuine multi-racial as well as multi-national basis. In trying to do it by

peaceful and democratic means, America has undertaken a colossal task. Its size and novelty have scarcely yet been apprehended by the rest of the world, or by many Americans themselves."

Where in our own press can we find such a thoughtful appraisal, in a setting of history, of what we are going through?

China's Premier, Chou En-lai, has recently visited the African countries, and our press insinuates or screams, as the case may be, about the Premier being some kind of prowling and conspiratorial character bent upon whipping up war in that part of the world. By contrast, the *Observer* correspondent gives the reader a factual appraisal, told with dispassionate calm, of what really is happening.

It says that the Arabs "took to Chou" because they found him "so clearly a reasonable, modest and highly intelligent person." He did not, as expected, "arrive breathing fire and urging the African states to be united with China in an armed struggle 'against imperialism's neo-colonization.' Instead he was the suave 'diplomat' with a 'modest, inquiring manner,' and displaying great humor and cordiality.'"

He said it was not true that China wanted war or advocated force in settling disputes . . . It was false that she had re-

joiced in President Kennedy's murder ..." China did not oppose "striving for peaceful co-existence."

How different is this from the stories slanted toward prejudice and hate that are peddled here in America.

In Ghana President Nkrumah is being pushed by events "to convert his government into a revolutionary regime led exclusively by cadres of Ghanaian-type socialists." In practice his is a Marxian government "on the lines of Castro's Cuba. But unlike Cuba, Nkrumah would insist on strict non-alignment. His position would be Yugoslavia's rather than Cuba's." A form of humanitarian Marxism, it would seem.

The significance about this type of reporting is its dispassionate telling and summing up of the facts as they stand in their order, without the jeers and sneers and asides so characteristic of American newspapers and air media.

In the air media the manifest irresponsibility is often 100 per cent. Anything goes, no matter how reckless. Example, the recent uprising in Zanzibar. Several persons on the island were heard to speak Spanish—whereupon, "subversive Castro agents." Not only is such jumping at conclusions ridiculous on the face of it, but a reasonably well informed news commentator should know that Spanish is spoken in many areas of Africa and Asia. This dates from the Spanish expulsion of Jews and Arabs or "Moors." Spanish had become their native language after 800 years and they carried it with them.

One could carry this theme much further, examining the newspapers of France, Switzerland and Holland, for instance, and one would find the same contrasts.

The remedy for this state of affairs is a more responsible journalism. This is too much to hope for so long as industrialized journalism is dominated by the fetish of "lineage." If and when the country's multitudes of captive readers and hearers are ever aroused, they could do something about it.

[signed] Lawrence A. Fernsworth Washington, D. C.

(A former correspondent in Europe for the London *Times*, Mr. Fernsworth is now a Washington correspondent. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1943-44.)

NIEMAN NOTES

1939

Bowdoin College inaugurated the Charles Weston Pickard Lectureship on Journalism February 6. It was established by John C. Pickard of Wilmington, Delaware, a trustee, in memory of his grandfather, publisher of the former Portland Transcript, an influential Maine weekly at the turn of the century. The first Pickard lecture was given by Louis M. Lyons, curator of the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard.

1941

John H. Crider joined the Manning Public Relations firm of New York City as senior vice-president the first of the year. He had been with the Committee on Economic Development since 1957. Earlier Crider served the New York Times 17 years, was editor of the Boston Herald five years and won a Pulitzer Prize for his editorials there in 1949.

The Honolulu Advertiser has published in a paperback book the series of articles by its editor, George Chaplin, Report on Russia, based on a month's visit to Russia, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

1944

A feature article on Theodore Andrica in Editor & Publisher, January 18th, describes the annual European tours that Andrica makes as nationalities editor of the Cleveland Press, visiting Old World relatives of Cleveland people. "He has become a people-to-people ambassador without portfolio to a large part of the world." On these tours Andrica has "travelled over a third of a million miles for almost a third of a century."

1945

Robert Bordner retired in January from the Cleveland *Press*, after 40 years on its staff. In this period he served on all the desks and had been art critic, and for a long time specialized in city planning. His local fame rested partly on his talent as a spinner of tales. His stories of the Peninsula Python and the Hinckley Buzzards provided national entertainment. In re-

Nieman Reunion Schedule

Plans for the June reunion of former Nieman Fellows divide program discussions through the three days (June 3-4-5) into Urban problems, Wednesday, June 3; National issues, Thursday, June 4; Foreign policy, Friday, June 5.

Each day will have a parallel discussion relating the problems under discussion to the newspaper.

The pattern will be a 10:30 a.m. panel presentation followed by discussion; then a 2:30 p.m. session on the newspaper aspects.

The reunion will end with a dinner Fri-

day night.

Hastings Hall at the Law School has been made available and other graduate dormitory space will be open if needed. About 100 reservations for Hastings have been received to February 20.

A number of faculty members have agreed to join in the panel presentations with Nieman Fellows of special experience in the areas of discussion. All these meetings will be informal and the most general participation invited. The Nieman office will be glad to help arrange any special group breakfasts or luncheons.

tirement Bordner will have more time for his duties as president of the Peninsula library and Historical Association. His first project: to supervise construction of the first permanent home of the Peninsula library in his home town.

1947

The United States Information Service has moved Fletcher Martin from Ethiopia to Ghana. Now on home leave, he goes to Accra April 7 to become editor there of the agency's newspaper, the American Outlook. One of his associates there will be another former Nieman Fellow, Angus Thuermer (1951) who is political officer in the U. S. Embassy.

1949

Alan Barth, editorial writer on the Washington Post, received the first Oliver Wendell Holmes Bill of Rights award, established to honor "the person or institution in the District of Columbia having done most to promote dedication to the principles of the Bill of Rights." It is administered by the National Capital Area Civil Rights Union.

The National Educational Television network devoted its weekly program "At Issue" February 12 to the President's press relations. One of the Washington correspondents participating was **Peter Lisagor**, bureau chief of the Chicago *Daily News*.

At a conference of architects and newspapermen at the University of Texas in December, Grady Clay of the Louisville Courier-Journal urged newspapers to take a more critical role in large community projects.

He saw an increasing resistance to rocking the boat and a constant pressure for conformity in decisions taken by community leaders. "Unanimity is precisely the principle that good journalists should resist," Clay said. "A good newspaper should never close its columns to dissenting opinions, just because the top people have closed their minds and ranks on any particular public issue...."

1950

Clark Mollenhoff, Washington correspondent of the Cowles papers, received the William Allen White award at the University of Kansas, February 10, and delivered the memorial lecture there.

He sharply criticized the press performance as watchdog of government.

"The TFX story is an illustration of how many watchdogs of democracy were turned into lap dogs of the Pentagon political appointees," he said.

Many editors showed little interest in the Bobby Baker case until the appearance of a report about a German party a girl, Mollenhoff said. "It is amazing how a little sex angle stimulated editorial interest in good government."

"This is a business I love," Mollenhoff said. "If I am critical it is because I know it can be so much more effective than it is. It has improved but it needs improvement. It needs people who will work in the face of long and frustrating tasks."

1951

Simeon Booker of the Washington bureau of the Johnson Publications (Jet and Ebony) has finished a book, Black Man's America, which Prentice-Hall schedules for publication this spring.

Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainsville (Ga) *Times*, is serving on the Pulitzer jury for newspaper awards.

1952

John O. Davies became editor of the Camden *Courier-Post* last year, after a short period as associate editor. This followed many years on the staff of the Newark *News*.

He recently told the Gannett editors that he gave his first attention to the composing room where he learned the importance of an orderly flow of copy and of tight writing and editing.

On other developments, Davies said: "We are expanding our coverage of religious news; we've started a new book review page; we're expanding our local sports coverage in a way we believe the Philadelphia papers can't match; we're trying to make our editorials say something and mean something. We're trying to make our paper warm, friendly and helpful on good public causes, and bold and brave in exposing evil. We're continuing the *Courier-Post's* long campaign to clean up Camden and keep it clean..."

1954

Lionel Hudson directed film coverage of the first House Assembly elections in Papua (New Guinea) for the Australia Broadcasting Commission. His last overseas assignment before that took him to the South Pole to direct an Intertel feature on the Antarctic.

1955

Robert Drew, now an independent television producer, is assembling a series of real life programs for ABC for next season. The New York *Herald Tribune* to column, Jan. 22, described the series:

"Under the umbrella title of 'The Daring Americans,' he will turn out three or more hour-long candid, closeup studies of individuals engaging in hazardous undertakings.

"Drew yesterday described his objective in the fourthcoming series as an attempt to picture Americans who 'are laying it on the line' and to show 'the drama of their lives as they come to a turning point.'

"The producer also reported he is putting together a 'memorial' to President Kennedy consisting of films shot by Drew when Mr. Kennedy was campaigning for election and later when he was in the White House.

"Drew was producer of the controversial 'Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment.' shown by ABC last October."

The Fifth U. S. Court of Appeals unanimously supported the appeal of William Worthy against conviction for violating the passport law.

On Feb. 21 the court declared unconstitutional the Federal law that prohibits a citizen from leaving or entering the U. S. without a passport. Worthy had gone to Cuba without a passport and was arrested on his return for unlawful entry and convicted.

The Appeals Court said it did "not think that a citizen, absent from his country, can have his fundamental right to have ingress thereto subject to criminal penalty if he does not have a passport."

The reason Worthy did not have a passport is that in 1955 he accepted an invitation to China, despite the passport restriction against such travel. On return his passport was taken away. On application for renewal, he was told he could have it if he agreed not to violate its restrictions. This he refused. It was in 1961 that he went to Cuba without a passport.

1956

Little Brown Company of Boston is about to publish *Taxpayers' Hayride* by Julius Duscha of the Washington *Post*. At the same time *Harper's* magazine is starting a series by Duscha on the military-industrial complex from a forthcoming book.

1960

Dom Bonafede joined the Washington Bureau of the New York *Herald Tribune* November 18. One of his first assignments was to cover the first days of Lyndon Johnson's presidency. With the Miami *Herald* he had covered the Cuba story the past three years.

1961

Robert C. Smith was appointed editorial page editor of the Charlotte *News* the first of the year. He moved from the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* where he was associate editor and had served as Sunday editor.

1963

Victor McElheny has been appointed European correspondent for *Science*, the publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He will report on science developments in Europe. McElheny was science writer on the Charlotte *Observer*. He held the Arthur D. Little Fellowship in science writing at Harvard last year.

Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston has announced publication in March of *The Mythmakers* by Bernard D. Nossiter of the Washington *Post*. This is a book he started during his studies in economics on his Nieman Fellowship last year.

Application Deadline

April 15 is the deadline for Nieman Fellowship applications for the academic year opening in September.

The selecting committee: Lawrence Fanning, editor, Chicago Daily News;

John Strohmeyer, editor, Bethlehem Globe-Times; Prof. Laurence Wylie, Harvard University; William M. Pinketron, director, Harvard News Office; Louis M. Lyons, curator, Nieman Fellowships.