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Nieman Fellows 1962-63

Harvard University awarded Nieman Fellowships for the 1962-63 academic year to ten U. S. newspapermen. Three are editorial writers, seven reporters. The reporters include one science writer, one specialist on race relations, and two who cover national affairs in Washington. The newspapermen's plans for study at Harvard cover science, labor relations, race relations, urban problems, Far Eastern studies, economics, government and philosophy.

Among the ten, Victor K. McElheny of the *Charlotte Observer*, is appointed the Arthur D. Little Fellow in science reporting, and William J. Eaton, of the Washington bureau of United Press International, is appointed the Louis Stark Fellow in labor reporting.

The Nieman Fellowships provide one academic year of studies at Harvard for men on leave from their papers.

This is the 25th group of newspapermen awarded Nieman Fellowships at Harvard under the will of Agnes Wahl Nieman, widow of Lucius W. Nieman, founder of the *Milwaukee Journal*. Her bequest was "to promote and elevate the standards of journalism." The fellowships permit newspapermen to pursue studies of their own choice at Harvard to strengthen their background for journalism.

Nieman Fellowship Awards for 1962-63:

Daniel Berger, 30, editorial writer, *Indianapolis Times*. Graduate of Oberlin College where he was editor of the *Oberlin Review*, he was reporter and desk man on the

July - October

Absence of the editor for three months this summer made it necessary to combine July and October issues. Subscriptions will be extended one quarter.

Cleveland *Press* six years before going to Indianapolis in 1960 to run the *Times'* editorial page. He plans international studies, especially of Latin America and the Far East.

William J. Eaton, 31, reporter, Washington bureau, United Press International. Graduate of Northwestern, he has been with UPI in Washington since 1955, now covers national labor and economics news. He plans to study labor and economics. Eaton will hold the Louis Stark Fellowship in labor relations.

Saul Friedman, 33, reporter, *Houston Chronicle*. His nine years on the *Chronicle* have taken him from the police beat to special assignments and investigative reporting. He covered police and went through college, Rice Institute, at the same time. He plans to study government.

Bruce M. Galphin, 30, reporter, *Atlanta Constitution*. He joined the *Constitution* on graduation from Florida State University in 1954. After general reporting, covering courthouse and politics, in 1960 he was given a special assignment, created by the *Constitution*, to cover the overall problem of race in the South. He plans to study social relations.

Gene S. Graham, 37, editorial writer, *Nashville Tennessean*. Graham joined the *Tennessean* on graduating from Murray State College in 1948. A reporter for ten years, he has been editorial writer the last four years. He also does a column and interpretive writing. He shared with his colleague, Nathan G. Caldwell, the Pulitzer Prize for local reporting for 1961, awarded last April. He plans to study government and economics, particularly labor and race relations.

John W. Kole, 28, reporter, *Milwaukee Journal*. Graduate of Michigan State University, with a master's degree from Northwestern, Kole has been on the *Journal* staff for six years, covering local government and general assignments. He plans to study economics and urban problems.

Victor K. McElheny, 27, science writer, *Charlotte Observer*. He has been on the *Observer* since 1957 when he was graduated from Harvard College. After several years of general reporting he began specializing in science in 1960. He covers national space and defense technology and especially the application of technical research to North Carolina industry. He plans to study science and eco-

(Continued on page 36)

News for a Nation

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation

By Robert B. Rhode

One of the institutions which help give Australia its character is the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The ABC is strictly non-commercial, a public authority which operates a "nationalized" and nation-wide system of 58 medium-wave and nine short-wave radio stations, six television stations (13 more are being built or planned), and scores of specialized services inside and outside of Australia.

The ABC's annual budget is approximately \$25 million. More than one and one quarter million of that is spent on the most extensive news gathering and news disseminating organization in Australia.

The ABC airs only that domestic news which its own staff of some 250 full-time newsmen and more than 1,000 part-time correspondents collects and prepares. It gets news from overseas from its own staff correspondents and bureaus and from other agencies: United Press international, Reuters, BBC. But it takes no Australian news from newspapers or other news agencies. In this it would appear to be unique among the world's organizations for news broadcasting.

What, then, is this ABC news service like?

"Founded on the firmest of principles" with "a highly serious view of life" and a "dominating persuasion that something more than lip service is necessary in the interpretation of your duty towards your neighbor."

These phrases are about as accurate as any generalizations could be in characterizing the Australian Broadcasting Commission. They were used by a member of the Commission itself, not to describe the ABC, but to describe the character of the late Sir Richard Boyer, chairman of the Commission from 1945 until his death in 1961.

Sir Richard took special pride in the ABC news service, although he had actually opposed the plan for the present vast network of newsgathering when it was first proposed. After the policy favoring a completely independent domestic newsgathering service had been approved, however, Sir Richard then supported it and fought for it, although he clashed on occasion with the professional journalists the ABC hired. These were largely clashes

created by Sir Richard's reluctance to compromise between his idealistic ambitions for the ABC and the need to come to terms with the hard (and to him sometimes distasteful) practicalities of mass communication.

But in basic philosophy the ABC chairman and the ABC journalists seemed to agree: the news service existed to serve the people; more than that, it was expected to serve as the social conscience of the Australian people.

The new chairman of the ABC is Dr. J. R. Darling, until 1961 headmaster of one of Australia's most respected schools, the Geelong Grammar School. To date no radical changes in the basic philosophy of the ABC news service have appeared and none should be expected. There are two reasons for this. First, Dr. Darling's principles appear both unshakeable and closely similar to those under which the ABC already operates. Second, any attempt to radically alter the basic aim of the ABC news service would collide head-on with the firm principles of another key ABC official, W. S. Hamilton, who as "controller of news" (a title borrowed from the BBC) has absolute control over the news service, tempered only by general policy as enunciated or interpreted by the Commission, its chairman, or the ABC general manager.

"Wally" Hamilton is in physical stature a relatively slight man, as Australians go, but he is not easy to push around. Like Sir Richard Boyer and Dr. Darling, Hamilton passionately believes in freedom and he regards the ABC news service as a major bulwark of freedom in Australia. Whenever there is so much as a hint, even in casual conversation, of a challenge to ABC news freedom and objectivity, Hamilton's jaw immediately sets with a firmness that leaves no doubt about his highly serious view of his responsibility.

Hamilton is the primary source for the general tone of ABC "bulletins" (in Australia a newscast is a "bulletin").

"We seek the progressive news of society rather than the ephemeral, sensational news of the day," Hamilton explains. "We aim to provide news which the people ought to know if they are to take their place as intelligent members of the community."

He also provides most of the detailed rules under which the ABC newsmen operate. General philosophy, guides to reporting technique, style notes for news writing, all are set out in what is virtually a textbook. The "ABC News Directive" contains more than 20 legal-size, closely

Prof. Robert B. Rhode of Colorado's School of Journalism was in Australia on a Fulbright grant for ten months of 1961 and "spent a good part of the time observing the operations of the Australian Broadcasting Commission's news service."

packed mimeographed pages on everything from a definition of the ABC ("The ABC is *not* 'government-owned.' ABC stations are *not* 'government-operated.'") to a definition of words ("Words are your weapons, not your objective."). In addition to the "News Directive" there are more than 50 pages of "Guidance and Style Notes" containing such things as detailed instructions on covering court and labor news, practical advice on usage and sentence structure, and discussion of general philosophy in approach to the news. ("If there is one weakness more gravely reflected in the reporting of today than any other, it is the weakness stemming from insufficient knowledge. . . . We do not aim to be stiff and pedantic, but there is ample scope for vivid writing, writing that is crisp and vital, without resorting to slang. . . . The folksy American style is not in our tradition.")

"We do not accept the news values of the popular press," Hamilton says. "We do not exclude crime, but we do not use crime stories simply for listener interest. We look for the social value in crime and court stories. There are many crime and court stories which we do not want. They are not important enough in the terms of our values."

"News that affects the lives of the people in a positive sense is always important—news about new laws, international affairs, schools, medicine, scientific advances, health and hospitals, churches, community efforts, agriculture, social benefits; the list is unending."

The ABC newsmen operate under one absolute prohibition: they are not permitted to take any story, not even a single fact, from a newspaper. ABC newsmen read newspapers, most diligently, and, Hamilton admits, they use newspaper stories for news tips, "but an ABC reporter must get all his own facts and statements from the correct source."

Lifting facts unchecked from a newspaper is regarded most seriously; no excuse is accepted. An incident which occurred in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, will illustrate this. An ABC journalist in Perth rewrote a newspaper story reporting the death of a policeman in an auto crash. After the item had been broadcast the ABC news editor in Perth learned the policeman had, in fact, survived the crash. The journalist who had relied on the newspaper story was unceremoniously "sacked."

ABC news executives explain this uncompromising stand against lifting news from the papers by saying that, although they believe the newspapers are usually accurate, still the ABC wants to avoid any possibility of repeating the occasional errors. And the ABC believes some newspapers deliberately slant stories now and then to fit office policy. Actually, a bit of research into the history of the ABC news service reveals another likely reason. In its

infancy the newspaper expected the independent ABC service to fumble its way into disrepute, unless it relied at least to some extent on rewriting the newspapers themselves. The ABC, obviously, has been determined to prove this a mistaken view.

Hamilton believes the Australian people turn to the ABC for "true facts and sober evaluation." There is considerable evidence to bear this out. ABC newscasts, on both radio and TV, have higher levels of listenership, generally, than newscasts on the commercial stations; many Australian radio listeners and TV viewers regularly switch to the ABC for the news and then back to a commercial channel when the newscast ends. Ask any resident of the Australian state capitals you may happen to meet in an espresso shop, milk bar, or pub what program on the ABC television channel he would recommend and he will almost invariably mention the news.

Despite all this, ABC news is often criticized as colorless. Hamilton's plea in his "Style Notes" for "crisp and vital" writing has either not been taken very seriously or falls short of what is needed. Newsmen do not "air" ABC bulletins; professional "readers" (announcers) do this, and with extreme competence; no "personality projection" nonsense ever gets between listener or viewer and the news. The news is presented in a straight-forward, matter-of-fact fashion and with this there can be no really justifiable complaint.

But what the announcers are given to read often seems to fall more than a little short of "crisp and vital" writing for the ear. Concessions to the inattentive listener are minimal. Sentences, even lead sentences, tend to be rather long, and, are often puzzlingly involved for the listener. Exceptionally involved sentences occur only occasionally. But here is a typical lead sentence taken from a newscast of a country station: "The arrival of an 1860 vintage train and displays by a variety of aircraft will be among the chief spectator events of the opening of centenary celebrations at Forbes tomorrow."

The writing style, in short, seems to avoid the conversational; an American listener is likely to find it formal, rather stiff. Light, humorous features are rarely used.

Another frequently voiced charge against the ABC is, if true, more serious. This is an accusation of timidity. The case for the defense on this charge, at least as it concerns the ABC news service, is a strong one.

The ABC reports the overt, checkable fact, not its suspicions, or anyone else's suspicions. Hamilton's "News Directive" places an absolute ban on rumors. When a vice-president of Qantas Empire Airways (the "nationalized" Australian airline) resigned, some newspapers reported his action as a sequel to an unconfirmed "bitter personal clash" on the board of directors and devoted a

major portion of their stories to rumors and speculation on this aspect. The ABC merely reported the man had resigned.

"We don't speculate," says the chief of the ABC's bureau at the parliamentary press gallery in Canberra, "and if this is timidity, so be it."

The only concession is an occasional indirect quotation of an ABC staff reporter or correspondent. "The ABC's diplomatic correspondent at the United Nations says it is unlikely. . . ." This is permitted to give some stories greater meaning through interpretation of the bare facts and also because every ABC reporter, even the part-time "stringer," is held personally responsible, under the terms of his contract, for the accuracy of his reports.

The ABC critics insist that the national stations studiously avoid controversial issues for fear of offending someone who has a friend in the ranks of the Canberra politicians. Actually an objective sampling of ABC programs does not support the charges of shunning controversy. Rather it indicates the ABC exercises extreme care in attempting to present the "considered," even if partisan, view and to provide as carefully balanced a presentation among all reasonable views as is possible. Rather than "objectivity," of course, this can be interpreted as "timidity."

The charge of "timidity" against the news service seems to be based on impatience with the ABC's unrelenting insistence upon accuracy, fairness, and the need to highlight the good rather than the evil. Even the severest critics generally admit ABC news is remarkably reliable.

ABC news staffers (they are human) do make mistakes. In Brisbane a "sub-editor" pulled a still photo out of the file to use with the TV report of the death of a union official, a known Communist. It turned out the picture was of a man of the same name, a member of the same union, but a non-Communist. As this is written the ABC is still waiting to see if there will be a suit over that one.

It is interesting that some of the same critics who attack the ABC for timidity in domestic newscasts, also accuse the same news service of excessive frankness in broadcasts beamed at areas outside the national boundaries. The ABC controls Radio Australia, which broadcasts 33 news bulletins daily in English, Mandarin, Thai, Japanese,

French, and Indonesian. The policy of "objectivity" applies here as well as in news prepared for the domestic audience, sometimes to the wrath of interested Australians. Up to 20,000 letters a month from listeners, mainly in Southeast Asia, indicate Radio Australia is regarded as much more propaganda free than the BBC or the Voice of America.

Even if one decides the criticisms of colorlessness and timidity are not to be taken seriously, one is still left wondering about the bugaboo of political pressure. Certainly the ABC, which undoubtedly exerts a powerful influence on Australian public opinion, is a constant temptation to the Australian politician. Probing into the recent past of the news service revealed no clearcut evidence of influence on the news by individual politicians, political parties, or governmental bureaucracy. Hamilton quite obviously regards it as one of his principal duties to protect his news staff from such influences. Whenever a staffer receives a phone call from a politician who criticizes the way a story was handled, he has Hamilton's standing instructions to say: "I cannot discuss this with you and I must warn you that as soon as I have completed this sentence I will hang up." Hamilton himself accepts suggestions about what is news by promising the staff will check the original sources and report whatever appears newsworthy. In Canberra where the pressures are the heaviest, the ABC chief flatly denies that these pressures have any effect on the newscasts. At one time the Canberra ABC bureau was offered first break on the news from a major government department if it would guarantee this news would be on the 7 P.M. bulletin. This deal was refused.

It seems the overt or even the disguised pressures from politicians or government officials are successfully resisted, if not always, at least almost always. But what of the temptation, often subconscious, to present the news in a way which the newsmen knows will prove least offensive to the powers in government and political party? Probably the only answer is that as one observes the ABC journalist one is reminded of historian Allan Nevins' definition of the professional man as a man distinguished by conscience, dignity, and sense of independence. There are many on the ABC news staff who come about as close to fitting this definition as any journalists in the world.

More Esteem for the Omaha Milkman

By Alfred Friendly

Although we newspapermen purport to be fiercely introspective and self-critical, we really do not take criticism from the outside very well, whether it is ignorant and malicious, or truly trenchant. Neither, in our self-examinations, are we really ruthless in publicly delving into the black crannies of our professional psyche. My proposal with respect to the public criticism we receive is paradoxical. I suggest we worry less and listen more.

Most public criticism of newspapers, it seems to me, is poorly based, badly aimed and falls wide of the mark.

Herewith, two of the standard beefs:

1. We are accused of being a one-party press, of producing newspapers that, in the treatment of the news, or the suppression of it, propagandize for the economic, political and social bias of the owner.

No doubt the complaint once had validity. No doubt, with respect to some American newspapers, it still has. But for the most part, editors took the charge to heart when it was valid, and mended their ways. The behavior of too many publishers and editors in the 1952 election gives rise to the suspicion that, if they wrestled with their consciences at all, they won.

Similarly, in recent times, the critics have charged that labor groups have not had a fair shake in the press, that welfare projects have not been equitably reported, that the needs and hopes of the greater and the poorer fraction of the people are being unjustly dealt with while the papers serve the aims of the smaller and richer fraction in which the publisher finds himself.

I know of no credible evidence that has been true. Perhaps, by the nature of the charge, it remains undemonstrable and that, until the invention of a computer more powerful than any now at hand, the proposition can neither be proven nor refuted.

In matters of social, economic and political bias, I suspect the press of today is vastly more innocent than at any time in history. I am no student of the history of American journalism, but I will bet, when it came to cocking the news of party and dollars, the papers of the last century could give our worst sinners cards and spades.

2. A second major public criticism of the press is that it steadily becomes more of a monopoly and that in the process divergent voices that should be heard by the people grow silent, one by one.

Some of the more sophisticated critics, I note, have finally absorbed a little knowledge of the economic imperatives to today's press world, and are listening up on

this complaint. But they still lament the consequences.

I lament them, too, and for the standard reasons: I believe that in a democracy we must have as multitudinous utterances as the laws of libel and obscenity will admit, and as many vehicles as may be to carry them. In addition, I like newspapers, and grieve when even a bad one goes down the drain.

But I challenge, and vehemently, the notion that the channels of information and opinion are narrowing, and that the opportunity for varied expression on important matters is lessening, and that the availability of news and propaganda (in its literal and non-pejorative sense) is being reduced. On the contrary I cannot help but believe that we in the United States have never had such an abundance of news available to us and in such inexpensive form; and that the same is true for opinion or editorial views.

For the first item, news, the newspapers themselves, even in reduced numbers and monopoly situations, have certainly never presented a reader with as extensive and varied and substantial a budget. The worst daily in a medium-sized town must carry at least 20 or 30 columns of *general* news—local, national and international. Maybe that's not enough, but is it less than what was the norm 100, 50 or even 20 years ago?

But for both news and opinion, have we ever had a fraction of the amount that now comes from newspapers and the other media? I am referring not just to radio and TV, but principally to magazines and other smaller periodicals. They have proliferated in a way to frighten Malthus.

Very well, the newspaper critic may reply, but if this is so, it's no thanks to the newspapers—unless negatively, in that these new publications are in response to the diminished number of daily papers. May be. But the complaint the critics make is that the opportunity for differing views is being reduced in the absolute. I think the complaint is ridiculous. Here is a matter on which a definite finding can be obtained.

I think we should worry less about these kinds of criticism. But we should listen more. I mean that in not letting ourselves be too worried about these rather formal, stereotyped, time-worn complaints, we should, nevertheless, have more of an open ear to what our readers cavil about, wisely or ridiculously, on other, perhaps more minor, subjects.

If there is any industry in the world that is making a

product for the public, it is the newspaper. We are putting out the paper not for ourselves, or for some prime contractor who is going to assemble our product into a greater whole, or for some group of laboratory technicians. We are producing something to serve individual people, directly. They have every right in the world to tell us what they need. Once they stop telling us, we're dead; once we stop listening, we're dead.

But let's also listen to ourselves. The unlit lamp and the ungirt loin seem to me to be our failure to move courageously to correct what we ourselves know to be our most grievous defects. The most valid criticisms of the press, I submit, are the ones that we ourselves make of it, the ones we may not speak aloud but know in our hearts to be true.

My own concerns, which some of you may share, run along these lines:

That we may not be so much panderers of sensationalism as carriers of too much junk. That we risk forfeiting the intellectual eminence our predecessor papers once enjoyed to other media, such as fine magazines and great TV documentaries. That we run a poor second in the matter of stylishness and elegance where once we had distinction of the sort that we still admire. That we are in danger of forgetting to treat, for the news that it is, the intellectual life of our time. I am frank to say that my appeal is indeed for a substantially larger cargo of intellectual quality in the American press.

The usual response from within the trade to such a proposal is that it's economically self-defeating, that the readers won't take it. But this I doubt.

There may be some examples of newspapers folding because their intellectual quality was too high, but I cannot think of any at the moment. I can think of those that folded for the opposite reason, like the *Boston Post*. Conversely, quality papers seem to be doing quite well, and themselves recognize a growing demand for their quality.

If the intellectual freight of our contents falls short of what it should be, and, I insist, could be, so also does our style. Newspapers used to have some of the best literary output of their times.

I have the feeling that we all have on our staff reporters who can write much better than we let them. Today's newsmen are, I'm sure, no less talented writers and stylists than those of the past. Yet we seem to suppress their efforts, or at least do not welcome them, when they leave stereotyped journalese and strive for something with a touch of class or elegance.

I hope I have not sounded as if I were recommending that we all turn our journals into so many daily versions of *Encounter* or the *Kenyan Review*, for I believe that not merely the egghead but also the lunkhead is entitled to

material in the newspapers that suits him. I decline to be disturbed, therefore, at complaints from some of our readers about my paper's carrying five pages of comics, endless columns of sports, and the Hollywood and New York chronicles of who is packing up, cracking up and shacking up. And, I assure you, I don't believe in presenting every news story in the style of Hans Morgenthau and Salvador de Madariaga.

But I find that the pieces that win most favorable comment from our readers are the serious ones and the stylish ones. These are the ones that friends and acquaintances comment on, and tell me they enjoy. I am sure you must have had the same experience.

Sure, the readership surveys will prove beyond doubt that Orphan Annie or the crossword puzzles has a higher readership than the story about troubles in Vietnam. But no statistics could be more deceptive.

If you followed the surveys out the window and put nothing in your paper but such high-readership features, you would have certainly not a newspaper, and equally certainly, no readers for whatever it was that you did have.

Let us turn the argument to its positive side. I am convinced, on the basis of some experience with my own paper, that we underestimate the desires of our readers and, what is worse, their intellectual capacities. Are you sure you are not speaking down to them?

Isn't it time to admit that other media can do a better job than we at entertainment, and isn't it time to relinquish the field to those other media? If you answer yes, as I do, that doesn't mean our papers should be devoid of a certain quota of light-hearted stuff. It certainly doesn't mean we should abandon humor. Indeed, one of our curses is that, although once American newspapers were the principal carriers of the best in American humor, we now carry the least.

Let us by all means strive for balance and heed the Greek precept about moderation in all things. But in seeking that balance, let us grant that our readers are truly concerned with their survival, and are more anxious to know how we get out of the Berlin threat than how well Caroline is coming with her riding lessons. And as for that modern shibboleth, "human interest," let us ask if our readers will not find more of it in the question whether

Alfred Friendly, managing editor of the *Washington Post* and *Times Herald*, addressed the Pennsylvania Press Conference, May 18. Two editor listeners, John Strohmeier, editor of the *Bethlehem Globe-Times*, and William B. Dickinson, managing editor of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, were enough impressed to urge this major excerpt for *Nieman Reports*.

we must commit their sons to battle in Vietnam than in the life history of the sons of Bing Crosby.

And are our readers totally uninterested in ideas *per se*? Gallup, with his findings on the attraction of news of religion, medicine and economics, tells us they are not uninterested.

Are all of you now thinking that what I have said is high falutin' nonsense? That the Omaha milkman and the motorman on Ninth Street couldn't care less, and would manifest their indifference by massive non-buying of a newspaper that followed my recommendations?

Again, may be. But I doubt it, for I have some esteem for the taste of milkmen and motormen. But even if this appraisal places too high a regard on their daily reading desires, I ask you what are we in business for?

To make a living, certainly. And, if we were publishers, heaven forfend, to make a decent profit. But if money

were the only factor, couldn't we make more of it with less travail, in some other form of commercial endeavor? Surely, in criticizing ourselves we need not demean ourselves.

Have we not some nobler purpose? Are we not engaged in trying to inform the most important people in our community, the ones who lead in the forming of opinion? Are we not trying to lay before them, in all the abundance that they need, the interplay of ideas and conflict about those developments? Are we not trying to tell them the news—yes, and our views—about the real world of war and science and philosophy and learning and economics and government and politics and race relations and city planning and farm spending and population explosions and law and life? Or are we operating on the notion that they want news only of the dream world?

My argument is that we have it easily within our grasp to cure our frustrations and to avoid ending up as ghosts.

What's Happened to "Color" Reporting?

By Jessie Wile

Newspaper editors and authors of journalism textbooks have often said that legitimate "color" is highly desirable in newspaper writing, generally. They also point out that figures of speech, particularly similes and metaphors, are effective.

The Associated Press, for example, considers this kind of color important and includes illustrations like these in the second AP writing handbook, *Writing For The AP*:

A tired tropical storm eased gently into Texas. . . .

The mail delivery rockets will be painted red, white, and blue—just like the mailbox down on the corner.

A bit of heavenly horseplay on the relative activities of Venus and the moon.

From "Inviting Leads" in Theodore Bernstein's *Watch Your Language* comes this illustration from the New York Times:

After a week of tears, April bowed out yesterday in a glow of golden laughter.

This section also contains a vivid simile from a story about a defense alert:

On Fifth Avenue the traffic signals continued to flash their red-green, red-green, but futile-

ly. It was like a telephone ringing in an empty room.

The book's chapter "Storytelling" quotes this comparison from a story in the *Times*:

A British bank has challenged the widely held belief that when the United States sneezes economically the rest of the world gets pneumonia.

From a lead in a story written October 27, 1947, in *A Treasury of Great Reporting* comes this example:

The harbor steeped in Sabbath stillness. . . .

To determine whether metaphors and similes are being used in day-to-day reporting or only on very special occasions, a study was made of all page-one leads in six daily papers for the week of April 16, 1962. The six papers were the New York Times, Chicago Daily News, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dayton Daily News, Kansas City Star and Philadelphia Inquirer.

In addition, the page one leads in the following six Sunday papers, from May 6 and May 13, were examined: the Los Angeles Times, New Orleans Times-Picayune, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Denver Post, Atlanta Constitution and Chicago Tribune.

The 626 leads which were studied contained only one simile, and a total of 71 metaphors or 11.34 per cent. Sig-

nificantly, though, almost all of the 71 were so-called "dead" or at least dying metaphors. (Dead metaphors are defined by H. W. Fowler in *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* as those which have been "so often used that the hearer and speaker have ceased to be aware that the words are not literal. . . .") It must be admitted, however, that the decision as to which metaphors are still "alive" is a rather arbitrary one.

From the Dayton *Daily News* come these words and phrases which I have classified as "dead" in a metaphorical usage: "crackdown," "swept," "plunge," "shear off," and "throw for a loop."

In the Philadelphia *Inquirer* the following dead metaphorical words appeared: "flocked," "curb," "mopping-up," "leg of his trip," "unfold," "summit meeting," "fruitless attempt," "belly landing," "cloak and dagger hunt," "off-the-cuff," and "11th hour campaign."

The Kansas City *Star* contained "in the heart of Algiers," "fill the air," and "pave the way."

The only metaphors which appeared to have some breath of life in them were these:

In the Philadelphia *Inquirer*:

Berlin's tensions were loosened a notch. . . .

From the Kansas City *Star*:

(He asked) why sports are on the bum while painting, poetry, chamber music and sculpture were packing the houses.

The lone simile was found in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*:

Like Mohammed with his mountain, the dentist will come to you if you don't or rather, can't go to him.

Of the very few live metaphors which the study turned up, two were mixed so that the comparisons turned out to be fuzzy and, in my opinion, ineffective,

These were in the New York *Times*:

Cuba faces a serious breakdown in Cuban sugar production that threatens to undermine the country's limping economic structure.

. . . to demobilize pressures against the steel industry and pursue a policy of live and let live.

How frequently are these common figures of speech—metaphor and simile—being used today: According to this study, not frequently.

There are several apparent reasons for the decline in the use of similes and metaphors:

Jessie Wile is a journalism student at Ohio State University.

Except for the April weather lead, the "colorful" writing in the illustrations cited earlier from the AP handbook and other sources grew out of the material which invited such treatment.

Most of the front page stories examined were straight news stories, not features. The busy newsman usually is more rushed than the feature writer and does not have time to be so creative.

Some say that unless figures of speech are very carefully handled, they tend to be over-elaborate and confusing.

Some writers believe that metaphors and similes can result in slanted reporting because the reporter must make a judgment in his comparison.

Perhaps editors today in their demands for brief, concise writing have discouraged reporters from using metaphors and similes. Thus, action stories, which could be taken out of the ordinary by spots of color, have become more prosaic and perhaps duller than those of the past. Many editors today think that figurative language is unnecessary ornamentation. Some reporters, therefore, appear to be writing by formula and in the process using a number of cliches.

Whatever the cause, however, it appears that the question may reasonably be asked: Is the color fading from modern newspaper writing?

Interview in Finland

By Edward A. Walsh

Helsinki, Finland:—How does it feel to turn the tables on a man assigned to interview you and actually to interview him instead? It's an unusual experience and a pleasant one, especially when you happen to be a native Rhode Islander and your "interviewer" is a charming Finn who had spent a year working on the Providence *Journal* and *Evening Bulletin* under the State Department Exchange Program.

This happened in this beautiful city of almost half a million population, currently observing its 150th anniversary as Finland's capital. Helsinki has many titles—Queen of the Baltic, White City of the North, Smallest Big City in the World, Last Outpost of the West—but Americans, coming here each year in increasingly large numbers like best the title of Bastion Against Communism.

The interview came about quite accidentally, as a result of a visit to the Helsinki Press Club (which has attractive headquarters in the new, plush Marski Hotel building) with Olavi Laine, a Fulbright Scholar in the United States in 1958-59, and now director of his own public relations service. There Juha Nevalainen, manag-

ing editor of the quarter-million daily, *Helsingin Sanomat*, suggested a trip to his nearby plant and the interview.

But Seppo Valjakka, the former *Journal* reporter, like most Finns, believes in putting hospitality first. That consisted of dinner prepared at his home by his lovely wife, Eila, with Olavi Muatonen of *Moottori*, equivalent to one of our high class motor magazines, as another guest. Then there was a two-hour ride around the city, ending at Muatonen's apartment to view the latest American western, which enthralled the Finns! Then came the interview.

"I had a lot to learn about American newspaper techniques," Valjakka said, "and everyone from top executives right down the line was most sympathetic and helpful." The result was that he did a number of byline stories, including one in which he told of introducing some staff members to the celebrated Finnish sauna, or steam bath. This takes a lot of what the Finns call "sisu," which means "fortitudinous staying power and tenacity in the face of adversity." In other words—"guts."

"What I learned about newspaper work in the United States has been of great help to me," said Valjakka, who speaks excellent English. "I have put it to good use in my reporting and in my writing." He spoke in the highest terms of the value of exchanges. To him, too, the fiery spirit of independence so characteristic of Finns compares with the traditional love of liberty he found in Rhode Island. Finland and Rhode Island also share common ideas of hospitality.

"I was never permitted to feel lonesome," he said. "Everybody I met seemed to put himself out to see that my leisure time was fully occupied. I was invited to dinners and to parties, just as we like to make Americans feel at home here."

Scandinavian countries have some excellent newspapers, as Americans affiliated with the International Press Institute will see when that organization has its Twelfth General Assembly in Stockholm next June. Allan Hernelius, IPI Chairman-Elect, of *Svenska Dagbladet*, has charge of arrangements. The Assembly will meet June 5, 6 and 7, then there will be a post-assembly tour of up-country Sweden and a visit to Helsinki for two or three days. Members will be able to return to their homes from Stockholm on June 14 or 15.

Americans making the trip are hereby warned to be ready to be interviewed, and undoubtedly they will do a little interviewing themselves.

Edward A. Walsh is Patterson Professor of Journalism at Fordham University. His Finland interview was an incident of a trip to West Germany, Finland and Sweden on an Overseas Press Club tour in May.

Reporter in Mexico

By James W. Carty, Jr.

Victor M. Garza is a young political reporter in the old colonial city of Saltillo. This is a colorful place to cover, and the capital city in the state of Coahuila.

At 22, Garza is a clean-cut, charming young man eager to interpret conditions to the people of his land which shares 1600 miles of border with the U.S. He is a veteran and a member of the editorial staff of *El Sol Del Norte* (*Sun of the North*), the third daily he has worked on in the chain of 29 periodicals owned by Garcia Valseca.

In an interview with the author, Garza set forth his ideas on reporting, readership and research. They provide insight into the development of the press in Mexico.

A. Reporters

Garza estimated that only five per cent of Mexican reporters have had academic courses in journalism. The reason, he pointed out, is that many writers feel the courses are largely theoretical rather than practical.

Garza follows in this tradition of having gained his knowledge of the press through practical experience. In school, he studied commercial subjects and typography and general studies before becoming a reporter. In turn, he has served on *La Voz De Puebla* (*Voice of Puebla*) and *El Sol de Tlaxcala*. Interestingly, Puebla is a larger city than Saltillo. Garza selected the smaller city, of about 95,000, for his career.

Garza said that he prefers the climate of Saltillo, a tourist city surrounded by scenic mountains. Cultural conditions also are interesting there, with four colleges which have more than 500 North American students in the summer. This makes for international communication and friendship.

The circulation of his paper is about 20,000. It is a morning publication, with subscribers not only in the city but also in surrounding communities in the state. The office is on the main street, Victoria Street. The staff is as follows: sports, a chief and three assistants; social news, a chief and two aids; local news, a chief and two assistants; financial news, a chief writer, and police news, two assistants.

Told that in the United States many reporters begin as writers of obituaries or police news, Garza said it is difficult for a young staffer to be assigned to the police beat. The reason he gave is the police could try to withhold news from a younger reporter, whereas it would be more difficult to do this with a veteran writer.

The assignment of a reporter depends on his background

and interests, and there is a trend toward the use of specialized reporters, especially in the larger cities. Garza, for example, also is interested in covering cultural events, and on occasion has handled drama, the arts and related matters.

Why did he enter the field of periodismo—the press? “I want to write books, short stories, and novels,” he replied forthrightly. There is a long literary tradition in the newspapers in Mexico. Many novelists, poets, dramatists and short story writers began their careers on newspapers and magazines, and periodicals today often print contributions from the literary world. In the larger cities, the papers have a daily discussion of books, novels, and ideas from the literary world, and smaller periodicals have analyses of such movements and thought currents at least once a week. Already, Garza has contributed articles to magazines.

Garza commented that the papers separate the news articles and opinion columns, and he believes that articles for the news column should be objective. The interpretative features, he feels, should be left for the editorial section. He admits that his articles, in part, are interpretative in the sense that he attempts to explain causes, but he believes that this type of treatment is of the nature of objective reporting, in that it is factual.

There are associations for reporters, but usually it is only in the larger cities that the staff writers belong to such professional organizations, he said.

What is the principal mission of journalism and the place of the press in the development of Mexico?

The newspapers perform a service to the country by expounding ideas and clarifying problems, Garza held. The fourth estate, he added, has the responsibility of seeing that people are informed about problems. He believes the periodicals have a decisive influence in helping people realize the difficulties and the solutions.

Garza himself is interested in keeping informed not only about events in Mexico but in other countries. He keeps abreast of developments in the U.S. and elsewhere by reading *Time*, *Life* and *U.S. News and World Report*, and some specialized North American publications, as on the movies and mechanics. He has studied English for two years, but does not speak it.

Do the reporters on his paper have a style book? No, he

said. There are a few rules told beginning reporters about good grammar. This flexibility, he believes, helps prevent writing from getting into a strait jacket.

Most reporters are young. For example, in Saltillo, he said, reporters are 22 to 30 years of age and jefes (chiefs) are 40 to 60. It is difficult for a young person to get a start on a big paper, as in Mexico City.

B. Readership and Research

His paper, the *Sun of the North*, has at least a whole page of crime news daily (in a paper of 8 to 10 pages), and many papers in Mexico follow this practice. Explained Garza: The lower class people read crime news; the upper class people read only society news, and the middle class read the entire paper.

He estimates that 40 per cent of the people read only the headlines and that 60 per cent read most of the newspaper. These facts, he said, have been gained from readership studies. The middle class, he said, takes the time to read foreign and national news, to consider the intellectual implications of the news.

With reporters like Garza, the Mexican press is in the hands of responsible editors and reporters.

Garza admitted the job often is difficult for the press, but it likes the challenge.

For example, the liberal leftists and the communists are two distinct groups who represent different programs and who hate each other. As a result of charges and counter charges—and sometimes lies—by the opposing forces, the facts may tend to be obscured and people may become confused as to which group represents what.

But the press is helping the people see that there are differences, that a person who is a liberal is not a communist in Mexico.

The reporter has other responsibilities and he feels he is charting a course which is bringing information, inspiration and interpretation to his people.

James W. Carty, Jr. is professor of journalism at Bethany College. His encounter with the young Mexican reporter came during the Summer spent at the International Academy of Spanish at Saltillo, Mexico.

The English Language

Most Powerful Yet Most Neglected Weapon of the Cold War

By Angelo Cohn

"Hi, Mac!" is an accepted greeting almost anywhere in the world these days.

By comparison, "tovarish" is at best a poor second as West and East struggle to win friends and influence people.

The trouble is, the people who say "Hi, Mac!" don't seem to realize that the English language from which those words come is probably their single most powerful weapon in the Cold War. Instead, they let the other side choose the weapons and create the situations where "tovarish" (comrade) can be forced into the vocabulary. All too often the "tovarishi" get away with it by default, even though they are frequently forced to choose English as their weapon, too.

Soviet Russia has stepped out boldly as a sponsor or host to international conferences which bring professional delegates and organizational representatives to the Soviet Union in increasing thousands. The Russians look upon every gathering of people from other lands as a little battle in the Cold War. They try to control the climate of each conference so as to end up with a Soviet "victory." So far, however, the language front has held firm and defied their efforts for a real breakthrough.

Nowhere was this competition of language more clear than at last year's International Youth Forum in Moscow. The Forum was typical of the numerous meetings which the Soviets are organizing as part of their worldwide sales pitch for the revolution. And nowhere was either the power of the English language or the default of the English-speaking nations more obvious.

The Forum machinery was well-oiled in its political, financial, social and gastronomic aspects. It could hardly have failed to produce a certain amount of friendliness for the Russian hosts.

But even their best efforts failed to crack the "language barrier."

The communication curtain that separated Russia from many of the other nations demonstrated quite plainly the power of the West's weapon of language. Yet it was equally plain—and due, perhaps, to a lack of realization of what they have in hand—that America, Britain and the vast English-speaking world were not exploiting their advantage

in communication among the delegations. It is not too far-fetched to say that parliamentary and practical control of the International Youth Forum might have been achieved by skillful manipulation of English.

Americans may find only small mental comfort in the fact that an international conference sponsored by the Soviet Union and held in Moscow is forced to adopt English as its official language. But that was a most significant element of the proceedings, and probably the only development which made the Russians unhappy. Their frustration was expressed more often than the Russians themselves may have realized.

The obvious lesson, of course, was that the "word" had once more proved more effective than the "club" in the fight for men's minds. Forum events again demonstrated that on an intellectual battlefield, the side which holds the vital tool of communication has in its grasp the weapon for victory. Assuming that an idea is sound and reasonable, it was proved at Moscow, it can be "sold" more easily with words than with force.

There is no particular need now to review the actions of the Forum itself in detail. Far more significant was the extent to which delegates were given the run of the city of Moscow and paraded through selected parts of the U.S.S.R. hinterlands before and after the formal convention. Significant was the intensity and repetition of the theme of "peace and friendship" throughout the 10-day stand in Moscow, within six weeks of Russian resumption of atomic testing.

A notable Soviet tactic that few could miss was the overt appeal to non-white delegates, a sort of racial discrimination in reverse. Fortunately for the West, it was among this very group of people with darker skins that the language barrier proved to be the greatest handicap for the Russians.

According to the Forum bulletins, there were more than 700 official delegates representing 91 different countries. It was difficult to learn just what the Russians consider a "country," because such entities as Guadeloupe, Madagascar and Estonia were accorded national status, with identification tags to match.

Organizers of the Youth Forum also were fairly liberal in setting the chronological boundaries of "youth," so delegates up to age 50 were not unusual.

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It was only necessary to observe the leader of the Guadeloupe delegation in order to get some idea of how the Soviet "sell" (not cell) operates and to begin to understand the importance and impact of the English language. Guadeloupe's front man was a tall, imposing, very dark and urbane Negro of perhaps 28 or 30 years. His French was soft and melodious, his English expertly handled. He also spoke Russian with the ease of a native and without the aggravating harshness of Moscow inflection that makes any casual phrase sound like a quarrel. In the lobby of the Ukraine hotel, where Guadeloupe made its headquarters, the delegation's chief was much in evidence for days ahead of the formal convention and at all the early and late informal gatherings throughout.

He was among the first to greet any and all dark-skinned delegates, speaking initially in English. Only if there was occasion to introduce new arrivals to their Soviet hosts did he switch to Russian. His native French was reserved for fellow delegates from his own country and for Congo Africans.

If asked to explain his fluency in Russian, he did not always have a consistent reply.

"I've been a student in the Soviet Union for two years," he said in one instance. On at least one other occasion he said, "I began to study Russian on my own at home after attending two previous International Forums."

Any delegate wearing a tag from India, Pakistan, Korea (North), Indonesia or some African nation was likely to be taken aside with amazing speed by a young man or woman wearing "Pressa" identification. There were so many interviewers waiting around the Ukraine hotel's convention desk that at time the "Pressa" seemed to outnumber the national delegates. In these introductory interviews, English was the principal language for cross-communication. Usually it was spoken very well. Frequently the interview was preceded by a phrase like: "I suppose we'll have to discuss this in English." The resentment was hardly disguised.

Whatever their feelings, however, the Forum planners had laid a solid foundation of songs, slogans and canned announcements in English to promote communication. "Peace and Friendship" banners in English hung across several main avenues and roads from the airport into Moscow.

Each morning busloads of delegates left the hotel for the convention hall to the accompaniment of guitar music played by jeans-clad, often bearded (a-la-Castro) characters who chanted, if you can call it that, through bull-horns, and in English.

Priority treatment was accorded the Youth Forum delegates to the dismay and discomfort of others. Instead of being quartered in dormitories at the housing

center used frequently by students on the outskirts near the Agriculture and Industry exhibition, these delegates enjoyed the city's best hotels and privileges not given even the de luxe class tourists who paid \$35 and \$40 daily. The hotel help, by their actions, reinforced the priorities delineated on posters. When the Forum groups were eating, some of the dining rooms were closed entirely to tourists. If they were open, tourists, including Soviet travelers, waited by the hour to be served while the Forum delegates came down to tables set in advance with fruits, drinks and pastries that were "not available today" when others requested the same things.

Several delegations were treated to the ultimate luxury of having special "home country" foods prepared for them, as might be done in the most sophisticated of hotels in the West. Indonesians, for instance, sat down to a Russian version of their own popular "rijstafel," a plate of cooked rice with special sauces and a wide variety of fish, meats and fruits to go with it. There was lamb for the non-eaters of beef from Asia, and vegetarian fare for any who might express a desire. All this, it might be noted in passing, is in sharp contrast to the usual Russian practice of discouraging any such uniqueness in food, dress or habits by Jews, Armenians, Moslems and others with distinctive national or religious preferences.

Both during the Youth Forum's 10-day stand in Moscow and in related tours of the Soviet Union, African delegates were the special darlings of Soviet crowds. The red carpet was out for them wherever they went—to the House of Friendship, workers' clubs, nurseries, Pioneer (scouts, age 7 to 14) camps, or just sight-seeing. At all manner of gatherings, Russia's most striking blondes made a special point of joining the Negro singing groups or dancing with them. One Caribbean Negro was more than overwhelmed by this hospitality, but he admitted:

"I know when they're just patronizing me or when they're genuine. I must say that I found more sincere friends among white students in New Jersey when I went to college at Rutgers. I wish students everywhere could just get together to talk and be casual friends."

Several delegations, from carefully selected countries, were treated with tours around the U.S.S.R. in addition to having been air-lifted to the Forum. Russia picked up the tab for travel from portal to portal.

Indonesia's representatives seemed particularly favored in this respect, getting a bigger play than delegates from any other Southeast Asia nation or even the relatively few from China. The men and women in bright sport shirts, colorful shawls and little black "Sukarno" caps seemed to outnumber any single national group. Flown to Moscow in Soviet jets, they had spent a day in fabulous Tashkent on the way in. After the Forum they were taken

home in a somewhat round-about way, going to Prague, then backtracking to Tashkent for another week's stay.

"The guides they gave us spoke English," one Indonesian told me. "You know, since our independence from the Netherlands we've made English the second language in our Indonesian schools. The Dutch were still in control and operating the schools when I began to learn English. Now it has become our most useful language for traveling. Dutch is not very important to us any more, and we have not begun to try Russian."

Programs and publications of the Forum were printed in English, although several other languages enjoyed a sort of second-rate "official" status. Had English not been available as an amalgam to cement the delegates together, the 1961 International Youth Forum probably would have deteriorated into a discordant babel, both participants and observers were ready to agree.

It is at this point that the principal English-speaking nations, the United Kingdom and the United States, failed by their official absence to capitalize on the situation. There were a few Americans present, but they had no official status and were no match for the "peace and friendship" platoons of the Soviets.

With the natural advantage of communication, it undoubtedly would have been better for this country to have sent a delegation of its most capable and most respected young leaders to present an influential picture of America before those people from whose ranks will come future world leaders.

While the Forum was in progress, a small party of touring American students happened to be in Moscow. Their presence in the Soviet capital at just that time was probably an accident, the result of a scheduling snafu which occurs in Russia as well as anywhere else. Most other young visitors were sidetracked from Moscow if they were not connected with the Forum.

The eight students in the small group managed to attend several functions.

"I guess you'd say we crashed the Forum," one co-ed observed. "Someone must have 'goofed' because there was some surprise about our being around, but everybody wanted to talk to us.

"A couple of Russians took us around Moscow, mainly to show off their Friendship House club; and it's great. They also took us to nightclubs—or I guess you'd really call them taverns. We even went to one of their homes to hear American phonograph records."

Among "delegates without portfolio" at the Forum were three Dutch students who defied the wishes of their government and drove across Europe to attend the sessions. One quoted a Russian as having said to her:

"Everyone knows you learn many languages in Holland. How about talking English so we can get used to it?"

Similar experiences could be reported without end. They should serve as a guidepost for vastly increased efforts to spread the English language. It is most surely our best tool, yet one of the least-used, for winning friends and influencing nations. Significant steps are being taken through various agencies and in educational areas under the National Defense Education Act, but perhaps a far more intense program is needed.

Specifically, what are some things that can be done? The people-to-people exchanges long-advocated by Minnesota's Sen. Hubert Humphrey might be stepped up. Or more theater groups could be sent abroad, even at the expense of orchestras and art exhibits, which have no English "voice." Distribution of phonograph records and tapes might be increased through U.S. information libraries and other channels.

As a key step, American business firms operating abroad should be urged and helped to present a better language front. This is particularly important for industrial firms with permanent installations in foreign countries. By improving their training in languages of other nations, they would make English rub off more effectively in exchange. There is no paradox in this suggestion. The curiosity about and interest in English is tremendous everywhere. It is perhaps the most valuable legacy we have from World War II and the global aviation which it spawned.

The opening wedge already has been driven into the language barrier, and we must now use this advantage of communication to carry our message and promote understanding.

Measured by both numbers and geographic distribution, more people use English today as their principal language or as an effective second one than ever used any other single language. Besides the British Commonwealth and United States, vast populations in northern Europe, India, Pakistan, the Middle East, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, the Philippines and Latin America have regular contact with our language.

Yet leaders among English-speaking nations have in effect buried the language as a potential Cold War weapon by such actions as the official boycott of the International Youth Forum, simply because it was initiated by Moscow.

The power of the language was clearly demonstrated in Moscow this past year; and whether we like it or not there are going to be many more Forums in the years to come. We should be making maximum use of this language weapon in the Forums of the future and other international meetings that are taking place.

Reporting of the Eichmann Trial

By Nancy Bradley

On the eve of the Eichmann trial Israel's Premier, David Ben Gurion, said:

"I don't care what penalty is imposed. The trial's main purpose is to expose the Nazi regime's atrocious crimes against our people."

Thus, the press of the world was given an assignment—and a challenge.

Never before had an entire trial been devoted to this particular Nazi crime, extermination of the Jews. This promised to be the most thoroughly covered courtroom drama in world history: 560 newsmen were accredited to cover it. Among them 100 U. S. media were represented. Even the Nuremberg trials had fewer correspondents—250.

To expedite the Nazi exposure by the press, the Israeli government set up facilities costing \$1 million to handle copy. It gave the press 474 of the 756 seats in the courtroom. It provided for orderly pictorial coverage by selecting two photographers to make pictures available to all and by granting exclusive video coverage to a U. S. firm.

The press fulfilled its assignment: millions of words about Nazi atrocities were dispatched from Israel over the trial's five-month duration and this number is dwarfed by that of the pre-trial coverage. The press fulfilled its assignment despite the facts that the trial had just one day of undisputed dominance of front pages before the Russian spaceman and the Cuban invasion ousted it. Many correspondents stayed in Jerusalem for only the opening phases when it became apparent that the trial was to be a long one.

In fulfilling its assignment, however, the press failed to meet the challenge presented it by Israel's accusative system of justice. As in the United States, a man there is considered innocent until proved guilty. The press was challenged to report Adolf Eichmann's trial in accordance with this principle.

Pre-Trial Coverage

Twenty pre-trial stories and twenty trial stories were analyzed. Of those in the pre-trial group, half were either brief biographies of Eichmann; reminiscences of the horrors of the extermination camps, usually coupled with refer-

ences to Eichmann's responsibility or guilt for these; or accounts of the prisoner's reaction to capture. The others were primarily advances on the trial.

Throughout the pre-trial stories direct imputations of Eichmann's guilt were made. Typical are these statements from a story which *Life* published just after Eichmann's capture:

"... the Nazi S. S. colonel who planned and directed the extermination of six million Jews."

"The most hated living Nazi war criminal will be brought to trial for having committed the most horrible murder ever known to mankind."¹

Four headlines of the pre-trial stories directly imputed personal guilt to Eichmann. They said: "Nazi Killer of Millions" (*Newsweek*);² "Case of the Nazi Killer" (*Newsweek*);³ "The Untold Story of Adolf Eichmann . . . Nazi Butcher" (this, from *Look* was in large black and red caps);⁴ and "To Sum It All Up, 'I Regret Nothing'" (*Life*).⁵ The last title, an Eichmann quote out of context, was a distortion. From the story, dictated to a reporter by Eichmann before his capture, it is obvious that because Eichmann and his fellow Nazis regarded the Jews as enemies of the state ("I was just politically opposed to the Jews because they were stealing the breath of life from us."), they could never have felt regret. The *Life* title suggests that Eichmann has done something regrettable and that he is too morally callous to care.

Most of the pre-trial heads imputed guilt indirectly: "The Beast in Chains" (*Time*);⁶ "The Crime That Damned Eichmann" (*Look*);⁷ "Eichmann Tells His Own Damning Story" (*Life*);⁸ and *Newsweek's* "We Accuse."⁹

Such indirect imputations of personal guilt, often immediately followed by direct imputations of guilt, were found in the text of the pre-trial stories. Here, from a *Reader's Digest* story, is an example:

"... Eichmann was responsible for the death camps, the gas chambers, the crematories . . . and (he) ordered mass deportations and mass executions."¹⁰ (*Italics mine.*)

Accompanying the pre-trial stories were photos and cartoons which imputed guilt indirectly.

Not many photographs of Eichmann were available to the press soon after his capture, because the Israeli government feared international embarrassment over its action and later refused to release pictures for security reasons. As a result, the only recent photograph of Eichmann available in the pre-trial period was that taken by Israeli officials. It was used in ten of the twenty stories. The

Nancy Bradley's study of the Eichmann trial coverage was in a course on press ethics at Pennsylvania State University.

photograph, a full-face shot of the prisoner, does not compliment him. He is frowning and his lips are pursed. The face is shadowed so that his nose and balding forehead are starkly white.

Emery Kelen, a former Hungarian cartoonist, now of the radio and visual services division of the United Nations, has a unique way of looking at this well-known photograph:

"With a piece of paper cover the right side of the portrait. You see a clean-cut, reliable German bureaucrat. Now shift the paper so that it covers the left side of his portrait, revealing the left side of his face: you will see a countenance tortured, haunted, bedeviled and shriveled."¹¹

Kelen's description is not far wrong. But, drawing upon "certain findings of psychiatry" and everything he knows about him, Kelen speculates on Eichmann's personality. His argument goes like this:

There are certain disharmonies in Eichmann's body called dysplasias—an asymmetrical face with mouth pulled upwards to the left and left eye drooping downward ("If you extend the lines of the mouth and eye fold, they would cross within the width of the left shoulder."); a frontal bone, unusually high and developed; a cranium not correspondingly voluminous; a chin small in comparison to the cranium; and shoulders too broad for a rather short, lean man.

Carefully noting that no dysplasia could make a criminal of Eichmann, Kelen then says:

"It is statistically established that sharp dysplasias often coincide with criminality, epilepsy, idiocy and schizophrenia."

By now, the reader has probably decided that Eichmann is all four.

Then Kelen gives a completely inaccurate and misleading description of the schizoid personality, which concludes:

". . . the schizoid personality lives in a muscular, lean body, like Adolf Eichmann's (and for that matter, Adolf Hitler's!)."

Aside from Kelen's logical fallacies and dilettantism in psychiatry, he overlooks two things. First, the idea that degeneracy, criminality or most abnormalities can be shown by the physique is rejected by most social scientists today. Second, Kelen does not explain why all of Eichmann's other photographs do not show the same facial dysplasia.

Still other photographs and sketches were prejudicial. Many showed emaciated extermination camp survivors. One particularly memorable sketch shows Eichmann, sketched in black, cringing in horror from white apparitions whose accusing, bony fingers point to him.

An important part of the imputations in this pre-trial

coverage were the adjectives used to describe Eichmann because of their graphic proximity to his name and because of the frequency with which they appeared. In eight stories he was called a butcher; in five, a murderer; in four, a beast; in four, a war criminal (usually prefixed with "Nazi"); in four, monstrous; in two, a Nazi killer and in one, a madman.

Repetition was used by the press in even more subtle ways. For example, Eichmann's famous "leap" statement was quoted in seven pre-trial stories. Two versions of this are:

"I will gladly leap into my grave knowing that five million *enemies of the Reich* had been wiped out along with me;"

"I will leap into my grave laughing in the knowledge that I have the death of *five million Jews* on my conscience." (*Italics mine.*)

The latter version is quoted most often.

In all this pre-trial coverage, there were few favorable references to Eichmann. One occurred in the story which called him a Nazi butcher five times. It told how Eichmann, hiding after the German defeat, was remembered by one of the men he worked with at a lumber camp:

"What struck us about Eichmann was his honesty. He always saw to it that the food portions were split equally."¹²

Trial Coverage

The twenty stories about the trial are much the same kind of reporting as that in the pre-trial stories. Most imputed guilt indirectly in the text through adjectival description and comment.

However, the kinds of adjectives used in the trial stories differed from those used in the pre-trial stories. In no stories was he called madman, Nazi killer, beast, (Nazi) war criminal or murderer. And, incidentally, the "leap" statement was quoted only twice and Kelen's "revealing" photograph was printed only twice.

Instead, the trial stories concentrated on subtly damning descriptions of the defendant's physical appearance, and of his reactions to charges and testimony.

"Almost every journalist worth his old carbon paper has had a shot at describing Eichmann," said Patrick O'Donovan, reflecting on the Eichmann trial in *New Republic*.¹³ Most, according to O'Donovan, described him as a little clerk of a man and most have made allusions to a trade in describing him—milkman, footman, dentist, customs-inspector or collector of taxes. (Somewhat headier, O'Donovan adds, was the French reporter who wrote that he could see a gas chamber in each of Eichmann's eyes.)

O'Donovan's own conclusion was that "each day he looks more and more like what he was—a Nazi of insufferable and unjustified vanity, a man of great vulgarity

of intellect, a man of cold mind who is totally insensitive to his fellow men . . . (and) there is more than a trace of cowardice in him. . . ." This was written during the second month of the trial before Eichmann had spoken to the court, and it was written of a man sitting in a glass box, yards away from the reporter.

One particularly implicating description of Eichmann's reaction to testimony was that published by the *Saturday Evening Post* in the third month of the trial:

"During the attorney's opening speech which lasted seven hours, the effect on Eichmann was quite evident: as one dreadful accusation was added to another, the accused man leaned back farther and farther in his chair . . . as if he were physically recoiling from the incessant battering of the verbal blows."¹⁴

Who wouldn't lean back sometimes during seven hours?

But in *Time* magazine's account of what it called "Adolf Eichmann's most dramatic moment" (Eichmann's viewing of films of death camp victims being shot and dumped into ditches—is a classic example of detail carried to the extreme:

"Throughout 90 minutes, Eichmann scarcely moved—except that once he picked his nose."¹⁵

Also in *Time* was one of the trial stories which indirectly imputed guilt to Eichmann through comment. Reporting Eichmann's testimony, *Time* said:

"Eichmann's tape-recorded voice droned on for two days, ranging from the ridiculous ('I did not hate Jews. I was never an anti-Semite.') to the tragicomic, as when he declared that the ideal of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine 'interested me, probably because of my romantic side, my love of nature, of the mountains and forests.'"¹⁶

Perhaps these statements are ridiculous and tragicomic to one who knows that Eichmann is guilty. But this press, as a press in a democratic society, did not know this.

The photographs and sketches used with the trial stories, like those used with the pre-trial stories, were largely of inmates of concentration camps. This time, however, the press had access to photographs of Eichmann taken in the courtroom by the official Israeli photographers. These were used most often when Eichmann testified. The defense counsel and the attorney for the prosecution also received a share of pictorial coverage. In one issue of *Life* three sketches spread over two pages showed Robert Servatius, Eichmann and Gideon Hausner.¹⁷ Servatius is pictured as a fat, frowning, stuffy German. Eichmann, whose mouth was shrunk by removal of his teeth at the time, is shown with this shrunk mouth, a long nose and piercing evil-looking eyes. Hausner is shown pointing an accusing finger in the direction of Eichmann's sketch. Interestingly, Hausner has a higher stack of documents on his desk than does Servatius.

Evaluation of Coverage

Impartiality was a fiction in these U. S. periodicals. In sensationalized and prejudicial text and pictorial coverage, through direct and indirect imputations of guilt and through repetition of Nazi atrocities, these periodicals aroused their readers' sense of horror about the crimes of a group of men. Perhaps, as the *National Review* noted, they did so because ". . . everyone has known the facts . . . for years. There is no more drama or suspense in store for us. . . ."¹⁸

The U. S. press, as represented by these eight periodicals, fulfilled the assignment given it by the Israeli government—it again told the world of Nazi horrors, but it did so at the expense of the defendant, a man some have claimed was neither a Nazi leader nor a policy-maker.

It was not for the U. S. Press to decide whether the charges against Eichmann are true, but this is what it did.

NOTES

1. "End of a Hunt of Hatred," *Life*, June 6, 1960.
2. *Newsweek*, June 6, 1960.
3. *Newsweek*, June 20, 1960.
4. *Look*, August 2, 1960.
5. *Life*, December 5, 1960.
6. *Time*, June 6, 1960.
7. *Look*, August 16, 1960.
8. *Life*, November 28, 1960.
9. *Newsweek*, February 13, 1961.
10. Bela W. von Block, "The Chase and Capture of Adolf Eichmann," *Reader's Digest*, October 1960.

11. *Atlas*, August 1961.
12. Zwy Aldoubly and Ephraim Katz, "The Chase That Doomed Eichmann," *Look*, August 16, 1960.
13. Patrick O'Donovan, "Reflection on the Eichmann Trial," *New Republic*, May 15, 1961.
14. T. S. Matthews, "The Meaning of the Eichmann Trial," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 10, 1961.
15. *Time*, June 9, 1961.
16. "Don't Look," *Time*, April 28, 1961.
17. *Life*, June 30, 1961.
18. "Thoughts on Eichmann," *National Review*, April 22, 1961.

Press Notes From Africa

By Louis M. Lyons

An American, returning from three months in Africa, finds it exhilarating to be back in an open society and exciting to pick up big fat newspapers again. He is bound to flounder about in the news to catch up with what is going on. For Africa is an insular continent, so pre-occupied with its own affairs that an outsider feels cut off from the main streams of world news. This is almost as true of the highly developed society of South Africa as of the undeveloped new nations. Its own violent politics and prejudices absorb the South African press and it views the news from black Africa through such dark glasses that these new countries strike a traveler from there as even stranger than if he had not read about them at all.

It was after two months in South Africa that my wife and I had our first visit to West Africa. We had a chance to see something of Kenya and Tanganyika on the way down.

Even the international edition of the *New York Times* is not to be had on any news stand in South Africa, and even the London papers are almost a month late. The freshest outside news comes in the international editions of *Time* and *Newsweek* which do reach African newsstands approximately on their dates of issue. This does not guarantee that you can find them. *Time* was banned in Ghana the week-end we spent there, for a crack about Nkrumah ("the biggest ego in Africa").

The first striking difference between Nigeria and Ghana that a stranger observes is in the press. Nigeria is an open society, its political climate, like its people, relaxed. It has a diversity of little papers, some pro-government, some opposition, some in-between, all very small, very parochial, mostly very personal, some quite lively, even ribald, in their personals and gossip. Gossip and rumor pass for news; indeed no differentiation is made between news and rumor. Evidently nobody bothers to check for facts. Next day's denial is a new story. But the press of Nigeria is free, if chaotic, and to critical American eyes fairly irresponsible. The difference in Ghana is that it is all a one-party press and any venturesome critic of Nkrumah's dictatorship is apt to be in jail.

The Nigerian government tries to run a government press that publishes a newspaper. This has not been a notable success. Indeed while we were there, its publisher, Chief Davies, was being ousted from the job.

Nobody took this as any discredit to Davies. He was probably too independent and too much inclined to ob-

jectivity to satisfy any government. The problems of publishing a national paper, too, would seem almost insuperable. Circulation is largely by barge where the rivers run, and then by truck as far as the roads go from the rivers. Not exactly a sinecure for a circulation manager.

Total newspaper circulation, an American information specialist figures, is about 300,000 in Nigeria. But his estimate was that 10,000,000 listen to radio. The significance of this is that the government controls broadcasting, as does every African government. In countries where illiteracy is high, obviously it is easier for most to get the news by ear. Radio is also, of course, the primary medium of the new governments in their campaigns against illiteracy. In such conditions, the news selection is fairly bound to be influenced by what the government feels it is best for people to hear, which is apt to coincide with what is most comfortable for the government to have them hear. It is also bound to be largely on local affairs.

This is as true in South Africa as in the new black countries. This summer the *Rand Daily Mail*, most forthrightly critical of the apartheid government, charged the government broadcasts with slanting and censoring the news. Their charges looked well documented.

The vernacular language broadcasts to the variety of native African elements in which the government broadcasting specializes are certainly patterned to the government's notion of what news is suitable for the submerged race to hear. This runs with the whole program of apartheid. Nationalism in South Africa parallels, in reverse, the intense nationalism of black Africa.

A current issue on which the English language press needles the South African government is its exclusion of television. The government claim is they are delaying TV until they get FM fully installed. But cabinet members seize every occasion to denounce the commercialism and sensationalism they attribute to American TV. Obviously exposure to TV would make it harder to keep a closed society as smugly insular as it is.

The traveler is struck by the basic difference in the press between East and West Africa. Independence in West Africa has carried through political change to the press.

The curator of the Nieman Fellowships and his wife spent three months in Africa this summer under the auspices of the U.S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

It is a black African press. In Kenya and Tanganyika the white settler press still dominates. It is the *East African Standard*, with issues both in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, the two capitals. This is presently an anachronism, a press committed wholly to the point of view of the few thousands of Europeans among millions of newly independent Africans. Of course most of the Africans are untouched by it because they can't read it, and masses of them are reached by the government news broadcasts in Swahili. The white settler press has its chief impact on outsiders who can't read Swahili, and on the international set, foreign embassies, etc. Its influence on these latter is, however, limited because they have their own sources of information. The U.S. Information Agency staffs, for instance, are thoroughly informed and wholly sophisticated about the white settler press. They have particular reason to be, for one of its keynotes is anti-Americanism. It totally ignores American activity in Africa unless it sees a chance to give the United States a black eye. It was in the *East African Standard* that Soapy Williams' casual remark about Africa for the Africans was seized upon and blown up and circulated, for further frenetic exploitation in South Africa. This spring American agencies managed a dramatic life saving service in Tanganyika which was entirely ignored by the *East African Standard*. Extreme drouth brought famine in the back country. The drouth was followed by floods that cut off a great area. After a month without supplies, starvation impended. The Tanganyika government appealed to the U.S. aid agency which brought in cargo planes and helicopters and every day for a critical month dropped bags of corn and cans of milk under guidance of government agencies in the U.S. helicopters. It was wholly successful and credited by the Tanganyika government with saving many thousand of lives. News, you'd think, in any language, but not in the white press of Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam.

This extreme bias has been applied equally against the new African governments and political leaders, who always get the worst of it in the *East African Standard*.

This situation is currently being corrected in part by a new press, supported by the Aga Khan.

He encouraged two able British newsmen to join in launching a new newspaper, the *Nation*, with editions in both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. These are probably the most professional journalists in Africa and they publish the most objective news. Charles Hayes had done newspaper work before the last war in West Africa. After the war he settled in Nairobi and started a paper in Swahili for Africans. He has been joined by Michael Curtis, former editor of the former *News-Chronicle* of London, and together they have launched the *Nation*. Curtis was

associated with the Aga Khan while he was at Harvard, and in Cambridge assembled modern equipment for the new publishing venture. It is probably the most modern equipment in Africa, a rotary press and the new photon process, developed in Cambridge.

These are two very able and lively young men, both fully committed to service in the new Africa. The International Press Institute, with Ford Foundation backing, has enlisted them in its efforts to improve the journalism of the new African countries. Both have been involved in organizing training programs both in East and West Africa. Charles Hayes had given *Nieman Reports* for April an account of their own newspaper enterprise. He proved the most informed and helpful of our contacts in East Africa.

I met him again in Lagos, two months later, when our State Department was putting on a two-week seminar for West African journalists. Hayes was there to observe, while he worked on the West African governments to get their clearance for setting up a long-term training program.

The seminar at Lagos was undoubtedly stimulated by our Ambassador Joseph Palmer in Nigeria. He had been concerned at the absence of professional newspaper standards there and had been turning to American newspaper friends and foundations to ask what help they could give.

The State Department sent a team of two American Negro editors, one white editor, one journalism professor. They were Frank Stanley, publisher of the *Louisville Defender*, George L. Brown, night city editor of the *Denver Post*, Alexander Bodi, editor of the *Palo Alto Times*, and Prof. Floyd G. Arpan of Indiana University's journalism department and director of the project.

They made an effective team. We sat in on one session and had luncheon and dinner with them. It was a lively session with 47 black African editors attending. A disappointment was the refusal of the Ghana government to allow Ghanaian newsmen to attend the sessions in Lagos. This describes the relations between Ghana and Nigeria. The Nigerians resent the biggetty ways of Nkrumah and the money he spends meddling in their politics. The bad relations have gone so far as to break off the national football matches between the two countries. The Nigerians accused the Ghanaians of bad sportsmanship, specifically of having a set of dolls on their bench to correspond with the Nigerian players, and sticking pins in the dolls to hex their opponents, a form of Juju still familiar in these countries.

The American journalism instructors were having some difficulty trying to show the African editors the difference between news and rumor. This was a new concept, as was the notion of checking on facts before publishing.

They reported a problem in communication also when they tried to explain journalistic ethics. This was something new and strange and it wasn't easy to figure how far they were getting with it.

The press of South Africa like all other of its institutions is divided by the deep cleavage between Afrikaans and English. We could not read the Afrikaans papers. They are intensely nationalist, all tied to the government Nationalist Party. Indeed the prime minister is chairman of the board of one group of them. The others are no less tied to the party.

The English language press is almost equally preoccupied with politics, most of the papers supporters of the opposition United Party. These are chiefly the strong Argus group, headed by the Johannesburg *Star*, with a member paper in each major city, a conservative, professionally competent press. The liveliest, most liberal paper is the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg, whose politics parallels that of the tiny Progressive Party. On the race issue this would approximate our Southern gradualists. There is nothing to the left of this, except Alan Paton and his handful of Liberal idealists. The government has banned the African National Congress and its leaders, Chief Albert Luthuli and the rest, whose platform is one man-one vote. These "banned" persons may not be published or quoted in the press under prison penalty. Under the so-called Sabotage Act the government issued in July the first list of 102 names of "banned" persons. The African *Golden City Post* had to cease its column by Nobel Prize winner Albert Luthuli who headed the "banned" list. His autobiography disappeared from the book stores and his works were purged from the catalog of the University for Africans at Fort Hare. The local newspapers reported that the (Manchester) *Guardian* carried an article by Luthuli on the Sabotage Act, but they could not tell what he said, and news agencies had to suppress that issue of the *Guardian*.

A national press board was set up this summer. On the face of it, all it can do is hear complaints of the press and publish its findings. But to Laurence Gander, the forthright and fearless editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, there is no question but it is a further move of intimidation of an independent press. John Sutherland, editor of the Port Elizabeth *Post*, with good reason, shares this view of a policy of intimidation. After the Sharpeville shooting, the government imposed an emergency with decrees against publishing anything calculated "to disturb race relations." This is a cliché of the Nationalist government, that turns up also in the contracts for teachers under the government Education Act, and it has kept

independent scholars from joining the faculties of the new segregated colleges for Africans, who by the act are now excluded from the established colleges. (The English language colleges all had at least token integration until the government stopped it.) Well, during this emergency period that lasted six months, Sutherland's paper published an interview with a Canadian visitor who had some critical things to say about the faculty-student relations in one of the new colleges for Africans. The government indicted Editor Sutherland with violating the emergency act. Two courts threw out the case but a higher court allowed it. More than a year later he was found guilty on the least of the charges and fined \$25. But the case had cost his paper thousands. He has no doubt that this kind of intimidation has had its effect. Two months close reading of the newspapers there would convince any American newspaperman he is right. The English press follows its opposition party line in editorial criticism of the government. But its reporting is extremely cautious. Reporting is not the strong point of the South African press anyway. It follows the older British tradition of emphasis on its leader writing and reporting is quite secondary. In one of the major cities a 22-year old reporter, sent to interview us, said he was the senior reporter and there were just three others, but he counted eight editors. This Mexican army type of newspaper organization appears fairly typical. An exception is the reporting of the parliamentary sessions, which, again in the British tradition, are fully covered and in some cases energetically enough so that the political correspondent of the *Cape Times* was barred from the press gallery. Similarly the correspondent of the East London *Dispatch* was barred from the constitutional assembly preparing a new territorial government for the Transkei, after the government found his first story objectionable. The *Dispatch* is the nearest paper to the big Transkei reservation, now launched on a new semi-autonomous government, and it has been banned from official news sources there since this incident. The *Dispatch* finds itself in an anomalous position. It is run under a trust which commits it to support of the British Empire. Now that the empire has been eliminated from the new Republic, which has taken itself out of the Commonwealth, the *Dispatch* continues, much like the Montreal *Gazette*, to occupy a lonely high empire position.

The timidity, caution or inadequacy of reporting is illustrated by one afternoon's experience of ours. We were visiting the "non-European" libraries in the native locations outside Johannesburg. The Johannesburg *Star* had asked if they could send a reporter along. In charge of one of these meager branch libraries was a young Indian, Norman Singh. His boss told us Singh's story, one of the

human tragedies of apartheid. His family are mixed Colored-Indian. While young Singh was on an exchange trip to America his family came up under the classification system. They were determined to be Colored. But on his return he was classified as Indian. This meant he must move out of the Colored area where his family live and lose his job in the Colored district library. I suggested to the *Star* reporter that this was a story. "No" she said, "the Institute won't let us print it." "What Institute?" "The Institute of Race Relations. They feel it makes their job harder to help non-whites if such things are played up." "Is the *Star* a newspaper or a branch of the Institute?" I asked her. She allowed that was a good question and she'd tell her editor I asked it. But they didn't use it.

Neither did they use another story we turned up that seemed a natural. One library was in an African area. But it is reclassified for Coloreds and the Africans are to be moved farther out in the hand-me-down system of Group Area Classification. The library will remain for the new Colored residents. But hanging on the wall was a framed dedication of the library, given by an English woman for the African people. How can they take the library away from the Africans to whom it was left in trust? The librarian said that might indeed be a problem for the city council. But that little problem was not news either for the *Star*. Yet they were after news and insisted on a quotation on my impressions.

A recurring item of news that strikes harshly on American sensibilities is the whipping that accompanies sentences for minor crimes. Six strokes and six months is a common sentence for stealing.

Another index of insensitivity to the treatment of Africans was the report of a wage raise on the government-owned railroads. The story reported that the total wage increase granted for the operating crews (white) was 18,500,000 Rand, and for the railway laborers (non-white) 2,500,000 Rand. (A Rand is \$1.40.) The number of white crews and non-white laborers was almost exactly the same. The wage differential is more than seven times. But the reader had to figure this out for himself. It is the typical differential in wage. The African may not join a union. For him to strike is illegal. Job classification acts bar him from all but menial jobs. No minimum wage laws apply to mines, farms or domestic service, which are the occupations of 80 per cent of Africans. The Institute of Race Relations reports that the great majority of Africans have an income below subsistence, and they are talking about family income and assuming several members of the family working. They report the average cash income of African mine workers is \$135 a year (they are also furnished bunks and rations in their compounds) and of farm labor \$250 a year.

The strongest papers are the two in Johannesburg. But though they have bureaus in London and New York, their coverage of anything outside South Africa is extremely sketchy. Their chief interest in American news this Summer concerned gold. Gold is of course the chief export of South Africa, the support of their imports and one of the two sources of their high standard of living, the other being the incredibly cheap labor supply of the suppressed native Africans. The older gold mines are giving out and much gold mining today is marginal. The United States government largely determines the price of gold. The papers in South Africa this summer seized upon our stock market slump as occasion to predict that Washington would have to devalue the dollar and so raise the price of gold, which of course would raise gold shares on the Rand. When our Treasury declared there would be no increase in gold prices, the Johannesburg papers were filled with derisive and skeptical stories, assuring their investment readers that governments always talked that way just before they devalued their currency. But when President Kennedy went on Telstar to declare to the world there would be no devaluation, the tone of the local gold stories changed to resentment. The heavy hand of gold on the economy obviously is a key influence on South African journalism and a factor in their anti-American tone. The other key factor is our support of the United Nations and of anti-colonialism in Africa. Fear or disdain of the UN are the twin policies of the Nationalist government. They alternate between fear and disdain, and generally blame the United States as the chief support of the UN and accuse us also of pushing the British into their policy of independence for the new African countries. The English press sounds little different from the Afrikaans on this, or indeed in their racism, which is historic, although as one editor says, "We never made a cult of it like the Nats." The English press criticism of the Nationalist government is largely on two issues. One is to ridicule the government schemes for establishing Bantustans, on the native reserves, an elaborate program which the government claims is to develop the native culture in the reserves, and separate it from the white society. They have limited instruction in the schools for Africans to the vernacular language. English is now taught only as a special subject, as our children study French. The government proposes to establish "border industries" next to the reserves, to use native labor, and keep it out of the cities. The English press constantly ridicules the Bantustan concept, and the notion of border industries, which has found no response from business either. Editorials persistently point out that the Bantustan development offers nothing for the several million detribalized Africans in the cities who are the labor supply of the economy.

But the chief preoccupation of the English press is the war of the two cultures that divide South Africa, between Afrikaner and English. The Afrikaner, long submerged under British rule, is now in political control.

It is an intense nationalism, supported by a tightly integrated society in which fundamentalist church, parochial press, localized language and totalitarian party are fused. The government presses equally hard at two policies: apartheid, to exclude the native African from participation in the national life except as a peon laborer; and to advance the Afrikaans language as the cement of Afrikaner domination. To advance the Afrikaans language, its recent education act asserts national policy in education, which had been vested in the four provinces, and requires complete separation of Afrikaner pupils from English language pupils in separate schools. This is bitterly criticized in the English press, which sees a government policy to subordinate the English language. There have long been separate schools as there is a whole separate group of Afrikaner colleges. But, especially in the older English areas, Cape Town and Natal, many Afrikaners have sent their children to English schools, for most business is in English hands. This is now stopped by law, just as the English colleges are stopped from taking non-white students. The latest education act emphasizes "Christian Nationalism," which to the English press means indoctrination. Dr. Malherbe, the rugged head of Natal University, an Afrikaner himself, charges the Nationalist government with setting up a "corrugated iron curtain" between the two language cultures, and this fairly describes the English press' view of government policy.

Only in Cape Town is there any journalistic effort to bridge in some degree the communications barrier. The *Cape Times* and *Die Berger* print each other's lead editorials daily. *Die Berger*, although committed to the Nationalist Party like all the Afrikaans press, is less narrowly partisan than the others and more professional in its journalism. The older Cape mellows all institutions. But the reason the *Cape Times* carries the *Die Berger* leaders is that it failed in its effort to have an Afrikaner columnist to present the other side. It tried it, but found that the very fact of such a staff appointment made the writer suspect by Afrikaners so that the effort was futile.

The Afrikaans press, despite its intense party commitment, is more professional in its staff standards than the English press. It insists on a university education, which is not at all true of the English press, and it is proud of the training it gives its staffers. Its editors laugh at such old-fashioned tenets of the English press as their insistence on shorthand as the primary requisite for reporting. The Afrikaans editor says he trains his reporters to get the

essentials of a story and report its meaning. No journalism course presently exists in South Africa, but an Afrikaans editor is preparing one to be used by the University of South Africa in its correspondence courses, the residence colleges having turned down his proposal for such a course.

Correspondence courses are more important in this land of great distances and sparse population and are taken seriously. The administration of the new government college for Colored students (as distinct from native Africans) are talking about a course in journalism. At any rate they wanted to talk to me about it. But this is because there is no opportunity for Colored graduates in the general press. The few small African papers are outside the pale of government consideration. Only one Colored man, and no African, is employed on any of the white press, George Manuel on the *Cape Times*. He studied at Syracuse University on an exchange deal and is evidently fully accepted by his colleagues, who, like newspapermen as a tribe everywhere are more apt than most to be free of the meaner prejudices in human relations.

The big Argus group of newspapers, publishing in the leading cities, have for the last couple of years conducted a 6-months in-training program for new staffers, under a retired editor. He insists on shorthand and on their attaining competence in both languages and gives them training in interviewing and reporting, and acquaints them with the strategic news sources, police, courts, city council, etc. It is significant that the *Cape Times* translates the *Die Berger* editorial for its English readers, but *Die Berger* runs the exchange in English, knowing its readers are bi-lingual, as they are almost obliged to be, for English is the medium of business and of course all external communication, and Afrikaans is wholly a local currency.

The Afrikaans editors I met were a broadly informed professional group, more so than all but a few of the English language editors. Phil Weber, managing director of the *Die Berger* group is particularly impressive and his dynamic quality and rigorous standards are reflected through the *Die Berger* group which includes book and magazine publishing. Some of our most pleasant and informing experiences came in meetings with Afrikaans newspapermen. Indeed the Afrikaner, if you can separate him from his politics and racism, is typically a friendly, hospitable, warm and hearty person. My wife and I are much indebted to the friendship and hospitality offered by Afrikaners. As everywhere, one wishes to differentiate people from the pronouncements and policies of their more demagogic politicians. The Afrikaner, particularly the Transvaaler, now dominant in politics, has

lived a history of isolation on his veld, which largely bypassed the liberal and humanitarian influences of the 19th century, and he has till recently felt his culture suppressed by the ruling English element. This goes far to account for the belligerent intolerance of his politics. This and the unique vital statistics of South Africa, whose white population is outnumbered three to one by black Africans. This has made fertile ground for the demagogue to cultivate the fear of "black domination" if the African is accorded any of the privileges of the society his labor supports. The Afrikaner typically calls the race problem insoluble and does nothing about it except ever harsher repression.

A visitor's most unpleasant contact with the official nourishing of this dogma is through the insufferably aggressive, glib and sophomoric activity of the elaborate government information service.

An American consul, out of five years experience, says "The South Africans are the worst informed people in the world. Their papers blow up every trouble in the rest of Africa. They know nothing of the realities of Kenya

or Tanganyika." Indeed the ostrich-like insularity of South Africa brought the wave of independence of black Africa to it with a traumatic shock and must account in some degree for the ferocity of their official reaction to it. They maintain no diplomatic relations with any of the new African governments, a policy which among other things imposes serious inconveniences on travellers.

One of a traveler's useful points of contact, anywhere in Africa is a United States Information Agency office anywhere. Ed Murrow's corps in Africa all looked lively and able, such people as John Hogan in Dar-es-Salaam, Bill Green in Pretoria, Jim Rogers in Johannesburg. Rogers had just appointed a young African as librarian in the big USIA library. This caused some stir in Johannesburg where government policy, applied through the job classification act, makes a point of seeing that Africans don't get any jobs white men would take. But Rogers told the inquiring reporters he was delighted to find so well qualified a librarian. The only way we learned of Ted Kennedy's nomination for the Senate in Massachusetts was by calling on John Hogan in Dar. A month later we caught up with George Lodge's nomination by visiting Bill Green in Pretoria.

Nieman Notes

1939

Newsweek magazine devoted two columns last May to enjoyment of the writing of **Edwin A. Lahey**, bureau chief in Washington of the Knight Papers. The occasion for comment on Lahey's "salty sensible language" was his observation on the inability of Jerry Holleman, Assistant Secretary of Labor, to make ends meet on \$20,000 a year. "They beat him to death with lady fingers" Lahey explained. *Newsweek* dug up other Laheyisms and noted:

"Now 60, pixieish Ed Lahey has been dispensing superb reporting, snappy prose and good sense from Washington for more than 20 years. His scoops are notable and, to the dismay of competitors, practically endless." "Lahey is a hell of a reporter" a competing bureau chief is quoted. "He's got contacts, people who absolutely trust him. These people are all his friends. One friend, Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, says 'Ed's a real in-

tellectual in a tough guy setting. He's a magnificent reporter.'"

Louis M. Lyons and his wife spent three months in Africa this summer, on a Carnegie grant, under the auspices of the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program, which has sponsored the Associate Nieman Fellows from South Africa. Two months were spent in South Africa and short periods in East and West Africa.

1942

As president of the Association for Education in Journalism, Professor **Kenneth Stewart** of the University of California presided over the 15th anniversary convention of the association at Chapel Hill, in August. Ned Calmer, reporting the convention on WCBS-TV "Views the Press," said: "Stewart put his finger on one of the basic questions troubling the teachers of journalism today. One is failure—quite widespread we believe—of

journalism teachers to intensify professional criticism of the press. Shouldn't that be one of the functions of a school of journalism?" Calmer also notes "rival factions warring within the association. There were those who saw today's average school of journalism as long outmoded in its techniques. They want to make it more of a science and change its name to Communications. Here again it was Pres. Stewart who asked the basic question: "Might preoccupation with the science of communication theory cause journalism educators to neglect the art of communication practice?"

After 25 years with *Time* and *Life*, much of it as a foreign correspondent, **Don Burke** resigned this Summer to join a new enterprise, Interplan Planning Organization, Ltd., which was established to develop overseas the work of Architects Collaborative. "Interplan is set up to explore and hopefully fulfill the needs of the Middle East and Africa in architecture and engineering. Both these areas

have been of special interest to me over the years and I have long felt there was an endless variety of challenging projects, schools, hospitals public buildings." His address is still Via Parigi 11, Rome.

1942

Robert C. Elliott, executive assistant to Henry J. Kaiser, was a member of the executive program of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in August. His wife Vera, at the same time, painted with the Aspen School of Contemporary Art. Both participated in the Aspen Music Festival. Elliott's office is in Honolulu but his work with Kaiser has taken him to most of the 27 countries where 100 Kaiser plants and 60 medical centers are located.

1945

The University of Colorado Associated Alumni conferred their Nordin Award for "outstanding achievement" to **Houstoun Waring**, editor of the Littleton (Colo.) *Independent*. Waring is author of the Code of Ethics of the Colorado Press Association.

1946

After seven and a half years of broadcasting with NBC, **Arthur Hepner** joined John Wiley & Sons, Inc., as a book editor in the college text book field, in September.

1947

The University of Portland conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Very Rev. **William H. McDougall** of Salt Lake City last June. A United Press correspondent in Shanghai when war broke out, he was a prisoner of the Japanese three years. During his Nieman year he wrote of his war experience in two books, *Six Bells Off Java* and *By Eastern Windows*. He was ordained to the Catholic priesthood in 1952 and his parish has since been in his native city.

1948

Robert Shaplen, *New Yorker* author, and June L. Herman, a book editor for

Macmillan Co., announce their marriage in April and their address, 8 East Eighth Street, New York City.

1949

Scripps-Howard Newspapers paid *Editor & Publisher* for a back cover, August 4, to feature and picture their city editor in Fort Worth, **Delbert Willis** of the *Press* there. They recite his own awards and his staff leadership that has brought many awards to the *Press*.

1951

Bob Eddy moves to Hartford November 1 as assistant to the president and publisher of the Hartford *Courant*. He has been managing editor of the St. Paul *Dispatch* the past five years and had served on the staff of the St. Paul papers for 20 years.

1953

William Steif is now on the national staff of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance in Washington, his beat "urban affairs." He moved from the San Francisco *News-Call Bulletin*, where he was assistant managing editor in charge of features.

Columbia Graduate School of Journalism announced in September appointment of **Melvin Mencher** as assistant professor of journalism. Prof. Mencher has been a member of the faculty of the William Allen White School of Journalism at the University of Kansas since 1958. Earlier he was a reporter on the newspapers in Albuquerque and for the United Press there. He managed the faculty exchange program between the Universities of Kansas and Costa Rica, 1960-61, and was chairman of the faculty forum at Kansas.

1955

Robert L. Drew produced the CBS network hour program, September 24, on the 50th anniversary round-up of the Girl Scouts of America. The title was "The Road to Button Bay." Bob's problem, his wife Rue reports, was how to make girl scouting sound exciting.

After the Algerian election in Septem-

ber, the New York *Times* reassigned **Henry Tanner** to Moscow and sent **Peter Braestrup** (1960) to Algeria for a two-year hitch. Braestrup, out of the Washington bureau, had gone with Vice-President Lyndon Johnson on his 19-day tour of the Middle East this summer. Also **Murrey Marder** (1950) diplomatic correspondent of the Washington *Post*.

William J. Woestendiek had a 23-day tour of Russia this summer under an exchange program arranged by the State Department, along with a dozen other American editors. It included a two and a half hour group interview with Premier Khrushchev. He returned with a series of articles on "The Faces of Russia" for *Newsday*, where he is editorial director.

1958

The Japanese newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, assigned **Hiroshi (George) Ishihara** to Washington as its American correspondent, for a three-year hitch, early in the summer. There he found **Hisashi (Jim) Maeda** (1956), who has represented *Asahi Shimbun* the past two years in Washington.

The English-Speaking Union (Portland, Ore. branch) has awarded a travel grant to **J. Wesley Sullivan**, news editor of the *Oregon Statesman* in Salem. He and his wife are planning a two-month trip to England in February-March.

1959

T. V. Parasuram has become Washington correspondent of the Indian *Express* group of newspapers. He had been for three years correspondent at the United Nations for the Press Trust of India. Before taking up his new post in August the Parasurams visited Paris, Moscow and Geneva. He will continue to cover the U.N. as well as Washington.

John Seigenthaler and **Perry Morgan** were both appointed editors of their papers in the same month, last May. Perry Morgan had been editorial page editor of the Charlotte *News*. John Seigenthaler returned to Nashville to take charge at the *Tennessean* after a leave to serve as special assistant to Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

1960

After serving a hitch in Washington, in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, **William G. Lambert** has joined the *Time*, Inc., staff in the Los Angeles Bureau. Bill served for 10 years on the Portland *Oregonian* where in 1957 he shared the Pulitzer Prize for reporting with **Wallace Turner** (1959).

John G. Samson became news director of KOB, biggest broadcasting station in New Mexico in June. He had left the AP in New York because the health of his young son required the New Mexico climate. He writes happily about being back in news work.

1961

In September, the United Press International moved **John N. Herbers Jr.** into Washington. He was state manager of the bureau in Jackson, Miss., where he had served the UPI since 1949. Beset throughout this period by the racist controversies and pressures of Mississippi, John Herbers has won a national reputation, not only for his able bureau management but as an extraordinarily objective reporter.

1962

Peter Goldman left the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* this summer to join the national affairs staff of *Newsweek* in New York.

Nieman Books

WASHINGTON COVER-UP. By Clark Mollenhoff. 239 pp. N. Y. Doubleday & Co. \$4.50.

A hard core of Clark Mollenhoff's effective career in Washington has been his persistent crusade against secrecy in government. Readers of *Nieman Reports* have read his indictments of Executive orders and other devices to limit public information about the Government. Here he goes thoroughly into the history of the tendency of Government to cover up, going back to Teapot Dome and finding many a shocking example, as notably in the Dixon-Yates affair. An investigative

reporter of formidable capacity, Mollenhoff has combatted these tendencies of Government as effectively as anyone. He writes largely out of what he has encountered himself. This is the seamy side of bureaucracy that he exposes. In the endless seesaw between Congress and the Executive, the investigative reporter almost inevitably finds his own interests on the side of Congress. He has applauded and supported the Moss Committee in its struggle to contain Executive secrecy. It is perhaps natural that he is less inclined to worry over excesses in Congressional investigations, to feel that their danger is less and that they more readily yield to reform. His critics suggest he is too lenient on the abuses of Congress and unrealistic in the extent of his demands for complete Executive disclosure. But the present imbalance is such that the yeoman labors of Clark Mollenhoff against it is certainly on the side of the angels and of an informed public.

GRECIAN CALENDAR. By Christopher Rand. 300 pp. N. Y. Oxford Univ. Press. \$4.50.

Christopher Rand has a disarmingly relaxed tone and rambling style in his casual seeming explorations that tend to mask the thoroughness and precision of his observations. He applies to Greece the method familiar to readers of his books on places farther East, from Hongkong to Kashmir. Like these, this one developed from an assignment for the *New Yorker* which ran some of these chapters in July. The distinction of Rand's style, so long a factor in the special quality of the *New Yorker's* journalism, is, as ever, a key to the charm of this book about Greece.

WAR AND PEACE AND GERMANY. By Fred Warner Neal. 166 pp. N. Y. W. W. Norton & Co. \$3.95.

Professor Neal's earlier books have explored Eastern Europe, his area of specialty. Here he tackles the tough and controversial issue of our policy about Germany, which he criticizes as unrealistic. He argues that it would be less danger-

ous to try to come to terms with the Soviets on Germany than to stake everything on undeviating support of Adenauer's policy. This is a provocative uphill argument with no concession to popular sentiment or political clichés, which is characteristic of all Fred Neal's work.

RUN, DIG OR STAY? By Dean Brelis. 196 pp. Boston. Beacon Press. \$3.50.

This is the shelter issue, thoroughly explored and brilliantly analyzed in the distinguished style familiar in Brelis' earlier books. The hysteria over shelters has passed but the unresolved problems remain and will doubtless plague the Nation again. In that case the moral dialogue to which Brelis addresses himself will be again relevant and urgent. His own view is implicit. "The symbolic significance (of shelters) is fear. I see a society that cannot face its risks. The shelter is a negative mechanism. It is saying that you believe a nuclear war is definitely on the way. The shelter is not a will to live. Anyone going into a shelter must know that whether he comes out or not is a matter of chance." His affirmation: Strength is not to run, not to hide, but to stay.

THE CENSORS AND THE SCHOOLS. By Gene Roberts and Jack Nelson. Boston. Little Brown.

This is the tentative title the publishers have given the study of the censorship pressures on school textbooks, completed by two of last year's Nieman Fellows, scheduled for publication in early 1963.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE READER. Edited by William German and William Hogan. Announced for publication by McGraw-Hill, N. Y.

Bill German (1950), *Chronicle* news editor, is credited by his co-editor with "shaping this book with zest and imagination." It is a selection of *Chronicle* stories going back to 1875. Among Nieman Fellows represented in the book are Jack Foisie, Robert de Roos and Kevin Wallace.

About Tass

By Saul Friedman

THE TWO FACES OF TASS. By Theodore E. Kruglak. University of Minnesota Press. \$5.

In a rather studious work, tinged with just the right amount of humor and editorializing, Mr. Kruglak gives part of the answer to a puzzle: how has it become possible to receive so much news from the Soviet Union, supposedly guarded from the rest of the world by an iron curtain?

Mr. Kruglak's intensive investigation shows that while the statesmen of the world have found coexistence tenuous, to say the least, the newsmen of the East and West have met for the purpose of gathering the news. It should be pointed out that the possibility of researching and writing this well documented book is evidence that the iron curtain is not impenetrable and perhaps never was in the field of news.

Beginning with a history of European news agencies and wire services the author shows that Tass, formerly Rosta, operated in the United States as early as 1922, just a few years after the Bolshevik revolution and 11 years before this country recognized the Soviet government. Since that time Tass and news agencies of the West have exchanged services with a minimum of incidents and newsmen of Tass and the West have had relatively amiable relations, considering the tortuous twists and turns of Soviet policies and Soviet-American relations.

Although the author sets out to show that the two faces of Tass are its news-gathering and reporting face, and its propaganda and espionage face, the unavoidable conclusion of the book is that the latter face is fading. It is interesting that the book contains ten chapters on Tass as a newsgathering agency and but one on its activities in espionage. And even here Kruglak believes that Tass never seriously engaged in espionage.

More important than the few cases of espionage that have been attributed to those employed by Tass, is the discussion of the use of Tass as an agency to slant

the news. The author makes it clear that Tass is an arm of the Soviet government. It should be no surprise then that Tass men gather stories to please their management. Is this a rare phenomenon unique only to government-controlled newsmen?

Throughout the book Kruglak compares the content of Tass wire copy with the content of the *New York Times* for the week of October 31, 1959. While the comparison is revealing, it may also be unfair, for, as the author himself points out, a better comparison might have been to match Tass with the United States Information Agency.

Tass, therefore, is and has been an unabashed agent of the Soviet Union and much like the American daily trying to get support for a local project originated by the newspaper, Tass editors in Moscow are interested in stories which will tend to support the Soviet project of socialism. And like the American daily, Tass will carry enough stories about the opposition in order to maintain a semblance of impartiality.

Finally, Kruglak points out, Tass is shedding itself of its propaganda face and, as it has from its beginning, is attempting to imitate Western wire services by confining itself to accuracy and objectivity in reporting and interpreting the news. Perhaps, hopes the author, the good possibility of better coexistence in news communication will lead the way for less tenuous coexistence in other areas.

The author is former chairman of the Journalism Department at Long Island University.

Saul Friedman is on a Nieman Fellowship from the *Houston Chronicle*.

A Great Biography

FRANCIS PARKMAN. By Howard Doughty. 414 pp. N. Y. MacMillan.

This is a distinguished biography, certainly one of the notable biographical works of the year. Doughty has so immersed himself in the historian's works and his complex personality that the reader feels, this is Parkman. It was a difficult subject, for Parkman was such

even before the complications of his invalidism. His feats of youthful exploration in deliberate preparation for his chosen role as the historian of the American wilderness are the more impressive for Doughty's own complete absorption in Parkman's intensely individualistic character and literary style. He accompanies Parkman on his early Oregon journey and then through the incredible ordeals with blindness and nervous disorders, to master the untrod trails of the French and Indian Wars that yield one of the epical works of history. A great story and greatly told.

L. M. L.

A FRAGMENT OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By John Gunther. 115 pp. N. Y. Harper & Row. \$3.50.

John Gunther tells in relaxed tone the fascinating story of writing his *Inside* books and of much of what has happened to them and to him on account of them. His prodigious feats of travel and exploration and writing are almost matched by his publishers' performance in meeting deadlines with their presses.

Vital Statistics

By James W. Carty Jr.

BASIC FACTS AND FIGURES: INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS RELATING TO EDUCATION, CULTURE AND MASS COMMUNICATION. UNESCO. Paris, France. 198 pp. \$3.00.

Seventy per cent of the world's population lacks adequate mass communication facilities and services.

This is the nub of 1962 UNESCO report of statistics gathered from 220 different countries and territories. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization regards as the basic minimum of information services: 10 copies of a daily newspaper, five radio receivers, and two cinema seats for every 100 inhabitants in any country.

This basic handbook is filled with tables listing country-by-country school enrollment at all levels, the number of museums and libraries, the number of

books produced, the number of daily and weekly newspapers, the amount of paper consumption, the number of films produced and cinema seats available, and the number of television sets.

Of the world total of 8,000 daily newspapers, North America has 2,300; Europe, 2,100 (excluding Russia, which has 500); and Asia, 1,900.

North America also accounts for more than one-half of the world's total consumption of newsprint: seven million metric tons out of 13 million.

The most avid newspaper readers are in Great Britain, where there is more than one newspaper for every two persons. The situation is almost approximated in Sweden, Luxemburg, and Finland.

Television is the fastest growing information media. There are 99 million sets in operation around the world, including 59 million in the U. S., the nation with the largest share. About 60 countries broadcast regular television programs; another eight countries operate on an experimental basis. Four others receive television broadcasts from neighboring nations, and at least 30 more plan to set up their own television services.

At least one in 10 persons in the world has a radio set, and the total sets in existence number 365 million. Africa even has 4½ million sets—19 for each 1,000 persons.

The print media depend on literacy, of course. But only 2 out of 5 school-age children around the world receive some kind of education. Of this number, 78% are in primary schools, 20% in secondary schools, and 1.5% in colleges and universities.

This is a valuable reference book for newspapermen.

Letters

Newspaper Opening

To the Editor:

This is being dictated in Pago Pago, American Samoa. American Samoa has a population of about 20,000; and it has no newspaper. Governor H. Rex Lee, as

well as all of the leading businessmen, are eager to establish a newspaper here. I can see where it would be of immense value to Samoa.

There is a rickety government printing plant here; but I recommend that if a newspaper is started, that it have its own printing plant, even though it is a hand-set press. I think that some good part of the revenue would come from job printing, and using the Government plant for that would be awkward.

The level of education is low and, therefore, I don't think that the circulation of the paper would be more than about 3,000 for the first couple of years. That is, unless it were printed both in English and Samoan. In that case it would be higher, but I have no way, at this moment, of estimating it.

Without doing any research, but just pulling it out of your head, how much capital do you think it would take to start such a paper? Also, how hard do you think it would be to find a guy who could set it up and make a success out of it?

The influence of such a small paper in this community would be tremendous—far more than in a similar area in the United States. The editor would be a man of prestige—but he would have to work hard at the start to gain the confidence of the Samoans.

If somebody wants to answer directly to Governor H. Rex Lee, his address is Pago Pago, American Samoa.

W. J. LEDERER

The Klan in the South

To the Editor:

The articles [*Nieman Reports* for April] on a reporter in the South and Southern newsmen's views of the Northern press in conjunction with racial matters were high interesting. I found much in all with which to agree.

But I would like to make two footnotes of a sort, if I may, to John H. Nelson's piece on the South and the Northern press.

First, he states without qualification that "the Klan is dead." This may be his information about Georgia, but the state-

ment appears to go beyond that state. To my knowledge the Klan is not dead, in Georgia or in my state of Alabama. One may argue as to whether it has any effect, and I happen to think it still does to a measureable degree. But to deny that it continues to exist may be misleading to some of your readers who would give weight to *Nieman Reports* articles.

The Klan is strong in Anniston, Ala., scene of the Freedom Rider bus burning. The Klan is strong in Jefferson County and in at least two other areas of Alabama. Further, Klan connection continues to run to Georgia as was manifested in charges in connection with the Anniston case, since a Georgian was arrested in that case. It is true he was not convicted and identification proved inadequate. But the Klan does still exist in Georgia. One may argue about numbers, but I would estimate that there are at least several hundred in this state. Small in numbers, perhaps, they nevertheless maintain an excellent underground network which reaches an untraceable distance throughout the South.

Further, Mr. Nelson says generally national media rely on the wire services for racial news of the South and these have "not done a competent, responsible job. . . ." I have first hand knowledge of how the AP has operated in Alabama, and its coverage has been excellent and thorough. If it lacks "interpretation," that may be because of the nature of the service, true. But the news has been reported, and well, by wire services to my certain knowledge. I do not think the statement should be left to stand as a fairly heavy criticism.

E. L. HOLLAND, JR.
Editorial Page Editor,
Birmingham News.

P.S. An article in the same issue by Hoke Norris is referred to as on "Huntsville, Arkansas, and the establishment there of the Redstone Arsenal." I'd like to suggest a correction to Huntsville, Ala. Most reference to Alabama these days is all too accurate. When an asset of the State is referred to, it is discouraging to see it given an Arkansas label.

E. L. H.

Italy's Disappearing Dailies

By Anna M. Cornetta

The first free newspaper published in Axis realms during World War II was mimeographed under shell-fire on the beach at Sicily. It appeared in July of 1943, a meager-looking single sheet of standard-sized paper produced by the members of the 15th Army Group. But, for Italy, the *Faro di Lampedusa* (to make light) represented an opportunity to throw off twenty-one years of stringent dictatorial press control.

With the Allied Armies converging on Rome from several beachheads, Italian newspapermen quickly realized their freedom—and the Fascist supporters, their plight. By the time troops reached the Eternal City it was empty of black shirt editors such as Virginio Gaya of *Il Giornale d'Italia*. Conversely, following the Army's example, men like Senator Renato Angiolillo wasted no time in establishing publications. In fact, the Senator's *Il Tempo* was founded the day following the arrival of Allied forces. Throughout Italy traditionally great newspapers still in existence, such as Milan's *Corriere della Sera*, swiftly joined the trend by ousting Fascist-imposed editorial staff members who dared remain.

The choice of Italy to begin the free press movement was more than appropriate since newspapers first evolved from Italian soil. From the time of Julius Caesar's insistence that daily bulletins be posted in 60 B.C., through the Middle Ages when Genoa produced *Sincero*, the first newspaper with a continuous title, Italy's influence was felt. Even the word gazette is derived from the Italian "gazzetta," a small sixteenth century coin exchanged for admission to hear readings of newspapers.

But, though first in publications, Italy's political atmosphere hampered the achievement of unlimited press freedom. The nation first comprised of separate states was split by intense regionalism and progress towards any kind of freedom was nil. As a parliamentary monarchy under Victor Emmanuel II, the Constitution of 1848 hinged press guarantees on "special laws" established to "punish abuse." This despite tremendous risks taken by the prominent journalist-politicians, Counts Camillo Cavour and Cesare Balbo, to support unification with their Neapolitan newspaper, *Il Risorgimento* (the reawakening).

But if the monarchy was thought to maintain at least effective press control, its terms were loose in comparison

to the corporate state dictatorship of Benito Mussolini. "The man on the white horse" came to power through the press first as a reporter for the Socialist paper, *Avanti!* and then as editor of *Il Popolo*. He realized the extensive influence of the press and determined to benefit from it.

When Mussolini marched on Rome in 1922 to take his place in the government, Italy boasted of 157 dailies. Three years later when Il Duce proclaimed the official establishment of the corporate state, the number was reduced to approximately 55 publications.

The elimination of private ownership controlling the larger newspapers was the primary target. The Albertini deed to the *Corriere della Sera* contained a technical fault; the *Stampa* and *Il Giornale d'Italia* were forced to sell their rights respectively to the Fiat automotive concern and a wealthy landowner, Signor Arminise; the *Gazzetta del Popolo* went to the electricity interests—all staunch Fascist supporters.

Smaller newspapers were forced into line by replacement of editors who refused to comply with the almost daily dictation of make-up, headlines, editorial and general content. Those newspapers which continued to oppose were completely suppressed.

As Dean Frank L. Mott points out, "In Italy under Mussolini there were never any news beats because the government dictated not only what news should be printed but its precise position in the papers."

Control of Agenzia Stefani, the Italian news agency founded by Cavour in 1853, completely encircled and stifled the Italian press—all became government propaganda tools.

The Rebirth of the Italian Press

In the plebiscite of 1946, apparently tired of the tight controls eventually extended to all businesses and the costly demands of war in life and material, the Italian people voted in favor of a constitutional democracy.

The Italian people now look to the Constitution of 1948 to maintain peace and bring about economic progress. Generally, Article 21 "provides that every citizen shall have the right to express his opinion freely in speech, writing, or by any other means of dissemination." Specifically directed at publications: "The press may not be subjected to prior sanction, censorship, or any other form of interference by the executive power."

The Constitution further provides that in the case of offenses specified by law, certain issues of periodicals (the term includes newspapers) may be confiscated. The action

Anna Cornetta's research paper on the Italian press was done in graduate study in journalism at the University of Missouri and published by the university's Freedom of Information Center.

must be ordered by judicial authority and reasons for it given. In cases of extreme urgency confiscation may be ordered by police authorities but judicial ratification is necessary within twenty-four hours. The cases envisaged by the law are, in general, offenses against public decency.

Twenty-five articles under Legislative Law 47 regulate the press in a manner which offers more liberal and democratic freedom than ever before in Italian press history. Of import is the delegation of criminal and civil responsibility for printed matter to the author and the director of the periodical.

Generally, under Law 47 the press is subject to penalties of libel and is required to: designate origin of publication; register before publication with local authorities; make public the names of the editor and director; observe regulations governing all newspapers; adhere to regulations governing publications intended for children and adolescents and publications whose contents are likely to cause pain and horror. Also classed as an offense is the seizure, destruction, or damaging of printed matter with the object of preventing its distribution or dissemination.

Although libel laws are found in the amended penal code of 1930, they are sufficiently tied to press freedoms to be mentioned here. In line with Italian social customs, defamation is defined as injury to an individual's reputation by communication with more than one person. It is punishable by a term of imprisonment from six months to three years and an additional fine of not less than 5,000 lire (approximately \$8) if it is accomplished through the press.

If the offense is committed against a political, administrative, or legal body, or its representatives, the penalties are increased. Truth is not a defense against libel in Italy, but if the offense rests with a specific charge it may, before a final verdict is reached, be referred to a jury of honor judgment when: 1) the injured party is a public servant and the charge may lead to his removal from official duties; 2) when criminal proceedings are still in progress or are intended against the injured party in respect to the charge made; 3) where the plaintiff formally requests the judge to establish the truth or falsity of the fact imputed. If the truth of the allegation is proved in the preceding instances, the author of the defamation is not punishable.

Protection under the Constitution is offered the foreign correspondent. Article 15 guarantees the "freedom of secrecy of correspondence and of all other forms of communications." Arnaldo Cortesi, long-time New York *Times* correspondent, reports, "As far as I know, no attempt has ever been made in post-war Italy to interfere with outgoing news . . . certainly no censorship of any sort has ever been applied." This statement reinforces the general impression that the Constitution of 1948 allows the press fairly free rein to operate as it chooses.

The Threat to a Free Press

However, there is greater concern among those interested in the maintenance of a free press over undue influence asserted by vested interest ownership and the monopoly afforded newspapers by the limited number of dailies which cover relatively small areas.

Journalist-politician Luigi Einaudi considers it dangerous that Italian newspapers no longer have family or personal interests guiding their policies. The picture does not change because business interests now support the present government; the politically independent newspapers still remain under their control.

According to Dr. Ignazio Weiss, professor of journalism associated with the University of Florence, it worsens the situation. He declares that "the independent press in Italy is financed by industrial and agrarian combines in the North and the Centre, and by banking institutions in the South." Furthermore, he charges, the *Confederazione Generale dell'Industria* owns three out of four financial papers with control over twenty dailies. The company also provides small provincial papers, free of charge, through its wire service, *Agenzia Giornali Associati*, with leading articles, political news, parliamentary reports, foreign correspondence, miscellaneous news items, and serials.

Dr. Weiss stresses that

The influence of this "Confindustria" reaches down to the smallest and remotest towns in the country. This obviously raises the question of the influence which this section of the Italian press, ruled as it is by conservative combines, and generally loyal to the Government, must have on the formation of public opinion in the country.

To add to the already precarious situation, actual newspaper owners may hide from public view. Although the Constitution requires newspapers to reveal sources of financial backing, the Parliament has failed to make it law.

Einaudi also feels there is danger in the so-called "new" press. He points out that those newspapers founded after World War II represent a specialized (financial, business, sports, etc.) or a political (party organ) press.

Avanti! (Socialist), *L'Unita* (Communist), *Popolo* (Christian Democrat), and others are good, but they are not enough. Only a daily press can form a reasoned public opinion with editors who have strong background of ideals of political and social freedom and at the same time are independent of parties.

He maintains that to be effective, newspapers must be free of financial dependence on industrial or banking interests, refuse to accept private subsidies from advertisers

or others and be free of parties in order to honestly report political happenings.

This type of press, Einaudi feels, will reach the "intermediate liberal opinion found in the middle class professional, both public and private, among independent agriculturalists, artisans, small and medium land proprietors . . . the backbone of Italian society, . . . the real general vote."

Einaudi's point of view is supported by Dr. Weiss's investigations of 1958-59. Dr. Weiss's research takes the matter one step further by demonstrating statistically the vast influence of this "specialized" daily press, especially in one-newspaper areas. The results were obtained despite the reluctance of daily papers to cooperate.

The Italian Press Picture

In the first place, the number of daily newspapers in Italy has steadily dropped in the last few years. In 1948, 114 dailies were reported. Nine years later the number was reduced to 104 in 38 cities, while in 1958, dailies numbered 92 in 37 cities. The loss consistent with world trends was expected because of mergers and rising costs. But for Italy, whose geography is a natural hindrance to circulation of national newspapers needed for contrast with regional offerings, this is a potentially dangerous situation. This is especially true since the independent press allows politics to reach into its newspaper columns.

Based on the 1958 study, the 92 newspapers were credited with a run of the press of 5,251,000 (15 per cent never read or sold). Actual circulation was 4,465,500 in contrast to a total adult population of 35,700,000.

The spread, according to provincial capitals—North, Central, South and the Islands (Sicily and Sardinia)—indicated only 37 cities were serviced by daily newspapers. Of the 55 cities not reached at all, 25 had less than 50,000 population, 28 were cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population and two were 100,000 or more in population.

One-newspaper monopolies existed in 13 cities of the North, two in the Central regions, and three cities in the South and the Islands. Only six northern cities and two island capitals had a competitive newspaper situation.

Further, for every 1,000 adults there were only 169 copies of daily newspapers available in the North; 190 in the Central area; 33 in the South; and 42 copies in the Islands. Only in Rome, Torino, Bologna, and Milan, the country's most important press centers, does the number of copies printed exceed the population.

A look at the Italian reading habits in 1958 indicated 40.1 per cent of the total adult population read the 72 morning papers available, while 5.3 per cent read the 20 afternoon papers. The country's most avid readers were in the 45 to 65 year age group, who, uniquely enough, were

at the same time the largest group of the non-reading adult public. Similarly, cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants led the reading list with 62.9 per cent of the total reading population. And, as expected, towns with less than 5,000 were the lowest with only 29.7 per cent of the adult reading population.

Italy's illiteracy rate reported at 13,000,000 per 36,000,000 adults in 1956 is steadily dropping, but is still high at less than half that figure announced in 1961. But the 45.4 per cent of the adult population who do read newspapers do so consistently. Statistics computed by Dr. Weiss in 1958 revealed that out of the 35,700,000 total, a large number read more than one newspaper.

Those Italians who can read but cannot afford to buy newspapers (about four and a half cents a copy) get them from friends who can or read those left on public reading tables for that purpose. In the larger cities they can be seen checking the day's events from newspapers posted on walls outside publishers' offices. In Sicily and Sardinia, where economic conditions are the worst in Italy, those who have an extra lire may use it to hire a newspaper.

What Does the Newspaper Offer the Public?

The Italian daily newspaper reading public, when it has a choice, may select from four general classifications. Throughout the nation there were, in 1958, 71 independent newspapers, 13 political publications, four economic-financial newspapers and four sports dailies. The latter two do not reach the South or the Islands.

Since the press, independent or otherwise, is aligned politically, any discussion of it must include an explanation of Italy's parties. Politically, Italy harbors eight active parties ranging from extreme right (neo-Fascists) to extreme left (Communists). Although ruled by the Christian Democratic Party, the Catholic nation consistently retains seats in the government for the only avowedly Fascist Party in Europe and the largest Communist Party outside of the Iron Curtain.

The independent press (72 newspapers in 1958) is the most powerful of the newspaper group and hence the most carefully cultivated by politicians. Nationally, the press in 1958 leaned most heavily to the center in support of the controlling Christian Democratic Party with 67 newspapers lending a circulation support of 3,760,000. The left was boosted by three independent newspapers—two in the Central area and one in the Islands—for a total of 98,000 circulation. The Socialists gained support from one independent newspaper in the Islands with 60,000 circulation.

The political press was represented in 1958 by 13 newspapers circulating throughout the country. Three were located in the North, six in the Central region, two in the South, and two in the Islands.

The Communist press established in 1924 was at its height in the early fifties with a claimed circulation of 530,000. It has since shrunk to two publications located in Rome and Milan.

Other daily papers in the specialized press cover specific areas such as sports, finances, agriculture, satire, family doings, music, horse breeding, etc. These, too, have political preferences and are owned in part by business interests.

Also, a word about the Vatican daily press should be included. Founded in 1861 by Marcantonio Pacelli, the grandfather of Pope Pius XII, the *Osservatore* publishes in 34 languages including Sanskrit and Latin. Fifteen reporters—only two priests—who have no worries about deadlines, staff the news desk. (The newspaper thinks nothing of publishing headlines three to four days late.) Its circulation of at least 200,000 is recognized by the Kremlin which subscribes to three copies received daily through the Russian Embassy in Rome. The printing plant houses rotary presses and some of the best mechanical equipment in Italy.

Fulfilling a special need are three foreign language dailies in Italy. The *Daily American*, an English language newspaper, was founded in Rome by American newspapermen in post-war Italy. It boasts a circulation of 28,920. The others are the *Primorski Dnevnik*, published in Trieste in the Slovenian language and the *Dolomiten*, a German language paper published at Bolzano.

Despite illiteracy, the press was still considered "highly influential" in the 1948 elections among the reading public. These Italians apparently look to newspapers for facts and each of the parties, aware of this, used the dailies to their fullest extent. Political factions created new papers especially for the campaign and saw to it that they were placed in the hands of the people. The Communists developed the unique idea of leaving newspapers in markets as wrappings for produce. Since Italian grocers ordinarily do not use paper bags, the entire edition was used and arrived at the home intact.

The Italian newspaper in contrast to the American "paper that goes home" is never delivered and seldom subscribed to. Distribution is handled directly by newsboys on the street or at news stands through either the newspapers' own distribution agency or a national organization. The distributor or wholesaler usually receives a 25 per cent discount, and, in turn, sells the papers to vendors who realize a 20 per cent discount. The latter is also applicable in localities where newsboys directly pick up newspapers at railroad stations or post offices. Vendors are unionized under the Italian Federation of Newspaper Sellers which sees to it that the number of newsboys and stands does not exceed public demand.

Newspaper Coverage and Format

The range is broad, extending from the traditional style of the nation's largest circulating newspaper, the *Corriere della Sera*, to the American-styled journalism offered by a few publications such as *Il Giorno* of Milan. The latter's presentation of comics, gossip, contests, photographs, and methods of handling news is a sharp contrast to the *Corriere's* serious rendition of the national and international scene as well as the strong emphasis on culture epitomized by "La Terza Pagina."

The pride of traditionally written daily newspapers is the third page, which is entirely devoted to the nation's institutions—all aspects of society; literary criticisms, travel notes, ethics or customs, art exhibits, films, and also short stories contributed by noted men in the journalistic and literary worlds.

On the other hand, *Nuova Stampa Sera* of Turin, the second largest newspaper, leans more towards large photographs and heavy sports news. A few newspapers like *Oggi* of Milan "plunge head on into sensationalism, like workers in the gaudiest days of Chicago journalism."

Editorials almost always appear on page one. But advertising is rarely placed there and is held to a minimum on the third page—at least in the larger newspapers. There is no exclusive section for ads and they may appear on other inside pages side by side or be relegated to the back pages. Advertising in Italy, for the most part, is a semi-monopoly handled by agents who work as executive representatives of both the advertiser and the publisher. Several large agencies and a few small ones control all the daily newspaper advertising in Italy. Moreover, newspapers refuse to reveal circulation figures.

Regardless of make-up, the finished Italian newspaper generally exhibits a quality of care and neatness. Formats vary considerably, but the usual paper contains eight to nine columns and is 16½ inches wide and 23 inches high. Larger newspapers, as a rule, own their own printing plants, but scarcity and cost of mechanical equipment force smaller operations to utilize joint plants. Although page restrictions have been lifted, cost still prohibits newspapers from running more than 12 pages—usually four, eight, or ten pages, depending on the size of the newspaper.

News Sources

Newsgathering for the most part on the local and national scene is conducted as it is in the United States. The larger newspapers maintain staffs spread around the world. The *Corriere della Sera*, for example, has foreign correspondents in London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow, Washington, and New York.

Newspapers unable to afford their own correspondents utilize the services of national and domestic agencies. How-

ever, Italian newspapers seldom credit the agency as the source. Provincial newspapers may indicate by footnotes, but, in general, they attempt to give the impression that they have correspondents scattered everywhere.

Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata (National Association Press Agency), a replacement for the Stefani Agency disbanded after World War II, was set up in Rome as a cooperative in 1945. It distributes to 3,500 subscribers including banks, businesses, government offices, and Italian Consulates abroad as well as newspapers. Run by an administrative council of 17 members, it operated in 1956 on a budget of more than a billion lire (\$2,000,000).

ANSA offers 25 to 40,000 words daily of domestic news and 12,000 words of foreign news on a 24-hour basis. The news distributed by teleprinter and radio flows in from 12 provincial offices, 300 correspondents throughout the nation, 10 foreign bureaus and eight permanent correspondents abroad. The agency also has agreements with Reuters and Agence France Presse as well as a reciprocal agreement with Tass.

On the domestic scene, the Agenzia Astra located in Trieste services 30 newspapers in Italy and Germany with local news, while the Agenzia Giornali Associati set up by the General Confederacy of Industries offers a wide variety of news free of charge to provincial newspapers. For the Roman papers, Agenzia Romano Informazioni puts out 2,000 words daily—90 per cent domestic and 10 per cent foreign.

The one specialized agency in Italy, the Agenzia Fides, founded in 1926, presents an eight-page weekly news bulletin to 1,000 Catholic newspapers in 51 countries. Covering only the Catholic world, it is mainly supported by the Superior Council of Pontifical Work for the Propagation of the Faith. The central office in Rome is staffed with seven writers and has correspondents in Vatican missions abroad.

Italy has six correspondents in New York City from the Agenzia Nazionale and other newspapers and magazines. All the world agencies—AP, UPI, AFP, Reuters, and Tass—maintain offices in Rome and other Italian cities.

Subsidy

Circulation and advertising income are unquestionably tied to a national economic state. For Italian daily newspapers faced with distribution problems, a decreasing but still high illiteracy rate and depressed areas, particularly in the South and the Islands, it means a small circulation income. Newspaper advertising, still not popular with business men who, in general, cling to the idea that quality and reputation produce sufficient sales, also represents meager financial support. The newspapers' refusal to release accurate circulation figures has not helped matters.

Larger newspapers aided by vested interests are little concerned, but the smaller newspaperman finds it impossible to exist. Thus, the government decided rather than allow larger enterprises to squeeze out the smaller operations, the press would be offered subsidies. The Italian government believes subsidies are the only answer to maintaining the press in the face of ever-increasing production and distribution costs.

In 1949 the Parliament ordered a reduction in freight rates for the transport of newsprint. Benefits established gave newspapers special rates for long distance calls and for teletype service over telegraphic wires as well as occasional tax reductions. Journalists themselves were allowed a 70 per cent reduction on railroad fares.

The most important benefit—the lowered cost of newsprint—allows daily newspapers a reduction of 37 lire (five cents) per kilogram (two pounds) for the first 250 quintali (two and a half tons) of newsprint purchased monthly. For quantities in excess of this, the cost drops to a fraction of a cent per kilogram. With the price of newsprint fluctuating around 100 lire (16 cents) a kilogram, the cost to newspapers is two-thirds the retail price. Smaller newspapers are able to stay in business because of this reduction.

The Competition

Despite government aid, the number of Italian daily newspapers is steadily declining. Chief competitor is the illustrated newsweekly patterned after such American publications as *Life* and *Time*.

In 1959, Dr. Weiss reported there were 74 important weeklies (120 total) with a circulation of more than 16,500,000 copies in contrast to 90 daily newspapers with an estimated circulation of 5,000,000.

Why do the weeklies increase as the dailies decline? The main reason is the lively, attractive presentation. Italians, too long restricted to a severe diet of dictated party-line news, are tired of the dull, traditional make-up and news writing which characterizes all but a few Italian newspapers. The weeklies do have party affiliations, but they are not party organs. Ownership is in the hands of publishing houses as opposed to newspapers controlled by vested interests. Hence, articles for the most part are free of political implications.

Dr. Weiss feels newsmagazines are successful because they reflect the "various attitudes among the different classes . . . especially among the middle—and the lower middle—class." Daily newspapers do not; they are bound by tradition. Moreover, he concludes, unless daily newspapers meet the weeklies head on by modernizing, they "may become obsolete and may no longer respond to the aspirations, desires, and demands of the public at large."

Off With the Blinders

By D. H. Wells

Our earth, the fifth largest planet in our solar system, is so big, it is possibly beyond the understanding of any one man.

Herbert Brucker, formerly professor of journalism at Columbia University and presently editor of the *Hartford Courant*, says that we live in two worlds: one, the actual world of six continents and two billion people, and the other, one which consists of pictures of the world which we carry about in our heads.

Unfortunately, the second of these two worlds varies among people from land to land.

If restricted to only one answer as to why we have this variance, the answer would have to be education—or the lack of it! Within our actual world only one out of four of the billion adults can read more than a few words or characters in his own tongue. Many do not have services of newspapers, radio, films, books or television in sufficient quantity to learn about neighbors in the actual world. Those who do have these services are not always truthfully informed and frequently not adequately informed to make proper evaluation and decisions. And lastly, there are those countries where services for knowledge exist or could exist, but where governments interfere, because they do not believe that knowledge by the people and truth are in the best interest of government. These people learn only what they are allowed to learn, and that, of course, is the saddest story of all. While there is hope for those without knowledge, there is presently none for those who could have it, but are so deprived.

On the positive side, however, the world has come a long way in so far as people communicating with people are concerned. The telephone and telegraph, started about a century ago, have done much toward this end. Radio and trans-oceanic cable have done even more. Piston airplanes have for quite some years been able to fly motion picture films over the oceans in a day; and jets have now narrowed that day into hours. What the future in communications might unfold for peaceful, space-age rockets can only be guessed, but bouncing of radio and television signals off a satellite can now whittle even minutes into seconds.

William R. McAndrew, executive vice-president for NBC News, has said, "A shot fired around the world at Concord

Commander D. H. Wells, USNR, is executive officer of the Navy ROTC at the University of Utah, but "more interested in the problems connected with mass communications than my primary occupation might imply."

Bridge in the nineteen sixties might be seen and heard around the world as fast as the speed of sound and light."

For some—yes, for many—this is quite true. But for others, say the Borneo bushman, the Laotian paddy farmer, the Filipino Igorot, the African miner, the American missionary in South America, the nomad shepherd of Saudi Arabia, the Communist Chinese and countless others of Oceania, the next shot at Concord Bridge would probably not be seen or heard unless it detonated overhead.

The thesis of this paper is that peace on this earth will not stand short of a harmonious, free, and informed international society. Assurance for this position has been gained from the fact that two eminent men of our time, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, met in August, 1951, "somewhere at sea," and proclaimed the "Atlantic Charter" which was the seed from which the United Nations grew. Regardless of the tenuousness of the position of this body today, they recognized early the importance to world order of a free flow of information across all frontiers. One of the very first declarations made by the General Assembly was that "Freedom of information is a fundamental human right, and the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated." This proclamation was followed by the Assembly's "Declaration of Human Rights," the first part of an international bill of rights, proclaimed at Paris on December 10, 1948, that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers."

These declarations were fine. Like motherhood, nearly everyone was for them, but the actual delivery of these words was something else again. It would require not only specialized tools, but patience, skill, knowledge, antiseptics, and even a little ether in biased areas.

Recognizing this situation, the General Assembly created the Economic and Social Council (ESC) to concern itself with the general problem of removing the underlying causes of war—hunger, disease, poverty, social injustice and ignorance. This council was also made the coordinating body for the specialized agencies and commissions created to separately pursue the economic and social problems of the world. The agencies most concerned with the free flow of information are: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), International Labor Organization (ILO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), and the Universal Postal Union (UPU).

UNESCO's particular interest has been to improve the

facilities of the press, radio, television and film, to assist in developing national news agencies where possible and to increase the production of educational and documentary films.

ILO, besides being interested in the economic security of journalists, has been responsible for establishing training centers in printing and other technical fields.

The ITU has organized telecommunications departments to construct, organize, operate and maintain telegraph, telephone and radio communication systems, in addition to training people for all these branches throughout the world.

The UPU has united member states into a single postal territory and is attempting to fix international rates for mailing educational materials including news stories and films.

These agencies have urgently and ceaselessly worked separately and together to lower the barriers to a free flow of the news. With the United Nations, which has a training school for newsmen in both the operation of the UN and in international affairs, they have faced not only the obstacles of literacy and governmental restrictions, but also the problems of language, religion, and differing social customs and traditions.

In some countries, notably in South Asia and Africa, there are many dialects which, of course, complicate immeasurably the sending and receiving of information over the wires. Llewellyn White and Robert Leigh in their book, *Peoples Speaking to Peoples*, cautioned that some words and pictures, quite harmless in the country of origin, give offense elsewhere, because of different religious and social practices. "To make love," for example, does not mean "to pay court" to a Frenchman; and it does not convey any meaning to a Melanesian. Movie embraces embarrass a Chinese, who does not kiss in public, and a newsreel shot of an Argentine beef barbecue would empty a theatre of Hindus.

Before the war, when the problems mentioned above were compounded by the fact that four-fifths of the earth's surface did not have access to direct, twenty-four hour telecommunication service, who can say what part of this lack was responsible for what followed? Except for a score of the world's principal cities, existing cable, radio-telegraph and radio-telephone networks could not carry a volume of information material sufficient to give a balanced and accurate picture of any people in addition to the commercial traffic which was of primary concern. And, when facilities were available, the tolls charged on some routes had the effect of discouraging adequate volume. Although it is hard for us to imagine today, nine-tenths of the people then were also denied adequate air mail and air express facilities.

Today, for those who will see, the potential is brighter. The UN and the specialized agencies have made contributions to lowering the barriers around the world. Studies in world communications by UNESCO have spurred certain national efforts to reduce barriers on their frontiers. Member states of UNESCO have taken steps to facilitate the movement of persons engaged in educational, scientific, and cultural activities. Substantial concessions have been made in reducing toll rates in favor of the transmission of news into and out of the countries not on the main line of communications. Coupon schemes have been arranged to remove some of the currency conversion obstacles on purchase of materials and travel of news men abroad. Limited aid for technical development of telecommunications has been provided to countries who asked for it; and conferences and seminars have been established to improve professional competency of those working in the mass media fields. In 1960, a regional training course was held in the Sudan to study radio and television broadcasting techniques; and there are now two centers for the training of journalism teachers in existence, one at Strasbourg University and the other in Quito, Ecuador.

There have been other developments too, particularly where a specialized agency not normally concerned with cultural and social problems, would come to the aid of an agency that was concerned. In short, the problems confronted, more often than not crossed the lines of all the specialized agencies; and then, frequently passed well inside the body of the UN before solutions or agreements could be reached.

The job, however, is far from complete, and the hour is urgent! For millions of people, freedom of information as guaranteed by the "Declaration of Human Rights" is far from reality. Hardly any of the press in Africa or the Middle East is free, in the sense that it is free in the United States, Japan, the Philippines, Netherlands or United Kingdom. Large portions of Asia, Europe and Latin America tell the same story, with Communist China, the Soviet Union and Castro's Cuba heading the list of obstructionists, because of an ideology foreign to the concept of a harmonious international society.

But for us who are fortunate to be born in a free country with a free press, how well are we prepared to form judgments to support or check our governments in their grave and daily decision making? The press in the United States taken as a whole is said to average only 4 per cent foreign news coverage. A random check without ruler, however, of several of the substantial papers of this country does not prove this figure to be too meaningful. The foreign news carried in the papers examined was significant in each case. Not much background, of course, in many of them,

but this is understandable if any understanding at all is to be given to the problems of a managing editor. He can't be all things to all people, and the average newspaper is not constructed in depth like the *New York Times*, and is most unlike the (Manchester) *Guardian*, also checked, which had a higher concentration of foreign news, including background, than anything else.

The important thing, however,—the immediate thing—is how well informed are the people today, in so far as this knowledge may be able to keep the world from war? How many people have been told in a way they can understand that the United States positively and truly does not want war? How many people realize that the British for 600 years have forgotten the odds every time the spinal nerve of their instinct for survival has been touched? Does the average Russian know that while DeGaulle is a somewhat troublesome ally at times to us, he is also invaluable to us and that we would not be inclined to let him go for any reason? Does the Englishman and American recognize that when Adenauer departs the political scene in West Germany a larger hole will be left there—and perhaps a dangerously bigger one—than when Macmillan or Kennedy step down from their respective positions? Do many people know that despite a history in which oppressive systems and leaders constantly recur, the Italian spirit craves respect for the individual's freedom? Do we Americans finally understand that the average Russian is not an uneducated barbarian, but rather a person dedicated to strengthening the purpose of his government? And do we recognize also that Khrushchev is possibly the best man for the job as far as the United States is concerned, even though real peace with this man is impossible? Do people—especially white people—know that for the first time in history, the non-whites of Afro-Asia are conscious of the strength of their combined wills? And as to Japan, would we better understand their street demonstrations if we remembered that the portion of their defeat that they accepted unequivocally was the concept that their country could become a "Switzerland of Asia?" Have any of us stopped to figure the consequences of about 1975 when Communist China will have a billion people with a voracious maw capable of swallowing nearly all the world can produce. The alternatives of famine or war have been faced before by other people.

It is apparent, I think, that sufficient information is lacking in even the free countries. William Lederer has

put much of the blame on the journalists, pointing up in his book, *A Nation of Sheep*, several critical examples of poor reporting in Southeast Asia. The real theme of his book, however, is that the American citizen, while a little uneasy about his world, is the culprit. This American, or sheep according to Lederer, is responsible for his own lack of information, because he prefers to be entertained by a pabulum of puzzles, comics and advice to the love-lorn, rather than to insist that editors provide him with the hard facts of his world.

Apathy, therefore, as well as ignorance is a problem of our time. Whether or not another system of reporting the events of the world could mitigate the situation in these areas is open to question. UNESCO conceived an embryo of a plan in 1953 that a super world telegraphic news agency, staffed and directed by journalists from every member of the UN, should be superimposed on the existing structure of news gathering organizations. Its shape would be like that of our own Associated Press, with natural agencies of the world its members and shareholders. But it was an embryo in 1953, and, as far as is known, growth has been insignificant.

Perhaps, as we move closer to a working international society, a world newspaper committed to international viewpoints, broader interpretations, greater depth, more accuracy, less speed, will provide some of the answers if distribution can be wide enough and in enough languages for the purpose.

But I can hear the yells already: what is wrong with the agencies we already have collecting world news? Who is going to pay for it? People won't buy an international slant. Do you know how many languages and dialects there are? You might as well give it to the man on Mars as to the man in the bush. Your international society can't even talk together, let alone write together. Better put that one out of its misery.

And that I will, but with the observation: there isn't any room in the sand for more heads.

In conclusion, let me confess knowledge and disappointment that what has been presented here is fragmentary at best: a little history and a small story of a large problem that is still unresolved.

But like the Japanese painter who portrayed only part of his subject on canvas, leaving his viewers to complete what he had started, the UN and its agencies have set down only part of their idea on their canvas. What is left undone is for people over the world to create—with a touch, I hope, that will produce a facsimile, everywhere, that more clearly represents our world as it really exists.

Nieman Fellows 1962-3

(Continued from page 2)

nomics. McElheny will hold the Arthur D. Little Fellowship for science reporting.

Bernard D. Nossiter, 36, national affairs reporter, Washington *Post*. Graduate of Dartmouth, with a master's degree from Harvard, Nossiter worked on newspapers in Worcester and New York for seven years before joining the *Post* staff in 1955. He covers national economics and labor news in the capital. He plans to study history and philosophy.

Patrick J. Owens, 31, editorial page editor, Pine Bluff *Commercial*, in Arkansas. For seven years after graduating from Flathead County High School, Mont., Owens knocked about the country as logger, oiler, radio announcer. In 1954 he began reporting on his home town paper in Kalispell, Mont., then worked four years on the *Columbia Basin News* and two years on the *Arkansas Gazette*. He took over the editorial page of the Pine Bluff *Commercial* in January, 1961. In May he received a Hillman Foundation award for "a willingness to grapple with controversial and significant issues." He plans to study history and government.

Shelby T. Scates, 31, Associated Press reporter, Oklahoma City. Graduate of the University of Washington, he worked for International News Service in Dallas and United Press International in Baton Rouge before joining the AP bureau in Oklahoma City three years ago. He earned money for college as a merchant seaman. Experience in the Far East led him to specialize in Far Eastern studies at Washington, later in part time studies at the University of Oklahoma. He plans to continue

these studies at Harvard, to prepare himself for reporting on the Far East.

Associate Nieman Fellows

Paul Kidd, 29, feature writer, Hamilton (Ont.) *Spectator*. Native of England, he attended Constantine College, Middleborough, and had his first newspaper experience on the *Evening Chronicle* of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He went to Canada in 1956 and has been six years on the staff of the *Spectator*. He plans to study Latin America, where he has made several reporting trips.

He is the second holder of the Canadian Fellowship sponsored by the Reader's Digest Association of Canada.

Allister Sparks, political reporter, *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg. He is sponsored by the South African Leader Exchange program and has a grant from the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wisconsin.

Three Asians, sponsored by the Asia Foundation: Kim Yong-koo, 33, director, Press Center of Korea, former editor of the *Korea Times*. He will study international affairs.

Pun Chiu-Yin, 36, city editor, *Sing Tao Evening News*, Hong Kong. After studying economics at Canton University, he joined the staff of *Sing Tao* in 1946 as reporter, has been city editor since 1950. He will study history and philosophy.

Nguyen Thai, director general, Vietnam Press Bureau. He has studied in America before and has an M.A. from Cornell. He plans to study the foreign relations of Vietnam.