

# **NiemanReports**

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# NiemanReports

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## Why Do They Leave?

### The Personnel Problem on Newspapers

by Norman E. Isaacs

This discussion is going to be centered on the guts of modern journalism—and which is at the same time one of our greatest current problems: our newsroom personnel.

For it is the people we hire—their ability, their drive and their character—who make the kind of newspapers America gets.

It is one subject in which all newspapers—both large and small—have a common stake.

The issue can be stated in simple terms. The larger papers of the country—and this includes the so-called middle-sized dailies—for the most part have accepted the principle of *quality personnel*. But the smaller newspapers have taken the point of view that the news departments are inferior to mechanical and advertising departments—and, as a result, today they are concerned desperately with just getting “help”—any kind of “help.”

Those who are holding to this benighted philosophy are helping to drive away from journalism the very group they need most urgently—the young and talented graduates of our colleges.

The men and women who apply to the Louisville papers express a frank desire to work for newspapers in which they can take some personal pride. Many and many a letter stipulates that it isn't a matter of money alone.

There are countless newspaper workers in this country seeking tirelessly to change jobs, to switch from the papers

they are on to newspapers that they think are trying to do the job of covering their communities honestly and fairly.

Preparing for this discussion, I naturally did some research. I was not quite prepared for the news that the smaller city dailies today are in an almost constant state of crisis—an acute shortage of newsroom personnel.

Where, I asked, are all the young people who are interested in journalism—those who have been graduated from the journalism schools, and those from liberal arts colleges who are also interested in journalism?

The answer is that low pay and low quality newspapers are driving them into other fields.

Some, of course, are lucky enough to land on large city newspapers.

But many more are going into industrial journalism—the trade papers; others into public relations firms; and some into advertising and radio and television.

Involved in this trend you have two basic factors: Wages and pride.

Which comes first?

No one seems to know with any scientific accuracy, but there are a few indications that perhaps pride of status and pride in the type of newspaper take precedence over money.

Let us for the moment concentrate on just one such piece of recent research—that done by the School of Journalism of the University of Texas and reported in *Journalism Quarterly*.

The University excluded all dailies in cities of more than 50,000 population. They selected 52 papers. Thirteen of them were classified as being among the “better” Texas dailies.

Of the 52 publishers, 19 made no reply or acknowledgment. Six returned the questionnaire saying they did not have the time. The other 27 publishers filed complete returns.

The responses revealed that any degree of employment stability existed only in the mechanical departments. Where the average for linotype operators on these 27 papers was running 14½ years of tenure, the averages on the news side were astonishingly low.

Wire editors were listed at an average of 2 years, city editors at a year and nine months, reporters at a year and one month.

And when I looked at the salary figures, I could see why.

The average weekly salary paid the editors was \$94.58. But the advertising manager was paid an average of \$100 and the advertising salesman \$91. The composing room foreman, however, was getting an average of \$126.05 and linotype operators were getting an average of \$87.32.

At the same time, the average for news editors was \$81.66, for reporters \$77, and for sports editors \$76.50.

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# “Make it Indispensable”

## The San Diego Union Answers the Question: How to Promote a Newspaper.

by Richard F. Pourade

I have never met two editors who agreed exactly on how news should be played, so I think it would be rather presumptuous of me to tell you how to run your newspapers and how to promote them to the best advantage. I have been asked to tell you what the San Diego *Union* has done.

There has been some head-shaking about us.

It's great, they'll agree, but as that old congressman used to always get up and ask, "where is the money coming from?"

Well, we think we are on the right path. We are convinced that we are on the right path in countering the growth and influence of news magazines, radio and TV.

There is no question but what our newspapers are changing. Some of them have been trying to change themselves into copies of the news magazines by the device of interpretive writing. The circulation of the national news magazines is minute compared to the circulation of newspapers, and it is baffling why newspapers feel straight news is not enough and they have to emulate the interpretive writing of the limited news magazines.

Others seem bent on chasing after TV and priming the columns of the paper with entertainment features in a misguided effort to compete for the readers' time on entertainment.

The publishers of the San Diego *Union* decided the San Diego *Union* would be the best possible newspaper. In this, the San Diego *Union* has gone through a tremendous change in the last five years. It has changed from a home town newspaper with a low content and relatively low income to one of the highest possible content and an income based accordingly to support such a newspaper. That was the basic formula on which the San Diego *Union* was published and edited.

The development and promotion of a good newspaper became our problem. The publishers did not believe you could fool anybody by promotion and trying to convince them that you had a product that was not up to what you were boasting about. It was decided that stunts, contests, guessing games, give-aways, circulation gimmicks, and unsupported claims were not the means by which you could

convince your readers that a newspaper was necessary to their existence and something that they should read every day. Contests and stunts have only transitory value, if any, and certainly do not make a newspaper in the long run indispensable to a reader.

This word, "indispensable," became the guiding word by which the publishers set about rebuilding the San Diego *Union* and the position of the San Diego *Union*. To us, promotion meant service—doing a good job, filling a definite need and selling it on its value.

We decided it was a mistake to write with a mass audience in mind on most news. You must write for the individual who is most interested in that subject or item if you want to inform him.

By writing for the mass audience and with the mass audience in mind, you are leveling off your newspaper to the lowest possible denominator. Your reader interest will be at the lowest possible level.

We took a look at our situation in San Diego. Here we were in the most southwesterly corner of the United States, at the end of a railroad line, on a seaport that had no sea commerce, a town dominated largely by military and aviation, in a county standing in the shadow of Los Angeles to the north, and mountains and desert to the east, and a foreign country to the south. We were third or fourth city in the state, 2500 miles from the capital of the country and with no surrounding population on which we could draw for extensive circulation or market development.

We could very well be a home town paper in a small corner of the United States. You could be happy—but you would probably be mighty lonely. Our problem was how to promote the San Diego *Union* into a paper of importance despite all these obstacles. Our circulation would have to be limited because we had no surrounding development. Our circulation market had to be limited to our own county.

We were a newspaper that wanted to be something on 70,000 circulation. This wasn't as hard a thing to solve as it seemed. We took a look at what we had. First, we had a great military center. Second, we were next to a foreign country. Third, we had a natural port but no trade. We had a rather cosmopolitan population with a large segment of people who had traveled all over the world and had interests all over the world, wealthy summer and winter

Mr. Pourade is editor of the San Diego *Union*. This was a talk to the California Newspaper Editors Conference at Stanford University, July 24.

visitors from all sections of the country, military men who had been all over the world and either visited or retired here, and a large wealthy retired civilian population. Lastly, we had an owner and publishers who were not content merely to see their newspaper produce income. The owner wanted it to be the best possible newspaper that could be produced. That was probably the most important thing of all and provided the means by which the other problems could be tackled.

In looking over all of these, we had to think of ways in which the San Diego *Union* could be a distinguished newspaper. We had to pick fields in which the San Diego *Union* could do a better job than anybody else. We had to speak for interests and causes in which others could not match us. We had to stand for something.

We took our assets one by one. The first, naturally, was military. San Diego is a large military town. Why should not the San Diego *Union* be one of the strongest voices in the nation in the interests of the military? That would seem easy. Just run more news of the military. But that was not enough. We had to speak for them when they needed a voice and also, we had to be critical when they needed criticism. But we had to know what we were talking about.

Military men were brought into the organization and then we set about finding the best reporter we could find to cover military activities. We didn't want a military analyst to tell the admirals how to run the Navy. We wanted a reporter intelligent enough to put his finger on the real issues in the military world. We picked a man for this job who had been an AP reporter, who had served around the world. He had been, for a time, chief of the Moscow Bureau of the AP, had served in European capitals and covered the Navy during World War II in the Pacific. We made military coverage his sole responsibility and we made it a point to see that wherever big military things were happening, he was there. He has been in Europe for us with the fleet, all over the Pacific and we sent him to Korea during the Korean war, both with the Marines and the Navy. He is now on his second tour of that area—from Japan to Korea, to Formosa, to Quemoy, to Hongkong and Saigon. It costs money—sure, it costs money. We didn't ask for anybody to pay any of this. We paid it ourselves. You can't lay the value of this down in any subscribers or directly in increased revenue, but wherever admirals gather, they know the San Diego *Union* and they know our reporter, Rembert James. We were after impact on the reader, not circulation—circulation would follow.

We also have taken the leadership in issues which directly affect Navy personnel. No one spoke more authoritatively than the San Diego *Union* on fringe benefits for servicemen, for increased pay and for the Navy's carrier forces. Articles which we have written on these issues have been

used by the Navy Department as authoritative summaries of the Navy's position.

In addition, our Washington Bureau checks the Pentagon every day and our correspondent, Frank Macomber, has intimate contacts with every source in the Pentagon. We are 2500 miles from Washington, but we are a voice in Washington. We have 73,000 circulation but we speak for and in the interests, we believe, of hundreds of thousands.

As I mentioned in our assets, we have a port. But as a port of commerce and a source of contact with all ports of the world, it meant little. We studied this situation for some time.

Then we hired a young man who had been in the export and import business. He had lived with the harbor. We sent him to the great ports of the United States—from Seattle to San Francisco, from San Pedro to Houston, Newport, Baltimore and New York. He weighed the physical points of these ports against what San Diego had. We found the things that San Diego had in common with these other ports. Then we found the things they had that San Diego didn't have. We ran a series of articles outlining these points of similarity and points of difference and we told how these cities and ports had made themselves real centers of trade. We decided on the things that San Diego lacked and what could be done. We set about doing it.

These illustrations that you see here on the platform are examples of this campaign. San Diego began to rebuild its foreign trade. Ships with flags from all over the world began once again calling on the port of San Diego. The people of San Diego voted nearly 10 million dollars to build new shipping facilities. San Diego is well on the way to becoming once again a real port of call in the trade routes of the world. Wherever these ships go, they know the San Diego *Union*.

We believe this made San Diego and the San Diego *Union* important in another field—international commerce.

We had another point we believed could be turned into an asset instead of a liability. Instead of looking at San Diego as a town in the southwest corner of the United States, next to a very sparsely settled section of a foreign country, we wanted to look on San Diego as a gateway—not only a gateway to sea commerce, but in relationships with Mexico. We looked over the map and we looked over the other border cities—El Paso and other cities along the American-Mexican border, even New Orleans, and decided we could do, if we wanted to, an even better job in the field of Mexico and Latin America than could the other newspapers in the area. The San Diego *Union*, we decided, could become important not only in San Diego city, but in a wide region over the southwest and deep into Mexico. This again was a job we thought we could do better than anyone.

We set about this the same as we did the others. First, we



looked for a man who had the necessary background—one who was perfect in Spanish, knew the history of Latin America, who had a newspaper background, and who had sufficient education where he would be more interested in the basic problems of Mexico and Latin America than in the usual police and violence news. We found such a man and we gave him a very fancy title—the San Diego *Union's* Inter-American Affairs Editor. This was because Mexicans are impressed by titles. He had to be somebody important to talk to important people in Mexico. That is the way things work down there.

We sent him on some tours into Mexico, following up the work done by a former editor, whom all of you knew, Mr. Safley. After considerable study, we launched a Latin American section. We put stringer correspondents in the towns of Baja California—and if you think it isn't a job getting Americanized objective news out of Mexican correspondents, you just try it sometime.

The job was too much for one man. One man had to be a contact man and carry on the necessary promotion work and another one had to do the grubstake work of putting the news together every day. We built an excellent coverage in Baja California and then we spread to Mexico City. Putting in a special wire of our own to Mexico City was almost out of the question, but this problem was easily solved. We merely had UP skeletonize the news all over Mexico as published in Mexico City and telegraph it to us over the Mexico telegraph service to a Tijuana address where we picked it up daily. Surprisingly, a complete daily report on Mexico costs us about \$10.00 a week. For all intensive purposes, it is as fast and complete as any wire we would want.

Next, we prevailed on UP to bring skeletonized versions of their "Chester" report to San Diego. The Chester report is the radio transmitted news that is gathered over Latin America, put together in New York, and radioed back to UP clients in Latin America, Central America and South America. We get a 1200 word digest of that daily—the cream of the news from all Latin America.

The combination of these three things—Baja California news, Mexico news, and a special Latin America report—gives us the best such coverage in the country.

We believe we have established leadership in a field peculiar to us and in which we could do better, we thought, than anyone else. Strangely, this page has proved very popular in San Diego and is very heavily read. All this time, we were developing the paper to fill our concept of what general news reporting should be in a town of our kind. We took into consideration, as I said earlier, the kind of a cosmopolitan area it had become.

We had a very large population in San Diego that would not and should not be satisfied with a paper designed entirely for home town consumption. We looked at the people who live in La Jolla, who live in Coronado, at the admirals

and generals, and wealthy retired people and asked ourselves, "Why should these people have to read a paper from another city to keep fully informed on developments about which they, as alert, educated and intelligent citizens, wanted to know?"

These people had diverse interests. We didn't think they wanted to be entertained. We thought they wanted to be informed—as well informed as if they lived in New York. That was the sight we set in deciding a great deal of our paper. We didn't think they should be satisfied, for example, with an art column written about San Diego artists. They would read that—yes—but the people really interested in art, and we have two fine galleries in the area—are interested in the art world as a whole—art in New York and art in Europe. We got the best art column that we could get.

We hired an art writer for San Diego, too.

We believed that in music, they weren't only interested in what transpired in San Diego. We thought they wanted to know what was doing in the music world all over the country and in Europe, too. We added that.

These are examples of the way in which we filled out the newspaper in the artistic and cultural fields. These are not feature stories or entertainment articles. Each one had to meet a rigid standard of news. Every line had to have real import and be of real value to one's knowledge of what was happening in that particular field.

We looked at our business community. We believed the concept that business news was something for the housewife was a false premise on which to base coverage of business news. The housewife will learn to read it, if you carry it properly, but to write your business news with the interests of the housewife foremost in your mind, will make your report valueless to the ones you serve.

We put in a business section that ranks 7th in the United States in the amount of news space, and we did this because again, we had the kind of people who were interested in business. We found more people playing the stock market than betting on horses. We found that dividends from stock ownership and interest from bonds held by people in San Diego was one of our major sources of revenue.

We figured that the 1954 payments in San Diego on dividends amounted to 100 million dollars. This return ranked with agriculture, tourists and tuna as major sources of revenue. Why should we write business news for the housewife? We had a 100 million dollar market interested in real business news. We wrote business news for the men in business—stock news for those who dealt in stock, grain reports for those in grain buying, and carried complete tables on all stock listings.

Our financial editor attends all business and financial meetings of importance in California and the United States. His column has been reproduced by banking groups. Did it pay off?

Business has come our way and no visiting financier has to read any other journal.

These things are all specialized departments—things that we did to distinguish ourselves in individual fields in which we could do as good, or better, a job than anyone else, despite our location.

We conducted many investigations—smuggling of narcotics across the border, of a wetback underground railway which Communists used to cross the border and infiltrate the United States, of Red submarines off Latin America, and the smuggling of guns to Communist bands. We were the first to expose the Red regime of Guatemala, long before the United States State Department became interested. We saw what was coming and sent a man there who actually met with the revolutionaries working under cover.

We even chased a phantom of Beria through Spain—but I guess the Russians beat us to him. We have a good story, though. From all we could find out in Spain, Beria may have attempted to set up an escape route but failed. I still have a fine bottle of brandy sent to me by the Chief of Spanish Secret Police. I never knew exactly why. Maybe he thought we had better drink that than the American brand we must have been using.

Many of our women's pages, we believe, have become poor imitations of the poorer women's magazines. They are full of advice and little else. Do women sit around all day reading about how to become beautiful?

I wonder how many times each piece of advice on the women's pages has been written and rewritten and rewritten. There couldn't be that much knowledge about anything—let alone how to be beautiful.

Again, all of this seems to be a panic effort to compete with the charm of TV. We largely stripped those out of the *Union*. We started a promotion campaign among women. It is puzzling to me to see how newspapers neglect the great field of organized women. All women belong to something. This is the greatest news field awaiting us today.

If you are looking for promotion, here it is. Make women important. Make them feel that what they are doing is important. They like to be important. This is more valuable to them than to men. Again, that is fundamental. Why feed them a diet of pap when you can make them feel important?

We helped promote the organized interests of organized women. They are getting so they depend on us.

It didn't stop there. If we had the kind of newspaper and felt our readers were the kind of people we believed they were, we also knew they wanted to know what was going on in the world and would have as great an interest in what happened elsewhere as in San Diego, perhaps more so.

We built up a telegraph desk that we believe is the best today on the Pacific coast. We carry daily 25 columns of telegraph news. No one can say today that they have to read

another newspaper to find out what is going on in the world.

We had another theory. We believed that the San Diego *Union* should edit its own newspaper, that it should not be edited by, say, the AP, UP, or INS. We should develop responsible editors who could use their own judgment on the play of a story and the emphasis of a story. We think our news editors are as good as those who sit at AP desks in New York or Washington.

We decided to edit our own newspaper. We took all the wire services, set up a good telegraph desk and began putting together all our own telegraph reports. We wanted every point of every major story covered. We wanted the emphasis placed where we thought it should be placed.

We have had Congressmen and Senators visit the city, read the newspaper and remark, "Thank God, there is one newspaper on the Pacific Coast that you can read and find out what is going on." That statement, more or less, sums up what we have tried to do in a newspaper. You can call it promotion and it certainly is.

What was the effect of all this on the community? San Diego readers, through their own newspaper and through their own community, were drawn directly into the news and the news to them became more alive, more stimulating and more rewarding. It made their newspaper a personal product which served their needs and they knew the people who were doing it for them and they trusted them.

Your advertisers saw their money going back into a continually improving product.

All this was developed on the concept that a newspaper is a NEWSpaper and not an entertainment paper or a propaganda organ. We believed that the newspaper they received should be a daily newspaper with a complete report of what happened that day all over the world, with an additional report on Sunday of what had happened in all other fields of human endeavor.

In this kind of newspaper, there was little room for contests, puzzles, or giving away money. We had only one thing to give and that was the best possible service to our readers. This service also meant we had to do considerable editing of the wire services, as we were assuring our readers we were giving them a calm, fair, unbiased picture of the facts of the day. We did not go along with the trend of some newspapers' emotional writing that you had to dazzle and excite the reader.

We thought you had to tell him what was going on in the fields in which he was interested and he will read the paper. If he feels these facts are plain, are true, and complete, he will trust your newspaper.

Of course, we engaged in some of the customary promotional activities, most of which we inherited. We have the Soap Box Derby, we sponsored a Science Fair contest, we had a Hole-in-One Golf Tournament, and a small boat regatta—things familiar in newspaper operation. It is not

wise to do too much of this, especially in towns of one newspaper operation. You can talk too much.

However, we have made it a policy to look upon ourselves as a partner in all things that should be done in San Diego. Our attitude is: We are here to help you, how can we help put that over. In this capacity, we serve on many boards, committees and commissions. We take no part in official governmental bodies whatsoever, only in ones of civic and cultural nature. This again is in line with our idea of service.

We believe this word is the key to the role of the newspaper today—indispensability.

Newspapers living in the shadow of larger operation, look over the field. You can give them local news—yes—but is that all, is that enough? What are your commercial interests, your industrial interests, your agricultural interests, the interests peculiar to your own territory. What can you do

for those interests that nobody else can do—not just in supplying community news, but news from elsewhere and important to these particular interests. Why make them turn to other mediums?

By finding the fields in which we could do the most good and exert the most influence, we have made ourselves, we think, important to our area and to the country. By finding out the needs of the community and serving them, we are necessary to the successful living in San Diego. These are promotions in the right way. If you can make it so your town and the people in the town cannot get along without your newspaper, you have it made. They can get along without some entertainment, but you have to make it indispensable to their life and to their knowledge and that is your field.

## The Full Dimensions of the News

by Ernest H. Linford

Twenty years ago I was a reporter on a struggling little newspaper in Cheyenne, the *Wyoming Eagle*. It is now grown up and a widely respected institution but in those days it was alluded to as a "throw-away sheet." Subscribers paid for the weekly edition, which had achieved a good reputation as an aggressive, sprightly journal, but four days a week a tabloid morning edition was distributed free in the Cheyenne area. With our "100 per cent circulation" we brought to price-conscious housewives the latest cut rates in groceries, meats and drugs. Later, as it grew and expanded, the *Wyoming Eagle* charged 5 cents a week to those who wanted to receive the inside pages of the state edition containing the comics, the special features and the editorials.

The *Eagle's* fabulous growth resulted in part from the necessity of changing publishing techniques during the Great Depression. Many of you here tonight remember little or nothing about that period. The intervening years of hot and cold wars turned history's spotlight away from this era when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was in the White House and Harold Ickes, Harry Hopkins and General Johnson were rearranging the nation's economic and social patterns. This was the era of the attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court, of the clipping of the NRA's Blue Eagle and the end of the "Great Experiment" with bathtub gin

Ernest H. Linford is chief editorial writer on the Salt Lake *Tribune*. This is from an address to the Wyoming Press Association, Jan. 21. Linford was a Nieman Fellow in 1947 when he was editor of the *Republican-Boomerang* of Laramie.

and "Dago Red." Part of the people were getting subsistence by working on WPA or PWA projects and the rest seemed to be poking fun at the national stereotype of the man leaning on a shovel handle. It was a time of brave experiment and tremendous change. Hope was returning to a gloomy, confused country.

I had gone to work for the *Wyoming Eagle* mainly because it was reliably reported to pay regularly—in cash.

In those days the *Eagle* each evening received about 25 minutes of wire news telephoned from Denver. The paper was small, but we had quite a news hole to fill. We learned how to fill that hole with readable material from the "mother of invention" and also from our resourceful editor and publisher, Tracy S. McCracken. He used to tell us that anyone who had a flair for writing could do the job when the news was breaking, but the real test of a good newspaperman came during the quiet periods, when the police blotter was all but blank and the county, city and state offices had little news to offer.

"Pick something out of the air and build it up," Tracy counseled us, and believe me, there were days when the paper wouldn't have gone to press if we had not followed his advice. On Thursday nights, when the "big state edition" was published, our editor and publisher would come in with a pocket full of notes and the news stories he turned out were a revelation. The *Wyoming Eagle* of 20 years ago would look puny indeed compared with today's paper with its improved typographical and journalistic standards. But it was a product of sweat and some tears, of fierce pride and resourcefulness.



Without reflecting upon today's energetic newsmen, I have the feeling that too many reporters of today are content to go the rounds of the courthouse and city hall and then call it a day. And if they aren't very productive some days, the wire news fills the void. There are some advantages in a situation—whether it be due to competition or lack of other services—that compels reporters to dig and dig and dig and build news stories. Wire news is essential, to be sure. We must have it to have well-rounded newspapers, but local news is our premium merchandise. Local news makes one paper different from another. It makes your paper different from the paper that is flown in almost before your press starts running. Local news with local flavor is a product that other mass media—television and radio—have not been able to collect and distribute on a really competitive basis with the well managed community newspaper.

There is another responsibility in news reporting that is of growing concern to us all. We must not only report the news fairly, fully and accurately—we must explain it. The statement of the Commission on Freedom of the Press nearly ten years ago was prophetic:

"It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully," said the commission. "It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact."

Like many of you here tonight, I cut my journalistic teeth on objectivity. Tell the story straight. Get both sides. But keep yourself out of it. You have no opinion. You know only what you hear and see.

Objectivity is still a good thing but it isn't quite enough any more. The days are gone when bare facts are sufficient. A strictly factual news story can be a distorted news story. This seems elemental to me, yet it remains a controversial issue and therefore I feel justified into going into some detail.

Objectivity in news writing, as you know, became a journalistic rule as a reaction to the slanted and prejudiced reporting that preceded the 20th century. Pamphlets and papers were published by many persons and groups of varying opinion and the news was written to support the political and economic views of the editor or owner. If the reader didn't like a particular slant, he subscribed to another paper that coincided with his own opinions and prejudices. Perhaps the many little publications tended to cancel each other out.

As newspapers grew bigger—and fewer—editors began to take on a greater sense of responsibility. And as a more educated public began to demand facts instead of personal opinions, newspapers gradually began to present the news in one-dimensional form and to relegate opinion to the editorial page, where it belongs. This is still a good idea for simple news but objectivity became such a fetish

between the two world wars that newspapers on occasion became tools of unscrupulous persons. One dimensional news reporting is inadequate now the world has grown so complicated and news is recognized as confused and often ambiguous. Never was there a time in history when facts were so important to a free people—facts that have a meaning.

To the strictly objective reporter names make news and big names make big news. And throughout the years newspapers have quoted well-known public figures not only on the subjects in which they are informed but on anything on which they happen to sound off. Presidents, senators, governors and aspirants for these offices are still good copy but what they say, while still news, is subject to scrutiny. It needn't be presented as if it were gospel. Sometimes public figures make statements that are erroneous, or deliberately false, and when they do the press (and other media) have a heavy responsibility to see to it that they aren't instruments to misinforming the public. Editors should ask themselves if they are giving as much space and play to honest statements as they are to false and malicious statements.

In his remarkable book, *But We Were Born Free* (it should be in every newspaperman's library), Elmer Davis has this to say:

"The good newspaper, the good news broadcaster must walk a tight rope between two great gulfs—on one side the false objectivity that takes everything at face value and lets the public be imposed on by the charlatan with the most brazen front; on the other the 'interpretive' reporting which fails to draw the line between objective and subjective, between a reasonably well-established fact and what the reporter or the editor wishes were the fact . . ."

And another reputable commentator, Eric Sevareid, expressed it this way:

"We cannot go on witlessly, helplessly aiding in the destruction of men whom we know to be honorable; we cannot go on helplessly aiding in the creation of giant myths, knowing at the time they are myths (or I might add, even suspecting it). We've got to cope with those who stir up the know-nothing fringe of readers and listeners, who are not a majority, who are only a minority within a minority . . ."

Well, what were Davis and Sevareid talking about?

You know and I know that we were obliged to provide second and third dimensional reporting when it became so shockingly clear several years ago that some members of Congress were making irresponsible, slanderous and damaging statements in the libel-proof sanctuary of the Capitol. Some of the worst offenders—and their publicity-smart administrative assistants—learned the art of timing sensational remarks to coincide with deadlines of news-

papers and radio-TV programs—making it impossible or nearly so to get an answer from the accused person to present with the earth-shaking allegations of the accuser. In some cases the victims of smears were on the other side of the globe when attacked and it took several days, or weeks, to get their versions of the story. And by the time their answer was available it had lost much of its news value. Many people had forgotten the specific charge, remembering only the inference, the echo, the destructive after-effect.

The grasshopper technique is painfully familiar to many of you, I feel sure. The grasshopper spits its vile juice here and quickly jumps to another spot. Before you can reach him he has jumped again, and again. By the time the grasshopper smear peddler has labeled a dozen or so persons as communist, thief, pinko or mental case—and you have pursued him from place to place—you find that the cries of “foul” from his victims are falling on deaf ears and being regarded with blind eyes. Mr. Goebbels proved many years ago that great masses of people can have their credulity twisted and their sense of fair play dulled.

I am sorry to say that under our system of playing the news, the other side of the sensational story—the denial or the explanation—frequently lands on an inside page in small type, whereas the original charge appeared under big, black headlines or received the breathless treatment from the radio announcer.

And so we who are so proud of our tradition of honesty and integrity find ourselves the tools—willing or unwilling—of unscrupulous persons who exploit the prestige of their office or station in life.

What can we do? We can hardly label a statement “false,” but we do have ways to keep the record straight. Responsible newspaper and press associations are doing it by adding dimensions to the news.

As Elmer Davis says, it is not easy. Obviously only the larger, wealthier papers can keep a corps of experts on hand to interpret and explain controversial news. Smaller papers usually have to depend upon the press associations for national news interpretation.

The time element is always a problem. Often the complete background story requires days of research, of interviewing and preparation. If the interpretive account comes too late, it is lost to many readers. James B. Reston of the *New York Times* has pointed out effectively that the reader’s attention is focused on an issue for a mere fleeting moment. The swift sequence of events sweeps the issue off the front page between editions, even, and the reader’s interest wanes or is lost completely. The reporter, or reporters, must deal adequately with the event at the time or the chance is lost—and the reader’s chance to understand.

The most brilliant afterthought, tomorrow or next week, will have little or no effect because people will be pre-occupied with something else.

If you have been reading *Editor & Publisher* you know of the soul-searching that leading newspaper people are undergoing with regard to interpretive reporting. The problem was debated at length last November at the national conference of the Associated Press Managing Editors, even though this group’s leaders called for the service almost ten years ago.

Michael J. Ogden of the *Providence Journal & Bulletin* summed up the case when he said he thought reporters should act as the reader’s “eyes as well as his ears,” that an honest reporter’s description of events should be part of the story. Alan Gould, AP executive editor, added that explaining the news puts a premium on writing ability and detached judgment and objectivity. This means taking a calculated risk sometimes. “The dividing line between interpretation or explanation and the reporter’s personal opinion is hard to define. It is a question of informed judgment which we try to keep clear of personal attitudes.”

Interestingly, one of the notable examples of abusing interpretive reporting came recently in the AP coverage of the Dr. Sam Sheppard murder case.

As quoted by Sevellon Brown III of the *Providence Journal & Bulletin* in the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the AP lead on December 4 read:

“Dr. Stephen Sheppard wavered under stiff cross-examination yesterday. He was forced to take back some of his testimony in defense of his younger brother’s life. After trying to justify testimony he gave earlier in the day about Marilyn Sheppard’s July 4 murder, Dr. Steve finally was forced to admit:

“‘That it was not true.’ On that note the trial recessed for its eighth weekend, leaving the jury with the mental image of the dapper 34-year-old Dr. Steve twisting and turning verbally as a defense witness for his brother . . .”

I don’t need to comment on this sample of sensationalized interpretive writing. Editor Brown summed the matter up this way: “If the newspapers of America had set out deliberately to prove the proposition that abuse of press freedom can wreck the impartial administration of justice, they could not have done a better job than in their reporting of the Sheppard trial.”

The AP story probably was one of the milder accounts of the Sheppard case, one which sent the American press on one of its periodic binges. I cite it to show that I recognize the danger of deviating from the straight and narrow road of objectivity. Yet every day the Associated Press demonstrates the advantage of explanatory stories—in science, economics and politics.

Men given the task of guiding their readers through the semantics jungle, through conflicting accounts, are bound



to be affected to some extent by their own prejudices. If they happen to have strong prejudices—and a cavalier attitude toward truth and responsibility—they may do more damage than if they had not tried to explain the news. Some of the most sensational and irresponsible syndicated columnists and radio commentators fall in this category. They have become models of a segment of public opinion because newspaper editors have abdicated their traditional leadership and responsibility, unconsciously or deliberately leaving a void to be filled, in many cases, by journalistic panderers whose stock in trade is sensationalism and suspicion.

It must be acknowledged that truth isn't always readily defined and set forth in black-white terms. Oftentimes it is only relative and it can remain elusive even after a grand jury investigation.

Some mass circulation news magazines dramatize another weakness of second and third-dimensional news reporting. Their built-in editorials and conclusions, based on the juries of "yes men" sitting godlike in their high towers—sometimes disregarding the observations of the men on the ground—have caused many conscientious editors to conclude that interpretation is wrong, that it is better to quote a prominent citizen and shrug off the problem of whether he is telling the truth.

Yet the fact that these and other mass media are able to relate a story with background and continuity not found in day-to-day one-dimensional newspaper accounts is forcing the press to abandon the proposition that a "straight" story is enough. And also that because a story was published last Tuesday everyone knows all about it and today's developments need to be accompanied only by a bare outline of what occurred before.

The problem of responsible and complete reporting boils down in the end to the integrity and understanding of the man in charge—the editor, publisher or owner who sets the policy and does the hiring and firing. He has the power to draw the line about which Mr. Gould spoke.

Wise publishers and editors have learned that reporters with integrity, ability and devotion to the truth cost less in the long-run than careless hacks. Like the storekeeper with inferior merchandise, we may get away with giving the customer a poor bargain for a while, but if the customers are intelligent they soon catch on. They aren't fooled very long.

Our merchandise is news. Without it we have nothing

really to sell, nothing for which the subscribers will continue paying. And if the product is shoddy, poorly handled, unreliable or incomplete, we cannot hold the confidence of the readers even if, by stunts and circus features, we are able to hold the readers themselves.

In these times the man who runs a newspaper must indeed be the kind of person described in Kipling's *If*. He must keep his head when all around him seem to be losing theirs. The runaway extremism that has prevailed in this country for the last five or six years might be compared with that of the 1790's when fears, hatreds and suspicions stemming from the French Revolution resulted in the Alien, Sedition and Naturalization Acts. The "agree-with-me-or-be-crushed" cult takes many forms and attracts many converts, and because of the effectiveness of modern mass media, large groups of people can be plunged quickly into hysteria or into extreme negativism.

Someone observed recently—I believe it was Eric Sevareid—that as some people retreat from uncontrolled expression to dullness, mediocrity and worse, others, by a strange reflex, are prompted by an unnatural bravado. Spasmodically these persons take extreme positions. And the demagogues and extremists, capitalizing on fear and confusion, manage to attract a following, composed of lesser demagogues and extremists, and, to some extent, of some sincere but frightened people.

And like lemmings who inexplicably line up and march to their death in the sea, some Americans line up behind loud-talking arm-swinging agitators and march resolutely toward the sea of sterile conformity, lost personal liberties and suspicion of fellow Americans. Like the Know-Nothings of another era, too many of our people are ready to follow the leadership of a man who makes loud noises about the dangers of communism, who brands everyone who disagrees with him treasonous or crazy, and to hell with anyone else or what else may get in the way of the drive of Straight-Down-the-Line-One-True-American Single-Think.

The press of America has been called a Frankenstein unable to cope with the monsters it has created. This may be an exaggeration but we have yet to prove it. We don't have to react to every wild allegation as if we had been stung by a hornet.

As I said previously, we cannot ignore entirely the ravings of a public figure, but late as it is, we can act intelligently to put things back into proper perspective. We can re-examine again our responsibilities as editors.

# What Does It Take To Teach Journalism?

## I. A Teacher Gives His Answer

by Edward A. Walsh

How does a newspaperman-turned-journalism-teacher feel after six years? I asked myself that question the other day when a young man wanted to know whether he should enter a journalism teaching career. It's not an easy question to answer because there are a lot of personal elements involved. But I thought it might be helpful to some people if I put down some of my own reactions. Many journalism teachers will disagree with me, I suppose; some may agree; but I may open up an avenue of discussion that, it seems to me, has been closed too long.

Six years ago when I left the newspaper field to teach journalism, I felt, as most newspapermen feel, that it would be as easy as falling off the proverbial log.

"Just go into the classroom and show them what you've been doing in the city room," my associates said. "That's all there is to it."

Well, I had a rude awakening. I found out that being a good newspaperman is one thing, and being a good journalism teacher is quite another. I found out that it was not enough just to *know* the newspaper field; I had to be able to communicate not only its content but its spirit. I had to keep living it even when I was, in a sense, out of it. I had to be more than a newspaperman and more than a teacher. I had to be newspaperman and teacher rolled into one person, a person who might be a hybrid but who could not be a hypocrite.

Well, the newspaperman part of this combination was fairly easy. I had been one for twenty-five years. The teacher part was quite another. I had taken teaching for granted—a job people take when they can't find anything else. I took a master's degree at a college of education and had my eyes opened to what teaching really meant. Then I faced my first class. About thirty college juniors sat in front of me. About half of them were World War II veterans, some with battle line experience, but I'll bet they had never felt as shaky as I did when I looked at them. I saw them watching me with the cold, appraising eyes of men who need a lot of convincing. I still don't know how they rated me. I never dared to ask.

Many newspapermen have lectured at journalism schools. Invariably they are enthusiastically received. They come away in a glow. They say to themselves (as this reporter

used to say under similar circumstances): "Teaching is easy. If anything happens, I can always teach journalism." Well, is it that easy? A really great New York newspaperman told me after a guest appearance at Fordham: "It's easy for me to come out here and give one talk. It must be difficult to keep talking effectively day after day. Your students hear me once and think I am marvelous. I wonder what they would think of me at the end of a semester, let alone the end of a full year!"

But for one reporter like this, there are scores of newspapermen who say: "What's wrong with the journalism schools? Are they filled with teachers who couldn't make the grade as newspapermen? Or do they have a lot of English teachers who never covered a story: Any self-respecting newspaperman would make a better teacher than the lot of them! Why don't they train students the way we train cubs in the city room?"

That sounds all right but it isn't all right. In the city room you do what the city editor tells you to do and you do it well or you get fired. In the classroom, even when it's set up to simulate a city room, you don't fire students. True, you can fail them, and sometimes you have to do so for their own good. But you always do it with some qualms of conscience. You remember those cubs you knew who you were sure would never make the grade. Yet they did, somehow or other, and they are now good newspapermen. Maybe some of these students are like that. No, you don't want to fail them. You want to help them even when it means going back to the fundamentals of spelling and punctuation, and some basic principles of straight thinking and straight writing.

That straight thinking is important. Nobody can write straight unless he can think straight. But how do you *teach* a student to think straight? Newspapermen learn, hard, rigid thinking and learn writing under relentless rules. But how do you carry those rules over to the academic environment so that students will be trained but not broken? How do you harden a mind without hardening a soul? Maybe *that* is learned in the city room (and I mean, maybe!) but how do you do it in a classroom?

That's one example of the kind of problem the journalism teacher faces. It is typical of those that keep him awake nights. A professor has been described as one who tells you how to solve a problem of life he avoided by becoming a professor. I am not yet a "professor." I was

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Edward A. Walsh is assistant professor of journalism at Fordham University.

never a reporter of the Meyer Berger stamp and could never hope to be. I do feel that I was a competent newspaperman and I did not take up teaching to solve any problem. In fact, I left newspaper work when I was "middle-aged" to solve a problem. The problem was: "Should I use my experience to help those who want to become newspapermen, even though it means less money, going back to years of study for an advanced degree, and entering a completely new field?" The answer was: "Yes."

Journalism teaching needs more men who have had experience in the working press, and more and more of these men are going into the field. But these men must have ideals. Many newspapermen will look at them cynically. Many "professors" with full academic rank will look at them patronizingly if not contemptuously. They will be, in a sense, hybrids. But they will earn great dividends in the gratitude of students. They will be rewarded, too, in the knowledge that they are helping to build the great profession of journalism teaching. They will not say "I was a newspaperman once myself" because they will know that they are still newspapermen at heart and journalism teachers in fact.

Comparatively few newspapermen make a lot of money. They stick at their work because they love it, even though they may curse it every day. To them the accolade "he's a damned good reporter" is greater than any other. They

feel they have a hand in recording history in the making. They get their greatest satisfaction in "covering" a story—and that word "cover" takes in a lot of territory. It means getting every available fact, sifting out the most significant, then turning out a yarn that has no loose ends and makes the reader feel he was an eyewitness.

Can you leave all this without regrets? What do you say when you are asked: "Don't you ever want to get back to reporting again?" Sure, you've got regrets. Sure, you want to get back into harness. But you've got compensations, too. I got some today when a corporal in the Army PIO in Germany wrote to tell me how valuable his studies in journalism had been. And when another fellow got a fellowship for advanced work in journalism. And every time a student who has "made good" comes back and says Fordham did a lot for him.

So when I look back I can say I've had six good years. Lots of others, like Chilton Bush of Stanford, Leslie Moeller of Iowa, Curtis MacDougall of Northwestern and Jerry O'Sullivan of Marquette have had more years and more compensations. So to young newspapermen and young journalism students thinking about teaching in this field, I say: "Go ahead. You'll never get rich. You'll probably never be famous. But you'll keep young with young people, and maybe you can keep the stars shining in their eyes—a light the world badly needs today."

## II. A Reporter Looks at Journalism Education

by Mort Stern

I suppose the working newspaperman is expected to view with jaundiced eye the job being done by schools of journalism.

Well, I've had some experience with journalism schools—as an undergraduate, as a graduate student, as a lecturer in journalism and as a supervisor of journalism grads (among others).

And I can't help feeling you're doing a pretty good job. The important question is, How to do it better? To this, there are two types of answers.

Some people will tell you the right answer is to make your schools more "professional." By this I think they mean you should teach more of specific journalism techniques. Others say, "The devil with techniques, let us have more of 'the educated man.'"

My own sympathies are with the eggheads—with some reservations. You're going to have to realize that you cannot train an undergraduate in any significant detail in every technique he will use at some time in his career. For one

thing, techniques change, not only from time to time but from place to place. So do people's career objectives change.

Besides, overemphasis on technique training can lead to absurdities: like the case of one instructor I heard of who spent hours teaching his students the slang used at police headquarters in a metropolitan city, or the instructor who scheduled classes in preparation of baseball box scores.

These are extreme examples, I know, and yet they are symptomatic of the complications involved in too great a degree of so-called professionalism.

On the other hand, the acknowledgment of the value of journalism schools by the profession has hinged in the first analysis on the ability of the schools to turn out graduates who are, at least, not unfamiliar with the basic techniques of their jobs. And believe me, this value is acknowledged, however tacitly in some quarters.

In the newspaper business, for example, editors take it almost as a matter of course that their cub recruits will be journalism graduates. The ordeal of teaching a new man how to write leads, the importance of accuracy and the

ways to avoid or beat libel suits is one the average city editor is glad to spare himself.

So I would not urge you to abandon your most obvious sales asset. But I might suggest, humbly because I am after all an outsider, that you make some modifications in the way you do business. What I have to say is an outgrowth of things I've seen and felt in my end of the profession.

It seems to me that the journalism graduate who has been overtrained in techniques and on whom too little time has been spent stimulating that greatest tool of the real journalist—the inquiring intellect—reaches a quick peak of achievement and then comes to rest on a permanent plateau. We have too many plateau plodders in journalism.

You must find a way to provide your graduates with sufficient technical baggage to enable them to reach that first important peak. But beyond that it is your responsibility (because these students have put their careers in your care) to develop in them their intellectual self-starters. This will be more important to them as they mature. You must find the ways to teach them how, and to make them want, to teach themselves to learn. You must accustom them to be disturbed about their and the public's ignorance concerning any significant matter and show them how to do something about it.

It is your duty to spur them to doubt, dispute and discuss the assumptions passed off in this world as facts.

All right, I don't have to perform this miracle, so I can rush ahead and suggest ways that you might with comparatively little risk to myself. In the first place, I think you would do your students a world of good simply by reducing the number and variety of "professional" courses they could take. At the same time you ought to increase the required courses for them in the arts and sciences. And you should assume some role in the selection of these additional non-journalism courses for each journalist student.

You may reply that a great variety of professional courses is your big advertising point for drawing new students. Well, I don't want to put you out of business, but I don't think it has to be so. If I were putting out a journalism school's brochure I would of course tell how good the school's professional courses were and how fine were the staff and equipment. But I would give at least as much attention to how good were our economics, history or archeology departments. I would write about the background of the professors in English Literature and the fame of our lecturers in Constitutional Law. Journalism students after all are not blocks of wood. They must be interested in the world about them or they wouldn't want to become journalists.

Now let's go into this matter of cutting down. You are more familiar than I with what is in general offered

by the journalism schools. I can only suggest what I think ought to be retained.

I think all the students ought to take an indoctrination course in what journalism is today and what it used to be, who were the men who made it what it is, and what are the principles and responsibilities of a profession surrounded as this one is by a remarkable complex of privileges.

Certainly, there ought to be a substantial course in basic journalistic writing and reporting. Not news writing alone. It seems to me that at present there is too much emphasis on the forms of journalistic writing in the schools; too little on the content and originality of presentation.

Another requirement would be the completion of a course in creative writing. A journalist is concerned with facts, but he must present them to an audience which is preoccupied with fables.

As for prerequisites, let me put in a plug for Logic. This is the plea of a man who for two school years graded journalism papers. Also, I would require, as you no doubt do, an above average grade in freshman English. You know why. It is the old bugaboo of grammar, spelling and straightforward, simple sentences. I might even require proof, in the form of an examination, of the student's reasonable competence in grammar and spelling.

There must also be a course covering such things as copyreading, typography, headline writing, picture editing, makeup and the mechanics and problems of newspaper and magazine production.

There should also be a course in newspaper (or journalism) law. I suggest that it be for advanced students, given seminar style, with research assignments and class discussions. It should be given in cooperation with, and perhaps in, the law school. And let there be reading assignments in the law library.

I think it should be required, although I wouldn't give course credit for it, that students work on some newspaper during their unscheduled hours. Facilities also should be available, and brief instruction and reading material, too, for students who wish to learn photography in their own hours. This would do two things: save the course credits for non-journalism subjects and test the students' intensity of interest. As your president, Roscoe Ellard, used to tell his students: "You must care *tremendously* to be a journalist."

Here I reach the jumping off place. Beyond this it is going to take a lot of selling to convince me of the value of any journalism trade course. How about radio, TV and magazine writing courses? How about editorial writing, feature writing, book reviewing? How about publicity? Well, if the creative writing, the basic journalistic writing and the logic courses haven't done all it is practicable to



do for an undergraduate in these areas, then repetition by any other name won't help. Public relations and advertising? You can classify them as you like, but as specific courses (apart from basic journalism and creative writing) they belong in the business school.

Well, then, what would I add? I offer you a handful of suggestions, not as the whole but only as the beginning of a different approach.

1. I would want a course for advanced students in which each student would deal directly with a journalism instructor in a editor-writer relationship. In the beginning the instructor would review with the student his major course interests outside journalism. Suppose these were economics, history and government. The instructor would confer with representatives of these departments to develop a research article assignment keyed to some current issue but involving background in these fields. Once the assignment was developed and a market determined, the student would have a reasonably long period in which to produce a thorough article suitable for use in the chosen market. It would be up to the student, with periodic guidance from the instructor, to make use of all possible information sources, including reading, research and interviews. The article would be graded for content (with the assistance of the other academic faculties) and for quality of writing.

2. I would want a course in which students met each week around a conference table with a member of the journalism faculty. Before them for discussion each week would be a fairly current newspaper or magazine article, editorial, TV or radio script or book.

Before coming to class each student would have prepared a critique of the specific subject matter, documenting his arguments with supporting data. After the discussion, which a different student would lead each week, I would suggest the students be required to write a summary of the discussion, each one giving his own estimate of the most important points raised and his own reaction and/or dissent from any points.

3. I would want a course in which representatives of different branches of journalism appeared and submitted to questioning by the students. Each student would be required to turn in before class a list of questions he thought suitable on the basis of research he had done on the guest and his specialty. After the discussion, the student would be required to prepare a report on what the guest said and an evaluation in the light of his own reading of the points the guest made.

4. I think there would be value in courses in which students served brief apprenticeships in government agencies, each

student getting a taste, indirectly perhaps, of legislative, executive and judicial experience. Each student would report in the most readable and informative manner on his experiences and what he had learned. He would be expected to supplement his on-job report with material from whatever reading he had chosen to do as preparation.

5. I would recommend most strongly the adoption of courses in which journalism students were required to attend classes in schools or departments with which they would not ordinarily come in contact, such as medicine, business, law, education and the physical sciences. A journalism student might be assigned to audit a course in labor, criminal or constitutional law in the law school; public health medicine, industrial medicine or infectious diseases in the medical school; investments, business cycles or industrial management in the business school; or weather and climate, conservation of natural resources or paleontology in the geology department.

The journalism student would be given a basic reading list, including enough material to enable him to understand the classwork and what underlies it. He would not take exams with the regular students. Instead he would, at the end of the term, turn in a report to his journalism instructor on the basis of his notes and reading. This report would be judged for quality of writing as well as degree of comprehension of the material.

The value of such courses would be at least twofold. First, the student would learn some background material he will eventually be able to put to some good use as a journalist. Secondly, he will have had a taste of acting as interpretive middleman between the specialist and the reader—a very useful function of the journalist. As a third possibility, he might have pushed his own propensity for learning beyond what he had considered to be its capacity.

Well, as I said, these are suggestions, mere starting points. If anything constructive at all comes of them my time will have been well spent. If there is any one point I have been trying to demonstrate, it is, as John Stuart Mill said, that "Men are men before they are lawyers or physicians or manufacturers; and if you make them capable and sensible men they will make themselves capable and sensible lawyers and physicians. . ." And I might add, journalists.

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**Mort Stern** is a staff writer on the *Denver Post* who has studied and taught journalism. He was a Nieman Fellow last year and directs the *Post's* own night school program for its young staffers. This was a talk to the Association for Education in Journalism at Boulder, Colorado.



# Chicago Broadcasters Plan Race Riot Policy

## Agree to Guard Against Inflammatory Broadcasts

*(This report was carried by the City News Bureau of Chicago, July 11.)*

News directors of nine Chicago radio and television stations have met and agreed upon a common program for handling news of racial disturbances in Chicago in such a manner as to minimize the danger of increasing the trouble.

The action of these Chicago news directors represents the first such united effort by radio and TV stations in any major city to take cognizance of the problem and to deal with it both constructively and realistically.

The news directors remain free to exercise their own editorial judgment in all cases.

The meeting was held at the suggestion of Isaac Gershman, managing editor of the City News Bureau. It was attended by news directors of the client stations of CNB. Those present were:

Spencer Allen, News Director of WGN and WGN-TV.  
William Ray, News Director of WMAQ and WNBQ.  
William Garry, News Director of WBBM and WBBM-TV.  
Don McCarthy, Assistant Program Director WCFL.  
Les Atlass, Jr., Program Director WIND.  
Irving Rantanen, News Director WAIT.  
Milton Golin, Radio-TV news editor, City News Bureau.  
Isaac Gershman, Managing Editor, City News Bureau.

In addition to reaching agreement on the broadcasting of such news—(always potentially dangerous on the air because of the speed with which radio and TV can disseminate it)—the news directors recommended that all Chicago stations be invited to meet with the heads of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, in order to formulate a common policy for all Chicago stations which would minimize the danger of attracting additional participants to such outbreaks when they occur, and yet assure that the basic news is reported to the public.

Such a meeting was called last week (July 5th) by Dr. Francis W. McPeck, executive director of the Commission on Human Relations—an official agency of the city government. Copies of the plan were distributed to all Chicago and Suburban area stations.

Dr. McPeck plans to distribute copies to other U. S. cities facing similar tensions. It will be issued under the title "The Chicago Plan." The Commission Chairman is Augustine Bowe, who is also president of the Chicago Bar Association.

Mayor Richard J. Daley today praised the plan, saying: "I

am proud for Chicago and for the city's broadcast news directors that this is the first such action ever taken by any group of radio and television stations with the public welfare in mind."

NOTE TO EDITORS: We have available in our office the original file of the radio-TV copy of the July 4, Trumbull Park trouble, in which six policemen were beaten and hospitalized and a college student was shot. This copy shows the news plan in actual operation.

Attached is a copy of the plan itself.

CNB

*To C.N.B. Radio Editors and City Desk:*

This is our radio-TV desk policy on race tension, gang fights and similar situations which can grow into mob violence.

News directors of the nine Chicago radio and television stations, who are C.N.B. members, have met and agreed upon a common program for handling news of racial disturbances in Chicago in such a manner as to prevent the danger of increasing the trouble.

Race or gang fight stories will be filed as advisory notes during the active stage of trouble in order to help prevent a minor disturbance from exploding into a major conflict.

We have prepared a basic form to be used for the first flash when mob violence is probable. It is hoped that this method of treatment by both the broadcasting stations and the C.N.B. radio-TV news department will prevent hundreds of racists from concentrating at the trouble scene. It also will reduce the danger of exciting radio listeners, and yet provide the assurance that the basic news is reported to the public.

*(See Basic Form Attached.)*

In writing this type of news remember these points:

1. Brevity is of special importance.
2. Do not use superlatives or adjectives which might incite or enlarge a conflict, or,—in cases where police have quelled the disorder—might cause renewal of trouble.
3. Avoid use of the word "RIOT." If the trouble becomes a major conflict, then use of the "RIOT" label may become unavoidable.
4. When the first reports of a fight or trouble are received by police, check and verify situation before filing advisory.
5. Advisory data to stations should be written in calm, matter-of-fact sentences, and in such a tone that, should the announcers tear it off and read it by mistake, it would not be inflammatory.
6. If story is of a minor nature, it is to be judged in news value on the same basis as any other routine story.

We are obligated to keep the radio and television stations informed when such mob disorders occur. We do this so

that they can send cameramen, reporters, and tape recorders to the scene. Our entire radio-TV news handling (as well as press copy) will be a matter of record, and if riots actually occur we should be in a position that no charge of riot incitement can be placed against us.

This policy applies not only to race trouble, but is also to be used in all situations of juvenile fights, clashes between ethnic groups or nationalities.

In gang fights, where the participants on both sides are white, this point should be made clear in an additional advisory line so that it is not mistaken for racial trouble.

We cannot foresee unusual problems which may develop in the future. These special cases will be met as they occur, and should be determined only after conference with the radio editor or city editor.

Keep in mind that we are trying to deal with a race problem both constructively and realistically.

ISAAC GERSHMAN  
Managing Editor

*To Radio-TV Editors and News Desk:* This is the basic form to be used for early police reports when there is a mob violence potential. (Note double line feeds)—

#### CITYNEWS 76

(ATTENTION EDITORS AND STATION MANAGERS—NOT FOR BROADCAST—NOTE SERIOUS NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION. BROADCAST MAY HEIGHTEN TENSION AND DRAW CROWDS. THIS IS NOT FOR BROADCAST.)

(here relate basic details of situation in parenthesis, as they are known at the moment. Do so briefly, telling also how we are covering the situation, and then—)

THIS IS ONE OF THOSE CONDITIONS THAT COULD BECOME WORSE IF BROADCAST. WE WILL KEEP YOU ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS. MEANWHILE, THIS INFORMATION IS NOT FOR BROADCAST.)

On succeeding flashes, while violence potential is still in dangerous state, use this form:

#### CITYNEWS 85

ATTENTION STATION MANAGERS AND EDITORS—THIS IS NOT FOR BROADCAST—OBSERVE CAUTIONS AS STATED IN CITYNEWS 76).

(here relate the details)

(THIS IS NOT FOR BROADCAST).

All additional information of an inflammatory nature

which is used *after* a broadcast story has been sent out should carry this precede—

(ATTENTION EDITORS AND STATION MANAGERS—THIS IS NOT FOR BROADCAST. IT IS OF AN INFLAMMATORY NATURE AND COULD HEIGHTEN TENSION).

(then relate the information and end with—)

(THIS IS NOT FOR BROADCAST BECAUSE IT IS INFLAMMATORY).

When the situation is under control, write the story as any other news story. Write these stories in the past tense. Use the caution slug 'Note Nature of This' after any race conflict, gang fight, or similar type of story or side bar.

## Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors

by Houstoun Waring

The great untried resource in the field of communication is the weekly newspaper. Of the 9,000 weeklies and semi-weeklies, certainly not more than 900 are supplying the news and editorial leadership which one would expect.

To print the significant news and to provide readers with editorials that lead to social action, an editor must have more than a fighting heart. Broad knowledge, kept up to date, is equally essential.

Nieman Fellowships have brought a few weekly editors back to college for a year, and a handful of editors have found other means of re-educating themselves. Yet it is apparent that not even the 900 editors who comprise the elite upper 10 percent of the profession are today in a position to comment intelligently or to prepare features on such varied topics as juvenile delinquency, subsidies, German unification, or the short ballot.

Granted that more journalism graduates with a liberal arts background should enter the weekly field and supplant the present businessman-printer, nevertheless even they must keep abreast of the social sciences and other fields.

This problem of bringing the editor up to date has worried many men—among them Dr. H. R. Long, chairman of the Department of Journalism at Southern Illinois University.

Early this year, Dr. Long took the matter up with his chief, Dr. C. Horton Talley, dean of the School of Communications, and won his support for a university-financed workshop of smalltown editors. Details were then worked

out with Editor Malcolm Coe of Pearisburg, Va.; Asst. Prof. Wayne Rowland of Long's staff; and myself.

The result was the first annual Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors at Carbondale, Ill., from July 18 thru July 22. Ten top-notch editors from coast to coast and from the Canadian border to the Gulf paid their expenses and a \$25 tuition fee for the five-day conference.

The geographical distribution, I was to discover as one of those attending, turned out to be an exceedingly valuable feature of the conference. In between sessions, the editors who lived in the same dormitory and ate together and with some of the speakers, attempted to resolve their differences in social and economic outlook. The discussion was lively from 7:30 o'clock every morning till 11 or 12 o'clock every night, but all the editors left with great affection for one another and each felt that his outlook and background had been modified by the others.

This was a work program softened only by a picnic one night between classes and a grand windup in St. Louis at the Municipal Opera. We were there to learn as much as we could in those five days, and not an editor present ever missed a single class. The formal sessions ran from 9 a.m. to 11:45 a.m., resumed at 2 p.m. and ended at 5 o'clock. A three-hour evening seminar began at 7:30 p.m.

Looking back over 29 years of newspapering, I cannot recall having secured so much help for my job as I did in those five busy days. I have been to many institutes and conferences, and I have returned to college on several occasions, but this experience in Illinois was different.

How was it different? In the first place, we lived together, ate together, argued together, and drank together. Of course, we were drawn to Carbondale as kindred spirits and did not have to get acquainted. Secondly, and of immeasurable importance, faculty members mingled with us at meals or during our informal bull sessions. One of our discussion leaders—a veteran diplomat from Washington—stayed with us for three days after his part of the program was over! He was as enthusiastic as we were about what was taking place. No doubt he was surprised to learn that one of the editors present had recently turned down a public relations position paying 2½ times his present salary.

The assigned topics dealt with the development of small-town leaders, military strategy and weapons, public education, fiscal policy, churches in the small community, unemployment and depressions, academic freedom, community economic development, freedom of information, town and country government, agricultural economics, hazards of atomic fall-out, and the international outlook. Most of the speakers were from the campus, but five came from outside. Each talk was followed by a long question-and-answer period.

Highlight of the conference was a panel on "The Editorial Page" which was held in St. Louis through the courtesy of the two large dailies there. On the panel were Irving Dilliard, Robert Lasch, and Jim Lawrence of the *Post-Dispatch*, and Charlie Clayton and Hamilton Thornton of the *Globe-Democrat*.

As the conference is to be an annual affair, with the next one starting at Carbondale on July 20, 1956, it seemed at first that we had covered the field of our interests and would have little to talk about another time. As chairman of the conference, I asked that suggestions be submitted. I quickly had a list with a dozen topics and this list is still growing!

The Southern Illinois conference may turn out to be more than a study group. Some members feel that the organization ought to use its influence to gain action on matters pertaining to journalism. A committee was named to report in 1956.

It will occur to the reader that a conference of ten editors is hardly likely to have a strong impact. We thought of this, too. Next year we may enlarge our seminars to twenty-five—thinking that this is the maximum group in which everyone has a chance to get his particular questions answered.

If the demand warrants, Dr. Long believes we can care for as many as fifty editors at the annual conference. He would divide them into two groups and swap his speakers around so that each specialist is grilled twice—but by a different set of editors.

The weekly journalists at the initial conference were Roscoe Macy, Windsor, Colo.; Edith Enos, Mishawaka, Ind.; Carl Hamilton, Iowa Falls, Iowa; George Murphy, Jr., Manteca, Calif.; John Obert, Alexandria, Minn.; Houstoun Waring, Littleton, Colo.; Weimar Jones, Franklin, N.C.; Robert Angers, St. Mary Parish, Franklin, La.; Malcolm Coe, Pearisburg, Va.; and Meredith Garten, Pierce City, Mo.

At Dr. Long's suggestion, several editors brought their wives. The ladies proved to be eager observers, and no doubt they have continued the discussions with their husbands since returning home.

Here, then, is another step toward helping the weekly press achieve its destiny. No one knows where this beginning will lead, but we are talking about taking the conference in some future year to Washington, D.C., so that the weekly men may sit down with public officials whose chores and goals they do not always understand. Such a transplanting of the conference every fourth year, the charter members feel, would increase the effectiveness of the workshop started in Southern Illinois.

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**Houstoun Waring** is editor of a famous weekly, the *Littleton Independent*, in Colorado.

## Some Aspects of Commercial Prose

by Stephen E. Fitzgerald

I was writing a speech for a client, about the virtues of world trade. The speech had been going good—good, that is, until I came to the concluding section. Here it was necessary for the client to speak up and be counted, and in no equivocal terms.

"The only practical alternative to chaos," I found myself writing, "is world trade."

No, clearly that would not do. Another thought: "It is thus obvious that world trade is the answer to . . ." The answer to what? I was back in the trap. Chaos again:

Three cigarettes later, while the typewriter cooled, the idea popped, as ideas will.

"The choice we have to make," I wrote, "Is the choice between world trade or no world at all."

Well, perhaps you do not care for it. I did. I liked the idea of choice (free will) rather than "alternative." I liked the shortness of the sentence. I liked the trick of using the word *world* in two different senses. And, I liked the gimmick of avoiding total abruptness by adding the unnecessary words "at all" at the very end.

Explaining all this to a novelist friend of mine, Frank Kelley, I suggested that it was essentially foolish for a public relations man, a writer of commercial prose, to get a bang out of constructing speeches for somebody else—or, for that matter, booklets, or annual reports, or "Glad You're Here" documents for the employees of Empire Nuts.

Possibly because I wanted to talk to myself, instead of just listening to Kelly, I agreed.

essentially foolish. All writers, he remarked, get a kick out of the right word, the felicitous phrase, the neatly turned idea. He went on to describe some of his own reactions while he was writing the novel, "An Edge of Light."

"Those characters," he said, "were more real to me than some of the people I brushed by on the street. When one of them said something funny, right out of the blue, I'd laugh. If one of them was sad, I was melancholy. All writers have a common denominator. The novelist sometimes writes fact, and the fact writer sometimes writes fiction. But they all like it when the ideas are streaming and the words go down."

Possibly I wanted to talk myself, instead of just listening to Kelly, I agreed.

"Besides," I found myself quickly adding, "It is possible

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Stephen Fitzgerald heads the Madison Avenue public relations firm of that name. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1940.

that the ghostly public relations writer, living in a world of busily practical people, who question every nuance, may encounter more fun than the novelist, who lives in a world of people who sometimes ignore every nuance."

Not being entirely sure what I meant by this, I found myself telling Kelly the story of the speech which contained the word "microcosm," remarking illogically that it was somehow germane to the subject.

My client in this case was a company president, a man of considerable attainments, who prided himself rightfully on simplicity. His speech was to be delivered before a large group of other company presidents, all from the same industry, and he did not want to be pretentious. Keep it simple.

I wrote the speech, and very simple it was. But while thinking gloomily of the readability boys and their word-counting machines, I made the technical error of using the word "microcosm." I had the man saying that such and such a problem "represents a much larger problem in microcosm."

When it came time to "clear" the speech—always a painful experience—I was quickly relieved. The client liked it! And, surprisingly, he had downright enthusiasm for the word "microcosm."

"I didn't know what that word meant," he said, "so I looked it up. Now I know what it means. Tell you what—you put in about three or four more words like that, but keep the rest of it just as simple as all Hell."

I could see the picture. Complacent audience. Simple words marching inexorably along toward an obvious conclusion. We must all get together. We have to look at things in a practical way. The future is in our hands. And then, suddenly, a fast ball whizzes by the dozers: microcosm. Well, it would made them sit up.

I remarked to Kelley, who was obviously impatient to break in, that it was exhilarating to find one's words affecting people so plainly. I was going on instantly to another anecdote, but Kelly interrupted, insisting on telling me about the Senator whose ghost writer so affected him that the Senator's vote on roll call was cast in error.

Senator Jones—a fictional name for a non-fictional senator—had been asked to vote "aye" on a certain question, and he had agreed. When the time came for him to speak, he spoke well, and on both sides of the question. But when the time came for him a vote, he voted "nay."

And then, Kelly went on, the Senator had to explain himself.

"There's a lot of folks down my way," said the Senator (of course, a Southerner) "who think both ways about a bill like this one. I didn't really know a whole lot about this bill, so I called my speech-writin' boy, and I told this speech-writin' boy to write me a good speech.

"Fact is, I told him to write a good speech on both sides



of this question. I thought I'd read that speech on the floor and I'd have time to clarify my mind as I went along.

"Only trouble was, this boy put all the good things about this bill first, and all the bad things last. So naturally when I finished I remembered the bad things most. Well, I got so carried away that I just voted against that bill . . . I didn't mean to."

Laughing politely at Kelly's anecdote, I concluded that I must recall one equally as good. So I told him about the business man who had become so preoccupied with business prose that he had no time at all for any other form of fiction.

My firm was working for the executive at the time, and he liked our work fine. A succession of memoranda, reports, booklets, plans, speeches—they were all scrutinized intensely, and sensitively. They won approval, which I liked, but no single word slipped by that attentive brain. No word, that is, until one of my colleagues foolishly took time off to write a novel.

Obviously our client must have a presentation copy, and so he was duly presented with one.

Two weeks later the author was called in by the client, who said:

"I have to read so many darned telegrams and reports and memoranda that I no longer have time for fiction. As a matter of fact, when I come across a novel or something that I ought to know about, well, I get my wife to read it, and she tells me about it. So I gave your book to my wife and asked her to read it carefully. She did read it, and then she told me all about it, and I just wanted you to know that I enjoyed that book very much."

Kelly acidly pointed out that this anecdote really had little to do with commercial prose, and suggested that I had told it only because I enjoyed it. I agreed cheerfully, but pointed out that my colleague definitely *was* a commercial prose writer, and then went on to tell a slightly more relevant story about the dollar-a-year man who wanted things Properly Presented to the People.

I was Director of Information for the War Production Board at the time. It was 1942. Things were not going too well for WPB, and the newspapers were unkind enough to imply as much. Accordingly I found myself called into the presence of the new dollar-a-year man promptly. He did not want to be unkind, he pointed out, but after all he did have a fresh view point.

"Now see here," he started off, "there isn't any sense in all these reporters rushing around the building every which way, printing all kinds of nonsense about us. Lies—lots of those stories."

I nodded, somewhat wearily, for I had been told this before, by other dollar-a-year men.

"What I think we ought to do," he went on, "is to write one story a day. You could call it the 'War Production

Record' or something like that, and you would get all the papers right across the country to print just that story, just that way. They could put it on page one in the left hand column, so people would always know where to find it. That way we could get rid of all this damned confusion."

I muttered something about the fact that newspapers did not ordinarily operate that way, but the dollar-a-year man still wanted to know what was wrong with the idea.

Being a good Washington bureaucrat by that time, I never did answer his question. Instead, I promised that I would think about it and write him a memo. In fact, of course, I ignored him, and never heard of the idea again. Later on I invented the "principle of the ignored idea" and passed it along to some of my friends. Ignoring ideas in Washington is a quite civilized idea. It avoids many unpleasantnesses, and besides it almost always works.

Seizing the opportunity to get back into the conversation, which I was clearly monopolizing, Kelly remarked that I had not even made a fair effort to distinguish between commercial and non-commercial prose. I agreed cheerfully, adding that I did not intend to, but volunteered a couple of signposts. To wit:

On the one hand, way out in left field, is the absolutely independent writer of fiction or poetry or drama. He often has a regular job, disassociated with his writing, like Melville, or the early Faulkner. Sometimes, not often, he is an absolute free lance. What he writes he sends to a publisher, hoping. The publisher accepts or rejects. This writer, it seems to me, is about as independent as you can get, although I have never met one who did not hope to get paid—a faint note of commercialism which I fancy is true of all writers.

On the other hand is the writer who, because he needs money, takes a well paid job with United States Nuts and Bolts, Inc. Here he will definitely not write what the boss does not want, and in the end he will write, in general, what the boss does want. However, he will have some latitude of expression. And, if he is intelligent, which is not necessarily true of all writers, he may influence the boss and nudge him in the right direction, help him to be somewhat more articulate than usual. He is, of course, a paid hand; but, come to think of it, aren't you?

Let no one think, however, that the quality of commercial prose is necessarily poor. A press release is not exactly an art form; but that is no reason to think that a poor sonnet, written by a poor poet, in a poor garret, is better than a good press release.

The fact is that most commercial prose today is turned out by ex-poets, ex-novelists, and would-be novelists, ex-radio and TV writers, and ex a lot of other things. Fiction writing does not pay, as evidenced by the fact that the average first novel pays its author, if "pay" is the word, well under \$1,000 for perhaps a year's work. And as for successful, free-lance



non-fiction writers, try to name more than half a dozen.

Let us suppose that the troubled author can get a job at, say, General Electric for \$15,000 or \$20,000 a year. Should he turn it down? Is this selling out to the interests? Is there something wrong with General Electric? Does GE require a writer to be less honest than a publisher, or to sacrifice principles: I think not.

I shall make a broad generalization: some of the best commercial prose today is being turned out by men of extremely high technical capacity who are writing commercially because they cannot afford to write non-commercially and still exist in decency. Once upon a time a writer may have had a patron, which has been the case with some of our finest artists. Today the patron is often a corporation, which needs good-quality annual reports.

In this commercialization of prose, any number can play, publisher as well as writer.

A few years ago I was completing a book on public relations and accordingly found it necessary to lunch with the publishers. I was about done, I said, but needed advice on final details.

"I've written fifteen chapters," I said, "and have really written myself out. I could write two more chapters, one on speeches and one on the use of pictures, but I do not really want to. Anyway, just how long a book do you want?"

One of the publisher's representatives grinned and said: "What we want is a book long enough to sell for \$3.75."

I wrote two more chapters.

## The School Story Gets Attention

### Eleven Cities Plan for Coverage

Education has become a big story in America in the judgment of the first Educational Reporting Conference, held in Cambridge, Mass., July 25-August 13.

Public interest in what goes on in the nation's schools calls for continuing attention by the press and full cooperation of school officials to inform parents and taxpayers, the conference stated.

Newspapers and school administrations of eleven cities participated in the three weeks conference, conducted by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University on a grant by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The newspapermen and educators considered means of more conscious effort in their cities to tell the story of education in the school year opening this Fall. Educational leaders and newspaper editors led discussions at their seminars on major problems in education and communication.

The conferees were officials designated by nine public school systems and seven colleges, and the education reporters from 13 of the 16 newspapers in the same cities.

The public school systems officially represented Portland, Ore., Denver, Toledo, Nashville, Houston, Bay City, Mich., Corning, N. Y., and Providence. The colleges represented were: Reed College, University of Oregon, University of Denver, University of Toledo, George Peabody College for Teachers, University of Louisville and Brown University.

The newspapers participating were: *Portland Oregonian*, *Oregon Journal*, *Denver Post*, *Rocky Mountain News*,

*Toledo Blade*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Houston Post*, *Nashville Tennessean*, *Nashville Banner*, *Bay City Times*, *Corning Leader*, *Providence Journal*, *Charlotte Observer*, and *Worcester Telegram*.

The conference members organized a cooperative undertaking to circulate among all members the major educational reports carried in the newspapers during the coming school year, with special attention to new areas of reporting on school activities and to articles interpreting educational developments and issues. They joined in the following statement of the importance they assign to the story of education:

#### STATEMENT BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATIONAL REPORTING CONFERENCE:

Education is a big story. It has high readership. It concerns all children, and therefore all parents. It consumes a large part of our tax dollar. It is a generally neglected story that needs competent reporting. Many people are asking whether children are getting the kind of education they should have.

Recognizing these things the first Educational Reporting Conference was called by the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, on a grant by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. It has been a pilot experiment in which newspapers and schools of eleven communities and seven colleges and universities have explored the means by which the story of education can best be presented to the public.

The participants met in the hope that this undertaking would produce improved relations and understanding between education and the press. The communities repre-

sented have achieved some success in educational reporting due in part to a sharing by educators and the press of the responsibility for keeping the public clearly informed. The conference developed more points of agreement than of disagreement.

#### Points of agreement:

1. Education is too important to the American people to be unnecessarily the object of misunderstanding and misinterpretation.  
If the story of education is to be well told, education and the press must serve with mutual respect, mutual trust, and above all mutual accessibility. Whenever motives are suspect they should be measured against the common goal of both education and the press—the making of better communities.
2. There is no standard pattern for education-press relations. The diversity of community life, of school systems and of the press itself precludes the laying down of a Master Plan. Yet by taking thought together, education-press relations can everywhere be improved.
4. Education and the press have found it easier to convey information to the public about school plant, personnel and pupils than about purposes, programs and processes. The latter are most in need of attention.
5. Because education is a continuous and complex story it is best served by continuity and depth of reporting. For the same reason the educator assigned to press relations should be close to, if not indeed a regular

participant in educational policy making.

6. Especially is clarification necessary on the issue of how much of school business, if any, can be conducted in private.
7. The child and classroom teacher are the great central figures in education. In general, they are the most neglected in educational reporting.
8. A frequent source of misunderstanding is the failure to distinguish between publicity and a continuing program of public relations.

#### POINTS OF DEBATE

1. The principal complaint of the press is that it has insufficient access to information.
2. Schoolmen complain of a lack of fixed responsibility on the newspaper staff for educational reporting, and a seeming indifference to the why and how of teaching and learning.

This leads into the question of the character and philosophy of "open" board meetings, and the opening of the classroom to reportorial observation.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSION

In sum, the conference finds that education and the press have more in common than in controversy. The differences are real, few, and not beyond resolve. Good school reporting is good business for the press; to education it is a necessary condition for success.

# What Japan Reads About America

*Prof. Quintus C. Wilson, Chairman of the department of journalism at the University of Utah spent half of last year in Japan studying the presentation of news of America in the Japanese press. This describes his findings as he reported on it in an address at the University of Iowa this summer.*

by Quintus C. Wilson

Friendly relations between countries cannot exist where peoples of one or both of the nations daily, weekly or monthly read false, biased or misleading news dispatches.

Accurate news and information must flow from country to country—to all countries—if there is understanding among peoples. International statesmen and editors of most of our metropolitan newspapers recognize the urgent need for a free flow of clear, concise and truthful information to all nations.

The United States is frequently referred to as the "most powerful country" or as "today's advocate of the free world" or as the "strongest power leading the democratic nations." Regardless of the degree to which these claims can be proven, it is important to Americans that the stories of their lives, their work, policies and philosophy be told truthfully in all countries.

The broad objectives of better world understanding provided the background for my study of the flow of news from the United States to Japan. In my study, answers were sought to several questions: How is the news obtained by the Japanese vernacular press? In what ways do the methods of processing the news differ from American methods? What are the major news services supplying the news? How accurate were the news stories: Was any form of censorship involved?

Such questions are not quickly or simply answered. For instance, Japanese editors estimate that about 350,000 words of news a day are handled by news agencies in Tokyo. The daily press, itself, resembles the press of the United States but has distinctive characteristics of its own.

Much of the news entering Japan originates in the United States. Much of it directly or indirectly concerns the United States. This news needs to be accurate, factual and objective if Americans are to be understood in the Far East. The story of Asia must also be told truthfully in the United States.

But before one can understand what the Japanese vernacular press prints, he needs to know something about it. The Japanese press is a young press. Where America has had newspapers since 1690 or 1704, the modern press of Japan dates from 1868. From 1868 to 1932, the press was sometimes entirely free, and sometimes gripped by gov-

ernment controls. From 1932 to 1941, the imperialists strengthened their powers. The controls increased during World War II. One war-time regulation limited the number of papers published in areas outside of Tokyo. A result was that from 1937, when the war in China started, the number of Japanese dailies fell from 1,700 to 55. Some were reduced to ashes by air raids.

Last year there were 102 morning and 74 evening daily newspapers in Japan. To seek to prevent the newspapers from being owned by special interests, a Japanese law bans the holding of stock in newspaper companies by persons not directly affiliated with the newspaper business. Thus, 85 per cent of the 94 member newspapers of the Japan Newspaper Publisher and Editors Association are stock companies.

The total of 176 Japanese dailies today serving 83 million persons compares with 1765 dailies in the United States. Here the population is 162 million. Another contrast is in the greater proportion of morning to evening papers in Japan. In the United States, there are 317 AM papers to 1,448 evening dailies. Where American papers derive most of their revenue from advertising, the reverse is true in Japan. There 62 per cent of the income in 1954 was from circulation.

Circulation figures also need to be examined. In 1954, the total circulation of the Japanese vernacular press was almost 34½ million copies as compared to 55 million in the United States. Saying this in another way, one newspaper was printed in Japan for every 2.42 persons while in the United States there was one newspaper for every 2.92 persons.

In Tokyo there was one newspaper for 1.78 persons. A study made at the State University of Iowa in 1951 showed one copy of a daily was printed in Iowa in 1950 for 1.795 persons and in New York State for 1.39 inhabitants.

American newspapers have a high regard for home-delivered circulation. So do the Japanese. According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers Association annual report, 95 per cent of the total circulation of the daily press in 1953 was home-delivered. The remaining 5 per cent was sold at newsstands or delivered by mail. Newspapers delivered to the home are considered better-read than street-sale papers. Thus the nature of the circulation had a direct bearing on my study of the flow of news to Japan.

It must be remembered, however, that a few dailies, in Japan as elsewhere, seek to build circulation through the sensational presentation of news. All of the papers stress collection of news. For this reason the editorial staffs are large, especially when compared to American staffs. This was described to me by one Japanese who said: "We never do anything with one man that we can do with ten."

Statistics compiled in 1954 show that the average number of employees on the large Tokyo dailies was 6,696 workers, of whom, 1,690 were in the editorial offices. This is several times larger than our New York staffs.

When I mentioned that the Japanese press was a young press I was not only thinking of the rapid increase in the number of newspapers since the war. I also considered the recruiting of staffs to man these new newspapers. The editorial employees are young, too. One part of my study showed that the average on-the-job experience of reporters was four years. In the United States, a reporter is not recognized as fully experienced until he has been on the job five years.

Records of newspapers which I visited in Japan showed very few workers between the ages of 20 and 40. The men in this age bracket were lost in the war.

The senior editors are disturbed by their inability to impress their young staffs with the need for high ethical standards. As one editor told me: "At this time, when the Japanese at last have a free press, these young reporters insist on their freedom, even the freedom to be irresponsible."

The competition among the newspapers and among young reporters seeking to make names for themselves is not always wholesome. For this reason, the Editorial Committee of the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association has taken preventive measures against unethical practices. For example, the committee calls on the member newspapers to limit the number of reporters and cameramen sent to some special events.

Senior editors were chagrined in the spring of 1954 when about 1,200 editors, reporters and photographers deserted newsrooms at the time Marilyn Monroe arrived in Tokyo. The mob scene at the Monroe interview brought frowns to the faces of the older editors who vowed it wouldn't happen again.

Now let us look for a moment at a typical issue of a Japanese vernacular daily:

#### Yomiuri:

Page 1—The back page by our count—Editorial and National News.

2—National and International News.

3—Economic and Sports.

4—Sports.

5—Tokyo (local) and Radio Programs.

6—Local.

7—Local.

8—Features.

#### Hokkaido Shimbun of Northern Japan—A Bloc Paper

1—National—International—Editorial

2—National and International

3—Economic

4—Economic and Features

5—Sports

6—International—Economic

7—Local

8—Local

The two newspapers exhibited are in different classifications. One is regarded as a national newspaper; the other is a bloc newspaper. A third classification is that of the local or city newspaper.

National newspapers are circulated in all parts of Japan simultaneously. For geographical reasons, there are no national papers in the United States. In Japan, delivery to all parts of the country in a few hours is possible. The national papers are printed in two or more cities in Japan at the same time.

Prior to the summer of 1954, only three newspapers were listed in the national classification. A fourth is mentioned now. The first three are *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri*. The fourth is *Sangyo Keisai*. Daily circulation claims of the first three range from four and a half million copies daily to six million daily. *Sangyo Keisai* has been growing rapidly and claims a daily circulation in excess of three million. Most of the world news items appearing in the national editions printed outside of Tokyo are translated in the Tokyo offices. At the time of my study, Japan had no organization like the Audit Bureau of Circulation in America to guarantee that the circulation claims were correct.

The bloc newspapers were circulated in several prefectures, which are similar to our states. The term, bloc paper, as used by the Japanese resembles the use of the term Farm Bloc in the United States. Each of the bloc papers has a circulation of more than a half million copies daily. Its editorial influence is felt over the prefectures of the circulation area. Each major region has at least one strong bloc paper.

The local papers primarily circulate in one prefecture or town. About 50 per cent of their news space daily is used for national and international political and economic stories. The smaller the circulation is, the more the paper stresses local news. Increasingly, the dailies in this class are specializing in local news and decreasing the amount of space devoted to national and international news, especially the latter.



Circulation figures for dailies in the local class range from a few thousand to a million copies daily. The local papers in Japan are similar to the local papers in the United States.

Since 1952, the Japanese press has witnessed a phenomenal expansion of business and with it modernization of printing and communication equipment, construction of buildings and expansion of distribution agencies. Half of the newspapers I visited outside of Tokyo had just entered new buildings or had recently added to presses or equipment. Before World War II, the dailies established their own distribution agencies. The agencies were forced by law to merge during the war.

Intensive circulation campaigns since 1952 resulted in the restoring of the separate agencies. Evidence has been reported of serious clashes between national and local papers in the struggle to maintain circulations or to win new subscribers. The competition for readers is also found in the competition to obtain news for the readers.

Every paper has contracts for news reports from one or more of the world news gathering agencies. There are 30 Japanese news gathering agencies, the most important being Kyodo, Jiji Press, Radiopress and Sun Photo. Almost 100 foreign news bureaus are registered with the Ministry of Affairs. They include: Associated Press, United Press, International News, Reuters, and Agencie-France Press. Reuters and Agencie-France Press are held in high esteem by many editors of Japan. Reuters, which formerly was a private company, now is a trust which is a cooperative property of the British press. It is a non-profit making organization. AFP operates with a subsidy from the French government and the French Cabinet names the director general.

All of the vernacular dailies, except the nationals, *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri* are members of the Japanese agency Kyodo. The Big Three papers, as they are called in Japan, withdrew from Kyodo in 1951. They objected to paying about one-fourth of the expenses of Kyodo, which was founded in 1945 as a cooperative news agency. The withdrawal was interpreted by some as an effort by the Big Three to stop the growing prestige and competition of the local and bloc papers which obtained news from Kyodo.

Kyodo now is an incorporated association selling domestic and foreign news to its member newspapers and to the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, which support it.

Jiji Press furnishes news to newspapers, banking institutions and private corporations under special orders. It also supplies information to governmental and public offices.

Radiopress specializes in monitoring foreign shortwave newscasts and supplying newspapers and government offices with copies of the reports.

Besides the news purchased from foreign agencies, the

national papers and some of the larger bloc papers maintain news bureaus in the major foreign cities. Kyodo, too, maintains bureaus in Washington, New York, San Francisco, London, Bonn, Paris, New Delhi, Singapore, Bangkok, Hongkong, Taipeh and Seoul. It also has contracts with major foreign agencies.

All of this information about the history and nature of the Japanese press provides a backdrop for my research into what the Japanese vernacular press printed about the United States. The research was conducted in three parts. First, a selected group of newspapers were examined for what they printed about the U.S. Japanese editors next were asked for opinions about the accuracy and value of the news which they received. With this data in hand, I visited the editors to discuss with them statements made in answer to the questionnaire. Additional material was obtained concerning freedom of the press in Japan, views on the United States Information Service, and an evaluation of the economic condition of the press.

Twelve students at Tokyo University assisted with the first part of the study. This was a quantitative count of news items mentioning the United States. From April 19, 1954, to May 2, 1954, each student examined one vernacular newspaper daily. As he counted the items mentioning the United States, he classified them according to source—the agency supplying the item—and according to the type of news—economic, world politics, human interest and crime. Pictures and editorials were also noted.

The items in the newspapers were counted instead of being measured because of the nature of the characters or idiograms used in printing. Sometimes one character serves the same purpose as ten English words. Sometimes one word translates into one character. On the average, a 120-word news item translates into 60 characters which make one inch of one column type in a Japanese newspaper.

The twelve vernacular papers studied included the four national, three Tokyo and five bloc papers, one each from five areas of Japan outside Tokyo. In the case of two of the national papers, editions printed in Osaka were examined. This was later found not to have been necessary since the world news is translated in the Tokyo offices and sent to Osaka by facsimile.

The period between April 19 and May 2 was selected because it coincided with the week before and the first week of the Geneva Conference on ways to end the war in Indo-China.

Other important news events which occurred during the selected time included: Fighting in Indo-China at Bien Dien Phu and the American airlift of military supplies to Indo-China; the U.S. Senate hearings on the Army-Senator Joseph McCarthy dispute; visit of Mrs. Margaret Sanger, birth control advocate, to Japan; claims of Premier Georgi

M. Malenkov that Russia had atomic weapons, and a statement of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., our delegate to the United Nations, that the United States would resist entry of Red China into the U.N. News items also included medical reports about the Japanese fishermen who suffered injuries from the Bikini atom test.

No count was made of stories printed about sporting events in America. Athletic events attract considerable attention in Japan. At least one page in each newspaper is devoted to sports news, with reports on the major league baseball games in America. Not to include such stories gave the final result an improper slant in one direction; to have included the data, a quick scanning showed, would have biased the study to even a greater degree in the opposite direction. Since this was an item count and since the papers put headlines on each sports item, the count would have indicated more sports items than all other types of news combined.

While the Tokyo University students were examining the vernacular papers, another similar study was made of the news items which appeared in four of the English language dailies in Tokyo. These papers were *Asahi Evening News*, *Japan News*, *Mainichi English Edition* and the *Nippon Times*. The circulation of these newspapers is much smaller than that of the vernaculars papers studied, the largest being about 80,000 daily. However, their influence among political and economic leaders and among foreign visitors and statesmen in Japan is large. The *Nippon Times* has a large readership in American diplomatic and business circles.

The study of the English language press also provided a comparison with the items printed in the vernacular press. News items received by the English papers were from the same news services as those of the vernacular press. Since the papers catered to the English speaking population in Japan, it was expected that they would carry more news about the United States than the vernacular papers. This was found to be true.

Surprisingly, while the English papers reported the story of the American air-lift to Indo-China, no such stories were reported by the students checking the vernacular press. I was unable to obtain an answer as to why this happened.

The total count of items mentioning the United States and appearing in all sixteen newspapers from April 19 to May 2 was 2,214. Of the total 1,131 appeared in the four English language papers. The figure for the four national papers was 349, as compared to 388 in the five bloc papers and 346 in the three Tokyo papers studied.

While the national papers claim to excel in the printing of world news, it was the financial newspaper, *Nihon Keizai*, that printed the largest number of items about the

United States, a local paper was second, bloc paper third and a national paper fourth.

Which news agencies supplied these news items? Surprisingly, since the papers buy extensive news reports from the American agencies, only 889 of the 2,214 items were supplied by AP, UP, INS, NANA and USIS. The comparison is even more unfavorable for the American agencies when a breakdown shows that 560 of the 889 items appeared in the English papers.

In the vernacular press, AP supplied 167 items and UP 133, but Agencie-France Press, which is subsidized by the French government, supplied 128; Reuters, the British service, 65; special writers or correspondents 117 and local reporters, 87.

Because the Japanese are intensely interested in world political and economic affairs, the greatest number of news items printed mentioning the U.S. were of that nature. The sixteen papers printed 654 world affairs items mentioning the United States. In addition 710 items concerned the U.S. acts at the Geneva Conference. Economic news was next with 388, and human interest third with 342.

While the American news received was the same as that sent by the services to papers in the United States, and the report contained the same items about crime, only one such item appeared in the national papers, eight in the bloc papers and two in the three Tokyo papers. This is not to be taken to mean the Japanese print no crime news, but that they play it down and editors repeatedly asked: "Why do American wire services carry so many crime stories? We are not interested in them."

Only four stories about the Army-McCarthy hearings were found in the vernacular press. Here again, the editors regarded the news of no particular interest to their readers. One editor asked me: "Who is this Senator McCarthy?" Every newspaper printed at least one picture that mentioned the United States and all but two carried editorials that mentioned this country.

The tabulation of the content analysis led to the second project. To determine the extent to which the Japanese editors agreed with the results, a questionnaire was sent to 80 editors of 80 newspapers. No mention of the earlier survey was made to the editors. The questionnaire was in Japanese and on stationery of the Institute of Journalism, Tokyo University. No mention was made that the person making the survey was a citizen of the United States. It merely stated that he was cooperating with the Institute and gave his name.

The questions sought the opinions of the editors on the volume of the news obtained and printed, its accuracy, and the speed of handling.

Sixty-two of the 80 editors replied to the questionnaire and expressed the opinion that their newspapers were meeting reader-demand for world news. The evening

papers reported much more space devoted to international affairs than did the morning paper editors. The average for the morning and evening papers reporting showed 14 per cent of the news space went to world news.

The time element favors international news coverage in the evening papers, which have much smaller circulation than do the morning papers. When it is noon in New York City it is 3 a.m. the next day in Japan. Because of the huge circulations which necessitate fast press runs and complicated distributing systems and because of the slow work of translating from English to Japanese, only news of the utmost importance can make the morning editions.

For example, President Eisenhower speaks to the nation Friday night from Washington. The time will be about 9 a.m. Saturday in Tokyo. This gives the news break to the evening papers. This is especially true if our State Department supplies the Japanese press with an advance Japanese translation. The story will be old stuff for the vernacular newspapers Sunday morning.

In the questionnaire sent to them, the editors were asked to select the three world news agencies which they regarded as the "most reliable." Thirty-nine listed AP as one of the three; 35 named the Japanese Kyodo; 32, the British Reuters; 20, UP; 11, Agencie-France Press; 6, USIS; 4 INS; 3, the Japanese Jiji, and 2, N.A.N.A.

Eight editors wrote on the margin of the questionnaire that they never used USIS material because it was government propaganda. However, three of these listed the French AFP as one of the "three most reliable" agencies.

Several editors wrote on the margin that the USIS daily *Wireless Bulletin* of news from the United States usually arrives too late for publication. They added that they would use more of the material if the service was faster. Even so, 29 editors reported that they used the material to check the accuracy of stories already received from commercial agencies. Six editors said they combined USIS material with stories from other services.

After the opinions of the editors had been collected, the third study was undertaken to seek additional light on Japanese criticism of news from the United States. Several of the editors turned the questionnaire over and wrote valuable comments. These comments were translated from Japanese to English.

Transmission of too much crime news and not enough economic news was one major criticism of the American agencies. Much was said of the failure of USIS to supply economic news. This should be enlightening to critics who charge Washington with conducting an international "give-away program" to buy the support of other nations in the cold war. Washington critics have claimed that the peoples in other nations resent being given supplies or "aid" in return for their support. During the period of the count

of news items, USIS supplied little economic news about the United States. Asked about this, a USIS representative in Tokyo replied it happened because the State Department was mainly interested in interpretation of the Geneva Conference at that time.

Informed Japanese leaders recognize the aid which America has given as an effort to help Japan help itself. On the other hand, Communists have worked to spread the idea that the U.S. was trying to buy Japan's support. Businessmen and editors in talking with me stressed the startling fact that the great masses of Japanese—the common man, farmer, laborer, even the clerk in the financial houses—know little about the magnitude of American aid to Japan since the war.

Recently much has been written about the United States expanding its trade with Japan. The need is urgent, for Japan must find more markets for her products. But few realize that the United States' exports to Japan in 1952 totaled 621 million dollars. In that same year our imports from Japan totaled 229 millions. In addition we spent even more millions to maintain troops in Japan.

At present Japan receives much aid from the United States. Almost half of the total volume of food which Japan imports comes from America. Furthermore, Japanese manufacturers have grown remarkably due to United States patent rights which Japan purchased.

When a British or Philippine or Australian or Indian company completes a business contract, regardless of how small, with a Japanese concern, it is announced with a great fanfare. When an American company completes a business transaction—and they are many and huge—little or nothing is released to the press.

American businessmen in Tokyo and Japanese editors, too, complain of this. They report that executives in America seem to take the view that Japanese who are interested personally in the transaction know about it and that others do not need to be informed.

The Japanese common man is interested in economic news but as I met with groups of them and with groups of editors they repeatedly insisted too little of such material is available to them. Many Japanese believe, as a result, that other countries are doing everything for Japan and that the United States does nothing. The reverse is true. American companies and the United States State Department need to release more economic and commercial news to the Japanese press.

Criticism of USIS came in the sphere of world affairs, too. Almost every editor told me the same thing: USIS is accurate and factual but its information is "too late and too little." Please note the order of sequence of that statement: "Too late and too little."

Too much time elapses between the event, the decision



and the transmission of our State Department's opinions to Tokyo. Let me be more specific. Take, for example, the Brussels Conference of European Defense Cooperation in 1954. When the session ended, the world news services, especially the American agencies, reported the event as the latest of a series of major defeats for the United States State Department. The stories gave the Japanese the impression that the U.S. was slipping badly. This caused uncertainty. Communist propagandists immediately urged Japan to be more friendly with Russia and Red China to assure being on the winning side.

This unfortunate news report reached Tokyo on a Friday night—it was Thursday night in Brussels. On Friday in Washington (Saturday in Tokyo), our State Department failed to issue a statement to erase the defeatist impression of the news stories. Saturday and Sunday are holidays in Washington and USIS our propaganda unit did not act. Not until Tuesday morning in Tokyo did Japanese newspapers receive a Washington statement and it was of the nature of an "agonizing appraisal." From Friday to Tuesday is too long a headstart for the red propaganda.

If America is to keep her friends; if the United States is to prevent fence-straddler nations from jumping to the wrong side, the United States must adopt a more positive action to convince our friends that we are winning the cold war.

Representatives of the United States have told our story once or perhaps twice to the Japanese. They expect the Japanese to remember. It is only human nature that the Japanese forget. Americans often forget, too.

Waivering American foreign policy creates in Japan the desire to be friends with both Russia and the United States. Recognizing this, Hisaaki Kano, vice chairman of the Japan Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce and Industry, wrote in the magazine *Heiwa (Peace)* in January, 1955:

America's foreign policy will never be fixed and unchangeable for an indefinite period. Like it or not, America will have to alter it. Especially, motivated by the defeat of the Republican party in the last off-year election, the Eisenhower Administration will hereafter change its attitude gradually. Japan should grasp precisely the trend of public opinion in the world and cut its own way with pride becoming to an independent nation.

Americans are prone to tell a story once; teach a lesson once; give an order once and expect it to be followed ever after. We must remember that once a law is enacted, we cannot forget about it. If we do, a relapse sets in and the job must be done again. This is human nature.

Here is another example: At Hiroshima, our doctors and medical researchers are offering excellent assistance to those

who suffered from the A-bomb. I visited Hiroshima in August, 1954, two days before the ninth anniversary of the bombing. In Hiroshima, one feels a sense of quiet quietness; a hush in a city busy rebuilding itself.

One editor there asked why Americans didn't try to answer Communist propaganda. Asked for details, he pointed to the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission's clinic set up to examine bomb victims. The well-equipped buildings are high on a mountain overlooking the city. Communists use this in their propaganda. They say: "See what those Americans have done! They are just like the old Japanese war lords who always made the people look up to them. The war lords built their castles on the hilltops, too."

The Communists also said that the clinic forces the people to go there every day for treatment so that the workers cannot keep jobs to earn their livelihood.

What is the truth: The clinic was built on the hill because the city council in Hiroshima owned the land and insisted that the clinic be built there instead of on commercial property in the city. The clinic does not require that those being examined visit the clinic daily. The usual visits are about twice a year. When I returned to Tokyo I asked why our propaganda service did not answer this charge. The reply was that the answers had been circulated a couple of years before, so, "Why repeat them? The next day one of the sensational newspapers in Tokyo printed an editorial listing both of the Communist charges and additional ones. That editorial was picked up by an American wire service and sent to America. No American answer to it was printed in Japan to my knowledge.

When Russia exploded an H-Bomb it was reported in Japan. Here are words from an editorial from a Japanese newspaper, the *Nippin Times*:

"The people who have been clamoring against the American experiments with atomic energy have their answer—a grim one. They have it from the Soviet Union itself in the terse announcement that it has carried out another test of its atomic weapon.

"This is a reminder that Japan's close neighbor to the north is also developing atom bombs and testing them. If the Communists, their fellow-travelers and sympathizers have an ounce of honesty left in them they should rise up in shock and horror that another atomic explosion has taken place. If they are against atomic tests, it should make no difference whether they take place in Siberia or Bikini."

The Communists are skillful in their propaganda. No matter what the U.S. does, the Communists twist the information. On the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido the Communists set up a clamor to get the people to demand that America withdraw its Army division because it was "harmful to the morals" of the area. Then the U.S.



division was withdrawn. Immediately the Communists circulated statements saying: "Look at those terrible Americans. They promised to help our area financially. Now they are withdrawing their troops and their dollars. Our people will starve because they lack ways to make a living." The truth was that when the U.S. division moved out, a Japanese defense division—financed with American money—moved in.

When one group of Japanese editors was asked why their papers printed much news critical of the United States but little critical of Russia, the editors replied: "The reason is that Americans are gentlemen." They were asked for an explanation. The reply came quickly: "When criticism is printed about the United States, nothing is said. When criticism is printed about Russia, friends of Russia impress the editors with their ire. So you see, Americans are gentlemen; Russians—well!"

The editors gave a specific example. Two weeks earlier a sea mine got loose from the Siberian shore and floated into the sea between the Japanese Islands of Honshu and Hokkaido. The mine was definitely Russian, bearing Russian tags and identification marks. These facts were omitted from the story. The inference was that it was a U.S. mine that had drifted from Korea. Why was this story printed thusly? "Well, Americans are gentlemen."

These are examples of misinformation reaching the Japanese common man. Are there examples of faulty information reaching readers in the United States? Unfortunately that is true.

Here is an example: The *Chicago Tribune* recently informed its readers that "Jap Rightists, Once a Power, No Longer Rate." The article said: "The Rightists are so defunct that even the pro-Communist press has stopped castigating them for the first time since 1945." The *Tribune* informed its readers that the men "who assassinated premiers and terrorized the entire nation in the 1930s, are politically dead."

Shadings of words are important here. The present Prime Minister, Ichiro Hatoyama, is rightist, very close to being called imperialist. He calls his party the Democratic Party but it is ultra conservative. So is former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's Liberal Party. Such labels are deceiving.

Hatoyama's party is composed of conservatives who objected to Yoshida's pro-Americanism. At one time all of the members of Hatoyama's cabinet, himself included, were men who had been purged from office during the MacArthur occupation. His party argues for "peaceful co-existence" of Japan with the United States, Russia and Red China. But the emphasis is on the independence of Japan.

Others in Japan are even more conservative than Hatoy-

ama. Japanese rightists are attacking democratic ideas which were written with American advice and help into the Japanese constitution. Some of these ideas have already been erased from the laws of Japan. The Diet in 1954 revived the national police force which had been stripped of its central control during the occupation.

Hitoshi Ashida, another former prime minister of post-war Japan, noted the trend away from American policies in a recent article in the *New York Times*. He regarded the Japanese public as still strongly pro-American in its foreign preference, however.

Many Americans have read reports of anti-American sentiment in Japan. Such news items have created a misconception. Many Americans appear convinced that there is tremendous resentment against our people in Japan.

Why is this so? Many Americans, themselves, feel a resentment and they cannot believe that the Japanese do not return that ill-will. Some of our soldiers report that they experienced anti-American feeling. After witnessing some of the acts of these military men and their wives in Japan I, too, could feel a slight surge of resentment against them. Too, there are cities in the United States where men in uniform do not receive a hearty welcome.

Some Americans believe that the Japanese are resentful because the United States won the war. They do not understand Japanese philosophy. While the Japanese people recognize and respect the power of the United States, they blame their own inadequacy for their defeat.

I would now like to mention incidents touching on the matter of the misconception of anti-American sentiment. The news stories concern the Bikini-Lucky Dragon fishing boat incident of March, 1954. One story told how the fisherman who died suffered from a kidney ailment. This disease, the Japanese autopsy said, would have caused his death even if he had not experienced the fall of the H-Bomb ashes.

The second story, which was reported to the United States by at least one news agency, was printed, to my limited knowledge, in few United States newspapers. It told of the fall-out of ashes from a Russian H-Bomb. These ashes fell in the Niigata area which grows much of the rice for Japan. The incident on the Northwest coast occurred on the same day the Japanese fisherman died. Thus Japan was again the victim of an atomic bomb.

Both of these stories were printed in the Japanese vernacular press. Both caused editorial comment in that press. The editorial comment centered on objections to the use of any atomic weapon. Resentment was expressed against any country using such weapons. The Japanese want such weapons and experiments with them outlawed to preserve peace and prevent more harm to Japan which had had four sad experiences with atomic weapons.

When the moving pictures of the Bikini experiment were shown in movie houses of Japan news dispatches were sent to the United States and were printed describing the event. The stories gave the impression that considerable resentment was shown by the Japanese witnessing the films. I saw those films in the Japanese theater and at no time did I witness anything that resembled any resentment against Americans. In one case, American Air Force men, in uniform, stood near me on the side aisle, in full view of most of the members of the audience of more than 1,000 persons.

What I did notice was a gasp, an exclamation of horror, which I presume was similar to the reaction of people in the United States. But I repeat, at no time did I witness any anti-American resentment.

Why did Americans fail to read the stories of the Bikini fisherman's fatal illness? Why did editors consider it of no importance to print the Niigata items? Some editors have told me they don't remember seeing them in their wire reports. Perhaps their attention was on other matters. However, answers to these questions are important if the United States is to continue its boast of the world's best informed public.

Japanese often tell American visitors to their country that they are anxious for world peace; that they want "No more Hiroshimas." Yet, when the 25 disfigured girls from Hiroshima came to the United States recently for treatment one of the young women combined the Japanese slogan of "No more Hiroshimas" with the American, "Remember Pearl Harbor." This is a significant view toward world peace.

The attitude of this disfigured Japanese girl shows a willingness to look at two sides of a critical situation. Americans must strive to see all sides if they are to continue in their role of world leadership. Our survival in the world depends on our being fully informed. We cannot grasp the significance of world events unless objective, factual reports of such events flow freely from the countries where they take place; and are printed and read.

Just as important is our responsibility to inform other peoples about us. The flow of news and opinion from the United States to other world capitals is extremely important to us. Our news agencies, editors and information specialists must constantly study to improve and speed our communications methods.

We must all read and study our newspapers. We must read more than just the trivial items of purely self interest; we must read about what is happening everywhere—in India, in Italy, in Geneva and in Japan. We need to read more about what our friends everywhere are doing and thinking. We need to understand our fellow men in this war-jittery, atom-disturbed world of confusion if we are to live in peace.

## The American Needs to Know About Foreign Policy

by Milton Katz

In a sense, the job of America in the world today is historically unique. While the task of international leadership has many historical precedents, the United States is perhaps the first nation which has undertaken such a task with a broadly based public opinion that demands a sense of active and adequate participation in the process. Two world wars and their aftermath, the continuing burden of Selective Service and rearmament, the all-pervading awareness of the cold war and of the possible consequences of nuclear weapons, have made the individual American acutely conscious of his personal involvement in the issues of international affairs. Under his tradition, he runs his government. In practice, this has generally meant that he demands adequate information, a sense of participation and a feeling of control—at least ultimate control—over any aspect of government which deeply interests him. Under the conditions of today, he feels this way about foreign policy and national security policy. This raises complex problems of which we are not yet perhaps fully aware.

The problems of public opinion in relation to governmental policy are sufficiently difficult in relation to vital domestic questions. Yet, on questions of domestic policy, such as employment, taxation, social security, price policy, wage policy, farm policy, information and experience are widely distributed among our people. When confronted by the relationships and events from which the issues of foreign policy emerge, the difficulties of public opinion rise to a different order of magnitude and intensity. Information about distant places and events is not only meager and sparsely distributed, but second-hand. All too often, the basis in experience for a sound judgment or a sensible hunch on the part of the citizen simply doesn't exist. Yet he feels himself vitally concerned. The combination of acute concern with ignorance and uncertainty may create a sense of frustration which will lie below the surface of public consciousness and gravely complicate the task of free government. To a degree, de Tocqueville foresaw this problem a century and a quarter ago and predicted that it would be a serious source of weakness for the republic. We need not share his pessimism to recognize that no single or quick or easy solution can be found for a problem so complex and far-reaching. A prolonged and many-sided effort will be needed to establish an effective working relationship between the American people and their government.

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**Prof. Katz** is director of International Legal Studies in Harvard Law School. This is from a talk at the University of Michigan Law School Summer Institute June 23. in regard to foreign policy.

## Scrapbook—

## Man Bites Dog

## The Cincinnati Enquirer Makes Its Own Financial News

by Fred Stannard, Jr.

CINCINNATI—After two years and nine months of operation, an unusual venture in corporate finance in this southern Ohio city can safely be dubbed a success. That venture is the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, now owned by its employees and by other members of the community. And its success can be measured by toppling records in advertising lineage, and in circulation, and improved earnings for the 114-year-old newspaper.

The kind of financial news their paper is making these days furnishes cheerful reading for the 4,200 stockholders. No precise breakdown is available as to just who these investors are. But of the 261,180 shares of \$10 par common outstanding, the biggest block, some 30%, belongs to the employees themselves. The rest of the shares (of an authorized 650,000) are in the hands of the public, mostly Cincinnatians. Publicly-owned, too, are \$3.5 million in 5% sinking fund debentures, due in 1967. Another \$2.5 million in 6% convertible junior debentures, due in 1962, are held by the Chicago banking firm of Halsey Stuart & Co., Inc., which underwrote both issues. Although the convertibles may some day represent a virtually controlling block of common, President H. L. Stuart has pledged that they will never be used to take the paper away from its employees.

## Sought by Taft Faction

The whole experiment in community-employee ownership dates back to January, 1952. It was announced then that the paper would be purchased from the estate of John R. McLean by a rival, the Taft-owned Cincinnati *Times-Star*. There followed a nine-month struggle between the pro-Taft forces and a group of *Enquirer* employees, whose efforts to buy the paper nobody at first took seriously. At stake was a rich prize. For the Taft faction the combination of the two newspapers, plus already-controlled radio and television stations, would have meant a virtual stranglehold over Cincinnati's communication

media. But the *Enquirer* workers, aided by sympathetic Cincinnatians, by Halsey, Stuart and by the Cleveland financier, Cyrus Eaton, eventually won out.

Their first-round victory came when Halsey, Stuart agreed to underwrite the \$6 million in debentures, which was to augment the \$2.5 million of common stock to be sold. When the trustees of the McLean estate turned down this arrangement, it became evident that only an all-cash, immediate-payment offer could beat the *Times-Star* bid of \$7.5 million, including \$1,250,000 in cash, and the remainder over a 12-year period.

At this point the employees turned to Cyrus Eaton and his Portsmouth Steel Corp. There followed a melodramatic series of events, including a meeting via telephone hookup of Portsmouth Steel directors in six U. S. and Canadian cities. And the counter offer of \$7.6 million, full cash, payable within two days, was finally deposited with the court having jurisdiction over the sale, just five minutes before the deadline. The steel company temporarily took title to the paper, later receiving in return for its services a \$250,000 fee, plus all the \$87,000 in profits earned during the period of its nominal control. The employee corporation itself finally took over complete ownership on Sept. 30, 1952.

In retrospect, the prize looks even richer than it did at the time. Consider circulation, for example. The Sunday *Enquirer* added 18,500 readers in the 2½ years following the purchase, bringing its total to 286,000, according to Audit Bureau of Circulation figures. The morning daily, meanwhile, gained more than 15,000 subscribers, carrying it above 200,000 for the time. (Unofficial daily circulation now stands at 212,000.) The paper's rivals, both afternoon dailies, also have made gains, but smaller ones. Scripps-Howard's *Post* takes second place with a circulation of 167,260, up 12,384 in the same 2½-year period, while the *Times-Star* added 11,633

to reach a 159,513 total. To use another basis of comparison, morning papers nationally boosted their circulation by only 1.2% in 1954.

Advertising presents an even more striking picture. All the daily newspapers in the country reported for 1954 a decrease of 1.1% in lineage. But during that year the daily and Sunday *Enquirer* boosted its combined total by 4.6%—while the *Times-Star* and *Post* were suffering drops of 6.6% and 6.2%, respectively. In the first quarter of 1955, moreover, the *Enquirer* recorded its greatest three-month advertising pickup in history. For the first five months this year, it gained 1½ million lines over the comparable period of 1954, while the *Post* was adding less than one-half as much, and the *Times-Star* less than one-fifth.

Circulation and advertising together, of course, spell revenue. And from an earnings point of view, too, the employees corporation has been prospering. In its first full year of operation under the new ownership, the *Enquirer* netted \$349,421, or \$1.34 a share. The following year, some \$275,000 was plowed back into circulation and advertising expansion and \$200,000 was paid out in wage increases. Those expenses cut net earnings to \$268,456, or \$1.03 a share. In each of those years, dividends of 30 cents a share were paid. The management expects profits for fiscal 1955 to equal or exceed those of two years ago. Outside guessing is that net should come to something like \$360,000 for 1955.

At first, many insiders wondered where the working capital would come from. But their doubts are now allayed, for current assets climbed from \$2,361,193 in the new corporation's first balance sheet, drawn up on Sept. 30, 1952, to \$3,446,247 two years later. With almost \$2 million in cash and Treasury bills today, the *Enquirer's* officials feel it is over at least its first economic hurdle.

The average subscriber probably has noticed little difference in his morning



paper. True, its familiar slogan, "Solid Cincinnati Reads the Cincinnati *Enquirer*," has been amended to "Solid Cincinnati Reads and Owns the Cincinnati *Enquirer*." But few other outward changes meet the eye. The format is much the same as before, as is editorial policy, under the direction of Roger Ferger, president and publisher. What has changed, in the opinion of everyone from publisher to the lowliest reporter-stockholder, is the morale of the staff. All its members apparently like the idea of working for themselves. Says Mr. Ferger: "The real objective of our undertaking is to share the emoluments of success with those who help to produce that success. This has resulted in excellent morale."

A junior executive in the circulation department comments: "Everybody being a stockholder, we're looking to have a buck." And that is just what happened. Before the purchase, for instance, in the photo-engraving department, whenever a man called in sick, another would get overtime pay for doing an extra turn. Now overtime is a thing of the past; another employee works the extra hours by working his relief's regular turn. Boasts Harry M. Clark, photo-engraving foreman: "There's no overtime pay in our department now, and we save our company the money."

Members of the community at large, too, often join the effort to keep the *Enquirer* prospering, both in advertising sales and in newsgathering. "The sale of the paper," explains Joel L. Irwin, advertising promotion manager, "has warmed the welcome of our salesmen in many places." Says Hal Metzger, who frequently sits in on the city desk when Jack Cronin, city editor, is off duty: "I've had women call in and say 'I'm a stockholder and I don't know whether this is news, but . . .'" "Of course," adds Metzger, "we have stockholders who call in and make complaints, too."

The paper's high-level policy decisions are made by its two top executives, Mr. Ferger and Eugene S. Duffield, executive vice-president. And, of course, by the board of directors, selected before the stock sale by those executives and by an employee committee. On the board are five full-time employees: Messrs. Ferger, Duffield and Staab; James J. Ratcliff, Jr., vice-president and secretary; and John Kern, of the paper's composing-room.

The remaining directors are Cincinnati businessmen: Joel M. Bowlby, chairman of Eagle-Picher Co.; Powel Crosley, Jr., president of the Cincinnati Baseball Club; Carl M. Jacobs, general counsel of the corporation; Harold R. LeBlond, president of Cleveland Automatic Machine Co.;

William L. McGrath, president of the Williamson Heater Co.; Walter S. Schmidt, president of Frederick A. Schmidt, Inc.; and James D. Shouse, vice-president and director of Avco Manufacturing Co.

Actual control of the *Enquirer* rests in a five-year voting trust, established at the time of the sale, to insure a continuing voice for employees in the management. Sufficient "outsider" stock was deposited in the trust to give it approximately 55% of all outstanding common. The five trustees, including two rank-and-file employees, select the directors annually. They have, however, always accepted an employee referendum for three directors who actually represent the paper's staff. Neither directors nor employees have any say over editorial policy.

The success of the enterprise cannot, of course, be finally judged over so short a period. There are bound to be ups and downs in the future, as there have been in the *Enquirer's* previous 140 years. But at the moment its fortunes are clearly rising. Plans even now are being drawn up for a new \$3 million home, to be ready for occupancy when the present lease expires in 1961. All in all, the employee-citizen stockholders can look back with satisfaction on the first leg of their venture into newspaper ownership.

Barron's, July 11

## C. P. Scott on Journalism

*The Manchester Guardian has been publishing daily for 100 years. This centennial was observed on July 7 by the reprinting of an article by the Guardian's late great editor, C. P. Scott, which was written 34 years ago for the Guardian's first centenary as a newspaper.*

A hundred years is a long time; it is a long time even in the life of a newspaper, and to look back on it is to take in not only a vast development in the thing itself, but a great slice in the life of the nation in the progress and adjustment of the world. In the general development of the newspaper, as an institution, has played its part, and no small part, and the particular newspaper with which I personally am concerned has also played its part, it is to be hoped, not without some usefulness. I have had my share in it for a little more than fifty years; I have been its respon-

sible editor for only a few months short of its last half-century; I remember vividly its fiftieth birthday; I now have the happiness to share in the celebration of its hundredth. I can therefore speak of it with a certain intimacy of acquaintance. I have myself been part of it and entered into its inner courts. That is perhaps a reason why, on this occasion, I should write in my own name, as in some sort a spectator, rather than in the name of the paper as a member of its working staff.

In all living things there must be a certain unity, a principle of vitality and

growth. It is so with a newspaper, and the more complete and clear this unity the more vigorous and fruitful the growth. I ask myself what the paper stood for when first I knew it, what it has stood for since and stands for now. A newspaper has two sides to it. It is a business, like any other, and has to pay in the material sense in order to live. But it is much more than a business; it is an institution; it reflects and it influences the life of a whole community; it may affect even wider destinies. It is, in its way, an instrument of government. It plays on the minds and



consciences of men. It may educate, stimulate, assist, or it may do the opposite. It has, therefore, a moral as well as a material existence, and its character and influence are in the main determined by the balance of these two forces. It may make profit or power its first object, or it may conceive itself as fulfilling a higher and more exacting function.

I think I may honestly say that, from the day of its foundation, there has not been much doubt as to which way the balance tipped so far as regards the conduct of the paper whose fine tradition I inherited and which I have had the honour to serve through all my working life. Had it not been so, personally, I could not have served it. Character is a subtle affair, and has many shades and sides to it. It is not a thing to be much talked about, but rather to be felt. It is the slow deposit of past actions and ideals. It is for each man his most precious possession, and so it is for that latest growth of time the newspaper. Fundamentally it implies honesty, cleanness, courage, fairness, a sense of duty to the reader and the community. A newspaper is of necessity something of a monopoly, and its first duty is to shun the temptations of monopoly. Its primary office is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted. Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation must the unclouded face of truth suffer wrong. Comment is free, but facts are sacred. "Propaganda," so called, by this means is hateful. The voice of opponents no less than that of friends has a right to be heard. Comment also is justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank; it is even better to be fair. This is an ideal. Achievement in such matters is hardly given to man. We can but try, ask pardon for shortcomings, and there leave the matter.

But, granted a sufficiency of grace, to what further conquests may we look, what purpose serve, what task envisage? It is a large question, and cannot be fully answered. We are faced with a new and enormous power and a growing one. Whither is the young giant tending? What gifts does he bring? How will he exercise his privilege and powers? What influence will he exercise on the minds of men and on our public life? It cannot be pretended that an assured and entirely

satisfactory answer can be given to such questions. Experience is in some respects disquieting. The development has not been all in the direction which we should most desire.

One of the virtues, perhaps almost the chief virtue, of a newspaper is its independence. Whatever its position or character, at least it should have a soul of its own. But the tendency of newspapers, as of other businesses, in these days is toward amalgamation. In proportion, as the function of a newspaper has developed and its organisation expanded, so have its costs increased. The smaller newspapers have had a hard struggle; many have disappeared. In their place we have great organisations controlling a whole series of publications of various kinds even of differing or opposing politics. The process may be inevitable, but clearly there are drawbacks. As organisations grow personality may tend to disappear. It is much to control one newspaper well; it is perhaps beyond the reach of any man, or any body of men, to control half a dozen with equal success. It is possible to exaggerate the danger, for the public is not undiscerning. It recognises the authentic voices of conscience and conviction when it finds them, and it has a shrewd intuition of what to accept and what to discount.

This is a matter which in the end must settle itself, and those who cherish the older ideal of a newspaper need not be dismayed. They have only to make their papers good enough in order to win, as well as to merit, success, and the resources of a newspaper are not wholly measured in pounds, shillings, and pence. Of course the thing can only be done by competence all around, and by that spirit of co-operation right through the working staff which only a common ideal can inspire. There are people who think you can run a newspaper about as easily as you can poke a fire, and that knowledge, training, and aptitude are superfluous endowments. There have even been experiments on this assumption, and they have not met with success. There must be competence, to start with, on the business side, just as there must be in any large undertaking, but it is a mistake to suppose that the business side of a paper should dominate, as sometimes happens, not without distressing consequences. A newspaper, to be of value, should be a unity, and every part of it should equally

understand and respond to the purposes and ideals which animate it. Between its two sides there should be a happy marriage, and editor and business manager should march hand in hand, the first, be it well understood, just an inch or two in advance. Of the staff much the same thing may be said. They should be a friendly company. They need not, of course, agree on every point, but they should share in the general purpose and inheritance. A paper is built up upon their common and successive labours, and their work should never be task work, never merely dictated. They should be like a racing boat's crew, pulling well together, each man doing his best because he likes it, and with a common and glorious goal.

That is the path of self-respect and pleasure; it is also the path of success. And what a work it is! How multiform, how responsive to every need and every incident of life! What illimitable possibilities of achievement and of excellence! People talk of "journalese" as though a journalist were of necessity a pretentious and sloppy writer; he may be, on the contrary, and very often is, one of the best in the world. At least he should not be content to do much less. And then the developments. Every year, almost every day, may see growth and fresh accomplishment, and with a paper that is really alive, it not only may, but does. Let anyone take a file of this paper, or for that matter any one of half a dozen other papers, and compare its whole make-up and leading features today with what they were five years ago, ten years ago, twenty years ago, and he will realise how large has been the growth, how considerable the achievement. And this is what makes the work of a newspaper worthy and interesting. It has so many sides, it touches life at so many points, at every one there is such possibility of improvement and excellence. To the man, whatever his place on the paper, whether on the editorial or business, or even what may be regarded as the mechanical side—this also vitally important in its place—nothing should satisfy short of the best, and the best must always seem a little ahead of the actual. It is here that ability counts and that character counts, and it is on these that a newspaper, like every great undertaking, if it is to be worthy of its power and duty, must rely.

# Reviews —

## The Morals of "Security"

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, John Lord O'Brian, Harvard University Press. 84 pp. \$2.00.

by Richard Harwood

One of the most satisfying results of this small and excellent book is the knowledge that it is the work of an altogether respectable lawyer. Most lawyers are respectable, of course. But until very recently few among them have had any taste for the civil liberty fight that has engaged so many Americans for so many years now.

Constitutional issues of the gravest importance have been involved in this era of internal insecurity. Yet most of the important literature of the period has been the labor of newspapermen and teachers of the liberal arts. What is more, the lawyers have been notably inactive in the courts and hearing rooms. Any newspaperman who has ever covered a loyalty-security hearing, the trial of a Communist suspect, or a Congressional quiz program knows how hard it has been for defendants to employ "altogether respectable" counsel.

Perhaps now things have changed. A few months ago in my own state, Kentucky, a Louisville prosecutor told the state Bar Association that a defendant's use of the Fifth Amendment was a clear admission of guilt. He was very competently mauled in the discussion that followed.

A few weeks ago two fine volumes on the loyalty-security program were published by lawyers—Yarmolinsky's *Case Studies in Personnel Security* and Rowland Watts' *The Draftee and Internal Security*.

Mr. O'Brian's book is another welcome addition to the literature on these matters. It consists of two lectures he gave at Harvard University in April.

He argues that the government's effort to protect itself against Communist spies and saboteurs has cost us much and gained us nothing. Traditional liberties and rights have been sacrificed to fear

and expediency. The loyalty-security programs, congressional investigations, legislation and administrative rulings have robbed men and women of their good names and their jobs. The result?

"... After three years' administration of the original Loyalty Order... Chairman Richardson testified that not a single instance of sabotage or espionage had been shown in the hundreds of cases which had been reviewed by the Loyalty Review Board. As far as espionage is concerned, it is obvious that none of the programs or regulations would have prevented the treachery of Fuchs, the Rosenbergs or real Communists of that ilk."

What the government has done, says Mr. O'Brian, is to create a most unique legal system, a system of "preventive law" applicable to the field of ideas and essentially different from traditional American procedures. His phrase is very apt—"preventive law." It is based on the presumption, he says, that "unless... preventive action is taken the communication of (unorthodox)... ideas will be the direct cause of acts which are wrongful of themselves."

He catalogues some of the current government practices in loyalty-security cases, concludes that they are almost invariably unfair and need to be revised.

Ultimately, he believes, the American people will come to recognize the essential unfairness of the internal security program and it will then become not a political but a moral issue.

"This sense of right and wrong, or, if you will, of conscience, demonstrates the existence and the power of the moral tradition which, in America at least, overshadows in the last analysis the realm of law and of politics. At present that sense of conscience is obscured, but surely in time the sense of fair play will assert itself as it has in the past."

Mr. O'Brian is a member of the Washington law firm, Covington & Burling. He has had a distinguished career in government under six administrations, beginning with Woodrow Wilson in World War I. In the last world war he was general counsel to the Office of Production Management and the War Production Board.

## Food and People

STANDING ROOM ONLY, the Challenge of Overpopulation; by Karl Sax; Beacon Press, Boston; 206 pp.; \$3.

by Desmond Stone

Take one man aside and tell him how he will be affected by a world with "standing room only," and he may listen. Tell a whole people of a threat they cannot feel, and no one will heed. Here may be the heart of the problem of overpopulation in the world of tomorrow. If Dr. Sax is right, the solution lies in public education and understanding. But unless they can be confronted with a hard cold choice as individuals, the masses are not easy to reach in their dull grey anonymity.

This is one of several reasons why Dr. Sax's warnings may not fall on as many ears as they should. His task is made harder, too, because he stands in the shadow of North America's food surpluses. The Administration's biggest single headache does not help anyone to visualize a hungry world. There are, moreover, many links in Dr. Sax's chain of reasoning which only time can test. Agriculture and industry may well fall defeated before an unchecked growth of population; but who is there bold enough to place limits on the possibilities of atomic energy in its peaceful uses? On a controversial issue such as this, the layman finds himself confused. Whom should he believe—the scientists who predict a world of abundance for all, or experts such as Dr. Sax who say there can be no hope for a decent life for all mankind unless population growth is checked?

Let us consider some of the arguments so ably advanced and so clearly expressed by Dr. Sax. Three things have controlled the world's population in the past—war, disease, and famine. And these are the three things we must banish if we are ever to reach the goal of one world and one happy lot. We must live without total war because we cannot live with it. Disease, the world has already done much to eliminate, and it owes this to science and medicine and simple humanity. There remains the third factor, famine. A well-

ordered human-kind demands that this, too, be ended, for famine is the seedbed of unrest.

What, then, of a world without war, without disease, without famine? Can it feed the millions who will be born in those countries with an uncontrolled population growth? Dr. Sax says flatly that it cannot. "The utmost development of agriculture and industry cannot possibly keep pace with a population growth arising from a *natural* (italics in book) birth rate and a *modern* death rate." The underdeveloped areas of the world, he explains, still have to make the "Demographic Transition"—the transition "from a high-birth-rate-high-death-rate culture (with low living standards) to a low-birth-rate-low-death-rate culture (with relatively high living standards)." When the modern Western countries made this transition, their populations increased threefold. If low birth rates must await educational and economic developments in Asia, says Dr. Sax, a threefold increase there is inevitable. And that way lies disaster. "If birth rates cannot be reduced during the early phases of the development, all increases in the production of agriculture and industry will be absorbed by rapid population growth, and the only result will be more people living at subsistence levels."

Dr. Sax sees the only solution in birth control, and here his book enters its most controversial part. Since the world cannot afford to wait for Asia to make a natural transition to a low birth rate, then, he goes on, it must help to hasten the process, partly by encouraging an enlightened attitude toward birth control. Here the Roman Catholic Church and the Kremlin stand in the way, and the author is strongly critical of what he calls "primitive religious taboos and political dogmas." But "primitive religious taboos" may also be articles of faith, and it is at this stage that Dr. Sax runs up against his brick wall. There is a further point. If the size of families in Asia is not to be limited by the influences of education and higher economic status—and the author says he cannot wait for these motivating forces—can we really expect birth control to be successfully imposed? And has any nation or government the right to impose it?

Several of Dr. Sax's conclusions may be unacceptable to some people, even repug-

nant. But they cannot be lightly put aside, for overpopulation may yet have tragic results. Dr. Sax has marshalled his arguments impressively and he obviously knows his subject backwards. *Standing Room Only* is required reading for all with a serious concern in the balance between food and people.

## Law and the Court

IT'S YOUR LAW. By Charles P. Curtis, Harvard University Press. 178 pp. \$3.75.

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By Late Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, Harvard University Press, 92 pp. \$2.00.

by Edgar F. Seney, Jr.

For the layman who knows little of the legal profession, the law, or our courts, these two books are recommended reading.

For the legal profession itself, and those in undergraduate law schools, they could be classified as required reading.

Curtis, author of *It's Your Law*, allows a peek into the legal profession seldom analyzed law in terms easily understood, given as candidly by a member of that group. In an interesting way he has done sometimes, even though in his survey among his colleagues he came up with few answers and very much evasion. (This has provoked a sharp controversy among lawyers and has drawn an indignant denial from Lloyd Stryker.)

In his overall analysis of the legal profession Curtis has been able to discern the objective theory of operation and ethics, even though he qualifies both "objective" and "ethics."

"I am going to call it ethics, though 'ethics' is an unruly and sometimes disobedient dog, with a way of running off ahead of you to the reader and not coming back when you call him," Curtis explained.

People, Curtis maintains, reflect our laws. The jury system, often condemned by legal minds, is supported by Curtis.

"In the judge we have our intellectual side," Curtis said. "In the jury we have the intuitive part of us."

Along the same path, he opposed the theory of Gerald B. Winrod, who found fault with people who take the Constitu-

tion for granted, like good health.

"We ought to take it (the Constitution) for granted, just as we ought to take good health for granted. Constitutionality, so far as our legal rights are concerned, is no more than reasonably good political health."

Curtis also has a very good knowledge of the powers and weaknesses of the Supreme Court, and points out (directed, I suppose, mostly to his lay readers) that the Court is not a figure of justice and her scales, but merely a governmental body that rules on laws in relation to the Constitution. He does not like to use the word, "interpret," either.

Although the justices enjoy a life-time appointment (with the exception of impeachment) and a guaranteed wage "contract" 165 years older than the recent U.A.W.'s guaranteed annual wage, still they are subject to many political pressures from both the Executive and Legislative branches of government, mainly in appointments and budget.

The late Justice Jackson's book, *The Supreme Court in the American System of Government*, deals primarily with the Court. Not prepared originally by Jackson as a book, his three studies into the workings of the Supreme Court were to be three Godkin Lectures before the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration. Informed last year of his appointment to give the lectures, Jackson worked on them until his death last October.

Justice Jackson deals with the Court as a unit of government, as a law court and as a political institution. His little book is full of practical information about the Court's operating practices. A fascinating passage describes the Saturday morning conference.

In reading Jackson's book it may occur to many people, both the layman and the lawyer, that a decade ago when he was U.S. Chief of Counsel at the Nuremberg War Criminal Trials, he was an able and competent attorney. His book, too, further shows that he was perhaps one of our greatest Justices.

It explains the workings of the Court and, as in Curtis' book, its limitations. He explains that the Court is more a reflection of contemporary thinking than a reflection of the Constitution.



The reader to whom law seems a dull assignment will find that both Curtis and Jackson explain their ideas in a simple enough language for the interested layman to follow with interest.

## Most Misunderstood Man

JEFFERSON DAVIS, Hudson Strode. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 426 pp. \$6.75.

Hudson Strode tells us in the introduction to this biography that he discussed the project in advance with the late Douglas Southall Freeman who told him:

"I hope you will approach your subject with complete detachment of spirit and without preconception. I need not tell you that we Southerners gain our audience in direct proportion to the fairness of our approach."

Strode considered this to be "sage advice" and declares:

"I could say to him with complete honesty that I had no thesis. I was intent on discerning the mind and heart of Jefferson Davis. The ax of truth and fair dealing was the only one I had to grind."

In point of fact, Strode may have *approached* the Davis project with "complete detachment" but he soon fell in love. The result of the affair is a biography immensely interesting and sadly unbalanced.

It is the first biography in fifteen years of "the most misunderstood man in history"—Landon Knight's phrase—and it is armed with facts in profusion. Hudson Strode obviously has labored with great energy. Indeed, the reader may feel at times that he was over-zealous. He gives us a good deal of historical meringue with the dish. Still, it is good reading and Davis comes forth as an explicable, and more human figure than the stereotype admits.

The fault is this: that Strode, an English professor at the University of Alabama, set out to prove too much. If he began with no thesis, he picked up two along the way. First off, he seeks to demonstrate that as a human being, Davis was a warm-hearted, generous, out-going personality, rather than the stony-faced introverted figure that has been painted in the past. There is no question about the essential generosity of this Southern planter-politi-

cian. But there is also no question but what Davis was in some degree a psychological cripple. The terrible neuralgic seizures that afflicted him are evidence that somewhere in the man something was not in kilter. His compulsion to justify palpably his every act and his extreme sensitivity to criticism would seem to support that judgment. Strode makes no effort to explain his subject in these terms nor even to explore the implications.

More than the humanness of Davis, however, the biographer is concerned to persuade that Allan Tate spoke no more than the truth when he wrote that Jefferson Davis was "the last of the Senate giants." There no doubt will always be differences of judgment on the true dimensions of this man's achievement. Suffice it to say that the debate will not end with the Strode biography. The book clearly is written from a Southerner's point of view and that point of view, I may say as a Southerner, has not infrequently encountered fog around the questions of property rights and human rights. To his dying day, Jefferson Davis' view of slavery never changed. "He was convinced that servitude was a necessary steppingstone to the Negro's eventual freedom and 'measurable perfectibility.' He firmly believed

that the Negroes brought from Africa were benefited by their contact with white civilization and Christianity. He was convinced that as the instrument of supplying cotton to the textile industry, which meant better employment in England and in the Continent, as well as in New England, the Negro made a real contribution to world prosperity. . . . Jefferson Davis regarded Southern planters like his brother and himself as providing a beneficial tutelage for a childlike race . . ." Thus, Davis on prosperity and diverse other things.

In full dimension, Davis may have been a "giant" to Allan Tate and perhaps to other of the Southern Agrarians who wept and still weep that the old order hath passed. But some will yet look on Davis and see something of the intellectual pygmy there, too.

A final word: this is an expensive book—\$6.75 for the first volume which takes us down to 1861. The second volume, covering the years of the war and Davis' presidency of the unhappy Confederacy, will be published soon.

Do these books cost so much because the demand is limited? Or is the demand limited because they cost so much?

Richard Harwood.

## The World of Walter Lippmann

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY, by Walter Lippmann. Atlantic, Little, Brown. 181 pp. \$3.50.

Walter Lippmann, whatever the limits of his wisdom and whatever the course of his political thought since 1920, has been an adornment to the profession of journalism in America. He has been forthright, admirably honest, and productive.

He is a brooding, forever serious man. The standards he set for himself have led him along a road that almost certainly has been lonely at times. And he has come now, in the autumn of his life, to a philosophical precipice from which he scans a world "swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight." There is international disorder and discord. Fear is the great thematic chord of the Century, sounding in the human heart everywhere, both East and West. Democracy is sick and en-

feebled. The sickness is not yet fatal but the prognosis is in doubt.

That is the world of Lippmann in 1955. He has seen fit to record these depressing and negative reflections in his newest book *The Public Philosophy*.

It is his judgment that the popularly elected governments of the Western Democracies have lost their capacity to govern well and, further, that they must regain that capacity quickly or be swept away by the rising winds of totalitarianism. He believes that the fatal flaw in our system is the system itself which permits "mass opinion (to dominate) the government," producing "a morbid derangement of the true functions of power."

Badgered by this "mass opinion," the men in whose hands we have entrusted the government are unable to make the right decisions. When, at critical junctures in



history, the democracies ought to say "Yes" to peace or war, "mass opinion" has responded with a massive "No." "Mass opinion" produced the unworkable peace that followed World War I. "Mass opinion" denied us the military armaments and frustrated the diplomatic firmness that could have prevented World War II. "Mass opinion" bungled the settlement after World War II and it continues to hamstring the democratic governments in their striving against still another great war. Finally, "mass opinion" has corrupted our traditions of "civility"—that noble disinterestedness of mind which, in the past, actuated men in the government to seek not temporal political ends but lasting public good.

How "mass opinion" has accomplished all this, Lippmann does not say and more's the pity. Is this irresponsible creature, "opinion," to be equated to the government's guess as to the popular will? Or is it merely the dead weight of popular ignorance? Could "mass opinion" be the amassed editorial opinion of newspapers in general or perhaps just a handful of them? If he means newspapers, which ones? His own, the very civil *Herald-Tribune*, plus the New York *Times* and the *Post-Dispatch* and the Washington triumvirate? What exactly is this "mass opinion" Lippmann cries about and through what channels is it applied?

He never tells us in the book. He does speak, sadly, of the inroads of "Jacobin gospel" into our public educational system. By this he means that our schools are catering to the lowest human denominators of current society. The schools operate on the theory that "almost nothing has to be taught . . . and (hence) almost no effort is needed to learn it." They are failing to transmit the "body of public knowledge . . . (and) public philosophy" necessary for the proper functioning of democracy.

Perpetually in the reading of *The Public Philosophy* one is left wondering what Lippmann really means and what he really proposes we should do to rescue ourselves from our present infirmities. Should we educate none but the gifted? Should we muzzle in some way the expression of "mass opinion" and, if so, how should we do it? By muzzling the organs of "mass opinion"—newspapers, radio, television, movies, and so forth?

I do not accuse Lippmann of suggesting these things explicitly. But he has left the questions begging and open to any interpretation, hostile or kindly.

The foregoing speculation about "mass opinion" and what Lippmann thinks of it is essentially irrelevant to the main criticism of this mournful tract.

Oscar Handlin, the Harvard historian, has applied a scholar's bludgeon to Lippmann's whole thesis in a review in the July issue of *Commentary*. He very forcefully demonstrates that it was not "mass opinion" that determined the terms of the peace with Germany in 1919. They were drafted largely in secrecy by statesmen before the war ever ended and "mass opinion" had no opportunity to express itself on the matter one way or the other. Moreover, the posture of military weakness in the West outside America, prior to World War II was not a fact but an imagining of Lippmann's mind. Finally, Lippmann's implicit charge that "mass opinion" lost the peace that World War II should have won is patently premature. Who says it is lost yet?

Indeed, who says in truth that democracy is sick? Did "sick" democracies build the United Nations and the Western European Community? Did a "sick" American democracy conceive and execute the Marshall Plan? Is it a sign of "sickness" that America and England have very largely reconciled socialism and capitalism to create blended economies of immense vitality and productivity?

There is no point in laboring the question further. The disillusioned of the world will applaud Lippmann's melancholy pronouncements. He has grown gray in service. For his own sake it is to be wished that his mind had stayed young. Being old is no solace in itself.

Richard Harwood.

FACTS TO A CANDID WORLD, by Oren Stephens, Stanford University Press, 164 pp. \$3.50.

This is a solid book, on America's Overseas Information Program, by one of its executives. It describes the program, its philosophy, operations and effects. Oren Stephens, former newspaper editor, a Nieman Fellow in 1943, writes from large experience, much study and hard thinking about public opinion and propaganda. His book arrived too late for review.

## Roll Out The Carroll

To have him go, it is a pain;

The *Journal's* loss is the *Times'* gain.

The above piece of doggerel is dedicated to Wallace Carroll, executive editor of the Winston-Salem *Journal* and *Sentinel*, who is leaving North Carolina journalism to become Washington news editor of the New York *Times*, called by some authorities the "World's Greatest Newspaper."

Former war correspondent, consultant to the United States government on "Voice of America" and other propaganda, and a practitioner and a promoter of good journalism, Wallace Carroll has been a comet of brightness and light in Tar Heel newspaperdom in the six years he directed the news staff of the Winston-Salem papers.

He has been active in newspaper guidance throughout the craft in the state and leadership honors have accrued. But the best test of his stewardship is the scope of accomplishment in Winston-Salem. It is typical of him to derogate credit for himself, but it can be said that Carroll had much to do with the following achievements on Winston-Salem's "prize-winning newspapers" since 1949:

1. The Winston-Salem papers have become known as the "Blue Ribbon" winners—for prizes awarded in annual competition in the state for excellence in news, features, editorials, photography.

2. The *Journal* won second prize nationally in the Ayer Cup award (for typography) in 1955, being second to the New York *Herald Tribune*. The *Journal* has placed high in the competition the past several years.

3. Carroll has brought knowledge of world affairs to the grass-roots level in Winston-Salem—through special news and interpretive features.

4. He has stressed arts and other cultural advancement in the community, promoted by the newspaper.

5. He has insisted upon high journalistic standards, in writing craftsmanship and in the ethics of the profession.

6. Through his influence Winston-Salem has produced three Nieman Fellows in journalism, enabling three *Journal* and *Sentinel* staff members to study at Harvard University—one of the top opportunities and honors in American journalism.

North Carolina newspapermen will miss Wallace Carroll. They will wish him and the *New York Times* well. Looks like the *Times* intends to remain "the greatest."

—Shelby (N. C.) *Star*, Aug. 1

## Reviews—

Book editor for this issue is Richard Harwood of the news staff of the Louisville *Times*. Fortunately for this issue, Mr. Harwood arrived in Cambridge to start on his Nieman Fellowship ahead of his colleagues and found time to pitch into the shelf of books that had accumulated over the Summer.

# Letters

## From Louis Graves

Chapel Hill, N. C.  
July 18

To the Editor:

My wife's nephew, Edward K. Graham, [Chancellor, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina] was here today and told us he was to speak at the Nieman Foundation's conference on educational reporting at Harvard, August 2d. I am mighty glad of this. I asked him if he had seen the latest copy of *Nieman Reports* (July issue). He said he had not and I gave him my copy. Will you send me another one? It is a wonderful publication. To mention a matter that is trivial compared with many other matters: Contact as a verb. (In No. 4 of Wallace Carroll's *Seven Deadly Virtues*, on page 28.) I have been keeping tabs on this for years. It's been used in small town and small city papers for a long time. Now it's creeping into some of the big papers. I wrote Henry Irving Brock, the only man on the *New York Times* editorial department who was there when I was, 50 years ago, about his quoting passages in the *Times* in which "contacted" was used. It was not in articles written by regular members of the *Times* staff, but in dispatches from irregular correspondents. It just "slipped in." An AP mistake I quarrelled about for a while was "flaunt" misused for "flout" (e.g., flaunting the law). I wrote to papers which were AP members and complained about it. I never saw this mistake in a big city paper.

College of Journalism, Univ. of Colorado  
Do you have Eric Partridge's book *Usage and Abuse*? If you have it, see "flaunt" on page 129.

LOUIS GRAVES,  
Editor, Chapel Hill *Weekly*

## From George Seldes

To the Editor:

I don't know whether you like getting letters saying this issue (the latest) is the best you have ever published. I used to get them every week, when I published a weekly. So this is just to say that I liked your July issue (received today) very much. I was impressed with Paul Block's article and I want to thank all concerned in publishing the Hofer bureau story of 1955; I had a chapter exposing this business in my *Freedom of the Press* in 1935.

I also was much interested in Wallace Carroll's *Seven Deadly Virtues* of the press; and it reminded me that in 1935 I published Humbert Wolfe's little poem and it has been misquoted ever since. I believe it is better the way Wolfe wrote it:

You cannot hope to bribe or twist

Thank God! the British journalist,

But, seeing what the man will do  
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.

GEORGE SELDES

R.F.D., Windsor, Vt.

## From Prof. Waldrop

July 18, 1955

To the Editor:

One of my good friends has misunderstood my note to you which preceded Denny Lowery's article in the July issue on "The Industrial News Review in Colorado." For your readers may I clarify the "precede?" I did not think *Editor & Publisher* would use the article because it was too long and because INR is pretty much a matter for weekly newspapers. *The Quill* also is designed chiefly for undergraduates and graduates who are working on daily newspapers. Again, I think the article is rather long for *The Quill*.

I did not think that the article was scholarly enough to interest *Journalism Quarterly*.

I wrote too hurriedly. I should have qualified my note to indicate that the publications would not refuse an article because of the subject matter.

GAYLE WALDROP, Director,

## William H. Clark

1901-1955

William H. Clark died September 23d in Randolph, Vermont, where he had lived the past four years since his health forced him to retire from active daily journalism. He had continued to write books and articles since leaving the staff of the *Boston Globe*.

He was a Nieman Fellow in 1944-45, from the *Globe*, where he was best known to New England readers for his special articles on the weather and meteorological subjects. His special knowledge was particularly valuable on such great news events as the hurricane of 1938. He predicted the course of that, the first of the hurricanes that have since become familiar to New England. This was before official forecasters had learned much about hurricanes in the northeastern United States.

Another of his special interests was horticulture. For four years he edited *Horti-*

*culture*, the magazine of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and for 14 years he handled publicity for Boston's famous annual Flower Show.

A native of Revere, Mass., he started early in newspapering and worked nights on the *Globe* while a student at Harvard. He served as editor-in-chief of the historical branch of the Chemical Warfare Service in World War II.

He early began writing books on subjects of his special interests, both in the spare time of a newspaperman and in periods of leave from his regular newspaper work. Agriculture and transportation were among his specialties. He was author of a history of Massachusetts. After he moved up to Vermont he wrote chiefly about gardening, which he loved and continued to work at until his final illness.

A big solid, slow paced man, Bill Clark

was thorough in whatever he did. He dug deep into the subject and came up with material that was both interesting and informing on the background of the day's news. He was a calm man and the excitements of the news room never jarred him from his course. The Sunday papers offered space for his studies and special articles and for many years it was an unusual issue of the Sunday *Globe* that didn't have a Clark story on something new and interesting on the weather or the plants or birds or some special phase of local history that others had overlooked.

He leaves his wife, Evelyn, who is warmly remembered by the Nieman families of their group for her pleasant friendly qualities and kindly hospitality. They had one son, William F. Clark of Weymouth, Mass., and two grandchildren.

## Nieman Notes

1942

The London *Times* of July 21 listed in the first column of its front page of advertisements, under *Births*—

Burke—On July 18, 1955, at the Middlesex Hospital, to Helena (nee Malinowska) and Donald Burke,—a daughter (LUCY.)

Don Burke is *Time-Life International* correspondent in London, where he recently entertained Charles Morton of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

1945

Houstoun Waring, editor of the Littleton (Colo.) *Independent*, reports a Nieman reunion at his house in July, with Fred Warner Neal ('43), Lawrence Weiss ('49), Mortimer Stern ('55) and their wives, and Prof. A. Gayle Waldrop of Colorado's school of journalism.

1948

Justin McCarthy was appointed editor of *Mineworkers Journal* in May, and gets out

a paper with 350,000 circulation. He is still also head of the big union's news bureau.

1949

F. Tillman Durdin, New York *Times* correspondent in Southeast Asia, was the subject of a full page ad for the *Times* in *The New Yorker*, August 6th. A big omission in the *Times* ad was the failure to identify Till as the husband of Peggy Durdin, one of the finest writers in the Sunday *Times* magazine.

1950

Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines *Register and Tribune*, who earlier in the year made the Ladejinski case decision untenable for Secretary Benson's Department of Agriculture, is also credited with forcing the withdrawal of the nomination of Allen Whitfield of Iowa as Atomic Energy Commission member. Mollenhoff persisted in digging up the facts on Whitfield's handling of an estate as trustee, until his appointment was dropped.

William Stucky was appointed associate director of the American Press Institute at Columbia University, Sept. 15. He left the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, where he was assistant city editor, for the new post, to organize the Institute's seminars for newspapermen. He had been four years in Louisville and for seven years earlier on the Lexington (Ky.) *Leader* where he served as city editor and executive editor. His first newspapering was on the Yale *News* where he did a column in 1940, the year of his graduation.

After a Summer of editorial writing, Melvin Wax was assigned by the Chicago *Sun-Times* to the Happy Chandler campaign in Kentucky. He'd earlier been assigned to explore Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee as a possible vice presidential candidate.

1951

Wellington Wales was appointed New England division news representative of the United Press in July. He had been on the news staff of the Boston *Herald* since last Fall after four years as editor of the Auburn (N. Y.) *Citizen-Advertiser*.

Capt. W. J. (Bill) Lederer wants the world to know that his boss, Admiral Felix

J. Stump, commander of the Pacific Fleet, has a reasonable attitude toward the press and sends a speech of the admiral's before the Honolulu Press Club to prove it.

1952

John M. Harrison of the editorial page of the Toledo *Blade* went to Europe with his wife in May and wrote his impressions in the *Blade* on his return. He reported finding a remarkable economic recovery and optimism about the prospects for peace.

Lawrence Nakatsuka in his mid-Pacific post in Honolulu, was in a position to greet and entertain our first Asian Fellow, Hisashi Maeda of the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, on his way to Harvard. Keyes Beech of the Chicago *Daily News* gave Maeda a final luncheon send-off from Japan. Nakatsuka, press secretary to the governor of Hawaii, is starting on a goodwill tour of Asian countries for the State Department.

The news-photos from Denver when the President had his heart attack show John Steele on the job making notes for *Time Inc.*

1953

Melvin Mencher is writing editorials on the Fresno *Bee*.

1954

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* sent Richard Dudman from its Washington bureau to Argentina to cover the successful revolt against Peron. It was his second assignment to Argentina this year.

Lionel Hudson covered the Davis Cup preliminaries around the country for the Australia Associated Press out of its New York office, a very congenial assignment for Bill.

1955

Guy Munger is now assistant city editor of the Greensboro *News*.

William Woestendiek has moved North from Winston-Salem to be magazine editor of *Newsday* on Long Island. His departure from the *News and Sentinel* coincided with that of his old boss, Wallace Carroll, who moved to the Washington Bureau of the New York *Times* as news editor.

## Why do they Leave?

Continued from page 2

In the University of Texas study, they interviewed some of the newsroom people who had changed jobs to find out why they had changed.

One man, 35 years of age, a news editor at \$65, had switched to a metropolitan daily at \$100 a week. He felt that the small newspapers put the major part of their salary budgets into the advertising and mechanical departments, making the editorial workers the stepchildren. He said he would prefer to work on the small paper, but he felt there was no future there because of what he called the de-emphasis of the news side by the publisher.

One man, aged 40, now with a wire service, also preferred the small town and he said he would be willing to return if ever he could find a publisher willing to give news coverage equal footing with the advertising and mechanical functions.

Another journalism school graduate, a man of 45, now in public relations, was highly critical of publishers who look upon the editorial side as a "necessary evil."

Piled up, one on top of the other, you get from this study—limited as it may be—a depressing picture of rigidity and sterility on the part of small-city dailies.

It is difficult to see how these papers can contend that it is all a matter of economics. After all, these newspapers are paying mechanical workers and advertising salesmen. How can one justify paying an advertising salesman \$91 a week and an editor \$94.58?

The evidence would seem to point to the fact that these publishers have been, and are, trading on the commitment of young people who aspire to be professionals.

I would suggest that their economics are cockeyed. Their rate of turnover today is costing them money—dollars and cents they could well afford to put into their editorial budgets and as a result produce better newspapers.

In its study, the University of Texas put the cost of turnover at about \$500 for the first six months of breaking in a new man.

Cleve Rumble, personnel director of our Louisville papers, and former president of the newspaper personnel managers association, says there are two costs in turnover.

One is the direct out-of-pocket money spent in locating, investigating and employing a new man. This includes such things as long distance calls, any fees paid to agencies in locating or checking on men, postage, and similar direct-cost items.

The other is the time spent by a publisher in the process of finding such a man.

The small city publisher who would apply ordinary business efficiency to his editorial operations would, I am convinced, find himself automatically paying higher wages

and thus holding his staff people longer and he himself probably would live a little longer without his blood pressure going up so often and all without an excessive addition to his editorial costs.

I belong to that school of thought which believes that editorial quality has a direct relationship to financial success. Mark Ethridge has said many times that the best newspaper dollar ever spent is the editorial dollar.

John Cowles expanded on this theory still further last year. He pointed out then that eleven of the largest Sundays lost a combined total of more than 3,000,000 circulation between 1947 and 1954 and he went on to say:

"With a single exception, those newspapers that have had the heaviest circulation losses are NOT newspapers that regard full and fair news presentation as their primary function and reason for existence." He said that ten of the eleven "have depended primarily upon entertainment features or sex and crime sensationalism, or are papers which frequently editorialize in and slant their news columns to present their publishers' prejudices and opinions."

He went on to point out that an analysis of daily circulation gains and losses over this same seven-year period had revealed the same thing.

Right now we are in a business boom of sorts. Our advertising lineage is running at record figures. But what is going to happen if we should have a business downturn? Who will be hurt first among the newspapers?

One of the nation's most astute and best-grounded newspaper executives told me that it would be the small dailies "of course."

Why? I asked.

Simply, he replied, because this is where the national advertising schedules will come off first.

Does the quality of a small newspaper have anything to do with it? I asked.

Yes, was the prompt answer.

This expert's feeling was that where a newspaper has become indispensable to its readership, it is much less vulnerable to variations in the economic cycle.

What makes indispensability?

You and I know that it isn't the mechanical or advertising functions of a newspaper. You and I know that it is in the character and quality of the newspaper.

Getting character and high quality into a newspaper isn't all a matter of technique, or skills—or money either.

For a newspaper to have character, to be classed as one of the better newspapers, it needs first and foremost the spirit to want to be good. If the spirit is there, the rest may not always come easy, but it is attainable.

And the spirit has to come from the owner of the newspaper. If an owner doesn't understand what it is that a



newspaper ought to be, if he doesn't understand or appreciate the need for basic journalistic integrity and performance, the newspaper in his community is a doomed one for any man who is a professional in spirit. It is like a tombstone which might read: "Died at 30, Buried at 70."

Some of you may be wondering at this point how one goes about measuring an individual newspaper's performance on holding its editorial personnel.

I asked the same question. And as a result I can now give you a rule of thumb measurement which can be applied to any newspaper, be it large or small.

The turnover rate for all manufacturing concerns in the United States runs between  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent per month.

I might point out, in passing, that a newsroom is *not* a manufacturing plant and for this reason alone, turnover in newsrooms ought to be lower. But I'm not willing to get into an argument about it. Let's just settle on  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per month as the national average a company ought to be holding.

In Louisville, Mr. Rumble tells me, our turnover rate is 1.15 per cent per month.

That, I am told, is about as low as you can get and still be running a sane operation. For in some instances, you have to remember that it is costly NOT to have turnover. It may indicate an organization that is dying on its feet.

Where turnover is high—8, 9, 10 per cent per month—the personnel experts say they become concerned. They see this as evidence of a serious instability within an organization and they promptly start searching for the factors which contribute to this kind of rapid turnover.

On the other hand, these personnel experts tell me that excessively low turnover concerns them equally.

Their reasoning here is that it indicates that no new blood is coming into an organization, that at the same time there is no opportunity for advancement within an organization for those already there—that, in short, it can mean a static performance, rather than a growing one.

This has been a new thought for me, but I can see its application. Perhaps it is new for me because I can't seem to recall a time when there wasn't turnover on the newspapers for which I have worked. Certainly, there have been tight employment periods, but always someone has gone either up—or out. It has always been, in my time, a vocation of almost unlimited opportunity for the man who has had something to offer.

Up to about twenty years ago, it was the general practice in this country to have a differential between the composing room and the newsroom. Yes, I worked under those conditions. I was a \$35 a week assistant city editor when the linotype operators were getting \$50 or \$52, I forget which.

Unfortunately, it took the Newspaper Guild to change a lot of that. The advent of the Guild saw this imbalance gradually corrected and today it is the general rule that newsmen receive—as well they should—more money than the composers.

I say "unfortunately" because the whole situation seems to imply that newspaper publishers do not on their own volition correct inequities.

It's a personnel problem.

For if enough of the bright young men and women of talent are permitted to drift away reluctantly into the competing branches of the communications arts, the newspapers will be left with the seconds.

And the seconds simply aren't good enough for the fight we have on our hands.

We need now—and we are going to need—young people with brains and ingenuity and writing ability—people who can recognize the facts of life as they exist.

I have a suggestion for those publishers who have had high turnover rates and who are moved to do something about it.

I would recommend that these men go back over their records and pick out the names of the people who have left their papers over the past ten years.

Then, let them find out where these people presently are—or as many as they can reasonably locate—and then write to each of these people a warm and friendly letter. This letter should ask for a confidential appraisal of the newspaper, asking the people to reveal some of the reasons why they left, and asking for their judgments as to how the newspaper might be improved.

It would seem to me that the response to this kind of approach might well prove invaluable. It would be on the order of opening up a door to let in some fresh air. Publishers would get the benefit of really expert opinions—the opinions of men who had worked in their shops and who knew the operation.

I do not believe we can sell just jobs as such.

We have to sell opportunity. We have to sell the fact that we are open to ideas. We have to sell the pride of a good newspaper.

And selling opportunity of this kind means obviously that we have to pay salaries to attract talent—salaries that are more attractive than those offered to mechanical workers or than those paid to men who merely sell space.

For the truism of life is that we get what we pay for.

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**Norman Isaacs**, managing editor of the Louisville *Times*, former president of the Associated Press Managing Editors Conference, is one of the people who give some thought to the problems of newspapers. This is only part of a talk to the Iowa Daily Press Association, Sept. 10, that dealt with the personnel problem.