

Nieman Reports

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"TO INSURE INDEPENDENCE"

Eugene Meyer Entrusts Future Control of Washington Post to Protective Committee

Eugene Meyer, Chairman of the Board of the Washington Post, has announced completion of a plan to insure the continued operation of the Post as an independent newspaper dedicated to the public welfare.

Voting stock of The Washington Post Company, under this plan, has been transferred to Mr. and Mrs. Philip L. Graham, son-in-law and daughter of Mr. Meyer, and a committee of five has been named to approve any future changes of control.

Non-voting stock continues to be held by Eugene Meyer and Agnes E. Meyer.

Members of the committee are:

- (1) Chester I. Barnard, President of The Rockefeller Foundation.
- (2) James B. Conant, President of Harvard University.
- (3) Colgate W. Darden, Jr., President of the University of Virginia.
- (4) Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Justice, District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia.
- (5) Mrs. Millicent C. McIntosh, Dean of Barnard College.

Mr. Meyer stated: "Mr. Graham has been associated with me in publishing the Washington Post since his release from the Army at the beginning of 1946, and for the past two years he has been in direct charge of its affairs as publisher. Mrs. Graham has worked in various departments of the paper over the last ten years. I am confident that under their control the paper will adhere to its principles of independence and public service.

"It is the joint concern of Mr. and Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Meyer and myself that the Washington Post shall always serve those principles. The committee has been established so that any control of the Post subsequent to that of Mr. and Mrs. Graham will also be determined by loyalty to the same ideals. It is our purpose that the control of the Post shall be treated as a public trust, and that it shall never be transferred to the highest bidder without regard to other considerations.

"When I acquired the Washington Post after experience in business and long government service, I was aware of the power and responsibility of a newspaper. This awareness has been sharpened by the daily work of running a newspaper. To survive, a newspaper must be a commercial success. At the same time, a newspaper has a relation to the public interest which is different from that of other commercial enterprises. This is more than ever apparent in these days when our free institutions are under their severest trial and closest scrutiny.

"The citizens of a free country have to depend on a free

press for the information necessary to the intelligent discharge of their duties of citizenship. That is why the Constitution gives newspapers express protection from Government interference. The authors of the Bill of Rights considered any Government interference with the press incompatible with American ideas of freedom and liberty. It is also possible for the public interest to be defeated by the way a newspaper is conducted since the principal restraint upon a newspaper owner is his self-restraint. I am confident that the appointment of this committee will assure the Post a management conscious of its public responsibility."

The committee has been established under newly amended articles of incorporation of The Washington Post Company, a Delaware corporation. The amended articles provide that the object of the Company is to publish the Washington Post "as an independent newspaper dedicated to the welfare of the community and the nation, in keeping with the principles of a free press."

The articles further provide that voting shares of the Company shall only be transferred to persons who are considered by the committee to hold this view of the newspaper's function. The committee is given "absolute discretion" to approve or disapprove any persons to whom it is proposed to transfer voting shares. Committee members are appointed for life. In case of death or resignation of a member, a successor is to be appointed by the remaining members.

Mr. Meyer further stated: "The committee has no authority over or responsibility for the policies or operations of the Post. Mr. and Mrs. Graham will have full control so long as they own the voting stock which I hope will be for a long time. This should insure the maintenance of those principles which have been developed by myself and my associates over the past fifteen years.

"The sole duty of the present committee members or their successors is to provide a disinterested group for approving any subsequent owners of voting shares of the Post. In selecting the committee, I attempted to give representation to the national and local communities because of the dual responsibility of a newspaper in the Nation's Capital. Whenever the present committee members or their successors may be called upon to approve a new owner of voting shares of the Post, I am sure they will particularly seek the advice of members of the Post's staff as well as that of other competent newspapermen.

"I wish to express my gratitude to the distinguished members of the committee for undertaking as a public service this effort to safeguard the ideals of responsible journalism."

(This is believed to be the first American adoption of the form of trust that protects control of a number of the great papers of England. It seems to follow closely the form of trust of the London Times.)

THE NIEMAN FELLOWS

by Louis M. Lyons
Curator, Nieman Fellowships

Each autumn since 1938 the stream of students flowing into Cambridge has included about a dozen newspapermen, who have come on Nieman Fellowships for a year's work at Harvard.

They have taken advice where they found it and set about obtaining answers to the questions which brought them to the University. They have outlined their general plans in advance and had them accepted. But the year's work is of their own shaping. Each develops his individual program. Some come with gaps to fill in previous education, others to catch up with the changing world of their times, in science, in economics, in world relations. Some want to study the special problems of their regions, some to prepare for assignments in the foreign field or in Washington, others to concentrate in areas where modern journalism requires specialization, in labor economics, agriculture, city planning, housing, science.

At an average age of thirty-three after a dozen or so years of the pressure of the daily news, they enter upon a year of freedom to take what they can from a university whose doors are open to them in every department.

They enter these doors at different levels of preparation, at various stages in their profession, and with widely differing desires. But all come seeking the knowledge they expect the University to supply.

Some are writers, some editors, a few publish their own small papers. Some come from the highly organized metropolitan dailies, some from country weeklies. They are reporters and correspondents, news editors and the technicians of the copy desk.

The one thing they have in common is that they are qualified newspapermen who seek to reinforce their background for dealing with the complex pattern of events which make the news.

They owe the chance of a year of work in a university to the widow of a newspaper publisher. The Lucius W. Nieman Fellowships were established at Harvard in 1937 by a bequest of Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, founder of the *Milwaukee Journal*. Her purpose as she defined it was "to promote and elevate standards of journalism in the United States and educate persons deemed especially qualified for journalism."

Harvard chose to carry out the purpose by opening the University each year to a selected group of working newspapermen of at least three years' journalistic experience. They come on leaves of absence from their papers, and their stipends from the Foundation approximate the salaries they relinquish during their residence in Cambridge. Applicants numbering ten to twenty times as many as the Fellowships available each year insure opportunity for annual selection of a representative group of competent newspapermen.

Just about half the Nieman Fellows of the first ten years—59 of 122—have been general staff reporters. Sixteen more have been specialized reporters, six in labor, five in politics, five in science. Twenty-four have been editors, ranging from city editors and Sunday editors of large papers to editor-publishers of small papers. Seven have been editorial writers, six copy desk members, and nine foreign correspondents, of whom all but two have come since the war.

Previous education is no factor in the Nieman selection. It is based on the promise which their past performance has shown for future usefulness in journalism. Of the 122 who came up to the Fall of 1947, two-thirds (81) were already college graduates and eight of them had also master's degrees. Twenty-four had started college but never finished. Seventeen had never been to college.

So their demands upon a university are various. Equally so are their problems of devising ways and means to make the most of their year. No requirements are laid upon them for class attendance or examinations nor are any degrees or course credit conferred. They may divide their time as they choose between lecture and library, conference and laboratory, discussion and cogitation.

The individual ways they have organized their Nieman year are described in this book in their own words, taken from their term reports to the Curator of the Nieman Fellowships. The 20 work reports shown here were selected as representative of the activities and processes of Nieman Fellows at Harvard.

They tell a number of things besides the distribution of studies. Incidentally, the distribution of the whole 122 shows the largest number (30) have centered their work in American history. The next largest number (21) have concen-

trated in international affairs. Economics has claimed the principal attention of 19, including eight whose concern was chiefly with labor. Regional studies have occupied 13, most of them Southerners seeking answers to the particular social and economic problems of the South. Government, national to municipal, has proved the chief interest of ten, city planning of five. Six science writers have explored the various science departments. Two Fellows have found their interest in sociology, two in agriculture, one in housing.

The other dozen defy classification. Some, as their reports show, have ranged pretty well through the college catalogue. But with minor excursions into literature, philosophy, psychology and the arts, most, as would be expected from their necessary concern with public affairs, have centered their work in history, government and economics.

The reports tell their own story of problems and adjustment to the changed pace and environment from news room to college. The fresh eye these men bring to college study, the sense of adventure, the zest for exploration, the voracity with which some have consumed the offerings of classroom and library, and the satisfaction shown over unanticipated by-products of leisurely study and intellectual stimulus gleam through many of the reports.

The occasional references to the informal group program of Nieman dinners with visiting journalists and seminars with professors, to the social and intellectual value of association with the Harvard "Houses," to conferences and conversation and informal relationships with the faculty, sufficiently suggest the atmosphere in which the year is spent.

The Nieman Fellows as a group each year develop a close fellowship. Two groups have joined in producing books on journalism as a by-product of their Nieman year. But within the group each carries out a highly individual program. In total these make a great variety of intellectual experience. The principal purpose of this book is to describe a representative variety of the individual Nieman projects at Harvard.

Taken from the introduction to the book, *The Nieman Fellows Report: An Account of an Educational Experiment Now in its Tenth Year*; Harvard University Press. \$2.75.

THE COUNTRY WEEKLY DREAM

by Fitzhugh Turner

To this reporter, an old country weekly man himself, it has seemed that everybody he meets is a prospective country editor. Anyone with ordinary acquaintanceship in the writing trades knows editors, advertising men, magazine executives, publicity people and printers, not to mention individuals in fields from selling to soldiering, who assert that their aim in life is "to settle down some day and run my own little newspaper."

Why, Heaven knows.

The country editor legend paints a pretty picture, granted. Small towns look good from the city. The rich rural life has great appeal, especially to those who aren't living in it. But the country weekly dream is beyond these things; it can be explained only on grounds of A) wishful thinking and B) ignorance. The man who says he wants to be a country editor rarely has a clear idea of what a country editor must be, and the country weekly he thinks he'll run has infrequent existence in real life.

Your would-be-editor thinks of his newspaper office, chances are, as a charmingly quaint old establishment in a pleasant side street of some shady village, with himself occupying the chair at the battered rolltop desk, exchanging remarks about weather and crops with old-timers, dispensing homely wisdom to the young, and confounding, on occasion, the local squire. Either that or he pictures a perfect newspaper on a small scale, complete with tiny but modern plant, utilizing scores of ideas he has picked up in the big time, the drudgery being handled by a small but capable staff. All this with plenty of time of his own for hunting or fishing and very possibly a bit of farming on the side.

Well, pleasant villages are rare and each has its own newspaper now with a waiting list of buyers. Equally important, there is the money question. Ideal newspapers, city or country, have a way of losing money, and rolltop desks don't of themselves pay dividends. Only the wealthy can go in for publishing on a losing scale, an unprofitable weekly is notorious for its ability to drain large sums down the hatch.

What is a country weekly anyway? Putting aside the wistful notions of the would-be publisher in the city, the country weekly as it now exists is very much the same kind of institution as a metropolitan daily. True, it is often mailed to its readers rather than delivered by carrier or sold on the streets. It has, however, a front page, an editorial page, a society column, sports coverage perhaps, and, of course, advertisements. The usual issue contains eight pages, but it may run down to six or four or up to twelve or twenty, depending on the location and the capability of the owner. It is set up in type, made up and printed just as is the daily, although usually it is turned out by a flatbed press. In its community, it occupies the same position as does the daily, and fulfills very much the same function.

The similarities are obvious. The dissimilarities are more important. The country weekly, by its nature, can be concerned with only one kind of news—local. It may run a "canned" roundup column of world news and national affairs, but its front page is devoted to community happenings, doings of the volunteer fire department, schools and civic clubs, local merchants and local politicians, and churches. To its credit, crime and police news is played down, the wealth of small town scandal ignored entirely. The quality of the writing, speaking generally, is bad, the news very probably flavored with the opinion of the editor. Obituaries, which are important, are of a stereotyped complimentary nature for heel or hero alike, the old-fashioned "he was beloved by all who knew him" still being a good phrase or considered so.

Editorial opinion, displayed widely in the news columns, is feeble on the editorial page, likely to run to such subjects as "Why We Like Our Town," "Be Patriotic—Shop at Home," or "Go to Church This Sunday." The exception is in politics, which sometimes brings more controversial writing into print, or it may lie in the not infrequent issue which finds the influential elements of the community on one side of the question and no one the editor fears on the other. Even political opinion is more often based on the editor's personal business connections than the public interest. Many a weekly owes its existence to the factionalism of local politics, and many a politician lies in the background as the man who holds the mortgage on the local gazette.

We are talking here, it should be pointed out, in terms of the typical and average. There have been and are country editors of character and courage who have published newspapers of character and courage. There have been enough of them to account for the man-at-the-rolltop-desk legend. But as is usual in such cases, the legend in turn has accounted for the imitators, whose only qualification has been possession of a rolltop desk.

Over the country, weeklies run the gamut in quality, prestige and competence. In New England, New York State, parts of California and scattered elsewhere, mainly in areas of prosperity, there are important rural newspapers. They are in the vast minority. The others, and there are thousands of them, reflect the typical present day small town publisher. Far from the legendary shirtsleeved philosopher, he is a conservatively dressed man of careful habits, occupant of one of the good houses in town, a figure you might mistake for a druggist or the cashier of the bank. His appearance, his thinking and his conversation reflect the element in which he is steeped and to which he owes his existence, the retail trade of his community. Consequently he and his newspaper most often are found stooging, purportedly or not, for the merchant-lawyer-banker clique which runs the average small town. He is backward in his mental processes, insular in his opinions, limited in his horizon, and, of course, by no means can he be a good newspaper man. He couldn't afford to be if he knew how.

This may be a bad situation. It is not, of course, unique to country weeklies. Those daily newspapers which lack independence are in that fix for similar reasons. There is little real difference between domination of a metropolitan editorial department by the advertising manager and domination of a country editor by his own pocketbook.

The usual country weekly, it is well known, is very much a one-man proposition. The editor owns and bosses the establishment, makes the decisions, spends the money, sets the policy and possibly some of the type. He himself solicits the advertising, writes the principal news stories, composes the editorials.

He has an assistant, a girl who handles the all important personal notices, answers the telephone, keeps track of subscriptions, reads proof and otherwise does

Fitzhugh Turner ran a successful weekly, the Fauquier Democrat, in Warrenton, Virginia, for three years. A newspaperman for 14 years, he has served the New York Herald Tribune since 1945, both as a foreign correspondent and now in New York.

the office dirty work. If it is a well-run business there may be another girl to keep the books and help out. The rest of the staff consists of one, two or three printers.

The editor's work week is sixty or seventy hours. His return, after he has met the power bill, the rent, the installment on his machinery, the paper bill and the payroll is possibly enough to support him, but certainly not enough to make him independent. A monthly net income of \$300 or \$400 is considered highly satisfactory by many weekly newspaper proprietors. Weeklies, the fact is, just don't make money. Advertising sells as low as twenty-five cents a column inch, or a fourth the rate of even a tiny daily. An average weekly of eight pages may gross up to \$350 an issue in advertising, but the payroll and paper bill will account for this sum with ease. The profit, it develops, must come from job printing.

As a business printing is respectable, interesting and reasonably remunerative. Small shops can produce work of high merit, if the printers have time, equipment and skill. But few men can be commercial printers and newspaper editors at the same time with much success. It requires a business man to make a successful printer. Business men, on the whole, make poor editors. As a result, your country editor is weak in the qualifications that make for good newspapers. His sense of responsibility to his readers is subordinated to the interests of his business. To cite a common situation, he cannot afford to offend the politicians who make up the local government, since the local government is a good customer for printed forms. Handling the news to the satisfaction of the men who constitute his advertisers and printing customers occurs to him as the normal method, surely the least troublesome. Editorial policy thus consists of preservation of the status quo and resistance of the new, foreign or unfamiliar. Ask him to write a fair news story and fight it out in the editorial column, to print both sides of the question or to try for objectivity and he thinks you're advancing a radical idea. From the professional viewpoint, he may not even know what you're talking about.

Although most Americans can, if they wish, read a daily newspaper, more than half of them read weeklies alone, or weeklies along with dailies. Surveys again and again demonstrate that weeklies are read many times more thoroughly than dailies. The most reasonable theory here is that weeklies are full of names their readers recognize and subjects familiar to them. Smalltown readers are

avid for news of their neighbors, and seem to like to see it in print even when they've known the details for days. A daily newsman recognizes this same trait in the fact that among city folk, those who saw the game or the show are the most eager readers of, for instance, a football story or a theatre criticism.

There are, in the nation, some 1,872 daily newspapers. Weeklies, by contrast, total 10,050, but the smaller circulations of weeklies give each medium, in the aggregate, about the same number of readers. Thus weeklies should play as important a role in shaping public opinion as dailies. Weeklies, as much so as dailies, ought to be published by men with strong feeling for the responsibility of the press to all the people of the community and the country. On the whole, they are not.

Even your least responsible editor, let me hasten to say, does fill a need in his town. During the war he promoted government bonds, fat salvage, paper collection and all the other patriotic activities. If he condemned inflation in one breath and urged higher prices for the local product in the other, well, he was in numerous company there. War or peace, he covers the news after a fashion and contributes at least something to his community, if only the label of "The Nicest Small Town in the World" or "the Largest Spinach Center in Southwestern Gooch County." While things go smoothly, as an editor he may be almost adequate. When the going grows rough and the situation calls for truth, courage and fair play, chances are he's in there pussy-footing with all his might, or else fighting for localism, special interest and reaction.

Unfortunately, the kind of men who are in office as country editors seem to be the only kind of men who can make a go of country publishing. This single fact is the greatest discouragement of many to the competent fellow with notions of publishing a weekly newspaper of high standards. Next greatest, of course, is the low financial return for the hard work involved. The city man who is looking for ease will do better in his office with his five-day week and his annual vacation than he will in the country working all hours six or seven days a week every week of the year.

Entering the field, if he chooses to do so in the face of every difficulty, the newcomer will find it necessary to make many concessions. Because, in the usual small town, "no outsider is going to come in here and tell us how to run our business," he can't afford at first to expose a public

scandal or kick out a bad official. Paradoxically, he'll find himself an ex officio leading citizen, and he'll find it impossible to hold himself personally aloof from the petty day-to-day quarrels that arise. He'll be expected, almost required, to take sides in everything, to be a partisan in person at the same time he is trying to be a non-partisan reporter in print.

Incidentally, he'll have to learn to avoid the term "country weekly," an expression offensive to the men who publish country weeklies. He'll be publishing, he'll find, a "country paper," a "community newspaper," or, at least, a "weekly newspaper."

He'll be expected as a matter of course to join the local civic organizations, to be active in them and enjoy them. He must be careful in his friends to choose them from the "right" people. He must watch his conduct and keep it good, gray and unexciting. He must attend the proper funerals, and take part in the chicken suppers and the bazaars and the benefits and the interminable meetings.

Particularly must he observe the rules for the first few years, since for that length of time or more he will be regarded as a "newcomer," and will be watched carefully and with suspicion.

If he does everything right, if, as an editor friend of mine puts it, the town comes "to like the way he shines his shoes," and more important, if he himself learns to enjoy small town life, he will be accepted eventually as a real member of his community. If he is a rarely talented man or even one of those infrequent individualists who can get away with individualism, he may make something better of it. Otherwise he and his paper inevitably will settle down to become the tired and mediocre voice of the unimportant local interests of this particular unimportant locality.

Caste in Currency

England alone of all countries has a special coin for social purposes. The guinea is fictitious, to be sure, but no fiction was ever more real, and the distinction between schools, doctors, writers, tailors, who are paid in aristocratic guineas and those who are paid in vulgar pounds is profound.

—"English Traits," Henry Steele Commager in August Atlantic Monthly

Journalist Rating

WAUKEGAN, ILL.—The Navy at nearby Great Lakes Naval Training Center is training men in journalism as a separate activity and with special rating of journalist, one grade below ensign.—Editor & Publisher, July 17

The Colorado Editorial Advisory Board

HOW AN EDITOR USES LAY BOARD OF CRITICS

by **Houstoun Waring**

I live in two worlds—the business world and the academic world. These worlds can be brought together, but they are now as separated as the two worlds of which Wendell Willkie wrote.

Massachusetts Avenue divides the two worlds in Cambridge. During my Nieman year I had it forcibly brought home to me when I would step across the street from the Harvard Yard to the Cambridge Rotary club, which is composed of more than one hundred prominent business and professional men. These men, like "practical" men I have met across the nation, are leading America with a set of facts and social attitudes which were in vogue in the academic world thirty years ago. And not a single member of the Harvard teaching staff is present to disturb their equanimity.

It has been my theory for many years that the practical man and the scholar can be mutually helpful. I like to introduce them and see how each draws on the experience and knowledge of the other.

As a newspaper editor my thinking is pretty much that of the business man. Merchants, wholesalers, lawyers, bankers, and doctors are my day-to-day companions. I must make an effort in order to maintain contacts in nearby university towns. But knowing that these associations pay an editor, I began an experiment three years ago which was designed to bring the press and the thinker together. The experiment is called "The Colorado Editorial Advisory Board."

I felt the need of such a board to criticize the newspaper which I edit—a picked set of men and women willing to read our newspaper and comment on it both favorably and unfavorably. I invited leaders in three colleges and two other institutions to serve on the initial board. Although persons with overloaded schedules, everyone accepted the offer with enthusiasm. They saw the shortcomings of the press and were willing to embark on the experiment. The plan called for

a four-hour dinner meeting in Denver every 90 days. To make it worth the time of the critics, seven other daily and weekly newspapers were welcomed into the group. This increased the reading requirements of the advisory board, but the critics saw their chance for public service and took on the added duties. In the original group were a sociologist, economist, journalism professor, psychologist, political scientist, and expert on international affairs, a man from the National Opinion Research Center, and a woman who worked with the Spanish-American minority in Colorado. At this point I might state that the public opinion poll adviser was able to tell us the areas of ignorance among our readers,

and the woman that worked with the Spanish people, who are proportionately as numerous west of the Mississippi as Negroes are east of the river, gave us an insight into the lives of 50,000 of our neglected and abused neighbors.

Our critics have made suggestions on the evaluation of news, the handling of crime stories, editorial comment, and tricks to get readership. They have expressed social philosophies which were far removed from the ideas of many editors, but they have done so in a pleasant situation which has brought minds together instead of resetting prejudices. Only one cross word has been spoken in the entire three years of our meetings, and we map out the program on contro-

One Small Town

Shown in the 60th Year Edition of the Littleton Independent

There is another side to Fitzhugh Turner's disillusionment with the small newspaper. It is illustrated by the careers of half a dozen Nieman Fellows who are successful and apparently happy in editing weeklies or small dailies. Notable among them is Houstoun Waring, whose article on the Colorado Editorial Advisory Council shows the other side.

It is shown graphically in a beautiful book published as the sixtieth anniversary edition of Mr. Waring's Littleton Independent, issued August 20. In 16x11 size pages, with a black and gold cover, it lavishly illustrates the community life of Littleton, Colorado in nearly two hundred photographs in its one hundred pages. Fourteen of the illustrations, half a page each, are black and white etchings of Littleton and its scenic mountain environs, by a native artist, Robert T. Ramsey. Other illustrations show the local planning board's prospect of the future of Littleton. All the organizations and institutions and groups and churches and enterprises and schools of Littleton are represented photographically, especially the schools in all their activities. The Rotary Club and the Fire Department, the playground and the high school prom are in there, and the main street of Littleton with its noble background of snow-covered mountains rising behind it like a scenic drop at the movie theatre.

The headline on the story of the Littleton Independent is "30 Years Hand-Set, 30 Years Machine-Set." The articles tell of the life of Littleton. The first one is "A Third Grader and Her Day." The next is "The Life of an 8th Grade Child." After that come "A Junior at Littleton High." Other articles are on "The Return of a Veteran," "An Evening with Grandview Grange," "An Arapahoe County Farm Family," "The Life of a Telephone Girl," "A Man in Littleton Industry," "A Day with a Littleton Pastor," "The Arapahoe Hunt." Nearly a page of type and two pages of photographs tell the story of soil conservation work in the county under the title, "They're Overcoming the Nation's No. 1 Problem." Another page is given to a map and description of the great Cherry Creek Dam, six miles northeast of Littleton. Other whole pages are devoted to the municipal swimming pool, the Volunteer Fire Department, and a Saturday with the Littleton Police.

The final feature is a whole page of "Recipes from the Kitchens of Littleton."

It is a handsome presentation of small town life that makes almost an idyll of one small town, as unquestionably it is to Editor Houstoun Waring, who writes that he has just been offered a permanent professorship in the State University but "I have declined because I think my work here is more effective."

Houstoun Waring is editor of the Littleton (Colo.) Independent which observed its 60th anniversary this summer. Eight times in the last 14 years he has won the State award (Parkhurst Trophy) for greatest community service of Colorado weekly newspapers. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1944-45.

versial lines purposely. We want to hear things that we don't hear at a luncheon club or at the chamber of commerce.

No adviser has been kept for more than six meetings, as we pretty well milk a person dry in that many evenings. We always have a journalism professor from one of the universities with us, as such men are more aware of standards which newspapers should achieve. Owing to the world situation, we never fail to invite someone to give us background on foreign affairs. Otherwise, we ask nearly any sort of critic of the press to break bread with us, such as union leaders, intelligent public officials, or organizers of cooperatives. And be it said for the newspaper men of the Denver region, they like it. They usually stand around for an hour after adjournment to pump their guests for more information.

A by-product of our meetings is acquaintanceship and understanding between newspapermen, the social scientists, and the outspoken critics of the press who can be found in any medium-sized city. In a congenial atmosphere these men become friends, and, when a perplexing question arises in writing an editorial, the editors can for the first time ask some specialist to answer it. These specialists they have met at the advisory board meetings.

Newspapers are an essential factor in the operations of any public relations counsel, but they seldom do a decent job of public relations themselves. Each Oc-

tober, for Newspaper Week, they call for the continued freedom of the press, but only a small minority does anything positive to allay the public's suspicion that newspapers are operated by bigoted men with unchangeable bias. What would this attitude of the public be if even a fifth of our newspapers announced that they had advisory boards of distinguished thinkers whose duty it is to criticize the handling of news, the subject matter of editorials, and the choice of columnists? The American people would realize that the American press had adopted the principle of trusteeship advocated by Robert Lasch and others. They would come to regard freedom of the press as something that belongs to them instead of to the old-style personal journalist.

The advisory board plan takes surprisingly little time for the editor who must find means of studying hundreds of social questions quickly. It can be adopted by any newspaper with a circulation of 15,000 or more, and smaller papers can work the plan in cooperation with others in their part of the state. Outside of a Nieman Foundation for every state (where editors and publishers go to school), the advisory board is the best means of making a newspaper an effective social force. It seems to me that congressmen would also like the plan. Like editors, they seldom get volunteered advice from anyone who does not have an axe to grind.

its general editorial campaign against machine politics and cited it for reforms effected in judicial procedure.

A special citation was voted Ernest H. Linford for courage in journalism. The award was made for his campaigning for conservation while editor of the *Laramie Republican-Boomerang* (he has recently joined the editorial staff of the *Salt Lake Tribune*).

The judges called Linford's editorials on the Missouri and Columbia River authority proposals, on the stockmen and the railroads, and on the stockmen vs. the forestry service "courageous pieces of work solidly written and well documented."

Linford won praise for his courage in opposing editorially "the entrenched leaders of special interests in his community who represented a large part of the population in his newspaper circulation area." Other Linford editorial crusades in *Laramie* included successful campaigns for council-manager municipal government and a water program and vigorous opposition to a text book investigation at the University of Wyoming.

A native of Wyoming and an alumnus of the university who maintained Phi Beta Kappa scholarship while working as campus reporter for the *Boomerang*, Linford has been an outstanding example of the working newspaperman who climbed from reporter to editor and stockholding official. At times during the war years, he reports, he was practically a one-man news staff. He joined the staff of the *Salt Lake Tribune* April 1.

Linford was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1946-47 and received a Sigma Delta Chi honorable mention for editorial writing for 1944. He has also found time to write for several magazines and to hold office in numerous civic organizations.

The other Sigma Delta Chi awards were:

GENERAL REPORTING—George Goodwin, *Atlanta Journal*.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE—Bert Andrews, *New York Herald Tribune*.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—Daniel DeLuce, *Associated Press*

NEWS PICTURE—Paul Calvert, *Los Angeles Times*.

EDITORIAL WRITING—Alan Barth, Nieman Fellow, 1948, *Washington Post*.

EDITORIAL CARTOONING — Bruce Russell, *Los Angeles Times*.

RADIO NEWSWRITING—Alex Dreier, *WMAQ-NBC, Chicago*.

RADIO REPORTING—James C. McNamara, *KLAC, Hollywood*.

RESEARCH IN JOURNALISM—James E. Pollard, *Ohio State University*.

For Courage in Journalism

In its annual awards for distinguished service to American Journalism, Sigma Delta Chi professional journalistic society, cited a newspaper and an editor for courage in journalism. The award for courage went to the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, whose fearless editor is Edward Meeman. A special citation for courage went to Ernest H. Linford for his editorials in the *Laramie Republican Boomerang*.

The Quill, publication for the society, describes the winning of the awards for courage:

A campaign against race segregation in viewing the Freedom Train won the *Press-Scimitar* the fraternity's award for courage in journalism. The judges characterized the newspaper's stand as a public service rendered in the face of strong opposition from anti-social forces.

When the Freedom Train, carrying the documents and other relics of the American struggle for freedom, was scheduled to visit Memphis the powerful political

machine set up a clamor for segregation of races viewing the exhibit. The American Heritage Foundation, national sponsors of the train, had already laid down a rule that there could be no segregation among visitors to the train. The *Press-Scimitar* vigorously opposed the politicians' demand.

The newspaper, the judges commented in making the award, "handled the controversy with an epitome of courage, demanding that the races not be segregated during the visits to the train. The actual visit was cancelled but the *Press-Scimitar's* battle against segregation helped many people of Memphis to find their voices and declare their independence from a political machine.

Concluding its campaign, the *Press-Scimitar* said editorially: "The Freedom Train came—more emphatically than had it been parked on a track beside Riverside Drive—it came in the spirit of freedom which is among us today." The judges also praised the *Press-Scimitar* for

The Exciting Story of City Hall

It Is Not Told and Needs to Be, Says Yonkers Editor

By Oxie Reichler, Editor, Yonkers Herald-Statesman
(From an Address at University of Colorado Newspaper Week)

While plenty of American newspapers will give their readers a dash of civics on Page One occasionally—perhaps elections, municipal scandals, a Community Chest campaign or some other civic item or project—they do not do this as a regular thing. They do not offer it as a regular fare.

What I urge is a new zeal to present the day-to-day story of City Hall to the readers, not in the technical jargon or the dull language of the people in government, not in the gobbledegook of the lawyers in government, but in the sprightly and lively language that good newspapers know how to use best, so that the reader can understand, and enjoy, and then act commonsensibly. We ought to do this in at least an entertaining manner as we present our sports or crime news.

Why isn't that done? I suspect that if you look for the reason, you may run up against a very curious fact about all too many of our newspapers. You may find, as I did, that we are inclined to ignore the interests of women readers.

We must set our sights for the job. We must say what Andrew Jackson is reported to have said in the war of 1812 when he found his coastal artillery sending its missiles harmlessly over the ships offshore: "Elevate them sights lower."

Having taken a bead at City Hall, we then proceed to do three things:

1. Get and print as much interesting and informative material as we can get about our home government, our politics, and what makes them tick.

2. Then we must try to interpret that news and make it plain and clear.

3. Finally, we must provide descriptive comment and opinion. We must make sure that we invite and publish expressions of opinion from readers, in letters to the editor—particularly those differing with the paper with an authenticated name and address.

There's a three-way prescription for civic public service, which I urge on every newspaper. It is a beginning, and more than that. It is an open sesame to a community spirit which is beyond our dreams.

Then I would apply the kindergarten rules about putting over the civic idea in the public mind, by the method we teach our cub reporters: Print it where

the public will read it. Say it where the public will hear it. Put it in type that will attract attention and discussion.

Armed with facts, the most powerful weapons in a democracy, citizens can regain mastery over their communities, instead of remaining scandalously enslaved by usurpers, who have taken over our municipalities and are running them for their own private benefit.

Given the information, citizens will stop averting their eyes from the civic problems. They will stop being afraid of the political machines and their puppets. No longer will they despair of those urban and rural political rodents.

Putting civics on Page One presupposes that the newspaper, if fairly independent in politics, has no sacred cows in the political arena, that it feels free and willing to present not both sides of arguments, but perhaps ten or twenty sides, that it is not interested directly or indirectly in any government patronage or has any other relationship—personal or otherwise—with the political clubhouse crowd. It needs these conditions to win the positive confidence and the faith of readers.

It will meet with much pain and criticism for its noble efforts. Of course! There are some readers for whom civic news is poison. I know from experience how angry real estate men can become when municipal scandal is exposed—or perhaps a story is printed about the imminence of higher taxes—because they find a prospective home buyer may drop the proposition like a hot potato. I know how some people writhe over any news that exposes the indiscretions or foibles of themselves or their friends.

Page One is a bridge between our local government and the minds of our citizens. It is in the minds of men and women—yes, and of children too—that the foundations of progressive government are laid, not in any office in City Hall.

All of us are familiar with the distinguished work of individual newspapers in "putting civics on Page One." There is that proud family of Pulitzer Prize winners in journalism. There are many, many others. Among them is the Atlanta Journal that fights the Talmadges, the New Orleans Item that lances with Earl Long and the Maestri machine just as it fought

Huey Long; the Alabama papers that expose the amorous antics of Governor Folsom; most of the Tennessee papers who take on Boss Crump, the Virginia papers who have done a good job on the Byrd-Tuck machine; the Richmond paper fighting Jim Crowism, the Nashville paper crusading against the poll tax, the Augusta papers in Georgia, the Hartford papers in Connecticut, fighting for decent local government.

I suspect that few persons in this part of the United States will forget for a long time the splendid leadership offered by the Denver Post last year in the campaign for far-reaching charter reform. Its booklet of reprints of articles by staff members is a valuable item in the library of everyone in America interested in good government. I feel confident that, regardless of what has happened at the polls, that campaign is moving forward to ultimate success.

In Yonkers, we cover Common Council and other public boards in great detail—eight to ten columns is usual for a report, broken up into interesting and newsy stories—while we have gone as high as eighteen to twenty columns. Many cities devote only a few inches to their municipal legislature. We are similarly detailed in our reporting of the Board of Education.

When we finished a question-and-answer series on our new charter, we reprinted it in tabloid form and gave a free copy to each of the 30,000 pupils in our schools. These are still civic textbooks.

We dig into financial reports, and find gold nuggets as top news items. One of these mining expeditions brought up an unknown \$5,000,000 deficit for a single year, which had been printed as \$275,000 net. We publish annual, quarterly, monthly, and DAILY city finance reports, in language that all readers can understand.

When we couldn't find out who worked for the city, we compiled a master payroll of 3,500 names and published them alphabetically, with all the information we could discover. When there were smoke wisps of suspicion about city purchases, we began printing a daily itemized list of every public purchase, which soon had a Grand Jury busy. Out of our news stories grew reforms in purchasing, in pensions, in civil service.

The Hofer Business

Hofer to Wastebasket

I much enjoyed your blast at Hofer & Son, especially since for many years I regularly threw that pinkish-colored (such a strange tint for so conservative an outfit) envelope into the wastebasket. I hope the campaign agin 'em goes on. We will help out here.

Les Moeller
University of Iowa
School of Journalism

Unsavory

This is a note of appreciation for your blast at that unsavory Hofer-newspaper relationship.

The Hofer organization has been exposed before, but apparently it still flourishes.

More reports like yours are needed, and they must be widely disseminated, before the enormity of this situation finally impresses itself upon the hundreds of editors who keep the thinkers of Southwest Harbor Drive in business.

Cordially yours,

Charles T. Duncan
Assistant Professor
University of Minnesota

P. S. I trust you will keep the readers of the Reports informed on the reaction to your piece.

Canned Opinion

Thinking is already too stereotyped in America. Press and radio facilitate the process. But normally a person knows whose opinion he is picking up. Now, however, it appears that a surprising number of newspapers are offering to their readers as their own editorials that are actually produced in an "editorial factory."

This practice is exposed in the July issue of Nieman reports, published by the Society of Nieman Fellows. It discovered almost by accident that a single editorial was carried by 59 newspapers, with a circulation of 390,000. Nieman Reports found that the material was prepared and sent out by a company in Portland, Oregon, which it says, "distributes prefabricated editorials to newspapers on behalf of power interests."

Of course, it has long been the habit of small newspapers to use "boiler-plate" features, especially pictures. Those who know the labors of the small-town editor will not condemn him if he doesn't get around to doing an editorial. Perhaps he is to be commended if he finds that others have said it better and so quotes them.

But in the case cited by Nieman Reports only one of the 59 papers acknowledged the source of its editorial, while only six even contributed a title of their own. Hiding the source—and the apparent propaganda purpose behind this material—is the real fault here. There may be a legitimate place for syndicated editorials—although something precious in the press must be lost where they come in. But at least there should be honest identification of the source. And certainly readers will do well to look behind the printed page.—Christian Science Monitor July 21.

Canned Editorials

While preparing a speech I am to give at the convention of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism at Boulder, Colo., September 1, I have just re-read your fine piece, "Editorial Writing Made Easy." Having been a country editor who was compelled in times of emergency to "borrow" from the "canned file," I was more than interested in your revelation and comments. I have seen the Industrial News Review and am aware of the many country papers which clip it, maybe without reading it, and use it in lieu of home-grown editorials. I suspect that the number of papers who use some of this stuff is many times 59.

I wonder if you are aware of the number of otherwise "high grade" papers who pass up the free Industrial News Review editorials but who pay for and use canned editorials of the NEA service. I understand this service goes to some 700 clients. Every day that I wade through the high stack of exchanges in the Tribune news office I see dozens of reputable daily papers of this region which use these identical canned pieces day after day. They differ from the Hofer and Son masterpieces in that they do not intentionally carry propaganda. Yet, it is obvious that Mr. James Thrasher, the editorial writer, aware of his 700 clients and the conservative ideas of the majority, tempers or even slants them in the direction of not disturbing very violently the status quo. I have followed Mr. Thrasher for years, even used some of his stuff in times of emergency. He is a good writer and I suspect that the quality of his editorials is far above what the home-grown staffs could turn out, at least in literary and accuracy fields. But the implications and dangers of having editorials turned out wholesale and used without careful examination and analysis—as I suspect most of them are—present quite a journalism problem.

Ernest H. Linford,
Salt Lake Tribune.

The Record On E. Hofer & Son

Chief purpose of this note is to say that I found your piece on E. Hofer & Son of considerable interest as a footnote on the subject of Public Relations for Industry. In case you are not familiar with it, I wanted to call your attention to a report of the Federal Trade Commission on the subject of Public Utilities Pressure Groups, in general, and E. Hofer & Sons, in particular. This report was published in 1934 and, in a sense your piece is a footnote to it that would seem to prove, among other things, that the market for propaganda in the press continues to be excellent.

In case you would like to look up the FTC report, here is the reference:

Federal Trade Commission, Utility Corporations: Summary Report, Resolution No. 83 70th Congress, 1st Session: **Efforts by Associations and Agencies of Electric and Gas Utilities to Influence Public Opinion**, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934, pp. 92-97.

A digest of this report can be found on page 529 of a book of journalism readings, published in 1942 (fourth printing, 1946) by Prentice-Hall, Inc., title: **The Newspaper and Society**; George L. Bird

and F. E. Merwin. Incidentally, this book would be a useful addition to the Nieman Library.

The digest quotes the 1925 edition of the annual gotten out by E. Hofer as follows:

"The work started by the Manufacturers and Industrial News Bureau in Oregon in 1912 has gradually grown until today, instead of reaching some 200 papers in 1 state with an editorial discussion of the subjects as outlined, we are reaching some 14,000 papers in the 48 states."

Later in the FTC report, Mr. Hofer makes the following claim, relative to his editorial achievements: "Reproductions of our articles appear almost invariably as original editorials, as we ask no credit." Here is a quotation from the FTC report which might interest you.

"A letter from G. W. Curren, secretary United Gas Improvement Co., to H. S. Whipple, vice-president Rockford Gas Light & Coke Co., June 10, 1927, also makes the claim that:

"The articles are reproduced extensively as original editorial and news."

"What their character was and what their appeal was that lured \$84,000 per annum from the private utility groups

and companies are thus stated:

"We show the blighting effect government or public ownership has on private initiative and enterprise. We show that drastic and radical rate regulation which kills utility development hurts the community worse than the company; we show that exorbitant taxation of business is simply indirect taxation of the consuming public."

"In addition to the service, Mr. Hofer also carried on correspondence with editors giving at some length arguments against municipal ownership of utility plants. . . .

"In corresponding at various times, Mr. Hofer stated the quantity of material reproduced in the rural press from 1924 to 1927, and showed that for 17 months ending October 1924, reproduction in all states was estimated to be 27,000,000 lines or about 25,000 pages; for 1926 the amount of publicity obtained was estimated to be 2,318,964 inches, or about 19,325 solid pages, and for 1927, the total estimated inches were 3,111,420."

Back in 1924, Ivy Lee made a talk to the American Association of Teachers of Journalism (published by Industries Publishing Co., New York, 1925, under the title of "Publicity") in which Lee stresses the point that "the essential evil of propaganda is failure to disclose the source of information," and this idea now seems to be so widely accepted as to be official government policy; that is, propagandists and lobbyists are required to register.

What E. Hofer discovered, of course, is that many a weekly and small daily will print editorials without revealing the source, and your piece is further evidence of what Hofer has been boasting about for a few decades. I suppose the explanation must be chiefly that these small papers are publisher-run without the buffer of newspaper men with a professional attitude. The publisher of a small weekly (usually a job printer) tends to keep his eye strictly on the balance sheet and considers an adequate staff a needless expense. In all the criticism of the press, the thousands of weeklies with their focus on hometown news and lack of professional standards are overlooked. Yet I would estimate that the weeklies and small dailies have a greater influence than the great daily newspapers. In Amherst, for example, more people read the two weeklies than regularly read daily newspapers. My point is that I would not call weekly newspapers "insignificant" as you did by implication in paragraph 7 of your piece, although, doubtless, you meant relatively insignificant.

Thinking the matter over, my opinion

is that the editorial by Hofer is superior as a piece of writing to most of the editorials run in our weekly and small daily press and that the explanation for its use is that these newspaper editorial staffs operate on a shoe string; that is, these newspapers do not want to afford newspaper men, in the common meaning of this term, to put out the paper. This is the sort of situation that has contributed to the development of the booming modern vocation of public relations. I'd guess 80% of a weekly is supplied free by someone.

Such educational institutions as the Institute of Propaganda Analysis and such publications as the Journalism Quarterly (and Nieman Reports) strike me as the only corrective to the use by shoe string newspapers of propaganda supplied by competent public relations men. Certainly, the A.N.P.A. or the A.S.N.E. are not going to undertake to educate the publishers of weekly newspapers. What the publishers need is some familiarity with the professional thinking that would prevent good newspapers from running an editorial, sent out by a special interest group, without giving the source.

Arthur B. Musgrave
Professor of Journalism
University of Massachusetts

LETTERS

Escape

I found the current issue of the Nieman Reports one of the best ever, perhaps because I found so much with which to disagree.

For instance, I don't believe the atom bomb has had much to do with upsetting the South. The detonation was caused by the horrifying discovery that vast numbers of the wool-hat boys really are Democrats, instead of Democrats in name and Republicans at heart.

Then Mencken's advice to editorial writers to "Get out of the office" can be as poisonous as any other cliché. Where are they to go? To the First Baptist Church? To the Merchants & Manufacturers Club? To the Third Ward Democratic clambake? I have attended all three assiduously without discovering any fountain of wisdom.

Finally I doubt that the pre-fab editorial is poisoning public opinion half as effectively as it is poisoning newspapers. Take the specimen you presented—slice it as you will, it's still baloney. You say at least 59 newspapers printed it; I say a

total of about 59 countrymen read it through; and I hazard the guess that 5.9 readers were influenced by it. Its really powerful effect was to confirm people in their opinion that editorials aren't worth reading.

However, what are the Nieman Reports for, if not to start arguments? As long as you can do that, you will at least escape innocuous desuetude.

With all good wishes,

Yours

Gerald W. Johnson

Baltimore

Point the Way to Truth

In all likelihood you have already seen it, but on the off chance that you haven't, I would commend to you the piece by Herbert Brucker, "Newspapers and the Prophet Motive," in the Aug. 14 issue of the Saturday Review. It is good to read a defense of the editorial writer and editorial page after all the nonsense we've heard about its being an anachronism. Both that is. The trouble with the anti-editorial thesis is its two-headed assumption that people don't want to be told, they want to make up their own minds, and that given the facts people will justify Democracy's faith by reaching the truth through these facts. As you well know, the weakness in that twin assumption is that it is largely wrong. As for the first half, newspaper readers by and large have an initial prejudice, find the "facts" which support it and then go to their newspaper editorial for support and substantiation; which is completing the circle since it is not unlikely that their predilection came in the first place from an editorial writer or columnist.

The second half of the assumption is even weaker, for these reasons: there will always be confusion—genuine and well-intentioned confusion—about what is fact and what is fiction; there will be even greater confusion as to the meaning or direction of the facts; and there will be the cynicism of those who say, "Facts? To hell with the facts!"

To lessen the possibility that all these dangers will converge on the reader at the same time, the wise editorialist, presumably (in our ideal society!) a cut above the average newspaper reader, will point the way to truth in the manner recommended by Mr. Brucker. Why don't you get Brucker to do a little piece for Reports? Or at least reprint some of his SRL piece.

This is my sermon for tomorrow.

Walter Waggoner
New York Times

Washington, D.C.

Pulitzer Platform Stands

(This letter is from an authoritative source on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.)

May I call your attention to a regrettable error in Walter H. Waggoner's piece, "Man and Newspaperman," published in the July "Nieman Reports"? The story states, "The forward-looking editors of the Post-Dispatch happen now to be preparing an even stronger editorial directive than the pithy admonition put in the masthead by the late John Pulitzer, founder of the Post-Dispatch." The individual named was of course Joseph Pulitzer of the Post-Dispatch.

The suggestion that the editors of the Post-Dispatch are contemplating a change in the platform is not in accord with the facts. We have a strong conviction that the platform, written April 10, 1907, is as alive and pertinent today as the day it was written. It would be unfortunate if readers of the "Nieman Reports" were led to believe that the inspired concept of journalistic responsibility which Joseph Pulitzer expressed was about to be cast aside.

Please find enclosed the platform which appears every day on the editorial page.

THE POST-DISPATCH PLATFORM

I know that my retirement will make no difference in its cardinal principles; that it will always fight for progress and reform never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties never belong to any party always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor always remain devoted to the public welfare; never be satisfied with merely printing news; always be drastically independent; never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty.

JOSEPH PULITZER

April 10 1907.

[The "John Pulitzer" is an error to our printer and proofreader, not to Mr. Waggoner.—Ed.]

Paul Smith to the Guild

My talk before the Guild Convention was entirely extemporaneous and without notes. I believe some kind of stenographic report was to have been made but so far none has been checked with me. In the event one comes in I shall be glad to have a copy made for you.

However, the gist of my speech was simple, if windy. My thesis was simply that newspapermen have a great responsibility these days! that their integrity and ethical standards are essential components of any successful contest against the totalitarianism still threatening our civilization; that the term "newspapermen" includes publishers, editors, general managers as well as workers; that I hoped the newspaper guild would maintain its vitality as a trade union but would remain free of the concepts of class warfare and would realize that editors and publishers were colleagues and not enemies; that by no means all publishers or editors were engaged in warfare against the guild; that the woods

of the free press were full of editors and publishers who would work aggressively and intelligently along side sound guild leadership in joint efforts to preserve and improve ethical standards and professional quality; that the guild president, Harry Martin, had himself made an important contribution at the Geneva Conference.

One other point I made in perfectly plain terms was that I had had twelve years of experience with the guild as management and had no major complaints to offer. I observed that occasionally in some situations the relations tended to generate more heat than light, but that the emphasis in the future must be on light. I said that in my judgment their occasional internal political difficulties were no affair of management's—especially so long as they continued to demonstrate their ability to control the conspiratorial subversion of their trade union.

Paul C. Smith
Editor, San Francisco Chronicle

The Greatest of Our Liberties

Archibald MacLeish wrote the following letter to the New York superintendent of schools and the acting president of the New York Board of Education in protest at the exclusion of **The Nation** from New York's public schools:

A Dangerous Challenge

The ban on **The Nation** is not only the most arrogant and contemptuous of the recent challenges to the American principle of freedom of mind and freedom of expression; it is also the most dangerous. It threatens not only the liberal press but the whole press, and not only the whole press but the educational system of the country and even its library system. There is not an American who believes in the American conception of a free mind in a free society who can sit back in silence in the face of the cynical impudence of this attack. What it means is simply this: that any pressure group with sufficient political power, wishing to silence criticism of its action, can do so

by suppressing that criticism in the schools or on the shelves of public libraries. The pretext that Blanshard's articles were an attack on religion is palpable nonsense unless "religion" is to be understood to mean whatever a church does, whether in international politics or in national politics or in a city's schools or its hospitals or its newspapers or its tax system, or even the most intimate and least institutional aspects of the lives of its families. If "religion," contrary to the whole sense and meaning of American life, is understood to cover all this, then the fundamental separation of church and state on which our liberties rest—above all, the greatest of our liberties, that of conscience and belief—is no separation at all. For thus any worldly church or any worldly body calling itself a church may take power as it pleases without fear of criticism of its purposes or acts.

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH
The Nation

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Southern Journalism

After Ten Years; A Southerner Takes Another Look at the South

Jonathan Daniels Sees Paradox in Problem of "Economic Problem No. 1"

by Jonathan Daniels

A Southerner need only look around him in 1948 to be aware of the remarkable progress since the summer of 1938 when Franklin D. Roosevelt put into a letter to some carefully selected southerners the famous phrase about "the Nation's No. 1 economic problem." The advance is not only evident in the statistics which show the South—and North Carolina—running forward in wages, income, bank deposits and postal receipts at a more rapid rate than the nation as a whole. It is also evident in the clothes of the colored people, too—and also, even in a time of shortages, in the kinds of goods offered and demanded in country commissaries.

Young and Poor

At the same time, however, the sad and principal facts pointed in a scholarly report this month on the health care of North Carolina children are that in 1948 North Carolina still has a per capita income exceeded by all but four other states, and a proportion of children in its population greater than that in all but four other states. The four other states in each case, of course, are Southern. The South remains after ten years young and poor and so exciting and sad.

"The rich get rich and the poor get children," may still be a lyric more applicable to the South than any line from Dixie and a better description of the South than economic problem No. 1.

The one certain thing is that the Southerner is not a statistic. He is never merely a political item even if these ten years run roughly from Roosevelt's unsuccessful plan to purge reactionary Southern senators in the Democratic Party to the past civil rights Spring in which some of the same senators talked about revolt from the Democratic Party. The years may seem to run from "put out" to "get out" but for most Southerners the decade has been not a political but a personal adventure in economic improvement, made abnormal by war and uncertain by inflation but enjoyable all the same.

But a frantic attitude is not always lost. Clark Foreman, a native Georgian, who claims the credit for the inspiration of the "Report on the Economic Conditions

The Raleigh News and Observer devoted a special section, June 20, to "Report: South in Progress 1938-48." President Roosevelt's famous message to Congress, calling the South our "Economic Problem No. 1" is reproduced in the center two columns of the outside page. It is flanked by a three column cut on either side. The cut on the top left is titled "A Decade Begins with Mule and Plow." The cut on the right has the title, "A Decade Ends with Man and Machine." The decade is reviewed in eight long articles. The leading article is by Editor Jonathan Daniels, from which the following is taken, with a bow to Mr. Daniels for one of the significant journalistic efforts of the year. LML

of the South" which prompted the President's phrase, is today hard at work for Henry Wallace and his program of a South altered to perfection by edict.

Into Main Stream

Somehow as the South has moved with the years into a better sharing of the main stream of American economic life, it has also been pushed and pulled, inside and outside, into what sometimes seems a more sharp and separate sectionalism, too. The facts in the Roosevelt report and in the books by Odum and others before it have had a perverse effect outside the South and even on some whole or parttime Southerners like Foreman. Instead of emphasizing the existence of intelligent Southern awareness of Southern problems and a Southern purpose to turn hard sectionalism into intelligent regionalism as an effective part of the wholeness of the nation, the effect has been perverse and strange. The facts have strangely served to increase the feeling of some strangers to the South about the South as—to use Odum's satiric phrase—"missionary territory" seeming to require exterior reform. On the other hand the same facts have had part in stiffening many Southern backs against any criticism at home or abroad. Indeed, sometimes the resulting collision of the

foreign missionaries and the native demagogues upon the body of the South today make it seem almost more tragic in prosperity than it was in the deeper poverty before.

Contentment, it seems, is not as easy to come by as cash. Certainly in the old paradoxical, rich and poor, dark and incandescent South, the paradoxes are plentiful still. Across a century the South has lamented the fact that so many of its strongest and ablest young have migrated to a better chance in other regions. The odd thing has been that in the last few years behind us the stream of outward migration has grown as the home chance has improved—or seemed to improve. The movement probably will not soon diminish. The disappearance of the mules and the coming of the tractor, the cotton picker and a variety of devices insure the movement townward. The Southern towns grow at a faster rate as less and less people are needed on the land. The stream pours through the towns and out of the South, West and North. And in movement these unpushed migrants give emphasis anew to the old Roosevelt doctrine that the problems of the South in health and education are the inevitable problems also of the nation as a whole.

Sometimes the problems seem tougher for those who remain. Indeed, sometimes the difficulties of the South seem sharper as the South grows richer. Southern expenditures for education have run up in recent years with the South's wealth, yet in terms of what the South wants and needs—in terms of educational standards elsewhere—the South in its schools seems not moving forward but backward. The teachers feel poorer—and are readier with a better chance to move into better work and better pay in other fields. The classes are crowded. The schoolhouses are older. Some in the richer South are in almost a tumbledown stage today.

A good part of the Southern progress like the progress of the nation beside it is fictitious. There is not only more money in the banks but in the treasuries of the States. But the money count—even

in a South which so long had very little money to count—is increasingly silly in many things. There is more money but there are also more holes in the highways which can only be filled at higher and higher prices. The understanding of need in schools and hospitals, highways and institutions is greater at a time when the costs are higher and higher. New houses go up at fantastic costs but bad housing in city slums is more than ever crowded by the movement to town. The lag in housing for the black and the poor is, indeed, today the unchanged fault most easily seen.

Field of Progress

Oddly enough the South has probably made more progress in the past decade in the very field in which it gets the least credit. Indeed, some students make the statement that race relations in the South have deteriorated in startling fashion in the years of advance. I think this is not only a foolish statement but a foolish one based upon noise, not facts. The truth is that no people in the South have made so much progress in the last ten years as the Southern Negroes and that the very frictions—which express themselves largely in talk rather than violence—are the best evidence of that fact.

Certainly the Negro had the longest way to go in any measurements of advance. But nothing is so impressive in the South today to a man who traveled the highways and the backroads of the South ten years ago—and looked into “nigger-towns” as well—as the absolute improvement in the clothes and the physical appearance of the Negroes. The black people are eating and dressing—and both well. Much of the complaint of Southern people that they cannot get them to work in the kitchens and the yards—is evidence that they have better work and better pay. A good many, accustomed to old levels of income, get satisfied too soon. That is an economic not a racial characteristic. It is not limited to Negroes even in the South.

But the very impertinent seeming presence of the Negroes at the doors of white Universities is evidence of the arrival of Negroes at stages which did not greatly trouble the South ten years ago. Furthermore one of the really comic facts in the face of some Northern indignation is the large number of Northern Negroes who come from the so-called free regions to increase the enrollment of Negro colleges maintained by the South.

The fact that today there are only 58 Negro doctors to a million Negro people in Mississippi is an outrageous item in any civilization. It should not be a better known detail, however, than the fact that

North Carolina employs more Negro teachers than all the States north of the Mason-Dixon line and that last year it paid them a higher average wage than the average which the white teachers received. In the five years before 1938 there were 74 lynchings; in the five years after 1938 there were 21. Last year there was only one—and there has been none in the last twelve months—and at a time when race relations were said to be falling into the furies.

Jobs Enough

A full stomach is the first defense against any sort of fury outside that of the U.S. Senate. And there are at last—or for the moment—jobs enough to go around. The industrial development of the South in the ten years behind us is almost as dramatic as the development of the first industrial town of the atomic age at Oak Ridge in the Tennessee Valley. The discrimination in freight rates against the South has been improved though sometimes it is hard for a peanut processor in Edenton, North Carolina, to see it when he is still strangled by rates in competition with processors in Suffolk, Virginia, in “official territory” fifty miles away. The problems involved in the absentee ownership of industry are not solved by the welcome addition of more absentee owned plants.

The serious question in the South is still whether the industrialization of Southern cities can advance at a pace sufficient to meet the dispossession of peoples implicit in the headlong mechanization of the Southern land. That, for the future, is the first problem of a changing South. And for the USA as well.

Trek to the Mills

Back in the thirties when Roosevelt’s phrase was added to the long litany of language about the South, one of the favorite comparisons made by the socially indignant was that the pay of some Southern school teachers was less than that of cotton mill workers. The comparison is interesting still and still provides very little sustenance to the school teacher. One of the principal things which went into Roosevelt’s “economic problem No. 1” decision was the opposition of Southern Senators to a wages and hours law under which after much debate textile employes were guaranteed a minimum wage of 30 cents. Without the aid of law the minimum in the textile industry is nearly a dollar today. No wonder that after all the progress some young women who might otherwise be teachers are trekking into the mills.

How much the unionization of the South by the CIO and the AFL has had to do with this is open to debate. Completely

unorganized colored boys get 70 cents an hour for cutting the grass today. It is at least significant that the old fear about joining a union has disappeared to a considerable extent in the South today. It was long before 1938 that the Communists made Gastonia a town with a name loud in the language of the workers of the world. By 1948 when the Communists are at least as unpopular as they were in Gastonia long ago, a union quite as clearly under the domination of Communists has been able to operate with considerable success in the plants of the powerful R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston-Salem. Anti-closed shop laws have been passed in Southern states but there has been a considerable reduction both in the appearance of violence and the use of troops. The concentration camps of Eugene Talmadge are as gone as old Gene himself.

The Important Thing

Nothing is more typical of the South today perhaps than the crowded South-bound trains full of colored people spending their money to visit at home—and in a happy holiday mood about it. Segregation can sometimes be cruel. It can be unfair in terms of the South’s own “separate but equal” promises about it. But to colored and white, the high price of used cars sometimes seems to be a much more serious problem than many of those related to segregation. Exploitation now is generally not done by those who pay you but by those who sell to you—or those who fix the prices far behind them.

The really important thing at the end of the decade now is that the understanding of the difficulties of the South is matched by the arrival of a generation more than ever determined to have American and not merely Southern standards. There will be a drama in terms of those difficulties and that determination in the years ahead.

There will be plenty of chances to see it—in schools and roads and economic opportunity, in decent housing and decent jobs, in better democracy, in more doctors, in improving race relations, in better health and more hope. Or less and worse in all of them.

But this next decade like the last one is going to take sacrifice, courage, some luck and a few friends. A national recognition of Roosevelt’s basic notion that the South’s problem is a national one would mean much if it were expressed in willingness to help pay the price of the advancement of the poorest region, which is still the native land of most of America’s children.

The Country Newspaper in the South

Editing a country paper was one of the most desirable professional callings of the New South. It promised much prestige and guaranteed a conscientious journalist a commanding position of community influence. Public subsidies for being the country organ were reasonably inviting, and little capital was needed to begin operation. Mechanically, country printing from 1865 to 1900 was in virtually the same primitive state as in the age of the Bradfords and Benjamin Franklin. Few improvements of a fundamental nature were made in the operation of country print shops.

The Civil War had introduced one significant innovation. Ready-print and boiler-plate matter were made available in large quantities. Ingenious printers in Illinois and Wisconsin introduced the patent "insides" or "outsides" by 1864, and by August, 1865, the A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Company of Chicago was distributing "ready print" on a rather extensive scale. This service soon reached the South, and reduced by half the work and equipment necessary to publish a paper. Ready-print houses, such as the Western Newspaper Union, had distribution centers throughout the region, and many country papers were founded with nothing more than a green but ambitious editor, a handful of type, and a bundle of ready-print pages to mark their beginning.

Outstanding among the early editorial responsibilities was that of keeping the southern population itself at home, and attracting northern and European immigrants to help develop native resources. This was a two-fisted job. Most editors appeared to prefer northerners to European settlers. It was a remarkable fact that editorial attitudes toward northerners varied with individual viewpoints. If the outsider came as a settler or an investor, the southern press welcomed him. Even a Vicksburg editor said that he could forgive the Yankee capitalist if he proved generous in lending his money. The Greensboro (Georgia) *Herald* expressed seemingly a universal sentiment. Land should be sold cheap; northerners were more desirable than foreigners because they would compete successfully with the Negro, and their racial attitudes might resemble those of southerners. It was an established fact that they had both capital and factories, and doubtless they would bring them South.

Rural editors everywhere were captivated by the promise of a New South. Industrialization sounded wonderful to them, even if they could not always interpret its meaning. When northern papers praised the South or commented on its rich potentialities, the weeklies used their articles as exchanges. Sometimes they were published simultaneously in ready-print pages. When Henry Grady delivered his famous address at the New England Club dinner, weeklies for January, 1887, carried its complete text. This required many hours to set it in type, but its spirit was in keeping with the hopes and aspiration of much of the southern press.

In other fields editors fought back the frontier and prodded their people into making progress. A campaign for railroads and highways went on for seventy years. The story of the location and building of southern railroads involved a tremendous amount of agitation by the press. Editors left no doubt in their readers' minds that railroads were both expensive and necessary. To them it was the differential between being able to reach out to the world by means of fairly efficient transportation and lingering in the backwoods hemmed in by a large land mass and impassable dirt roads. It was in the campaign for improved highways that editors actually exerted some of their greatest influence.

From 1890 to date the weekly paper has been important in developing a sane desire for improved schools and plants, better teachers, adequate tax programs, compulsory attendance, consolidation, and improved administration. Better roads and better schools were twin issues, and in writing of both editors were able to arouse the Rip Van Winkles of southern apathy, self-satisfaction, illiteracy, indifference, and selfishness to the extent of developing a public school system reasonably free of the handicapping defeatism of the last half of the nineteenth century.

In two instances the press was partially successful in making some headway toward correction of social evils. First it was eventually able to aid in driving hangings behind walls and to break up the horrible Roman holidays in the South where condemned men orated to drunken and curious thousands upon the last-minute salvation of their souls. Some editors said that conditions had reached the point where it seemed the easiest way to enter heaven was to be

hanged for murder. A second effective influence was in facilitating reduction of lynchings.

Almost without exception the question of criminality and social justice involved the complicated race issue. At least three standard points of view have been kept alive by the southern weekly press. The Negro was good so long as he behaved like a "good old southern darkey"; he was questionable when he behaved like a free man; and southerners had an in-born and intimate understanding of the Negro. Since the time when the South began to reckon with the problem of the free Negro, the press has not been certain what it wanted to do with him. At times it hoped the Negro would find his way back to Africa, or would at least go to the North. But editors have reneged every time there has been a threat of such a thing happening. The various movements of Negroes out of the South have always incurred the eventual wrath of the press at that point where the agricultural labor supply was being threatened with exhaustion.

Southern editors were not undecided on one fundamental point, and that was the desirability of white political supremacy. Almost every public issue of consequence involved this point. Driving the Negro out of politics was a major undertaking.

In October, 1901, weekly papers in Alabama carried news stories and editorials on the new state constitution. Sixteen reasons were published as to why it should be ratified. Reasons **eleven** and **fifteen** explained that the Negro was denied the right to vote.

While Alabama papers were shouting sixteen reasons for ratifying a new constitution, and printing in capital letters those relating to the disfranchisement of the Negro, the southern press generally was going mad over Booker T. Washington's famous luncheon at the White House with Theodore Roosevelt. Seldom in the history of American journalism has a single minor incident set off so wild a public tirade. If all the editorial energy expended in fighting back at Teddy and Booker had been exerted in behalf of southern public education, the school system would have advanced at least half a decade. This simple gesture of racial harmony on the part of the President of the United States exploded into one of the most violent bombshells this side of Reconstruction. From Bill Arp to the

most insignificant little "patent sides" editor there was intense bitterness which did irreparable harm to race relations for the decade 1900-1910.

Political influence of the country papers over a period of eighty years of post-Civil War southern journalism is to be measured in the rigidity of the one-party system. Locally there can be little doubt that editors have exerted strong personal influences over popular opinion by favoring certain candidates and contributing generously of editorial and news space to publicizing their campaigns. In non-personal campaigns editors have had a major hand in forming popular opinion. Especially has this been true in instances involving changes of city and town charters, revision and amendment of state constitutions, the floating of bond issues, and the advocacy of public legislation. Voters early learned to depend on editors for information where technical issues were involved.

Politicians early discovered that the editorial chair was a good springboard for launching a political career. Among those putting this lesson to practical use were James K. Vardaman, William D. Jelks, Robert L. Taylor, Urey Woodson, S. A. Jonas, and many others. Politicians generally have found country papers exceedingly valuable supporters. Theodore G. Bilbo, Huey Long, Lee O'Daniel, and Eugene Talmadge discovered that weekly papers were excellent mediums in which to communicate with their constituents. Many southern politicians have often utilized the services of "bought policy" papers which spoke for them in the heat of political battle.

Whenever editing a country journal has been accepted as a profession by an editor who conscientiously wished to render public service, it has yielded rich dividends of community respect and esteem. Many editors reached the pinnacle of local journalism and became a balance wheel in the civic functioning of their communities. Where eighth-grade printers have risen to editorships because of the death or retirement of professional publishers, or have established weekly papers as adjuncts to job-printing plants, the tendency has been to focus attention on the financial returns from the printing business and to neglect the paper's community responsibility.

Counter-Rebellion in the South

by Thomas L. Stokes

Tom Stokes, Atlanta-born, keeps a close eye on the chances of change in Dixie as he conducts the Washington column that won him honor among the capital correspondents. These two columns also illustrate Stokes' change of pace.

WASHINGTON, July 20—The current attempt of some elements in the South to break away from President Truman and split the Democratic Party in its traditional stronghold finds the South, it self, splitting in turn into groups to set up a counter-rebellion against the self-appointed state righters.

This is helpful, in its way, because it shows dramatically that the whole South can not be herded together under the confederate flag. This resistance to the anti-Truman movement springs from various motives—personal conviction, awareness that the Civil War is over, and in some cases is dictated by practical political considerations.

A symbol is the South Carolina federal judge, J. Waties Waring of an old Charleston family who, even while the southerners were rebelling at the Philadelphia convention against the Truman civil rights program, was declaring calmly from the bench that no subterfuges could be used by South Carolina Democratic party officials to keep Negroes from voting in party primary elections. He announced bluntly that anybody who violated his decision would be jailed for contempt.

To the Negro standing before him who had brought a case against discrimination, he said:

"It's a disgrace and a shame when you must come into court and ask a judge to tell you you are an American."

These words might well become historic.

There are many people all over the South who look upon extension of the franchise as a primary civil right that must be granted to make the South and its politics truly democratic. The judge was merely backing up the United States Supreme Court in its outlawry of the "white primary" and the Supreme Court was only upholding the Constitution.

The South Carolina Democratic party, like some in other southern states, has used all sorts of devices to evade the dictum of the Supreme Court against the "white primary." It was a decision by Judge Waring some months ago against such a dodge that was sustained by the

Supreme Court. But the Democratic party in South Carolina cooked up another by requiring Negroes to take an oath upholding segregation before they could vote. It was this against which Judge Waring struck the other day, and the chairman of the state Democratic executive committee subsequently directed that his order be fully carried out. That looks like progress.

Significantly, an element of the South Carolina Democratic party composed of upstate farmers and mill-workers came forward recently in defense of Negro voting. This recalls an often forgotten chapter in politics of the South which was an alliance after the Civil War of the same sort of elements with Negroes in a common front to improve their economic welfare. That alliance was destroyed during the populist era in the South, when it became effective politically, by appeals to prejudice and institution of the "white primary" to deny Negroes the vote. Its revival today, despite similar appeals to prejudice, is a hopeful sign.

It is interesting that it happens in the state which led the way to secession in the sixties, and the state which has provided, in Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the presidential candidate of the new confederate movement organized in Birmingham. This alliance may impede Governor Thurmond in lining up his state electors against President Truman.

It bespeaks the ferment all over the South today out of which may come something not anticipated by the Birmingham revolutionaries. For other elements in the South will refuse to go along with this rump rebellion, including church groups, labor groups, and independent citizens who are working quietly in behalf of extension of civil rights.

But the most effective deterrent perhaps is plain practical politics.

It is noteworthy, for example, that outstanding party leaders in the South kept aloof from the antics at Philadelphia and are having no part in the Birmingham movement, such as men like Senator Walter F. George of Georgia and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, prominent conservatives, who naturally would be enlisted first, if possible, to give the revolt weight and character. While Governor Ben T. Laney of Arkansas was, for a time, the candidate of the southern revolvers for President at Philadelphia, he refused to become the candidate of

From "The Country Newspaper: A Factor in Southern Opinion, 1865-1930," by Thomas D. Clark, professor of history, University of Kentucky, in *The Journal of Southern History*, February, 1948.

the Alabama and Mississippi "walk-outs" at Birmingham. Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who ultimately was given the votes of southerners at Philadelphia, also refused to join the Birmingham rebellion.

Governor Laney is reported ambitious

to run for the Senate in 1950 and the others have important party posts in Congress which they do not care to jeopardize. That is a strong influence that minimizes chances of much success for the southern rebellion.

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"Yankee Conspiracy"

by Thomas L. Stokes

WASHINGTON, August 4—Senator Vandenberg (R., Mich.) and Senator Taft (R., O.), who might properly be called "Yankees," are in a conspiracy which if successful, suh, will abolish from the Senate of the United States one of its most charming and delightful features.

No longer, if these two Yankee statesmen have their way, will the humdrum of routine pressing national business be broken for one of those interludes of old-fashioned oratory in alternately dulcet and bitterly impassioned southern voices that run on for days to take us back to a dead past that is forgotten by all but the South. Impolitely and discourteously our friends at the No'th refer to it vulgarly as a "filibuster" when we know, suh, that it is only a full discussion of grave constitutional issues that affect the very foundations of our republic.

It is a monstrous thing that they would do to us suh! and to others as well, and to something memorable in our traditions. No longer will the visitors to our galleries from other parts of the country be able to hear real southern oratory at its protracted best, for while it is still prolific and profuse in southern political campaigns, very few Yankees get close to one of those. Here we have preserved it, here in the United States Senate, as we have preserved in our capital city our national landmarks.

The Yankees seem finally to have got their fill of southern talk. The southerners worked out a trick that was a bit too cute. They didn't wait this time for the poll tax bill actually to be brought up, but started their filibuster against a motion to bring it up. There was method in this. They argued that the Yankees couldn't bring in a cloture petition to limit debate, since cloture applies under the rules only to "measures" not "motions." It was clever. It was also legal.

Senator Vandenberg, as President pro

tem, had to rule so, and in quite a mouthful of language, himself—he'd been hearing too much southern talk of late.

But the senator indicated plainly that he'd had enough at last and observed very pointedly that there's a bill pending to plug up the loophole the southerners had used. It's been pending for 16 months, he said, obviously for the benefit of his Yankee colleagues who deplore filibusters but never do much about them, for you can still get credit politically by just bringing forward these civil rights bills, at least Republicans appear to believe. Then Senator Taft accepted the implied challenge and announced this cloture-perfecting bill would be the first order of business in the next Congress.

Thus we have the Yankee conspiracy.

It's a reform long needed, and yet, somehow, it is all a bit sad. Something will be missing when you can no longer listen, literally entranced, to these southerners on their favorite topic, as, for example, Senator Lister Hill of Alabama who orates in misty, sepulchral tones with appropriate gestures as he walks back and forth behind his desks, about the Yankee wrongs to the South, going all the way back to the Civil War and Stevens, whose name our grandmothers spat out venomously, as the senator does. That is something that should not be lost. For it is only on that subject that southerners get in their peculiar trance. They are transported back to the past. Their voices become hushed and foggy. Their eyes roll. A strange performance for men who ordinarily are sensible and very matter-of-fact and businesslike when they talk of other things.

As a native southerner watches this transmigration of soul to pillared mansions and cloudy battlefields, he is back again in the elocution session on Friday afternoon in high school. The smell of chalk dust mingles with the perfume of late spring flowers and newmown grass that drifts through the windows. The

prize "speaker" of the class is reciting Henry W. Grady's "New South" speech with that unforgettable picture of "the footsore confederate soldier" who turns homeward from Appomattox. That stays in the blood always, and boy orators grown older mumble it, letter-perfect, in their cups years later.

It was the "New South" about which Henry Grady professed to speak back there in 1886, in New York, but the old South kept coming back, the old South of fantastic legend, as it still does today more than half a century later when southerners go into their trance, forgetting in their emotional spree the goals of "liberty and enfranchisement" for the Negro fixed by Henry Grady that are not yet fully realized.

And now our Yankee friends, Senators Vandenberg and Taft—nice fellows, too—would kill our dream.

It is monstrous!

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Ray Sprigle As Jim Crow

One of the most striking activities of a reporter in 1948 was the adventure of Ray Sprigle of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, "In the Land of Jim Crow." Disguised as a Negro, and with a Negro guide, Sprigle spent a month in the South and reported the discriminations against Negroes that he experienced. Fifteen papers used the syndicated articles, which brought some 60 letters from readers to the New York Herald Tribune, joining issue on the experiences reported.

"This Jim Crow series illustrated vividly," commented **CBS Views the Press**, "the fact that one story, properly dramatized and brought home to the reader as a vicarious personal experience, is worth volumes of theoretical stuff, also worth volumes of case histories with which the reader can make no personal contact."

Time reported that no Southern paper carried the Sprigle adventure. But at the instance of the Providence Journal, "Jim Crow's Other Side," written by Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi editor, was presented in the Journal and some other of the papers that carried Sprigle's stories. Carter, a Nieman Fellow and Pulitzer Prize winner for his own editorials on race relations, charged Sprigle with "slanted selectivity." The South's progress in race relations, Carter held, is set back by "the punitive spirit, the lack of balanced approach," in such articles as Sprigle's.

Reviews--**EDITOR AND EDITORIAL WRITER. By A Gayle Waldrop. Rinehart & Company, Inc., N. Y. \$4.00. 465 pp.**

This is a good book and lots of it. It is meaty and full-flavored and carries more of the tradition and practice of American journalism than many a pretentious history. It is not a history but a very extensive symposium on the editorial page and the art and practice of editorial writing. The author has brought the views of the leading editors, historic and contemporary, into every chapter, until each is almost a mosaic. He has evidently been collecting these pertinent observations of the most eminent practitioners through his 25 years as a teacher of journalism at the University of Colorado. This was Crosman's school these same 25 years, and it must have been a stimulating place for students of journalism. To one who is neither student nor teacher, a complaint with the book is its pedagogical habit of presenting such a complete balance of discussion on every question that the reader has to hunt hard to find out what the author himself thinks about it.

But the net of this method is a very high content of wise and provocative quotation from the top American editors. Every point he takes up is lavishly illustrated. But the best of it is what he has from editors when they let their hair down in frank talk about their jobs.

He has long talks by W. W. Waymack and Charles Merz, and the essence of the editorial philosophy of such editors as Mark Ethridge, Frank Cobb, Virginius Dabney, Henry Mencken, William Dooley, Heywood Brown, Erwin Canham, Joseph Pulitzer, Tom Wallace, Raymond Clapper, Gideon Seymour, Ralph Coghlan, Walter Lippmann, and William Allen White.

White is his idol among editors, edging Cobb of the "World" evidently because Cobb was "rarely constructive." His chapter on Cobb and his work under the harrying tutelage of Pulitzer is probably the best study in the book. It leaves no question that Cobb was without peer in striking for the jugular on the vital issue. "There is seldom more than one vital issue in American politics," in Cobb's view, "government for Privilege versus government for the People." One sentence is hardly enough to give to this philosophy of editorial writing. Cobb said of Walter Lippmann then his assistant, that he was "too judicial to be a great editor."

The St. Louis "Post-Dispatch" seems to be the most quoted of contemporary editorial pages, the Des Moines "Register & Tribune" next, but this may be partly because they are a shorter mail distance from Colorado than some others. One chapter includes selections from nearly all the Pulitzer prize editorials.

With Waymack and Merz he believes strongly in the interpretative editorial and holds that columnists do their best work as reporters, a judgment in which he is able to summon support by some of the most responsible columnists, notably Marquis Childs, Tom Stokes, Sam Grafton and the late Raymond Clapper. He agrees with Lippmann and Tom Wallace that vigorous editorial pages need not fear extinction from column competition. His advice to editors about columns:

"They may be an asset if not regarded as circulation building features or as fillers; if the editor does not suffer from the illusion that they are great free minds, unprejudiced and unbiased. They may be a liability if the editor does not edit them by the same standards that he has for the newspaper's own editorial writers, and if he does not shirk his obligations as interpreter."

He has admirable chapters on cartoons, on letters to the editor, and on editorial paragraphs although in the latter he achieves the truly remarkable feat of overlooking entirely the editorial points of the Boston "Globe," which have had no rival since Ed Howe died.

He appreciates the change of pace and has some good stuff on the importance of pieces in lighter vein. But the job is done in a trenchant sentence of Pulitzer protesting to Cobb about a page that was all politics: "It makes the heart ache to have to read these damn things in succession."

Waldrop's "complete recipe" for an editorial writer includes "almost passionate enthusiasm" for his calling, "distilled knowledge," "faith in democracy," "the softening solvent of humor."

"Let him do his work according to his light," he argues for freedom of the editorial writer. He would have him be a "surgeon of facts." He advises him to write articles and books, but concedes that Frank Cobb, perhaps the greatest of all, wrote no books. He urges the writing of journalistic biographies, a point worth underscoring. There aren't enough good ones. He lists the best in some excellent bibliography.

It is sound practice, he holds, for the editor "to take monastic vows against office holding" (this is required on the Post-Dispatch); "to have a fighting policy but a constructive one"; "don't try to get away with a yap and a moan." Follow

through ("continuity, continuity" was Joseph Pulitzer's cry to his editors). Don't get personal. Build bridges. Get to the point. Simplify. Oust the extraneous. Rely on the fundamental facts. "Print complete voting records. Make Pressure Groups live in glass houses." "Turn down the thermostat" of pressure groups by the searchlight of fact. Guard Editorial Independence. Remember it is dangerous to be afraid.

WASHINGTON WITCH HUNT. By Bert Andrews. Random House, New York. 218 pp. \$2.50.

The New York Herald Tribune articles that won Bert Andrews the Pulitzer Prize make up a considerable part of this book and would make it much worth having for themselves alone. But there is also other pertinent matter including a chapter on the persecution of Dr. Edward U. Condon, and the ironic story of the hounding from office by witch hunters of Hamilton Robinson, chief of the division in the State Department that was responsible for the firings of the ten whose cases became classics by Mr. Andrews' reporting. Mr. Hamilton's fault was that he had a second cousin who was called a communist. Two other poignant items are the chronicle of what happened to "Mr. A" of the State Department after he was fired, in seeking employment, and a letter of Ring Lardner, Jr., telling why he refused to answer the questions put to him as one of the Hollywood writers before the Un-American Committee.

In a book Mr. Andrews is able to present a more connected report than in his separated newspaper articles. The relevance to the inquisition of his interviews with J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I. and W. Z. Foster of the Communist Party is clear enough in the book. Evidently it was not to all newspaper readers, for Mr. Andrews describes complaints from those who read only headlines and denounced him for airing Foster's views. When he challenged one complainer to read the evasions and glib generalities of Foster's answers to his questions, the complainer was fair enough to admit: "Foster's arguments wouldn't convince anyone. I'm glad I found it out."

Mr. Andrews limits his own views of the story he has to tell to a "Postscript" which begins:

"It is becoming increasingly clear to those who have been observing the state of mind in the capital and the rest of the nation that the threat to civil liberties, as America has known them, is as serious at this moment as it has ever been in history. Officialdom is suffering from a

bad case of jitters. There is alarm. There is hysteria.

"There is reason for some alarm. There is no good reason for hysteria. Alarm can suggest rational precautions. When hysteria is in control all judgment goes out the window. When hysteria is rampant, there is danger of destroying the rights of all in the effort to curb the abuses of the disloyal or misguided few."

When his book came out in the Summer, hysteria was rampant again in an even more fantastic witch hunt, so obviously partisan, so obviously irresponsible, that it brought editorial protests in its initial stage from such conservative papers as the New York Times and the Boston Herald. Witch hunt seemed now a most appropriate term as one ex-communist after another was elevated to be chief witness to denounce almost anybody who had held office under Roosevelt. The strange uncorroborated tale of the strange Miss Bentley which had failed to hold water under F.B.I. examination and before a Grand Jury was reiterated day after day in banner headlines which the reader could take or leave in his complete mystification. The second time the President branded it a red herring, his statement was a one column item on an inside page in papers that carried Another Spy Accusation in eight column headlines on page one.

As Lester Markel has observed: "The judgment as to what stories shall go on the front page is as editorial a decision as there is. From the propaganda point of view the way a story is written is no more important than the way it is played." The front pages of U.S. newspapers in August, 1948, may some day be as revealing as the history of Salem in 1692.

THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER. By Vishnu V. Oak. Box 5, Xenia, Ohio. \$2.50. 170 pp.

This small book attempts a critical evaluation of the Negro press. It is the first in a series on Negro enterprise. Chiefly an argument for a more responsible and effective Negro press, it contains also a brief history of Negro journalism and chapters on its news coverage, its news gathering agencies, and one on "how the newspaper functions." This describes circulation, subscription rates, publishing and mechanical details, but is chiefly a criticism of the labor and wage policies of the larger papers.

The sins and omissions of the Negro press as here described appear to be essentially those of the white press accen-

tuated by the weaker condition and lesser capacities of the Negro papers. If the venality charged to many, especially the practice of selling out in political campaigns, is a sound accusation, it surely bears a relation to the paucity of advertising—only 16-25 per cent in the larger and 7-15 per cent in the smaller papers. Revenue comes from the readers at 10-12 cents a copy.

Of the 169 papers, nearly all weeklies, 85 are published in the South, 66 in the North and 18 in the West; but the Northern papers have most of the circulation. The largest are the Pittsburgh Courier, 278,000, Chicago Defender, 193,000, Afro-American, 235,000, Amsterdam News, 105,000. Ohio has the largest number of Negro papers, 14; California, 12; Florida and Texas 11 each.

It seems likely that progress in Negro newspapers may be accelerated, for the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association was organized only in 1940. The first pooling of correspondence came with the necessity of pooling to get war coverage. The first Washington bureau of the association was set up only in 1944, and the first representation in the Congressional galleries came in 1947. This year for the first time Negro journalists were included in the press entourage of the President, when he toured Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Cuba. Negro advertising agencies have also been developing that field.

Author Oak, a Ph.D. of Clark University and professor at Wilberforce University, offers eleven variegated suggestions for improvement of the Negro press.

1. Classify all news.
2. Index the major news.
3. Espouse local issues more frequently.
4. Follow up developments of major news.
5. Tone down sensationalism.
6. Answer correspondence.
7. Sellouts in Presidential election years should be regarded as the worst sort of Quislingism.
8. Write news without bias and stop suppressing news unfavorable to favored individuals.
9. "Old news should not be published just because it was once sensational."
10. Give credit for articles sifted from the white press.
11. Contributions should be encouraged by cash and prompt payments.

STAR REPORTERS and 34 of THEIR GREATEST STORIES, by Ward Greene. Random House, N. Y. 400 pp. \$3.

This is good entertainment. Mr. Greene says he picked these news stories because he liked them. One can't quarrel with that. He disarms criticism by conceding that they are topheavily from New York; that they aren't presented as the greatest stories or as representative even of the best work of the writers selected. If the title had been "Old Time Star Reporters." it would have been better, for there is nothing since the Lindbergh story and most of the work is more than 25 years old. The present and recent generation of reporters is not represented at all. Mr. Greene's defense of this is in part that up through the 20's papers gave the space needed to tell a great story. True. Also, he notes, the 20's were a lush time of many fantastic events and very fancy writers. But when he says newspaper stories were better then, it is something he has to prove, and it seems to this ex-reporter that he hasn't. Most of the stories are only descriptive, and it isn't surprising that many of the writers went on to fiction or Hollywood. The equipment of the modern reporter requires more than smooth style and vivid vocabulary.

Mr. Greene uses war stories inferior to recent dispatches of the Tribune's Homer Bigart and the Times' Matthews, sports stories below the par of Red Smith and Kaese, court reporting less telling than some reports of the un-American Committee's sound effects, and none of it as dramatic as the ladder testimony in the Lindbergh trial. Something of Bert Andrews, James Reston and Alfred Friendly would have strengthened the book.

Mr. Greene is dated, quite contentedly so, and it's pleasant reminiscence of a less complicated era, journalistically as otherwise. Mr. Greene goes for color, which is all right too, though some of his selections are over-purpled. One could do without Winifred Black and do with more facts in a good many others that are on the flamboyant side. A number are stories done under non-competitive conditions, for which there is no check—and never was—on the license the reporter may have taken. There is an absence of precise reporting. You don't even find how many were dead, or who, on the General Slocum. No science story is here, or any crusade or expose, save one of the New York World on the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia. Yet even in the 20's there was some great crusading—let us just men-

tion Teapot Dome and Paul Y. Anderson, though Mr. Green doesn't. He likes life melodramatic but elementary. His taste for simplicity goes so far that he selects Irvin Cobb's report of Evelyn Nesbit's testimony in the Thaw trial, though it adds nothing to the stenographic report except to buildup the credulity of the reader. It would have been more interesting and serviceable to have the piece Richard Harding Davis did in protest of the vilification of the murdered Sanford White which, Greene says, caused boycotting of Davis' writing. Davis' memory is entitled to republication of a piece that cost him dear, by one who remembers it, and Cobb's memory is ill served by the vapid sob story Greene serves up. Heywood Broun is represented by one of the most trivial of all his pieces, a lightly amusing story of a college football game, which is the way such events should be reported, but is no clew to Broun.

This is just the way Mr. Greene's taste runs. That's all right, so long as nobody is fooled into using these stories as adequately representing great journalism of any time. They just don't represent the great tradition of American journalism. Mr. Greene says, correctly, that the 20's were a better time for realistic news writing because reporters still wrote their own stories. True, rewrite is the bane of modern journalism, and why Mr. Greene tosses in a couple of the most hopped up rewrite jobs is mysterious.

Perhaps best of the book is Greene's own settings of the stories. Some of this is superb, all of it interesting, and a contribution to a vital kind of journalistic history which ought to be carried further. There'd be a lot more in it than this batch of stories, too many of them chosen because they are reports of picturesque episodes than because they are great stories.

backward. In the United States we can afford to put democracy first and let livelihood come second. Most Chinese are obliged by bitter fate to put livelihood first, and democracy second.

Intervention and China's Integrity. An American policy which used large funds for liberal education and for regional economic development in China might be able to foster alternatives to the peasant rebellion and the Marxist view of life on which Chinese Communism is based.

If we consider the United States and the Soviet Union as competing centers of a new world order, it is plain that the disintegration of the old order in China leaves that country open to reorganization under the dominant influence of one or the other of these two competing world powers. But this is not primarily a military issue. It is fundamentally a social issue in the broad sense, a question of the formation and sustenance of new patterns of life, the use of new skills and knowledge, the creation of a new social structure and new sources of political authority, among the Chinese people. The outside power which can contribute most to this process can thereby gain the greatest influence in China. Our task is therefore how to contribute to solving China's problems more effectively than the Russians can contribute.

The Press and Public Information. A few major newspapers have been maintaining in China correspondents whose day-to-day cables on current events outweigh in both volume and quality most recent books. Among others, Tillman Durdin and Henry Lieberman of the *New York Times*, and A. T. Steele and Christopher Rand of the *New York Herald Tribune* have set enviable records for intelligent, accurate, and informed appraisal of the Chinese scene. The mobility, independence, and personal responsibility of such men make their reports even more valuable than those of agencies like the Associated Press and United Press, which show less initiative, and they are certainly more reliable than those of the weekly magazines, which select their weekly news stories according to an editorial policy.

—John K. Fairbank, in *The United States and China*, Harvard University Press, 1948.

Tillman Durdin of the *Times* and Christopher Rand of the *Herald Tribune*, two of the four China correspondents cited for their "enviable records" by Professor Fairbank, are Nieman Fellows this year.

News and Propaganda on China

In seeking a new China policy I believe most of us commit at least seven deadly sins in our thinking:

1. We let our fear of totalitarianism, and a pervasive uncertainty as to the future, nurture among us a degree of mass hysteria.

2. We refuse to recognize why we are falling behind in power politics.

3. We neglect the moral and ideological factor in social change abroad.

4. We refuse to take account of foreign points of view. Chinese communism, for example, whatever its Russian connection, appears to the Chinese populace as a Chinese movement.

5. We let ourselves be misled by our own propaganda. AP, UP, the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, among others, have able correspondents reporting from China. But their objectivity is offset by some of our largest weekly magazines which offer attractive pictures and capsulized news. Weekly summaries of the Chinese scene for the American public seem to require a greater degree of editorial selection and slanting than is true of the daily press. The result is an editorial "line" almost indistinguishable from propaganda.

6. Our policy is often subjective.

7. We exaggerate our power of decision. The outcome of a social revolution among 450 million people does not depend upon us.

All these are negative considerations.

What can we do constructively?

Political Strategy. The American influence in China on the whole, I believe, has been for the good and should continue.

Our strategy must be, first, to champion the cause of China's national independence of foreign powers. With this we should combine, secondly, a stand for liberalism—individual freedom and individual security—as opposed to police-state totalitarianism; and, thirdly, economic aid for rapid and genuine agrarian reform and development as an alternative to peasant rebellion, providing (and this is essential) that such aid is not misused for backward political ends. These goals can easily be stated. How can we advance toward them in practice?

Information and Education. Here are two positive things we should have done long ago: first, the cultural, educational, and information programs of the Department of State, cut down in 1945 and 1946 and increased again in 1948, should be greatly expanded to reach the Chinese people in every accessible area. Information cannot be put out until it has been selected; selection according to a policy can be called propaganda. But in competition against other propaganda, information or propaganda will be effective in the long run only if it is credible—that is, true in detail and balanced in content.

Secondly, we should aid Chinese education in every possible constructive way.

Economic Development. From a Chinese point of view our thinking runs

Foreign News Problems Before Editorial Conference

Bingham Plans Program for 250 Editorial Writers at Louisville, November 17-20

Discussion of "Freedom of Information Overseas" will be a feature of the second annual conference of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, set for November 17-20 at the Brown Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky. Barry Bingham, President and Editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, and NCEW program chairman, said he hopes to have a number of American foreign news service European correspondents at the conference, along with a group of German editors. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, publisher, Houston

Post, and Lloyd Lehrbas, acting director, Office of International Information, are on the panel program.

Other program features are: "National Problem of Natural Resources"—Tom Wallace, editor emeritus, Louisville Times; Dr. William Albrecht, chairman, Department of Soils, University of Missouri; George L. Peterson, associate editor, Minneapolis Star; and Bernard DeVoto, author and editor. "Resources Program in Kentucky," "The Editorial Attack on Public Questions," special interest

panel discussions, editorial page criticisms and analysis are also included.

Among the speakers expected are A. Gayle Waldrop, College of Journalism, University of Colorado, and Dr. Robert Hutchins, Chancellor, Univ. of Chicago.

Registration to date indicates an attendance of about 250.

Outside the discussion program, feature trips include Kentucky historical spots and visits and inspection of Oak Ridge and TVA's Fontana Dam.

—Paul J. Hughes.

New City Editor

A good many boys who do not expect to grow up to be President will settle for being city editor of the New York Times. Robert E. Garst, who has become the Times' new city editor, came up through the copy desk. This provides some compensation for those artists and artisans of the paste pot and shears who feel that as copy editors they are the forgotten men of journalism. If they are, it is no fault of Robert E. Garst, who has set the copy editor on the highest pedestal to be found in a news office. "In an ideal sense there never will be a copy editor who knows enough to fill the requirements of his job thoroughly," Mr. Garst has written in a little book on copy editing that is familiar to journalism students—"Headlines and Deadlines," Columbia University Press, which he did with Theodore Bernstein of the Times copy desk who now follows Garst into the post of assistant night managing editor. Robert Garst is a graduate of Columbia School of Journalism, 1925, and then had 13 years on the Times copy desk.

"The emphasis in newspaper work has long—too long perhaps—been put upon the reporter," his little book begins. "It is not seldom that the wit, ingenuity and craftsmanship of the copy editor rescue from the limbo of unread newspaper stories the uninspired work of John Jones, reporter." To a reporter this may seem a little strong. But Mr. Garst was writing for students of the copy desk and there is more to be taught about copy writing than anything else in a newspaper, for it is the technical side of the job.

"The ideal copy editor," says Mr. Garst, "not only would have a complete mastery over the technical phases of his work, such as the editing of copy and the writing of headlines, but would possess sound and swift judgment, would be an expert rhetorician and grammarian and would

be thoroughly versed in government, politics, astrophysics, home gardening, shoes, ships, sealing wax and all subjects that find or are likely to find a place in the kaleidoscopic enterprise that is the modern newspaper."

"It is the editorial pencil as much as the reportorial typewriter that puts before the public daily the readable information of the world's happenings. It is the copy editor who is essentially the guardian of what gets into the newspaper and how it looks when it gets there.

"The appeal of the reporter's work is great; the activity, the contact with the world, with its great men and with its ideas, make the stimulation of the job unparalleled in any profession. But the copy editor is closer to the heart of the newspaper's power; he is indeed, its heart. Under his pencil flow the accounts of all important happenings anywhere. This sense of closeness to vital things, plus the ability to shape information about them so that their importance will be shown in true perspective, make the editorial 'game' second to none."

Mr. Garst was doubtless consciously glamorizing the job. He is right in feeling that a lion's share of the glamor has gone to the reporter. But the fact that the city editor of the Times and both the city editor and managing editor of the Herald Tribune have come up through the copy desk will do more to make copy editing attractive than any number of books.

Mr. Garst's handbook is a very practical description of how the technicians of the copy desk process the news. It includes also a convenient vocabulary for headline writers. He allows himself a few don'ts. Among the words he would avoid in headlines are to flay, hit, rap or slap, to quiz, to aver, claim or state, to probe, pry or sift (meaning investigate), or to gut (as by fire). Nouns he would avoid are probe,

ukase, tilt, combine, pact; and of adjectives he is against mum.

This seems a modest list. He says nothing against such verbs as prod, spur, press, hail, net, slur, slay, clash or lash.

NIEMAN NOTES

Three Nieman Fellows, Houstoun Waring, editor of the Littleton (Colo.) Independent, Kenneth Stewart of the New York Star, and Ernest H. Linford, editorial writer on the Salt Lake Tribune, were among the speakers at the Institute of Teachers of Journalism, held in Boulder, Colorado, the last week of August.

Charles Jennings, N.F. '44, announced the birth of a daughter Susan Elizabeth, on August 11, in England. Address: 3 Ray Lodge, Ray Park Ave., Maidenhead, Berks., England.

Thomas Sancton, N.F. '41, joined the Washington staff of the Nation, in August, ending several years of rustication, study and writing on the race problem in his native Mississippi.

Thomas Griffith, N.F. '43, has had the press section of Time, Inc. added to the departments for which he is responsible as a senior editor.

A.B. Guthrie, Jr., N.F. '44, author of "The Big Sky" spent the Summer out on the Oregon Trail gathering book material.

Mary Ellen Leary, N.F. '46, was a visitor to the Nieman office after a trip to Washington, before returning to her State political reporting for the San Francisco News.

Cary Robertson returned from a sojourn at the Mayo Clinic in August, reported in

sound shape and back on the job as Sunday editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Mrs. John Robling (Charlotte Fitzhenry, N.F. '46) formerly in the Chicago AP bureau, placed one of her Drake University journalism graduates this Summer with the Chicago AP bureau.

Richard E. Lauterbach, N.F. '47, former Life correspondent and '48 editor, joined the staff of the new New York Star this Summer as a senior editor. His old Nieman colleague, Jay Odell, is managing editor of the Star. Kenneth Stewart, N.F. '41, professor of journalism at New York University, spent the Summer on the Star. He was one of the original staff of PM. Articles by Alexander Kendrick, N.F. '40, now CBS correspondent in the Balkans, appear every so often on the editorial page of the Star.

Frank K. Kelly, N.F. '43, becomes Professor Kelly this Fall at Boston University School of Journalism. An avocation will be to see proofs of his new novel through publication by Little, Brown & Co. It is reputed to be a novel about a newspaperman. Prof. Kelley used to be a AP man.

Hodding Carter, N.F. '39, who commutes between Greenville, Miss. and Rockland, Maine, was host to a sub-committee of the Nieman Review Committee in August on his 32 foot yacht, "just like Churchill and Roosevelt," he reported. This was in some contrast to the second meeting of the full committee held in Philadelphia the opening day of the Republican National Convention, when, according to the newspapers, it was hot.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9 (AP)—Frank Carey, science reporter in the Associated Press Washington Bureau, has been named winner of the \$1000 George Westinghouse science writing award for 1948 in the newspaper class. Carey was a Nieman Fellow 1946-47.

Weller All Wet

Reversing the parachute jump that he tried out as a war correspondent, George Weller, a Nieman Fellow of 1948, enrolled this Summer to test the experience of a submarine crew member with the Navy's latest device for saving the victims of a sunken submarine. Weller took the required course for emerging from 12 feet and 18 feet, then he went on to the volunteer ascent from a depth of 100 feet. The adventure made two stories in the Chicago Daily News and its client papers.

Wall Street Journal Has Unique Staff Training

Chief executive of the circulation-fat, national morning business daily, The Wall Street Journal, is invariably an editorial man, who came up usually through the managing editorship. No exception is Bernard Kilgore, president of Dow, Jones & Co., the publishers.

A policy of recruitment and training of staff, unique in American journalism, is responsible for the development of news staffers into executives. The policy may be either cause or effect of a general circulation that has more than doubled twice within the last seven years to a present 140,000.

There's no hard-and-fast rule about it, management says, but beginners on the Journal are usually bright young people out of college, who showed a definite preference for journalism.

The neophytes are linked for training

with a senior writer, first in one department, then another, and out in one or more of the Journal's many bureaus. Their work is carefully supervised and checked. The fledglings are not considered full-feathered for solo flight until after six months to a year—sometimes more—of training.

One hundred ten correspondents add to the efforts of the Journal's 180-odd staffers.

Contrary to layman expectations, Journal reporters are not statisticians. The statistical department, consisting of 31 people, is separate, write no stories. The chartist, who produces front page graphs, is directly supervised by the assistant m.e., often originates his material.

Ogden J. Rochelle in Editor and Publisher. July 10, 1948.

The First Book About The

Nieman Fellowships

The Story of the First Ten Years As the Fellows Describe It Themselves

With the Records of the Nieman Foundation

"The Nieman Fellows Report:—An Account of an Educational Experiment Now in its 10th Year."

Edited by *Louis M. Lyons*
Curator of the Nieman Fellowships

Harvard University Press, Cambridge. \$2.75

This tells the experience of the 122 newspapermen who have held Nieman Fellowships at Harvard in their own words, through the reports of 20 representative Fellows. They describe the variety of informal and often ingenious ways they organized their year's work to get the most out of it, and how they appraise the result.

The book includes a complete list of all Nieman Fellows, the papers they came from and what has happened to them since Harvard, their present positions, their awards and the books they have written, the changes in their status, regionally and occupationally.

It describes the purposes given by the 1500 newspapermen who have sought Nieman Fellowships. It describes the Nieman dinners and seminars. It gives statistics of the representation of city staff, copy desk, editorial writers and correspondents and of the fields of study chosen at Harvard.

British Press Inquiry

ROYAL COMMISSION LEADS PAPERS TO DEFINE THEIR STANDARDS

Some real nuggets of journalistic convictions and observations by the great British editors have turned up in the mountain of evidence published by the Royal Commission on the Press which has turned out nothing yet beyond questionnaires and answers. The statements of principles, policies and views that have come from a few such sources as the *Manchester Guardian*, *Scotsman*, *Observer* and *London Times* illuminate the pathless maze of small type put out by His Majesty's Stationery Office. They are a sufficient reward to the reader persistent enough to mine his way through the meaningless mass of most of the material without the slightest help from His Majesty's editors and printers.

The first thing that strikes an American is the key place given to the Hutchins' Commission's definition of press responsibility. It makes the first question of the list submitted to publishers and trade associations. By it the Commission has committed the press of Britain to an almost unanimous public acceptance of the Hutchins' standard of responsibility. This, alone, has to be rated an achievement. It is about all the British Commission has got out of it on the positive side. On the negative side, the inquiry has given the press itself a chance to impress on its public two needs it asserts as urgent. One is the obvious frustration of its basic function by the severe restriction on newsprint. The other is the universal demand of the press that the restrictive libel law of England be amended. "The greatest obstacle to the adequate presentation of news and opinion" states the *Manchester Guardian*, "is the capriciousness of the laws of libel and contempt . . . Crusading for reform is seriously limited by risks that only the wealthiest dare face. The contrast with the United States is striking." Almost every British publisher says the same.

The increasing concentration of control of papers in few hands is shown to be a major concern of the British Commission by its questions as to possible remedies. It finds scant response by publishers on this or any other suggestion for public action to develop standards, supervise advertising or prevent abuses.

They want to be let alone, like American publishers. There are some breaks in their unanimity on this. A good many independent provincial papers express concern over the spread of group ownership into the provinces. Some say it is a threat to independence and to freedom of the press. A few would be glad to see public action to stop the spread of monopoly.

On this issue as on almost all others, the working pressmen as represented by the National Union of Journalists, which claims 80 to 90 percent of newspapermen as members, are poles apart from the owners of the papers. Indeed the extremity of differences between those who write for the papers and those who own them is the most striking fact revealed by the inquiry. The "evidence" submitted by the Union amounts to an indictment of the big publishers who control a third of British papers for abuse of power by irresponsible distortion of news. The publishers retort that this is all eye-wash and brush off all the remedial suggestions made by the Union. The Union got in first with its specifications and the Commission used the charges made as the basis of its 32 questions submitted to 93 publishers of some 400 papers. When the reader turns to the answers of the publishers most bitterly attacked, as the *Kemsley Press* which lists 29 papers in its string, he learns nothing, for the response has evidently been concocted by the public relations counsel in the form of a blatant puff for the *Kemsley Way*. Many of the other answers are clearly turned out by publishers' lawyers to reveal nothing but protestations of great virtue.

The most realistic returns in general have come from the smaller provincial papers, many of which discuss their problems thoroughly. Curiously enough the Thomson interests of Dundee which are charged with flagrant and picturesque use of a "black list" were not even queried, or else failed to answer. The Union charges that through personal pique of the publisher, these papers maintained a "keep out" order on the name of Winston Churchill for a period that carried all through the war.

To an American, it is interesting to

find the Commission, in its concern about "inaccuracy and distortion," asking the papers if they use rewrite men. A great many of them protest that they do not, and many indicate bluntly that they have no use for the American rewrite system of processing the news. Universally the British publishers assert that advertisers exert no influence over news or editorial policy, and they claim not to be plagued by pressure groups. After reading a great deal of frank discussion of pressure groups in many of the answers, it is amusing to find the white paper of the Kemsley group declaring "We have encountered no pressure groups in this country." Another lily white outfit, Mackie & Co., Ltd., with 16 papers, affirms solemnly "We do not accept that control, ownership or management of newspapers have any influence on freedom of the press."

The *Observer* takes a quite different view. If the head of a chain of papers attempts to direct the policy of each paper, "it is both injurious to journalism and dangerous to democracy," says the *Observer*, which goes on to suggest something similar to the American anti-trust law to break up newspaper chains. It suggests also that protection of the individual against intrusion upon privacy "might be sustained by giving certain professional standards the force of law."

The *Scarborough News* makes the point that readers of a local paper are in large measure protected against sensationalism because "they know too much not to recognize exaggeration. A national paper can exaggerate a story almost out of recognition; the tiny fraction of its readers who know the facts will recognize the exaggeration for what it is, but millions will know no better." The same paper urges "that anything that can be done should be done to prevent the swallowing up of any more independent papers by chains, and if possible, (a doubtful matter) to reverse the trend. Otherwise the undermining of the essential nature of the local press, which has already gone far, will be completed." "What matters," says the same paper, "is editorial control. The most serious ailment of the newspaper industry today is the subservience of the journalist to the business man. We

refer to the vital question of who is to be the boss, the journalist or the business man. Too often it is the latter. The newspaper will never be able to perform its true function properly until the journalists are once again on top."

The Scarborough paper makes the observation, as to sensationalism, that "The United States newspapers developed big headlines for emigrants who could read but little English. Northcliffe developed the Daily Mail for people who could not read the Times. Limitations of a precisely similar nature operate in this country today."

The South Wales Argus thinks that

with more education people are less influenced by the press than 40 years ago. The Bristol Mirror feels that the public has less confidence in the press than formerly because—the "popular" newspapers over-dramatize for circulation building. The Essex County Standard feels that sensationalism is spreading and can only be checked by education of readers. In general the papers are optimistic that sensationalism has passed its peak, and express the view that with rising education, reader support of more responsible journalism will rise. Even those that most deplore some press practices are almost solidly against any pub-

lic action for improvement. Most say there is need of improvement in journalistic standards but it should be left to the press itself.

The points raised by the National Union of Journalists were published in Nieman Reports of Jan., 1948.

The questionnaire of British publishers and excerpts from the replies by several leading papers follow.

Memorandum of Evidence submitted to the Royal Commission on the Press. His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. 15 shillings, 9 pence.

Questionnaire—

THE QUESTIONS PUT TO THE BRITISH PRESS

Questions raised are often more significant than the answers obtainable as to what is the crux of an issue. The questions asked by the Royal Commission on the Press presumably reflect the Commission's idea of the questioning in the mind of the British public about their newspapers.

This is the questionnaire that the Royal Commission addressed to British publishers:

1 In what does the freedom of the Press consist? Do you agree with the American Commission on Freedom of the Press that those who operate the Press have a duty to give expression to ideas which the processes of free speech have brought to public attention, whether or not they agree with them?

2 What is the proper function of a newspaper? What is the character and extent of its responsibility (a) to the public and (b) to its shareholders?

3 How is the policy of your paper(s) determined? By whom and with what considerations in mind?

4 How much independence is enjoyed by the editors of papers belonging to a chain? Are the editors subject to directives or guidance from headquarters on either national or local matters? Are leading or other articles syndicated?

5 To what extent if at all do you consider that the accurate presentation of news or the adequate expression of opinion is distorted or restricted by:—

- (1) The limitations and prejudices of the public.
- (2) The limitations and prejudices of journalists and editors.
- (3) The interests and influence of advertisers.
- (4) The interests, policies and prejudices of newspaper proprietors.
- (5) The influence and interests of pressure groups.
- (6) The influence of the Government.
- (7) The economic and other difficulties of establishing new newspapers.

6 Do you consider that the concentration of control of organs of the Press in large corporations works for or against the accurate presentation of news and the adequate expression of opinion?

7 How far do the known opinions and preferences of the groups mentioned in question 5 influence the presentation of news and opinion, or prevent the discussion of particular topics or the introduction of features which you consider desirable? Do you publish material which you know will not appeal to the majority of your readers and if so, on what grounds?

8 Should a paper be a mouth-piece of a particular set of opinions or should it present several points of view on a given topic? Which policy do you adopt?

9 Do you believe that news and opinion should be strictly separated? Is this practised in your paper(s)?

10 What do you regard as a reasonable standard of accuracy? Does it include not merely the correctness of facts stated but also the statement of all relevant facts?

11 Who is responsible on your paper(s) for seeing that the requisite standard of accuracy is met? How far is control exercised positively to ensure a high standard of accuracy and integrity?

12 What safeguards are provided against attempts to induce, e.g., city editors or film critics to show favouritism?

13 Are re-write men employed on your paper(s)? Is it part of their work to present news from a particular angle?

14 How far are inaccuracy and distortion due to deliberate sensationalism either in the choice or in the presentation of material? Is sensationalism increasing? Can it be checked?

15 Are directions given that particular individuals or topics are (a) to be written up or (b) to be ignored? If so, by whom and why? If not, is there a tacit assumption to the same effect?

16 Do you organise polls of public opinion on matters of public interest? If so on what basis? Are the results of such polls published?

17 Do you consider that the space given to foreign and Empire news before the war was adequate?

18 Are arrangements for collecting Empire and foreign news adequate? Could they be improved by an extension of arrangements for sharing correspondents between several papers?

19 Are the existing news agency services adequate? If not, how can they be improved?

20 Do arrangements such as that between Reuters and the Associated Press for the handling of British and American news hinder the full presentation of one country to the people of the other?

21 Can anything further be done to facilitate the free expression of opinion through the Press and greater accuracy in the presentation of news?

22 What proportion of the journalists employed by your papers have (a) secondary and (b) university education?

23 How are the journalists on your staff

recruited and trained? How are leader writers and specialists, e.g., foreign, industrial, or scientific correspondents, selected and trained?

24 How is/are the Editor(s) of your paper(s) selected and appointed? Are there any special terms in an Editor's contract either guaranteeing or limiting his freedom in exercising his functions?

25 What in your opinion are the relative merits of the different methods of recruitment and training in the industry?

26 Do the status and professional standards of journalists need raising? If so, how can it be done?

27 How great is the influence of the newspaper and periodical Press on the Public? How does it compare with, and is it counteracted by, that of the B.B.C.? By what means do you determine the influence of your papers?

28 In what topics is the public most interested? Has there been any change in recent years in public interest or taste? If so, to what do you attribute it? Will it continue? Is public interest in national affairs likely to increase with improved education? Is it the business of a newspaper to lead or to follow trends in public interest and taste?

29 What arrangements have you for co-operation with other newspapers?

30 What significant changes in any of the matters mentioned above or in others to which you refer in your evidence have occurred since 1938? Have any been an improvement? Will they persist?

31 Do you see any changes in the control, ownership or management of the Press which either now or in the near future will endanger the freedom of the Press?

32 Do you think that the proposals mentioned below are practicable and in the public interest?

(1) The limitation by law of concentrations of ownership or control, whether by managers, editors or others.

(2) The formation, either by compulsion or under pressure of discriminatory taxation, of trusts such as have recently been adopted by *The Times*, *The Economist* and other newspapers.

(3) A reorganisation of the structure of ownership and control, with a view to obtaining smaller units or subdivisions of function while preserving the advantage of large scale organisation or association.

(4) The creation of a public trust to lease premises and plant to newspaper promoters on terms debarring the trust from any share in the conduct of the paper.

(5) The conduct of newspapers or periodicals by associations of (a) readers or (b) newspaper workers.

(6) A levy on the Press to finance experimental publications.

(7) The publication by a public body independently of the Government of a paper devoted to the objective statement of news and opinions, and possibly of controversial comment supplied by or reprinted from the remaining national dailies.

(8) The elimination by agreement or legislation of non-journalistic methods of competition such as canvassing, free gifts and insurance.

(9) The compulsory publication in every newspaper of a column of comment by an outside critic or expert.

(10) The creation of a Press Council representing all sections of the industry and the public, to do some or all of the following:—

(a) draw up a code of professional conduct and examine alleged breaches of it;

(b) safeguard the independence and professional integrity of journalists;

(c) supervise the publication of advertisements;

(d) issue periodical reports on the state of the Press.

(11) The creation of a Press Institute, whether attached to a University or otherwise, to study the social, political, economic and technical problems of the Press and report periodically upon them, to stimulate new developments and to assist in providing professional training.

(12) A combination of (10) and (11).

The Yorkshire Post

"Dead Against Sensationalism"

Rewrite

No, we employ well-trained reporters and correspondents who are expected not to provide raw material, but finished articles. Any sub-editorial re-writing of their work would be done for the sake of condensation or greater clearness and not to heighten the sense of drama.

Sensationalism

This question does not apply to the *Yorkshire Post* and its sister papers, since we are dead against a policy of sensationalism, by which we mean the working up of excitement over deeds of violence. Certain newspapers in our opinion give undue space to murder cases, but we do not think their practice goes

so far as to involve factual accuracy. Sensationalism certainly exists in some papers, but does not seem to be on the increase generally. It cannot be checked except by improving public taste, by better (not necessarily more) education.

Staff and Status

The staff of a newspaper is a team, and much depends on the success of the editor (or for certain purposes his deputy) in picking the right man for each job. Acquired qualifications matter less than the principle that journalists are born and not made.

Birmingham Post & Mail On Control and Influence

Control

The editor of the *Birmingham Mail* writes: "Carried to its logical extreme, concentration of ownership clearly leads to the suppression of all but one set of opinions and to only one assessment of news values. It is a tendency running contrary to the principle of freedom of the press, which is a right, not of the press, but of the public. In the public interest, therefore, the process of concentration should be checked."

On the whole we feel the danger of group ownership is exaggerated and if any evil arises it will cure itself. There would be far more danger to be apprehended to the Press and the public by Government control.

Influence of Press

In the views of the editor of the *Birmingham Post*, in national affairs it is less important but still considerable. He writes: "Today, I suspect that both its influence and responsibility are greatest in dealing with international affairs. Here again there is real danger in the temptation to be sensational. A 'striking headline' may do serious harm."

The editor of the *Birmingham Mail* writes: "In national affairs the Press can augment the running tide, but it cannot reverse the stream. In international affairs not involving domestic politics the Press probably is the most formative influence on public opinion."

Essex County Standard Appraises Reporters

These are neither better nor worse than the rest of their fellow creatures. In the main they possess a sense of vocation which outweighs an inevitable tendency towards cynicism.

The London Times Defines Its Personality

Freedom

The freedom of the Press consists in an unfettered right to give, within the limitations imposed by the law, a full service of news and to offer comment upon it. This freedom has been justly described as a right not so much of the newspaper as of the public. Thus it implies a duty on the newspaper to give the news as fully as space permits and as impartially as good faith can contrive. Provision of news certainly includes the presentation of current ideas, whether or not the newspaper approves of them, in reported speeches, published correspondence, articles, and book reviews.

The Times is aware of no external limitation upon its choice of topics or features. Intrinsic interest and value are the determining factors. Value will often rank before popular interest in the selection.

Personality of a Paper

In order to be an effective instrument of public policy, enjoying the confidence, though not necessarily the assent, of readers at all times, a newspaper must have a coherent personality and a consistent viewpoint. That need not exclude the discussion of other viewpoints on a particular topic. On the contrary, such discussion is necessary to the given purpose.

Shortcomings

The one effective remedy for any shortcomings in the Press is an improvement in the quality of public demand, a purpose that it is primarily for education to accomplish.

Status and Influence

The status of journalists has risen greatly in the last 40 years and is continuing to rise. The professional competence of journalists is variously measurable. The Times finds no difficulty in meeting its requirements.

The influence of the Press on the public—its power, that is, to direct or dictate opinion—is commonly overrated. The power of the public to differ from the Press, or from a preponderant portion of it, has been demonstrated plainly during recent years both in this country and in the United States. On the other hand,

there can be no doubt of the power of newspaper publicity and discussion to correct an abuse, or to expose some administrative weakness.

The function of the B.B.C. is complementary to that of the Press, and wholly to the good. The B.B.C. is debarred by its charter from the formulation of policy and has a less direct part accordingly in the shaping of opinion. But its neutral presentation of news is something of a check upon the printed word, and its discussion of current issues is an encouragement to serious thought among the public. Both these are services helpful to responsible journalism.

Choice

The sections of the public reached by different newspapers will differ in their tastes. The impression gained by The Times in recent years is that there has been an increase, in all walks of life, of the public with a responsible interest in affairs. It is attributable to education and seems likely to continue with improved education. The answer to the last question is no doubt "both," but leadership comes first.

As long as the reader has a sufficiently wide choice and variety of newspapers it cannot be said that the freedom of the Press is endangered. It certainly would not seem to be in danger for lack of this choice at present though the number of newspapers has admittedly been much reduced within living memory by absorption and amalgamation.

The Nottingham Guardian On Sensationalism

Most local newspapers eschew sensationalism and one's impression is that even the popular Londoners are less sensational and more responsible than they were in, say, the Northcliffe era.

Two perils are to be feared; enormous advances in sale by a very few newspapers to the extinction of competitors, and excessive centralisation of newspaper ownership.

There is nothing wrong with newspapers that readers cannot put right if they have the capacity and the will. The improvement of the standards of the Press by pressure of public opinion is bound to be a slow process, but it is the natural and healthy democratic method, and is

preferable to any form of external interference unless a situation is reached in which monopolistic developments threaten to move rapidly to the extinction of the diverse, as well as free, Press, which is necessary to the maintenance of the democratic way of life.

The Daily Mail On Duty and Rewrite

Duty

The freedom of the Press consists in the right, within the law, first, to print news, and second, views on all news and events without restriction. Still more important, it consists in the right of the public to have such news printed and published.

We agree with the American Commission on the freedom of the Press that it is our duty to give expression to ideas brought to the public attention whether or not we agree with them.

Rewrite

We do not employ "re-write" specialists. No attempt is made to give any particular angle to the news. The only "re-writing" done is when a number of reports of the same event contain details which have to be incorporated in one condensed story.

Halifax Courier On Standards

The payment of adequate salaries, and the inculcation of high standards of integrity and sense of moral responsibility among the staff, seem the best safeguards against any temptation to accept bribes or give way to outside pressure; in our experience, these methods seem to have been entirely effective.

To sum it up, it may be said that we consider that any necessary "reform of the Press" should and indeed must come from within the Press if it is to be effective. This certainly does not rule out external aid (as might for instance come from an advisory body such as that mentioned above, or from the development of a more active and constructively critical attitude in the public). We believe that this method can achieve a very considerable measure of success if the necessary encouragement is given by those who hold and practise the higher ideals of the profession. But we do not believe that any forms of compulsion by the State or coercion through fiscal measures are necessary in the present state of the Press, desirable, or likely to prove effective.

Manchester Guardian States Its Standards

Responsibility

We should agree with the American Commission that what it calls the "communications revolution," which has narrowed the means of public expression, adds a new responsibility. As it says, "The Press is not free if those who operate it behave as though their position conferred on them the privilege of being deaf to ideas which the processes of free speech have brought to public attention." Whether the danger of deafness is as acute in this country as the Commission seems to think it is in the United States is distinctly arguable. Even at its most sensational the British Press has never lost a sense of fair play; and, journalistic ethics apart, it usually has the flair to see that eccentric or minority opinion has news value.

Newspaper ownership should be conceived of rather as a public trust than as an instrument for making the maximum private profit. It is necessary, however, to insist that a newspaper has to be commercially successful to perform its function; financially weak newspapers cannot maintain the independence which is the condition of their freedom.

Policy

The policy of each of our papers is determined by its editor's interpretation of the liberal and progressive outlook which is traditional to it. The board of directors of the company and the Scott Trust do not discuss editorial policy.

Libel Law

The great obstacles to the adequate presentation of news and opinion are, probably, not those mentioned in the questionnaire but the capriciousness of the laws of libel and contempt. The area in which the Press can operate in seeking redress of public grievances, in exposing abuses, and in crusading for reform is seriously limited or hedged round with risks that only the wealthiest organizations dare face. The contrast with the United States is striking, for although the American libel laws may not be widely different from ours their practical effect is very different. There is also a habit of freer personal criticism which, though often indulged to excess, is on the whole healthier than the repressions to which, in the last 50 or 60 years, the British Press has become subject.

Pressures

Newspapers are obviously influenced by the general social "climate" of the time, but much less in this country than in America by the prejudices of what the American Commission calls "groups." The public also is not one but many publics with different interests and different abilities to absorb information. Different newspapers are therefore necessary with different styles and different contents if the public is to be fully suited, and each one of them must abide by the limitations of its particular public if it does not wish to change its clientele from the members of one group to those of another.

The amount of deliberate "distortion" of news is popularly grossly exaggerated. A paragraph left out through the mechanical exigencies of last-minute make-up, a reporter's accidental omission or misspelling of a name, a sub-editor's misjudgment in writing a headline will often be attributed to deep editorial design instead of to human or mechanical frailty.

Newspaper proprietors are no more immune from human failings than are the journalists they employ. We should judge that their influence on the form and content of their papers is commonly much over-rated.

Rewrite

Re-write men in the American sense are not employed, but the modern technique of subbing has changed to an extent that every sub-editor is his own re-write man. We adopt, for instance, few ready-made intros. from agencies and a considerable amount of re-writing by the sub-editors is therefore expected. Local correspondents also often contribute three-quarters of a column in copy which is written down by a sub-editor into a paragraph.

Foreign News

Our pre-war proportion of overseas news was greater than that of most daily papers. The chief qualification would be that before the war the coverage of American news in most morning papers was inadequate. This was due as much as anything to the unfortunate time difference between the U. S. and the U. K. News of American events often reached English papers in time only for brief treatment in their late editions. American coverage is now on the whole better, considering the small size of papers. It

may be mentioned that to overcome the time handicap the *Manchester Guardian* has not hesitated to give reports of United Nations' meetings consistently a day late—a breach of journalistic practice but the only way of keeping a continuous record.

Staff

The absence of a recognized means of entry is undoubtedly a handicap to aspirants to journalism, and especially to university graduates. The whole subject of training, notably for sub-editors, needs to be taken up by the profession.

B.B.C. Influence

It would be fairer to say, perhaps, that the B.B.C. and the newspapers react on each other rather than that one counteracts the other. It is reasonable to attribute the increased demand for the "serious" papers since 1938 in part to the wider and deeper interest in affairs which the B.B.C. has encouraged.

Control

Our own preference would be for a minimum of interference by the State or Parliament with the industry, apart from means, if they can be devised, of preventing too great a concentration of the ownership of newspaper properties in the same hands. The British press is not on the whole irresponsible. Sections of it may seem at times to lack seriousness but even they do not fail great emergencies. We might wish for more of what the *American Fortune* calls "the good, the true and the dull," but when newspapers were duller fewer of them were bought. And those that by majority standards might now seem to be on the "dull" side have shared in the growth of the newspaper reading habit. We have no reason to think that the public is becoming less critical of newspapers or values their independence less.

What C. P. Scott Held

"... 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 . . . ”

“ . . . 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. Perhaps none of us can attain to it in the desirable measure. We can but try, ask pardon for shortcomings, and there leave the matter.”

The Northern Daily Mail On Standards and Control

Employers can help to raise the status and professional standard of journalists by more careful selection and training of recruits; by encouraging continuation of education and by inculcating a high standard of professional conduct in their whole staff. Journalists can do their part by regarding journalism as a profession and not a trade.

A continuance of the tendency to group ownership will, by centering control in few hands, increase the risk of, though not necessarily entail, newspapers failing to fulfil their responsibility to the public. The continuance of Government control of newsprint supplies and the size of newspapers a moment longer than is essential upon economic grounds, will unnecessarily restrict newspapers in fulfilling their responsibility to the public.

North Wales Times On Independent Papers

Nothing should be done to interfere with the independence of small national, provincial and local newspapers—they are the bulwarks of our democracy. The tendency to buy them up and incorporate their titles in those of chain newspapers should be discouraged.

Control

Justice or distortion in the handling of news has no connection with size. The concentration of newspaper ownership need not affect the accurate presentation of news or the adequate expression of opinion if each newspaper in the corporation is conducted by its editor in accordance with sound journalistic principles. But if the head of a newspaper group attempts to direct the policy and contents of each newspaper in the group without due regard to the judgment of the local editor, the papers in the group cease to interpret public opinion and become a mere echo of one man's ideas and prejudices. Such a state of affairs is both injurious to the profession of journalism and dangerous to democracy, firstly because the editors of such papers cannot exercise their judgment sufficiently to make their posts attractive to men of first-class ability and education, who are thus discouraged from entering the profession; secondly because such newspapers do not perform one of the proper functions of the Press, that of informing governments of the real feeling of sections of the electorate in different parts of the country; and thirdly because it is unhealthy in a democratic state that any single individual should possess so much influence over men's studies and thoughts as ownership of a large number of newspapers confers.

A point for consideration is the enactment of a law modelled on the Anti-Trust Law in the U. S. A., which stipulates that each operating company must have a separate body of shareholders and a separate board of directors. Although in the U. S. A., this law is only applicable where a monopoly exists, a new version of it might be applied to the Press of this country. This would mean that all except one of the papers belonging to a group or combine would have to be given or sold to someone else.

Croydon Advertiser On Accuracy

The first lesson a junior reporter on the “Advertiser” learns is that facts are sacred; every one on the production staff at every stage is responsible for the standard of accuracy. Any known instance of inaccuracy or dishonesty will be severely dealt with.

The Observer On Control and Sensationalism

Sensationalism

We have no experience of deliberate inaccuracy and distortion in journalism. Newspapers bent on great circulations appear to pander to sensationalism, no doubt because the great bulk of the public is believed (and can be proved by circulation figures) to like sensationalism. How far this is an instinctive appetite of the British public or how far it grows on what it feeds on is, we suggest, a moot point. The love of sensational journalism on the part of the public may gradually be checked by the inculcation in the schools of a better standard of values which should ultimately result in a greater demand for newspapers which do not pander to sensationalism. It is, of course, within the power of all proprietors to practice a healthier type of journalism. A matter for the Commissioners to consider is the desirability of further steps being taken to protect the individual from invasion of his privacy and the reader from certain types of sordid reading matter.

For example, the privacy of the individual might be sustained by giving certain professional standards the force of law. Whether to enter a house uninvited, to refuse to leave when asked, to take photographs in private property without permission might be made statutory offences, is an important matter for the Commission to consider.

The present restriction on the reporting of divorce cases might be extended to the reporting of sexual offences. Only the bare facts and the judge's remarks would then be published in cases of rape, incest and unnatural vice. The question of reporting murder trials, which have often a sordid sexual aspect, is more difficult. Too much secrecy must not be given to the proceedings of the courts. But the ban on detailed divorce case reports has worked well, and might be judiciously extended.

Daily Mirror On Libel Law

The greatest single obstacle to free expression of opinion in the Press is the law of libel, which has the effect of shielding the evil doer and preventing his exposure. The complete overhaul of the law of libel is long overdue and of the utmost importance.

The Scotsman States Its Position

Freedom

Absence of external interference with the general policy and technical operations of the Press, apart from what may be necessary under common law and special statutory provisions to safeguard the national interests and to protect the individual against abuse of Press freedom.

The Press asks for no favoured position. Its freedom is the freedom of the public.

Yes, we are in favour of opinions being reflected in our columns, whether we agree with them or not.

Function

To give an unbiased presentation of all the news fit to print and to provide intelligent and candid comment upon local, national and world affairs.

The character and extent of the responsibilities of a newspaper are (a) to inform and instruct the public, (b) to provide a fair return on the capital invested in the business.

Performance

There is a tendency on the part of certain newspapers to play down to their public.

We believe that the standard of professional integrity among journalists and editors is high, but they are only human.

In our own experience, advertisers have not attempted to exercise undue influence upon editorial policy, and any such attempt would be resisted.

In this office the editor is given complete discretion.

The high cost of establishing new newspapers does tend to canalise the expression of opinion.

There is no inherent reason why the concentration of control should militate against accurate presentation of news, but it may limit the scope for the expression of diverse opinions.

We express our own opinions in our leading columns, but we give wide latitude for the expression of various points of view on matters of public importance in our Letters to the Editor column and in special articles.

Reliance is placed on the honesty and integrity of special writers and critics. This is sufficient in our own case, and the staff are aware that they would be supported against the exercise of any undue influence.

No Sensationalism

A policy of deliberate sensationalism might well result in inaccuracy and distortion, but such a practice is carefully avoided in our office. The quest for large circulation tends to encourage sensationalism. The raising of the standard of public appreciation of true values would appear to be the ultimate solution.

News Agencies

The present restrictions on newsprint are a serious handicap to the full presentation of important news, and their removal with the least possible delay would facilitate not only fuller but also more accurate presentation of news.

Influence of Press

We believe that the influence a paper exerts is not determined simply by its circulation. Correspondence columns are as good a test as any of the influence that a paper is having.

Combines

The growth of newspaper combines would tend to limit the expression of diverse views, and this tendency may proceed further in the next few years. Heavy taxation and succession duties endanger the continued existence of the independent and family-owned newspaper.

but of its own particular public. If it gets more than one jump ahead it will lose ground, and therefore be less influential than if it kept closer to its readers' tastes.

There has been a great increase in interest in America, which will probably last and is certainly a good thing. I think there is also an increased demand on the part of the public for "background" information.

Control

(1) The control of a newspaper must be concentrated, as must that of a ship, and for the same reason, that far-reaching decisions have to be taken firmly and quickly. Any attempt to prevent concentration of control would therefore be bad. I have no objection to concentration of ownership if it leads to the concentration of control in the right hands. As a principle, it is wrong that the controller of a newspaper should nominate himself, or be nominated by some other self-appointed person. That is, some disinterested person or body should be required to give a certificate that the controller is a fit and proper person. The difficulty is to find means of application of this general principle.

(2) The difficulty about legal insistence on trusts is that it would be impossible—without a dangerous intervention of the state—to be sure that the trustees were not mere nominees. Moreover, insistence on trusts might well be still another deterrent to new ventures. There is a big difference between *The Times* trust which (I believe) applies only to changes of ownership and provides no protection for the editor, and *The Economist* trust.

Need for "a new Delane"

The essential thing is for some new Delane or new Harmsworth to show that a paper can be popular and responsible and successful. The power of this example would be far greater than that of any formal institution.

I appreciate that these answers are mainly negative. I assure the Commission that this is not because I do not recognise the need for great improvements in the Press. But I find the basic cause in the attitudes of individual men—of the journalists at least as much as of the proprietors—and I do not believe that human attitudes can be altered by legislation or institutional changes. In an imitative profession like journalism, they can be altered only by a successful example.

The Economist

Limitations of the Journalist

As a generalisation, I would rate (2) ("the limitations and prejudices of journalists and editors") as much the most important. There are, of course, many exceptions to every generalisation that can be made about journalists. But on the average the British journalist does not by any means have the standard of education or responsibility that he should have.

Public Taste

The public taste is slowly rising—that is, it is getting more interested in serious public affairs without losing its interest in sport and sudden death. This is due partly to better education and partly to the growing impossibility of ignoring the impact of public affairs. On both counts, it is likely to continue. It is the business of a newspaper to keep just one jump ahead of its public—not of the public,

From the Nieman Scrapbook--

Newspapers and the Prophet Motive

by Herbert Brucker, Editor, Hartford Courant
From the Saturday Review of Literature, Aug. 14.

I have suggested that editorial writers serve the same purpose as did the prophets of ancient Israel. The late Talcott Williams, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, and first head of what is now the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, used to quote Ezekiel to drive home the newspaperman's obligation to society: to "blow the trumpet and warn the people."

Regrettably, the high calling of prophet to the twentieth century puts on most editorial writers a burden heavier than they can carry. The necessity for commenting each day on the significant, the spectacular, and the purely decorative aspects of the current scene calls for more knowledge, time, and energy than they possess. There are fewer editorial writers than there used to be who are broken-down reporters turned out to pasture. They should of course have the discipline of reporting, of having to recount the facts as they are, before being allowed to express opinions. They should keep up with the current magazines and books, and match what they find in them against at least some insight into the experience of the ages. But even that is not enough. The editorial writer ought to come down out of the ivory tower to see for himself what is going on outside, in the streets and in the council chambers. Unfortunately, there is never enough time.

Besides, few newspapers maintain an editorial-writing staff big enough to do the job right. Indeed, only the metropolitan dailies have adequate resources. The *New York Times*, for example, has six full-time men, plus reasonably regular production from Anne O'Hare McCormick, columnist and authority on foreign affairs, and Waldemar Kaempffert, science editor. Last year no less than sixty *Times* reporters and editors other than the regular editorial writers contributed 500 editorials. The *New York Herald Tribune*, using fewer occasional writers, has nine full-time men. The *Post-Dispatch* in St. Louis, which consistently turns out as hard-hitting an editorial page as any, has six. The *Christian Science Monitor* has four full-time and one part-time editorial writers. Occasionally it gets editorials from others on its staff or from the outside. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, a some-

what smaller paper, has three regular writers.

On the majority of newspapers, which are quite small, a single man writes all the editorials, with occasional outside assistance.

Most editorial writers are so busy that they stay in their offices, read the headlines, and say what they can about the news. No wonder the product is often dreary. Too many of our editorial pages are journalistic quick lunches, manned by short-order essayists. There is a preponderance of editorials on political and economic happenings, important no doubt but often ignored by the crowd as remote from daily life. What ought to be incisive opinion all too often turns out to be a collection of cliches. What can you say that's new about Palestine, or Russia, or the town pump, when you've said it all before? It is an appalling experience for an editorial writer to read any list of bromides. There, staring him in the face, is his guilt. In the daily grind he uses shopworn phrases instead of sharp-edged words that give precise form to what he wants to say. Is it any wonder that editorials are read by only forty-nine per cent of the men and twenty-nine per cent of the women?

This conception of the newspaper editorial as merely the whim of one individual leads many readers to the notion that editorials should be signed. *PM*, before it became the *New York Star*, acceded to this view.

No wonder editorial writers sometimes find it convenient to drop touchy local subjects. All too frequently they concern themselves with topics that are eminently safe or distant. Recently Jenkins Lloyd Jones, editor of the *Tulsa Tribune*, cast a professional eye over the editorial pages of the Middle West. He found a widespread tendency to deplore juvenile delinquency. "But who in hell is in favor of juvenile delinquency?" he asked his fellow editors at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Many newspaper editorial writers take refuge in what Mr. Jones calls "Afghanistanism." They can pontificate on what is happening in Afghanistan with perfect safety. "No one knows more than you do about it," said Mr. Jones,

"and no one gives a damn."

To write a good editorial requires guts as well as skill. There is a local milk strike—what are you going to say about it? The drivers have many friends—and not only in the union ranks, either. But you also have to live in the same town with the companies. They are less numerous than the drivers, but they too have friends, powerful ones who have no doubts as to where all right-thinking men stand in any quarrel between management and labor, no matter what the facts may be.

But if you know your facts and weigh them honestly, the rewards for coming out into the open with what you know to be right are great. Since I came to the *Courant* four years ago, I have seen the validity of that principle demonstrated a number of times. Consider, for example, the matter of Hartford's government. When I arrived in the city I found considerable agreement that the municipal government was antiquated and inefficient. But there was even wider agreement that—Hartford being Hartford—nothing could be done about it. The community is amazingly ready for technological change. But its zeal for improvement in industrial methods and gadgets is matched by a distrust of anything new in social and political institutions. When it was suggested that the city ought to adopt the council manager form of government that has proven effective in other American cities, the idea was deprecated as visionary.

Just the same, editorial columns of the *Courant* and Hartford's other newspaper, the *Times*, vigorously fanned every flicker of hope and systematically demolished the arguments of the opposition. As the crusade gained strength the diehards, and still more the political groups who stood to lose if business-like efficiency replaced overlapping boards and commissions and politics, swung into action. For more than a year the fur flew. But in the end the people of the city endorsed the change, two to one. Hartford got its nonpartisan council and city manager last January. It is generally agreed that the support and leadership of the newspapers was the catalyst that brought success.

The rewards for editorial courage can be great. But all too often we editors

take an easier way. We become mouth-pieces for the opinions of others. Even worse, we become the slaves of our own prejudices. It is amusing, and sad, to see an editorial writer whose personal venom as expressed in print has been challenged digging earnestly for arguments to hurl back at the opposition. Too many editorial writers get their opinions first, and then look around for facts to prop them up.

If editorial writers are really to fill their roles as twentieth-century prophets, they must wherever necessary forget allegiances to the party names and shibboleths. They must speak more and more for the whole community, and less and less for any party or class. After all, the number

of independent voters is growing. Some of them still proudly belong to a party, from inheritance or preference. But it is the people whose minds are free who decide elections. They are the ones who keep the country on the high road of its destiny, while the two parties seek constantly to push it first to one side and then to the other. It is the main stream that counts. And it is the task of the editorial writer to keep us there.

In calling for editorial objectivity, I do not mean that our editorials should be milk-and-water double talk. Our journalistic Jeremiahs must breathe more hellfire and damnation than ever. Only they need to get all the facts, and not just some of them, first.

Primer for Democracy

In November, 1947, a riotous audience would not allow a Communist speaker to be heard at a public meeting in Trenton. The total lack of understanding of civil rights showed by the rioters shocked many citizens of Trenton. One result was a series of editorials in the Trenton Times. Entitled "Primer For Democracy," it was the effort of one newspaper to help educate the public. One of these editorials is reprinted here.

The Right to Citizenship

We're all citizens of the United States. That makes us equals. The Declaration of Independence says that "all men are created free and equal." All the religions in these United States are based on equality before God. It would sound as though there could be no argument on this score. But are we all equal?

In Washington, D. C., it is the practice every year to conduct two marbles tournaments, one for whites and one for Negroes. Most of us in Trenton would expect under such an unusual event that the winners would meet for the championship. That's not what happens in Washington. The white winner is declared champion and enters the National Marbles Tournament. The Negro winner is declared runner-up, and that's the end of it. Isn't that an odd kind of equality?

It's logical to ask how a marbles tournament can affect the rights of a citizen. It can't affect citizenship rights directly. But what happens in the Washington Marbles Tournament is just one example of what happens all over the southern part of the United States. In the South there is a large group of American citizens who don't have the privileges of citizenship. They are second class citizens. They don't have the chance to

go to the same schools or the same churches, or ride in the same railroad cars. They must stay apart. Some Southerners will claim that they get "equal" facilities, that their schools and churches and railroad cars are just as good. The record shows that this isn't so.

A segregated school invariably is a school where the teaching is not as good. Often it's a school where the building and the desks and the books are not as good. Fortunately for Trenton, a few years ago our last segregated school was made part of the whole school system. When the Lincoln School was made over into Junior High School No. 5, Trenton wiped out a black mark on its record. We admitted, finally, that Negroes are entitled to the same advantages as white citizens. It was a great step forward, even though it was late in coming.

Worse than segregation in America, however, is the blunt way in which Southern State after Southern State refuses to permit its citizens to vote. In South Carolina, in Alabama, in Mississippi, in Texas, the only elections that count are the Democratic primaries. That is where the real candidates are nominated and elected. Yet in those States no Negro can get into the Democratic primary elections.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution says "the right of the citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race or color." In spite of this flat pronouncement in the Constitution, almost half the citizens of some Southern States can not vote.

So long as we deny equal citizenship with all its privileges to some of our citizens, we put all our freedoms in danger.

From the Trenton, N.J. Times

Going Too Far

Let us grant that in times like these and in weather like this the news columns of the daily newspapers need a double dose of titillation if they are to compete for interest with the Kinsey report and the comic books. Let us also grant that in this beautiful Capital of the world's most wonderful Nation there have recently been a number of shocking crimes involving rape or murder or both and that it is high time something should be done to prevent such things.

Still, this does not explain why news editors need go so far afield as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Oregon, Ill., to pick up three quarters of a column of detail about a mother who induced her 13-year-old daughter to have sexual relations with a 15-year-old boy, or a column about the lady, who says she is the daughter of an American diplomatic officer, arrested for prostitution, or a half column about the divorced wife of a United States captain who is said to have encouraged her daughter of 17 to accept the visits of a married grocery clerk 17 years older, or a third of a column concerning the assorted "sex orgies" attributed to the heir of a wealthy family or a quarter of a column about the murder of a telephone girl after what appears to have been a love tryst.

In general, the volume of space given to stories of rape and other sexual aberrations has been several times greater than the space given to the most important news story of the year, namely, the breach between Marshal Tito and Comrade Stalin. Whether the publication of such stories written, as most of them are, with much regard for circumstantial detail, has anything to do with the prevalence of "sex crimes," which is made the occasion of so much righteous horror in the editorial columns, we are unable to say. One thing, however, is certain: that a good sex story, affecting the reputations of two or three persons, particularly if it involves a celebrity or somebody in high life, will sell more papers per street corner than the hottest international crisis affecting the lives and destinies of millions.

All the same, we think this exploitation of public prurience and vicarious depravity is a shortsighted policy. We have an idea that it is being carried much too far for the general good of the press. And, as we have said before, the editors who apply this policy in their selection of news are providing a valuable and plausible argument to those who for their own reasons wish to curb the freedom and power of the press.

Washington Post, July 4

Scrapbook--

Voter's Roadwork

A fine time was had by all those present at the Cambridge Civic Association's party to 16 members of a Public Works Department crew who had resurfaced more than a mile of historic Brattle St. in record time and at the lowest possible cost to the city treasury. And the best part of it is, according to those who attended, that the real fun of the evening came when the formal speeches were out of the way and the association's members began to throw questions about their jobs at the men who had performed this feat.

If there is anything seriously wrong with popular government in this country, it may be the widening breach between those who work for it as employees and those who work for it only as taxpayers. The breach will not be closed because a small number of Cambridge citizens have learned how the man at the throttle operates a steamroller or now know what a chore it is to spread steaming hot bituminous cement under a blazing sun, but the meeting between the two groups could be a powerful object lesson to any person of public spirit who cares to take it to heart.

The schools teach civics and the colleges political science in an endeavor to acquaint boys and girls with the framework of the American system in all its branches and with the successes and failures of a method that by tradition consists of trial, error and correction. There has been a strong movement among town governments lately to brighten up their annual reports with photographs and striking graphs, so these books would be more widely read. The states publish thousands of bulletins and leaflets to describe the work of their departments and to make that work more effective where it touches the life of the ordinary citizen. Washington is a source of a vast number of voluminous reports which anyone may have for the asking at little or no cost. Yet the American's ignorance of government as an industry continues to be profound and the stockholder—for such is the American taxpayer—knows least of all the people who manage his affairs for him and how they go about it.

A famous professor of political science tells his students each year that the ability of the man whom they elect to Congress is of no greater importance than the ability of the man who is appointed to the lowliest position in a Federal bureau. The member of Congress has a voice in appropriating money for the many

Federal services; the career appointee and the thousands of others who work along with him determine whether that money shall be spent wisely or wastefully. It is a tribute to the competence and integrity of the unknown thousands that expenditure is more often wise than wasteful. Though the introduction of Civil Service was marked by an uphill fight and more than a few traces of the spoils system remain in every level of government, the quality of career men and women is high, their loyalty to the tasks they have assumed is fervent, and their willingness to strive for almost unattainable goals of achievement is remarkable. The measure of the character of these millions of people is that the lapse from honesty of any one of them is so rare as to be news, and usually front page news.

In the course of a year, the average citizen may encounter as few as two dozen government employees—Federal, state, county, city, town—as they perform their duties. He can have no possible understanding of the many functions of the departments which any one of them represents; he can have only the slightest understanding of this particular representative's share in them. If, lacking that knowledge, he chooses to be a critic, he is probably not a competent critic.

On Criticizing the Press

One general conclusion emerges—that the local presentation of such a program ("CBS Views the Press") would be much more effective than any network presentation, and for obvious reasons. The listener in any community must with ease relate such a broadcast to what he sees in his own newspapers. Listener and broadcaster must establish a rapport, each must know what is being talked about.

There have been many thoughtful and provocative critical studies of the press as a whole: the Hutchins committee's findings on the freedom and responsibility of the press; the Nieman Fellows' conclusions as to what an ideal newspaper should be like; Morris Ernst's excellent book, *The First Freedom*; A. J. Liebling's *New Yorker* articles collected under the title of *The Wayward Pressman*—all offer much valuable discussion and information as to the current state of the American press. But they do not and cannot do what a local critique of the press can do: they cannot establish that rapport which is so necessary for the communication and reception of useful criticism. Their contributions must of necessity be in general terms, and although Mr. Liebling's

The Cambridge get-together shows how a small segment of the city's population qualified itself to judge soundly one specific job of a municipal government—by full understanding of the task, the men who performed it and the handicaps under which they labored. Until other citizens are willing to approach other phases of the subject with equal curiosity and good will the rift between taxpayer and government worker is not likely to be healed and efficiency in public affairs will be less than it should be.

UNCLE DUDLEY
Boston Globe, July 21

Inventor of Dixiecrat

Bill Weisner, telegraph editor of the *Charlotte News*, is credited by NANA with coining the word "Dixiecrats" to describe the States Rights Democrats of the Deep South who walked out on the rest of the Democrats. Weisner had to fit a headline and "States Rights Democrats" wouldn't fit.

The States Rights Democrats don't like the name, Dixiecrats. But Henry L. Mencken should approve of it as adding an original item to the American vocabulary. The test of Bill Weisner's innovation is the way it immediately caught on.

discussions come the closest to being specific, they have an inevitable tendency to fads and, to readers outside New York, not to mean much.

Discussion of the Associated Press means little to the readers of the *Emporia Gazette*, or the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; it is what those newspapers did with the Associated Press copy they got that can be made of interest to them. That's why criticism of the press is best done locally; it means more personally to those who hear or read it.

The suggestion has often been made that "CBS Views the Press" should be a daily broadcast, done, perhaps, in the cool of the evening, with all the day's newspapers close at hand, and a little time for sober assessment of the news after the strain and confusion of going to press are over. From the critic's point of view it is a horrible thought—enough care is involved in getting out a weekly product; and yet from the interested listener's standpoint, it must be admitted that here would be almost the ideal criticism of the press. The ideal would be the same criticism by the press itself.

—"CBS Views the Press,"
Atlantic Monthly, Sept., 1948.

Daniel De Luce Wraps Up a War

One That He Covered Himself

Almost like a Monday morning quarterback, Daniel De Luce, AP correspondent, pointed out the fatal weaknesses in the Arab offensive as soon as the truce came in Palestine. Few knew more about it. De Luce was there. In the World War and since, De Luce has been almost a specialist in covering the most remote, inaccessible and difficult fighting fronts.

Arab Policy Too Little And Too Late

By DANIEL DE LUCE

AMMAN, Trans-Jordan, July 20 (AP)—The harsh light of reality about Palestine is beginning to break through the thick clouds of propaganda engulfing the Arab world.

Politicians and armchair generals are desperately trying to pass the buck. Anglophobes are having a field day trying to blame the Arabs' woes on Britain.

King Alone is Frank

Of the Arab leaders it seems that only King Abdullah has dared to be frank with his people. He has twice quelled mobs in Amman the past week. But possibly even in other Arab capitals the hard facts of Palestine will ultimately become known, regardless of government censorship.

Foreigners who have the deepest respect for Arab tradition and character agree on these points regarding the Arab war effort:

1—From the outset it was a policy of too little too late.

2—Despite the political unanimity of the Arab league, member states persistently did not establish a coordinated military command. Lacking that, every Arab army entering Palestine was a law unto itself.

3—The spirit of bitter end resistance among the Jews was grossly underestimated.

The major achievements by the Arab military coalition during the "war" were those by the Trans-Jordan Legion. The Legion represented the belligerent with the smallest population. When this over-extended force was compelled a week ago to give ground to a numerically superior Jewish army, it touched off a violent smear campaign in the neighboring states.

Results of War

When the Arab League, complaining of pressure, accepted the first Bernadotte truce for June 11, the results of 26½ days

of hostilities against the Jewish states were these:

The Trans-Jordan Legion had liquidated the Jewish quarters of the old city in Jerusalem and had almost solidly invested the new city. It had cut outside sources of food and water for 90,000 Jews and only a few mule and donkey pack trains could slip through the Judean hills under cover of darkness, with small supplies of ammunition for the hard-pressed Jewish garrison.

The Trans-Jordan Legion held Er Ramle and Lydda, the latter being only nine miles southeast of the Jewish capital of Tel Aviv, and although these two points were at the tip of a dangerous salient surrounded on three sides by Jews, the Legion grimly held on in the hope the Egyptians might eventually arrive and support the southern flank.

(The Jews subsequently captured Lydda and Er Ramle.)

The Egyptian army, estimated at 18,000 strong, had proceeded gingerly up the coast road to Isdud, 22 miles south of Tel Aviv. There it was effectively stopped.

Couldn't Stop Raids

The Lebanese army by its own admission merely patrolled the border and was unable to prevent Jewish raids into Lebanon.

The Syrian army on the last day before the truce managed to occupy one Jewish settlement—Mishmar Hay Yarden, less than a mile inside Palestine.

The Iraqi army, after efforts to expand a costly bridgehead across the upper Jordan, pulled out, entered central Palestine through Legion-held territory and thereafter its biggest action was repelling a Jewish attack on the Arab town of Jenin. As Bernadotte's truce expired the Arab League refused flatly the continuation although friendly powers pointed out, that was what the Jews themselves hoped the Arabs would do, since it could be used for bolstering the charge of aggression.

Later Results

Fighting resumed July 9 for 10 days with these results:

Nazareth, largest Christian-Arab community in northern Palestine, fell to the

Jews. No support came from the nearby Syrian-Iraqi-Lebanese regular forces. Unlucky Fawzi Al Kaukji, commander of the Arab irregulars' "Liberation Army," carried the onus of the reverse.

The Iraqi army mopped up a number of Arab villages previously occupied by the Jews near Jenin, but did not get the prospective attack rolling against the important road hub of Affula.

Iraqi forces had risen to approximately 16,000.

The Egyptians reoccupied several Arab villages from the Jews and cleaned out several Jewish settlements all well south of the Isdud line, which had not been advanced since late May.

The Lebanese army continued "patrols."

With their southern flank badly exposed since the war's start, the Trans-Jordan Legionnaires at Er Ramle and Lydda, less than 300 in strength, finally were attacked by an estimated 4,000 Jews.

After resisting three days and two nights, two Legion companies retreated with all their weapons. An estimated 40,000 Arab civilian refugees followed them. The British Legion commander, John Glubb Pasha, and some 40 British officers in the Legion were hotly blamed for the reverse by Arab propagandists.

Continue Stranglehold

The Legion, however, continued to keep its stranglehold on the main Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway at Latrun and still bottled up 90,000 Jews in Jerusalem.

It is estimated that the Legion's strength in Palestine was under 5000, compared with Egypt's 18,000, Iraqi's 16,000 and the Lebanese-Syrian contribution of 6000.

Trans-Jordan's total population is under a half million, less than half that of the next smallest belligerent power, Lebanon.

The fact remains that the Legion has done the hardest fighting job on the Arab side and can claim the most credit for whatever successes the Arabs had had.

Judging from Arab press reports the prevalent cries in other Arab capitals can be summed up as "We wuz robbed" and "Let me at him."

The best Legion answer to Arab criticism abroad seems to be "Where was your army on the morning of July 19?"

Laski Views the U. S. Press

In his mammoth new work, *The American Democracy*, (Viking Press, \$6.50) Harold Laski devotes 100 of his 783 pages to the American Press. His picture is not flattering. Perhaps no one who has lived by the press in this country would care to accept all his caustic comment. But neither would anyone who cares about the press wish to overlook such redoubtable criticism as Mr. Laski's. Prejudice and partisanship are not absent from it. But much of it is pungent, shrewd and illuminating, and all of it interesting as coming from the Britisher who next only to Churchill has had his views of the world presented to American readers through their newspapers. NANA and other channels have distributed Laski's stuff so widely and often that English Tories commonly say he is taken more seriously in America than in England.

Having given their readers so much of Laski's commentary on the outside world, it is only turnabout that American newspapers should now be interpreted by Laski. The nature of his views on the U. S. press is suggested by the succinct samples selected below:

CONTROL OF PRESS

The world in which the contemporary American moves is a far more complex one than when Jeremy Bentham thought that with public opinion formed by the combined impact of universal suffrage and a free press the safety of representative democracy was assured.

If he seeks his guidance from the press, he will find that the number of journals to which the famous aphorism of the great English editor, Mr. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*, that "facts are sacred, comment is free," appears a moral imperative is, on all critical questions, pitifully small.

The instruments which shape the minds of citizens are not freely at the disposal of anyone who wishes to operate them. They are controlled, for the most part, by men or bodies who can afford either to create or to employ them. And, for the most part, they are controlled by the vested interests which dwarf altogether the individual and leave him helpless, save as he can find some other association which makes it possible to express his experience of life. Is it open to Mr. Eugene Meyer or to Mr. Marshall Field to buy or to start a newspaper like the *Washington Post* or the *Chicago Sun*; the best the ordinary citizen can hope for is to creep into the correspondence columns.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

It is often arrogant, like the *Daily News* of New York, the *Tribune* in Chicago, and the now defunct *Transcript* in Boston. But, if it is arrogant, it is always seeking to placate its readers by the offer of compensating attractions. The *Daily News* depends upon the lure of sensation-mongering in crime, not least in the exploitation of sex crime. The *Tribune* maintains a high standard of sports news. The *Transcript* sought to atone for having the outlook of the Blaine era in the days of Woodrow Wilson by appealing to the considerable public in the Boston area interested in books and genealogy and the arts, and, not least, in the past glory of New England achievement. The *New York Times* and *New York Herald Tribune* tread a line in which, alongside a cautious editorial view, there is offered to the reader the most remarkable body of foreign news in the world today, a commentary on current issues by a specialist with a virtually free hand to say what he likes, as well as a book-section and a magazine-section on Sundays Anyone who examines with care the general tendencies of the American press is bound to observe that, when all allowance is made for its general devotion to "business ideals," it is usually seeking, within its own pages, to provide ways and means of retaining those readers whom, otherwise, it might be likely to lose by its general outlook.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS LEAD

This is not to say that American newspapers do not do certain things superlatively well. Their chief American correspondents abroad, both in Europe and Asia, are unsurpassed, alike in their energy and in their capacity to penetrate to the heart of a situation. There are at least four American newspapers which give more foreign news of a higher standard than any in Europe; and the quality of this reporting is shown by the very considerable number of journalists who have won international reputations. It may be that an occasional journalist in Europe, like J. D. Bouchier, the Balkan correspondent of the *London Times*, or H. N. Brailsford of the *New Statesman*, has surpassed most of his American colleagues in knowledge of a particular area or in philosophic insight into the prin-

ciples of international relations. But I think the American correspondents, by and large, are providing today, as they have done since 1919, about the best foreign news of any national press in the world. And to this must be added two things: no other press can compete with papers like the *New York Times* in the completeness with which they print essential documents in full; in this respect they resemble the British press in the days of Bright and Gladstone rather than our own A careful reader of the major American papers can get a clearer view of what is happening in Washington than an English reader can learn about Westminster and Whitehall from even the greatest of English newspapers. There is a greater frankness, a certain pleasure in well-planned indiscretion, which is notably different from the sleek and well-groomed hints by which the British press indicates the possession of knowledge without revealing its content.

LIMITATIONS OF PROPAGANDA

The instruments of propaganda are immensely important in American society, but they are never finally decisive. There is frequently an experience beyond the pattern they trace, the power of which they cannot alter. There are mores they are bound to respect; there are people whom they dare not denigrate; there are policies and motives which can only be attacked indirectly and not directly

And yet the power of those who can own and operate these major instruments of propaganda is always being challenged and is never as effective as, superficially, it might seem that it ought to be. There is something in the psychological climate of America which resists any ultimate regimentation of behaviour or opinion.

VOLUME OF TIMES

Even the most vehement critic of a newspaper like the *New York Times* is bound to admit that however careful it may be to remain conservative both in news reported and comment of its own upon that news, it makes itself indispensable to the serious student of affairs by the sheer volume of information it makes available and the importance of the correspondence it admits to its pages.

. . . Most American papers, even in the relatively small communities, are being

streamlined increasingly to a uniform pattern . . . A remarkable editor here, an outstanding distinguished leader-writer like Mr. James Morgan of the *Boston Globe*, a humorist of sheer genius like Finley Peter Dunne, or a cartoonist of the power of Fitzpatrick of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, may enable this uniformity to seem insignificant beside the impact of their talent. But the uniformity is, however, nevertheless, on the increase.

FEATURE THE TRIVIAL

In the United States and Britain, moreover, apart from a small number of papers, the major purpose of the press is to keep the reader's mind on the personal and the trivial. If they cannot avoid the "big" news they do not like, methods of presentation and techniques of display are available which, combined with a form of editorial comment which fits the news given into the effect it seeks to produce, try to hold the reader prisoner in a mass of detail in which his sense of proportion is consciously perverted and his ability to separate fact and opinion in a large degree nullified.

It is a dangerous situation for the simple reason that, without accurate information, it is difficult to be an effective citizen; and most people have neither the time nor the means to explore for truth in the news.

SENSATIONALISM TO SELL PAPERS

With advertisement as the main source of revenue, sensationalism in news became the chief medium of circulation. If its invention was mainly due to the younger James Gordon Bennett, its development was given entirely new vistas, first by Pulitzer in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which he bought in 1878, and then in the *New York World*, which he bought as a failure from Jay Gould in 1883 and turned into one of the most profitable newspapers in the United States. But of Pulitzer several things must be said: he made the editorial pages of papers a remarkable platform for the defence and advocacy of progressive ideas; he attacked privilege and monopoly . . . When his methods were followed, in the eighties, by William Randolph Hearst in the *San Francisco Examiner*, purposive sensationalism, in the political sense, was followed by the discovery that there was a vast and untouched audience interested in sensationalism with no purpose but its own emotional thrills.

His supreme discovery was the vast audience which was too fatigued or too busy to think, but ready to be amused or thrilled. Hence the comics, the cartoons, the photographs, the devotion to crime, the emphasis on gossip, the passion for scandal. He bathed everything possible in an ocean of sentimentality. To get the more recondite gossip, he paid no regard whatever to the normal respect for privacy. To secure sensation, he did not hesitate to distort facts, or even to invent them. Convinced that few people wanted more than the superficial, he often omitted the discussion of serious matters, congressional proceedings, for example, or so summarized them that their significance could rarely be seen.

NO MORE CRUSADING

There can be no doubt, first, that the method of presentation was a great success; and, second, that it has shown the existence of a kind of Gresham's Law in the newspaper field. The editorial page, in all save the outstanding journals, was reduced to a mere annex of the news and special features. And since the news-gathering agencies, like the Associated Press, began to pour in their material on an overwhelming scale, the selection of the news became vitally related to the newspaper as a great business concern anxious to earn profit. That meant, in a general way, two important things: first, that the principle upon which the selection was made sought, perhaps above all, to satisfy the outlook of the large-scale advertisers, since they were the principal source of revenue; and, second, such a presentation of the news that the clientele upon whom the advertisers mostly depended for the sale of their goods would not be offended by what they read. The outcome was twofold. Externally, the newspaper was mainly concerned to satisfy the higher income section of its readers; that meant, at the best, an unmistakable scepticism about labour movements, socialist principles, revolutionary change, anything, in short, that disturbed the *status quo*. Internally, it meant that most journalists with a passion for social justice were either out of place on a newspaper, or, like Fremont Older, suppressed their crusading zeal and became the cynical observers of a scene they ceased to believe it was their purpose to criticize, much less to modify. I suspect that in the first twenty years of the present century more young enthusiasts for social improvement lost their pristine ardour in the early

years of their careers as journalists than in any other profession in the United States.

CULT OF PROSPERITY

The editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has never attempted to make its readers devotees of the cult of prosperity; and there are perhaps a score of journals with influence which have refused to be taken in by the values born of the passion for material success or the theory that the Big Business man is necessarily a servant of the community.

The press of the Pacific coast, and the Hearst newspapers in particular, has a heavy responsibility for the maltreatment there of Japanese, even when these are American citizens, and of Mexicans. For years before the Second World War, papers like those owned by Mr. Harry Chandler and Mr. Hearst urged the invasion of Mexico—a course which would enormously add to their economic power.

It has been said by a New York newspaper, the *Evening Post*, that eighty per cent of the press are anxious to distort any news which touches the origins of violence in labour disputes.

PROGRESS WITH OCHS

Anyone who surveys the American journalistic scene from that important day, August 19, 1896, when the thirty-eight-year-old owner of the *Chattanooga Times*, Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, took over the proprietorship of the *New York Times*, can see both loss and gain. There is far better reporting from a far wider area of news. The special correspondent is able to give a much more intimate and inside view of the way in which history is made. There is probably a good deal less of the wild and directly personal invective which often disfigured even the most influential papers of the earlier period. Few modern editors, would, like Charles A. Dana, expect either to be horsewhipped by an indignant reader or to publish the fact as a piece of news. There is much more specialist information, clarified by writers who are expert in their particular themes. There is, generally, a much more sober effort to assess the situation in the editorial columns than was the case fifty years ago. There has been a decline in the devotion to half-eccentric causes, such as that of Horace Greeley in his crusade, a century ago, or Albert Brisbane's adolescent support of Charles Fourier's phalangism. As a whole, American journalism is more staid, less adventurous, and less personal, more careful in check-

ing its facts, more intelligent in its grasp of international relations, and, in the more responsible papers, more aware that public issues cannot be depicted in simple terms of black and white, or of unbreakable attachment to a party cause

DEFENSE OF STATUS QUO

That does not mean for one moment that the changes have all been advantageous Much of the individuality of the press has gone; it has become, effectively, a branch of giant industry, closely cooperating with, because largely independent upon, its advertisers. Its general principle is the defence of the *status quo*. It is hostile to anything, at home or abroad, which disturbs the self-confidence of business men. It rarely equates success with social vision, and it is disturbed by social experiment. It conceals the dishonesty of the wealthy, or postpones the full revelation of that dishonesty for as long as it is possible; but it is relentless and swift in its denunciation of labour leaders and their supporters who think in terms outside the static pattern which business men approve.

JOURNALISM OF ESCAPE

Nor is any assessment of the American press complete without some emphasis upon its effort to draw attention away from reality by a massive journalism of escape in which an ounce of fact is mingled with a ton of excitement and success dreams. Sex, crime, adventure, sport, mysticism, the proof that the old Puritan virtues of self-reliance and energy and thrift are, in the context of religious faith, the highroad to well-being and prosperity—these have been formulae of major importance to the press in safeguarding the public from an interest in the experimental mind. For every article which praised the effort of the New Deal to speed the difficult task of recovery, there must have been at least a score which attacked it as a threat to true Americanism, and fifty which sought to prove that the socialist experiment in Russia was a vital index to the collapse of civilization The thesis that the search for social security is the proof of social decadence is preached in every sort of journal, by millionaires and college presidents and economists. There has been an enthusiastic reception for the notion that the real problem in the United States centres round the moral principles of the individual, and not upon the economic behaviour of the business system.

Some Columnists on the Spy Hearings

Proof of Its Incompetence

Walter Lippman:

The evidence shows not only that this particular spy ring obtained no secret information of any consequence but that, such as it was, the FBI broke up the ring three years before the Congressional committee went into action. This is a pretty good reason for thinking that Congressional committees are not equipped to perform the indispensable work of counter-espionage. To expose a spy ring three years after it was dissolved by the regular agencies of the government is rather slow work, and hardly reassuring that these committees are competent to deal with the problem of espionage.

The fact is that secrecy is essential to counter-espionage. It is not true, as some have been saying lately, that publicity is the best weapon to combat the operation of a foreign secret service. These committees, which use publicity, are extraordinarily unsuited to the task of detecting secret operations while they are in progress. For in order to make a public case they must expose their own sources of information. Once that is done, the committees can talk only about what may have happened. They can do nothing about what may be happening or may be going to happen.

The injustice of the procedure is proof of its incompetence—if the inquiry cannot distinguish clearly the innocent from the guilty, then it is not clearly directed against the guilty.

—August 17

The Harm It Does

Marquis Childs

The moving spirits of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the agitators allied with them seem never to have thought how their behavior reflects on the country itself. They behave as though Americans might actually be persuaded in large numbers that Russian Communism was superior to the American system.

Part of the harm it does, in my opinion, is to undermine belief in the basic American freedoms. When a man can be accused of disloyal action on the statement of a single individual, with apparently no substantiating proof, and the charge proclaimed sensationally to the world, then we are jeopardizing the fundamental guarantees on which the American system rests.

—Sept 3

Highly Improper

Dorothy Thompson

It is a basis of Anglo-Saxon law that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty. I think we should bear this in mind in the Hiss case. The Thomas committee also should remember it more continually than the remarks of their members in the hearings indicate.

The sum and substance of the Hiss affair, to date, is that either Mr. Hiss or Mr. Chambers is consciously or unconsciously committing perjury. Mr. Chambers has offered no convincing evidence to support his charges, and Mr. Hiss has failed to establish his innocence. Nevertheless, remarks of committee members, as reported in the press, indicate that they incline to a belief in Mr. Hiss' guilt before it is established. This is highly improper.

—Aug. 30.

Pretty Mouldy Hay

Gerald W. Johnson:

What could the fascinating Miss Elizabeth Bentley spy in 1944 and 1945, when she says she was operating as a member of a Russian spy ring that was transmitting all sorts of information to Moscow?

Military information, for which the Nazis would have paid high prices, is out. The Russians at that time were engaging the bulk of the German land forces and any military information that could possibly do them any good was not merely offered, it was thrust upon them. Not only did we give them new and powerful weapons, but we detailed some of our smartest army officers to go to Russia and teach their men how to use the weapons. Why not? It was tremendously important to us for the Russians to maintain the pressure until after we had hit the beach, so we helped them in every way possible.

One fears, therefore, that the credulous Comrades were paying \$20 a week for some pretty mouldy hay. No doubt it was entertaining. Several witnesses have come before the Congressional committees to swear that when it comes to producing romantic fiction, Elizabeth knows her stuff; so suspicion rises that the Muscovites bought it in quantity.

But this is distressing. This suggests that the horrendous Spy Ring of 1945 was in fact no more than a gaggle of jobholders neither sapient nor puissant, little if anything above the intellectual level of our own jobholders.

The suggestion is appalling, because if it were verified, J. Parnell Thomas & Co. would no longer appear to be incomparable paladins who rescued us in 1948 from perils that sorely beset us in 1945. If the Russians are not very, very smart, then there was no great peril; and if there was no great peril, then obviously, there was no great rescue three years later.

—New York Star, August 16

What is the Point of All This?

Eleanor Roosevelt:

I have begun to wonder what the point of all this is. The self-confessed people who worked for the Soviet Government during the war are now known. They have accused a number of others as being people who worked with them either consciously or unconsciously. It is well, of course, to find out whether people have been spies because they might be spies again, but it would seem that the FBI is the proper agency to find that out. I wonder if all this extracurricular Congressional activity isn't making it more difficult for the FBI to do its job well.

I am sure that both Mr. Hiss and Mr. Laughlin Currie are about as far from being Communists as is possible—and that they can fight their own battles. I can't help wondering, however, whether the gentlemen on the Congressional investigating committee who sneered at Mr. White because he said he had had a heart attack and asked for a few minutes' rest in a private note, are not feeling just a trifle uncomfortable since Mr. White died last Sunday of a heart attack.

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For Campaign Purposes

Thomas L. Stokes:

It was clear from the theme of speeches at their Philadelphia convention that Republicans are going to run again, as in 1946, against Communism which, for campaign purposes, becomes broadly the Democratic Party, lock, stock and Harry Truman—as was pointed out in this place at the time of that convention.

The political cast of the House Un-American Activities Committee proceedings is perfectly clear to any experienced observer in the way chief energy seems to be devoted to exploiting a few alleged Communists to try to discredit solid and salutary reforms of the Roosevelt administration, its brilliant war record, and the steps toward international cooperation taken by it and by the present Truman administration, the last with the very helpful cooperation of some high-placed Republicans.

The committee would inspire more confidence in a task that could be worthwhile if it proceeded in a more orderly manner and less like an inquisition, even, for example, to such a detail as was suggested by one witness with a fine record in the public service who said the committee might have called him in and asked him about certain allegations before broadcasting them all over the country. It would have been courteous.

—August 16

Singularly Ignorant and Stupid

Joseph and Stewart Alsop:

A very grave and important security problem undoubtedly exists in this country. Probably the most shocking and harmful breaches of security in the last twenty years were "The Chicago Tribune's" revelations, both of America's war plan just before Pearl Harbor and of the Navy's success in breaking the Japanese codes. No items of information such as these are likely to have passed through the espionage nets described by Miss Elizabeth Bentley and Mr. Whittaker Chambers.

On the other hand, sensible investigating officials believe that the Bentley and Chambers stories are, in the main, true. The charges against certain individuals, like Alger Hiss, have thus far been discredited by all responsible officials, after the most extensive inquiries. So far as is known the only solid evidence against Hiss, to take his example, is that he once joined a rather solemn group organized to study Marxist doctrine, which is evidence of intellectual inquisitiveness but not of treason. The fact remains, however, that the espionage nets described by Chambers and Miss Bentley are thought to have existed, in broad outline, as they have been represented.

There are other crucial facts to consider also. The Bentley story was laboriously sifted by a grand jury, the story of Chambers was thoroughly checked by the F.B.I. as soon as he brought it to Adolph A. Berle, Jr. Yet the F.B.I. brought no charges against the persons implicated by Chambers, and the grand jury brought in no indictment against the persons named by Miss Bentley. Equally, "The Chicago Tribune" went scot-free in the cases above mentioned. The "Amerasia" case was dismissed despite the proven presence of unauthorized top secret documents in the magazine's editorial offices. And every informed Washingtonian knows of other instances of really serious leaks being stopped by the simple dismissal of the person who was selling or giving away highly secret information.

Law Is Loosely Drawn

The reasons for this state of affairs are

what Representative Thomas ought to be investigating. If he really cared much about national security. Some reasons are obvious. The existing espionage act, for example, is so loosely drawn that most prosecuting authorities consider convictions almost impossible to obtain.

Other reasons can only be suspected. The suspicion arises, for instance, that a good many investigating officials must be singularly ignorant and stupid, when the temporary appointment of a man like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. is held up for weeks on security grounds. The young historian of the "Age of Jackson" happens to be one of leading anti-Communists among American liberals. Any one capable of charging him with actual membership in the Communist party, as he was recently charged, must believe that all citizens except the friends of Representative Thomas carry concealed party cards. And this must make fruitful investigation a trifle difficult.

—August 16

The Committee's Recklessness

Edwin A. Lahey:

If the American people permit the House Committee on un-American Activities to fuff off the affair of Alger Hiss, then we have put our sense of fair play in storage for the duration of the cold war.

The case of Alger Hiss may prove the perfect example of the committee's recklessness.

The committee permitted a star witness, Whittaker Chambers, the senior editor of Time Magazine, to take the stand in public and say that Hiss, now the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, had been a member of the Communist underground in Washington.

The committee heard Chambers privately before they opened their hearing to the public.

The questions immediately arise:

Why didn't the committee ask themselves whether or not it would be possible to introduce evidence to corroborate Chambers' serious charge against Hiss, a man of considerable standing in the community?

Why didn't the committee give Hiss opportunity to appear before them privately? The use of ordinary discretion would have thus acquainted the committee members with the willingness of Hiss to deny categorically and under oath the charges against him.

If the committee does nothing more either to corroborate Chambers' testimony, or publicly vindicate Hiss, and the voters let the incident pass, we are well on the road to the police state.

—Chicago Daily News, August 14