

# Nieman Reports

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# Nieman Reports

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## The "Lost" Art

By Elizabeth Green

No more newspaper humor? The snows of yesteryear have certainly melted, but I am surprised to find Professor Zeisler in *Nieman Reports* (July, 1958) succumbing to this particular form of nostalgia. I wonder if his journalism students weren't hunting in the wrong place. If they concentrated only on editorial paragraphs, they overlooked what seem to me the best sources of contemporary newspaper wit.

I assume that Professor Zeisler was commenting on quality, not quantity, when he said: "The onetime lapidary art of the paragrapher is lost." On the July day when I read his lament, without any "research" whatever I found eight or ten instances of the form in the current issues of our local daily, the *Holyoke Transcript-Telegram*, which originates some of its editorial paragraphs and clips others.

In the Kansas City *Star*, Bill Vaughan was commenting on highway architecture where "the structure moderne is either a frozen custard stand or a bank, and the gracious old mansion is either a tourist home or a funeral parlor." A Missouri weekly suggested: "Maybe if you had to pass an examination and get a license in order to walk it would be as popular with the youngsters as driving is." The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* defined in verse the ultimate cigarette:

Ah, my lads, at last they've built her—

No tobacco—just all filter.

If Professor Zeisler objects that these are not funny, I will not argue; indeed, I did not find even his instances of the

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funny news story side-splitting. But, such as it is, the editorial paragraph is being produced today not only by an individualist like Harry Golden, the editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, but also by anonymous hands in many parts of the country. As to the quality of the contemporary product, perhaps the comment on Independence Day by the *Lake County Banner* of Tiptonville, Tennessee (as quoted in Hillier Kriegbaum's *Facts in Perspective*) is apposite: "The fourth of July isn't and never was what it used to be."

There seem to me two good reasons for the odds against finding many of these short bits that will "set the Geigers chattering." The first is clearly implied in the final phrase of Stephen Leacock's definition of humor quoted by Professor Zeisler, "the kindly contemplation of the incongruities of life, artistically expressed." How many writers of editorial paragraphs, no matter how gifted, have time to polish their phrases? Surely most of the composing in this form is squeezed into the midst of regular assignments in other genres. Will Rogers learned to polish his pithy phrases not in a city room but on the vaudeville stage, where he could test the ring of a good joke night after night before a succession of audiences.

Among the contemporary writers who manage to write with style, in spite of deadline pressures, I have particularly enjoyed John Crosby, John Gould, and the late Rudolph Elie. I know that one man's joke is another man's bromide and that it would be futile to try to coax a laugh from anyone who is not amused by Gould's dissection of statistics in rural life and the prose of government reports on agriculture, or diverted by Crosby's rendering of Madison Avenueese and his scenarios for spectaculars. But what about the leading editorial pages of the country? Like some columnists and critics, the best editorial writers take time and thought over their words and often choose irony for their weapon. Regular examination of the editorial columns of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the Washington *Post*, for instance, ought in the course of time to yield something that seems witty to readers of diverse tastes.

There is another reason, also unrelated to the talent of the authors, why hunting through the quick quips for enduring humor sounds to me like dreary work. The pretensions and follies which a good local newspaper attacks should be local and immediate; the point may well escape the reader at a distance, no matter how deft the turn of phrase. Students from Michigan who might have been combing the *Holyoke Transcript-Telegram* a couple of years ago would probably have looked sourly at the proposal, ascribed to a linotype operator, that the four western counties of Massachusetts ought to secede and join Connecticut. The aptness of this suggestion would have been apparent only to an inhabitant of these remoter areas of the

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# The Pursuit of Journalism

By Thomas Griffith

For literature, said Max Beerbohm, he felt reverence, but for journalism merely a kind regard. A natural remark to come from a man with his feet in both camps and his heart in one. Journalism has always had a hard time of it among the literary, particularly among those who had to grub in it in order to afford writing what they wanted to write, which society treated as a luxury when for them it was necessity. Literature, said Ezra Pound, is news that stays news. And dictionaries have, at least until lately, defined journalistic as a style "characterized by evidences of haste, superficiality of thought, inaccuracies of detail, colloquialisms, and sensationalisms." Matthew Arnold thought journalism "literature in a hurry." The difficulty lies, I think, in regarding journalism as a kind of failed literature, whereas it aspires to be literature only insofar as it would like to be well-written, and aspires to be history only insofar as it seeks to be accurate. André Gide was severer, but closer, when he wrote "I call journalism everything that will be less interesting tomorrow than today." For the essence of journalism is its timeliness; it must be served hot.

Journalism is in fact history on the run. It is history written in time to be acted upon: thereby not only recording events but at times influencing them. This explains its temptation to passion and its besetting sin of partisanship. Journalism is also the recording of history while the facts are not all in. Yet any planner of battles knows the eternal conflict between needing to know enough to act, and needing to act in time: a problem in journalism as in diplomacy and warfare. Adolescents and second-rate poets who specialize in large misstatements often tell us that life is chaos, but if life were only that there would be no such thing as monotony; life includes both the world we know (which, if we do not fully understand or appreciate, we are at least not surprised by) and the unwinding of the unpredictable. It is the function of journalism—daily, in the case of a newspaper, weekly in a magazine—to add up the latest unpredictable events and relate them to the familiar. Not a judgment for history, for too many facts emerge later, but an estimate for now, from the known; and it is a function essential in a democracy. If journalism is sometimes inaccurate and

often inadequate, ignorance would not be preferable. Journalism's desire to reconstruct the world anew each day, to find a serviceable coherence and continuity in chaos, may be a losing game and is always an artificial one: it is circumscribed by the amount of information available, limited at times by the journalist's lack of imagination and weakened at other times by his excess of it. Yet it has its own uses, even when set against history.

The historian is often thought to be less scandal-minded than the journalist, but with an intimate diary in hand that has later come to light, and with a freedom from libel that a journalist never has, he may often be blunter. A historian is also thought to be more impartial, but must guard against imposing upon the past a pattern of interpretations he is fond of, while a journalist must write to people in the knowing present, suspicious of his flights of interpretation which do not match their own awareness of the times. At the very least the historian must be conscious of the occupational vice of retroactive superiority: he is like a privileged spectator at a horse race in the past who alone knows which horse went on to win, and looking about him wonders why men of seeming intelligence are making such bad bets, or getting so worked up over what will not turn out as they expect. A reader of history must make the effort of imagination to realize that though he knows the outcome, the participants did not; what has become a finality (and may even have been, as a later era sees, inevitable) was not so regarded then, or if anticipated, may have been considered as still in doubt, and as something to be resisted, delayed or forestalled. Viewed forward, as decisions that had to be confronted, history can be as exciting as the best journalism; viewed backward, as mechanically determined, history becomes dull, and its actors mere marionettes who did not have the wisdom (really only the information) of the historian who sits in later judgment. These are some of the difficulties of history, to be set against its advantages of greater information, knowledge of 'how it turned out' and leisure to reflect. I do not intend to demean history to exalt journalism, or to make each of equal worth where they are not, but only to elbow a proper place for journalism as a trade not alone in its disabilities or in its values.

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His commentary on a trade that he took to, naturally, this is from Thomas Griffith's forthcoming book, *The Waist-High Culture*, to be published by Harper's this Winter. A Nieman Fellow in 1943, Mr. Griffith is a senior editor of *Time*, Inc.

As long ago as my first course in journalism at college, my professor set as a theme for us to write whether we thought journalism to be a game, a racket or a profession. With that instinctive cunning which settles quickly on students at examination time, I could see that to defend journal-

ism as a profession (which one part of me wanted to believe, and still does) was to invite mockery; of course it was not exclusively a racket, so I wrote of it as a game. But I would have been happy then, and content now, to describe it as a craft. A newspaper editor friend of mine once told me that he thought most people fell into their occupations by chance, but that men *choose* to join the circus, work on a railroad or enter newspapering. Fresh out of journalism school and full of exalted notions that I could see had to be unlearned, I liked his comparison for being down to earth.

Journalism may be as much in need of principles as medicine or law (I believe this to be true); but without anything comparable to bar associations or medical societies with effective power to censure or expel, its principles are not enforceable. The individual journalist may have the duty, but often does not have the opportunity, to tell the truth as he sees it. He is a hired man, and because he is, his is not a profession. Nor are publishers under any professional restraint. Newspapers enjoy postal subsidies on the assumption that the existence of newspapers is in the public interest, but publishers as a class do not consider themselves to be operating public utilities—and it is perhaps as well that they do not, for in this direction lie evils greater than the present haphazard irresponsibility. We are left then, if we would have trustworthy newspapers, with the conscience of the individual publisher, which can be a very wee, peasized thing; his fear that rival organs of communication will achieve greater creditability by their being seen to be fairer (an increasingly effective brake on him); or he may have to take into account the standards insisted upon by the journalists who work for him.

As a group, newspapermen are much better than their papers. They too are faced with temptations: the hope of advantage if they give the boss what he wants to hear, and the quite opposite temptation of wishing to indulge their own prejudices. There are hacks among them, as well as cynics and panderers, quite often in high places, but there is a community of undeceived newspapermen who know who among them is cheating on the facts, and they do not always award their good marks—as those who are scorned by them imply—only to those who hold similar political views.

A good journalist is a rewarding sight. He enters a trade where the pay is low—low at least for the qualities of intelligence, energy, experience, judgment and talent he must bring to it. He must have a zest for events, as accountants must love figures and carpenters, wood. He must have a dedication to facts and a scent for humbug. He is probably by temperament an observer not a doer, standing outside of events, often in distaste, and must beware becoming, like a

baseball fan, a heckler of plays that he himself could not have equaled. He must cultivate skepticism while avoiding cynicism. He must learn to cover people, meetings and causes for which he can have sympathy but must not display loyalty: he must learn to feel but not engage. He must be incorruptible, the temptation to be otherwise comes not from bribery, which is rare, but from a reluctance to pursue that kind of news which will go against the grain of his paper's views or his own convictions (it takes courage to give unpopular causes their due). He must be swift while also considered. He must go where he is not wanted, and be resistant to those who are too welcoming. And for all of this, his hours will be long, his pay inadequate, and his standing in the community not particularly high. Newspaperman must warm themselves by their own fires.

Those newspapermen who have 'crossed over' into publicity and advertising, where the pay is better, would like it understood that they are still in the 'same game'. It is true that newspapermen often have to do menial and even venal jobs, such as furthering their paper's promotional stunts, and it is true that public relations men are often newspapermen who can write stories that appear to be news and are run as such, but the end is different: the publicity man's intent must always be to serve a master that is not the newspaperman's. The appearance may be similar, but the difference is everything. Sometimes when we who remain journalists come across an advertising copy writer or a publicity man in a bar—confident and leisurely on a fat expense account—we have a hard time deciding whether the resentment we feel comes from scorn or envy. In the end we are what we are because there are satisfactions in our business that the others lack: a delight in craft, a stimulus in variety, an occasional compensation in wrongs righted, a somewhat adolescent urge to be where things are going on and 'in the know'. That man is lucky who is content in his work, finds it stretches his powers and rewards his time: so many Americans seem to be working at jobs that do not gratify them, living only for their hours away from work. A good newspaperman may be displeased by his circumstances, but need not be ashamed of the calling he has chosen.

It is not all cakes and ale. Journalism is a fitful trade. Newspapermen like variety in their assignments, which is another way of saying that they may be deficient in concentration. They pursue a subject only about as far as, and rarely much further than, the passing public interest. They are servants to a fickle public; they must seize its attention by novelty, hold it by new injections of interest, and then move on to something else. A newspaper can risk boring its public at its own peril. And so (newspapermen hate to admit this) journalism is in some respects not a serious business. Its role is at times similar to education, requiring

simplicity of instruction without falsifying the subject matter, requiring diversions, distractions and recesses, though sometimes demanding concentration; adapting its material to the absorptive capacity of the audience, and even, alas, having to compete for attention with less worthy amusements. But it cannot compel compulsory attendance.

Newspapermen might not also like to acknowledge that for many readers the daily newspaper is simply an entertainment. Such readers may take a half-interested look at the headlines but they then hurry to the comics or the sport pages; they look to their newspaper for instruction, but in cooking more than in public affairs; they may seek information, but it is about television programs and not foreign events; they may want guidance, but about house-furnishings and fashions more than what is offered them on the editorial page. In this knowledge, the publishers are apt to be shrewder than their employes, paying fat prices for a syndicated comic strip or a canned gossip column, knowing that they can exploit their monopoly of either one, while slighting the news budget—for after all, they reason, everybody has access to the same news and what reader really appreciates a consistent edge in news coverage? In this I think publishers wrong, but not as wrong as I wish they were: a newspaper's coverage will be good only if its editor and publisher have a passion for making it so, and find excellence its own reward. Increasingly as newspapers pass from the hands of those who founded them, into the possession of their uninterested sons, their lawyers or their business managers, they become only vehicles for making money, and perhaps not as efficiently profitable as a garage or a hardware store. These merchants fill their paper with merchandise, and ask only of their editors that they stay out of trouble, out of libel suits, and play it safe. The proportion of mediocrity in the American press thus far outweighs the good. A good newspaperman, though he need not be ashamed of his calling, can rightly be outraged at its practice.

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Peter Finley Dunne thought it the duty of a newspaper "to afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted." It is a rare newspaper today that feels any mission to afflict the comfortable. If reporters seem jaundiced, it is because they have to cover so many windy luncheons, and solemnly record the pompous hypocrisy of the respectable. Sometimes they are included in the counsels of small groups where the others, feeling safe because they know the newspaper's publisher is one of them, talk the cant of the well-to-do, forgetting that the reporter himself does not share the same economic stake in their prejudices. Newspapermen are apt to be against the successful and the affluent. In politics, they are usually Democrats—except when the Democrats, after too long in power, became too affluent themselves. No role satisfies the newspaperman more than that of redressor;

the chance to be angry, to rout out the rotten; but newspapers being what they are, angers are grooved—confined principally to what can be found out, or if not found out, suspected to be wrong with government. Many, though not all, reporters willingly accepted this role against the Democrats, only to be disillusioned when publishers proved not such ardent pursuers of error in a Republican administration. But a captious, searching attitude toward any administration (Republican or Democratic) must be the demeanor of all journalists, for by an accident of historical growth the role as watchdog of government falls to the press in American society, replaces the question period which British ministers must undergo in the House of Commons.

Jack the Giant Killer is a pleasing assignment to a newspaperman—but less so when only some giants are marked for the kill. What if big businessmen were subject to the same careful inquiry as government: had to answer why this relative was in unmerited high position; why that expensive entertainment was allowed; whose head fell for that bad investment; had to say who consented to this scheming in black markets or that shoddy legalism to thwart a competitor; had to explain why they tolerated an inferiority in the product; had to justify this connivance with an unsavory politician or union racketeer, or that use of company funds to promote selfish ends? In theory, companies have their own machinery for checking such practices, but in reality so long as profits are high very little else is asked of a boss. A publisher, asked why he did not concern himself with this kind of investigation, would say that these things are the domain of *private* business. But are they not touched with public interest?

Unjustified waste in business, as much as a government's taxation, grabs at the public's pocketbook—but it is not generally considered fair game for newspapermen.

Business is a privileged sanctuary, even when its institutional ads are picturing it as just a collection of open-faced "folks" like you and me, interested in nothing but the American way, the improvement of product and the remembrance of millions of fond little shareholders. Public relations men who in government perform a useful enough service for lazy newspapermen by gathering up facts for them—while discouraging independent inquiry—are even more sleekly successful in business at putting out what they would like known about a company, and diverting newspapermen from what they do not want to know. It remains for an occasional outburst of grudge by a disappointed contender, a stockholder's fight, or—long after the event—a congressional committee investigation, for anything adverse to be heard.

Executives, those unexamined pillars of the community, have such press immunity, and such scorn for the fumblers

in public office (any fumbling of their own passing unrecorded) that when one of them is persuaded to go to Washington as a public duty, is subjected to brash editorial questions, and is no longer safe behind an imposing walnut desk and the stillness of wall to wall carpeting, he often seems somewhat less spectacular. It then becomes harder and harder to recruit them for public service, these businessmen who at board of directors meetings like to say how uplifted they are by challenges.

A journalist too energetic in seeking out the malpractices of business risks condemnation as being against business itself, yet the same logic should apply that applies to government, that it operates best in the public interest when made to operate in a spotlight. But this is a radical thought, and lest any man think the press timid, there are angry writers to point to, whose splenetic outbursts are read by millions. Note, however, what they are mostly mad at: there is a good living to be made in a shrewd grooving of acceptable grievances.

"Truth always prevails in the end," wrote Lord Acton, "but only when it has ceased to be in someone's interest to prevent it from doing so."

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If a newspaperman finds his itch to investigate is encouraged only in some directions, if he finds himself asked to work within the known political prejudices of his publisher, purity of motive is not all to be found on one side. The development of reporters' craft unions (particularly at the outset, when Communists played too big a role) suggested that they, if they had their way, would be as biased, as ready to favor their own, as publishers. The contest of wills between newspapermen and publisher, such as it is, is apt to be muted; in many places the publisher has such clear ascendancy that no struggle goes on. Many reporters are without pronounced political opinions; others get it established early that they wish to stay clear of the 'dirty' stories; still others find no disharmony between their politics and the paper's. For the rest, there are those who say "I only work here"; there are others who the in work here;" there are others who are inwardly restive, and those who find some rationalization such as Ambrose Bierce's: "If asked to justify my long service to journals with whose policies I was not in agreement and whose character I loathed. . . O, well, I persuaded myself that I could do more good by addressing those who had the greatest need of me—the millions of readers for whom Mr. Hearst was a misleading light."

Some of the sting went out of the struggle when reporters, in themselves reflecting the feelings of the country, passed from militant enthusiasm for the New Deal to at most a sentimental predisposition towards the later Democrats. This change of mood was matched by the rise of practical-minded publishers who had decided to make a necessity out of virtue. This new breed of publisher made it a policy to give no unnecessary offense to any powerful group within the community, even unions. They found themselves up against radio and television, whose dependence on government regulation made them early in the game decide to play the news fairly straight (for all the pseudo-philosophizing about the impossibility of being objective, I have never met a newspaperman who did not know how to follow the injunction to 'play it straight'). So there has been a trend toward less flagrant outbursts of violent feeling on the editorial page, and less apparent partisanship in the news columns: on many papers the good deeds of the other side simply get small space, and lengthy treatment is accorded anybody whose views coincide with the publisher's. This is if readers do not recognize every shenanigan inflicted upon considered subtler, but I am not sure who is being fooled: them they are at least aware of a stale predictability in a paper's coverage. Tedium is a dangerous feeling to develop in readers. Sometimes one is tempted to sigh for the old days of honest wrong-headedness boldly proclaiming itself.

There are some who suggest that the way to make newspapers more responsible is to put their ownership into public trusts. But trusts can only preserve; they cannot create, and either the papers become the responsibility of dynamic managers (at which point all the old problems return) or they risk lapsing into staid sterility. Given our prejudice for an independent press, the only answer, if not a completely satisfactory one, is self-responsibility. There are some American newspapers—all too few, but to be honored all the more—whose publishers ignore the prejudices of their fellow businessmen and even defy the passions and whims of their public. A similar kind of dedication is felt by many newspapermen, even though this is to ask a great deal of low-paid men in a society which puts premium on other values; it requires an austerity of mind to accompany a vividness of imagination. But what is so heartening about journalism is how widely this notion of responsibility is felt. And it is ready to have more asked of it.

# A Glance Backward at the Press

By Louis M. Lyons

A candid look at the last 25 years would show them as the era of broadcasting.

Against the vivid and dramatic new competition, the press has been largely a holding operation. And not holding everywhere. It has been an era of consolidation, of fewer newspapers, and so a constriction of the channels of information and public opinion.

It has been a period of disappointment and deferment, as to the development of economic operations to permit any press without huge capital.

Magazines have cut into the news role effectively. The newspaper is now one among a number of institutions that provide news and views. It is groping for ways to adjust to this more difficult role and resume its former primacy.

The greatest, most obvious, progress has been in transmission, including pictures. Harry Montgomery of the AP is due a bow for the progress he has helped to guide in that field.

I wish I had anything else as concrete to report. But journalism is a diverse and amorphous field. That is one of its fascinations. One may describe his own image of it and be no more wrong than the next fellow. With this whistling in the dark, I plunge ahead.

The period has seen the rise of the columnist; first, and perhaps still, at the expense of the editorials, some would say to fill a vacuum there. But I think editorials have taken on some strength from this competition. The success of the columnist suggests a revival of personal journalism, with potential restoration of influence.

For in impersonality, journalism had gone about as far as it could. There has been recently some reaction against it. The interpretive story lets the reporter put more of himself into it, which is a gain.

But Gerald Johnson's new book of the Pulitzer Prize cartoons of the last 35 years describes the tone of press control in this period.

His title is *The Lines Are Drawn*. But the book's publishers admit that in respect to controversial issues, "Drawing Away" might have been a more descriptive title.

He himself says he wanted to call it "Roar Like a Suck-

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At the 25th anniversary meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association at French Lick, Nov. 12, Louis M. Lyons was one of several invited to give a 20 minute review of newspaper developments over the quarter-century.

ing Dove," using Bottom's lines in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, when he applied for the lion's role. Being told his roaring would frighten the ladies and get all the actors hanged, he promised he would roar as gently as any sucking dove.

The 35 cartoons picked by the publishers on the Pulitzer Committee step on no toes, except Hitler's and Stalin's. They attack the man-eating shark in the form of war, depression and polio.

It is not that the cartoonists had no punch. But their powerful cartoons were passed over for the prize.

Kirby is honored, but his great cartoon against prohibition was omitted.

Duffy is included, but not for his exposure of the Ku Klux Klan.

Herblock wins, but not for his cartoons of McCarthy or the cowardice of the Administration in the face of McCarthyism.

This era has seen less direct control by advertisers. But the total influence of the merchandising role of the press has soft pedalled its role as opinion leader, kept it generally to a safe conformity.

The ruggedly independent papers are fewer. Some that I know, and most respect, look less rugged. The business office influence shows through more often.

There is nothing sinister in this. It is just that the commercial demand to blanket the circulation area tends to make most papers try to be all things to all men.

The scandalously bad papers are fewer. Palmer Hoyt reclaimed the Denver Post. Boston was relieved of its Post. Everyone can fill in some places that deserve similar relief. But I think these have become more exceptional. But the ruthless economics that has diminished the number of newspapers has killed off some of the more individual papers.

The news is better organized. Newspapers are easier to read and more efficient. Efficiency is so universal and the AP so omnipresent that nearly all newspapers look much alike and are alike in content.

Writing is better. Papers are brighter. Their readers are better informed. Whether enough better informed to keep pace with the increasing complexity of the world they need to understand is something else.

The staffs are better educated, more adequate to report the world they live in. This Dr. Flesch nonsense of trying

to write for kindergarten in sentences not over eight words long has pretty well gone from the papers I see.

I think that more newspapers are more completely dedicated to their own jobs. Fewer people are running political parties from editorial desks. Morals are higher. Fewer papers allow staffers to work on the side for race tracks or politicians.

The news is more in the open—thanks to broadcasting. It was TV that exposed McCarthy and put him on the downgrade. People get candid views of politicians and expect more candid reporting.

Broadcasting has stimulated more-serviceable newspapering. The press has not yet found its fullest function in a world increasingly occupied by broadcasting. But it has done some suggestive experimenting. It has begun to try reporting in depth.

By surveys and other new techniques, it has extended the dimension of reporting to explore political trends, to reveal educational needs, slum sores, traffic and zoning problems, hidden segregation. It has made only a start on the needs. Too many of the issues of city life—traffic, noise, smoke, the need of tearing down and rebuilding—and all the remedies and correctives sorely needed to relieve the desperate condition of our cities and the desperation of city life,—are often handled as if the real estate exchange and the retail trade board were editing the paper.

The problems of making our cities fit to live in still invite newspaper attention.

Crusading had its day before the 25 year era of the APME opened. Theodore Roosevelt put an end to its popularity with his attack on the Muckrakers 50 years ago. But the investigational reporter is coming into his own in an increasing number of cities beyond St. Louis. Notable performances have become nationally familiar in Chicago, Seattle, Portland (Oregon), Nashville and Providence, to go no further.

Specialization has found new development. Developing their own specialists has ever been one of the best jobs newspapers have done—in politics, finance, theatre—whatever they feel they need.

They were slow in developing labor reporting. But they have. When I was new, labor was covered only in a strike—and chiefly on the picket line—in proportion to the violence. This has changed.

The press was behind the public in developing an interest in science. But AP led the way there and has kept it up.

Science develops faster than our coverage, and public education in science runs ahead of our coverage. It is still inadequate, but I think we know that, which is the way to the cure.

The press was terribly delinquent in getting around to

education—our chief American industry. Not until the scandalous deficiency of our educational plant brought a White House Conference did any papers to speak of take education seriously. Only Sputnik really brought it into the city room. A few papers now cover education as one of the principal bases of our community life. All too few.

Probably the most conspicuous failure of adequate reporting on the national scene has been the Supreme Court—one of the three coördinate branches of our government. With a few distinguished exceptions, it has been covered, when at all, casually, almost absent-mindedly, without much of any consideration for what it takes. It is getting attention now, since it has become a target of demagogic attack, which could never have got as far as it has, if the American people had had the Court and its relation to the strategic issues that must be resolved by it, reported with any approach to the care and completeness given to the Congress, legislature and city councils.

One of the most useful developments of specialities has been in business and government. James Marlow, AP, makes sense of complex tax and government issues. If you don't see his column as much as you did, it is because more papers have been developing their own business columns. Sylvia Porter writes finance and business news for the consumer. She doesn't turn it into mush for the women. She makes it mean something for everyone.

Anne O'Hare McCormick was one of the first who wrote foreign policy stories to educate readers. She didn't turn out stuff that was just an echo of the Dulles press conference. She knew. She'd been there. She kept in touch. She gave the reader the reality.

Doris Fleeson does it now every few days in national politics. Women have more sensitive pens than most men. The best of them have an instinct for reality and a sure sense of what's intrinsically interesting, and they write it often with pictorial clarity.

Every man knows that from the letters of women. They are about the only letter writers left, and they write with feeling and meaning. Of course I refer to the minority of either sex who can write at all, in this age of receding style and disappearing syntax, whose most blatant vulgarisms and sloppy usage now have the imprimatur of Bergen Evans' blessing.

Even in science, a woman, Frances Burns of the Boston *Globe*, turns in the most distinguished performance in my region.

This 25 years has seen women emerge in journalism against as much sex discrimination as they found in any field. No longer are they only society editors or sob sisters—the degrading roles to which they were earlier confined—snob or sob appeal.

Women are people now, even on newspaper staffs—all-

most the ultimate emancipation. There had been no more conservative citadel of stag inferiority complex than the average city desk.

We are, the newspapers say, coming out of a recession. They have been very hasty about the conclusion, starting about last April. But as one who remembers the timidity with which the Depression of the '30's was reported, I appreciate the greater candor in reporting this recession.

Of course it was harder to cover up. We now have a mechanism that is almost self-revealing as to the state of our economy.

But we certainly have been in a hustle to get it off the front page and very generally complacent in accepting the Administration's claims that it was all over in time for the election.

Nevertheless, economic reporting has gained immensely, and this of course reflects a readership exposed bitterly to economic pressures and ready to read it with a critical eye. They know about *inflation* and even about *deflating* influences in government action.

But in this, the financial writers are generally still writing the old clichés almost totally without any critical influence on government policy, because they are so immune to reality. Most newspapers still discuss the increasing national debt with no relation to the increasing national production, wealth and burgeoning population or any sense that everything in America grows bigger.

I remember in the 1930's, when my old editor was remarking that the Republicans had people worrying about the national debt who had no business thinking about it at all. They are now at least a little better educated about economics. It remains the field of greatest need of education of newspapermen, especially those covering government. Fortunately the younger newspapermen are sensitive to this and many of them consciously seek to fill in their gaps in economics. I see this in the Nieman Fellows.

The election again finds most of the people going the opposite way from most of the newspapers. The one-party press was not so complete as when Adlai Stevenson called it first to our attention in 1952. In California some papers abandoned Knowland. But of course a divided party permitted them still to be half Republican. It is not the same thing to abandon a sinking ship as to embark on a different cruise. In New York the one staunchly Democratic paper they had was reversed in a Roobarb by the publisher on election eve.

It is a sad distortion of our political life, that in most cities there is no newspaper debate in a political campaign, which should be in essence a public debate with the press as the great forum.

As the number of our papers shrinks until most cities have only one, such a forum becomes harder to find. Its function must be filled in other ways.

It is true that newspapers, which find themselves without local competition, tend to become less partisan, more moderate. But so far, this does nothing to supply an opposition press. Opposition to the forces of ownership in any community becomes increasingly impossible. This is a defect of an open society that cannot too long remain unremedied, without a dangerous gap in our system, and a serious result for the press in the public regard.

From many sides comes evidence of a dangerous amount of leakage of talent from newspapers, and more particularly from those preparing or considering a newspaper career. Pay must keep pace with what can as easily be earned elsewhere. Probably more important to the best men,—the job must have its satisfactions and the newspaper their respect. Too often one or both are lacking.

A big need is to free staff energies to do the job of making meaning of events.

In 25 years of working on assignments, I never was reconciled to it. I am not now. We run our papers on city editor schedules. Reporters are on tap, to be sent out like firemen, on call. There has to be a small mobile staff for shipwreck, hurricane, murder, holocaust. But for such urgencies anybody can be drafted from his own run, and be happy at the break of the key story.

But where I look for information is to the writers who cover a field, or area, or subject, and write about what they know to be important developments in their fields.

A paper like the *Christian Science Monitor* has its local staff on State politics, city affairs, maritime affairs, education, art, commerce, finance. They follow those areas and know what's news each day. They tell me more that's going on at State House or City Hall or in other public areas than any of the papers that dispatch most of their reporters out from a city desk to this hearing, that press conference, and keep their news to these scheduled spots of the most overt activity.

I believe the principal reason columnists are more interesting than editorials or most news reports is that they control their own time and determine their own subjects and so write about what they find to be most important and interesting.

The more of any staff that can be put on their own, and made responsible for areas of coverage, the more meaning and interest there will be in our news stories.

I am aware that this is old-fashioned, and reverts to the primitive era in journalism when editors ran their papers and we had fewer organization men. I am unconvinced that the historic journalistic process under the great editors was

wrong. This implies hiring and developing staffers up to the job, letting them find the full satisfaction of contributing the information people need on things that affect their lives—and paying them enough to keep them against the competitive fields for which their knowledge and ability well qualify them.

I recommend to you the Alsops' book—*The Reporter's Trade*. Here you have personal journalism making its mark by intelligence and hard work. Don't be put off by its arrogant tone. They took defense for their specialty and followed its strategic problems into government, politics, international relations, atomic secrecy, and all the complicated and devious involvements of bombs and missiles. They made themselves experts, and had always the courage of their convictions. Confident of their own facts, they have stood up to Admiral Strauss and Secretary Wilson, and conceded nothing. They have done something for the status of journalism.

Independence, courage, diligence, intelligence, find their place and serve us well. A Clark Mollenhoff, armed with his own facts and indomitable courage, carries a Ladejinski case right to the President, and comes back with it, till he gets the record straight.

This is personal journalism. It takes a considerable person to bring it off. These are the men for us—the only ones. Some of them need papers up to their own mark.

I think, in my optimistic moments, there is more of this and more opportunity for it.

I think more papers now depend more on professional leadership. Already demonstration of this is the Gannett group which have been brought into the 20th century under the professional modern management of Paul Miller as publisher and Vincent Jones as editorial director.

If you have to save money, you might start to save the vast waste of sending hundreds of reporters to a Presidential press conference, where only a dozen can ask questions, and the answers are available in text to all,—while only a few, like Clark Mollenhoff, are turned loose to explore the bureaucratic underbrush to see what's hidden.

There's a chance to save in the immense expanse of white

paper for every-day banner heads across eight columns, whether the news is big or little that day.

I enjoy seeing the New York *Times* go up to an 8-column banner on election, and then go back to a one-column top head two days after, when there's nothing left but talk about the post mortems.

It restores my sense of proportion to see the heads shrink to the quiet of in between times. It makes the newspaper look more sensible—less like a circus barker.

One of our more pungent critics suggested saving the biggest type in the shop against the Second Coming of Christ. It is still a good idea: it would relieve the impression of journalism as an hysterical calling.

The press is one of our most strategic institutions, mirroring the condition of the country and the people. It can be no better than the people in it.

A real problem is to make it as good as the people in it, to let their full capacities come through the institutional mold. This is a problem for the management of all institutions, as they grow greater and more essential in our society.

We all live by institutions, in institutions. We depend on institutions to organize the channels of work, to provide the stability and resources that let the work get done.

But institutions depend on individuals to give them a character, to keep them alive, to keep them effective, to give them intelligence and integrity.

A key issue of modern life is that of the individual in his institution, to see that the individual has a chance to impart personality and force to the institution, and to direct its energy and resources to the needs of people.

In none is that more essential than the newspaper. The saving thing is that, of all institutions I know, the press probably provides most satisfaction to the people serving it—with the largest sense that through it they can meet a vital need of people—to be informed. This is a great thing. It describes a high calling. The people in it must determine to keep it so.

I remember a word from my dear old friend James Morgan, when he was eighty-five, and not yet through as an editor:

"I wouldn't swap my luck," he said, "for any other."

# Our Nervous Press and its Nervous Critics

By Charles E. Higbie

"If there is one institutional disease to which the media of mass communication seem particularly subject, it is a nervous reaction to criticism. As a student of the mass media I have been continually struck and occasionally puzzled by this reaction, for the media themselves so vigorously defend principles guaranteeing the right to criticize."

In the decade since Paul Lazarsfeld said this no one has improved markedly on these words. Neither has there been much progress made in the treatment of the newspaper's allergy to criticism. Like the cure for cancer, the break-through to save the publishers and their palace guard from this institutional disease seems always to be in the future, but continuously longed for by observers of the press. And let no one fail to foresee the public demand for the cure when it is at last demonstrated in both fields.

I begin by mentioning attitudes toward criticism on the part of the press because it is impossible to plan research on newspaper performance without taking it into account. For one thing, as Lazarsfeld pointed out ten years ago, the reverse side of newspapers being allergic to criticism is that the critic becomes nervous. Especially nervous is the researcher connected with a journalism school, for the very good reason that newspapers on the whole are nervous about journalism schools also. It must be recognized that the place of journalism schools in the newspaper world in many respects is still unsettled. Are they basic training camps for city room rookies and that only? Or are they going to take up a responsibility to investigate, criticize, and set standards as their companion schools in law, medicine commerce, or engineering?

This nervousness about criticism on the part of newspaper executives might be tolerated as only an amusing eccentricity, if the operating of newspapers was thought to have the same social value as, say, turning out beer. We all cheerfully assume brewers to be big portly men; that they may or may not be is considered important enough to ascertain. Why then do we worry about the stereotype that publishers are busy establishing.

The reason is that to the "Freedom of the Press" so fortunately inscribed in the Constitution, the word "respon-

sibility" has been added. The linkage is supremely logical for one duty cannot be carried out without the other.

You will find all thoughtful publishers and press officials quite ready to accept the abstract legend of "press responsibility." What concerns us is whether in a practical sense responsibility is being met. I suggest that what most publishers do not recognize is that responsibility is an outward relationship with society, not an internal matter, and that it involves accepting in good spirit criticism from all sorts of outsiders. It also means that if newspaper officials do not recognize their responsibility to answer to criticism, their own freedom to criticize and to get material to criticize is imperiled.

I think it is no accident that the ten years since Dr. Lazarsfeld made his observation about mass media and criticism have been extremely uncomfortable ten years for newspapers. I'm not thinking of their economic problems. In the field of public regard and official regard, newspapers have lost ground.

It is in this past decade that the name "One Party Press" was applied. This in itself ought to be intriguing to journalism historians. How long since such a term of opprobrium has been flung at the press and achieved such extensive usage and such frenzied disclaimers? I maintain that one must go back into the last century and the term "Yellow Journalism" before finding words of equal intensity in circulation.

It was not the barbed character of Adlai Stevenson's words that made "One Party Press" a part of our times. It was the readiness of a large share of our population to accept them.

Responsibility must be equated with criticism. The criticism which must concern us chiefly is informed criticism, based on investigation and study. Such criticism is extremely useful in revealing the strength of an institution as well as discovering its shortcomings.

How have newspapers and other media viewed responsibility in the face of investigation and research? Perhaps the clearest indication of collective attitude on this score in the last decade occurred when the major publishers were polled in regard to their attitude toward the proposed Sigma Delta Chi sponsored survey of election coverage in 1956. Here was a chance for an investigation of the newspaper performance on the most vital process of democracy, the general election. The research was to be performed by members of the university community with over half a million dollars in funds to be contributed by the Ford Foundation. The investiga-

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**Charles Higbie** is associate professor of journalism at the University of Wisconsin. This is from a paper given at the convention of the Association for Education in Journalism at Columbia, Mo., Aug. 28.

tion was to be in the nature of an inventory which would furnish indications of whether "One Party Press" charges were inflated. The newspaper jury of publishers of major daily newspapers and representative smaller circulation papers voted definitely against this proposal to examine the responsibility of the press in elections. The general tenor of the objections displayed in *Editor & Publisher* which queried publishers on their attitude before the official proposals asking for their opinion were distributed. The revealed sentiment was overwhelmingly against the survey. This sentiment was confirmed in the official results from a jury of 76 publishers: 37 against the proposal, 17 favoring the proposal, 10 with qualified support, 12 refused to return ballots or otherwise refused to express an opinion. With only 27 supporting it, the study was dropped.

Let us recall also, the attitude of the press toward the question whether congressional committees should or could investigate the staff of a newspaper. A show of opinion was also exhibited in the *Editor & Publisher* on this matter. A comparison of the sentiment on this occasion with that expressed toward the Sigma Delta Chi proposal shows that the newspapers which showed no concern over the Senate committee investigation of the *New York Times* were in general those which had shown a great deal of alarm over the Sigma Delta Chi project. Conversely newspapers whose officials had shown no alarm over the election study were the ones which were most alarmed over the Congressional group's interest in press personnel. What we have then is what appears to be a majority more alarmed at criticism by university people than investigation by Congress. On the other hand a minority see a threat from Congress but little danger from attempts to examine press performance by professors.

I think now something should be said concerning the state of mind of the academic critics of the press. Dr. Lazarsfeld said one of the unfortunate results of the nervous attitude of newspapers towards criticism was that it made critics of the press nervous also. What then has generally taken place within the field of critical research in the decade that I have been reviewing?

Basic communication research in university schools of journalism came out of the World War II years with more confidence and experience than it had ever before achieved. People who had pioneered the field carried out a number of governmental projects and accumulated experience which only large scale operations provide. They soon attracted around them many younger men who returned to the universities from the war service. Faced with the extreme nervousness of the newspaper profession, the enthusiastic researchers moved to other subject areas. Techniques of research were perfected and new ideas tried. In many cases the communications media did in fact recognize the achieve-

ment of academic personnel in research methods by hiring them for activities paid for and directed by the newspapers and radio and TV stations. But this generally was commercial research which had as its purpose the increased efficiency of the communications enterprise. It was not critical research.

Partly as a result of resistance they have encountered in critical research, journalism schools have turned to basic research, i.e. the development of techniques and concepts for their own sake. It is the type of research that brings increased prestige on the campus. It also brings communications researchers into contact with other professional and academic researchers. But journalism researchers have found in working with these colleagues from other disciplines that these other researchers have a ready outlet for their discoveries. They are eagerly awaited by commercial, manufacturing, and governmental activities so that overall efficiency of these activities may be judged. So even when newspaper researchers escape into basic research they are reminded by their associates the application of research techniques is the natural course of events.

In the past few years broadening concepts of the duties and conduct of mass communication systems have been expressed. The Royal Commission of the Press in England and the Commission on the Freedom of the Press here were both noteworthy in suggesting to the public that the press must be held to different and broader goals in modern society. Prof. Fred S. Siebert has characterized this broadening system of concepts as the social-responsibility theory of the press. Changing views on the self-sufficiency of the human mind, the nature of government, and the nature of knowledge have led many philosophers, both inside and outside the communications area, to bring a new approach to the definition of freedom of the press. One characteristic of these new approaches is that they often start to reason from the needs of the citizen rather than from the needs of the publisher. Newspapers are asked to be more responsive to their environment. In this view the newspaper executive has the moral duty to heed and react to criticism originating outside the newspaper organization itself. The method of reacting to criticism in the light of his own administrative knowledge is of course the newspaper's own decision and will undoubtedly remain so in our democratic society.

However when this demand is made, that outside criticism be considered by newspapers as a moral duty, it must recognize that this logically extends "responsibility" to groups and individuals outside the newspaper structure also. If newspapers are to be socially responsive to their environment, they must be given the benefit of reliable indicators on their performance by critics who understand

their responsibility to criticize. This criticism must be sustained as well as responsible. Journalism schools are peculiarly suited for this role of providing informed criticism and in fact can not very easily escape this responsibility. Located as they are in university communities, journalism schools are in an advantageous position to feel the response of many professions and learned disciplines to the day to day performance of the mass communications systems. Furthermore journalism schools may be a valuable two-way channel with expert knowledge of both the communications problems and techniques with which to meet the critics from other professions.

But in order to be entirely successful in this position, journalism educators must be sure of their relationship to the operating units of communication. Their conception of their role must not be too close to that of the profession or they will be in effect mere extensions of the production units themselves. If this is so they may be incapable of providing the independent and "outside" criticism of the press which the new theorists feel necessary. The sterile conception of the journalism school as being chiefly a breaking-in place for reporters results in an industry-dominated school from which it would be idle to expect adequate external criticism. Likewise, if journalism school educators regard themselves as merely a public relations office for the press in general it goes without saying that little critical contribution will be made to the press.

Many other sources of social criticism of course must be developed for the press. For many reasons journalism schools should not presume to be the entire source of critical activity toward the communication system in the future.

However, in several areas they can provide the most valuable, the most sympathetic, and the most sustained critical material for newspapers to consider.

It may be fairly stated then that, despite continued stated need for critical examination of the mass media, there has been a notable lack of criticism. Journalism school researchers can scarcely ignore this logical demand for applied research in spite of the past history of suspicion on the part of a major portion of the press.

If this assessment of the present state of attitude in the field is correct, what type of program is practical, possible, and advisable in the future?

My personal conclusion is that cooperation on a large scale from the press as a whole will not be forthcoming in the immediate future. Despite progress, as illustrated by the active support of research by some very prominent newspapers, any research on press performance, such as an election survey, will have to be carried out in the face of disapproval by a majority of the general practitioners in the field.

The question then is what should be the reaction of university researchers toward the theoretical need for this type of critical activity? If the journalism school is conceived to be basically a mere training extension of the newspaper itself, I suppose the answer might be that the judgment of the profession in general should be accepted and the critical activity forgotten. On the other hand, if need for informed outside criticism is genuinely recognized, I don't think communication scholars can turn away from this duty despite the dislike of the newspapers for it.

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# Neglected Opportunities

## A Reporter Suggests Ways for Press to Compete

By E. W. Kieckhefer

In recent months two important metropolitan newspapers have succumbed to the pressures which are besetting the entire industry. Others are reported to be faltering.

Events have given rise to another spate of self-analysis by publishers. These rather uniformly cite the costs of publishing which are rising faster than revenues. They refer to antiquated methods of printing, to rising labor costs, despite the fact that newspapers are notoriously among the lowest-paying groups in the mass media, and they worry about increasing competition from other media.

None apparently takes into consideration the failure of most metropolitan newspapers to realize their function in the new world of mass communications which has developed since World War I. None shows awareness of the fact that the content of metropolitan newspapers has changed little during that period, despite the strong competition from competing media which in many ways can excel in the function that newspapers once performed.

The American newspaper through the years of its development has served two major purposes. One has been to present factual information about the events of the day. The other has been to attempt to mold public opinion through expression of opinion in the editorial page columns.

Until World War I, newspapers had a monopoly in those fields. Technological improvements such as the telegraph, the linotype and the high-speed press all favored the growth of newspapers. Improved transportation systems and subsidies from the Federal Government made it possible for the metropolitan dailies to reach out beyond their city limits and serve the growing trading areas of the cities.

The advent of radio did not cut too deeply into the role of the newspaper. But radio did soon prove to have the advantage of immediacy in reporting the news. The newspaper "extra" was the first casualty resulting from the new competition.

As radio developed it introduced the news "personality," the pleasing or convincing voice attached to a name. Some as it developed. It offered this in addition to the immediacy of these radio personalities were men who transferred from metropolitan newspapers to the voice medium because of higher financial rewards offered. In this movement radio

began to compete seriously with the newspaper. The radio networks expanded the area of competition.

Television dealt the newspaper another blow after World War II. This medium offered another factor which newspapers could not match—the moving picture of the news and personality which radio already had delivered, and offered it in the home without cost out of the pocket at the time it was delivered.

The radio and television industry has been fully aware of its advantages of immediateness, intimacy, convenience and freedom from cost. It has pushed these advantages to the fullest. It has been willing to pour money into news coverage at a rate newspapers cannot touch. Sig Mickelson, vice-president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, estimates that CBS loses \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000 a year on its news operations. It is fair to assume that the other networks stand similar losses. They can afford to lose that money because effective presentation of the news attracts listeners and viewers to the revenue-producing entertainment shows which are the bread and butter of that industry.

But radio and television are not the only competitors the metropolitan newspapers have today. Big city publishers are inclined to discount the weeklies as of small consequence. Yet, the National Project in Agricultural Communications at Michigan State University recently noted that there were 8,408 weeklies in operation in 1957, compared with 8,381 in 1948. And the circulation of these weeklies in 1957 totaled 19,272,199, compared with only 13,245,343 in 1948. This is hardly a dying industry!

The weeklies, like radio and television, have found their place in the communications business. The rural weeklies thrive on the minutiae of the local community which the metropolitan daily, with its sprawling country circulation, cannot hope to match. And in recent years there has been a rebirth of the neighborhood or suburban newspaper, catering to the demands of the decentralized city dweller and stealing business from the metropolitan daily just as the outlying shopping centers have been stealing business from the downtown stores. Some metropolitan newspapers have attempted to compete with these suburban weeklies by publishing suburban sections. The very bigness of the metropolitan daily defeats its purpose in this respect. The suburbanite is just as happy to have his picture or his news or his advertising appear in the newspaper of the commun-

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ity in which he lives or does business as he is to have it appear in the metropolitan press where it seems less important because it is lost in the vastness of the whole.

If the metropolitan press has lost its superiority in the swiftness of news presentation, lacks the intimacy of some of the other mediums and must operate on a budget which in many ways is more limited than that of its competitors, what then is left for the daily newspaper in the bigger cities?

Three possibilities seem to stand out:

1. Editorial opinion. Radio and especially television have moved into the field of news interpretation to some extent, but mainly in the form of one-shot spectaculars dealing with pressing problems of the moment. Newspapers are able to carry on the consistent editorial hammering that long-term problems need. The field of editorialization at the community, state and regional levels is wide open to daily newspapers. Some cities—Hartford, St. Louis and Los Angeles are examples—have attempted a limited amount of radio editorializing, but the number is small and probably will continue so because broadcasters, subject to Federal Government controls, are reluctant to engage in controversy.

2. Service as a medium of record. The magnetic tape makes possible rebroadcast or delayed telecast of events. But the listener or viewer cannot clip and file a portion of a broadcast or telecast. Nor can he lay it aside to be picked up again at *his* convenience for further study.

3. Audience participation. In radio and television, audience participation is limited to the entertainment field (quiz shows, People Are Funny, etc.) and possibly to the submission of a single question to VIP's who consent to appear on question-and-answer sessions.

If these are the areas in which the metropolitan press can best serve the public, they are also the areas which often are most neglected by the press.

Editorial pages of many metropolitan newspapers still are filled with puerile comments by hirelings who try to reflect the opinions of absentee owners or publishers who do not participate in the formulation of editorial policy because they are too busy watching the cash box. Few, indeed, are the newspapers which have developed on the local level strong editorial writers who are known to the readers of that newspaper.

Most newspapers cling to the idea that the men who report the news should have no opinions about the news they report and therefore should have no hand in the writing of editorials. This, of course, is a myth, and can be proved so by talking to any seasoned police reporter about the operation of the law enforcement agencies of the community or a veteran city hall reporter about the affairs of the community.

It also has been customary to hide the editorial page on a left-hand, inside sheet, even though publishers throughout the nation have paid out huge sums in readership surveys to learn that the right-hand pages are the best read. If editorial opinion is one of the few things left to the daily newspaper as a vital selling point, isn't it possible that this feature should return to the front page?

Publishers and journalism schools also cling to the myth that nothing is so dead as yesterday's newspaper. Why? Most large newspapers maintain well-patronized old-copy services where interested persons pay premium prices for back copies, and operate library services which provide many people with reference material. Yet, where is the metropolitan newspaper which sells its wares as "the news for today and tomorrow, the news when *you* want it?"

There are exceptions to the rule, of course. The *New York Times* takes pride in being a newspaper of record. The *Christian Science Monitor* seeks out the type of news which will live at least until its product can be delivered to its nationwide audience. And the *Wall Street Journal* has done an outstanding job of servicing the business community of the nation with the gist of the national and world news while at the same time developing the business-situation report in a readable form as a front-page item. But they are exceptions and the lessons they teach are not being learned very rapidly by the metropolitan dailies.

Audience participation is offered by most city newspapers through such features as "Advice-to-the-lovelorn," "What's your ailment?" and the etiquette advisers. True, there usually is a "Letters-to-the-editor" column, but readers are advised they must keep their letters brief, and the space devoted to them usually looks as though it were the area the editorial writers couldn't fill that day because they had run out of ideas. Most of the letters columns excite little interest.

The transition from the stodgy format of today's newspaper to the type of vehicle that better fits the needs of the reading public probably would not be easy. Publishers seem intent upon putting out a product which differs but little from the newspaper that filled the need 50 years ago. And they seem to want to do it by spending as little as possible in the process. Young men in journalism schools seldom choose newspapers as their line of work. And many of those who do join a newspaper staff soon become discouraged with the low pay, lack of opportunities and constant harping by management on the need for economies. As a result, newspaper staffs today are made up largely of very young and very old men. There isn't much of a middle-aged group in the business.

If the newspapermen cannot generate any more enthusiasm about newspapers than they display, how can we hope to arouse the interest of subscribers?

# Professional Education for Journalism in America

By Norval Neil Luxon

Six thousand and eighty-eight students were enrolled in 99 schools and departments of journalism in the United States in the 1957-58 fall semester. The total includes junior, senior, and graduate students. The 99 colleges and universities reporting represent 90 per cent of the institutions listing schools of journalism in the *Editor & Publisher Year Book* for 1957 and 60 per cent of the journalism departments listed in *American Universities and Colleges*, 1956 edition. However, because the schools not represented are small ones, it may be accurately assumed that the total covers at least 95 per cent of students enrolled in professional schools of journalism.

Courses in journalism have been offered in American universities and colleges, chiefly land-grant colleges and state universities, since 1873, but the first formalized program leading to a degree in journalism dates only from 1908 when a School of Journalism was established at the University of Missouri. That institution is planning an observance of this event starting next August and running through May 1959.

A program aimed to commemorate the founding of the school, emphasize the importance of a free press, win from the people a higher regard for journalism as a profession, strengthen an appreciation of the journalist's responsibilities, and interest more young people in journalism as a career has been outlined by the School with events scheduled over a nine-month period. The annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, in which some 800 teachers of journalism in colleges and universities hold membership, to be held on the Missouri campus August 25-29, will officially open Missouri's semi-centennial observance.

Staff members on the larger newspapers in the United States possess varied backgrounds of education and experience. Some of the best-qualified reporters and editors are virtually self-educated and have had little, if any, education on the university level; others hold degrees from liberal arts colleges with majors in a wide variety of fields; still others, and this is particularly true of the younger staff members, are graduates of professional schools of journalism. There is much to be said for each of these methods of preparation,

but this paper will concern itself only with schools and departments of journalism and will not address itself to the larger question as to what type of education and experience constitutes the best preparation for a career in the communications field.

The rapid increase in a span of fifty years from one school of journalism to more than 150 has brought both problems and criticism. It has been and still is accompanied by growing pains.

Early emphasis in journalism instruction on college campuses was on skills or techniques courses teaching the practical aspect of newspaper work. This was a natural development. The schools were established to train young people to work on newspapers. The teachers for the most part were former newspapermen, many with only a baccalaureate degree. It is fortunate for the cause of professional education for journalism that these early schools were established as integral parts of institutions of higher learning—often as departments in colleges of arts and sciences—that the pioneer teachers, in most instances were committed to the theory that education for journalism requires a background in such disciplines as history, political science, English, economics, psychology, and sociology, and that in the environment of the recently-founded land-grant colleges and state universities the fledgling journalism schools found an academic atmosphere hospitable to experimentation and a pragmatic approach.

A study of the curricular content of journalism programs made in 1926-1927 showed clearly the predominance of practical courses. A second survey made ten years later noted the addition of courses in contemporary affairs, public opinion, the foreign press, and comparative journalism. The schools were widening their horizons and for the most part were looking beyond the borders of the states in which they were located.

In the past twenty years, the professional schools of journalism have developed their programs along even more comprehensive lines. An increasing number of courses in international communication and foreign journalism is evident. The social effects of mass communication are being studied in such courses as 'Functions and Responsibilities of Contemporary Journalism,' 'Press and Society,' 'Journalism in a Democracy,' 'Ethics of Journalism,' 'Mass Communication in Modern Society,' and 'Press in a Dynamic Society.'

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This discussion of American journalism schools was done for the *Gazette* of Zurich, an international journalism publication. **Norval Neil Luxon** is dean of the school of journalism in the University of North Carolina.

Leading scholars in the field have urged the schools of journalism to accept the responsibility of pointing out to the profession or industry the need for correction of certain current practices in the communication media.

The most marked trend of the past twenty-five years in professional education for journalism in the United States is that toward graduate study, including research. Journalism research in the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century had been done chiefly by social scientists in disciplines other than journalism, but with the growth of graduate work and the interrelation of teaching and research on the professional and graduate level, teachers of journalism and students working under their direction have produced a respectable body of knowledge and have contributed in no small degree to the advancement of learning in the field.

Included in the 6,088 total enrollment this fall are 821 students working toward advanced degrees in forty-two of the ninety-nine institutions. The majority of these are working toward the A.M. degree, a few toward the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Most recent data on degrees granted in the United States show that 182 A.M. degrees and six Ph.D. degrees in journalism were granted in 1955—1956.

Among the professional schools of journalism which still train undergraduates but have turned their attention and committed their resources to graduate level instruction and continuing research programs the School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, which has a Research Division with its own statistical staff; the Institute of Communications Research, allied with the Department of Journalism, at Stanford University; the Institute of Communications Research, connected with the School of Journalism and Communications at the University of Illinois; the School of Journalism at the University of Wisconsin, which works closely with its specialized Department of Agricultural Journalism; the University of Missouri, the first and for many years the only school of journalism to offer work leading to the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and the Graduate and Research Division of the School of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, which has a close working relationship and interlocking staff appointments with the Institute for Research in Social Science.

Some of the other institutions which offer graduate work in journalism are the State University of Iowa, Northwestern University, Michigan State University, University of Oregon, and Syracuse University.

A third responsibility which schools of journalism have accepted in addition to teaching and research is that of service to their state and region. Many schools co-operate with state press associations in arranging annual conventions. They provide short courses, ranging from one-day meetings to two-week series of conferences or sessions, for personnel to two-week series or advertising departments of newspapers.

Most schools make a special effort to establish and maintain a close liaison with the newspapers and other communication media of the area in which they are located.

Non-daily newspapers of the United States, of which there are some 8,700, compared with 1,760 dailies, benefit directly from the short courses and conferences which carry no university credit but which provide instruction in the various techniques and discussion of recent developments in their fields of interest.

In some institutions the offices of the state press associations are housed in the journalism building and the officers hold joint appointments as part-time teaching staff members. In others, office space is supplied for personnel, and in still others the press group offices are located in off-campus offices. In many states, the journalism school administrator through interviews, conferences, and questionnaires determines the type of service desired by newspapers of his state and carries out within the limit of his resources the requests.

Two centers of continuing education of interest to newspapermen in the United States are the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard University and the American Press Institute at Columbia University. The Nieman Fellowships, provided for by a \$1,300,000 bequest from the widow of a Wisconsin newspaper publisher, were established in 1937 and the first fellowships awarded in 1938. The American Press Institute, founded by contributions from thirty-eight newspaper editors and publishers, held its first seminar in 1946.

The influence of these two adult education programs on United States journalism has been significant although the numbers of participants are not large. In the twenty years that Nieman Fellowships have been in operation, 240 newspapermen have been Nieman Fellows. In the dozen years since the American Press Institute scheduled its first seminar, 1,818 newspaper men and women from 509 United States and Canadian newspapers have attended 76 seminars.

The Nieman Fellowship awards provide an academic year's study at Harvard. Newpapermen with three years' experience are eligible. Each Fellow is paid approximately his newspaper salary during his term in residence. The Fellows to date tend to average 30 years of age and 10 years of newspaper experience.

The American Press Institute seminars run two weeks for which an all expense fee of \$360 is charged. Those in attendance are housed in university dormitories and eat most of their meals together. Unlike the Nieman Fellowships, which are for news and editorial personnel only, the A.P.I. seminars cover all phases of newspaper operation. The number of newspapers contributing to the support of the seminars now stands at 143. Any newspaperman with five years experience on a daily newspaper may apply to attend a seminar. Neither the Nieman Fellowships nor

the A.P.I. has a formal educational requirement for applicants.

Both of these centers—through different procedures—represent professional education at its finest—continuing education for active practitioners.

Up to this point, this discussion of professional education for journalism in the United States has been a factual one. Statements and figures are accurate, to the best of my knowledge. Few if any of the statements would arouse disagreement among my colleagues.

I shall close with some personal opinions, based upon twenty-nine years of experience as a teacher of journalism in two state universities—The Ohio State University and The University of North Carolina. I am a product of professional education for journalism. Over the years I have fought for and defended professional education for journalism as a student, working newspaperman, teacher, university administrative officer, and for the past four years as head of a school of journalism founded in 1924.

Professional education for journalism in the United States is sound educationally, despite what its critics allege. At its best in institutions where teaching, research, and service are blended in their proper proportions based upon the character of the institution and the needs of the communication media served, it stands on a par with professional education for law, medicine, and the other learned professions.

But in my opinion, and there are educators and editors who disagree with me, education for journalism in this country has grown and is growing too rapidly for its own good. Among the more than one hundred fifty schools and departments of journalism there are many which offer poorly planned programs taught by poorly-prepared teachers. Many teachers are not interested in and do no research. Much of the course work does not compare favorably with university level requirements of other teaching disciplines. Some schools perform no service for the newspapers of their region other than the disservice of turning out inadequately trained graduates.

State or federal regulation of schools of journalism is as unthinkable as government licensing of newspapers. The constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press in the Bill of Rights prevents licensing of newspapermen—a universal practice for physicians, attorneys, dentists, and pharmacists. Self-policing or self-regulation is the only solution. Universities on the one hand and newspapers on the other must insist that professional training for journalism be truly professional.

In my presidential address to members of the Association for Education in Journalism delivered August 27 in Boston, I said:

Forty or fifty truly professional schools of journalism,

located at institutions with outstanding libraries, with nationally recognized departments in the humanities and the social sciences, with rigid requirements for the first two years' work in the liberal arts, with adequate budgets for the journalism units, with staff members interested and actively engaged in research as well as in teaching and service, will serve the nation's newspapers and other media of mass communication far better than one hundred fifty to one hundred seventy-five schools, many of which are inadequately staffed and supported.

I concluded my remarks by asking my academic colleagues to return to their campuses, re-examine their standards, study their curricula, check their admission and graduation requirements and then ask themselves:

‘Are the journalism standards on my campus as high as standards in other departments and specifically are they as high as standards in the other professional schools?’

If the answer was in the negative, I suggested that they take steps to terminate journalism instruction.

To date, no institution has decided to end instruction in journalism. On the contrary, at least one institution has announced that it is opening a ‘curriculum in journalism’ with a teacher who will also handle the institution's public relations.

Recently there has been a noticeable trend towards the appointment of practitioners rather than scholars or scientists to positions of influence and responsibility in schools of journalism. The ideal background of a journalism school administrator should include both media experience and academic achievement. The pendulum in some instances seem to be swinging back to the early practice where newspaper background constituted the predominant characteristic of deans, directors, and department chairmen.

The journalist has a high responsibility. The university administrator charged with the responsibility of educating tomorrow's journalists has an even higher one, that of insisting upon well-trained teachers, good instruction, research on a high level, publication of significance, and service to the communication media based on sound research and proved procedures.

The truly professional schools of journalism, soundly based academically; with strict admission requirements and high standards for students; with interest in teaching, research and service, will continue to send a supply of well-educated young men and women into the newspaper offices, the radio and television news departments, and the magazine and advertising offices of the nation.

The integrity of the individual institution determines the quality of its product. The communication media are not unaware of the standing of institutions of higher learning. In this knowledge may lie the solution to the problems of professional education for journalism.

# All the Views Fit to Print

By Bruce Grant

Journalists are not equipped with the same ready-reckoning facilities for assessing ideas as for assessing news. Ideas are more elusive. Has it been said before? Is it dramatic or just silly? Is it dangerous? Ideas are more difficult to put headings on. Those great arbiters of public interest, the sub-editors, do not like ideas because they need quotations in the headings. It spoils the look of their work. Contrary to general opinion, sub-editors are, I believe, artists at heart, not censors. But they work under pressure and they are, quite properly, *newspapermen*. They work for newspapers. "The grandest of all musics," says an old Gaelic proverb, "is the music of the thing that happens." The sub-editor loves this music; the hard fact sings for him. The reject basket and the overmatter file are full of beautiful symphonies about things that might or should occur.

There is another difference between the newspaper's treatment of news and its treatment of ideas. Newspapers inform the public of news—that is to say, the public at large does not know about the news until it reads it in the papers—but they do not inform the public of something it does not know as far as ideas are concerned. They merely express eventually what the public, or a large section of it, has been thinking for some time. In the treatment of news, the press is aggressive and adventurous. In the treatment of ideas, it is conservative, or, to use a more exact word, conformist. It is this conformity which I want to discuss.

First, let us look at foreign affairs: Some twenty years ago Professor Ball wrote: "Australian newspapers have never propounded an Australian foreign policy; they have commended British foreign policy to Australians."

I would like to think of an Australian foreign policy as an *idea*: it is perhaps not yet a fact. Is this idea recognized and propounded by our newspapers now? Or, to bring Professor Ball's statement up to date, do they only commend British and American foreign policies to Australians? I believe that, updated, he is still right. With some qualifications: the fact that Britain and America have different policies on some matters has thrown at least the effort of

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Mr. Bruce Grant, chief leader writer of the Melbourne *Age*, is at Harvard this year as the Associate Nieman Fellow from Australia. This is from the Arthur Norman Smith Lecture, which he delivered in August, 1958. These lectures, established in memory of one of the founders of the Australian Journalists' Association, have been delivered annually since 1937 at the University of Melbourne by an Australian journalist.

choice on Australians. At the time of Suez, British and American disagreement made it possible for a newspaper to disagree with the Anglo-French action without feeling that it had stepped outside the West. As Mr. Menzies and Mr. Casey were thought to have different views, a critical line in a newspaper was even less surprising. Newspapers could, according to the strength of their sympathies with the United States or the United Kingdom, take a side—thereby disagreeing or agreeing with the policy of the Menzies government.

In the same way the fact that British and American policies on Communist China are publicly different enables our newspapers to take their cue from Britain or America, which will in turn make them critics or supporters of the Menzies government on this issue.

I don't want to suggest that to have a choice of subservience means that you have a policy of your own, but the split on some issues between America and Britain does help Australians to think for themselves.

Another qualification: Australians and Australian newspapers are much better informed about foreign affairs than in 1938. I don't know how many people read leading articles. I do know that in the last year I have written three or four a week dealing with affairs outside this country. Also our press has much better contacts abroad now. The links we have established with British and American newspapers, the buying of commentaries from abroad, plus a gradual upgrading of our own commentators, and a strengthening of world coverage of the Australian Associated Press through its Reuter connections—all these mean that our press can have in its possession information and observations on important news with much greater speed and authority than before. This is an especially important consideration in times of crises, when the tendency of Government is toward restriction of information for security reasons and the appeal to "take us on trust while the trouble is on."

There is, however, one serious gap in our foreign news. In Europe and the Middle East, even to some extent in the Far East, our access to news and opinion is adequate, but in Southeast Asia, where our responsibilities are greatest, our information is least. As far as I am aware, no Australian newspaper has a permanent full-time correspondent there, although it may carry a staff of five, ten, or even twenty in London, with half as many in New York. Neither Australian newspapermen, with one or two specialist exceptions, nor the Australian people are equipped to form what is

called "public opinion" on our policy in Southeast Asia. It is partly cost, partly the feeling that Southeast Asia is not as interesting (or should not be as interesting) to the Australian public as the traditional centers of power, fashion, entertainment, etc. It is also surely just plain lack of initiative.

This conservatism, which is the newspapers' own responsibility, is accentuated by two other foreign affairs "factors:"

One is the remoteness of Canberra from the nation's press. In London, as in most world capitals, the newspaper center of the country is also the political center. (Even Washington, though it is not New York, has the *New York Times*, which has a national sale, and the *Washington Post*, which is on the spot.) The morning after the Government in London makes a decision, ten or more newspapers can be on the Prime Minister's desk. Here we still publish in separate states: it takes two or three days before press comment makes its impact on Government.

The second factor is the lack of intimacy between our Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. One of the interesting tests of critical temperature in London during a crisis is the attitude of the Opposition. In general it boils down to this: if the Opposition publicly censures the Government in a foreign affairs crisis, something is wrong. It is known, or it is expected, that the Opposition leader will have been taken into the Prime Minister's confidence if the matter is really serious. If the Opposition still decides to oppose, it is clearly an important issue of policy. The same guidance for newspapers is not easily gained from Canberra. It is well enough known that the personal relationship between Mr. Menzies and Dr. Evatt makes this kind of consultation difficult. We do not know, then, when the Opposition opposes, whether it is habit or conviction. We can never be sure that it knows as much as the Government and decides to oppose just the same.

It is not, however, in the field of foreign affairs that an examination of the newspaper's ideological role is most interesting. A more basic analysis of the function of the press in dealing with ideas affords glimpses of the full problem confronting the responsible daily newspaper editor.

To begin rather provocatively, it is frequently said, especially by Western newspapers, that the press in Russia is not free, that it is not allowed to criticize. This is a misleading generalization. There is a lot of criticism in Russia and other Communist countries, much of it in the press. But it is a technical or mechanical criticism, directed against the government or the bureaucracy for failure of performance. It may be exceedingly active, but it is never fundamental. There is no questioning of the ideological foundations of society. Communism is the established truth. Communists can be criticized only for failing to give it full expression.

In *Inside Russia Today* John Gunther writes of the Russian press: "Protests and complaints are incessant and

vociferous in the USSR. Can Russians yell!" Then he lists some typical criticisms: scandalous mismanagement of an oil enterprise, broken promises on housing, flagrant violation of party democracy at a meeting, administrative bungling—"it is incomprehensible why this . . . has not penetrated the consciousness of Comrade Averev, the Minister of Finance, in the course of decades." It sounds very much like our own press. Mr. Gunther comments: "One reason why such widespread criticism is permitted—in fact encouraged—is that it acts as a safety valve. Criticism seldom, if ever, touches basic policy, or the fundamental concepts of the regime, but is directed against particular shortcomings. . . ."

Just how different is the role of the newspaper in Western society, or, to keep to our own press, Australian society? I submit that newspapers here do just the same: they criticize performance, practice, but they do not question the basic premises of their society. To illustrate:

The Monarchy is one of the staples of our society. I cannot imagine an Australian newspaper advocating republican government. I do not think there is even likely to be any criticism of the performance of the Monarch. There may be from time to time a certain follow-up of criticisms elsewhere, such as those made by Lord Altrincham, Mr. Muggeridge, Mr. Osborne and others. But the performances criticized are always those of the Monarch's advisers. Certainly the principle of Monarchy is never questioned.

This is so obviously a fact that there is no point in pursuing it, but it was not always so. I do not refer to the well-known dislike of the Georges by the British press, but to Australia at a later date. Read our press at the time the Australian Republican Union was in full swing (1890's to 1914) and you will find a more skeptical evaluation of the Monarch. The passing of the *Labor Daily* in Sydney, I think in the '30's, was the end on an era.

Religion, particularly as expressed by the Christian Church, is another staple unquestioningly supported by the press. All daily newspapers are prepared to give a lot of space to what is said *in* the churches, but not what is said *against* them. The non-Christian and the anti-Christian viewpoints are not expressed in newspapers, except implicitly perhaps, and certainly not by them. Yet to what extent are we really a Christian community? About half the population never or rarely goes to church. According to the *Current Affairs Bulletin*, "Churchgoing in Australia," only 63 per cent believe in an afterlife. This percentage in the United Kingdom, incidentally, is 49, and an English poll of 1957 showed that nearly 30 per cent of the population did not believe, or was not sure, that Christ was the son of God. I suggest there are signs here of a changing attitude towards religion in Christian countries. How is this to be recognized by a newspaper editor?

There is no newspaper in Australia which does not think that parliamentary democracy is the best form of government; at least if there is it never says so. No daily newspaper would advocate a Communist form of government, democratic centralism, guided democracy or whatever it might be called. None would advocate a fascist dictatorship. At least, these prospects are as unlikely as that of a Communist newspaper arguing for responsible cabinet government.

No newspaper in Australia advocates an economic system other than free enterprise capitalism. Newspapers have come to accept State enterprise in a mixed economy, but there is none advocating socialism as an economic policy nor, of course, as a way of life.

You can argue that it is not the function of the press, here, in Russia or anywhere else, to sponsor ideas other than those generally accepted by the society in which it functions. Its job is to record day to day events, not to chart man's destiny. But newspapers do pronounce on man and his destiny. Some leader writers do practically nothing else. At Christmas, Easter, Anzac Day, royal birthdays, visits, etc. newspapers customarily say that certain values must be guarded, treasured, honored, fought for and so on. And these values are always the accepted traditional ones.

The point I am raising is whether newspapers provide a real service to their society by this unquestioning acceptance. Or, to put it another way, what has happened to what we say is the fundamental value of Western civilization—freedom to inquire, to question, to differ? It is said that today people do not want to question and inquire: they want comfort, they want to fit in, they want to work and live in the certainty that they are doing their duty by God and all right-thinking men and women. They do not want to change the world, but to accommodate themselves to the part of it they are in. In this sort of society the search for truth becomes dangerous.

For Australian newspapers there are certain special handicaps:

1. There is no serious or intellectual weekly press. The influence on Fleet Street of journals like the *Spectator*, *Economist* and *New Statesman* is considerable. What they, or any one of them, may say is often news for the dailies, and in that way the sophisticated level of inquiry conducted in the weekly journals finds its way into the mass circulation press. We now have the *Observer*, published by Consolidated Press in Sydney, which I hope is a beginning.

2. Some newspapers abroad can work at a more sophisticated level, because the population is big enough to provide readers for a newspaper of limited appeal. The London *Times*, which I don't suppose anyone would call radi-

cal, will print articles on scientific and religious subjects which, if translated, would raise the hair of *Mirror* readers. (On the other hand, it is not written for people who enjoy knowing that on the previous day it was revealed in court—to quote a famous *Mirror* headline—that WIFE IN SLACKS WHO SAID NO CANED BY HUSBAND WHO THOUGHT HE WAS HITLER.) The *Times* will debate in leaders the rights and wrongs of artificial insemination, or of peace-at-any-price. It even raised doubts about the Queen's choice of Mr. Macmillan in preference to Mr. Butler as Prime Minister.

3. England has Trust (roughly, non profit) newspapers. The *Times* and the Manchester *Guardian* are both limited commercial enterprises. The most clear cut Trust newspaper is the *Sunday Observer*. A labor paper, the *Daily Herald*, is presumably socialist, and the *Daily Mirror*, is independent Left.

4. The Labor party split in Australia has created special difficulties. No newspaper now supports Labor, partly because of the vocal campaign against Dr. Evatt, partly because while Labor is divided it does not offer an alternative government.

But the fundamental question for the newspaper editor in Australia is the same question faced by editors in all other parts of the Western World. Can our society be preserved without changing it?

It is my belief that the duty of questioning established truths should not be shirked by the press in the broader education of the public. Naturally, the peculiar nature of journalism is limiting. We haven't the time to dig deeply. The basic training of a journalist enables him to record quickly and accurately what he sees and hears; this reporting function is still all-important, in spite of the hand-out system, public relations, and the more immediate contact of radio and television. Nor does the public, reading its daily paper, expect to be treated to the same imponderables which people in the lecture theater might hope to turn over in their minds. Also laws concerning libel, sedition, blasphemy, and so on, are constant companions at the journalist's elbow. The slogan, "If we think it, we print it" sounds romantic but it is injudicious advice.

There is no doubt, however, that newspapers do have a persuasive and educative power. I suggest that it be used, not to assert our traditions as dogma, but to question and evaluate them, on the assumption that, if they are found wanting in today's circumstances, they can be reformed to meet the challenge. And I would suggest that this is not idealistic crusading, but realistic politics.

We are fond of saying that this is an age of ideological conflict, but what does this mean? We cannot expect in Western society to match the drive of Communism, which comes from its revolutionary spirit, its newness, its intoler-

ance of opposition. We have behind us a tradition of freedom centuries old. I do not see why we cannot keep our faith in the essence of democracy—that man can govern himself, continually emancipate himself, because he is inventive and creative.

One does not expect newspapers to express revolutionary ideas—in this context, Communist ideas, if you like. While Communism remains lawful, it is not a crime to think as a Communist, but it is not a very profitable pursuit—nor even very promising, since it is not a common belief that Australia would provide fertile ground for Communist ideas. Our danger is not revolution—at least I don't know what the prophets are saying, but that is the public impression. It is rather, I think, conformity—that we shall, by lack of vigor and initiative in our minds, lose our democratic initiative, allow ourselves to become a dictatorship of the complacent and the second-hand. Australia itself offers good ground for the democratic virtues. We have religion, which throws light on the human condition and is a support to

morality and civilization, but no established church. We are still innocent in our humanism, still excited by progress, still capable of realizing that the world is more than we had supposed it to be. We are skeptical, but not cynical. This is ground for growth and expansion, not defense and fear. We can question in confidence, not in the anguish or despair which is fashionable in some Western countries. We can believe in our power to devise new values if the old ones no longer meet our need.

G. K. Chesterton has the right answer: "Ideas are dangerous," he said, "but the man to whom they are least dangerous is the man of ideas. He is acquainted with them and moves among them like a lion-tamer. . . . The man to whom they are most dangerous is the man of no ideas. The man of no ideas will find the first idea fly to his head like wine to the head of a teetotaller."

The point is quite simple: ideas are dangerous but the greater danger in a democracy is that we, the journalists, and the reading public, should become afraid of them.

### The Lost Art

(Continued from page 2)

Bay State, exasperated by legislative attempts to share the metropolitan Boston transit deficit with the rest of the state and equalize the rate for compulsory car insurance between rural districts and cities with heavy traffic.

But, although the quips and cracks don't very often make me laugh out loud, I still find plenty of evidence in news columns that good newspapermen today are just as keen-witted as their predecessors and that the irony that flourishes in every healthy city room has not been atomized by the H-bomb. Consider the good gray *New York Times*. James Reston's editorial attacks on governmental good intentions in high places sometimes strike me as really witty; even dedicated Republicans might have enjoyed that column last spring on the threat of infiltration into government by Phi Beta Kappa. It is chiefly in the regular news departments, however, that I am apt to come upon what I call humor. The financial section does a feature on Montgomery Ward catalogue bargains—three pounds of worker bees and one Italian queen for only \$5.45; Elizabeth Fowler turns the tables on the *New Yorker* by covering its annual meeting of stockholders à la our-man-Stanley. A headline writer, confronting a picture of a weird something moving up the Hudson, asks "What has 14 Legs, Is 7 Stories Tall and Floats? A New Pier, of Course."

The *Times* news-feature column, "Random Notes from Washington," carries the sort of item Professor Zeisler particularly wants, the ironic anecdote or comment on the political dilemmas of our time. In February, after another U.S. satellite had failed to make it, this column reported a story going the rounds. Two derelicts passed the Washington Monument in bitter weather, when some workmen at the base, to keep themselves warm, had lit a fire in an oil drum. The pair watched the flames shooting out from the oil drum and one shook his head. "They'll never get it up," he said.

True enough, there are many newspapers published today in total solemnity, where the only humor is completely unintentional. But even in the golden age of the comedy of illiteracy, Artemus Ward and Petroleum V. Nasby were exceptions, not the rule. A true humorist seems to me as rare as a true poet; Will Rogers was unique and so is E. B. White, and we must continue to hope that such rare spirits will encounter the special circumstances in which their gifts can best flourish. In the mean time I am more than content to let the professional wisecrackers stay with television and to applaud the editors who encourage able reporters and desk men to share with the reading public their saving sense of the ironies of the life they chronicle.

# Why Should News Come in 5-Minute Packages?

By Edward R. Murrow

(from Mr. Murrow's address to the radio and television news directors convention, Chicago, Oct. 15.)

It is my desire if not my duty to talk with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land. . . .

I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture and our heritage. . . .

I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of eight and eleven p.m. Eastern Time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look Now, Pay Later." For surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive. . . .

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. . . .

There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment. If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there have been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesman say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experi-

ence of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are in fact, not content to be "half safe."

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labelled, and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible. Most stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

So far as radio—that most satisfying and rewarding instrument—is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only go backward. To the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a fifteen-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert and fast. I recently asked a network official: Why this great rash of five-minute news reports (including three commercials) on week ends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the *why* of the news in broadcast where only three minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind isn't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when salable, and only when packaged to fit the advertising appropriation of a sponsor, then I don't care what you call it—I say it isn't news.

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, C.B.S., through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject, and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many news-

papers defended the C.B.S. right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

Likewise, when John Foster Dulles, by personal decree, banned American journalists from going to Communist China, and subsequently offered contradictory explanations. For his fiat the networks entered only a mild protest. Then they apparently forgot the unpleasantness. Can it be that this national industry is content to serve the public interest only with the trickle of news that comes out of Hong Kong? To leave its viewers in ignorance of the cataclysmic changes that are occurring in a nation of six hundred million people? I have no illusions about the difficulties of reporting from dictatorship; but our British and French allies have been better served—in their public interest—with some very useful information from their reporters in Communist China.

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China—a reasonably compelling subject. The networks—C.B.S. and N.B.C.—delayed that broadcast for an hour and fifteen minutes. If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-fifteen-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an I.C.B.M. to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news.

Potentially, we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or in-

dividual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse. . . .

The question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time *exclusively* for the sale of goods and services?

If we go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves needlessly.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they will give up one or two regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests—which as I understand it is, that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second thoughts reach the right decision. If that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thorough-going study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations?

## What Happens in a Newspaper Strike?

# New York Without Papers

The shutdown of New York's nine major newspapers led a task force of eighty students at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism to check into the principal effects of the newspaper blackout.

They found that the city government was still running but running in low gear, business houses showed everything from "tremendous" losses to unexpected gains, street corner Santa Clauses got fewer alms, fewer persons were attending funerals, and girls were having "fits and spasms" because they couldn't get their wedding and engagement notices into print.

The students concentrated their operation on Dec. 17, the eighth day of the strike called by the independent Union of Newspapers and Mail Deliverers. The city-wide picture presented a collection of contradictions, irritations and oddities, but the general reaction echoed a New York Board of Trade finding that the strike had produced "irrecoverable" damage.

Some stores reported no loss in sales and others claimed 15 per cent and worse in sales drops. Theatres, movie houses, travel agencies, used-car outlets, realty offices and gambling operations reported an "up" pattern for some, "down" pattern for others.

Newspapers hit by the strike had a total circulation of 5,700,000. They were the *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *News, Mirror, Journal-American, World-Telegram and Sun, Post* and the *Long Island Press* and *Long Island Star-Journal*. For New Yorkers accustomed to this rich newspaper diet to and from work every day the strike brought poor substitutes and the complaints were bitter.

Many adults bought comic books to keep occupied, according to a news dealer at Grand Central Terminal.

"People will buy anything with print on it," Henry Hirsch, a news dealer at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Avenue of the Americas, said.

But the news dealers, who found they could sell 25-cent magazines in place of 5-cent newspapers, were not all happy. Magazine distributors estimated that 10,000 of the city's 16,000 news stands had closed.

A survey of Manhattan news dealers brought estimates of a 75 to 80 per cent decline in business during the first week of the strike. One news dealer estimated that about \$900 a week usually represented newspaper sales and only \$100 a week came from magazine sales.

A survey of four leading TV and radio rating services

showed that while television had not added any appreciable number of viewers, radio added thousands. It was found that many listeners—prospective Christmas shoppers who had no department store ads to read in newspapers—tuned in on radio to find what stores were offering.

Television ratings for regularly scheduled shows were little changed. Such programs are generally signed up for extended periods. There were no evidences of increased TV audiences.

One of the arresting discoveries made in the survey was the effect of the newspaper strike on city administration. The complex machinery of big city government was found to be slowed down without the spotlight of publicity.

Fewer public hearings were called, and smaller audiences attended. There was also a sharp drop in the number of official announcement and a virtual stoppage of delegations calling on Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

One seasoned observer remarked:

"You can tell there's a newspaper strike. Nobody made a speech in the City Council yesterday."

One of the few benefits resulting from the strike was felt by the city's Department of Sanitation. Trash collections, which normally run at an average of 12,500 tons daily, were 2,000 tons lighter. There was also a 25 per cent drop in litter basket collections.

"The city is considerably cleaner since the strike," a department spokesman said. "It takes only one newspaper blown by the wind to make an entire city block look dirty."

Some businesses and charities that depend heavily on newspaper advertising and publicity reported that their incomes had been cut 50 per cent and more. Two associations, whose members included 200 employment agencies and eleven individual agencies in Manhattan, said that the business of filling jobs had declined from 35 to 75 per cent since the strike began.

Some theatres reported long queues of customers, but others declared that depression days were back. The box-office manager of an off-Broadway theatre complained that the newspaper shutdown had "killed business." At Madison Square Garden drops in attendance at sports events ranged from 3 per cent to 25 per cent.

Vacation-seekers were apparently affected by the strike. Some travel agencies reported a 20 to 50 per cent drop in holiday bookings.

Funeral directors reported no change in business. But

without public notices in newspapers to announce deaths, there were 20 per cent fewer mourners.

The first and hardest hit by the strike, of course, were the newspapers themselves, and those who worked for them.

On Dec. 17, the day the Columbia survey was made, negotiations to end the strike had bogged down. The night before members of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union had shouted down a proposal that they vote again on the same publishers' offer they had rejected a week before.

The two sides met separately that day at the offices of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 30th Street and Ninth Avenue, but remained deadlocked.

At the *New York Times*, members of the production and distribution departments were laid off. Members of the other departments, though, were working even though no newspaper was being produced.

Half of the newspaper's local reporting staff had been assigned to the news desk of the *Times'* radio station, WQXR, writing and editing reports for greatly expanded news broadcasts.

These broadcasts also included taped recordings by *Times* correspondents from abroad.

The *Times* also was making plans—for the following day—to put its moving sign in Times Square in operation at 9 in the morning rather than 4:30 in the afternoon. The sign flashes, in lights circling the Times Tower, running news bulletins.

Another outgrowth of the strike was a tremendous increase in the number of telephone calls to newspapers in search of information.

Jules Geller, supervisor of the *Times* information office, estimated that incoming calls had increased at least "ten-fold" since the shutdown began. The inquiries generally, he said, were about plays, concerts, movies or the latest stock market news.

The flow of news into the *Times* continued much as it had before the strike. But Emanuel R. Freedman, foreign news editor, said correspondents had been ordered to "tighten their files a bit."

Staff members not doing special work for WQXR were preparing what were termed "catch-up pages"—single sheet editions of each day's news, consisting of a front page and a page two.

It was planned to issue and distribute these within a day after the newspaper resumed publication.

The New York *Herald Tribune* laid off many city staff members, according to Luke Carroll, news editor. But a flow of news from national and foreign correspondents was kept up, primarily for the paper's Paris edition and its

news service, which goes to sixty-six newspapers. A special radio and television service had been organized, serving fifteen outlets in the New York area.

This service supplied *Herald Tribune* news and columns to stations without charge—as a "public service," according to Arthur Hadley, who was in charge of it, and also "to keep our name before the public."

At the New York *Daily News*, all mechanical employes and 75 per cent of the editorial employes had been furloughed, according to Richard W. Clarke, the executive editor.

"Work is continuing on the Sunday magazine sections," Mr. Clarke said, "and a handful of writers are completing jobs previously assigned."

All the *News* promotions were feeling the absence of publicity. These included the Golden Gloves, Silver Skates and the Sally Joy Brown Fund.

As at the *Times*, incoming calls to the *News* Information Services had increased—100 per cent, according to Edward Brothers, who is in charge. He noted, however, that inquiries were declining as the strike continued.

At the New York *Mirror* all mechanical employes and most of the editorial staff was furloughed. Some editorial employes, however, were assisting radio station WINS, which broadcasts news from the *Mirror* offices. And others were maintaining teletypes and keeping files current.

A *Mirror* Christmas charity fund had considerably fewer contributions than last year.

The *Mirror* comics and other features were being read over the radio, and it was planned to run brief resumes to bring readers up to date when publication was resumed.

At the *World-Telegram and Sun* and the *Journal-American*, on the day the survey was made, about 80 per cent of the regular working force at each paper was on furlough.

Charles L. Gould, assistant publisher of the *Journal-American*, gave a categorical "No" to a rumor that the *Journal-American* and *Mirror* might merge because of the financial damage suffered during the strike.

He pointed out, however, that there was a considerable duplication of facilities between the two Hearst-owned publications, and that some of this might be eliminated after the strike.

At the *World-Telegram and Sun* only 20 or 30 of the normal 130-man staff was to be seen on the day of the survey. Lee B. Wood, executive editor, said that his men were still "keeping up with the news."

Reporters were manning "fixed posts" in the city and were continuing to call stories into the office, he said. And wire service reports were being received and processed.

At the New York *Post*, all but a skeleton force had been laid off at the start of the strike. Even James A. Wechsler,

the editor, took a furlough without pay. On the day of the survey only six persons were in the city room.

The strike tremendously increased the demand for the specialized newspapers and for weekly news magazines. These papers and magazines were quickly sold out wherever they were available.

For foreign correspondents the loss of newspapers was a major setback. Many of them depended on clipping the newspapers for news to send back to their home countries. They were forced to do the best they could by transcribing radio reports.

Both radio and television substantially increased their news coverage and crowded what extra advertising they could into limited air space. The biggest bonanza came for the radio stations, because most television time had been sold before the strike began.

Several full-scale investigations of municipal problems such as slum clearance, school construction and corruption in the Department of Welfare that had been the object of heavy newspaper attention prior to the strike slowed to a standstill in the absence of publicity.

School officials said the lack of daily newspapers was hurting New York's public education system.

"The absence of major local newspapers is a deplorable situation in which both teachers and students are suffering," George Lent, assistant administrative director for the Board of Education, said.

Mr. Lent emphasized that, in addition to the schools being prevented from using newspapers in their teaching programs, the strike had created other difficulties.

"The thing the Board of Education fears most is that an emergency will occur in which there will be a need for quick communication to the public," he said. "It would be very difficult without newspapers to notify students and parents that schools were closed because of sickness or weather."

"Both teachers and students depended on the *World-Telgram and Sun's* daily school page to keep informed on school news and policies," he said.

The greatest problem, in the opinion of most school officials, however, was the difficulty of conducting social studies classes without the aid of newspapers.

Mr. Lent estimated that 270,000 of the city's 300,000 secondary students in 213 junior and senior high schools make some use of the daily papers. Newspapers are also used to some extent in the elementary grades, he said.

"Both teachers and students are much less informed about what has been going on since the newspapers stopped publication," Mr. Lent said. "They are not completely in the dark, but there's no doubt that a knowledge of current events is an important part of our education."

Miss Helen R. Satterly, director of the school system's Bureau of Libraries, said: "It just makes you feel thwarted to be without a newspaper in school."

Spokesmen for the New York office of the U.S. Weather Bureau, the New York Telephone Co., and several private weather services all said that their telephone and radio business had not increased perceptibly.

Calls to the Weather Bureau's public information service remained at the pre-strike level of 800 to 1,000 a day.

"I wouldn't like a publisher to hear this," an employee at the Weather Bureau said, "but newspapers really aren't our most important avenue of distribution."

One news dealer, Harry Regamann, said sales of out-of-town newspapers were up ten-fold.

"It's tremendous," he said. "We're selling about 20,000 papers a day. Before the strike, we sold about 2,000 a day," he said.

Philadelphia and Boston papers increased their daily shipments to New York stands from five to ten times the normal supply, and the dealers had no trouble selling them.

"TV Guide sells out the first day it's on the stands," said Henry Garfinkel, president of the Union News Co.

Five hundred copies of *Life Magazine*, normally a sufficient supply for the entire week, were sold in eight hours at the Penn Station stand.

The biggest problem of news dealers still in operation was getting enough magazines to meet the demand.

Julius Baer, a Times Square news dealer, said he could sell five times the number of magazines he had "but we can't get a large quantity."

Kenneth L. Demarest, city editor of the Bergen *Evening Record*, Hackensack, N.J., said his paper was selling 6,000 more newspapers daily in New York City. The Port Chester, N.Y., *Daily Item* also reported a circulation increase.

Representatives of the Newark, N.J., *Evening News*, *Newsday* of Garden City, L. I., and the White Plains, N.Y., *Reporter-Dispatch* said they had not increased their shipments of newspapers to New York City. Both the White Plains and Port Chester papers altered their formats to carry more business and national news during the strike.

A survey of seven community and foreign language newspapers in New York City showed that circulation had doubled and advertising was up 25 to 50 per cent on some papers.

Two Spanish language papers, *El Diario* and *La Prensa*, added news pages in English as a substitute for the larger New York dailies. The *National Enquirer*, a Sunday weekly feature paper, came out with two special editions each week.

Stanley Ross, editor of *El Diario*, said the paper's circulation had jumped from 70,000 daily to about 150,000 during the strike. Advertising lineage increased 25 per cent to 30,000 lines a week, he said.

The weekly *Amsterdam News* doubled its circulation a week after the strike began, said James L. Hicks, executive editor.

*Variety*, newspaper of show business increased its circulation 30 to 40 per cent, said Eddie McCaffrey, circulation manager.

But few of the smaller papers wanted to continue filling the gap left by the Newspaper strike.

Restaurants, stock exchanges and transportation firms began issuing their own news summaries for their patrons.

Both the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange issued small newspapers to provide closing market prices to their members.

One-page news summaries containing closing prices of 25 leading stocks and even a synopsis of comic strips were distributed by transportation firms and restaurants.

The *Long Island Press*, one of the nine papers that were shut down, set up a news bulletin board at Pennsylvania Station, and news sheets were attached to 7,250 menus in Schrafft Restaurants throughout the city.

Harvard University students sent 10,000 copies of their newspapers, the *Crimson*, from Cambridge, Mass. to New York City, and New York University students converted their weekly newspaper, the *Square Journal* into a daily general news report.

The city's business, usually at its peak during the holiday season, slumped.

The lack of newspaper advertising as a sales stimulant cut into trade at department stores, specialty shops, automobile dealers, real estate firms, employment agencies, waste paper businesses, newspaper clipping services and many others.

The larger book stores reported sales were up, particularly in the paper backs. News magazines were selling as much as 40 per cent more in the city area. The specialized papers like the *Wall Street Journal* were so much in demand that people almost came to blows over their copies and one man, near the Columbia University area, ran several blocks to catch up with a delivery at his favorite newsstand.

One store executive conceded glumly, "Our ads carried us for a while but now we're really beginning to feel the full effects of the newspaper strike." A rival store, for publication, claimed business was good but an executive, when pressed, remarked, "We don't like to say so, but we're really hurt."

Some department stores adopted various expedients to make up for the loss of advertising.

John J. Woods, promotion consultant for the New York

Transit Authority, said three stores—S. Klein, Abraham & Straus and the Peerless Camera Company—had paid from \$500 to \$625 a sign to place from two to four advertisements in subway cars for one day. Klein's in particular caused a stir by putting up 30,000 advertising posters under their agreement with the subways.

Other stores relied on handbills, posters and other devices. One speculated on putting out a shopping news bulletin. At Stern's, a pretty girl sat in the window and chalked up specials on a bulletin board. One publicity man, anxious to keep his clients in the public eye, hired a sandwich board man and had him stalking up and down Madison Avenue carrying items that would have been offered normally to newspaper columnists.

William R. Sloan, secretary of the Fifth Avenue Association, said specialty shops and smaller stores had been hit hard by the strike. "The stores catering to the particular customer are the real losers," he asserted.

A spot check of auto show rooms in Manhattan and the Bronx showed drops in sales of from 5 to 70 per cent.

One real estate agent, who said his firm depended almost entirely on classified advertising to attract customers, estimated his business had dropped nearly 50 per cent.

One large brokerage firm, which deals with the small investors, reported a 15 per cent drop in its trading volume. An official remarked: "We are basically a service organization. If people can't follow the market, they do not buy."

The continued publication of the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Journal of Commerce* served to cushion the blow for such brokerage houses, however.

The book business was booming. One big store said the average daily sales during the Christmas season, in a normal year, were \$4,000—and this year they had jumped to \$13,000. This store's experience was confirmed by rivals, who weren't as ready to give out their own figures.

One funeral director said, "Because of the newspaper strike, families are finding it very difficult to notify friends of both the death and the services."

Nathan Levy, senior administrative assistant in the Office of the City Administrator, said some delay might result in the settlement of estates if the courts insisted on legal publication in one of the major newspapers.

Philip A. Donahue, chief clerk of the Surrogate Court, agreed that some delay in court litigation might occur if the strike continued for a long period of time.

Hugh Riker, an executive of the C. E. Hooper Agency, the only rating service concentrating exclusively on radio, said radio ratings had been going up steadily since the start of the strike.

"Radio is furnishing more news faster," he said. "I remember last July during the Lebanon incident. Because of the war scare then, more people turned to radio for

news. I'd say the ratings jumped almost 10 per cent."

This view was backed up by Alan Klein of Pulse, Inc. He said people were turning to radio as a means of finding what stores were offering for Christmas.

"Big department stores that ordinarily advertise in papers are turning to radio," he said. "These stores have a lot of goods on hand—big daily sales—specials. They've got to let the people know."

"Radio was the only medium left open. Mind, now, I said *was*. As of right now, you can't buy time. You have to get on the waiting list."

"A friend of mine is in radio, and he told me his business almost tripled since the strike."

Radio was said to have recorded the largest advertising increase, because most TV advertising time was sold out before the strike began.

WOR sales manager expected an 8 to 10 per cent increase in December advertising.

"The department stores were first to use the radio, but now the manufacturers are calling. We now have a diversified list of new accounts ranging from men's cosmetics to theatres and movies," he said.

WCBS-TV said that the station had received many calls, but it was able to accommodate only a few new advertisers.

"We've had a lot of business from movie openings. We've just signed for a four-day saturation program for 'Rally Round the Flag.'"

The box-office manager of an off-Broadway theater complained that the strike had "killed business."

At Madison Square Garden, where drops in attendance at different sports ranged from three to 25 per cent, a new promotional campaign was launched to supply spectators with information normally carried in newspapers.

Cultural centers like the Metropolitan Opera, Town Hall and Carnegie Hall reported business was as brisk as ever despite the absence of newspapers.

However, some travel agencies that rely heavily on newspaper advertising reported otherwise. In their case there was a 20 to 50 per cent drop in bookings.

Neighborhood movie houses carried on as usual, but one downtown movie theater was spending "thousands of dollars" on radio and television publicity for a new film to attract the crowds that otherwise would have been drawn by ads in newspapers.

In the theater district, established shows, like "My Fair Lady" and "Music Man," shrugged off the newspaper shutdown and were still playing to packed houses.

The ones handicapped the most were shows that opened after the papers suspended publication.

Bill Fields, press agent for "The Gazebo," which opened last Dec. 12 at the Lyceum Theater, said, "We probably spent twice as much for advertising (chiefly on radio and TV) as we would have if the papers had been printing."

Grahame Greene's "The Power and the Glory" that opened Dec. 10 at the Phoenix, suffered even more than "Gazebo."

Nat Parnes, manager of the Phoenix, said the producers would try to reach the public through radio and an expanded mailing list. He added that he expected to double his newspaper advertising when publication is resumed, "for the first few days anyway."

Archibald MacLeish's "J.B." was hailed by reviewers, with no place to print their reviews. The theatre rushed Brooks Atkinson's review and others to TV and radio stations. There were long lines at the box office.

In off-Broadway circles, the situation was much grimmer.

Peter Neufeld, box-office manager at the Sheridan Square Playhouse where "Time of the Cuckoo" is playing, said the newspaper situation had "killed business for us."

He recalled that "every Saturday night since we opened in October we've had a full house . . . but last Saturday we only played to half a house. Business had been rising steadily . . . and now it's declining just as steadily."

Even "The Three-Penny Opera," a firmly established show, reported a dip in profits because of the strike. "It's really hit us at our midweek performances," said Clifford Stevens, assistant to the producers.

At Madison Square Garden indoor polo matches lost an estimated three per cent of their spectators, while attendance at basketball games dropped 25 per cent.

But Maurice Savage, owner of the Garden Ice Skating Club near Madison Square Garden, said business was "okay."

Madison Square Garden seemed to be the sports establishment most concerned about continued cuts in attendance.

Fred Podesta, promotion and advertising director, put more information in programs at hockey and basketball games. He also issued fuller publicity releases to radio and television stations.

Podesta pointed out, however, that radio and television coverage and criticism, cannot take the place of newspaper reports. The general impression was that sports fans preferred stories to read.

This appeared to be equally true in the field of music.

Felix Salmaggi of the Long Island Opera Co., Inc., noted that many artists invested thousands of dollars in concerts just for the sake of the New York newspaper reviews.

## Herblock Nails 'Em Again

By Perry Morgan

HERBLOCK'S SPECIAL FOR TODAY, Simon and Schuster, 255 pp., \$3.95.

Herblock's best when caught in the act of pricking bureaucratic bubbleheads or unsettling the sanctimonious. There's no place like a newspaper fairly hot off the presses for displaying the work of a newspaper cartoonist. Every day's distance between the event and the cartoon that came out of it saps the cartoon of some of its flavor and sharpness.

But who wants to be a nitpicker? If the loss of immediacy is a problem for the reader of this book, it isn't much of a problem. For with a 30,000-word text Herblock does an excellent job of stage-setting for the 430 cartoons covering the behavior of politicians (mostly U. S.) at home, abroad and in the air during the last three years. Across from a cartoon of a deepfreeze stocked with "frozen attitudes, frozen platitudes and Foster's frost-ed, fruitless policies," Herblock remarks in text on a well known diplomat who "keeps going at a great clip and has frequently traveled tremendous distances to sit tight."

It all comes back, you see. The juices bubble, the tension rises, the page turns and ZOWIE! Herblock has nailed 'em again.

If this is a partisan reaction, the book is a 255-page parade of partisan reactions. But the only unfair thing about it is the publisher's blurb suggesting the book "will be relished by all connoisseurs of pointed words and pictures, whether or not they share the author's point of view." Come now, Messrs. Simon and Schuster. This is hardly the sort of surprise package sympathizers should send to members of the numerous and still growing band of Unhorsed Crusaders.

Herblock has been something less than enthusiastic about the conduct of the federal government these last few years. Sometimes in anger, always with sharp perception, he looks back on the neglect of education, the abuse of non-conformists, the disdain for intellectuals, the attacks on the Supreme Court, the mania for secrecy, the glorification of the Good Guys, and the varying success of several lobbies—oil, billboards and gas.

You have favorites among Herblock's

cartoons? They're here. The fatcat who wished to purchase a few jars of instant science; the caveman who says on seeing the flight of an arrow that it's a neat trick with no significance; the two DAR aghast at the sight of a globe for sale; the FBI chief who avers the Supreme Court "must . . . join all the forces for good in protecting society."

But one shouldn't sink too deeply and comfortably into an easy chair with this book. Herblock is deeply concerned with the follies of government and there is a great deal of pleasure in seeing the needle sink in. But he's also concerned with the indolence and complacency of the citizenry, and it could be that before you reach the last page you will begin to feel a few sharp pricks yourself.

Something should be said about Herblock's talent with a typewriter: that he writes almost as well as he draws should be praise enough for the nation's best cartoonist.

## Gerald Johnson's Bite

By Howard Simons

THE LINES ARE DRAWN. By Gerald W. Johnson. J. B. Lippincott Company. 224 pp. \$ .95.

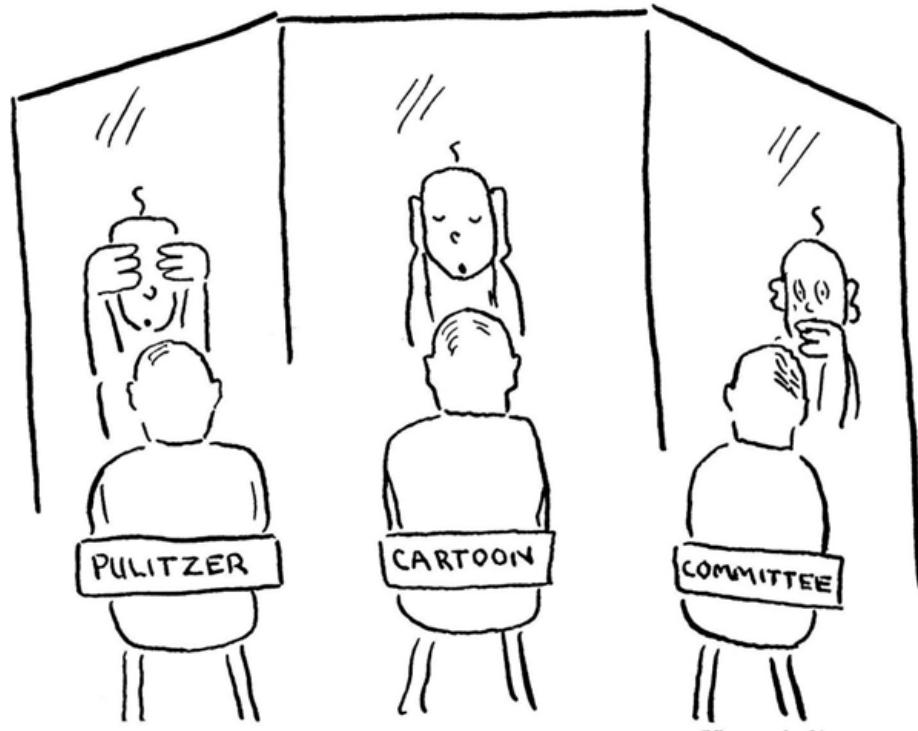
Gerald W. Johnson's newest book, *The Lines are Drawn*, is subtitled "American Life Since the First World War as Reflected in the Pulitzer Prize Cartoons." The subtitle is misleading. It should read "American Life Since the First World War as Reflected in the Mind of Gerald W. Johnson."

The book is really two books; one for the show and two for the money.

The "show" book contains full-page reproductions of the prize-winning cartoons; brief biographical sketches of the cartoonists under the heading "Digression on the Man;" and parenthetical references to why the cartoon was paradoxically both significant and not significant enough for its time.

The "money" book contains a series of masterful columns written by a wise man

## IT'S ALL DONE WITH MIRRORS



—Howard Simons

looking back on what were current events for him, and history for some of us. It is a short, incisive national biography with Mr. Johnson telling us where we have been, where we are, and where we are going.

What holds the two books together is Mr. Johnson's contention that the pen is mightier than the Pulitzer.

Mr. Johnson points out that the advisory committeemen that have selected the prize-winning cartoons have been reflectors and not refractors—they have mirrored public opinion in the United States, not bent it. This opinion has been (and is) the child of the upper-middleclass. Because it is dominant it precludes controversy and exudes conservatism.

"You will find, therefore," Mr. Johnson writes, "that the persons charged with the duty of selecting a cartoon that meets the high approval of the American people, have, practically without exception, chosen a noncontroversial one, and rarely one that pins guilt on an individual, except such individuals as Hitler and Stalin concerning whose sinfulness there is no controversy."

The result, as Mr. Johnson makes clear, is that there are no cartoons dealing with Ku Kluxism, Prohibition and any number of other vital issues.

Turning the pages and looking only at cartoons one cannot fail to agree with Mr. Johnson's contention.

But one questions whether the same arguments can be applied to the written words that have won the Pulitzer Prize? And if they don't, wherein lies the difference? Perhaps it is because the political cartoon is too far removed physically from the front page, both for the reader and the Pulitzer judges.

Most of the cartoons are dated and need the brief explanation Mr. Johnson gives to them. But the meat and potatoes of the book is what Mr. Johnson has to say on what the cartoon does not say. Taking the events of the times, year by year, he draws bold word strokes, shading in those areas that need it and forcing light on others.

He talks of war and peace, agriculture and labor, lynching and law, totalitarianism and economics.

The word pictures he draws to illustrate a point, a pet peeve, or a problem are

## Impact of Bill Lederer

According to a CBS broadcast, Nov. 25, the President was moved to appoint the Draper Committee to make an analysis of our foreign aid programs, by reading *The Ugly American* by Bill Lederer and Eugene Burdick.

masterful in context or out. I would like to illustrate with two random excerpts:

"As silicosis is the logical fate of the gold miner, and the bends that of the diver, so the politician may expect to end as a stuffed shirt. It is his occupational disease, and the most elaborate protective measures are no sure defense against it. The one injection that offers practically perfect immunity is humor but from the politician's standpoint that remedy is worse than the disease, because too stiff a dose will result in paralysis of the political function."

"The fact that the public, taken *en masse*, is iron-skulled means that many excellent ideas are woefully slow to penetrate; but it also means that innumerable idiocies bounce off. When one stops to consider that of the total number of new ideas propounded every day those that are idiotic vastly outnumber those that are sound, the impermeability of the human mind may not be its fatal defect, but its saving grace."

*The Lines are Drawn* is not written to bounce.

Let me have a brief digression on the man. Mr. Johnson has been a journalist for as many years as the Pulitzer committee has been selecting prize cartoons. For the lion's share of the years spanning the award he was a member of the team of Johnson, Owens, Mencken and Kent that emitted radiation from the Baltimore Sun-papers. It is clear from his book that Gerald W. Johnson is not bogged down in the upper-middle-class opinion morass. On the contrary, his writing and thinking are all he wants a political cartoon to be—humor, wit, morality, idealism and "trenchant comment on the contemporary situation, and if the situation is ugly . . . not filled with sweetness and light." You may not always agree with this gadfly but you can't help feeling his bite.

## Overseas Americans

By Daphne Whittam

THE UGLY AMERICAN, by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, W. W. Norton Co. N. Y. 285 pp. \$3.75

The authors of "The Ugly American" are men with a message and a compelling sense of the need to put this message across to the American people. This is perhaps the only justification for the fact that they have been chosen to use the lines of a caricature rather than a portrait in drawing their picture of Americans overseas, and have thrown together a book which can make no pretence to literary achievement. The authors themselves claim a stronger justification, that of truth, in their "factual epilogue" which asserts that they have witnessed a sufficient number of examples of serious inadequacy and incredible stupidity in the performance of American diplomats and technicians in South East Asia to refute any charge of "over-drawing."

As an "inside observer" I would say that there have been instances where American diplomats have been totally unable to adjust to the strange environment of Asia, and cases where a lamentable lack of sensitivity has repelled Asian people. But there have also been many American Foreign Service personnel who have striven to do an adequate, if unspectacular job. There are no Americans overseas who are as good as the "good" Americans in "The Ugly American," who are painted as knights in shining armor, nor as bad as the "bad" Americans, who are painted as ignorant oafs.

But the "message" of the book is that the United States must improve her representation abroad both diplomatically and in the field of technical assistance, and with this it is easy to agree. However, even in this respect, the authors appear to have been swept by their righteous indignation into making suggestions which do not seem feasible. They are demanding of all Foreign Service personnel a missionary zeal and a dedication to duty which would override considerations of personal comfort, health and even family ties. One specific suggestion which seems difficult of accomplishment is that all Foreign Service personnel and their dependents be taught the language of the coun-

tries to which they are assigned, on the assumption that it is possible to acquire a working knowledge of a foreign language in 12 weeks.

This does not mean that more practical measures in respect of selection and training should not and could not be adopted to improve the quality of the American Foreign Service. These would include less emphasis on political appointments to senior posts, the willingness to keep personnel for longer periods in particular countries, or at least areas, and the abandonment of the concept that diplomats lose objectivity as they become better informed about the countries to which they are assigned.

But even the adoption of such measures would hardly be sufficient without a reorientation of the attitude of Americans to-

wards their Foreign Service. Since Americans have a deep-rooted distrust of government in all its forms, the Foreign Service, like other branches of government, tends to be a low-prestige occupation, and hence probably attracts less talent, unlike the British Foreign Service, which has a long tradition of elite-selection behind it.

This accords ill with the heavy responsibilities which the United States is now being called upon to assume in the international field.

But however unwillingly America comes to the role of world leader, the role is inescapable and it is time that she began seriously to fit herself for it.

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Daphne Whittam, associate editor of *The Nation* in Rangoon, Burma is now in Cambridge as an associate Nieman Fellow.

## Fairbank on China

By T. V. Parasuram

**THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA:** new edition. By John King Fairbank, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 365 pp. \$5.50.

China is not an easy topic to discuss in the United States but Harvard historian John King Fairbank is eminently qualified for the task. Apart from his profound scholarship and intimate first-hand knowledge of China, he has a peculiar additional qualification—he has been “identified” by Louis Budenz as part of a “hard inner core” of an alleged pro-communist conspiracy, while in Peking he has been cited as an “imperialist spy” and “the number-one cultural secret-agent of American imperialism.” (He reminds us, in a footnote of these twin charges.)

Fairbanks calls in this book for an “unafraid appraisal of revolutionary China on a discriminating basis” and points out that “our problem in China is only the forefront of our problems in all of Asia. As a nation we must develop a new understanding and new policies towards the revolutionary process now at work among Asia’s peasant masses. The Asian half of mankind is entering upon an era of change which the West has precipitated but cannot control. To a large extent the crises and solutions which develop in China—concerning questions of population and food supply, of living standards

and democratic processes, of industrialization and nationalistic chauvinism, of the individual’s relation to government—are likely to be common, with variations, for all of Asia. Much of what this book says about China could be said also of Indo-China, Indonesia and India.”

Fairbank’s conclusion about the impact of population on Chinese politics is disconcerting to one who believes in the universal values of democracy and refuses to concede that democracy is all right for the settled communities of the West but possibly not for all the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. Fairbank argues that in the “crowded circumstances of Chinese politics”—within forty years the Chinese population is expected to touch the billion mark—“the potentialities of our type of individual freedom under law are limited. . . . Supposing that the Chinese Communist Party had not come to power, the rulers of China today, whoever they were, would confront the same general problem of numbers pressing upon substance, of dense masses to be mobilized. In their efforts to achieve industrialism and nationalism, their treatment of the individual in China would be very different from our way in America.”

China’s historical tradition and social institutions, he goes on, unfortunately lend considerable sanction to an evaluation

of the role of the individual in State and community which is different from that acceptable to the West. In old China, the law, sanctity of contract and free private enterprise never became a sacred trinity. Another historical factor reinforcing modern authoritarianism is the peculiarly passive attitude of non-officials toward government, the apparent irresponsibility of the individual citizen towards affairs of State. This passivity complements, and also conduces to, authoritarian government.

China’s acceptance of foreign faiths today is not without historical parallel. “In retrospect we can see the Buddhist age, roughly from the fourth to the ninth centuries A.D., when a foreign religion with a new system of values and institutions became dominant in Chinese life, is the chief prototype of the modern invasion of China by the West. What example does China’s experience of this foreign religion set before us? Neither Christianity nor Marxism form exact parallels. Yet China’s acceptance of foreign faiths today has overtones of the past.”

Similarly, Mao Tse-tung’s remolding of Chinese society—“his recruiting and indoctrinating an elite, setting it to organize the life of the peasantry, and using their labor and product for public works—is not as unprecedented in China as the Communists and some of their critics would have us believe,” as the more than two thousand miles of the great Wall attests.

There are also precedents in China for the Communist censorship. “The K’ang-hsi Emperor at the turn of the eighteenth century presided over the production of a famous dictionary and of a vast encyclopedia in 5020 chapters. His great successor, the Ch’ien-lung Emperor, sponsored an edition of the twenty-four dynastic histories and a collection of all Chinese literature in ‘The Complete Library of the Four Treasures.’ This compilation included 3462 works. . . . By means of this vast project the Manchu court in fact conducted a literary inquisition, one of their objects being to suppress all works that reflected on alien rulers. In searching out rare books and complete texts for inclusion in this master library, the compilers were able at the same time to search out all heterodox works which should be banned or destroyed. . . . The works proscribed included studies of military or frontier

affairs, criticisms anti-barbarian in tone, and chiefly items which extolled the preceding Chinese dynasty of the Ming. Altogether, some 2320 works were suppressed. This was thought control on the largest scale."

The author traces the Chinese revolution of today to the Taiping Rebellion of 1851-64, a full lifetime before Marxism entered China. The Taiping rebels were mainly peasants. They had never heard of the Communist Manifesto. Yet modern China's revolution is unintelligible without reference to the Taiping effort to destroy Confucianism, and to the reasons it failed. The Taiping movement lacked guidance in terms of a political doctrine and political organization. Its ideological inadequacy was not overcome by the attempt to use Protestant Christianity, for Christianity was too thin to take the place of Confucianism. Communism furnished a substitute ideology. Indeed, Peking today has a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist orthodoxy as vigorous as Confucianism used to be; an ideology which, moreover, believes in progress towards a future millennium, not in repetition descending from a golden age.

But Fairbank recognizes that one cannot carry parallels too far. "Values have changed as well as institutions. The K'ang-hsi Emperor never watched the calisthenics of ten thousand selected maidens wearing shorts, nor commended sons for denouncing their fathers. He did no physical jerks to the noon radio. His succession was provided for in the bedchamber where he begat 35 sons, and was fought out among them, within a family, not a party. K'ang-hsi wooed the scholars, who had nowhere else to turn, but they had only to criticize the classics textually, not themselves in every act and thought. He paid no honors to peasants who exceeded norms nor to the idea of progress or the dialectic...."

Chinese Communism, says Fairbank, derives its vigor from the clash of cultures, the century of revolutionary change from which it has emerged. The American attitude towards China during the century of the unequal treaties was consciously acquisitive but also benevolent, seeking to give as well as to get. "We have been proud of our record, indeed a bit patronizing towards the imperialist powers of lesser virtue. Inevitably, however, the Chinese experience of Sino-American re-

lations was different from the American experience. We found our contact with China adventurous, exhilarating, rewarding in material or spiritual terms. Americans who didn't like it could avoid it. China, on the other hand, found this contact forced upon her. It was a foreign invasion, humiliating, disruptive, and in the end catastrophic. There can be little doubt that the Western menace to the traditional Chinese way of life often seemed, in the nineteenth century, every bit as dire, as evil and ominous, as the totalitarian Nazi and Soviet threats have seemed for the American way in recent decades. The Chinese behind their polite exterior, did not fully share our national enthusiasm for Sino-American friendship."

Fairbank's inquest on China is peculiarly appropriate at the present moment against the background of the defeat of the "Senator for Formosa" in the Congressional elections—though on purely domestic issues like the 'right-to-work' law—and the publication of General Wedemeyer's memoirs. Fairbank's view is that the American capacity to influence the Chinese scene in the 1940's has been exaggerated. "I do not believe that a sub-continent of half a billion or more people, still largely imbedded in their own immemorial culture, inaccessible for the most part except by footpath or sampan, can be controlled from outside. It is noteworthy that the Chinese Communist Party, created expressly as a tool for foreign influence, followed the guidance of the Comintern in the 1920's only to disaster. It began its rise to power only after its alien creed had been adapted and Sinicized under Mao Tse-tung. . . . My answer to the imponderable question, Could we have saved China from Communism? is: not without an utterly different approach prior to 1944; not at all thereafter. By the time we began to try, it was already too late."

#### What of the future?

"Peking's collapse is always a possibility but at present we have little reason to think it probable. What we see in mainland China today is a new all-powerful bureaucracy coercing the populace but drawn from it for the purpose; a new elite urging on their labors, organizing their lives. This new totalitarian system has profound evils built into it but it has remained viable in Russia. A less and more

superficial autocracy proved viable under one Chinese dynasty after another. We cannot conclude that Chinese Communism's obvious evils are likely to be sufficient to destroy it. Clutching at this straw will not help us.

"In short, we have to face it.

"Once this psychological adjustment has been made, we can set to work to live in the same world with the new China. Intellectual recognition of its existence, however, does not necessarily mean diplomatic recognition, which is a matter of expediency, something to bargain over—preferably before our bargaining power declines. Realism about the mainland may bring realism about Taiwan, which cannot be one of 'two Chinas' but should be guaranteed independence as a separate state if the people there desire it, which seems likely to be the case."

Fairbank does not, however, explain how he hopes to make the Communists agree to the formula for Taiwanese independence. One goes back to his statement in the opening chapter of the book: "The fact is that the American people had no adequate solution for China's problems before 1949, nor have we now. The fact may be that there is no 'adequate' solution."

Altogether this book is invaluable to all serious students of the Chinese scene.

## TV's First Reader

TELEVISION NEWS REPORTING,  
CBS News. McGraw Hill Book Co.  
N. Y. 182 pp. \$5.75

Here is something really new under the sun—a manual on television news reporting by the people who are doing it. John Day, director of news, CBS, signs the foreword. John Osborn does the frantic illustrations that describe the tempo of the medium with frightening vividness. The book is credited to the CBS news staff. Its subtitle: A comprehensive and authoritative manual for all interested in the television medium for journalism.

This is pioneering, in putting down the history, methods, problems, policy, operations and philosophy of the top corps of television news men.

They are talking to anybody who can read—not a technical page in it—about their exciting trade. They keep you on

your toes, and your nerves taut with the pace of their work. But they patiently explain every step and tell you why and how they do it.

It is crammed with the most practical hints for the beginners: how to hold a script, what to do when a slip is made in a broadcast, how to use maps, captions, film clips. They tell you how to interview on television and offer expertse even on the sitting position of the newscaster. Walter Cronkhite's prescription: lean far enough forward to place your forearms on the desk, but do not put weight on your forearms or elbows.

They discuss very sensibly the difference between newspaper writing style and talking style. If this handbook could just persuade the legion of tv announcers who do the five minute news packages at 11 p.m. that "newspaper leads are out," the relief to viewers and the gain in sense would be worth all the energies CBS has put into this.

This is of course an indispensable text for any place trying to train television reporters or technicians. But to the viewer it is a revelation that he can't afford to miss any more than he can the latest three-hour spectacular on tv. The log of the hour-by-hour preparation of the Douglas Edwards news program, and the schedule of the second-by-second production of it make such starkly realistic definitions of the demands and limitations of television journalism as will stand your hair on end.

Louis M. Lyons

## Letter About Letters

To the Editor:

Thank you very much for sending along the extra copy of *Nieman Reports* with my letter to the *El Paso Times*. I was surprised the paper printed it.

So many people think it is beneath them to write letters to small-town publications, but that, to me, is beside the point. The volume of misinformation in small papers—a main source of news and opinion for millions—is beyond estimate. And these people vote, as well as the readers of the *New York Times*.

Phil Kerby, editor *Frontier Magazine*  
Los Angeles, California.

N I E M A N R E P O R T S

## Economic Pressures on the Press

To the Editor:

Insofar as the article in *Nieman Reports* by Mr. Leo Burnett on "The Challenge of Economic Pressures on Freedom of the Press" "deals with the degree to which the power of the purse influences editorial attitude and content of the press there seems little reason for taking exception to his interesting and constructive comments. But, whether in our affluent society the "competition for public attention and support" provides "the privilege of free choice" can be questioned.

Professor Galbraith in discussing the theory of social balance in "The Affluent Society" describes how current advertising of privately produced goods and services affects the public's independent choice between public and private goods and services. Thus, in our free enterprise economy the power of the purse through the media of mass communication affects a dependent rather than independent choice for more beer over more schools, more paper wrappers over more trash collections and more esteem for the engineer or promoter who develops a new unneeded gadget than for the public servant who develops a needed public service.

When Mr. Burnett says, "Obviously the media—press, radio and T.V.—are war-

dens, sentries and gatekeepers of public interest" does he mean "are" or "should be"? In saying "They have the over-riding responsibility of projecting the truth, whether it is beautiful, such as a new hospital, or brutal, such as a gang murder or a kidnapping," is there a euphoric implication concerning fulfillment of the responsibility? There is little doubt that news media bend news values in the direction of ignoring "a responsibility for influencing the tastes and self-interests of people to higher levels of intelligence and conduct." News broadcasts are intermingled with the misinformation of pressure advertising; not infrequently without change of voice indicating a shift from informative news to misleading promotion.

"Pressure," as Mr. Burnett says, "in this respect is an ugly word;" significantly ugly for us because the checks and balances that he describes as "completely natural and wholesome in a democratic system" are not so natural as to function wholesomely unless we give more thought to the imbalance in the competition for public attention and support than Mr. Burnett's article and our competitive society do.

Allan M. Butler, M.D.  
Harvard Medical School

## Hobson's Choice

The October issue of the *Nieman Reports* carried book notes by the editor, including one, all too meager, on Frank Freidel's fine book, "The Splendid Little War." I noted that this was the war of Teddy Roosevelt and Richard Harding Davis, of Stephen Crane and Lieut. Hobson "who gave us Hobson's choice."

This last egregious boner brought an anguished groan from a justice of the Supreme Court, who hasn't expressed as much pain from the assaults of Eastland and Jenner.

The editor's only defense was ignorance, plain ignorance. Only by consulting Bartlett's was he able to dispel the illusion of a life time, for he had grown up under the spell of Hobson's exploit in Cuba and never even imagined an earlier Hobson.

The legitimate Hobson's choice comes from a verse by Thomas Ward (1577-1639):

Where to elect there is but one  
'Tis Hobson's choice,—take that or  
none.

But this would still be blind, were it not for the footnote in Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, edition of 1951, page 126:

This refers to one of Steele's *Spectator Papers*, (No. 509, Oct. 14, 1712):

"Mr. Tobias Hobson, from whom we have the expression, . . . was a carrier . . . the first on this island who let hackney-horses. . . . When a man came for a horse, he was led into the stable, where there was great choice, but he obliged him to take the horse which stood next to the stable door; so that every customer was alike well served, and every horse ridden with the same justice. From whence it became a proverb, when what ought to be your election was forced upon you, to say Hobson's Choice."

Hobson, in brief, inaugurated the system by which metropolitan taxicab stands are still run.

L. M. L.

## Memo to a Bomber: The Children Didn't Sing Their Sabbath Songs

### MEMO TO A DYNAMITER

It was too dark at the time of the blast to see what it did to the inside of the Temple. This is what it did.

It buried the little sky-blue robes of the children's choir under glass and plaster dust. The white collars lay gray and torn in water from broken pipes.

It blew from the vestibule wall and buried a bronze plaque commemorating men of the congregation who were killed in the military service of the United States flag.

It shattered a little glass display case set up by the sisterhood of the congregation and spilled its contents onto the wet rubble. The contents lying there consisted of bathinette covers and fuzzy little baby bibs sewn by the women.

It toppled Menorahs from a broken shelf and left those symbolic candle holders lying bent and tarnished under wreckage.

It broke open a children's book case and tore a red-backed reader entitled "Jeremy's ABC Book."

A small record album on one damaged shelf was named, "Thank You, God."

In the water on the floor below the book case lay a picture book named "Davy Crockett."

There was to be a dance Sunday night in the blasted meeting room for seventh, eighth and ninth-grade children. They had put up some decorations. They had cut out round disks from colored paper and pinned them to the walls in the shape of records. They had labeled these little records with song names such as "Hula Hoop" and "Tears on My Pillow."

But they didn't hold the dance because chunks of the ceiling and pieces of the light fixture cluttered the floor they were going to dance on. A piano in the corner had plaster dust on it and all the windows were smashed. Fragments had scarred the walls as if a shell had burst, and some of the round disks clipped from colored paper were no longer in the right places.

Did you know The Temple did not begin as a religious congregation at all, but as a society which devoted itself, a century ago, to feeding and clothing and caring for released Confederate prisoners as they hobbled home from war?

Walking back across the small blue choir

robes in the debris and through a shattered door into the sanctuary, it would have been interesting to ascend behind the great golden Ark and read the page at which the prayer book was open when the dynamite exploded. You had to brush aside the plaster dust in order to read the words very well, but they said this:

"O God, may all created in Thine image recognize that they are brethren, so that, one in spirit and one in fellowship, they may be forever united before Thee."

This appeared in the Atlanta *Constitution* the day after the dynamiting of a Jewish temple in that city. It was written by Eugene Patterson, executive editor.

## What's in What Name?

Robert Frost, moving into the Library of Congress as consultant in poetry, asked to borrow four American paintings for his office walls. He described them as "Winslow Homer's 'Four Bells,' Andrew Wyeth's 'Sea Wind,' Thomas Eakin's painting of boatmen in the Schuylkill, and James Chapin's—that Negress of his, that girl singing."

Now, we admit that, next to musical compositions, paintings are perhaps the most unmemorably-named objects in art. A painter is prone to give one canvas some such name as "Girl with Hat," call another "Girl without Hat," and dismiss a third as simply "Girl," leaving it to the seeker after culture to determine whether with or without hat.

Accordingly, Mr. Frost rightly remembered only one in four of the titles of his most-loved paintings "Sea Wind" was really "Wind from the Sea," the Chapin picture is "Ruby Green Singing," and there are so many Eakin paintings of the Schuylkill that no one has been able to figure out yet exactly which of them is the one Mr. Frost wants.

Poetry, we are sorry to say, is not always so much more pumpkins than music or painting when it comes to the memorable title. It should be much more so—there ought to be a touch of the poet in the title

which would make it unforgettable—but also, it is not necessarily thus. In fact we are just waiting for some artist to list his four favorite Frost poems as "Mending Wall," "Flower Tufts," a fellow stopping in a forest somewhere, and that New Englander of his—that chap talking."

St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* October, 1958

## West of Smith County

Draw a line down the center of the 48 states and then look at your map. Ask yourself what the leading newspaper is in the Western half of the nation, west of Smith county, Kansas.

This is a game we play with editors as we travel around the country. A few years ago you would get an argument on the question, but today most informed journalist will agree that the *Denver Post* is the West's greatest paper.

The *Post* doesn't have the biggest circulation in the 1,500,000-square-mile area. It doesn't print the most pages or contain the most advertising. But these are not the criteria of quality.

What the *Post* has done is to assemble a large group of men and women dedicated to the communications profession. Skilled technicians, they also have the understanding of the importance of journalism to a democracy. In Russia, they would be only tools of the propaganda machine; in America, their talents are essential.

Heart of any newspaper is the editorial page. The *Post* each day, with an exceptionally competent staff, brings to its thinking readers a fund of information and explanatory material that cannot be matched anywhere in the West. Because of the money expended on the editorial page by men who enter upon their tasks without preconceived notions, the *Denver Post* has in a very real sense become the voice of this region.

Colorado is fortunate, too, in many of its smaller newspapers. Put them all together and you achieve an important result—an alert citizenry that knows more about Quemoy and Lebanon than the people living 100 miles away.

Littleton (Colo.) *Independent* October 24, 1958.

## Freedom of Press Has Limitations

It is always something of a jolt to be reminded that no basic freedom is so basic as to be absolute and unlimited. Nonetheless this fact has been recognized by even the most dedicated of libertarians. Justice Holmes put it in concise form when he remarked that even the right of free speech does not entitle one to cry "Fire" in a crowded theater.

Two days ago the Supreme Court dealt with another aspect of this difficult question when it declined to set aside a criminal contempt of court conviction against Marie Torre, a radio and television columnist for the New York *Herald Tribune*. In effect, the justices thus upheld the opinion of a lower court that freedom of the press does not give newspapers an unlimited right to refuse to reveal the sources of confidential information, even though this is a right near and dear to the hearts of most publishers and editors.

As it happens, the facts of the Torre case are as trivial as the issue is important. Miss Torre had quoted an unidentified Columbia Broadcasting System official as stating that singer Judy Garland was "unable to make up her mind about anything" and was "terribly fat." Miss Garland subsequently filed a breach of contract and libel suit against CBS. At a pre-trial hearing, Miss Torre refused to identify the CBS official, and U. S. Judge Sylvester J. Ryan sentenced her to ten

days in jail for contempt. In the wake of this week's Supreme Court action, she must now identify the official or serve her sentence.

Although many newspapers will doubtless bridle at this limitation on the supposed sanctity of news sources, the conviction seems to us reasonable. We have never bought the notion that persons who make defamatory statements have any unqualified right to remain unidentified. As a matter of fair play, reporters should be extremely wary about using such anonymous statements and newspapers should be more careful than many of them are about printing them.

In the Torre case, moreover, there is an even more important objection to the refusal to identify a confidential source. Identification of the CBS executive quoted by Miss Torre was essential to Miss Garland's case against the network. Thus Miss Torre's right to silence conflicted directly with Miss Garland's unquestioned right to justice.

When two rights conflict, one must yield. In this instance the lower court held that there was "a paramount public interest in the fair administration of justice." This seems to us a fair appraisal, and one which can hardly be pictured as an assault on the citadels of a free press.

*Berkshire Eagle*, Dec. 11.

## Need for Laws on Newspaper Confidence

Since so many newspaper writers and editors always have regarded as confidential the source of information provided to readers, and since they feel that proper news presentation might be seriously hampered if such confidences must be violated, it becomes likely that new efforts will be made in the State Legislature for the adoption of a Newspaper Confidence Law.

Only about a dozen states have such a confidence law but, as cases from time to time indicate the need is substantial.

In every state newspapermen traditionally and ethically have guarded the confidential sources of information as a matter of historic principle. While laws

protect physicians, lawyers and clergymen from betraying those who have trusted them, no similar protection is given to those who provide the news—a mainstay of our democratic form of living.

The situation is shoved once more into the foreground by the fact that the United States Supreme Court this week refused to review a contempt of court conviction of Miss Marie Torre, TV and radio writer for the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Miss Torre was under a ten-day sentence for refusing to divulge the source of news item she wrote about the actress, Judy Garland. She invoked the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

Federal Judge Sylvester J. Ryan, who imposed sentence, expressed sympathy with her position but he ruled as a matter of law her position "has no legal support," and he pointed out that U. S. Supreme Court had never ruled on this "substantial question of law."

The newest Supreme Court Justice, Potter Stewart, who did not take part in the latest decision, had written the opinion of the U. S. Court of Appeals about three months ago, in which he conceded that freedom of the press is basic to a free society, but he added that "basic, too, are courts of justice, armed with the power to discover truth," and he said tersely: "The concept that it is the duty of a witness to testify in a court of law has roots as deep as does the guarantee of a free press."

In the U. S. Congress, measures have been introduced from time to time to give federal legislative backing to newspapermen in the protection of their confidential sources. No such bill has yet been adopted.

In New York State, the Law Revision Commission has considered the reporter's privilege. This very year—as in some previous years—a measure was introduced to protect newspaper confidence, but it died in committee.

The conflict continues. In California a reporter was put in jail for contempt for protecting a source; in Alabama a Federal District Judge upheld the constitutionality of that state's confidence law.

There are good reasons why some legislators have qualms about a confidence law—principally because of the cloak of protection it might give to gossip columnists. On the other hand, there stands the rock-ribbed First Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of the press, safeguarding freedom of information. If anyone can dry up the sources of information by handicapping the press in its printing the news that citizens need, that citizens must have if they are to protect their freedoms, then we may be in trouble.

That is why it is especially proper for the State Legislature and for the Congress to take another look—a close and more understanding look—at the need for a reasonable Newspaper Confidence Law.

*Yonkers Herald-Statesman*, Dec. 11.

## The Heart and Mind of Mr. Dulles

By Fred Warner Neal

In these days when the Soviet Union seems to be making propaganda hay at our expense, a word should be said, perhaps for our beleaguered Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles.

It is, indeed, these valued and all-too-rare qualities that propel Mr. Dulles into tenuous positions—and the rest of us with him, willy-nilly—and keep him there when nearly all but him have fled. And Mr. Dulles, one of the keenest lawyers who ever trod Wall Street and skilled in the lore of formal diplomacy, surely knows it.

One may not, of course, gainsay Mr. Dulles' proven capacity for saying the wrong things at the wrong time to the wrong people. But basically it is not any awkwardness on Mr. Dulles' part that has enabled the astute men in the Kremlin to put the United States in a position that baffles many to whom it does not appear downright villainous. It is rather that, in order to serve what he deeply believes are the best interests of both his country and the world, Mr. Dulles has been forced to take stands which are, at best, contradictory and which can therefore so easily be made to appear evil.

For one who dotes on what he considers his international reputation, and whose devotion to moral standards is complete, it is no small sacrifice to be thus so misunderstood.

The simple fact is this: Mr. Dulles believes with the depth and tenacity of religious faith that the Soviet Union is not only immoral and unscrupulous but also is deadly dangerous to the United States and to the free world. He is profoundly convinced that the U.S.S.R. stands ready to launch military aggression against us at the first opportunity. And he is completely persuaded that Moscow is currently seeking negotiations with only one end in view—to weaken the military strength of the West and trick it into a position where it cannot defend itself.

This being the case, the fact is that Mr. Dulles does not want negotiations with the

Russians—as in 1955—he wants to do it under conditions which make substantive agreement impossible. In his opinion, both the security of the United States and the peace of the world depend on it.

Now Mr. Dulles feels he cannot say this. He realizes that a large part of the world does not in fact hold his views about the thorough evil and absolute military danger of the Russians. He realizes that the temper of the world is such that he cannot explain this and cannot frankly state his opposition to negotiations and to agreements.

So Mr. Dulles must maneuver. He must parry the Soviet thrusts. There is obviously a lot of propaganda in the Soviet demands. It is a question just how sincerely the Kremlin wants real negotiations right now: But Mr. Dulles obviously feels that it is too great a risk to take them up on it. When the Russians persist after Mr. Dulles passes off their notes as just propaganda," he must then confront them with demands unlikely to be met. When they meet some of these, he must then cook up some more.

Above all, he must avoid negotiations. Or, of a President, naively desirous of peace and necessarily wary of his political positions, negotiations must be arranged so as to prevent substantive agreements.

Naturally Mr. Dulles knew the Russians would not under any circumstances meet those terms.

Here, however, Mr. Dulles' stand was so patently unsound that he was forced to renege on it, possibly at President Eisenhower's insistence. Very well, then, he said, let's negotiate, but, of course, we must negotiate also about Communist domination of Eastern Europe. There has not been a year since the end of the war that the Russians have not flatly refused to discuss this matter, their most firm refusal being in 1955, when Mr. Dulles tried to have it discussed at Geneva. And nobody knows better than Mr. Dulles that they will not discuss it at all, anywhere.

Nor does Mr. Dulles want to have any

negotiations that might curb our nuclear armaments. When the Russians some months ago wanted to talk about control of nuclear weapons and an end to bomb testing, Mr. Dulles' reason for refusal was that these were separate issues and to be dealt with separately. Now, however, when the Russians want to talk just about bomb testing, Mr. Dulles, insistent that the Kremlin cannot be trusted and wary of their possible superiority in rocketry, must assert the precise opposite of what he asserted earlier, namely, that an end to bomb testing and weapons control must be discussed together.

Meanwhile, the embattled and misunderstood Secretary is urging "the utmost haste" in putting into effect a new scheme. His is the plan of giving nuclear-missile bases to our European allies, including West Germany. "Utmost haste" is necessary, in Mr. Dulles' view, because if the plan is carried out, then any agreement on German unification, to say nothing of control of nuclear-weapons production, may be virtually impossible, which, remember, is what Mr. Dulles wants.

It may be that in all this Mr. Dulles, as sincere and courageous as he is, is too devious for his own good. Many in the United States who are not baffled by what seems to be ineptness would applaud if Mr. Dulles would state forthrightly his opposition to negotiating with the Russians on the grounds that they are a military menace only seeking to trick us. To say this would hurt us with our allies or with the neutrals is not a valid objection because what Mr. Dulles is doing is hurting us anyway.

The ironic thing is that Mr. Dulles' views and even his tactics are not original with him. He learned them working for Harry Truman and Dean Acheson. If many think these views are right, many others never cease to hope that a Republican administration will ultimately come up with some views of its own.

President Eisenhower has termed Mr. Dulles "the greatest statesman in the world." History alone will record whether this estimate is valid. But if the President should ever decide to negotiate seriously with the Russians for a real agreement, it is unlikely that Mr. Dulles, for all his

sterling qualities, is quite the man to handle the job.

To make such a decision, the President would have to reverse Mr. Dulles on two basic questions: 1—Is there any reason to believe the Russians really want an agreement? And, 2—What is the alternative to not negotiating?

Thus when, in 1953, the Kremlin began to advocate a summit meeting to take up certain specific problems, including Germany, Mr. Dulles demurred. "No good" could come of it at that time, he replied. In the meantime, he worked frantically to create a situation which would inhibit agreement. His plan was the European Defense Community, and when the French refused to go along, Mr. Dulles was so angry he almost lost control of himself. He could see the rising tide of opinion for negotiations, and he was haunted by the specter of an agreement which might neutralize Germany, in which case NATO would be useless. Only when the Paris agreement of 1954 offered a way out, by taking an armed and sovereign West Germany into NATO, did he feel it was safe to "negotiate."

Even then, however, Mr. Dulles insisted that there be no agenda for the 1955 Geneva meeting, no substantive agreement. And, of course, there was no agenda and no substantive agreement.

Mr. Dulles does not want to negotiate with the Russians about German unification now any more than he did then. An agreement would likely result in a withdrawal of American troops, and without them, NATO, after all these years, is still mostly a paper organization. Inevitably, in the Secretary's opinion, the West would be doomed by Soviet aggression. But Mr. Dulles, for other reasons, had been preaching unification.

To side-step talking about it, Mr. Dulles was forced to claim what everybody—himself included—knew was not so, that the Russians had violated the 1955 Geneva agreement—from which he himself had banned specific agreements—by refusing to hold free elections in Germany. No negotiations, he declared, until the Soviets showed their good faith by unifying Germany on our terms.

—Los Angeles Times.

## Journalistic History

Keene (N. H.) *Sentinel* November 22, 1958

Since the era of yellow journalism mercifully ended at about the turn of the century, it's doubtful if there has been a situation in the newspaper field anywhere in the country comparable to that which presently exists in New Hampshire.

Back in the wild and wooly period a half-century ago, a self respecting editor or publisher would no sooner put out an edition without blasting his competitor than he would hire a graduate of a journalism school.

But the newspaper business, like others, has grown up. While newspapermen—especially those from the "old school"—still like to gather at the hangouts and swap stories about the art of stealing portraits off pianos, and recall the city editor who could drink a fifth of whisky a day, they have matured.

Although some of the basic principles remain unchanged, the objectives—the reasons for a newspaper's existence—are far different. Fortunately, they're far more constructive, and more in the public interest now than they were.

In this generation most men no longer acquire a newspaper for the sole purpose of raising hell.

The one predominant objective of today's newspapers is to inform—to give the public all the local, state, national, and world news that can be gathered by the available manpower, and crammed into the available space.

That is the initial assignment. But that does not mean that a responsible, aggressive newspaper should not maintain a constructive editorial policy.

In New Hampshire in recent years, and more particularly in recent months, history has been made in the newspaper field.

The whole issue of the alleged "feud" between William Loeb and his Manchester newspapers on the one hand, and most of the state's other dailies (plus several important weeklies on the other hand,) has become highly confused and distorted.

The problem—and it is definitely a problem for conscientious newspapermen who want all the people to have all the facts, so they can make up their own minds as to the right or wrong of it—results from two specific factors:

1) New Hampshire's geography, and 2) the reluctance of good newspapermen to engage in Loeb's free-for-all type of journalism.

There are nine daily newspapers in the state, plus Loeb's *Sunday News*. Loeb's Manchester *Union Leader* is the only morning paper. It's also the largest paper in the state and the only one that can possibly achieve statewide circulation.

The other papers are all afternoon papers. But more significant than edition time is the fact that the other papers are widely scattered geographically, their circulation areas are limited, and the circulation of none of them comes even close to that of the morning paper.

In Cheshire County a reader may see the morning paper and the Keene *Sentinel*; in Rockingham County a reader may see the morning paper and the *Portsmouth Herald*; in Grafton County a reader may see the morning paper and the *Lebanon Valley News*; in Sullivan County a reader may see the morning paper and the *Claremont Eagle*; in Belknap County he may see the morning paper and the *Laconia Evening Citizen*.

That's the general picture, and that's the heart of the problem. Taking the recent gubernatorial campaign as an example, each of those five newspapers opposed Republican Wesley Powell and supported Democrat Bernard Boutin.

The Loeb-Powell camp tried to attribute these papers' opposition to Powell

merely to their dislike for Loeb personally or to his newspapers. They sought to create the impression that this was just "part of a newspaper feud." They went further, with charges that the papers backing Boutin really wanted to "censor" Loeb, deny him freedom of editorial expression, and otherwise restrict his exercise of privileges they themselves enjoyed.

This last point is so asinine it requires no further comment except to point out that in general (and specifically as far as the *Sentinel* is concerned) the state's newspapers have often defended Loeb's freedom of editorial-page expression, even when they shuddered with embarrassment at the way he used it; e.g., "that stinking hypocrite in the White House," "Dopey Dwight," and "Sherm the Worm."

But back to the history that is being made. Why are most of the other state papers "against" Loeb? Why is he "against" them?

It's admittedly an understatement to say that this is an unusual situation. It is unusual because newspapers normally battle about everything, but they don't usually fight among themselves, except in a situation where two papers in one city are fighting for the top spot. Even then, they bend over backwards to keep it clean.

What, then, is at the bottom of the battle between Loeb on one side and so many other papers on the other? One thing is certain: The fight is not over any sort of political, social, or economic issues. It's doubtful if Loeb cares two hoots about the position of the rest of the press on issues of this kind. Certainly they don't care about his.

But they do care about the kind of newspapering Loeb does. They feel strongly that he repeatedly violates principles of journalism which they cherish; they believe the methods he uses bring disrepute to the profession as a whole, especially in New Hampshire.

They speak out against the use of techniques practiced by demagogues since time began—the art of dealing in half-truths, generalities, unsubstantiated charges, and pure fiction so colossal it cannot be combatted through the normal processes of reasonable judgment; the ability to look a man straight in the eye and accuse him of something he didn't do, but which you yourself are doing at that very moment; the art of calling several people together and saying, "Someone here is a thief," and then never identifying the thief; the art of planting suspicion, doubt, and confusion in the minds of as many people as possible, while promoting some individual or "cause" that the people would not accept if it were presented on a factual, unemotional basis.

There is one weakness in this tricky technique, however; and it is this weakness that has always been, and will continue to be, the Achilles heel of those who practice it.

It assumes that those exposed to it are stupid, and that they will believe almost any sort of nonsense if it is repeated often enough, in big, black letters.

But fortunately people are not stupid, even though they often are reluctant and slow to speak. Because so many newspapermen in New Hampshire have faith in the people of the areas they serve, they do not hesitate to speak out, even as what you are reading is outspoken.

This is the origin of the "newspaper feud" in New Hampshire. And because several newspapers in a state rarely line up in a united front against one of their "colleagues," the unpleasant duty to speak out in this specific manner is seldom imposed on an American newspaperman. That is why some journalistic history is being made in New Hampshire.

KENNETH F. ZWICKER

## Nieman Notes

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1941

In December the Honolulu *Advertiser* appointed George Chaplin managing editor. He was editor of the New Orleans *Item* until its purchase by the *Times-Picayune*.

1946

Mr. and Mrs. John Robling (Charlotte Fitzhenry) were co-chairman of the New Canaan (Conn.) Democratic campaign. The Democrats swept the State clean.

1948

Miss Ann Ewing, of Science Service in Washington, D. C., and Justin G. McCarthy were married on Thanksgiving Day. Their address: 6016 Nineteenth Street North, Arlington, Va.

1949

The New York *Times* shifted Walter Waggoner from the Hague to London in October. He reports "London a hot bed of Nieman Fellowship," including Bob Manning of *Time*, Murrey Marder of the *Washington Post*, and Donald Gonzales, then on a temporary Air Force mission.

1949

Grady Clay, real estate and building editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, spoke at the annual meeting of the National Association of Real Estate Boards in San Francisco in November.

He urged that newspapers criticize local architecture, public works and real estate developments as they do plays and books.

"The physical changes taking place in our cities are not getting enough detailed, constant, well-informed criticism. I am suggesting that it is to the advantage of both the real estate and the publishing business to encourage a more critical examination of new products being offered on the market; a more detailed appraisal of new 'projects,' whether they be sponsored by public or private funds."

1956

The Portland, Oregon, branch of the English Speaking Union has awarded its first \$1,000 traveling fellowship to Donald

J. Sterling, assistant city editor of the *Oregon Journal*. Don will have four months in the British Isles and hopes to spend the time among several newspapers and in writing pieces on education, religion, government and politics. He will start in February.

#### 1957

Gov-elect Pat Brown of California named Hale Champion, political writer on the San Francisco *Chronicle*, his press secretary.

**Anthony Lewis**, New York *Times'* Washington Bureau, won the New York State Bar Association's annual press award for two series that ran in the *Times* in 1957. One covered the legal aspects of the Little Rock integration dispute; the other dealt with the legal aspects of the Governmental Agencies inquiry.

On November 20, Lewis was guest lecturer at the Harvard Law School in an address sponsored by the law students bar association. He discussed the Supreme Court and its critics.

Lloyd Marshall wrote a report on the impact of television on the press in America, upon his return to Perth, Australia, which his paper, the Perth *Daily News*, has put into book form to circulate in their own organization.

The passport case of Afro-American correspondent William Worthy was the subject of debate at the Yale Law School Moot Court of Appeals, Nov. 10.

John Cornwell has moved from the New Zealand *Herald*, where he was agricultural editor, to become editor of the weekly *New Zealand Farmer*.

#### 1958

Juan Saez returned to the Manila *Times* on August 10 after a two-month tour of Western and Central Europe and parts of the Middle East and Asia. In writing about his fellowship year, he says: "If I struck it rich, I'd go back to Harvard to continue my studies even if I had to start as a freshman."

Piyal Wickramasinghe wrote a series on his impressions of American life for his paper, the Ceylon *Times*, and has put before the Minister of Education the idea of having Ceylon journalists at the University of Ceylon, along the lines of the Nieman Fellowships. He writes: "The Ceylon Journalists Association is interested in it and I think it will be reality very soon."

#### 1959

A daughter, Anna, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Howard Simons on December 14; weight, 6 lbs., 11 oz.

#### New Zealand Niemans

The Nieman Fellows in Auckland, David Lawson, Ross Sayers and John Cornwell, have arranged a Nieman dinner for Dean Erwin Griswold of the Harvard Law School, when he visits New Zealand in February.

#### Postscripts:

**Harold Liston** (1957), recently city editor of the Bloomington *Pantagraph*, has joined the AP in Chicago.

**Irving Dilliard** (1939), of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* editorial page, is the first non-academic member of the senate of Phi Beta Kappa, elected at their last meeting.

**Leon Svirsky** (1946), managing editor of *Scientific American* since its start, has become editor of Basic Books, which will try to do in books what the magazine does in articles.

**John Obert** (1957), is now the editor

of the *Park Region Echo*, Alexandria, Minn. He was formerly city editor.

**William B. Dickinson** (1940) became managing editor of the Philadelphia *Bulletin* at the end of the year.

#### The Press and the People

On December 19 a new television program called "The Press and the People" had its first showing on some 40 educational television stations, and several others. It is produced at WGBH in Boston by a grant from the Fund for the Republic. It is to run weekly for 13 weeks, with Louis M. Lyons (1939) as moderator.

The Jan. 8 program has Edwin A. Lahey (1939) and Clark Mollenhoff (1950) as guests. Harry Montgomery (1941) is scheduled on a later program.

#### Our Reviewers:

Reviews in this issue are by the following Nieman Fellows of this year: Perry Morgan, editorial page editor, *Charlotte News*; Howard Simons, managing editor, *Science Service*; T. V. Parasuram, chief parliamentary correspondent, Press Trust of India; Daphne Whittam, associate editor, *The Nation*, Rangoon.