

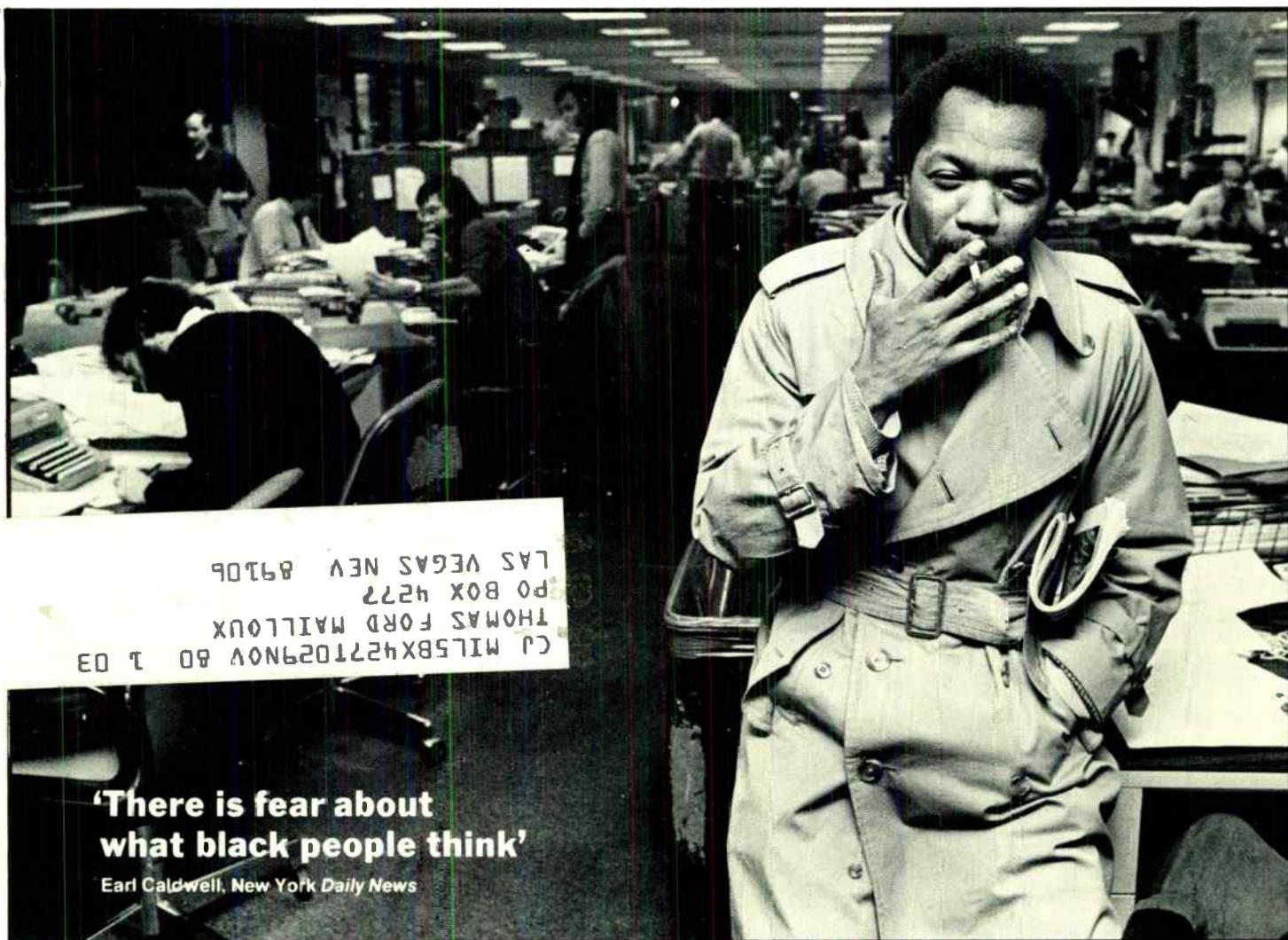
Robert Lekachman: what's wrong with inflation coverage

Roger Morris: race war in Rhodesia ■ Chris Welles: those business prizes

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

MARCH/APRIL 1979 • \$2.00
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**'There is fear about
what black people think'**

Earl Caldwell, *New York Daily News*

MINORITIES: STILL LOOKING FOR A PLACE IN THE NEWSROOM

by **NICK KOTZ**

The thought is from Samuel Johnson. The interpretation by Corita Kent of Immaculate Heart College.

"The future is purchased by the present."

Myopia may be the universal problem of the 1970's. As we grapple with the day's pressing problems, our view of the future is blurred and obscured.

Yet the future threatens. Energy and ecology, unemployment and inflation, health and housing, war and peace. Even as we debate such issues, we exhaust the means to solve them. We burn our oil, deplete our lands, endanger our health, all to get us through the day. Inevitably, the situation grows more urgent.

This urgency emphasizes the need for broadcasting to focus on problems distorted by our unwillingness to look at them directly. But it can do more. Broadcasting can use its powerful voice to take us beyond the issues of today, by informing, suggesting, arousing. By promoting change with a healthy diversity of new ideas and values. By acting as agent of both preservation and progress. By serving as the community's electronic prod.

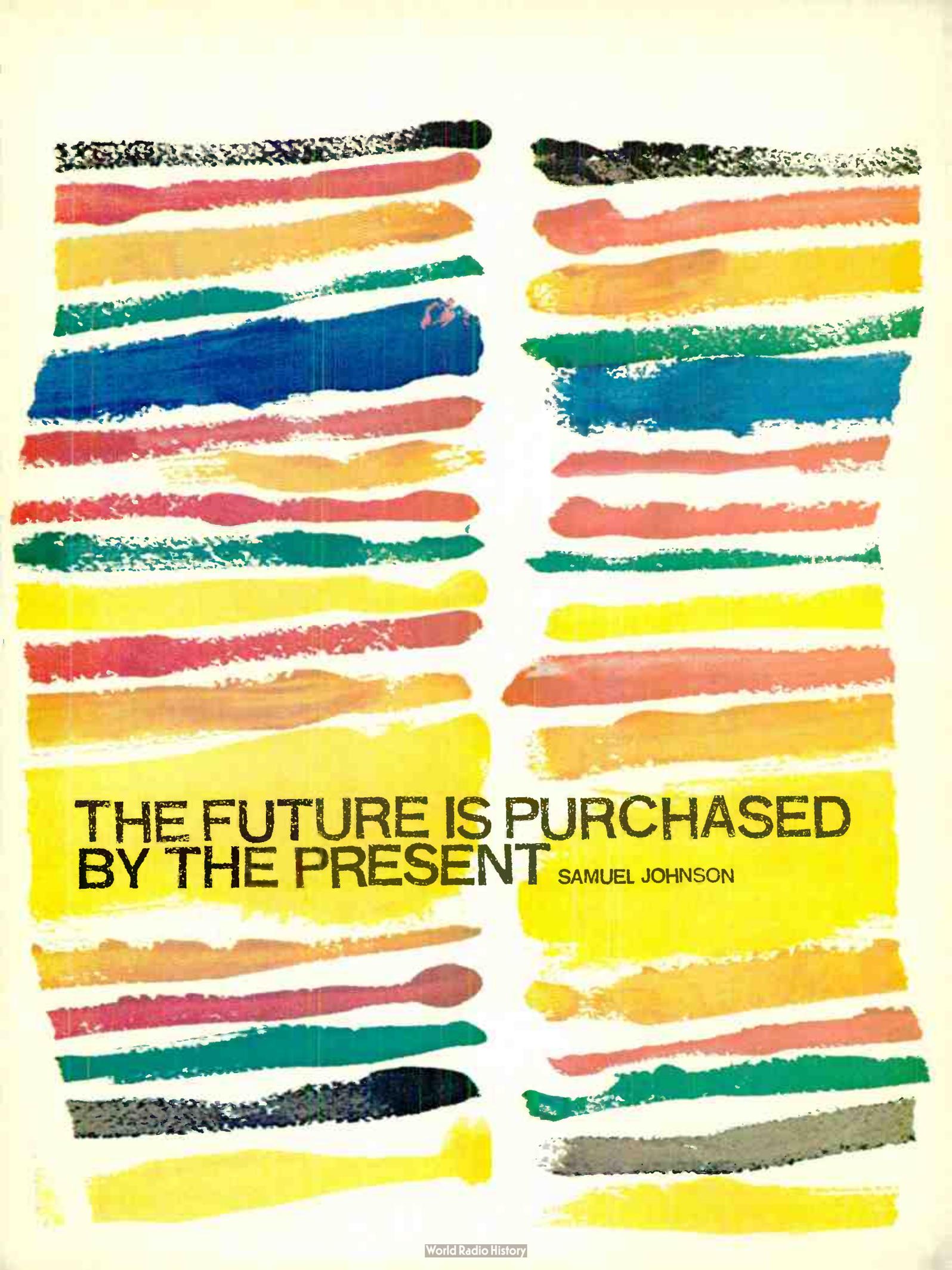
Tomorrow must not be allowed to just happen. It must be planned, fashioned, and molded today. Broadcasting can contribute to this essential process.

It will be too late to purchase tomorrow, tomorrow.



BOSTON WBZ - WBZ-TV
NEW YORK WINS
PHILADELPHIA KYW - KYW-TV
BALTIMORE WJZ-TV
PITTSBURGH KDKA - KDKA-TV
FORT WAYNE WOWO
CHICAGO WIND
SAN FRANCISCO KPX
LOS ANGELES KFVB

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**THE FUTURE IS PURCHASED
BY THE PRESENT**

SAMUEL JOHNSON



It's never been easy to predict the energy of the future.

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Doing more with energy.

To learn more about what we're doing with energy, write Dept. F, Continental Oil Company, Stamford, Conn. 06904.

CONTENTS

“To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent”

—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

ARTICLES

- The minority struggle for a place in the newsroom** *by Nick Kotz* **23**
A report on a decade of change—and resistance to change
- Reporting the race war in Rhodesia** *by Roger Morris* **32**
Empathy for the victims is selective
- Playing inflation down the middle** *by Robert Lekachman* **35**
Coverage of Carter's economic program pitted orthodox economics against the merely conventional
- Business journalism's glittering prizes** *by Chris Welles* **43**
Why are these corporations so good to us?
- Reporters, keep out!** *by David M. Rubin* **47**
More and more news sites are being declared off limits
- Up to date in Kansas City** *by George Kennedy* **59**
The *Star* and *Times* adjust to their new owners

DEPARTMENTS

- | | | |
|---|-----------|--|
| Chronicle | 5 | <i>Paul</i> , reviewed by Robert MacKenzie; Edwin Diamond's <i>Good News, Bad News</i> , reviewed by Ralph Whitehead, Jr.; Kevin McAuliffe's <i>The Great American Newspaper</i> , reviewed by R. C. Smith |
| At issue | 13 | |
| Austin C. Wehrwein on the National News Council's decision about newspapers' funding of an anti-casino campaign | | |
| Publisher's notes | 16 | |
| Comment | 18 | |
| Books | 53 | |
| <i>Safire's Political Dictionary</i> , reviewed by Penn Kimball; Ralph Schoenstein's <i>Citizen</i> | | |
| Unfinished business | 64 | |
| Reports | 78 | |
| The lower case | 81 | |

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“Our liberty depends on freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.”

Thomas Jefferson

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CHRONICLE

INNOVATIONS

A bite of the apple

The Gannett Company, which owns nearly eighty newspapers, has not operated in the largest cities. But when a strike closed the three major New York City dailies on August 9, 1978, the Gannett Westchester Newspapers, a subgroup situated in the county just north of the city, decided to attempt an incursion into the metropolitan morning field. What began as a combined early-bird edition of Gannett's eight Westchester afternoon dailies soon was converted into *Today*, a morning newspaper. Long before the strike ended, the publisher announced that *Today* would continue. Its price was cut from twenty cents to ten, its promotional material boasted of the

latest closing (3 a.m.) in the region, and it soon claimed sales of 50,000, five days a week, not only in Westchester but also in the upper reaches of New York City.

Is *Today* a worthy competitor? As it has shaped up early in 1979, it is a substantial package for a dime, presented with the order and competence that are associated with Gannett publications. The issue of January 4 had sixty-eight pages, divided into four sections and subdivided into news categories. The news selection is sensible and unsensational, and the design is neither too new nor too old.

That said, it must be added that *Today* smacks of journalism on the cheap. Only two bylines, and three stories, of dozens in the issue of January 4, are written by the staff of the paper itself. A handful more, especially in the sports pages, are supplied by the Westchester group or the Gannett News Service. But the paper is largely a showcase for The Associated Press, which is the source not only for most of the coverage from the rest of New York State but even stories from adjacent New York City. There is nothing particularly wrong with A.P. copy, but used to such excess it means that *Today* hardly has a character of its own but is largely an exercise in assembly. The message of such a skimpy editorial product is that *Today's* creators and sponsors have not committed themselves seriously to challenge New York's dominant morning newspapers, the *Times* and the *Daily News*. J.B.

rial follows the usual track: fashion (turn last year's dress into seven new outfits with seven new belts); food (citrus fruits are a rich source of vitamin C, and you may prefer them in juice form); health (before undergoing sterilization, discuss it with your doctor and your husband). Lots of charts—on skin, make-up, wardrobe, exercise. A pretty spread on dance, a report on menstrual cycles, tips

Today: a big package for a dime

Freezing temperatures hit U.S. see page A3

Dow Jones up 5.97 <small>see page C2</small>	Rangers stun Canadians, 6-2 <small>see page D1</small>	9th-ranked Kentucky upset <small>see page D1</small>	Rockets shoot down the Nets <small>see page D1</small>
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TODAY 10¢

Thursday's latest news
What missing after crash

US says he'll quit — again
Carter says he will resign if he is not re-elected

Bronx senator named
Democrat wins seat

TA plays name game?
Takes on role

Nobbery victim dies
Woman killed

Weather
Snow in North

TODAY

Cemetery strike canceled

UNION LEADER
CANCELS STRIKE

Carry votes austerity, tax cutbacks

Cambodia: Viet attack thwarted



Self: lack of focus

on diet, travel, money, career. Quizzes. News "to be a better you" (avoid dating on Wednesdays, lest he arrive fresh from watching *Charlie's Angels* and you won't look so good). An assortment of inspirational set pieces: a father's fond recollections about the birth of his baby girl; a mother's fond musings about her relationship with her teenage daughter; a young man's fond anticipations about marriage to a woman who works. A little something, in other words, for just about anyone. Is this lack of authentic, focused identity perhaps deliberate?—an editorial submergence, as it were, beneath the shallow waters of a reflecting pool at which undisturbed readers may safely gaze? Such a course could prove a bit risky, for chances are that, contrary to popular legend, Narcissus was simply bored to death. G.C.

continued

A word to smokers

(about nonsmokers and anti-smokers)

In the expressive jargon of jazz, a lot of folks are "into" segregation these days—for smokers.

If you've ridden any planes lately, you've found yourself banished to the back of them, last to be served, last to leave.

Here on the ground there's a sudden sprouting of "No Smoking" signs. And if, by mistake, you happen to light up in the wrong place, you get a sharp reminder, annoyed frown or cold shoulder.

When that happens, it's easy to get the feeling you're being picked on, and made to feel like a social outcast.

But there's another side to this.

In Seattle some time ago, two restaurants tried segregation—an area for nonsmokers.

After a month, one had served 9,389 meals in the smoking side, and only 21 in the nonsmoker side. In the other, of 17,421 customers, only 23 asked to be segregated from the smokers.

The point is that most nonsmokers think smokers are O.K. and they like to be around us—when the choice is left up to them.

So take heart.

That doesn't mean that the tiny minority of *anti*-smokers are going to go away. They won't. Some of them have very sensible reasons for objecting. Smoke bothers them. And a discourteous smoker bothers them as much as he bothers us smokers. And then there are people, perfectly rational about everything else, who turn kind of paranoid when a smoker approaches.

We don't know what to do about these anti-smokers any more than you do—except to treat them all with the courtesy and kindness we deserve from them.

It works with our friends, the nonsmokers; it may also work with the anti-smokers.

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Freedom of choice
is the best choice.



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Accelerator

The editors of *Decade: The Magazine of Contemporary Arts and Culture* view ours as an age of acceleration, when the tempo of the arts shifts by the tens of years, rather than hundreds. Yet *Decade*, which began publishing monthly with a premier issue late in 1978, has a rather leisurely, sedate appearance, and a fussy format that divides the arts into roughly a dozen segments, with painting, theater, and dance leading the list. The premier issue contained thirteen handsome color pages, led by a cover adorned with Claes Oldenburg's *Study for Steel and Lead Ashtray* (1976). In its first two issues, *Decade* had but one advertisement, and the masthead showed a change of advertising directors between issues. The editor and publisher is Steven G. Barkus, a young Bostonian, and editorial offices are at 11 Beacon Street, Boston 02108. Price: \$1.95 a copy; \$23.40 for a year's worth.

WORKING

Waltzing with oblivion

Time Inc., which got itself into the newspaper business early in 1978 with its purchase of *The Washington Star*, revealed as 1979 approached a peculiarly effective way to deal with the *Star*'s unions—that is, by threatening to pick up its cards and go home to New York.

This latest crisis in the troubled recent history of the evening *Star*, which has slipped far behind the morning *Post* in the last two decades, developed rather suddenly. As recently as September 26, Murray J. Gart, the new editor installed by Time Inc., announced the creation of five localized daily editions of the paper and plans to expand the staff gradually. But on October 23, the *Star* asked eleven unions at the paper to reopen existing contracts, although they had months left to run. The unions consented and entered negotiations.

On November 22, the publisher, George Hoyt, abruptly stepped up the pressure. He reported to the unions that

A word to nonsmokers

(about smokers)

A great jazz musician once said of his art, "If you don't understand it, I can't explain it."

That's the way it is with smoking.

If you've never smoked, it just looks puzzling—the whole ritual of lighting, puffing. What's the point?

There's really no way to explain it.

We've all heard from the people who think the 60 million American smokers ought to be, like you, nonsmokers. But even those people know there's something going on that smokers like.

Maybe that's the key to the whole tobacco thing from the beginning. It's a small ritual that welcomes strangers, provides companionship in solitude, fills "empty" time, marks the significance of certain occasions and expresses personal style.

For some people. And by personal choice, not for you. That's the way it ought to be. Whether your preference is carrot juice or bottled water, beach buggies or foreign cars, tobacco smoking or chewing gum or none of the above. Personal style.

What we're saying is that, like jazz or chamber music, some people like it and some don't.

And most of you nonsmokers understand that. It would be a dull world if everybody liked the same things.

The trouble is that some people (*anti-smokers*, as distinguished from *nonsmokers*) don't like those who march to the sound of the different drummer, and want to harass smokers and, if possible, to separate them from your company in just about everything.

And the further trouble is that even the tolerant *nonsmokers*, and that's most of you, are honestly annoyed by the occasional sniff of tobacco smoke that's a little too pervasive.

It annoys us smokers equally.

But it would be a shame if we allowed a tiny handful of intolerant anti-smokers, and a small group of discourteous smokers, to break up the enjoyable harmony we find in each other's personal style.

Maybe if we ignore them both, they'll go away and leave the rest of us to go on playing together.

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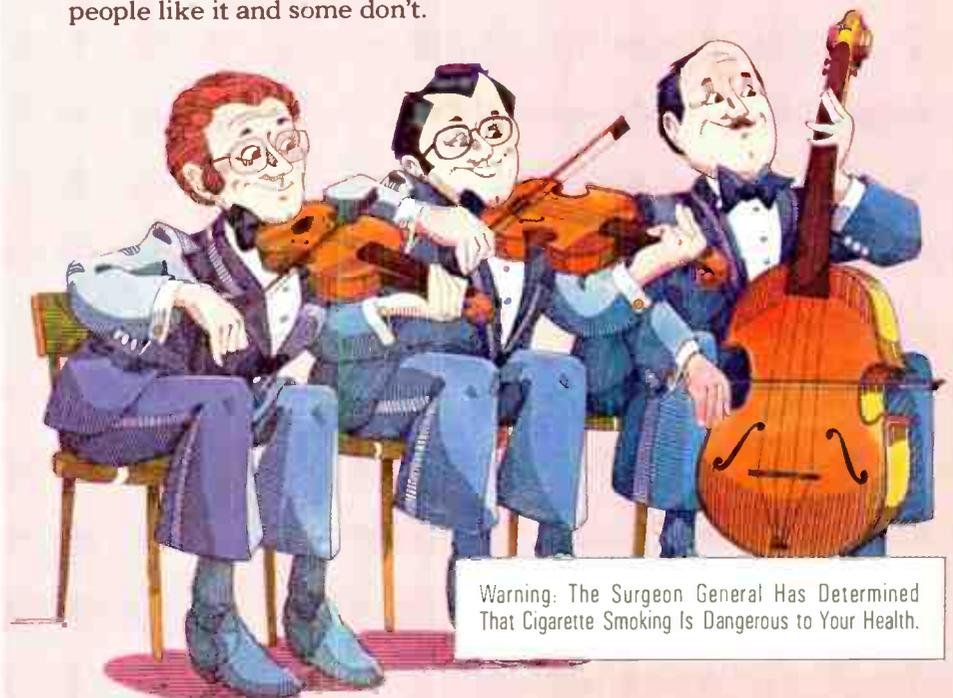
Freedom of choice
is the best choice.

the corporation's directors were willing to put \$60 million into the newspaper over the next five years—if new five-year contracts were negotiated and ratified by December 31. Otherwise, he said, the *Star* would close for good on January 1. "Time doesn't invest very long in losers," he said, according to *Guild Forum*, publication of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild. The *Star* unit of the Guild passed a resolution on November 25 declaring its outrage at such tactics, but as December wore on it became increasingly clear that management was prepared to abandon the *Star* rather than face losses it estimated might amount to \$16 million in 1979.

By December 30, nine of the eleven unions, including the Guild, had agreed to new contracts. Only the pressmen and the Columbia Typographical Union remained. The latter went to court in the last week of the year to urge a federal judge to forbid the *Star* to go out of business, on the ground that existing contracts obligated it to continue. District Judge Charles R. Richey issued a preliminary injunction on December 31 but stayed its effect while negotiations continued; management responded by preparing to file a petition for bankruptcy.

This final move may have jarred the holdout unions into believing. The pressmen, after rejecting an agreement, settled on the evening of December 31. With extreme reluctance, the typographical union accepted terms that required resignation, with terminal pay of \$40,000 a head, of eighty of 175 printers at the paper, with further reductions during the life of the contract. Tentative agreement was reached before midnight, but the *Star* nonetheless canceled its January 1 editions and did not definitely commit itself to resume until 8 p.m. on January 1.

Time Inc. had won what it wanted from the unions, but the question of the *Star*'s future appeared far from settled. If the new owners had been willing to abandon their capital venture after only eight months, what guarantee was there that they would now make a serious effort to save the *Star*? The well-being of Time Inc. was not at stake, but rather the



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The New England forests today are not only being maintained, they're actually expanding.

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forests, along with those of the rest of America, have not been producing as much wood each year as they could. And in view of increasing pressures on our forests, this is a matter of concern to all of us. The government says domestic demand for wood and paper products will double by the year 2020. And other demands on the forests are rising too — for recreation, wildlife habitat, watersheds.

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For more information write: American Forest Institute, P.O. Box 873, Springfield, VA 22150.

**Commercial forest is forest capable of, and potentially available for, growing trees for harvest.*



American Forest Institute

These two white pine slices are shown about 85 percent of actual size. Both are 13 years old. The difference is the small one grew in a crowded thicket, while the large one grew in a managed forest where it had plenty of room.



future of competitive journalism in Washington.

St. Louis: a familiar story

On November 20, 1978, pressmen at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* struck the paper, thus closing not only the *Post-Dispatch* but also the city's separately owned morning paper, the *Newhouse Globe-Democrat*, which is produced by contract at *Post-Dispatch* facilities. After slight hesitation, the ten other unions at the *Post-Dispatch* supported the strike, and the members of the one union active at the *Globe-Democrat*, the Newspaper Guild, were laid off. St. Louis thereby became the latest American city to learn how to do without its newspapers, as the shutdown stretched through the rest of 1978 and into 1979. Within a week, the interim press appeared: the short-lived *News* published by the Just-Your-Type Printing Company of St. Louis; the *Times*, published by Charles Klotzer, publisher of the *St. Louis Journalism Review* and the magazine *Focus Midwest*; and the *Daily Press*, offered by a road-show publisher who moves from strike to strike. The *Post-Dispatch* suffered the embarrassment on December 12 of observing in silence the centennial of its founding by Joseph Pulitzer. A day later, the pressmen reached an agreement, but three other unions were on strike by that time. It took well into January to get the stragglers—paper handlers, dock hands, drivers—signed up. The siege ended at last, after fifty-five days, with resumption by the *Post-Dispatch* on January 14 and by the *Globe-Democrat* the next morning.

BUSINESS

Divorced at last

It was not an alliance made in heaven. In 1974, the *Anchorage Daily News* entered a joint operating agreement with Alaska's largest daily, the *Anchorage Times*, the first such new agreement approved under the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970. Through the agreement, the *News's* business, production, and distribution operations were placed in the hands of a newspaper that was its opposite in most respects. Where the *News* was small and struggling (as it had been from the time it was brought by Lawrence and Katherine Fanning in 1967), the *Times* was prosperous; where the *News* was crusading, the *Times* was establishmentarian; where the *News* had a

liberal outsider, the widowed Katherine Fanning, at its head, the *Times* was run by Robert Atwood, a conservative and an insider in Alaskan politics. Even under the agreement, the *News* continued to lose money, and by the end of 1976 (the same year it won the Pulitzer Prize for public service) it came close to shutting down, despite aid from the Bristol Bay Native Corporation, an organization set up under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

By February 1977, the *News* was ready to go to court to break its agreement with the *Times*, which, it charged, had mismanaged *News* circulation and advertising, and to seek \$16.5 million in damages. The *Times* denied the charges and insisted that it wanted the *News* to stay in business. The *Times* eventually filed a countersuit for \$1.5 million alleging fraud and breach of contract; in July 1977 it also notified the *News* that it would terminate the joint operation on November 30, 1977—whereupon the *News* went to court to keep it from doing so before the *News's* accusations were heard.

Not until June 1978 did the situation begin to clear, with the ruling of arbitrators that the *Times* had overbilled the *News* for its services but, on the other hand, had tried to make the joint operation work. Finally, in October 1978, the two newspapers reached an out-of-court settlement that favored the *News* to the extent of calling on the *Times* to pay \$750,000 and cancel its claim of a debt of \$319,000. The agreement also called for the end of the joint operating agreement on March 31, 1979, a date far enough in the future for the *News* to re-establish its own facilities. Both sides claimed an edge—Fanning because the package totaled more than a million dollars, Atwood because, he claimed, the settlement was cheaper than the possible costs of future litigation.

Even before the termination date came word, on January 18, that the *News* had found backing for rebuilding itself, via a sale of an 80 percent interest to the McClatchy Newspapers, publishers of the California *Bee* papers in Sacramento, Fresno, and Modesto. No price was disclosed.

Getting out of cross-ownership

In December, the Newhouse Broadcasting Corporation announced that it was selling its five television stations, all in cities where the Newhouse group publishes newspapers. "We decided to sell

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these stations," the company announced, "primarily as a result of federal regulatory policies in opposition to ownership of newspapers and television stations in the same communities." The purchaser of the five stations—WSYR-TV in Syracuse; WSYE-TV in Elmira (New York); WTPA-TV in Harrisburg; WAPI-TV in Birmingham, Alabama; and KTVI in St. Louis—was the Times-Mirror Company, which publishes the *Los Angeles Times* and holds variegated other properties. The price was \$82.4 million. With the acquisition, Times-Mirror holds five VHF and two UHF television stations, the maximum permitted under federal rules.

Just another transaction

As a consequence of its planned merger with Combined Communications ("Chronicle," July/August 1978), the Gannett Company needed to get rid of one television station to comply with the FCC limit. It chose WHEC-TV, a VHF station in Gannett's corporate hometown, Rochester, New York. It found a buyer (for \$27 million) in Broadcast Enterprises Network Inc., of Philadelphia, a radio group headed by Ragan Henry, who said, "To me, the television deal is just another transaction." But he conceded that it meant something more, because, under his company's management, WHEC-TV would become the first black-owned VHF station of the 755 in the United States.

Change of pace

The Hearst Corporation, once rampant in the growing cities of the United States, acquired only one newspaper—the Albany (New York) *Knickerbocker News*—between 1929 and 1978. In December, it announced expansion in a new direction, into the field of smaller cities, with the purchase in Texas of the *Midland Reporter-Telegram* (circulation 21,000) and the *Plainview Daily Herald* (10,000), both owned by the local Allison family. The prices were not disclosed.

New umbrella

In These Times, the national independent socialist weekly published out of Chicago since 1976, announced in December that it had become affiliated with—"a project of"—the Institute for Policy Studies, the think tank of the left in Washington. *ITT*, as it calls itself, announced that it would retain editorial autonomy but expected to benefit from ac-

cess to the institute's Washington resources. Editorial offices remain at 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622.

Indissoluble

The dissolution plan announced by Cowles Communications early in 1978 ("Chronicle," March/April 1978) was abandoned in November, in part because the Internal Revenue Service refused to make an advance ruling on the tax consequences of the transaction and in part because Cowles is involved in a long-running license-renewal proceeding at WESH-TV in Daytona Beach, Florida.

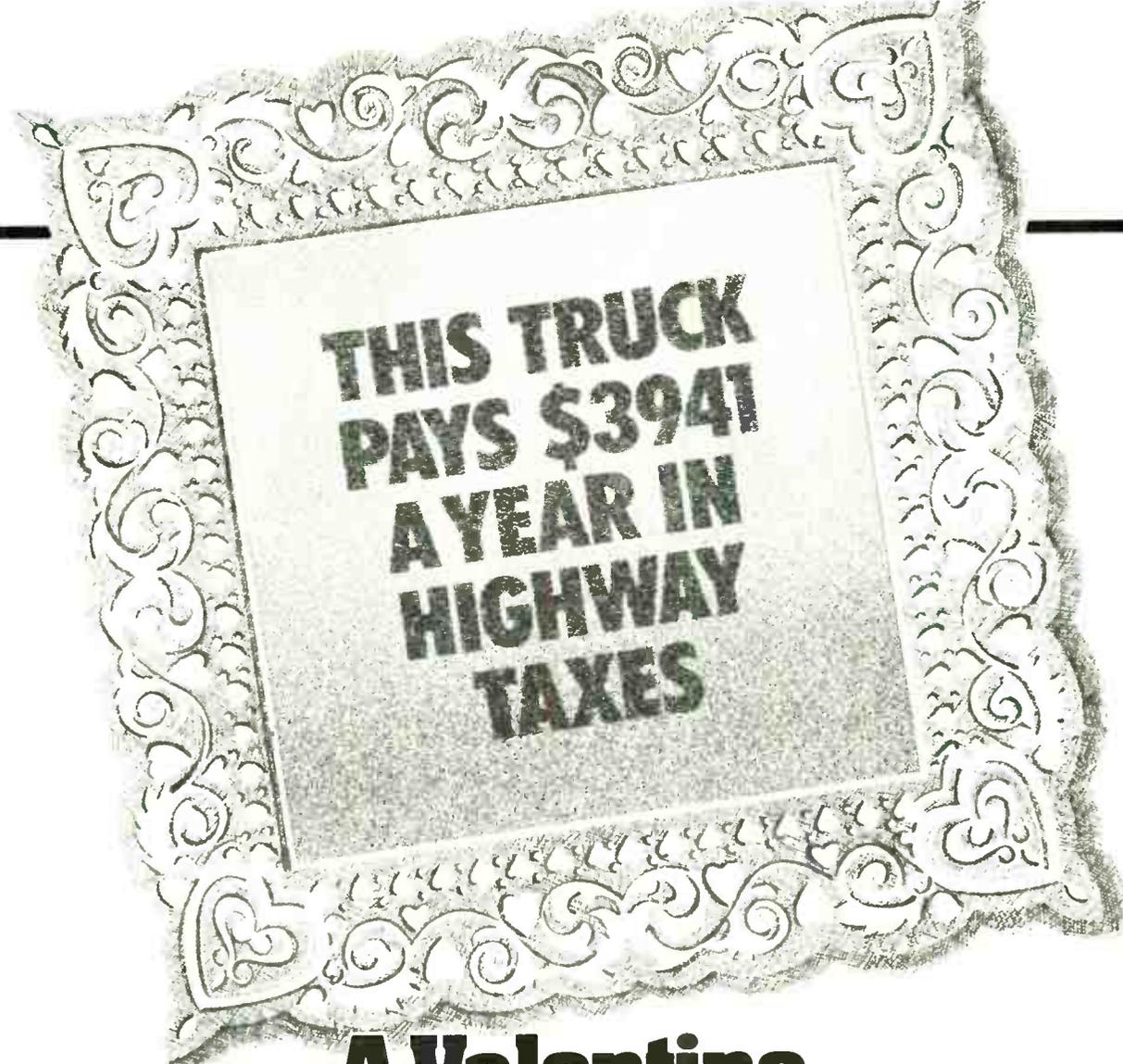
ORGANIZATIONS

League of cities

The prospering city magazines banded together in Washington on November 15 and created the City and Regional Magazine Association, open to any person or concern publishing a city or regional general magazine with audited circulation. The original signers-up were twenty-two companies owning twenty-four magazines. CRMA, as it immediately called itself, will be devoted, like other trade associations, to the prosperity of its members. The first president (and treasurer) is Larry Adler, publisher of *The Washingtonian*. CRMA has a temporary office at 2033 M Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Ganging up

A counterpart of Investigative Reporters and Editors, the two-year-old U.S. organization, has been taking shape in Canada. The Center for Investigative Journalism (*Le centre pour le journalisme d'enquête*), with an initial membership of a hundred or so editors and reporters largely from Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, held its founding convention in Montreal in January. The announced goals of the organization were communication among investigative reporters, support for the credibility of investigative reporting, provision of legal advice to journalists, and possible funding for investigative projects, along the lines of Washington's Fund for Investigative Journalism, with which the *Centre* plans to work informally. Contacts: Jock Ferguson, 18 Park Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M4E 1B6; or Jean-Claude Leclerc, 211 rue du Saint-Sacrement, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y 1X8.



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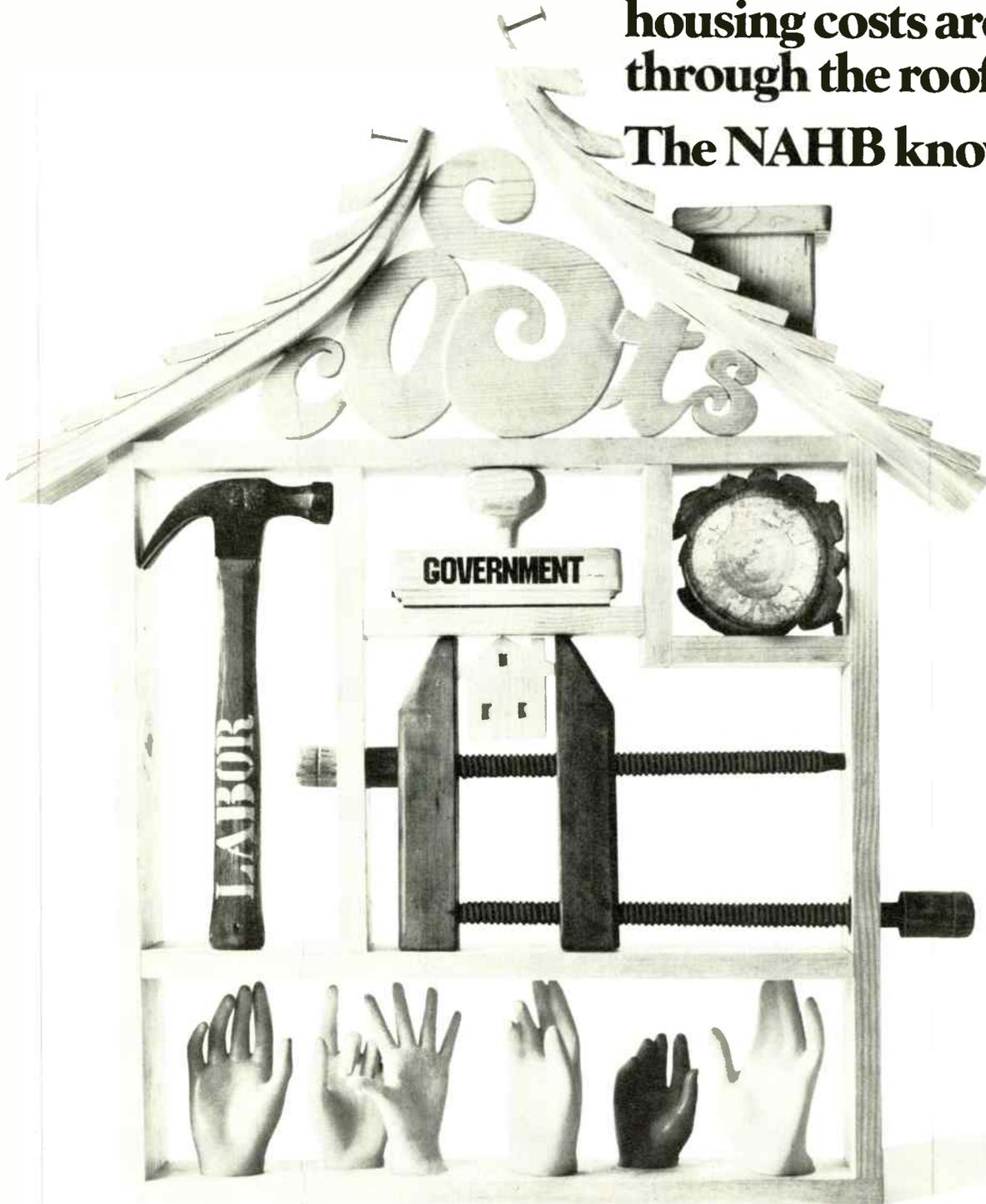


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AT ISSUE

A News Council cop-out?

The “National News Council Report” in this issue carries the text (p. 73) of the council’s action on a complaint about Florida newspapers’ contributions to a successful anti-casino referendum campaign. The comment below, presenting the dissent of a friendly observer, appeared in *The Minneapolis Star* of December 13, 1978, shortly after the council had met in Minneapolis.

Last week during the National News Council’s meeting at the University of Minnesota the following exchange took place:

RALPH M. OTWELL, editor, *Chicago Sun-Times*: Well, Abe, is this a cop-out?

A. H. RASKIN, former assistant editor, *The New York Times*: Sure.

I agree.

They were debating whether a newspaper corporation should be criticized for making a financial contribution to defeat a referendum on Miami Beach casino gambling. *The Miami Herald*, three other Knight-Ridder dailies in Florida, plus executives and their relatives gave a total of \$35,000. In addition, the Herald Publishing Co. president headed an anti-casino campaign for Gov. Reubin Askew to raise a total of \$180,000 from media and other sources.

I think the council, of which Otwell is a member and Raskin an associate director who researched the dispute, blew the most crucial case it’s had in its five-year history.

First of all, I think the decision (or lack of one) undermined the credibility of the National News Council because it made a mockery of the

council’s very purpose. Which is to deal with complaints and thereby establish guidelines that will enhance journalistic conduct and repel unfair attacks on freedom of the press.

Instead of forthrightly acting on a complaint against the Miami Herald Company’s financial intervention in the referendum campaign, the council said the issue was too complex for a right-or-wrong decision. The gist of the complaint was that it was a distortion of the political process for the press to go beyond editorial support for a position and become “an arrogant animal that buys votes.” The council did take a bold stand for full disclosure, which was never an issue in this case—the law requires that in any event. And it did warn generally that publishers who put corporation money into a political dispute risk a loss of public confidence in the fairness of their news columns. But rather than seizing the opportunity to set a clear standard by making the *Herald* an object lesson, the council in effect told the top brass of the nation’s newspaper industry: “Let your conscience be your guide.”

What’s wrong with that? The answer is that the people who control news organizations can always find conscientious excuses for “corporate good citizenship” to equate profits with probity. They can then argue, as Alvah H. Chapman, Jr., president of the Herald Company, did, that such financial involvement is also essential to a news organization’s own welfare and its ability to hire and hold skilled journalists.

Thus, Chapman feared that Miami Beach casino gambling would threaten the area’s quality of life and its economy. This, he believed, might harm the economic health of the *Herald*—and that, in turn, would harm the newspaper’s journalistic

quality. This view, that what’s good for the community is good for a news organization, is reminiscent of old-fashioned Main Street boosterism. As such, it has merit. But it’s too simplistic in the context of modern American journalism. That’s what the case is really about.

The Miami Herald is the chief profit center for the entire Knight-Ridder chain, the nation’s biggest in terms of circulation. The legality of the *Herald*’s role as a corporation is not the issue. But, as Raskin said in his background paper for the council, what’s legal for corporations generally is not necessarily sound policy for corporations in the news business—as the council conceded.

The risk is that not only the public but also the courts will perceive newspapers, which are rapidly being swallowed up by chains and conglomerates, as just another form of big business with scant claim, if any, to special constitutional protection.

Indeed, while the council warned of this risk, its cop-out plays right into the hands of media critics such as Chief Justice Warren Burger. He has expressed doubts whether “modern media empires” are entitled to special rights and immunities under the First Amendment. He has expressed fear that “corporate domination of the electoral process” by media corporations could pose a worse threat to democratic interests than do corporations not regularly concerned with shaping public opinion. Remember that Burger is in a position to implement such views, to the detriment of freedom of the press. Why egg him on?

To its credit, the council did say, “There are boundaries on the ways in which [the] advancement of [news corporation] self-interest may be

properly exercised.” Regrettably, it didn’t say the *Herald* had crossed that boundary.

The council also said without making a moral judgment in this case that when a major media figure gets involved in fund-raising for a campaign launched by a governor there’s a danger of blurring the line of separation that should exist between the state and the media.

“The line of separation is in further danger of becoming blurred when this same prestigious publisher [Chapman] takes the lead in raising funds from among bankers and other business leaders outside the media,” the council added.

And while the council found the *Herald* vastly overplayed the casino issue at the expense of other issues before the voters, it found the context of the stories fair. But the crux question remains: Did the direct involvement jeopardize public confi-

dence in the fairness of the news?

There are three related answers. First, the *Herald’s own poll* after the event found that among those opposed to casinos, 59 percent said papers that gave money to bar them could *not* be fair, as against 25 percent who said they could be fair. Among pro-casino people, the ratio was 58 percent “not fair” and 33 percent “fair,” the balance in each case saying they didn’t know.

Second, Chapman pledged in a post-election November 26 signed article that the *Herald* would never contribute to a political candidate or to such issues as the E.R.A., abortion, or even constitutional revision. Still, he reserved the right to make corporate contributions when the issue at stake significantly affects “the bedrock economic foundation of our publishing enterprise” or the community’s life style to a point where good journalists would spurn a

chance to work on his newspaper. Given the fact that Miami already has horse, dog, and jai alai betting and a tolerant sun-belt life style, not to speak of reported Mafia presence, Chapman’s formula is puzzling. And yet, his new self-imposed restraints suggest the *Herald* management will rarely repeat such involvement.

Third, and most important of all to me, was the effect of this business-side decision on the news-side editors and reporters, regardless of the purity of the actual stories they wrote and edited.

For instance, according to Raskin’s research, John McMullan, the executive editor, said there was no question in his mind that the contributions lowered the paper’s credibility and put the profession on trial. Gene Miller, a two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, refused to have any part of the story. Other investigative reporters accepted the assignment

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under protest, and Patrick Riordan, a leader of the original protest, said afterward that the money was “a terrible idea” that had warped public confidence and he added that he would refuse future assignments that involved similar contributions.

What bothers me most is that there’s a double standard in such a situation. Clearly, news staff people would not be allowed, in the name of journalistic integrity, such direct political involvement. In fact, the Miami chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi, instigated a resolution at the society’s November 18 national convention that condemned such contributions to non-journalistic political action committees, just as it considers it wrong for reporters and editors to contribute when they’re covering a political issue.

So I find it ironic that the Knight-Ridder papers in Duluth fired an editor who insisted on running for the city council—although, consistent with the views expressed here, I recently wrote an editorial supporting the Duluth publisher’s decision that the paper’s integrity demanded that action.

It must be added that much of the trouble the National News Council had with the issue stemmed from the fact of life that news organization owners, proprietors, executives, and publishers not only openly make big political contributions in their own right but are often generous participants and donors, in person or through personal or corporate foundations, in and to all manner of community activities, most in the name of “enlightened self-interest.” Council members could find no way to draw an ethical line between such personal and corporate good citizen-

ship activities and what happened in Florida. (The media industry also, of course, lobbies for its own First Amendment and business interests.) In consequence, two council members, William A. Rusher, publisher of William Buckley’s *National Review*, and William H. Brady Jr., dissented from the council report on the ground that there should be no effort whatsoever to draw any line.

But drawing lines is what the National News Council is supposed to be all about. Raskin was right. It was a cop-out. I hope the council can recover from this self-inflicted wound, but as its fan from its creation I’m frankly worried that its credibility may be permanently crippled.

AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Austin C. Wehrwein is an editorial writer at The Minneapolis Star.

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CJR

PUBLISHER'S NOTES

How to get on TV

In January we noticed that *CBS Evening News* gave a substantial block of time to the Reverend Jesse Jackson's attack on CBS (for its part in the Knoetze prizefight). It pointed up the lesson demonstrated by Spiro Agnew—that the one sure way for a second-level public figure to get exposure via the news media is to attack them, preferably by name. This wasn't always true. But today the honorable media are trapped by their own desire to demonstrate fairness.

Recruiting and training

Our informal surveying indicates that the surge of young people seeking jobs in journalism or enrollment in journalism schools has abated a bit. That is partly because the Watergate-related lure of "investigative journalism" has dimmed with time.

It is partly because of a wider recognition that good jobs in the field do not abound. After all, a study with which this writer was connected showed that there are only about 70,000 individuals in all of editorial journalism—press, broadcasting, wire services, newsmagazines, and weekly papers.

Nonetheless, the number of aspiring young who seek to enter the field is still at a high level and far exceeds likely openings. And, across the country, news organizations still lack systematic recruiting and training procedures.

A few years ago, the undersigned and two colleagues did a rather comprehensive study among press and broadcast news executives. The findings, which generally stand up today, included these:

- The standards espoused by most editors are fundamentally decent and responsible.
- The process of selecting reporters and editors is largely instinctive, unsystematic, without sophistica-

tion, and almost totally dependent on the attitudes and prejudices of the employing executives.

□ Except for perhaps 2 percent of news organizations, there is almost total lack of well-planned in-service training.

□ Broadcasting, which used to turn to newspapers for its journalists, is now relying increasingly on its own reservoir of talent, often developed on smaller stations.

□ As a class, newspaper editors and news directors seek "bright young minds," yet are upset by applicants who are strongly motivated toward reforms in the society. They welcome skepticism about everything *except* journalism and their own organizations. Throughout their answers and comments ran a heavy strain of caution, of preferring conformity to brilliance, and of dislike for boat-rockers.

□ A small but slowly growing minority of news executives, however, is willing to risk occasional nonconformist recruits and to "work with them" as the price for enlisting imaginative young minds. These few are eager to experiment and innovate and advisedly will take aboard an off-beat but brilliant youngster.

Leadership Network

Warning: This comes close to being a commercial.

In its struggle for survival—now happily won—the *Review* has been helped immensely by its membership in the Leadership Network, a league of eight small but influential magazines. In its present form, the network was launched some three years ago to offer advertising in all eight publications.

The magazines include *The New Republic* and *National Review* (covering quite an ideological span), *Foreign Affairs*, *Atlas World Press Review*, *Commentary*, *The New York Review of Books*, *Technology Re-*

view, and, of course, this magazine. The group offers discounts to those advertising in half of the publications, and larger discounts for those advertising in all eight. The publications have a combined circulation of 600,000. About one-third of the *Review's* advertising comes through the network.

We feel it is pretty hard to find a so-called opinion leader who doesn't read at least one of the magazines. Recognition of this by major advertisers has had much to do with strengthening some magazines that are important to their readers.

End commercial.

Reprinted ad

Those who received an eight-page paper on cans and the environment "reprinted from the *Columbia Journalism Review*" should know that it was an ad, not editorial matter. The Can Manufacturers Institute, which placed the original ad and then distributed the reprint, says it removed the slug "advertisement" from the reprint (to our surprise) because the copy, complete with C.M.I. address and logotype, could hardly be confused with editorial matter. Nonetheless, the institute has agreed to correct the omission on those copies printed or distributed hereafter.

Network news note

The last issue of this column applied the word "showmanship" to ABC news, referring particularly to boastful talk by ABC executives. In fairness, we should add that recent viewing indicates that ABC's evening news has been improving, probably because of the influence of Richard Wald, formerly of NBC, and other professionals. It still suffers, of course, from too few correspondents and has yet to prove that eliminating an anchorman really is an improvement. E.W.B.



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COMMENT

Echoes of Jonestown

Summing up coverage of the Jonestown “massacre,” Charles Seib, ombudsman of *The Washington Post*, wrote in his December 1 column: “For now we can say that the media did what they were supposed to do. As society’s messengers, their job was to deliver a terrible and frightening message. And they did it well.” It was a gentle assessment, one that played down both the exploitation of the story through quickie books (which, incidentally, failed to sell well) and, more important, the earlier intimidation of the California press.

For years, the Reverend Jim Jones and his People’s Temple received special treatment from the San Francisco press. As Reed Irvine, editor of Accuracy in Media’s *AIM Report*, has pointed out, the *San Francisco Examiner* ran four of eight articles, written by Lester Kinsolving, that exposed Jones as a charlatan back in 1972, then killed the series and ran a laudatory article about Jones “after being threatened with lawsuits and after . . . pickets from the People’s Temple began parading around their building.” And, as Irvine and others have pointed out, the *San Francisco Chronicle* gave Jones even softer treatment.

It was not until July 1977 that the first full investigation of Jones and his organization appeared. It was a *New West* article written by a *Chronicle* reporter, Marshall Kilduff (his paper had rejected the idea), and a *New West* contributing editor, Phil Tracy (his magazine, under its previous owner, had backed off from the story). An editorial-page article in the December 29 *Wall Street Journal* by Richard W. Jencks, formerly CBS vice president in Washington, asked: “Why was *New West* . . . the only publication to run a serious investigative article of the People’s Temple prior to the Guyana massacre . . .? And why was there then so little follow up?” Jencks’s answer, in part, was: “Jim Jones succeeded for the better part of five years in manipulating San Francisco media . . . [he] seems to have found safety in playing on liberal and ‘progressive’ sentiments—nonviolence, concern for the poor, racial justice—that made him seem a sacred cow to some journalists.” (Granting this point, however, is not the same as conceding a related charge by AIM’s Irvine—that “while the media scrupulously avoided calling Jones a communist, which he was, there was a rush to label him a fascist, which he was not.” His argument is forced—he seems chiefly concerned that fascism might get a bad name—and his evidence is thin.)

By January, Jonestown had inspired voluminous discussion and investigation of all the movements that might be labeled “cults.” Some of this probing—such as the three-part January series in *The New York Times* called “Cults in America”—was illuminating. Yet the news media might at the same time bear in mind a warning issued in an article by Wes Michaelson in the January issue of *Sojourners* magazine, a small-circulation Christian monthly: “The Jonestown suicides have spawned a subtle but pervasive suspicion of all those cults, churches, sects, and communities which have established themselves in contrast to the prevailing social norms of American life. . . . Jonestown cannot be dismissed as an aberration of cultists and malcontents who should have learned how to become better adjusted to mainstream society. Life lived according to the dictates of that society is, after all, simply conformity to another kind of cult, albeit the dominant, popular, and accepted one.” As Herbert J. Gans showed so well in “The Messages Behind the News” (*CJR*, January/February), the news media play an important role in promulgating the values of the mainstream cult. All the more reason that they should exercise restraint and balance now rather than react intemperately to criticism of their past omissions.

The administration smiles

To counteract the effects of the Supreme Court’s *Stanford Daily* decision, the Carter administration has prepared legislation for the new Congress designed to block both newsroom searches and search warrants for other news and documentary material. This is a curious turn, to say the least, for, as Nathan Lewin reminded us in the January 6 *New Republic*, the Justice Department took quite the opposite position on the *Stanford Daily* case when it was argued before the Supreme Court; indeed, the majority decision appeared to be responsive to the government’s argument that the right to search premises even of those not implicated in crimes was necessary to law enforcement. Now a special task force, under the same attorney general, has brought in proposals that support the minority opinion by Justice Stewart, which warned that unannounced newsroom searches might disrupt the news process and reveal sources that had been promised secrecy.

The *Review* has expressed doubt in the past (see “Comment,” July/August 1978) that the press should

easily accept any legislation bearing on First Amendment rights, in part because legislative sanctions are so easily repealed or eroded by courts. That said, it must be conceded that this new proposal has an attractive breadth—that is, it is designed to protect not only newsrooms and the journalists in them but also freelance writers, scholars, and anybody else preparing material for public dissemination. In addition, the protection is aimed at guarding a wide variety of “work product”—notes, photographic materials, tapes, and manuscripts. It should be noted, however, that the proposal offers protection only against searches, not against the kind of subpoenas issued, for example, in the Farber case.

Nor, as *The Boston Globe* noted in an editorial on December 22, does the legislation deal with “the rights of other categories of ‘third parties’—lawyers, doctors and, for that matter, homeowners” who are now vulnerable to “searches for evidence of crimes in which they had no role.” The *Globe* noted that the administration justifies the proposal for protection of publishable materials under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution (almost all published material may cross state lines), but that there seems to be no parallel justification for the protection of the rights of other parties. Should the press receive this grant of federal protection, it ought to be that much more watchful of the rights of others endangered by this mischievous decision.

The reverend press

In a lively dissent from a National News Council decision that is printed in this issue, William A. Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, writes: “Not long ago I noted that a majority of the Council appears to share the vision of the journalistic profession as a sort of priesthood, endowed with special privileges and subject to various self-denying ordinances.” Rusher adds that he suggested, “playfully,” that journalists may even be on their way to celibacy (a goal toward which, he might have added, most will proceed with all deliberate speed).

Perhaps Rusher was being flippant, but let us not pass by his remarks too quickly. Could it be that the council’s resident dissenter is on to something? A journalism priesthood? Reporters as priests, rabbis, or ministers? In a time when there no longer seems any legal and sure way for reporters to protect their confi-



dential sources, why should they not become clergy and elevate their news sources into parishioners, whose privileged communications are assiduously protected by the courts?

There are dangers, to be sure—that the tendency of editorial writers to preach will be reinforced, that reporters will be called on to deliver invocations at events that they are covering, and that a Washington column may become known as a bull. But those are small prices to pay. On balance, surely the press as clergy is an idea whose time has come.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to the *Los Angeles Times*, for starting the media snowball rolling to New Hampshire more than a year ahead of primary time with a long January 8 story on voter attitudes in that overcovered state.

Laurel: to *The Texas Observer* and reporters Roger Baker and Linda Rocawich, for the December 15 article, “UT’s Secret Cache of Money.” Their stymied inquiry into the University of Texas’s “other”

fund—a mysterious foundation that acts as a holding company for gifts the system officially cannot or will not touch—provides compelling evidence of the need to amend the state’s Open Records Act to provide access to such “public” institutions.

Dart: To WTCT-TV, Tampa. After a station reporter’s December 1 revelation that a piece of McDonald’s apple pie may contain five to twelve apple slices—“though the piece with twelve slices also had a four-inch-long human hair stuck to the outside”—news director Hugh Smith queasily took to the air four days later and delivered a personal apology for the “error in judgment.” (The station’s McDonald’s advertising account runs to about \$150,000 a year.)

Laurel: to NBC. The third-place network maintained an exemplary hands-off policy when, on January 15, the *Today* show’s critic, previewing the made-for-television movie “Charleston” that was airing that night, gave it an unequivocally sour raspberry and advised viewers to tune in to CBS instead.

Laurel: to the New Orleans *States-Item* and reporter Jim Amoss, for an investigation into the questionable tactics used by Avondale Shipyards, largest employer in the state, to win a cost overrun claim against the Navy. The December 18–19 disclosures suggest that the company may have received a substantial part of the \$80 million settlement illegally.

Dart: to the Staten Island (N.Y.) *Advance*. Its successful editorial urgings that the city give up a plan to move the borough’s roach-infested, overcrowded welfare center appear to have advanced the interests of the center’s landlord—the associate publisher’s aunt.

Laurel: to Jeff Taylor, eleven-year-old carrier for *The Clinton (Iowa) Herald*, for organizing seventeen of his youthful colleagues, tossing a strike petition on management’s doorstep, and winning earlier delivery of the carriers’ bundles.

Laurel: to *The New York Times* and reporters Anthony Marro and William Robbins, for the three-part series (January 14–16), “The Politics of Sugar.” The story measures the complex ingredients—a raw mix of politicking and ineptitude pouring from Congress and the White House, lobbyists and farmers, foreign exporters and federal agencies—which have combined to produce both rising supermarket prices and a deteriorating sugar stockpile.

Dart: to *The Portsmouth (N.H.) Herald*, for defensive handling of reports of radiation peril at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. A December 18 story displayed across six columns at the top of page one and bannered RICKOVER REFUTES NADER-ORIENTED ATTACK, consisted of the full text of the Navy Department’s official response.

Laurel: to CBS Reports and correspondent Ed Bradley, for the January 16 program, “The Boat People.” The documentary translated into human terms the disgraceful plight—and moral challenge—of the thousands of Vietnamese refugees stranded in Southeast Asia.

Dart: to the *Palm Beach (Fla.) Times*, for a November 21 editorial inspired by the death of Representative Ryan in Guyana. Its tortured moral: “Congressmen shouldn’t spend their recess periods on taxpaid junkets around the world.”

Carnegie II

Eleven years ago, the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television served as midwife to the birth of public broadcasting as we have known it in the 1970s—a system of skimpy resources and uneven achievement but one that has grown through a kind of gangling adolescence.

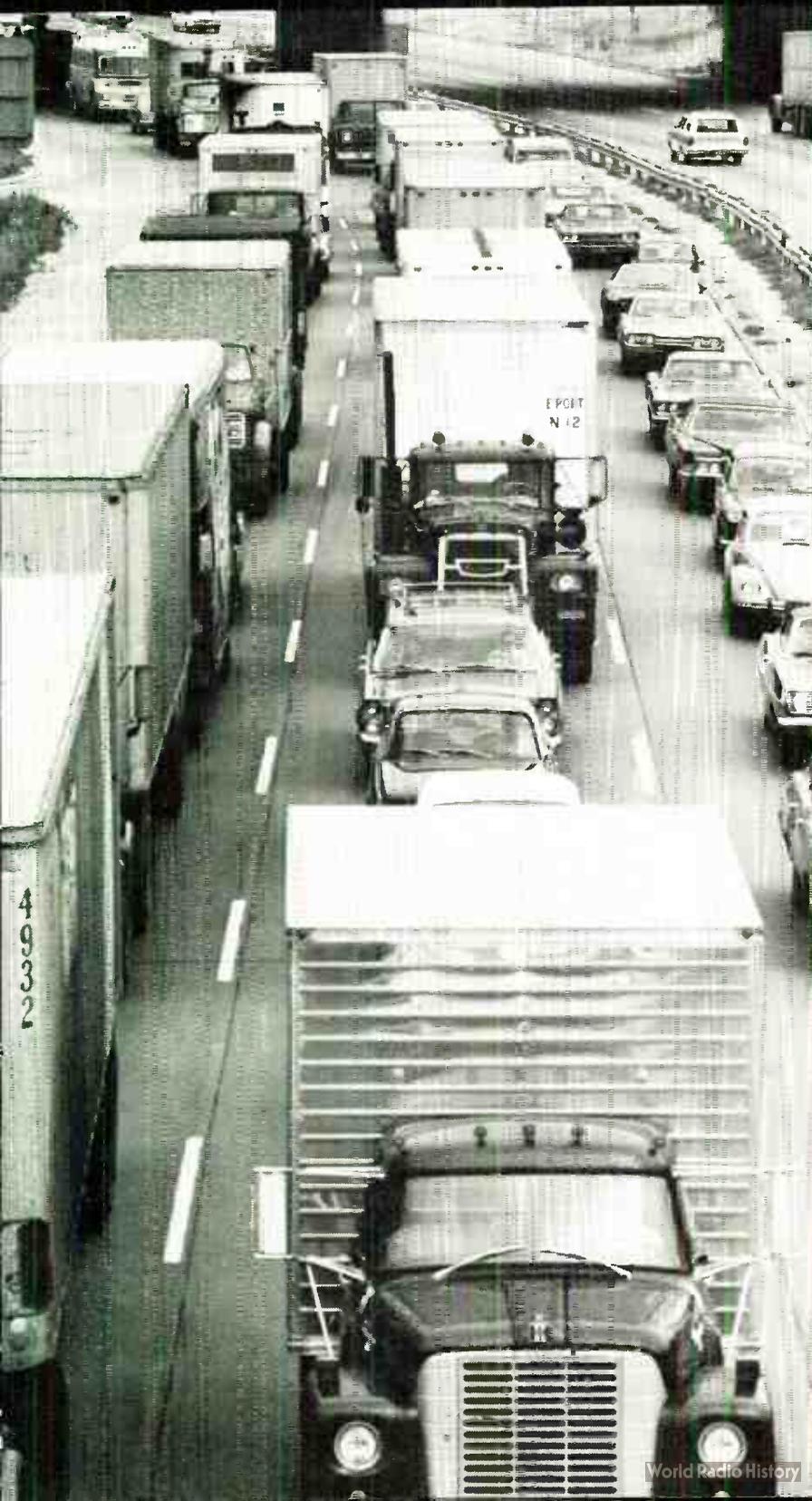
It was time for a new infusion of hope, a new charter of public broadcasting’s place in American society. The report of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting appears to fill that need. It provides useful proposals for the restructuring of public television to foster, in the words of the report, “an instrument of mass communication that simultaneously respects the artistry of the individuals who create programs, the needs of the public that forms the audience, and the forces of political power that supply the resources.” It proposes as well that public broadcasting be financed on a level, if not of affluence, at least of respectability—up from a level of around \$2 a head to \$5, still far less, per capita, than what is invested in noncommercial television in other mature countries.

Not the least of the report’s assets is its consideration of the problem of protecting the editorial integrity of the system from illegitimate pressures by its funders, both government and private. For the former, it provides an ingenious two-layer mechanism that ought to insulate public broadcasting programs from the kind of reflexive revenge wrought by the Nixon administration. On the latter, it urges stricter barriers against direct corporate control of programming and criticizes a system that has given such prominence to business underwriters that many in the public think corporate funds are public television’s chief source of revenue (they amount to 9 percent).

Finally, neither Carnegie I nor Carnegie II has given much attention to news and public-affairs programs in public broadcasting. That potentially important enterprise still awaits definition and encouragement.

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Every GM dealer is an independent businessman. No one can tell him what to charge. Not the government, and not the manufacturer.

But the government can and does require that manufacturers post a suggested retail price, or "sticker price," on every new car we build. It's a good idea, because it makes it easier for you to compare one car against another.

Remember, the "sticker price" is only the suggested price. The actual selling price may be different. That's because the law of supply and demand affects the prices of cars, just as it affects most other prices. And market conditions change all the time.

For example: a very popular model may sell at the suggested price, but frequently cars will sell for less, because the automobile business is highly competitive.

The difference between the "sticker price" and the wholesale price—that's what the dealer pays us—is called the markup, or dealer's discount. This changes from time to

time, but as a general rule the markup on small cars is lower than on full-size cars.

The dealer's markup helps to pay his rent, taxes, salaries, utility bills—all that it costs to run a business. And he also has to make a profit, or he can't stay in business. Last year, GM dealers reported about two cents profit on each dollar of sales. As you can see, competition doesn't leave the average dealer a very big margin of profit.

You can affect the price you pay. It depends on the marketplace, for one thing. You may get a bigger break if you choose a slower-selling model or a car the dealer already has in stock. The latest sales figures published in many newspapers will give you some idea of how cars are selling, although the demand for a particular model may be greater or less in your area.

How much optional equipment you order on your car also makes a big difference in its price. Go over the list carefully, and equip the car just the way you want it. Then it will have most value for you, and you'll enjoy it more. You shouldn't buy what you won't use, although much of the equipment you add to your

new car will make it worth more when you decide it's time to trade it in.

Most buyers trade in a used car when they buy a new one. And the value of used cars varies according to demand as well as to their condition. Performance and appearance count, so it's a good idea to maintain your car and keep it clean. The more you can get for your old car, the less will be your out-of-pocket cost to replace it with a new one.

But whichever car you choose, the price should never be your only consideration. The dealer's reputation and his service capability are also important.

Our interest is in helping both you and the dealer to get a fair deal. We want you to be satisfied with your car. That's good for you, good for the dealer, and good for us.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

General Motors

People building transportation
to serve people

The minority struggle for a place in the newsroom

How far have minority journalists come since the sixties?
White editors emphasize gains, but blacks
and Hispanics complain of shell games and gestures

by NICK KOTZ

Jim Crow is gone and the number of lily-white newspapers is declining. More than a decade after a racial convulsion shook American society, there has been progress in integrating the newspaper business. But it has been halting, uneven, and far too modest to celebrate. Recent years, moreover, have seen even these modest accomplishments threatened. Where, after all, do we stand today?

"Integration of the press is no longer a protest issue; it's a matter of process," says Robert Maynard, former associate editor of *The Washington Post*, and now chairman of the Institute for Journalism Education. That institute, whose summer program has trained 115 minority journalists, is one example of the process at work. The process is also working where newspaper publishers and editors have placed the weight of their authority behind well-defined affirmative-action programs for minority hiring, training, and promotion. And the process has been advanced by protest, when minority journalists already in the business have pressed for change from within.

Out of these efforts and the general pressure of minority movements on American society, the number of minority newspaper journalists has risen from 400 in 1968 to 1,700 today, representing 4 percent of all professionals in the business. The number of minority journalism students has also increased significantly, and there is now a growing pool of experienced professionals and ambitious novices available to newspapers ready to use their talents. Where they have been given the opportunity, these minority journalists are helping

newspapers provide more accurate coverage of America's complex, multiracial society.

But eleven years after the Kerner commission branded the American press as "shockingly backward," most minority journalists view the changes as shockingly slow and unacceptably limited. Far too few publishers, editors, and journalism educators, they charge, are committed to the full integration of the nation's newsrooms.

□ Two-thirds of the nation's 1,762 dailies still have not hired a single minority news professional.

□ Consisting of 17 percent of the population, minori-

'Blacks at the Times have a sense of doom'

Pau' Delaney, *The New York Times*

Harvey Wang



Nick Kotz is a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter whose most recent book is *A Passion for Equality: George Wiley and the Movement*. Research for this article was financed in part by the Elmer Davis Memorial Fund.

ties are still gravely underrepresented at 4 percent of the profession.

□ Nonwhites who hold newsroom jobs of real influence and authority can be ticked off on both hands with several fingers left over.

□ Many industry leaders no longer recognize an obligation to redress the racism of the past. The American Newspaper Publishers Association's foundation, for example, has closed down its journalism scholarship program for minority students.

□ Minority journalists at major news organizations across the country point repeatedly to their own lack of influence. In Chicago, black reporters note that no blacks cover city or state government, despite the obvious importance of blacks in city politics. *Newsweek* has one black editor; *Time* has none. No Hispanics make news decisions at Los Angeles newspapers, and only a handful work as reporters. Neither The Associated Press nor United Press International has a single black among its editors and bureau chiefs. Finally, of 1,200 accredited Washington newspaper correspondents, fewer than a dozen are black.

□ Coverage of minorities is still inadequate. In New York, nonwhite reporters contend that the city's three papers convey only the vaguest sense—except for crime news and a rare poverty story—of what actually happens in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and upper Manhattan. A black Atlanta reporter cites a common theme: while newspapers are expanding coverage of leisure-time activities and entertainment, they ignore the culture of minority communities. A Hispanic reporter in San Diego notes that local coverage of the life of his people principally consists of homage to two annual events celebrating Mexican-American goodwill. Elsewhere on the West Coast, Asian-American journalists have organized to protest the misrepresentation of their communities.

Thus, any account of minorities and the press today must reaffirm the Kerner commission's now-familiar findings: the American press still is backward in its failure to hire and promote minority journalists; the press still fails to report adequately the poverty, racism, and despair which bred the riots of the sixties. It still does not adequately portray the lives and aspirations of non-white Americans.

But it is also clear that the problems of the late 1970s are different from those that concerned the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The axis of press issues has shifted since the days when black Americans had to demonstrate for the right to ride in the front of a bus, sit at a lunch counter, or use a bathroom. The challenge in the 1960s was to crack the color barrier in the press corps and to report the movements for social and economic justice. Today the struggle in journalism is over a second generation of issues: tokenism in employment (as intolerable today to minorities as was exclusion in the sixties), and inaccurate, inadequate portrayal of minority communities (even less excusable than was total neglect years ago). "Blacks aspire to different things today," says New

York *Daily News* columnist Earl Caldwell, whose defense of sources in the black community while he was a *New York Times* reporter went to the Supreme Court in 1972. "It's not just getting there, but what are you going to do after you get there."

Minority journalists often face formidable opposition in either struggle. In some journalism circles, radical chic has given way to parlor racism. Many white journalists admit they are bored by renewed discussions of minority employment and some whites resent having to share the cost of increased opportunities for minorities. In a highly competitive job market, moreover, women's rights and minority rights often clash, and editors—whose concept of affirmative action may be limited—find it easier to hire or promote a woman. There is a palpable backlash in journalism, as in other institutions, from those who feel threatened by any semblance of affirmative action.

The second generation at the *Times*

The second-generation issues are a source of bitter controversy at *The New York Times*, which pioneered in hiring blacks and today has about forty minority professionals on a news staff of 670. "Blacks at the *Times* have a sense of doom," says Paul Delaney, an experienced reporter who is now an assistant national news editor. "There is a feeling that they are not going to get good assignments, they are not going to

Keeping score

A 1978 study of minority journalists on general-circulation American newspapers found that their number had increased four-fold over the previous decade to a total of 1,700. Minorities make up 4 percent of the nation's journalists, the study concluded, with blacks accounting for 2 percent, Hispanics for slightly less than 1 percent; and Asian-Americans and American Indians for less than 1 percent. These minorities constitute 17 percent of the population.

The study was conducted for the American Society of Newspaper Editors by the Urban Journalism Center at Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, under the direction of Associate Dean Jay Harris. Among the other principal findings:

□ Sixty-eight percent of the country's dailies still do not employ a single minority journalist, although that figure has improved from 80 percent in 1968.

□ Minorities are underrepresented in newspaper management. More than 99 percent of all editors are white. Only fifty-nine minority journalists hold positions of assistant city editor or higher:

	Reporters	Photographers and Artists	Desk	News Executives
White	54%	10%	23%	13%
Minority	67%	13%	16%	4%

□ Minority journalists are concentrated on a small number of newspapers, with 38 percent being employed by only thirty-four dailies. Virtually all newspapers with more than 100,000 circulation employ at least one minority journalist; most papers with less than 50,000 circulation do not. N.K.

advance, and that their editors think poorly of them. During the late sixties and early seventies, the *Times* made an all-out effort to hire blacks, but I don't think that effort has persisted. As in most companies, management looked around and saw what was happening in the society and felt secure. They felt, 'We are now integrated,' and that was enough."

Black journalists at the *Times* do not hide their frustration. Here is cultural-affairs reporter Gerald Fraser, one of the first blacks hired in the 1960s: "When you view the hiring, the assignments, the promotions, and the product, there is a clear indication that the people who run the paper do not intend to acknowledge any sort of significant minority presence. I don't say that this is worse than any place else, but it's not any better. Essentially, they don't want us around here, and they don't want our viewpoints."

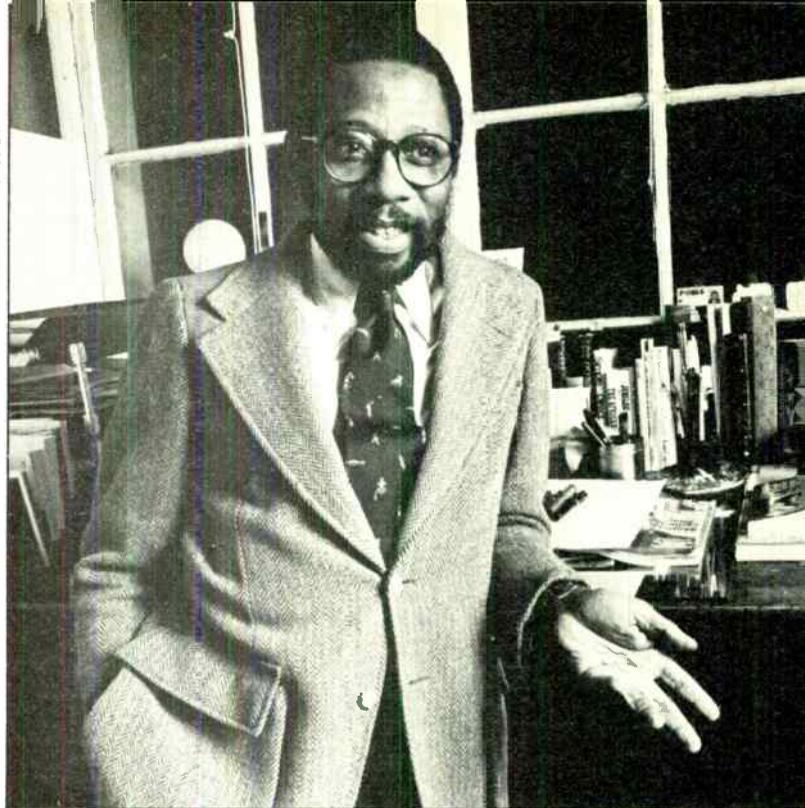
To blacks at the *Times*, the paper's assignment and promotion practices are telling. Delaney is the only nonwhite among dozens of editors, there are only two nonwhites in the nation's largest foreign-news department, and blacks are virtually shut out of covering government and politics. There is only one nonwhite general assignment reporter covering New York City. A bare handful of blacks works on the rapidly expanding features and Sunday staffs, whose sections are fashioned for an affluent, white, suburban market. "A meaningful effort would ensure that nonwhites are in every facet of the operation," says Delaney. "I think the *Times's* effort speaks for itself."

There is a stark contrast between what is available today and the opportunities which opened up in the first generation of black hiring at the *Times* in the sixties. Reporters like Earl Caldwell and Tom Johnson were pioneers, exploring the meaning of the black power movement and reporting on the agonies of black soldiers in Vietnam. Those first few lonely reporters bore the burden of proving black competence to skeptical white editors. They assumed that job opportunities would open up and that the *Times* would make an increasingly sophisticated effort to report the complexities of a multiracial society. Instead, many blacks at the *Times* now see their careers at a dead end, their perspective spurned, their salaries lower than those of their white peers. This dissatisfaction crystallized late last year, when nineteen front-line black news professionals decided to support an affirmative-action suit filed against the *Times* in 1974 by non-journalist minority employees.

Black reporters also see the paper pulling back from minority coverage and, worse yet, portraying nonwhites in stereotypes. Black staff members were so appalled by a December Sunday *Magazine* piece on the black middle class, in fact, that many of them signed a letter to *Times* executives protesting its inaccuracy and superficiality.

For management, says *Times* executive editor A.M. Rosenthal, commenting on the minority situation, "the important thing today is not numbers, but what you do to broaden the pool. I feel strongly that minor-

Harlice Little



**'We seek portrayal of
our communities as places inhabited
by real people,
not pathological fragments'**

Robert Maynard, Institute for Journalism Education

ity journalists should develop specialties in various fields. I don't denigrate black news, but there is a need to move into other areas." Rosenthal also says that "affirmative-action programs are helpful—they give you a structure to work with." Nevertheless, the *Times* and its minority employees are at loggerheads; the dialogue is now an exchange between lawyers.

At The Associated Press, too, black and female employees have brought a discrimination suit through the Wire Service Guild after efforts to negotiate an affirmative-action program with the management proved futile. The A.P.'s president and general manager, Keith Fuller, has equated affirmative action with lowered journalistic standards. Calling for resistance to the lawsuit in a 1978 memo to A.P. personnel, Fuller stressed the need "to preserve the high caliber of our news service by retaining the right to hire and promote the most qualified persons without regard to what could be irrelevant or reverse discriminatory factors. . . . I want to assure you that we will do all that we can to prevent any compromise in our efforts to maintain the standards of excellence in journalism which we share." In the post-Bakke era, these can be interpreted as code words, and minorities understand them all too well.

There is an atmosphere of fear at the A.P., a pervasive feeling that the company will punish anyone who speaks out. Many blacks and women believe that two Wire Service Guild leaders were forced out of their jobs in retaliation for their role in bringing the dis-

crimination suit. With families to feed and journalism jobs in short supply, A.P. employees are afraid that the price of protest could be assignment to the overnight desk or transfer to a remote community. As at the *Times*, there is no dialogue with management.

The tensions at the *Times* and the A.P. are symptomatic. Throughout the industry, minority journalists and management perceive the issues very differently. Executives defend professional standards and optimistically compare hiring and coverage with the years of segregation and neglect. Minority-group journalists see employment shell games, and gestures at coverage that are empty and sometimes insulting.

Promotions and pressure

Why have so few minorities risen to positions of authority on newspapers? White editors claim that

blacks and Hispanics have gone after reporting, not editing, jobs; that they have not been in the business long enough; and that they tend to hop from job to job, selling their services to the highest bidder. A 1978 study by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, however, found that 34 percent of minority journalists had been in the business for between five and ten years, 17 percent for at least eleven years, and that fully 50 percent were still working for the newspaper that first hired them.

"It's simply tragic," says Fletcher T. Clarke, managing editor of the *Niagara Falls Gazette*. "The newspaper industry has devoted a great deal of space to the sins of others on civil rights but has virtually exempted itself from similar scrutiny and corrective action. . . . I know of four black executives in the entire business."

HOW THEY'RE DOING

Newspaper or Chain	Number of Journalists	Minority Journalists	Percent Minority	Newspaper or Chain	Number of Journalists	Minority Journalists	Percent Minority
<i>Albuquerque Journal</i>	70	3	4.3%	<i>Minneapolis Star</i>	119	4	3.4
<i>Akron Beacon Journal</i>	106	12	11.3	<i>Newsday</i>	319	18	5.6
<i>Arizona Star</i>	75	9	12.0	<i>New York Times</i>	670	40	6.0
<i>Atlanta Constitution</i>	110	9	8.2	<i>Oakland Press (Mich.)</i>	63	9	14.3
<i>Atlanta Journal</i>	156	5	3.2	<i>Ottaway Newspapers</i>	492	5	1.0
<i>Arkansas Gazette</i>	80	2	2.5	<i>Palm Beach Times and Post</i>	125	5	4.0
<i>Austin American Statesman</i>	100	7	7.0	<i>Philadelphia Bulletin</i>	274	14	5.1
<i>Baltimore News American</i>	110	16	14.5	<i>Philadelphia Inquirer</i>	250	17	6.8
<i>Boston Globe</i>	330	16	4.8	<i>Port Arthur News</i>	36	3	8.3
<i>Charlotte News</i>	69	5	7.2	<i>Portland Oregonian</i>	167	4	2.4
<i>Charlotte Observer</i>	120	7	5.8	<i>Raleigh News & Observer</i>	75	3	4.0
<i>Chicago Sun Times</i>	266	28	10.5	<i>Rochester Democrat & Chronicle and Times-Union</i>	216	11	5.1
<i>Chicago Tribune</i>	430	19	4.4	<i>St. Louis Post Dispatch</i>	180	20	11.1
<i>Corpus Christi Caller and Times</i>	80	8	10.0	<i>San Angelo Times (Texas)</i>	52	4	7.6
<i>Dayton Daily News</i>	80	8	10.0	<i>San Diego Union</i>	140	7	5.0
<i>Dayton Journal Herald</i>	65	8	12.3	<i>San Francisco Examiner</i>	200	23	11.5
<i>Des Moines Register and Tribune</i>	199	10	5.0	<i>Springfield Union and Daily News (Mass.)</i>	160	2	1.2
<i>Detroit Free Press</i>	155	10	6.4	<i>Springfield Sun and News (Ohio)</i>	40	1	2.5
<i>El Paso Herald-Post</i>	32	5	15.6	<i>Trenton Times</i>	93	4	4.3
<i>El Paso Times</i>	65	23	35.4	<i>Tucson Daily Citizen</i>	75	3	4.0
<i>Gannett Newspapers</i>	2715	147	5.4	<i>United Press International</i>	857	52	6.0
<i>Harte-Hanks Southwest Group</i>	90	3	3.3	<i>Waco Tribune-Herald</i>	50	1	2.0
<i>Houston Post</i>	125	6	4.8	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	220	12	5.4
<i>Jackson Daily News</i>	40	3	7.5	<i>Washington Post</i>	353	35	9.9
<i>Knight-Ridder Newspapers *</i>	4762	287	6.0	<i>Washington Star</i>	186	10	5.4
<i>Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers</i>	234	4	1.7				
<i>Los Angeles Herald-Examiner</i>	135	12	8.9				
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	572	28	4.9				
<i>Memphis Commercial Appeal</i>	120	5	4.2				
<i>Miami Herald **</i>	320	51	15.9				
<i>Miami News</i>	75	4	5.3				
<i>Minneapolis Tribune</i>	135	5	3.7				

*Includes some managerial and professional personnel outside the news departments.

**Includes 30 Hispanic employees of a special Spanish-language section

These statistics cover professional news employees—editors, copy-desk personnel, reporters, and photographers—at 186 daily newspapers and United Press International. (The Associated Press declined to make figures available.) They are based on interviews with newspaper-group executives, newspaper editors, and reporters conducted by the author, with the assistance of Jim Dawson.

They are Clarke; Claude Lewis, associate editor of *The Philadelphia Bulletin*; Albert Fitzpatrick, executive editor of the *Akron Beacon Journal*; and William Hilliard, assistant managing editor of the *Portland Oregonian*. The four acknowledge that nonwhites have to be more willing to work for smaller papers, wait for seniority, and get the breadth of experience that leads to editing jobs. But they see these requirements as but one side of the problem. On the other, white editors, they say, simply refuse to share power. Even when all professional standards are met, that is, many white editors and publishers simply will not entrust basic news judgments to nonwhite professionals. White management is unwilling to place coverage decisions in the hands of people whose values and perspectives may differ from their own.

Nonwhites are promoted most often in response to pressure, either from minority employees or readers. *The Atlanta Constitution* assigned a black reporter to cover city hall only after a community coalition picketed the newspaper, protesting its coverage of black officials. At the *New York Daily News*, Earl Caldwell was hired as a columnist, a black reporter was dispatched to cover the state legislature, and several blacks received merit raises after a caucus of fifteen black newsmen threatened a discrimination lawsuit after discovering a wide pay differential between themselves and their white colleagues. "We have everything to gain and nothing to lose," says reporter David Hardy, who leads the caucus. And at the *Democrat & Chronicle* and the *Times-Union*, Gannett newspapers in Rochester, New York, it took lawsuits and a unified protest by blacks to secure the appointment of a black assistant city editor and the discussion of a long list of grievances. "The blacks made a persuasive case that our coverage of black and Hispanic communities, and of the third world, was inadequate," says executive editor Robert Giles. "They would not accept the fact that we had just made mistakes and not acted as racists." Giles, who has eleven blacks on a professional staff of 216, is now aiming at a goal of 20 percent minority representation.

A major breakthrough occurred at *The Washington Post* in the wake of a 1972 discrimination complaint to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by seven black metropolitan staff reporters. In the last six years, the *Post* has doubled its minority professional staff, from seventeen to thirty-five, and promoted four blacks to editing jobs, including Herbert Denton to city editor and Matthew Lewis to assistant managing editor in charge of photography. Black officials and administrators on the publishing side, thirty-four in 1975, numbered sixty-two by last year. "We were ignorant before, which you could call a form of racism, but we're not now," says executive editor Benjamin C. Bradlee, who can rattle off the names and assignments of blacks on demand. He also knows where progress has not been made; he is aware, for example, that only one black works on the forty-seven-person national staff and that, until he interceded, the financial news



'This business is dominated by middle-class, middle-aged white males'

William Hilliard, *Portland Oregonian*

section was a "damn white ghetto." Early this year, moreover, Bradlee set a new goal of hiring minorities and women for half of the ten news-editing jobs becoming available over the next twelve months. The *Post's* payoff has been a better paper. Working under city editor Denton, black reporters Milton Coleman and Leon Dash covered last year's city elections with a sensitivity and bite previously absent from the *Post's* coverage of political news in the mainly black city.

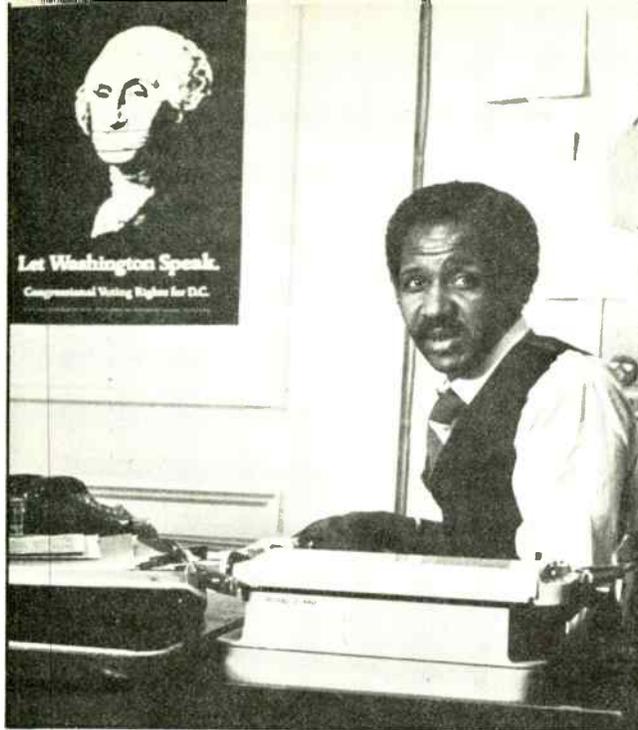
Elsewhere, the picture is bleaker. Many white editors do not seem to be thinking at all about hiring minority-group journalists, or promoting those who already work for them. Where employees or readers do not apply pressure, white editors often do not confront the problem. Among several dozen editors interviewed recently, many volunteered that minority employment has increased to the point where they now have the courage to fire incompetent nonwhite newsmen. Few said anything about having the courage to move talented nonwhites up.

Fear in the newsroom

Many white editors work from the premise that minority reporters cannot be both conscious of their own culture and committed to the professional standards of journalism. "I am looking for *Wall Street Journal* reporters, not black reporters," says Fred Taylor, executive editor of the *Journal*, echoing many others. Earl Caldwell sees things differently: "There is fear about what black people think."

Whether this trepidation stems from ignorance or racism, it often leads to friction that stalls promising newspaper careers. Robert Maynard describes what happens: "You start off with a regard for your culture and your community and you bring this along to work.

continued



Diana Walker

'I got a newspaper job because people threw a lot of bricks in 1968'

Milton Coleman, *The Washington Post*

The problem is that many white editors say, 'Okay, you start over there with that view of yourself. I start out here with a view of you that is very different. If you want to work here, you've got to cross that bridge and come over entirely to my view.'

Today, many nonwhite news people will not cross that bridge. A whole generation of black journalists has come into the business with the kind of social idealism that has traditionally attracted bright, young people to journalism. They are also aware that their way was paved by the sacrifices of civil-rights activists. "I'm here today because some people began raising hell and boycotting the newspaper; I've not forgotten that," says *Philadelphia Bulletin* reporter Acel Moore, who has won a Pulitzer Prize for stories on prisons and mental hospitals. "As professionals, we have to reach back to the black community."

Other black journalists are consciously wracked by the dilemma W.E.B. DuBois posed seventy years ago. Blacks inevitably struggle with a "twoness," he wrote—with a desire to be loyal to themselves both as blacks and as Americans. For minority-group news people today, the struggle is both to be black, or Hispanic, or Asian-American, and also to be a journalist.

The tension dates from the first spurt of minority hiring in the wake of the riots and the black-power movement, when editors realized that white reporters simply could not cover the story. But black journalists, hired because they had access to the ghetto, were often regarded as spies by the black community itself. White editors, for their part, did not entirely trust their new employees to report accurately on the black revolt. The conflict has been immeasurably reduced when editors have accepted the perspectives of minority journalists, not as intrusions of alien values, but as strengths that can enhance a newspaper's coverage. At

The Oregon Statesman in Salem, for example, David Reyes, a young Hispanic reporter, wrote a series of tough articles last year about how Immigration Service agents trampled on the rights of Mexican-Americans. The situation was not new, but it took a Reyes to report the lives of people previously ignored by the newspaper.

"What we now seek," says Maynard, "is portrayal of our communities as places inhabited by real people, not pathological fragments. We are not asking to be romanticized. Where there is disease, report disease; crime, report crime. But where there is health, report health; creativity, report creativity." Minority newsmen do not claim that they alone can report this story, but they are frustrated by being isolated from decisions about what ought to be covered. "All of this is about one thing, perception of reality," says Roger Wilkins, urban-affairs columnist for *The New York Times*. "Black and Hispanic writers and editors are trying to offer their particular sensitivities to white editors, who often have less sensitivity and restricted vision."

To many, this does not mean being confined to the minority beat, especially today, when there are fewer ready-made civil-rights stories. "No one can succeed here as a reporter of black affairs because there is no interest in that subject," says Gerald Fraser of the *Times*. "And if you've been covering racial news, they don't think you have the experience to cover city hall or other things." "This is now the time of the cross-over reporter," adds Dorothy Gilliam, associate editor of the *Washington Post's* style section, "but a cruel joke is that minority news then does not get covered in its full complexity."

Chris Campbell—formerly a reporter for the A.P. and U.P.I., now an associate producer at WETA, Washington's public television station—sums up the conflict: "Editors always tend to stick minorities with covering minorities, and you feel insulted and limited by that. But when you try to move out, that means you don't know who is going to cover minorities, and sometimes that coverage is worse than having no coverage at all. So you want to move and you don't want to move."

Not all nonwhite journalists find this a problem. "The difference between the sixties and the seventies is that we're all out there doing our own thing, for better or worse," says one black reporter for the A.P. Others, like Claude Lewis of *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, have resolved the issue another way: "I'm part of management and I'm black, but I'm black first." Lewis says that he meets with the black caucus at the paper and pushes for better coverage of minority communities, but that he deals equitably with all staff members and maintains his news judgment. Milton Coleman is another such journalist. "Black reporters need to have a sense of what they're doing and why," he says. "I got a newspaper job originally because people threw a lot of bricks and bottles in 1968, and I feel an obligation to work my ass off to make the paper

more sensitive to coverage of the black community. I don't worry about whether I'm covering city hall today because I'm good or black. I'm there for both reasons. It's an advantage to *The Washington Post* to have me down there; I relate better, but I'm also there because I work hard and have the experience. I'm at peace with myself."

Contrasting management styles

What of those who want to enter journalism today? What kind of welcome will they find? Corporate managers and editors from newspapers and chains of all sizes describe their eagerness to encourage minority applicants. But the invitation is qualified. They complain that they can find no trained journeymen or promising candidates to hire, and that when they do they can't hold on to them. They grumble that minority reporters won't go to work on small-town dailies, and that the talented ones are stolen from medium-sized papers by the larger ones. Many editors have been burned, they will tell you, by hiring reporters not ready for the job.

Questioned more closely, however, it becomes obvious that many editors are talking about the situation of five or more years ago, rather than about the current market, which over the past few years has seen the entry of at least 1,000 minority-group journalists. Examples of minority incompetence, moreover, often date from the days when editors were grabbing anyone in sight to create a black presence for riot coverage. Careful questioning often reveals that editors now employ minority journalists who perform as well as others. Yet editors prefer to emphasize their distress.

There is a class issue as well as a race issue at work here, particularly at the more prestigious newspapers. Blacks and whites admitted to the newsroom tend to be those from prominent universities and those who appear to conform most closely to white middle-class standards. Says Jay Harris, associate dean of Northwestern's Medill School of Journalism: "There is a growing tendency to hire elites to write for an increasingly elite audience."

There are great differences in the amount of energy news organizations expend on minority hiring. Some are active; they have corporate goals and programs to fulfill them. Others wait passively, in the time-honored tradition, for applicants to come in off the street. The Knight-Ridder and Gannett newspaper groups, for example, have rigorous affirmative-action programs, both on the corporate level and at individual newspapers, while the Scripps-Howard and Newhouse groups have none. In each case, the program—or absence of one—reflects the attitudes of management.

David Stolberg, assistant general editorial manager of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, says that he was completely frustrated in his efforts to hire minorities at the old *Washington Daily News* in the 1960s, and now has little sympathy for affirmative-action programs. "I think the A.S.N.E. makes a mistake when it has a pan-

el and dredges up statistics and engages in a lot of finger-pointing," he says. "I have finally come to the conclusion that time is going to have to be the great healer. I don't think the problem is prejudice, but a lack of qualified minorities." Scripps-Howard has no formal policy on minority hiring. "We believe in laissez-faire," says Stolberg. "Some of the papers have made a better effort than others. All I hear from the editors are tales of woe." Stolberg says he has no idea how many minority employees there are among the company's 1,370 news people, but he acknowledges that the number is small. The Washington bureau, under his supervision, has thirty-one white, male journalists and one white woman.

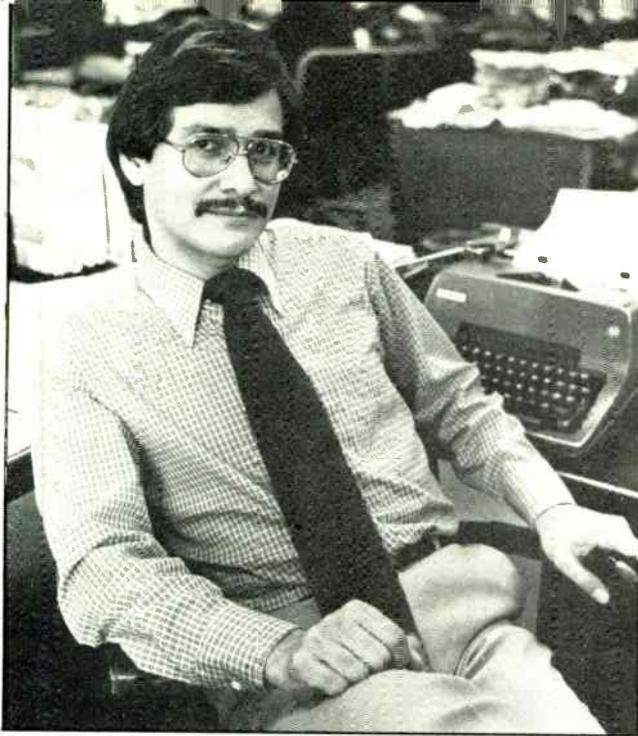
The seventy-seven-paper Gannett chain, in contrast, now works out individual affirmative-action programs with its editors and publishers, and develops timetables for the hiring of women and minorities. Two-thirds of the chain's papers now have at least a single minority-group journalist; together they comprise 5.4 percent of the news staff. Affirmative-action success is also one of the criteria used to judge individual publishers, who receive bonuses based on how well they fulfill management-by-objective programs. In addition, the chain helps defray the costs of summer internship programs at its papers, while the Gannett Foundation, the wealthiest of newspaper philanthropies, donates \$300,000 a year to train and place minority journalists. Pressure recently applied by the National Black Media Coalition—which threatened to contest the company's acquisition of Combined Communications Corporation before the Federal Communications Commission—has resulted in additional company commitments to integrate its board of directors, train independent minority broadcast management, and intensify affirmative-action efforts.

The fruits of such contrasting management styles are visible in El Paso, a 60-percent-Hispanic Texas city, where Scripps-Howard owns the *Herald-Post* and

'I'm part of management and I'm black, but I'm black first'

Claude Lewis, *The Philadelphia Bulletin*





**'We have people of talent,
but where are they going to get
experience?'**

Frank Del'Olmo, *Los Angeles Times*

Gannett the *Times*. Robert W. Lee, editor of the Scripps-Howard paper, says he hires "on the basis of what's available" and has never made any special effort to employ or train Hispanics. He has five Hispanics on a professional staff of thirty-two and no black employees. Over at the *Times*, editor Robert Bentley (who has recently moved to the Washington Post Company's *Trenton Times*) turned around the employment picture after Gannett bought the newspaper four years ago. The *Times* had no black news professionals and only a handful of Hispanics when he arrived. Today, the staff of sixty-five includes eighteen Hispanics and five blacks, which may represent the best minority-hiring record in the country. Bentley has taken on both experienced journalists and beginners, for whom he has tailored individual professional-development programs. "This city has the largest percentage of Hispanics in the country and we had the reputation of being a lily-white newspaper," he says. "That's why we had to make special efforts to attract minority job applicants. They are now coming to us; we have the commitment and the word spreads."

The contrast between the Knight-Ridder newspapers, which lead the country in circulation, and the Newhouse papers, which rank second, is also telling. Like Gannett, Knight-Ridder has a management-by-objective program in which publishers and editors are judged in part by their minority-hiring record. Knight-Ridder also spends \$300,000 annually to hire and train minority journalists, and runs a minority internship program. These initiatives have proved fruitful in such places as Akron, where Albert Fitzpatrick has taken twenty-two blacks through a training program at the *Beacon Journal*. Of the 106-person professional staff,

twelve—including Fitzpatrick—are black. Over the past seven years, the chain has employed 350 people through such efforts; ninety are still with the company, and many have moved on to other newspaper jobs. There are now 287 minority managers and professionals working for Knight-Ridder, slightly more than 6 percent of the total.

Newhouse, the other giant, has no corporate programs for minority hiring at all, although some papers in the chain are working on them individually. David Starr, publisher of the *Springfield Union* and *Springfield News* in Massachusetts and senior editor in the Newhouse chain, says his editors are trying hard to hire blacks and Hispanics, but with little success. His professional staff of 160 news employees includes two nonwhites, one on each paper; the Newhouse Washington bureau, also under his supervision, is all-white. Starr says he is now considering a training program, something resisted by many newspapers. These include the Newhouse-owned *Portland Oregonian*, despite support from assistant managing editor William Hilliard. Hilliard says that management's refusal to underwrite the costs of training partly accounts for the *Oregonian's* poor minority-employment record. "I disagree with the management policy of only hiring journeymen," says Hilliard. "We should hold the door open for young black people, and whites as well. This business is dominated by middle-class, middle-aged white males, and we need youth."

Talent and experience

Most newspapers used to train as a matter of course. But as the numbers of job applicants increased, many abandoned the practice as an unnecessary expense; they came to depend on a farm system of smaller papers to break in novice journalists. Editors of larger newspapers say repeatedly that this system should be relied upon to increase the supply of minority journalists in the profession. The weight of the evidence, however, is against this ladder working well. Minority journalists are often not comfortable working for newspapers in small towns without minority communities. Such newspapers, moreover, have also been the most laggard in seeking out minority employees. There are almost 1,200 daily papers without a single minority news employee, and these are precisely the papers big-city editors tout as their farm system.

Even major newspapers that control farm systems of their own do not seem eager to utilize them for minority training. *The Washington Post*, for example, owns the *Trenton Times*, a paper which has seasoned eight white, male reporters for the *Post* in the last few years. But there are only four minority journalists out of a professional staff of ninety-three at the *Times*, and the *Post* has not urged the New Jersey paper either to hire or to train more. Similarly, *The Wall Street Journal*, which has twelve minority journalists on its staff of 220, does not provide training itself and has made no effort to use its chain of thirteen Ottaway newspapers for this purpose, despite a suggestion that it do so

made by a black reporter on the Dow Jones minority advisory committee.

Ben Bagdikian, long-time press critic and professor of journalism at the University of California, says farm systems simply cannot do the job. "It is outrageous," he says, "that newspapers are making a twenty-percent return on sales and yet refuse to help with the training of minority journalists. Unless papers take on that task, you're going to have earnest, piecemeal efforts putting a trickle of people into jobs."

The need for training programs is particularly pressing in the West and Southwest, where Hispanics are only now entering the business. The best minority hiring record on the West Coast is held by the *San Francisco Examiner*. Editor Reg Murphy, chairman of the A.S.N.E. committee on minorities, follows an affirmative-action plan complete with goals, timetables, and training. "Everybody in America lives by statistics."

The schools: two steps forward, one back

The journalism schools are not doing any better than the newspapers. A 1978 survey reported that while twice as many minority students were enrolled in journalism schools as in 1972, they still comprised only 4.1 percent of the country's 64,592 journalism degree candidates. Special programs are being cut back and the number of minority journalism scholarships has dropped from 212 in 1972 to slightly more than 100 today.

A double blow was the Ford Foundation's cancellation of its graduate journalism education program for minorities, a \$60,000 effort, and the termination of the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation's minority fund. Asked about the A.N.P.A. decision, foundation president Frank Daniels, Jr. said: "To tell you the truth, I forget the rationale. I think there was some question of whether we should give scholarships just for minorities. We plan to phase out scholarship programs, anyway."

Many journalism schools have now abandoned recruiting efforts. In the last few years at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism—which discontinued its summer minority-training program in the early seventies—minority applications have fallen off, to 94 out of 784 for the class of 1978. This year Columbia is renewing its efforts to attract minority applicants. A number of predominantly black universities have started journalism programs, but professors at Howard, Norfolk State, and Clark College in Atlanta complain that newspapers neither recruit their students nor take them willingly as summer interns.

Whatever their numbers, minority journalism students are often not receiving adequate help. "There is a benign neglect of black students in journalism schools," says University of Kansas professor Samuel Adams. "They aren't getting the practice; they aren't getting into the system." Adams and Wilson are among fewer than a dozen nonwhite professors teaching at white journalism schools. When John De Mott sought to bring several blacks onto the journalism school faculty at Temple University, he lost his job as department chairman. "The academic community is simply not amenable to affirmative action," says De Mott. N.K.

Murphy has advised his fellow editors. "We need to keep score." Murphy's score stands at twenty-three nonwhites on a staff of 200, with a goal of 20 percent minority representation within three years.

The *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, on the other hand, which serves a city with over a million Hispanic residents, has but one Hispanic reporter on its news staff. The *Los Angeles Times*, for its part, has fewer than a dozen among some 572 professionals. "This newspaper is pathetically short of people who can speak Spanish and cover the Spanish community," says *Times* reporter Frank Del Olmo. "The editor says, 'Find me people of talent and experience and I'll hire them.' We have people of talent, but where are they going to get experience?" The *Times's* editor, William Thomas, acknowledges that an abortive effort at minority training soured him on the idea. "We're ill-equipped to train them and it's painful for the inadequately prepared minority trainee," he says.

There is, in fact, no consensus on what constitutes reasonable job training for journalists. Minority reporters are especially sensitive to the implication that all of them, irrespective of talent or experience, require special handling in order to compete. "Training programs should be for people who need training, not for racial groups," says Jay Harris of the Medill School.

But the more common complaint is that training programs, where they exist, are slapdash, and that in the absence of a functioning farm system there is no way in and up for many minority journalists. "A lot of editors think they are open-minded when they hire minority reporters," says *Akron Beacon Journal* editor Albert Fitzpatrick, "but they really expect them to be an instant success. It takes several years to develop a good reporter, and there are too few people willing to devote the necessary time and effort."

The recent experience of newspapers around the country demonstrates that integration may be possible, but only if time and effort are indeed spent to overcome vestiges of racism and inequality. There is a "nervousness and a basic white fear, which no one is going to admit," says *Detroit Free Press* managing editor Neil Shine. In the face of such fear, only strong management commitment to affirmative action has gotten minority journalists into the newsrooms.

If the first qualified person through the door is the first one hired, today that person most often will still be a white male. Newspapers with the best minority-hiring records, it is clear, recognize this and seek out and—when necessary—train promising candidates. Once such minority journalists have established themselves throughout the news business, it should be possible to get beyond counting them. Meanwhile, editors who look may find a new generation of minority journalists. "Young black reporters today are going places," says *Washington Post* city editor Herbert Denton. "They're more direct, they're better focused, and they're tough." ■

Reporting the race war in

How many
'floppies' equal one
murdered
missionary?

by ROGER MORRIS

"When white nuns being raped by black guerrillas wearing red stars on their armbands start appearing on nightly television news"—thus *The Washington Post* in late December 1978, quoting a remark attributed to National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski on the putative breaking point of the Carter administration's position of support for black-majority rule in Rhodesia.

Whether the Brzezinski maxim was apocryphal or an authentic tidbit of current White House dialogue, it vividly suggested the degree to which diplomacy can be hostage to public imagery, and nowhere more than in the plight of a former British colony in southern Africa. A savage guerrilla war between black and white, which also pits black soldiers against black guerrilla fighters, the Rhodesian problem seems to bring foreign affairs home to the United States in a way few other international issues do.

As most often in foreign-news reporting, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* gave their influential readership comparatively frequent and lengthy coverage of Rhodesian matters. But the escalating war brought wider attention, chiefly from *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*, from a handful of major papers which, like the *Times* and the *Post*, sent reporters periodically to Rhodesia or near-

by black states, and from The Associated Press and United Press International, both of which have bureaus in Salisbury and which jointly constitute the major channel of Rhodesian news for most U.S. newspapers. As the coverage increased, events in Rhodesia, and particularly the war, began to be reported to the American audience with sometimes subtle, sometimes all too visible, racial overtones.

In both tone and substance, some of the coverage seemed to segregate black casualties from white. Thus, *Newsweek* on May 8 printed a major dispatch on a Rhodesian army sweep against guerrillas and gave it the title "Tea and Terrorists." Written by Kim Willenson with Peter Young-husband (who had spent a week with the largely black, but white-officered, army), the article described the attack in this fashion:

... The helicopters fluttered in, hovering just long enough to land their troops and a pair of foxhound tracker dogs. The hounds' baying came in clearly on the radio. "Tally ho," said the colonel—and his aides chuckled into their teacups as the hunt accelerated. . . .

Soon after, the Command Car was back on the radio to report a "scene"—a skirmish between guerrillas and a ground patrol. This time the Rhodesians scored. "We have a floppy [a dead terrorist]. Patrol reports he is armed with an AK-47. Also, he is wearing football boots." The colonel smiled: "Well then, he can't be all that bad after all."

The captions of the four photographs echoed this tone; two pictures of black Rhodesian soldiers carrying dead, spreadeagled black guerrillas shared a caption that read: "Gathering up the 'floppies': In the past four months, 1,100 kills."

Throughout the *Newsweek* account, there is a numbing sense of *déjà vu* with another war in another country with its "body counts" and dehumanizing slang for enemy casualties. It is hard to believe that the magazine intended the dispatch as a

sly indictment of the attitudes it depicted or as a parody of the jaunty war reporting of the past. It is equally difficult to accept the piece as a balanced news report.

When the dead bodies in the war were white, there was no more tea and "Tally ho." On June 25, for example, *The Washington Post* ran a front-page story by David Ottaway on the murder of twelve British missionaries and their children—"axed, bayoneted and clubbed" in what Ottaway called "the worst mass murder of church representatives in Rhodesia's increasingly grisly civil war." Even when making allowance for the fact that the victims in this case were non-combatants and foreigners, the difference in tone between the Ottaway dispatch and *Newsweek's* battle story is plain.

In a July 2 story on British reaction to the June killings, R.W. Apple, Jr., the chief of the *New York Times's* London bureau, noted that while the killing of whites "provoke[d] cries of outrage," black casualties on either side "seldom get much attention." No major newspaper account went on to put coverage of the atrocity story in further perspective: the Rhodesian regime had flown journalists (Ottaway, for one) to the scene of the missionary murders and had given them complete freedom to send back dispatches and photos; it had provided no such access or cooperation when, two weeks earlier, twenty-two Africans had been killed by Rhodesian security forces or when, only a day before the missionaries were killed, seventeen black Rhodesian refugees and two white Belgian relief volunteers were reportedly killed during a raid by Rhodesian troops into Mozambique. Nor did the headline articles discuss possible doubts about the atrocities. As early as March 1977, for example, the *London Observer* had reported on an elite Rhodesian counterinsurgency group called the

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Rhodesia

“Selous Scouts,” whom eyewitnesses had accused of murdering missionaries as deliberate acts of provocation.

If the tone and depth of reporting differed according to the race of the dead, so, too, did the prominence of the articles. Missionary victims tended to be front-page news for many American papers, but throughout July, as the Rhodesian government announced the guerrilla killing of four black political figures, of thirty-nine blacks at a rally, and of seventeen more in a village, the *Post* typically carried the news in news-service notes on pages 23 and 28, while the *Times* ran a single A.P. account at the bottom of page 8. A notable exception was a July 3 story in the *Times* about the killing of fourteen black farm workers at a white-owned cattle ranch, a front-page dis-

patch with a photo of the dead on page 2. But, again, the story and pictures came from a special trip to the site arranged by the Rhodesian authorities. Like most articles written on the basis of such trips, the dispatch by Michael Kaufman did not warn the reader of the special circumstances under which the article was written.

As the war wore on through the summer and the Rhodesian army carried out “retaliatory strikes” against guerrilla bases in neighboring Mozambique, even the most detailed U.S. coverage was similarly limited. On August 1, the *Times* reported a major raid in a short Reuters dispatch. But over the next two days even longer stories from the paper’s own John Burns in Salisbury—both on page 9—described little more than the government briefing on the

action and its justification by a black member of Smith’s interim regime. The *Post* put the raid story on its front page, but this dispatch, too, was confined to the official Rhodesian account, relayed in this case by the paper’s correspondent in Capetown, South Africa.

Later, in October, Rhodesian planes and airborne troops attacked guerrilla camps in Zambia. The action came at the close of Prime Minister Ian Smith’s controversial visit to Washington, but most U.S. papers, including the *Post*, carried the news in an A.P. account by Maureen Johnson which, once again, relied almost exclusively on the official Salisbury briefing. The *Post*’s Ottaway was virtually alone the next day in reporting from Lusaka, Zambia, the contrasting guerrilla view of the raid, according to which several ci-

Newsweek’s caption for this picture read: “Gathering up the ‘flopies’: In the past four months, 1,100 kills.”

Sygm



vilians were killed.

"It is not possible to tell which side is more responsible for the spreading savagery," the *Post* had editorialized about the Rhodesian war in June 1978. "Both are responsible." Yet almost without exception, the thrust of American reporting throughout the year was to feature with gruesome detail the "savagery" of black guerrilla killings of innocent civilians, many of them white, while carrying only crisp descriptions, often submerged as almost routine news, of Rhodesian retaliatory raids. (Almost invariably, the raids were described as matters of military necessity, involving no untoward complications such as civilian casualties.)

The distortion can be traced, in part, to the stationing of reporters. While both wire services had offices in Salisbury—a handy conduit for the briefings of Rhodesia's white military spokesmen—neither service provided regular coverage of the guerrilla groups operating in Mozambique or Zambia. Yet the failure went beyond simple proximity to what seemed a larger inability or unwillingness to report the black side of the war even when there was the opportunity. Once more, the *Post*'s Ottaway was a laudable exception with a front-page July 4 story, RHODESIA'S BLACKS FEEL BRUNT OF WAR, a stark account of the casualties and displacement among the black population which, interestingly, was largely based on official statistics then being promoted by the Smith regime. For the most part, the press reflected the approach of *U.S. News* in its major stories on the war on January 30 and again on September 25, aptly and respectively entitled "Fortress Rhodesia" and "Time Running Out for Rhodesia's Whites," accounts of the war seen almost wholly from the point of view of the country's beleaguered minority. In its August 14 issue, *Newsweek* reported on Rhodesia's "ebbing morale" and the visceral, intensely human fears of a white man driving through areas of potential ambush ("That knotted feeling in your gut begins about 12 miles out of town," the magazine quoted "a Salisbury

resident" as saying). There was no comparable account in that story or, indeed, in any major American publication that described the feelings of blacks when Rhodesian planes swept over camps in Zambia, or when the army's hounds and helicopters were on the trail.

The general shallowness of Rhodesian coverage, at the same time, also obscured or ignored troubling realities and complexities on the black side. While few accounts showed empathy for or provided detail about black suffering, most American readers were never told that guerrilla leader Robert Mugabe had reportedly put out a "death list" of those whites and blacks marked for execution upon his accession to power. And only late in the year did the *Times* discover the profound tribal divisions that had so long haunted the struggle against white rule and which imperil the future of a black-governed Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, on the one subject presumably best and most easily covered—the state of affairs within white Rhodesia—readers faced a perplexing contradiction between two main sources of reporting, the *Times* and the *Post*. From summer to autumn, the rival papers were repeatedly at odds on the same stories. When police clashed with guerrillas in or near Salisbury in July and again in August, the *Post* played the stories as GUERRILLA WAR HITS SALISBURY, while the *Times* relegated a Reuters wire copy to an inner page with a matter-of-fact head. Later in the autumn, the *Post* similarly stressed black opposition within Rhodesia to a draft of blacks for the army, while in January of this year the *Times* published a feature story on the integration and high morale of blacks in the Rhodesian forces. But the sharpest incongruity was between two Ottaway dispatches in July and September bracketing a feature by the *Times*'s Burns in August—all on the attitudes and morale of the white minority. Ottaway, filing from Salisbury, saw white rule "crumbling" with "growing racial bitterness on both sides" and the situation "never . . . dimmer." Within a

few weeks, filing from the same city, Burns was "increasingly struck by the complacency that pervades this sun-washed capital," and reported "a comfortable sense of calm" marked by evenings of Bach, Beethoven, and "a bingo game in a church hall."

After the sameness of war reporting for most of the year, this variety was almost tonic. Yet these articles, too, were rather thin. On closer reading, Burns's impression of a placid Rhodesia was apparently based on a ride through middle-class suburbs from the airport, a stroll around town, and attendance at some old-boy heckling in the new Smith parliament. Ottaway's sense of impending doom, on the other hand, was based largely on figures, incidents, and images that had been the staple of some of his own earlier reporting, much of it provided by the regime itself to demonstrate how destructive the guerrillas were.

There seems to be no single or simple reason for the general inferiority of the press coverage of Rhodesia's fierce and volatile war. As *The Christian Science Monitor* pointed out in an unsigned July 11, 1978, dispatch, the Smith regime imposes severe restrictions on journalists, including censorship, prohibition from most areas of the country without specific permission or escort, and short-term work permits. Racial segregation by itself makes it difficult for white outsiders to make sustained visits to black areas in Rhodesia. Moreover, editorial pressures from home offices reinforce the attraction of gore and sensation. And to be stationed elsewhere, visiting Salisbury only as a fleeting stop on a continental beat, is to be prey to all the temptations of the glib formula story. What is needed is a journalist who will plunge into the white and black sides to explain, record, hear, and feel the war for American readers. Instead, like the young Winston Churchill traveling with General Kitchener in the Sudan, many American reporters appear to be content to dine in the Rhodesian tent and file their dispatches, as it were, from what was said over drinks. ■

Playing inflation down the middle

Coverage of Carter's economic program
stuck to mainstream opinion, while disregarding
more interesting options

by ROBERT LEKACHMAN

The press had had ample time to prepare for the story. During the summer and early autumn of 1978, leaks and inspired stories had registered White House determination to grapple with inflation—an issue of crucial importance to the political well-being of the administration and to President Carter's reelection prospects. As inflation quickened, as unemployment stuck quite high, as the country's balance-of-payments deficit continued to rise, and as the dollar continued to slide, speculation intensified about what measures Carter would take to deal with these problems. Finally, on October 24, the president announced his program of wage-price guidelines, and, on November 1, attempted to impart credibility to them by taking steps to save the dollar. With months to gear up for these events, not to mention years-long experience of dealing with inflation stories, what sort of job did three of the nation's leading dailies do?

In handling a necessarily technical story, the press incurred three distinct responsibilities: to provide a clear chronicle of events and of reactions to them, to explain the causes of inflation, and to assess the adequacy of the administration's responses to the problem and the impact these responses might have on people's lives. *The New York Times* (on strike until No-

vember 6), *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal* provided a fairly good chronicle (as did the newsmagazines); but their news analyses, columns, and editorials failed abysmally to clarify causes and assess cures.

The main reason for this deficiency was the failure to explore how the behavior of certain powerful and identifiable institutions affects the economy, a failure directly attributable to the exceedingly narrow range of opinion and analysis within which discussion and comment was, and traditionally has been, confined. One can dip into almost any October or November 1978 editorial or news analysis and come up with an illustration. Take, for example, an analysis that appeared on the front page of *The Washington Post* of November 2. Written by Hobart Rowen, a very well-informed economics and business specialist, it was headlined COMPLEX ACTIONS DELIBERATELY RISK RECESSION IN '79. Rowen noted, among other things, that "Carter's actions [to support the dollar] went further than those advocated last year by former Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F. Burns, which Carter then denounced, and which led to Burns' departure from his post." Rowen then solicited comment on Carter's actions from four economists: on the "left," George Perry and Arthur M. Okun, both of the Brookings Institution, and Otto Eckstein, of Data Resources, Inc., whom he identified as a group as "Democratic economists"; and "conservative economist

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AMERICA'S NEWSPAPERS, EVER EAGER TO PROMOTE
BALANCED ECONOMIC COVERAGE...

William J. Fellner of the American Enterprise Institute," and thus, presumably, on the "right."

The quotation marks around the directional signals are meant to signify just how little actually separates Keynesian economists such as Perry, Okun, and Eckstein from monetarists such as Fellner. Both groups share one basic tenet. Although the Keynesians put more emphasis on the public's spending behavior than on fluctuations in the supply of money (the monetarists' chief concern), they, like the monetarists, firmly believe that, by and large, competition prevails in the American economy and believe less and less in the efficacy of federal intervention. (The halfway house of "voluntary" guidelines reflects the Keynesian view that, in general, markets work competitively and that federal intervention is called for only in exceptional circumstances.) The Galbraithians dissent sharply from this majority view, perceiving the economy as much less competitive and, indeed, over a wide range of manufacturing and service activities, as monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic. Believing that giant corporations and powerful unions can and do act in ways that promote inflation, they also believe that this behavior can and, on occasion, should be controlled by force of law. Such is the implicit case for mandatory wage and price controls.

Once one takes into account the article of faith that links the Keynesians and the monetarists, the narrowness of the range of opinion to be found in the press becomes clear. And, as a corollary, the "balance" provided in the press may begin to seem spurious. *The Wall Street Journal* balances the conservative monetarists among its rotating columnists by letting Walter Heller, a Keynesian very close to the center of the spectrum, speak for the left. At *Newsweek*, Nobel laureate Milton Friedman, a strict monetarist, is similarly balanced by Paul A. Samuelson, a raving moderate who happens to be a Keynesian. A splendid instance of this sort of balancing act, which also illustrates how different publications tend to rely on the same sources, was provided in the November 13 *Newsweek*. The cover story that week was titled "Saving the Dollar but Risking a Recession." In a special three-page section, Samuelson led off with his column and then seven economists assessed Carter's November 8 plans to save the dollar. Keynesians Eckstein

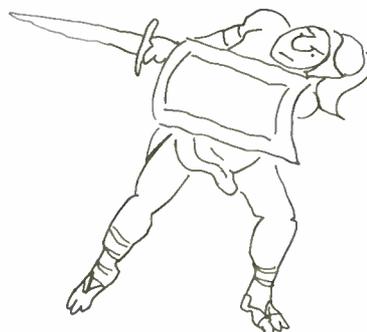
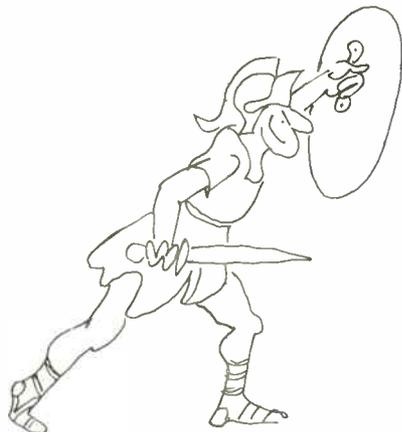
and Perry, whom Rowen had cited earlier that month in the *Post*, were there. (The ubiquitous Eckstein, incidentally, serves on *Time's* board of economists.) Four of the five others represented the general establishment consensus—mildly Keynesian or sympathetic to monetarist views—the best known of them being Alan Greenspan, who was chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers and who is another member of *Time's* board of economists. Labor was represented—at the tail end of the piece—by Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.; his comment concluded on a Galbraithian note: "We urge [the president] to opt for wage-and-price controls."

Meanwhile, the public itself, blessed with minds unclouded by graduate training in economics, appears to be predominantly Galbraithian. As *The Gallup Opinion Index* noted in its October 1978 issue titled *Whither Controls? A history of public attitudes toward wage-price restraints*: "With consumer prices advancing at a rate of better than 10 percent during the first six months of 1978, the American people continue to call for wage and price controls. . . . Three consecutive Gallup surveys since April have shown a majority of the public favoring a return to controls." The *Index* also reported that "for almost 40 years the public has approved wage and price controls during wars or periods of severe inflation."

This persistent attitude attests to a widespread perception, shared by Galbraithians, that in critically important areas markets do not operate as they once did (if ever they did), and that voluntary guidelines won't work. There are reasons for believing that the ordinary citizen is right.

In our day, the intransigence of inflation and, most alarming, its coexistence with recession and unemployment, derive from an assortment of external events and structural shifts in the situation of the United States in the world economy. In the last decade, the world energy and commodity markets have been transformed, fixed currency rates have come unstuck, the dollar has come under assault as a reserve currency, and major domestic industries have lost ground to their foreign rivals.

In this new and not particularly pleasant world, economic events are shaped by various corporate inter-



... PIT KEYNESIAN AGAINST MONETARIST...

ests, foreign and domestic, as well as by politicians here and abroad responsive to corporate wishes. Without the cooperation of the major oil companies, for example, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries could not market its oil and enforce its pricing policies. In international currency markets, the dollar's decline is propelled by the currency manipulations of American-based multinational corporations and banks. Moreover, agricultural subsidies flow disproportionately to the proprietors of enormous corporate farms tied in to major food processors like Beatrice Foods and Ralston-Purina. The application of political power by well-organized business interests, occasionally joined as junior partners by major trade unions, has steadily increased prices in food, energy, housing, and medical care—the dominant elements of the cost of living.

This perspective on events suggests that the only feasible response to the exercise of corporate economic power is restraint by congressional and executive action—the very mandatory controls from which economists and politicians retreat and toward which the public seems eager to proceed. Such an interpretation of inflation as a consequence of the distribution of power is rarely found in the major newspapers and newsweeklies.

Accepting the safe, apparent opposition between the Keynesian and monetarist views, coverage of the inflation story by the nation's leading dailies fell into a familiar pattern: the apparently inevitable choice was between inflation and recession. Between October 24, when the guidelines were announced, and November 1, when supplementary policies to support the dollar were added, stock prices and the dollar fell sharply. The three October 26 *Washington Post* stories on the front of the business section focused entirely on the danger of more inflation. After the president announced on November 1 that the dollar would be supported with up to \$30 billion of borrowed foreign currencies, that credit at home would be tightened, and that the budget deficit would be reduced to \$30 billion or less—steps that perked up the financial market—the press began to worry equally exclusively about recession. Thus, the *Wall Street Journal's* major headline on November 2 deftly combined implicit praise with apprehension: BOLD CURRENCY SUPPORT ANNOUNCED

BY THE U.S. RAISES RECESSION RISKS.

The *Post's* coverage in the days following November 1, like the *Journal's*, emphasized stock-market reactions and the fluctuations of the dollar. Occasional editorial euphoria over militant anti-inflationary action, together with similar expressions of enthusiasm in business circles continued to vie with gloom over imminent recessions, labor unrest, and other troubles. *Post* headlines such as FEAR OVER HIGH INTEREST PUSHES DJ DOWN 10.83 and PREDICTING MILD 1979 RECESSION were typical.

The *Times*, fretfully silent during the death of two popes, Carter's Camp David spectacular, and Phase II, resumed operations on November 6. Like the *Post*, the *Journal*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, the *Times* began to report the shifting odds on recession. A November 8 piece by Clyde H. Farnsworth (PRIVATE ECONOMISTS EXPECT '79 RECESSION) concluded that "Even the government's own economists agree that economic growth will be slow, although the Administration's position is that the slowdown will fall short of a recession." Farnsworth cited the usual sources, Otto Eckstein and a pride of economists at Citibank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Kidder, Peabody & Company.

By mid-November, Phase II had turned into a running story. One aspect was a steady flow of leaks about impending revisions in pay and price standards. A second aspect was the attempt to translate complicated issues into personalities: Alfred Kahn ("King Kahn," as *Time* promptly dubbed him) as miracle worker and verbal comedian; treasury secretary W. Michael Blumenthal versus the White House on the rescue of the dollar and the desirability of wage insurance; the clash between James McIntyre, director of the Office of Management and Budget, and White House adviser Stuart Eizenstat over budget cuts; the Meany-Carter clash; and so on.

Who's up and who's down may make entertaining reading, but the effect of personifying issues is to diminish their importance. George Meany is old and crotchety. He has been able to restrain his admiration of all recent presidents. Nevertheless, in his opposition to Carter's program of voluntary guidelines he enjoyed the united support of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive board, which includes such frequent critics as the



MOODY

machinists' William Winpisinger and the government workers' Jerry Wurf. More exploration of the reasons for union opposition and less emphasis upon Meany's age and temperament might better have served the cause of public enlightenment.

A third aspect of Phase II coverage was a running account of budget cuts needed to fulfill the president's pledge to reduce the deficit. On November 19, a Sunday, the *Times* did a particularly good job of examining the guns-versus-butter choices confronting the budget cutters. First, in the *Times Magazine*, there was Seymour Melman's "Beating 'Swords' into Subways," which strongly argued the case that "Instead of boosting the economy, our excessive arms production has boosted inflation and unemployment." Then, in a piece that appeared on the front page of the business and finance section, reporter Ann Crittenden carefully weighed the pros and cons of defense contracts as creators of jobs and incomes. Crittenden pointed out, among other things:

Virtually all economists agree . . . that military spending tends to be inflationary. This is because it puts money into the hands of workers without expanding the supply of goods they can buy—the consumer market for missiles and the like being somewhat limited—thereby driving up the prices of goods like autos and refrigerators and machine tools. . . .

Less widely recognized is the fact that spending on weapons generally produces fewer jobs than many other kinds of Government expenditure. . . .

Both articles presented a trenchant diagnosis of inflation not to be found in the musings of such establishment columnists as Joseph Kraft or the *Times's* own James Reston.

Concern for the effect budget cuts might have on the poor was similarly hard to find in editorial comment. At the *Times*, Roger Wilkins occasionally explored this topic in his urban-affairs column. On November 24, for example, when the *Times* ran a front-page story headlined BLACK LEADERS ASK TO SEE CARTER ON BUDGET CUTS IN SOCIAL PROGRAMS, Wilkins supplied some useful background. Among other things, he quoted extensively from "a little noticed speech" by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., president of the National Urban League. Jordan had made the point that "It is unfair to ask working people and poor people to bear the brunt of fighting inflation while the affluent enjoy the benefits of the tax bill the President signed last week." The point was well taken—and rarely presented.

If, as the foregoing strongly suggests, even the news columns were ideologically infected by the apparently conflicting but actually similar opinions of monetarists and Keynesians, one might reasonably expect that columnists and editorial writers would render explicit these establishment views. This expectation was amply fulfilled. As reportage, *The Wall Street Journal* played the Phase II story in much the same way as the *Post* and the *Times*. Editorially, however, the *Journal* stood out as the most consistent and fervent monetarist of the trio. With the certitude of true believers, the

Journal, in season and out, proclaimed too much money as the proximate cause of inflation, reprobated the villainy of the Federal Reserve's creating more dollars, and nominated Congress and the president as co-conspirators. Robert L. Bartley, the *Journal's* editor, and the four editorial writers who, with him, set editorial policy and write the unsigned editorials, knew in their hearts that guidelines, controls, and miscellaneous meddling would damage the efficient operations of marvelously intricate markets. The *Journal's* October 26 editorial (INFLATION SHADOW BOXING) began rousing: "President Carter's singular plea to the people not to heap ridicule on his anti-inflation program must betray his own lack of confidence in it, a sneaking suspicion that ridicule is what it manifestly deserves. Surely it offers little in either diagnosis or prescription for the inflation sickness."

On November 8 the *Journal* began to pursue a valid theme touched upon only glancingly elsewhere. Its editorial (GOVERNMENT OF LAWS?) charged that "The 'voluntary' program is an effort to get business, labor and other citizens to cooperate with the administration's desires even when it has no legal authority to enforce them, is seeking no legal authority to do so and probably could not get such authority if it sought it from Congress." The *Journal* objected to "an image of the government playing bully" and calling into question "the impartiality of law enforcement."

The charm of the *Journal's* editorial page is in its vigor, clarity, and certitude. By contrast, the tentativeness of *Post* and *Times* comment bespoke considerable uncertainty of counsel. Typical was a November 10 *Times* editorial verdict on Phase II entitled WILL IT FLY WITHOUT CONTROLS? The writer expressed regret that Carter had waited two years before addressing inflation, but continued with weighty words of approval: "There is no doubt that his package of 'voluntary' wage-price guidelines, wage insurance and a stiff dose of fiscal and monetary restraint can work without a slide into recession." But, as usual, fully employed journalists bravely confronted the pain of others: "given the alternatives, there should be little doubt that the risk [of recession] is worth taking." The endorsement was justified with another bit of conventional wisdom: "Inaction would only guarantee recession, and a deeper one at that."

Recession, it should be clear, increases unemployment, especially among the usual losers—blacks, Hispanics, teenagers, and women. When workers are being laid off, affirmative-action schemes become nugatory. Cities like New York, Boston, Detroit, and Cleveland, painfully struggling to revive, are confronted with declining tax revenues and new welfare burdens. Unions, more concerned about jobs than benefits, accept much smaller settlements in bad than in good times.

Why did the *Times*, on the liberal wing of the establishment, so meekly accept the probability of a recession certain to wreak this sort of human havoc? Well,

for one thing, publishers and editorial writers read their own news clips, which offer the restricted options already noted: continued inflation at unacceptable rates, or budget cuts and interest-rate hikes almost guaranteed to cause recession. The November 10 editorial gave the game away by intoning the warning obligatory in respectable circles against mandatory controls: "These might work for a time, but at very high cost in inefficiency: they would enmesh the government in all business decisions and destroy the valuable workings of the market place."

The *Post*, whose editorial page has been drifting gently to the right, accepted recession therapy with even more equanimity than the *Times*. On October 24, the *Post* was supporting Phase II guidelines as preferable to recession in this language: "The outlook for the president's guidelines is not, to be frank, very promising. But awkward, irritating and sometimes unfair though they may be, they are far preferable to the inevitable alternative—recession." However, by December 2 (YES, WE'LL HAVE NO BANANA), the *Post* bravely remarked that "A recession in the coming year is likely. Whether the administration can get the public cooperation to keep it a mild and short one is very much an open question."

The *Post*'s and *Times*'s automatic exclusion of mandatory controls and their tepid endorsement of guidelines represents the confusion of contemporary economics about the reality of reasonably workable competition in many important markets. A churlish soul might suggest another explanation. Newspapers, as *Business Week* discourteously reminded the *Times* a couple of years ago, are businesses as well as fervent admirers of the First Amendment. They share with the proprietors of other large enterprises aspirations to keep profits rising more rapidly than costs. The fact is that under Phase II it is easier to raise prices than to raise wages. Moreover, while wage settlements are widely publicized, apply to two- or three-year periods, and seldom allow of renegotiation, prices can quietly be raised either openly or covertly by diminishing quality or quantity. Early in January, the *Times* increased the price of its Sunday edition from seventy-five cents to eighty-five cents, a 13.33 percent increase, and at about the same time the cost of the *Journal* rose from twenty-five cents to thirty cents, a 20 percent hike. Mandatory controls might hinder such managerial adjustments.

By New Year's day 1979, those who read and believed the serious newspapers and newsweeklies might well have concluded that the only way inflation could be tamed was by trading it in for a recession whose degree of severity, according to the *Post*, really depended upon whether the public abided by the guidelines. By early 1979, however, Phase II controls, previously advertised as an alternative to recession, were being generally interpreted as an element in a package of anti-inflationary measures calculated to strengthen the dollar, slash the budget, escalate interest rates, and—

since by either monetarist or Keynesian calculations, these actions slow the economy—practically guarantee a recession after all.

Meanwhile, the consequences of the way the inflation story was handled in 1978 were twofold: it diminished hope that inflation could be controlled without the penalty of high unemployment and curtailment of urban and minority programs, and it spread the word that nobody in particular was responsible for economic misfortunes past, present, and yet to come.

This is simply not so. As I have argued here, and as John Kenneth Galbraith reminded readers of the *Times*'s op-ed page of January 12, inflation is the consequence of the exercise of power by specific economic actors—above all, major corporations in important industries and the politicians who cater to them. Mandatory controls continue to be the only way to restrain these powerful economic beasts. The *Journal*, whose opinions I deplore, nevertheless deserves credit for correctly posing the controls issue. Either the president and Congress should let the private sector rip or they should substitute public controls for private price decisions.

There was less excuse for the nation's major dailies to have ignored or greatly underplayed the relation between inflation and the concentration of economic power, because conventional economics in the 1970s has been unable to concoct policies resulting in full employment within an environment of stable prices. After all, even the venerable Arthur F. Burns has publicly conceded that markets no longer operate as they used to. The poverty of contemporary mainstream economics should have encouraged the media to examine less conventional views on inflation control such as those developed by Gar Alperovitz's National Center for Economic Alternatives, in Washington, D.C., and Christopher Jencks's *Working Papers* group, in Cambridge.

Almost anything pops up from time to time on the *Times* op-ed page and, once in a while, in the *Sunday Magazine*, but the steady emphasis of daily reporting and frequent editorial comment simply restated tired variations upon the need to balance inflation and recession. Dissenting voices were featured less frequently in the *Post*, and even more rarely in the *Journal*. In *Time* and *Newsweek* the gamut of opinion, at a generous estimate, ranged from A to C. The major network news programs faithfully presented the same picture, though at mercifully shorter length.

At this writing, in late January, the nearly double-digit inflation rate shows more signs of accelerating than of moderating. It is calamitously likely that we shall experience both recession and unabated inflation. Some of the responsibility may be properly laid at the door of the press. The flood of words poured into repetitive discussion of Phase II and its corollaries was notably short of intelligent inspection of the causes and cures of inflation. We are presently suffering the first installment of the consequences. ■



One of the biggest gold strikes since Sutter's Mill.

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It must be gold that's plated to the switching components you see glittering in the photograph, because no other metal can provide the same kind of efficient, reliable, durable, and clear telephone transmission.

But until now, gold-plating had always been a messy and imprecise

process. There had been no way to control it accurately. No way to avoid depositing excess gold on the places it was intended to go. And on the places it wasn't.

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Besides producing a much better product, Western Electric has mined a savings of \$9 million from the process. And that's another way we're helping your Bell Telephone Company

hold down the cost of your phone service.

Even bigger benefits

And since the new process uses 55% less gold than the old one, we could more than double production of our improved switching component. Without consuming any more of the shiny natural resource.

But there are more environmental plusses. The new process has almost completely eliminated the gaseous wastes plating used to produce. It's cut the liquid wastes by 90%. And it runs on 67% less power.

This improved gold-plating technique is another way Western Electric is working to hold down the cost, while continually raising the quality of your phone service.

Keeping your communications system the best in the world.



Western Electric

Job Discrimination... It Still Exists.

Paul Robertson is not a member of a persecuted minority. But he has experienced blatant discrimination all the same because he has chosen not to join a union.

Paul Robertson is a working man, a skilled licensed electrician with more than 20 years experience. He found out the hard way how a big company and a big union can discriminate on the job.

Paul was hired by the Bechtel Power Corporation to work on their Jim Bridger Power Plant project in the Rock Springs, Wyoming area. Only three months later, he was fired, supposedly because of a reduction in force.

But during the week preceding his discharge, Bechtel hired at least 19 union electricians referred by the local union and retained at least 65 unlicensed electricians.

A determined Paul Robertson filed unfair labor practice charges against the company and the union.

An administrative law judge ruled and was upheld by the full National Labor Relations Board that the union and the employer had indeed discriminated.

The judge ordered that Robertson and seven other electricians be

given the back pay they would have earned if they had been treated fairly.

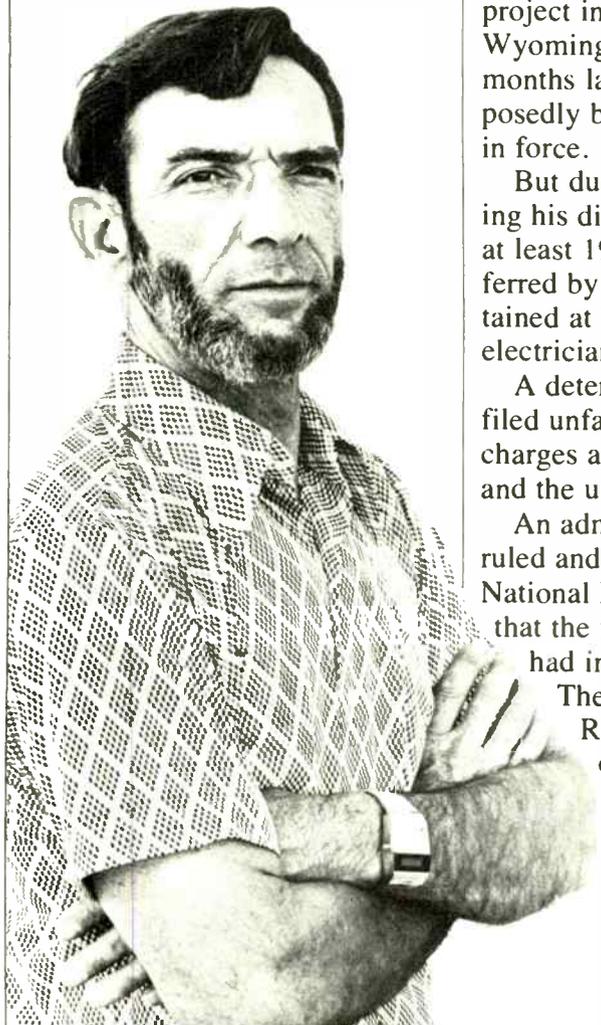
The NLRB later reversed part of its decision, but Paul Robertson did not give up. With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, he appealed the Board's decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals, arguing that hiring hall favoritism is discriminatory and unlawful.

Paul Robertson was fortunate. He found experienced legal help—all important because the case dragged on for nearly four years in the courts and the union still refuses to obey the NLRB's backpay order.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can—currently in more than 75 cases involving academic and political freedom, protection from union violence, and other fundamental rights. But it would like to do even more.

If you'd like to help workers like Paul Robertson write:

The National Right to Work
Legal Defense Foundation
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Suite 500
Fairfax, Virginia 22038



Business journalism's glittering prizes

For journalists, these award programs offer cash and prestige. But what's in them for the sponsors?

by CHRIS WELLES

Next November, three fortunate journalists will receive the Recreation Vehicle Industry Association Award, which carries with it a \$1,000 prize and an all-expenses-paid trip to the National Recreation Vehicle Show in Louisville, Kentucky. It is unlikely that anyone involved with the event, including the journalists, will look on it as anything more than what it really is: a promotion. "We wouldn't want anyone to lose their objectivity," says R.V.I.A. public relations director Gary LaBelle. "But we hope when people are writing a story about R.V.'s and know about our award that they will go out of their way to do an especially nice story." *Editor & Publisher's* latest annual list of close to 300 journalism contests includes scores of such awards offered by business-related groups like the National Association of Realtors, the National Bowling Council, and the Helicopter Association of America, whose principal and undisguised aim is a public relations boost for themselves and their members.

A small number of business-journalism prizes, however, have a loftier and more serious purpose: to re-

ward professional excellence and encourage superior reporting and writing about business and economics. A few of these awards—such as those voted by the Overseas Press Club and Sigma Delta Chi, the national journalism society—are sponsored by journalists and bestowed solely as professional honors. A larger—and growing—group is sponsored and overseen by corporations or business associations which are seeking, they say, to "promote better public understanding" of business and economics.

The awards are not pure altruism. The sponsoring organizations expect some image-enhancement. Further, says Robert Colodzin, public affairs director for Champion International Corporation, which sponsors one of the awards, "If people understand better how the real mechanics of our economic system works, it will benefit us and everyone in business." To allay suspicion that their prizes are simply promotional vehicles like the R.V.I.A. award, however, sponsors of the four most widely known business and economics journalism competitions—known as the Loeb, Missouri, Hancock, and Amos Tuck awards—take elaborate pains to insulate themselves from the selection process by turning over control to disinterested outsiders such as universities.

These awards have considerable impact within the profession. Unlike awards from such groups as the Overseas Press Club, they are elaborately promoted by sponsors and presented at expensively appointed banquets with eminent speakers. Cash prizes are sufficiently generous—as high as \$5,000—to attract hundreds of entries, and the names of the winners are widely disseminated. The University of Missouri, for example, sends copies of its winning entries to some 800 newspapers around the country.

Sponsors and administrators, indeed, hope that their winners will be regarded as paradigms of excellence to be emulated by all business journalists. "We want other papers to see what kinds of stories are winning prizes," says Roy Fisher, dean of Missouri's School of Journalism. "We would like editors to say, 'My God, why didn't we do that story?'"

These paradigms are being advanced at a time when many business editors, in response to growing public interest in business news, are strengthening staffs and looking for ways to improve coverage. Unfortunately, the most highly regarded standard of accomplishment, the Pulitzer Prize, is almost never awarded to a business journalist, although prizes occasionally have gone to business-related investigations. Thus, to the extent that editors and reporters look instead to the major business-journalism prizes as models of excellence, these competitions could have a strong influence on how matters of economic importance are presented to the public. What kind of journalism, then, wins these prizes? Who does the choosing? And, most important, which paradigms are the judges offering up to the journalism community?

The model suggested by the University of Missouri Awards for Excellence in Business, Economics and Financial Reporting is perhaps the most clearly defined. Over half of the forty awards during the past five years have gone to journalism critical of business. Among the winners have been stories on business bribery, unethical practices by Utah insurance companies, the political power of Montana's four largest corporations, and the environmental dangers of diesel emissions.

Missouri judges have been especially impressed by trade publica-

Chris Welles, director of the Walter Bagehot Fellowship Program in Economics and Business Journalism at Columbia, has won the Loeb, Missouri, and Hancock awards.

tions that have run stories critical of their industries. The bribery story, which discussed kickbacks and payoffs involving purchasing agents, appeared in *Purchasing* magazine. The diesel story, the first major treatment of the subject, was published by *New Engineer*, which derives much advertising from automotive companies, a number of which cancelled ads after the article appeared.

The Missouri awards are financed by a grant from the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America, a trade group of natural gas transmission concerns. The association plays an important role at the award ceremonies, which industry executives attend and at which they speak. To a greater degree than the other competitions, however, the award selection itself is controlled by journalists. According to William McPhatter, director of the business journalism program at Missouri, I.N.G.A.A. makes no effort to influence award selection, an assessment which several previous judges support. "We want you, the winner, to know that when you win this award, your peers think you have done an outstanding job," says McPhatter. He and Dean Roy Fisher select five judges each year, usually respected business journalists. They choose the winners from a final group of entries winnowed from some 225 submissions by journalism school faculty members.

Some of their selections have been embarrassing to the I.N.G.A.A. In 1974, a prize went to a *Philadelphia Inquirer* investigation of the oil industry by Donald Barlett and James Steele which contended that the widely reported energy shortage was a hoax perpetrated by the major oil companies. When a 1970 award was given to a rather vituperative attack on the oil industry by Ronnie Dugger in *The Atlantic Monthly*, many I.N.G.A.A. members were so outraged that, says one gas executive, "we almost scuttled the program." The outcry was quelled by Stanford Wallace, public relations director for Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Company in

Houston, who thought up the competition in the first place. "I'm proud of the fact that the industry has maintained the integrity of the award," says Wallace. "I think incidents like the Dugger and *Inquirer* articles prove how much we really believe in it."

The John Hancock Awards for Excellence in Business and Financial Journalism tend to promote a broader model of journalistic enterprise. The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, the sponsor, seems no more inclined to interfere in the award-selection process than I.N.G.A.A. It does, however, influence the tenor of the awards by choosing the judges. Four of the five judges are generally journalists, but they tend to be more senior than their Missouri counterparts. Recent judges have included such ranking media executives as Reginald Murphy, editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, and Lawrence O'Rourke, Washington bureau chief of *The Philadelphia Bulletin*. Hancock awards rarely go to stories that win Missouri awards. "I like a gutsy story as much as the next fellow," says a former judge, "but some of the stuff that gets awards in Missouri is downright irresponsible."

Hancock awards tend to lean away from the well-documented expose of business malfeasance favored by Missouri toward the tempered analysis of economic trends and noncontroversial business developments. Recent winners were a *Los Angeles Times* analysis of the high cost of medical care, a *Time* "Man of the Year" cover story on King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and a report on the battle between North and South over labor and capital that appeared in *Business Week*.

This paradigm is not uniformly applied, however. Winning entries have included a substantial number of stories like a *Philadelphia Inquirer* report on the work-related deaths of fifty-four employees of a Philadelphia factory, and a *Time* article several years ago that highlighted construction problems of the new John Hancock building in Chicago. "We take the bitter with the sweet," says Jean Canton, who runs the pro-

gram for Hancock. If using journalists as judges often produces critical winners, that is more than offset, in her view, by the benefits. Journalists, Canton says, make the best judges. And using journalists, she adds, "is a very good press-relations tool. It helps us make contacts all over the country."

Administration of the Gerald Loeb Awards for Distinguished Business and Financial Journalism, perhaps the most prestigious prize in the field, differs greatly from that of the Missouri and Hancock awards. For years after its establishment in 1957, the competition was dominated by its founder and sponsor, Gerald M. Loeb, a well-known syndicated financial columnist and brokerage-house executive. Though the award was formally run by the University of Connecticut, it was Loeb who first selected the self-perpetuating "advisory board" of judges, most of whom were prominent businessmen and friends of his. During the sixties the university asserted more control through a faculty screening committee. But Gerald Loeb's judges continued to make the final decisions.

When Loeb moved to California in 1973, he shifted administration of his award to the Graduate School of Management of the University of California at Los Angeles. Screening for the 250 to 450 entries each year is now done by faculty members at the school. Though Loeb died in 1974, leaving a foundation to maintain the award, the nature of the advisory board has remained unchanged. Four of the seven members are currently businessmen, including the presidents of Rockwell International and Atlantic Richfield, and the others are a partner in a corporate law firm, the dean of the school of management, and Louis Banks, professor of management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a director of Time Inc.

The paradigm suggested by the Loeb awards is a reflection of these administrative arrangements. Prizes go only infrequently to critical exposés. When they do, the winner is likely to be an entry like a *Boston*

Globe series on commodity options scandals, or the *Inquirer's* factory-death investigation. Such pieces point to deviant behavior in the business world, but do not suggest that business corruption is endemic.

What chiefly distinguishes the Loeb awards is the advancement of a wholly new model: a discussion of public policy that espouses a position popular with business interests. It differs from the Missouri and Hancock paradigms not only ideologically, but methodologically and stylistically as well. The tone of the typical Missouri winner is understated; it adopts the classic exposé technique of making points by accumulating facts. The prototypical Loeb winner, on the other hand, has something of the tone of an editorial, making points by accreting arguments.

Examples among recent Loeb winners include an attack on aggressive federal antitrust policies by then-*Newsweek* columnist Henry Wallich, now a governor of the Federal Reserve, a study in *Business Week* blaming government policy for having created a shortage of investment capital, and a long essay in *Forbes* blaming inflation on the growth of the welfare state. None of these Loeb winners collected a Missouri or Hancock award.

The most extensive and well-financed competition is the two-year-old Media Awards for the Advancement of Economic Understanding, conducted by Dartmouth's Amos Tuck School of Business Administration for the Champion International Corporation, a large paper manufacturer. Champion chief executive Andrew Sigler is a graduate of Tuck, a donor to the school, and a member of its board of overseers. Probably because of the \$5,000 first prizes (Loeb and Missouri pay \$1,000 while Hancock pays \$2,000), the Media Awards have been attracting almost as many entries as the other major competitions combined: 700 last year in fourteen categories, and perhaps 1,000 this year.

Robert Colodzin, who devised the awards for Champion, says that his company "was not interested in building in any bias. We were inter-

ested in building competency to understand the [business] process. The standards must be journalism's own standards, not ours."

The people Champion put in charge of developing those standards, though, are almost exclusively business executives, people who teach business, and business students. Initial screening of the entries was assigned to Tuck faculty members and students, and to at least two retired businessmen. The permanent panel of judges—in whose selection Champion and Ruder & Finn, the company's public relations agency, played a role—includes several prominent businessmen, such as duPont chairman Irving Shapiro, former head of the Business Roundtable, a business lobbying group. While some of the judges have media affiliations, most of these are either academics, such as Missouri dean Fisher and Columbia journalism professor Norman Isaacs, or senior corporate executives such as Paul Miller, chairman of the Gannett Company, and former CBS president Frank Stanton. There is just one working journalist: the executive editor of the *Salt Lake City Tribune*. Champion is not represented, but it did designate Alexander Calder, Jr., chief executive of Union Camp Corporation, another large paper company, as a judge.

"We wanted an interplay and range of interests and backgrounds," says Colodzin. "We were afraid if we just had journalists, they would promote or accept things that only other journalists would like. This program is geared for a wide, general audience. We don't want it to be specialists speaking shorthand to specialists."

At least one of the media people involved, however, seems troubled by the way the contest has been run. Informed recently that retired businessmen had participated in the screening last year, Norman Isaacs, who heads the panel of judges, said he was shocked. "It scares me, what you're telling me. It just raises hellish questions. In the beginning," he recalled, "Champion kept saying over and over that the worst thing that could happen was a trumped-up

competition. If this thing leans over in any direction, we're dead." Isaacs now says the retired businessmen will not participate this year and that he is satisfied with the screening process.

While it is too early for definitive judgments, some distinct leaning is apparent in the first year's award. Only one of the twenty-six winners was an exposé. The majority followed the Hancock model of tempered analysis of noncontroversial subjects. At least half a dozen reflected an even more forceful application of the Loeb paradigm than the Loeb contest itself. The national television award, for instance, went to a program in Ben Wattenberg's *In Search of the Real America* public-television series entitled, "There's No Business Like Big Business." According to the program for last year's awards ceremony, the show was "instrumental in communicating many of the unsung values of big business enterprise in America."

Varying reactions to another first-place Tuck winner aptly epitomize the divergence of paradigms and the diverse interpretations of the common goal of "promoting better public understanding" of business. The story was a long article in the Dubuque, Iowa, *Telegraph Herald* that described the vital functions of middlemen in the chain that moves hogs from farmer to supermarket. Published in a special advertising section of the paper, the article was surrounded by ads from such concerns as the Dubuque Packing Company, which was prominently featured in the story. "If I'd been a screener," says a former Missouri judge, "that one would have been in the trash in thirty seconds." Richard West, dean of the Amos Tuck School, disagrees. "That's a classic piece of what I regard as sophisticated reporting," he says. "I've given Xeroxes to twenty-five or thirty people and I tell them, 'Next time your wife or somebody else bitches and talks about some unsophisticated analysis on television about how expensive pork chops are, tell them to read this piece and find out exactly what happens.'" ■

It's time to face facts

In 1973, it cost \$150 per kilowatt to build a coal-fired generating plant. Today, it costs \$900. Who pays? The consumer.

If you're outraged about your electric bill these days, welcome to the club. So are we.

Even consumer-owned non-profit rural electric systems can't hold the line when it costs six times as much to build a generating plant today as it did five years ago.

Why such an enormous jump in power costs in so short a time? Inflation is partly to blame, of course. But a big ball of red tape called the regulatory process is also rolling generating plant construction costs upward.

Ten years ago only two or three government permits were needed to build a generating station. That figure's now up to 60 or more. In fact, one rural

electric cooperative recently had to obtain 64 for the plant it's building.

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Reporters, keep out!

The courts are barring the doors to crime scenes, schools, and prisons. A constitutional test may be coming soon

by DAVID M. RUBIN

David Berkowitz, the “Son of Sam” killer, lived in a small apartment on the top floor of a seven-story building in Yonkers, New York. During the morning of August 11, 1977, shortly after Berkowitz was arrested, New York City detectives and Yonkers police sealed off that apartment and, under authority of a warrant, sifted through papers, pictures, and other belongings in search of evidence. Outside the apartment they posted a notice reading, “Crime Scene, Do Not Enter.”

Down below, on the street in front of the building, a dozen reporters and photographers swapped stories with curious locals and waited for tidbits from the police. Among the journalists were David Berliner, a seasoned reporter now stringing for *The Washington Post*, and Robert Kalfus, a photographer for Rupert Murdoch’s *New York Post*, the tabloid which had helped to fuel the hysteria over Son of Sam.

As the day slipped by and his deadline approached, Berliner frequently asked the police when he might get a look at the apartment; each time he was turned away. Kalfus, however, was more enterprising. Earlier in the day he had ridden the elevator to the Berkowitz apartment, only to be met by a Yonkers policeman who told him to “get the hell off the floor.” Undaunted, Kal-

fus discovered that he could reach the roof of the building through an unguarded garage entrance. From the roof he climbed down a fire escape to Berkowitz’s apartment window. Peering through the glass, Kalfus saw police hats, but no policemen. Hastily, he shot a few pictures from his outside perch. Then, worried that the police might return, he retreated to the roof and down to the street, where he joined the others waiting to get into the apartment.

At about 3 p.m., a group of New York City detectives came out of the building carrying boxes. Berliner says he heard one of them say, “Okay, boys, we’re finished. It’s all yours.” He interpreted this to mean that the search had been completed and that the journalists would now be allowed inside—a courtesy Berliner had come to expect in police-press relations.

Without waiting for another invitation, Berliner, Kalfus, Leonard Detrick (a photographer for the *New York Daily News*), and Theodore Cowell (a stringer for *Time*) walked into the building and rode the elevator to the seventh floor.

What they found surprised them. A group of neighborhood children was trying to pry the number off Berkowitz’s apartment door as a souvenir. The warning sign—“Crime Scene, Do Not Enter”—was still in place. They found the door locked; but there was no guard.

Kalfus volunteered to try entering through the outside window. He and Cowell retraced the fire-escape route and found the window secured with only a hook and eye. A little jiggling of the frame loosened the hook, permitting them to raise the window without damaging the frame. Once inside, they let in Berliner and Detrick, who had been interviewing a woman down the hall.

For the next twenty minutes the quartet took pictures and made notes; Berliner saved time by speaking into his tape recorder. Then, heralded by a terrific pounding on the door, Yonkers police came crashing

in “like Kojaks on a rampage,” according to Berliner. The journalists were handcuffed and whisked off to police headquarters, where they were charged with obstruction of governmental administration and criminal trespass, the penalty for which is up to one year in jail and a \$1,000 fine, or both. Had they damaged the apartment, the four could also have been charged with criminal mischief, but the police found no damage and were never able to establish how they had gotten in.

Police demanded that the photographers turn over their exposed film. Detrick’s was found bunched up in his sock when he crossed his legs at the wrong moment. Kalfus was cleverer. He palmed his exposed rolls and gave the police some unexposed ones. His pictures were printed the next day in a *Post* centerspread headlined **INSIDE THE KILLER’S LAIR**. His pluck was widely applauded by *Post* editors, and Kalfus says he thought he might even receive a bonus. Berliner’s story appeared on page one of *The Washington Post*.

The case resulting from the quartet’s journalistic initiative—*People v. Berliner et al.*—received remarkably little press attention, given the intriguing issues of newsgathering rights it raises. Here were four reporters out to get the story. They behaved in a clever way that has often been sanctioned and rewarded in the past. Two major papers published their work. Yet they found themselves defendants in a criminal trespass case and, had Berkowitz not had other concerns, they might well have found themselves defendants in a civil privacy action brought by the Son of Sam.

Did the public have a right to know what was in Berkowitz’s apartment? If it did, should the journalists have entered through the window? Does it matter that the door was unguarded, or that a sign was still posted? Is prosecution for trespass the appropriate legal remedy in such cases? If it is, will it be used to

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deny the press access to other news-worthy places where journalists may not be welcome?

Fortunately for the press, *Berliner* did not produce a conviction. Judge Aldo A. Nastasi of Yonkers dismissed the charges because the police had finished their search and had executed the warrant. They were not, therefore, in possession of the apartment when the journalists entered it; the appropriate party to have brought the trespass action would have been Berkowitz himself. But as Westchester County Assistant District Attorney John Falussy says, "I was not about to bring Berkowitz back to Yonkers from jail to prosecute a misdemeanor trespass."

Had Judge Nastasi been forced to rule on a First Amendment right of access, however, there is little doubt about what his verdict would have been. The journalists' conduct "can best be described as reprehensible," he wrote at the end of his opinion, "and cannot be justified as legitimate in pursuit of a news story."

Berliner is only one of a number of access cases that have come to trial recently. Such cases are a product of what one unsympathetic New York State Court of Appeals judge calls the "overly aggressive" manner of much journalism at the moment. Reporters make news by pounding on the locked doors of nursing homes or by being ejected from restaurants and locker rooms; their attempts to get in, or stay in, are behind the development of access as a significant First Amendment controversy.

Chris Little, counsel to *The Washington Post*, calls access "a problem of continuing, day-to-day concern." "Invariably," says Bruce Sanford, a Cleveland attorney who runs seminars on First Amendment questions for Scripps-Howard and U.P.I., "after we have discussed libel and privacy, reporters and editors bring up questions about how far the press can legally go in pursuing or dramatizing a story. What *are* the legal boundaries of newsgathering?"

"Access" is a concept that has come up before in other First Amendment contexts. In a thoroughly different usage, it is often meant to refer to the "right" of the

public to seek representation of its views in the media. Cases concerning protection of confidential sources are access cases in another sense, since the press has claimed the need for such confidentiality to protect the flow of information. Cases in which courts interpret open-record and open-meeting laws are also related cases, since the freedom of information movement is directly concerned with access to official government meetings and documents. Cases contesting the right of the press to *receive* information also raise the access issue. Finally, access to trials, including pre-trial hearings, evidence, names of juveniles, and names of jurors, is an important First Amendment concern. In its current term the Supreme Court will rule on the right of a newspaper to publish the name of a juvenile defendant (*Smith v. Daily Mail*), and on the right of the press to attend a pre-trial hearing (*Gannett v. DePasquale*).

But the law concerning journalistic right of access to non-judicial news settings is at an earlier stage of development and may be even more critical in the long run. It is at a point much like protection of sources before *Branzburg v. Hayes* (in which the press was told it does not have a First Amendment right to protect confidential sources), and the integrity of newsrooms before *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily* (in which the press learned that newsrooms are subject to searches by police officials in possession of warrants). In the present judicial climate, moreover, there is growing potential for an access case that will be equally damaging to the press.

Little and Sanford agree that clashes occur most often when police and fire officials bar access to crime scenes or stop photographers from shooting pictures in public places. But cases have also tested the press's right of access to restaurants guilty of health-code violations, children's homes in which the quality of care is suspect, fire scenes, public schools, prisons in which the treatment of inmates is an

issue, locker rooms, migrant-worker camps, legislative press facilities, and private living rooms. Some of these cases were called trespass, some invasion of privacy, and in others the news source sought prior restraint on publication based on the manner in which the information was gathered. As yet the courts have answered very few of the questions raised by newsgathering, but what they have said is cause for concern.

On only a few occasions have the courts acknowledged that the freedom to publish is of little value if the freedom to gather information is curtailed. Justice Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court put it most forcefully in 1956 when he wrote that "A print shop without material to print would be as meaningless as a vineyard without grapes, an orchard without trees, or a lawn without verdure. Freedom of the press means freedom to gather news, write it, publish it, and circulate it." Similarly, softening the blow of the majority opinion in *Branzburg*, Justice White denied the decision suggested "that news gathering does not qualify for First Amendment protection; without some protection for seeking out the news, freedom of the press could be eviscerated." Despite such sentiments, however, the courts have thus far been unwilling to grant the press a protected position in information-gathering.

The few important Supreme Court cases in this area have developed around the question of access to prisons and prisoners. In three opinions—*Pell v. Procunier* (1974), *Saxbe v. Washington Post* (1974), and *Houchins v. KQED* (1978)—the Court has held that reporters do not have a right to interview specific prisoners, visit specific parts of a prison, or bring cameras inside. The access rights of the press are coextensive with those of the public, the Court has said, and where the public is excluded the press may also be forbidden to go. Wrote Chief Justice Burger in *Houchins*: "We . . . reject the . . . assertion that the public and the media have a First Amendment right to government information regarding the conditions

of jails and their inmates and presumably all other public facilities such as hospitals and mental institutions. . . . The First Amendment is 'neither a Freedom of Information

Act nor an Official Secrets Act.'"

Diane Zimmerman, who teaches press law at New York University law school, suggests that in *Houchins* Burger has already come close

The settings and the cases

The courts have been asked to decide on access rights to a variety of non-judicial news settings. Some of the more important cases:

CRIME SCENES. *Florida Publishing Co. v. Fletcher*, 340 So.2d 914 (Fla. 1976): The *Florida Times-Union* is not guilty of trespass or invasion of privacy for publishing a picture of a fire victim taken in a private dwelling without permission of the victim's mother. *Schnell v. City of Chicago*, 407 F.2d 1084 (1969): Photographers obtained a temporary restraining order enjoining Chicago police from interfering with their activities during the 1968 Democratic convention.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES. *Zemel v. Rusk*, 381 U.S. 1 (1965): A U.S. citizen does not have a First Amendment right to travel to Cuba.

LOCKER ROOMS. *Ludtke v. Kuhn*, 4 Med. L. Rptr. p.1625 (U.S. District Court. So. District of N.Y., 1978): Women reporters, here Melissa Ludtke of *Sports Illustrated*, cannot be banned from New York Yankee locker rooms if male reporters are allowed inside; such exclusion denies Ludtke equal-protection and due-process rights.

MIGRANT-WORKER CAMPS. *Freedman v. New Jersey State Police*, 135 N.J. Super. 297 (1975): *Daily Princetonian* journalists must be allowed to visit a migrant family living on the property of a farmer; but the latter can dictate terms of access.

PRESS CONFERENCES. *Borrea v. Fasi*, 369 F.Supp. 906 (1974): The mayor of Honolulu cannot exclude a reporter from his press conferences without compelling governmental interest.

PRESS GALLERIES. *Consumers Union v. Periodical Correspondents Association*, reversed on other grounds, 515 F.2d 1341, cert. denied, 423 U.S. 1051 (1973): Exclusion of *Consumer Reports* writers from congressional periodical galleries violates the magazine's First Amendment, due-process, and equal-protection rights. *Kovach v. Maddux*, 238 F.Supp. 835 (1965): The Tennessee State Senate cannot punish the Nashville *Tennessean* for refusing to leave a closed senate meeting by banning its reporters from the senate floor and adjacent press facilities. *Lewis v. Baxley*, 368 F.Supp. 768 (1973): Alabama cannot require that journalists file a "statement of economic interest" before permitting customary access to state facilities.

PRISONS. *Garrett v. Estelle*, 556 F.2d 1274, cert. denied, 46 U.S.L.W. 3800 (1978): Texas may deny reporters the right to bring audio or visual recording equipment to executions. *Houchins v. KQED*, 98 S. Ct. 2588: The press has no greater right of access to California's Santa Rita prison than the public. *Kearns-Tribune v. Utah Board of Corrections*, 2 Med. L. Rptr. 1353 (1977): Utah may exclude both the press and the public from executions. *Pell v. Procunier*, 417 U.S. 817 (1974): By regulation, California prisons may prohibit interviews with specific inmates. *Saxbe v. Washington Post*, 417 U.S. 843 (1974): Federal Bureau of Prisons regulations may prevent the interviewing of specific inmates in medium- and maximum-security prisons.

PRIVATE DWELLINGS. *Dietemann v. Time Inc.*, 449 F.2d 245 (1971): The First Amendment does not accord *Life* reporters immunity from a privacy invasion committed while newsgathering.

RESTAURANTS. *Le Mistral v. CBS*, 3 Med. L. Rptr. 1913 (N.Y. Supreme Ct., Appellate Division, 1978): CBS is guilty of a trespass for going into a restaurant uninvited and shooting film of the owner and patrons.

SCHOOLS. *Green Valley School v. Cowles Florida Broadcasting*, Fla. App., 327 So. 2nd 810 (1977): Privacy and trespass actions brought by a private school against WESH-TV after it aired film of a police raid were dismissed because the newsman was invited onto the property by police. *Quinn v. Johnson*, 51 App. Div. 2d 391 (1976): When trespass was alleged, WABC-TV in New York was restrained from showing compromising film shot at a children's home. The station was allowed to air the film after faces were blurred and a reply by the home was included. D.M.R.

to saying there is *no* right of access to information under the First Amendment. Justice Douglas saw this coming in his dissent in *Pell*. There he argued that if the press's right of access is no greater than the public's, the government will be able to deny access to the press by simply denying it to the public as well.

Along with holdings in related cases, these unfavorable prison decisions have established at least this much about a right of press access:

- The judiciary looks with skepticism on claims to a First Amendment right of access;
- The press is not protected by the First Amendment for any crimes or civil offenses it commits in the course of newsgathering;
- The press has no greater right of access than the public.

There have been a few victories broadening access. Attempts to discriminate among journalists have been stopped by the courts. For example, without a compelling governmental interest, the mayor of Honolulu could not bar a journalist from attending regular press conferences open to the rest of the press corps. Nor could the New York Yankee baseball team bar a female reporter from the locker room at the conclusion of a game if male reporters had been admitted.

Two recent decisions in Florida indicate that if journalists are customarily *invited* by police onto private property to view a police raid or the victim of a fire, a trespass or privacy action against the press is not likely to stand. But in one of these cases—*Green Valley School v. Cowles Florida Broadcasting* (1977)—Chief Judge Rawls of the First District Court of Appeals in Florida said that the presence of broadcast reporters during a police raid ". . . could well bring to the citizenry of this state the hobnail boots of a Nazi stormtrooper equipped with glaring lights invading a couple's bedroom at midnight with the wife hovering in her nightgown in an attempt to shield herself from the scanning TV camera."

Pushing for access on First Amendment grounds is dangerous

for the press precisely because many judges are simply ignorant of news-gathering procedures and requirements, or are hostile to the press's methods. Reporters know that, in fact, the press *does* receive preferential treatment. Press cards permit journalists to cross police and fire lines and, at the invitation of officials, to examine crime scenes. Almost all legislative bodies have press facilities. Reporters can usually arrange to tour military installations and other institutions off limits to the public. And, as long as they don't bring their cameras, journalists in Texas can attend executions. How many such privileges might journalists lose by litigating access cases in the present climate?

An answer may be forthcoming in the case of *Le Mistral v. CBS*, which was decided at trial in 1976 and is now on appeal. If not a case of *Branzburg* proportions, it is nevertheless potentially a very dangerous one for the press.

On the afternoon of July 6, 1972, WCBS-TV reporter Lucille Rich entered a fashionable French restaurant, *Le Mistral*, in Manhattan, with cameras rolling, to interview owner Jean Larriaga. That day the restaurant had appeared for the second time on a list of health-code violators prepared by city inspectors. What happened next is a matter of dispute. CBS claims that Rich and her crew behaved with decorum, did not upset patrons, and left when asked to by the owner.

Larriaga tells a different story, one which New York State Supreme Court Justice Martin B. Stecher told the trial jury it was entitled to accept. CBS employees, Stecher said, "burst into plaintiff's restaurant in noisy and obtrusive fashion and following the loud commands of the reporter, Rich, to photograph the patrons dining, turned their lights and camera upon the dining room. Consternation followed. Patrons waiting to be seated left the restaurant. Others who had finished eating left without waiting for their checks. Still others hid their faces behind napkins or tablecloths or hid themselves beneath tables. . . . Mr. Larriaga . . .

refused to be interviewed and as the camera continued to 'roll' he pushed the protesting Miss Rich and her crew from his premises." Larriaga sued for, among other things, trespass, and a sympathetic jury awarded the restaurant \$1,200 in compensatory damages and a chilling \$250,000 in punitive damages.

The case frames important access questions in an interesting way. Under what circumstances can the press enter a restaurant? Should CBS have asked for permission from Larriaga before bringing in camera equipment? Before sending in Rich alone? Does the intent of Rich and her crew matter—that is, could they be found guilty of trespass because they did not intend to order something? If a member of the public can enter a restaurant without passing an "intent" test, shouldn't a journalist be able to as well? Is the notion of trespass different for broadcast media? Would a print reporter have encountered the same resistance from Larriaga, or the same trespass action? The example of *Le Mistral*, says Professor Zimmerman, could lead to the use of threats of trespass action to bar *all* reporters on a story from restaurants and other places that serve the public. "If CBS loses," she says, "even a *Times* reporter could have trouble."

It is not difficult to imagine other, similar situations that could be troublesome for the press. Can a school principal refuse access to the school after it has been the scene of violence against teachers? Can a military-base commander bar the press so that it has difficulty investigating charges of recruit mistreatment? Cases have already occurred in which WABC-TV was restrained from showing film about the mistreatment of residents by the staff of a children's home; a judge felt the reporter was trespassing at the home when the film was shot. And a reporter's access to migrant workers was contested in New Jersey when the owner of the land on which the migrants lived charged him with trespassing.

The anti-press mood on the matter of access is clear. Justice Stecher, who tried *Le Mistral*, said that CBS

had no more right to enter the restaurant than he had to "just barge into somebody else's premises and bring in a rock band . . . to rehearse." This is a mood that the press challenges at its peril. When the *Birmingham News* failed to get access to local birth records in a recent freedom of information request, it took the county to court. The U.S. District court for the Northern District of Alabama ruled, however, that the county could seal not only its birth records, but its *death* records as well. The paper thereby lost information it had been receiving for at least a dozen years.

What can the press do in the face of such hostility? Zimmerman suggests that the objective must be "to constitutionalize the right of access to government information, at least, so that access will be guaranteed to press and public."

This will require changing the mood of the judiciary. Sanford recommends a vigorous effort by journalists at the local level to educate judges and police officials about the newsgathering process. In Denver, for example (where Sanford's client is *The Rocky Mountain News*), this has meant lunches, seminars, and informal contacts between press and bench over a period of years. In this climate, says Sanford, litigation over access comes up less often than in cities where the judiciary is more hostile.

At *The Washington Post*, Little tells journalists in the field to argue for their rights of access, but not to break the law. Little is not afraid to litigate for access, but, he says, "in choosing when to litigate, the fact situation should be such that it is possible to argue the press's side in the best possible light," (Both *Berliner* and *Le Mistral*, on the other hand, presented less than such ideal fact situations.)

It is just a matter of time, nevertheless, before a Farber-like case catches the fancy of the public and puts newsgathering access to a significant First Amendment test. The press will be fortunate to come out of that test with its privileges intact. ■



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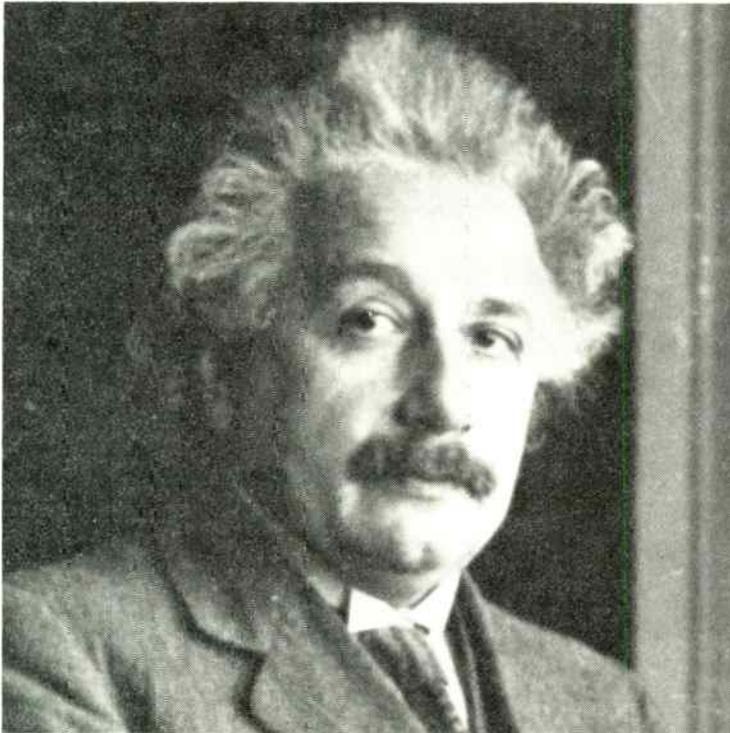
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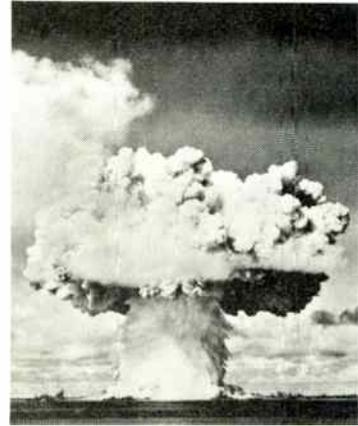
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BOOKS

Polspeak

Safire's Political Dictionary

by William Safire. Random House. 845 pp. \$15.95

Media mavens will know that William Safire, former Republican flack and ghost-writer for Dasher's predecessor in the Oval Office, became an overnight pundit for *The New York Times*. The scenario was to scratch the backs of neanderthal politicians who had been heckling the knee-jerk liberals of the Eastern power elite, including the nattering nabobs of the press establishment astride the New York-Washington axis.

The laundering of this White House honcho into an instant thumb-sucker was consummated over the dead bodies of working staffers who viewed such stroking as an act of appeasement by Big Daddy and his palace guard on the 14th Floor at the Gray Lady. These Nervous Nellies, unable to bite the bullet, chose instead to get out of the kitchen, it was said in the bullpen.

Organ grinder Safire, never at a loss for chutzpah, took after the Georgia Mafia's big enchilada right in his own bailiwick. His resultant op-ed pillar was the sleeper winner last year of a Pulitzer Prize for commentary in a package deal engineered by opinion-makers with juice inside the Pulitzer Advisory Committee. Nobody drowned at Pulitzer-gate, but it did not play in Peoria. The hitherto silent majority of Pulitzer jurors from the boonies angrily blew the whistle that their own print picks had been deep-sixed by the inner circle playing hardball in the Big Apple.

Roorback aside, most of the vernacular in the passage above, as well as the methodology of historical scuttlebutt, is characteristic of Safire's revised and updated collec-

tion of catchy words and phrases which crop up in "current political lexicon." There is more than a touch of H.L. Mencken in the author's approach to the historical roots of the buzzwords of politicians and their scribes. The Sage of Baltimore is cited seventeen times, nearly half as many times as Henry Kissinger, who is credited with giving new meaning to *incursion*, *tilt*, and *quiet diplomacy* when he and the author broke bread together in the White House mess. Some of the best insights into the evolution of language along the Potomac come from Safire's firsthand experience as a wordsmith inside the Nixon administration. When *polspeak* was perfected, he was there.

This second revision of *The New Language of Politics*, first published in 1968, includes the Watergate years, modestly described by Safire as the "Golden Age of Political Coinage." In his introduction to the 1972 edition, he had complained of "the paucity of attack phrases" during Nixon's first term. Watergate's biggest contribution, however, was not what others said about the president so much as the way the president and his men themselves embellished the slick art of political communication—from *at this point in time* and *inoperative* through *twisting slowly*, *slowly in the wind* and *winding down* the Vietnam War. Every circumlocution, every thrust for the jugular, every bit of irreconcilable logic is patiently run to ground for the amber moment when each first passed from the lips of John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman, or the master of the ultimate game plan himself. The process reminds one of mounting an expedition to search for the perfect case of leprosy.

The lexicographer in Safire was stumped by Gerald Ford's presidency, "unique in this century for not

producing a single memorable phrase." He also complains that Carter's phrases "reflect his non-rhetorical engineering training." One detects that he feels a certain sly pleasure in puncturing the balloons of either party, but he saves his *best shots* for the *true believers*. He has the gall, for example, to prove that *New Frontier* was first used in a political speech by, of all people, Alf Landon. In a show of cronyism (a pejorative he hangs, with characteristic bias, on the Truman administration), he points out that Charles Colson wrote a best seller entitled *Born Again* even before Jimmy Carter won the Iowa caucus.

He finds the never-ending struggle between the soul and modern technology a fertile source for linguistic invention. A *glitch*, he explains, covers any unfortunate incident, such as when a State Department hyphenate mis-translated the traveling president's "desire" to be in Poland as "lust" for Poles. "The word probably originated in the German and Yiddish *glitschen*, meaning 'slip,' and entered the language in 1966 as a false signal or mishap or malfunction in spacecraft." Safire distinguishes between this and a *blooper*, a less forgivable sort of goof, such as when the Dewey campaign train suddenly jerked away from a speechmaking stop and the *little man on the wedding cake* was overheard to exclaim: "What's the matter with that idiot engineer?" According to Safire, the word probably originated from radio announcer's slang for a twist of the tongue, as when NBC announcer Harry Von Zell introduced the thirty-first president of the United States as "Hoobert Heever."

These bits of linguistic lore from the annals of politics are often in-

triguing—even to an old *curmudgeon* (see Safire's explanation, with its notes on Harold Ickes, rather than the dictionary definition). There is a scholar inside Safire struggling to escape the *snollygoster*. Only a *brass-collar Democrat* would fail to notice that, like the late Westbrook Pegler, the man has a way with words. Like Pegler's, his columns are monitored by members of the opposite faith to find out what may be hatching in San Clemente, Palm Springs, or Paradise Valley. When the *blip* shows on the *radar*, there may yet be time to *escalate readiness levels*. If worst comes to worst, Safire's *Political Dictionary* might be the appropriate bedside companion.

Meanwhile, it is amusing to be reminded that Bill Moyers, on leaving his job as White House press secretary, remarked that "the *credibility gap* . . . is getting so bad, we can't even believe our own *leaks*." (*Credibility gap*, for the record, first appeared in a headline over a May 23, 1965, story by David Wise in the late lamented *New York Herald Tribune*.) Or to learn in a discussion of *Madison Avenue techniques* ("the other side's gimmicky, slick use of the communications media to play on emotions, contrasted with your own forthright use of modern advertising methods to 'get the message to the people'") how they allegedly helped carry an election in Picoaza, Ecuador, pop. 4,000. "The producer of 'Pulvapiés,' a foot powder, tied in to the local campaign for mayor in 1967 with the following slogan: 'Vote for any candidate, but if you want well-being and hygiene, vote for Pulvapiés' . . . The voters chose Pulvapiés, the foot powder, over the human candidates for mayor."

Less satisfying, perhaps, is Safire's explanation that R.W. Apple of *The New York Times* put the word *inoperative* in the mouth of an unsuspecting Ron Ziegler at a White House briefing on April 17, 1973, to become immortalized as a synonym for lies that no longer worked. Or his straining to make an etymological

puzzle out of a dietary staple like *three-martini lunch*.

To give the Devil his due, Safire *hunts like a hound* when he seeks to track down such a historic figure of speech as the operative phrase in the 1954 Supreme Court order to desegregate schools *with all deliberate speed*. He points out that "deliberate speed" is almost, but not quite, an oxymoron, that is, an epigram built on the jarring juxtaposition of opposites. Justice Potter Stewart was among those Safire queried to discover that the directive occurred in a 1912 opinion written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in the case of *Virginia v. West Virginia*: "... a State cannot be expected to move with the celerity of a private business man; it is enough it proceeds, in the language of the English Chancery, *with all deliberate speed*."

Although scholars assumed Justice Holmes knew what he was talking about in attributing the concept to practice before Britain's ancient court, "diligent research has failed to come up with a single quotable instance of its use." A Chancery phrase, "all convenient speed," appears in Shakespeare's *A Merchant of Venice*. Lord Byron, who dealt with Chancery Court as a defendant as well as a poet, used the version alluded to by Holmes in a letter to his publisher, dated April 6, 1819. "Certainty in phrase detection is rare," Safire observes; "it can only be assumed that Byron drew the phrase from his Chancery experience." Holmes in some way came upon this coinage and delivered its ambiguous wisdom in mint condition.

It is also a public service to call attention to the obligation that *media* be accompanied by a plural verb. In an era of *media hype* ("the euphoric kick one gets from an injection of a narcotic with a hypodermic needle") Safire's dictionary correctly traces the phenomenon of a *media event* to Daniel Boorstin's coinage of *psuedo-event*—that is, an event manufactured to manipulate the communication process. About this, *ex-p.r. man* Safire *stonewalls* a bit (from an Australian cricket term equivalent to

the baseball practice of deliberately fouling off a tough pitch): "The concept of the *psuedo-event* overdramatizes the degree of successful manipulation in American commercial and political affairs; a surprising and newsworthy position taken in an interview is not rendered counterfeit by the fact that it was arranged for maximum coverage."

As they used to say on Madison Ave., try *running that one up the flag-pole* and *see if it whistles Dixie*.

PENN KIMBALL

Penn Kimball is a professor of journalism at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism.

'Front Page' father

Citizen Paul

by Ralph Schoenstein. Farrar Straus and Giroux. 156 pp. \$8.95

Now that newspapering has become a middle-class occupation drawing solemn, circumspect young recruits (walk into a city room and see all the sober faces), now that jobs are so scarce that no one dares to quit a newspaper over mere issues of pride, we are embarrassed even by our legends. Mention *The Front Page* or one of the real-life prototypes of Walter Burns, and you'll be told by a young reporter with a three-piece suit, a mortgage, and a degree in economics, "They got away with a lot of shoddy journalism in those days."

Yes, they did, and God forfend a return to the days when reporters worked for peanuts and by-lines, stealing photos off mantelpieces and racing the cops to break the news to sudden widows. Still, even in our newfound gravity, some of us can enjoy a sneaking look back at the days when newspapering was a game as well as a trade, when the world paraded through a newspaper's door without security passes, when scoop-hungry city editors not only breathed fire, they *inhaled*.

Ralph Schoenstein's gem of a memoir brings it all back in a rush of



Paul Schoenstein, *Journal American* city editor (seated between windows at back of the room)

wit and longing: New York in the days of nickel cigars, when newspapermen, cops, and politicians spoke the same language, traded favors, and drank in the same saloons, and desks were run by vivid, voracious characters like Paul Schoenstein, city editor of the *Journal-American* and father of Ralph.

Ralph, who writes funny books and good magazine articles, gives us an anecdotal sketch of his father's roaring career and a tender, comical recollection of his own exhilarating, exasperating relationship with his all-but-overwhelming sire.

When a girl was dying for lack of the rare drug penicillin, it was Paul Schoenstein who rushed a police-escorted radio car from the Squibb factory in New Brunswick to the Lutheran Hospital in New York, saving the girl's life, creating a page-one story, and winning a Pulitzer Prize. It was he who had a reporter hold a racketeer's lover in a room at the Warwick Hotel for a week to get

information on the underground. Those were the days when the *Journal* didn't just report strikes, it *settled* them, and it told the F.B.I. where to find German spies.

Paul Schoenstein grew up wearing his brother's hand-me-down shoes and selling papers in the subway, and he became a man who wore shirts a little whiter than anyone else's and bought shoes the way other people bought socks. He called himself Mr. New York and proved it by hobnobbing with Jimmy Walker and Bill O'Dwyer and Big Jim Farley, dropping first names at the Stork Club, and beguiling the town with "a talent for converting bullshit into hyperbolic charm."

Paul inspired and appalled his son and gave him a priceless education in city rooms and city halls. Father and son called each other "Poop," conversed in badinage, and loved each other. But life with Paul could be trying. The ambivalent condition of being Paul Schoenstein's son first

came home to Ralph in Mrs. Krim's history class, when the teacher turned a pained expression on him and said, "Ralph, your father works for *Hearst*?" Later embarrassments included the time his proud father decided to send Ralph up to Hamilton College with an escort consisting of Mayor O'Dwyer and a clutch of state troopers.

"But Hamilton's a classy little place," I said, "and I just can't go *into* it that way. I mean, *listen*, Poop, it's enough that I'm *Jewish*. Do I also need the *state police*?"

But Paul was also the Superpop who could tell off a cop who had dared write his son a ticket for playing ball on the grass, who could command Leonard Lyons and Jimmy Walker for Ralph's bar mitzvah, who could bull his way into Madison Square Garden by posing as a police inspector, to take his son to a championship fight for which he had no tickets. "Always do everything as if

you belonged there," he counseled his offspring.

Because of his daring style, because he was city editor of the biggest evening paper in America, and because he had arms like a well-manicured ape, my father seemed to me a giant when I was growing up. During the 1940s, every boy was supposed to think that his own father was Superman, but mine just happened to be: not a mild-mannered reporter who put on a cape in a telephone booth, but a commanding editor who could use a telephone booth to get tickets to any sold-out Broadway show. . . . Like a pint-sized fight promoter, I was constantly looking for people who wanted to trade punches with my father, a search that should have been easy, for there were thousands of liberals in my neighborhood to whom punching an editor with Hearst would have seemed like a moment on New Year's Eve.

Later they would squabble over Paul's old-line Hearstian conservatism and over the pack of illiterates and mountebanks the *Journal* employed as columnists. Ralph would grow restive under the shadow of his

exuberant pop and suffer embarrassment mixed with relief as Paul pulled strings with the army to land Ralph a soft p.r. post.

When Ralph came into the newspaper business, he learned that his mighty dad kowtowed to the Hearst bosses. When Ralph wanted to write a free-lance TV column for the *Journal*, the Newspaper Guild said no. Paul watched his father back down, seeing not only his boyhood idol's feet of clay: "Now I saw knees of Play-Doh, too." And as Paul's New York passed away, the day when everyone called Ralph "Paul's son" gave way, finally, to the day a press agent said to his son, "This is the legendary Paul Schoenstein," and the press agent's son replied, "Are you Ralph's father?"

Ralph's affection and respect for his dad survived all the vexations and disillusionments and howling failures of communication. He relates Paul's decline unsparingly but gently, not letting us forget that the wilted old man who lived to be

snubbed at Toots Shor's had been a lion in leonine times.

Ralph Schoenstein ends his book:

His journalistic style seems so definitive to me that I stupidly resent the newspapermen who have followed him. Whenever I travel in America, I find myself drawn against my will to wander into city rooms and the visits are melancholy ones because these places don't seem real and their people are all impostors to me. In one of them last year, a coldly gleaming city room in St. Paul, I walked about with eyes that were seeing the *Journal-American's* sixth floor. The windows I was seeing had grime that was starting to form when the *Hindenburg* went by and the walls were losing paint that had been applied when the *Normandie* went down. The only clean thing in that room was the Brooks Brothers shirt on the City Editor, the former Harlem newsboy who was quickly remaking page one, only minutes before press time, because he had landed another big one.

ROBERT MacKENZIE

Robert MacKenzie is a columnist for TV Guide and a former newspaperman.

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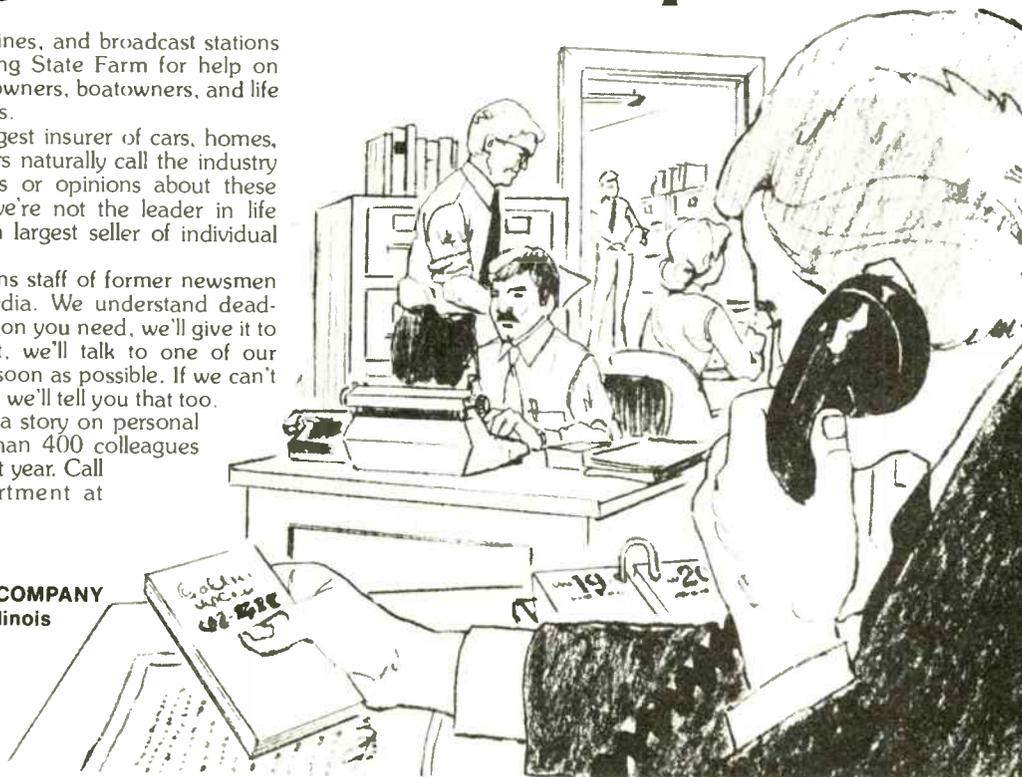
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Canon fodder

Good News, Bad News

by Edwin Diamond. The MIT Press.
263 pages. \$12.50.

Viewed with an eye for the state of media criticism, Edwin Diamond's new book is more interesting for what it reveals than for what it says.

For the record, *Good News, Bad News* offers itself as a collection of a dozen pieces of media criticism. Two of them rely on work done by Diamond's News Study Group of M.I.T. political science students: a long study of the coverage of the 1976 presidential campaign and a shorter account of how the Boston media handled the school-busing story in 1974 and 1975. (Both originally appeared in the *Review*.) The rest of the book picks up some previously published solos by Diamond. Chiefly, they look at changes in television and print—for example, the shifting styles of local TV news shows, the rise of Rupert Murdoch's stateside tabloids, and the obligatory profile of ABC's Roone Arledge.

However, as the record of a five-year stretch in the media watcher's trade, as Diamond himself would put it, the book also reveals the shaky standing of this marginal craft and shows how hard it can be for its practitioners to find a steady place and a steady audience, and thus a steady critical voice.

For example, many of these pieces originated in journals as different as *TV Guide* and the *Review*. In their tone and their style of thought, they've been tailored accordingly. Thus, the scattered market for media writing creates centrifugal forces. Evidently, these make it hard for Diamond to settle on a suitable canon.

To be sure, he does touch on several critical approaches and values. He feels the whole notion of media power is puffed up. He shows a broad concern for how the popular media connect with their audiences, and vice versa. And he doesn't think

news and entertainment ought forever to be kept apart in airtight compartments: "Less traditional news doesn't necessarily mean less thoughtful news."

Yet the body of work in this book doesn't set forth a canon, let alone test it in the light of the last five years of his experience. And this is too bad, since Diamond obviously gets around and can count the range of his experience as a long suit.

As a matter of fact, even though it's billed as media criticism, *Good News, Bad News* holds up more than nicely as a series of reports on media trends. Suggestive as they are, these reports show Diamond's energy and curiosity to advantage. A few of them are as intriguing now as they were in their original appearances. Yet these reports are better read as evidence for the critics than as criticism per se.

RALPH WHITEHEAD, JR.

Ralph Whitehead, Jr. is a professor of journalism at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Wolf's 'Voice'

The Great American Newspaper: The Rise and Fall of the Village Voice

by Kevin Michael McAuliffe. Charles Scribner's Sons. 486 pp. \$14.95

McAuliffe believes that *The Village Voice* under founding editor Dan Wolf was a writer's paper, meaning that Wolf did not so much choose articles and edit copy as encourage, or merely allow, writers he respected to write what they wished. As a result, the *Voice* became a crazy quilt of perceptive and often impolite articles and columns which frequently expressed contrary and contradictory opinions. The new kind of journalism which Wolf brought into being, says McAuliffe, now seems unremarkable only because it has been so widely imitated.

McAuliffe follows the *Voice's* development from a struggling neigh-

borhood paper into a profitable journalistic institution. The book teems with detail about what the *Voice* printed, as well as what its writers and editors said and did to one another over the years, which was plenty. And he traces with a fine anger what he sees as the paper's betrayal first by Carter Burden, who bought it from Wolf and founding publisher Edwin Fancher only to sell it secretly to Clay Felker. Then Felker, as McAuliffe sees it, almost ruined the *Voice* by changing it into a tacky *New York*. Felker, in turn, had both the *Voice* and *New York* sold out from under him to Rupert Murdoch.

McAuliffe is a thorough reporter with a lively and energetic style whose swinging intricacies occasionally get the best of him. Those who enjoyed or tolerated the exuberant excesses of the old *Voice* will be rewarded by coming to this book in the same spirit. (Some of the material originally appeared in the *Review*.)

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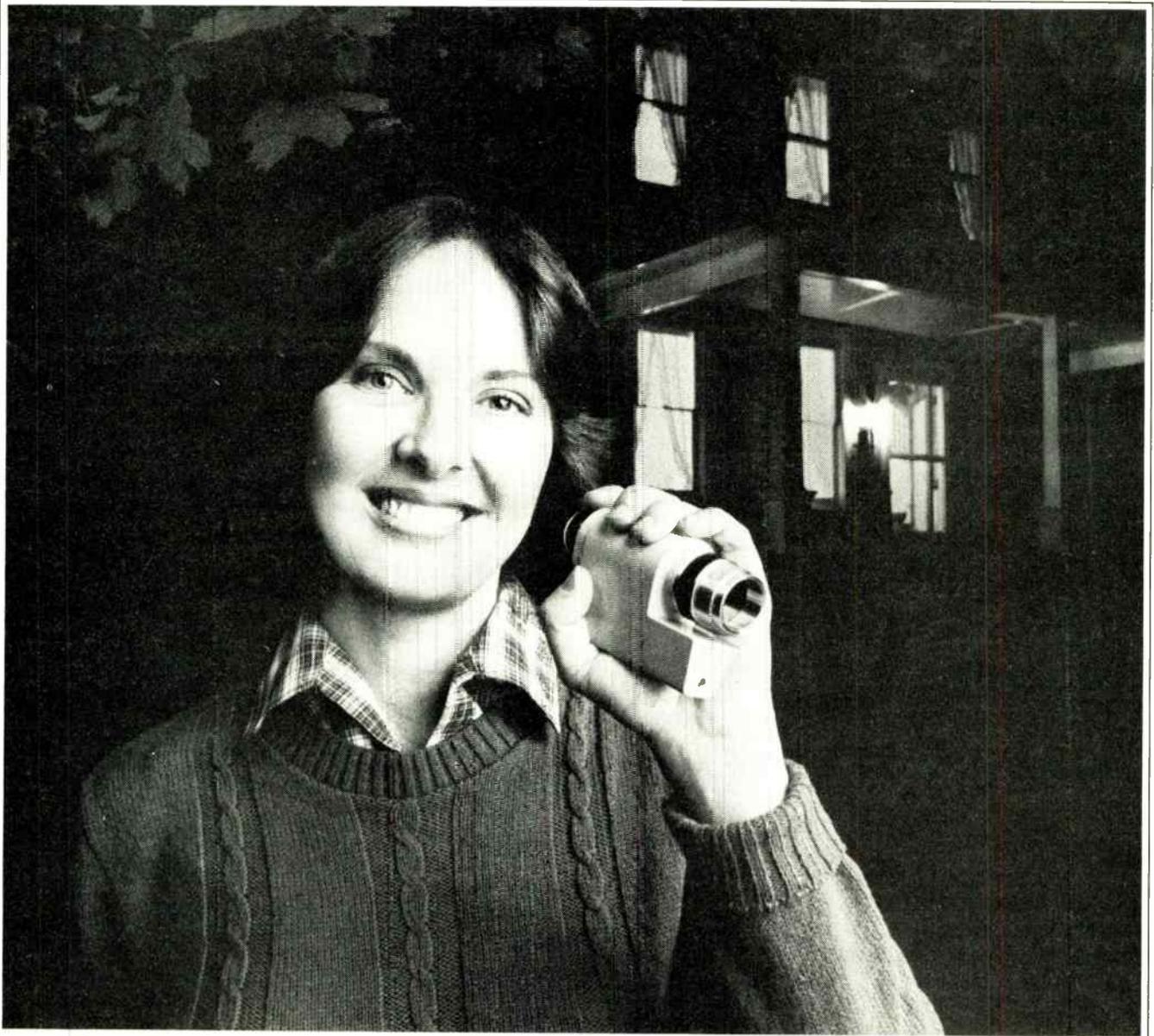
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Up to date in Kansas City

In two years since their sale to a conglomerate, the *Star* and the *Times* have come to life—at a price

by GEORGE KENNEDY

Over a beer on a cold Kansas City evening, a young reporter reflected on the two years since the *Star* and *Times* were sold by their employees to the Capital Cities Communications conglomerate. "I'm optimistic," he said. "Some very good things are happening to these papers. But I think the price has been too high." He spoke for many of his colleagues.

The price of the transition from an ill-managed, if paternalistic, employee ownership to the efficiencies of chain control has included the resignation of four top reporters, several copy editors, and a highly regarded city editor. At least fifteen other newsroom employees whom the new managers judged to be deadwood were fired in what became known as the "Tuesday massacre." Other reporters and editors were dispatched to Capital Cities papers in Pontiac, Michigan, and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, as strike-breakers ("CapCities Comes to the Coal Country," January/February); some of them thought they had little choice but to "volunteer" for the duty.

Some very good things are happening, however. More are in prospect. The newsroom budget, kept

lean by employee-directors intent on returning maximum dividends, is up 25 percent for 1979, to about \$7.5 million. A year-end round of retroactive raises gave many reporters and editors checks of \$2,000 or more, with further raises early in 1979. One particularly underpaid reporter's salary went from \$14,000 to \$20,000 in 1978.

The formats of both papers are being opened up, at a cost the new editor calculates at nearly \$1 million. The ads have been cleared from the op-ed page of the morning *Times*, which now regularly appears in four sections. Business news in the *Times* has been increased by five columns. In the afternoon *Star*, two columns have been added to the daily news hole and seven columns to a new "Leisure" section. Space for sports is up by a third.

The best thing, by all accounts, has been the hiring of a new editor. Michael Davies, British-born and Georgia-raised, won national attention by pumping new life into the *Louisville Times*; his reward was the editorship of the big sister paper, the *Courier-Journal*. He came to Kansas City in October, he says, "to make these papers second to none in the country." So far, at least, he is acting—and is being allowed by the publisher, James H. Hale, to act—as if he means to do it in short order, with the help of a small squad of editors brought on from Louisville.

"If in three or four years these papers aren't significantly better, we'll have only ourselves to blame," Davies says. The financial resources, he is convinced, will be ample. Of Hale, the publisher who hired him, Davies says, "He doesn't meddle, and I do what I by God want to do." His newsroom budget is almost exactly what he asked for, and it was Hale who proposed the salary-sweetening program, he says.

Still, the editor does not blame his staff for being skeptical, and some in the *Star*'s cluttered newsroom, as well as some who have left it, think their skepticism is well founded.

When Capital Cities bought the *Star* company in January 1977, for a record \$125 million, Hale was brought up from the Capital Cities papers in Fort Worth to become publisher. The *Star*'s president and editor, William W. Baker, and the executive editor, Cruise Palmer, remained in their jobs. Baker and Capital Cities chairman Thomas Murphy issued the ritual statements pledging continuity and continued local direction. But soon the upheaval began.

By the end of 1977, both Baker and Palmer had taken early retirement, as had four of the paper's other six employee-directors, all of whom had become millionaires by virtue of the sale. The newsroom was presided over by thirty-four-year-old Gerald Garcia, who less than two years earlier had been sports editor of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. The publisher described Garcia's duties when he was appointed "director of editorial operations" as being to improve the quality of the newspapers. He came to be regarded as a hatchet man.

Within three months of Garcia's arrival, on the first working day of 1978, between fifteen and twenty newsroom employees—some with up to twenty years of service—were summoned one at a time to Garcia's office and sacked. The survivors objected less to the fact of the firings than to the manner. "They were stripped naked in front of their colleagues," says one veteran editor. Garcia points out that each person dismissed got six months' severance pay. And he says, "If it's any consolation to anybody, I didn't sleep the night before." *continued*

George Kennedy, of the University of Missouri journalism faculty, wrote on the sale of the Kansas City newspapers in the May/June 1977 issue.

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no surprise.

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At about the same time, Hale got a call asking for volunteers to work at a struck Capital Cities paper in Pontiac, Michigan. Volunteers from the *Star's* production department were easy to find. After all, Hale says, many had been hired years ago as strike-breakers at the *Star* itself.

In the newsroom, though, there was a problem. The problem was Mike Fancher, *Star* city editor. Fancher, widely described as the strongest editor on the afternoon paper, had no objection to the use of management-level employees, if management desired. But he argued, "You don't send in someone who would be part of the bargaining unit to break the strike."

Over his objections, some reporters and copy editors were recruited for stints in Pontiac. Then, Fancher recalls, a friend called to say, "You're the talk of the CapCities chain. Everybody's asking, 'Who is this guy in Kansas City who doesn't like strike-breaking?'" His notoriety, the friend said, was due to reports from Garcia.

In May 1978, Fancher quit. He is now city-hall reporter for the *Seattle Times*. Looking back, he disclaims any bitterness, but he doesn't hide his disappointment with editors who, he thinks, "could have been tougher" in buffering their staff from Garcia's demands.

After Fancher's departure, volunteers were sought again for duty in Wilkes-Barre. Again, some went. One who did was a copy editor who had been seeking with no success a transfer to the reporting staff. After his return from Wilkes-Barre, he got the transfer. Another copy editor who went explains, "I want to make a career here, and I wasn't sure I had a choice."

But this time resistance emerged from the ranks. A group calling itself the Wilkes-Barre Support Committee circulated anonymous letters opposing the strike-breaking. Hale, who says he never really cared much whether anybody volunteered in the first place, says, "Davies came and said, 'I've got a problem from a morale standpoint,' I said, 'Well, hell, let's don't send anybody up there, then.'" And a note was posted in

the *Star* newsroom to that effect.

The incident that may tell the most about the transition, however, began with the 1978 Soap Box Derby. Like many other newspapers seeking to generate community good will, the *Star* cosponsored the local derby. Charles George, who had been brought to Kansas City as vice president for production of the *Star*, was overseeing the paper's sponsorship.

Roger Moore, one of the *Star's* investigative reporters, discovered that George was overseeing the con-

**"You're the talk of the
CapCities chain.
Everybody's asking, 'Who
is this guy in Kansas City
who doesn't
like strike-breaking?'"**

struction by newspaper carpenters of two racers, a clear violation of Derby rules and a source of potential embarrassment to the paper. Moore wrote the story.

Garcia, Moore says, first opposed running the story. Then, after Hale ruled that it must run, Garcia reinterviewed George and rewrote the story. Hale says he personally ordered it printed "on page two, in the middle of the page, under a multi-column head."

A few nights later, as Moore and another reporter were leaving the office to meet colleagues for dinner, they were attacked by two pressmen just outside *Star* property. Moore was severely beaten and kicked.

Hale says then and still says he did not believe the pressmen's version of the incident (according to them, Moore provoked the attack), but they were not disciplined. Instead, acting, he says, on the advice of the company lawyer, Hale wrote a note for posting in the newsroom and the pressroom warning employees against fighting. Hale says he would have punished the pressmen but for the lawyer's warning that, in the absence of impartial witnesses, the

paper could be sued if he did so. He also says he apologized to Moore. Moore says he got no apology from Hale, though he did get one from one of the pressmen at his going-away party.

Shortly after the assault, Moore got a call from someone identifying himself as an Associated Press reporter and asking about Moore's attitude toward the affair. Suspicious, Moore called the A.P. and learned there was no such reporter. A friend, even more suspicious, discovered that the call had come from the Capital Cities office in New York. Hale denies any involvement.

Moore resigned. He did so with great regret, he says, because he decided he couldn't go back to exposing the wrongdoing of others "knowing that we'd treat them differently than we'd treat one of our own." He took a job with the *Des Moines Register*, where two other *Star* reporters already had gone.

In an interview after he left Kansas City, Moore said he still held "great regard" for the *Star* and great optimism. Less than three weeks later, he proved it by agreeing to return to the *Star* as assistant city editor.

Gerald Garcia was out of the newsroom even before Moore was. Less than a year after his arrival, the hiring of Davies was announced, and Garcia moved one floor up, to become assistant to the publisher.

Now the newsroom belongs to Davies. He benefits from the path-clearing, however rough, done by Garcia and from the warmth that would have been accorded any successor. But Davies must, in addition to dispelling skepticism and healing wounds, save a newspaper.

The *Star*, though the company bears its name, is dropping steadily behind the morning *Times* in circulation (now trailing about 295,000 to 320,000) and has only about half the advertising lineage of the *Times*. Some employees feared, when the sale was announced, that the new owners would choose to drop the afternoon edition, switching the name to the morning paper.

The *Times*, in addition to enjoying

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and WQED-TV, Pittsburgh
The New South: Shade Behind the Sunbelt, Associated Press Radio
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DuPont-Columbia Citations for 1977-1978

Crisis at the Crossing, KAIT-TV, Jonesboro, Ark.
...And Justice For All, KENS-TV, San Antonio
The Michael Quinn Case: A Question of Justice, KFWB-AM, Los Angeles
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and was made possible by a grant from Atlantic Richfield Company



the advantages of the morning news cycle, has had more aggressive leadership under its managing editor, Robert Pearman, before and since the sale. It has become clearly the better of the two papers. The *Star*, even before the sale, "suffered from not having a proper definition of itself," in the words of one editor.

Davies concedes the possibility that the afternoon paper may not survive indefinitely, but he and Hale insist that it can and will be revitalized. Hale points out that, unlike other sufferers from the p.m. malaise, the *Star* still is turning a profit. Its advertising lineage was up in 1978 for the first time in several years. A readership study showed that most Kansas Citians want both morning and afternoon papers, though that response may have been conditioned by a pricing policy under which, for example, a customer paying \$6.50 a month for the morning, evening, and Sunday papers would save only 25 cents by subscribing to the *Times* alone.

Davies intends to give the *Star* a

definition of itself as a "heavily local" paper with greatly expanded life-style coverage and zoned suburban editions. He also intends that, "by hook and by crook, the *Star* is going to be the paper in the country for agribusiness."

Kansas Citians will get something else this year they have not had since the *Journal-Post* folded in 1942—news competition. The *Star* and *Times* have operated on a twelve-hour cycle, each paper responsible for covering roughly half the day. Under the new system, sports and photography departments will continue to split the day but for the rest the field will be wide open.

Some staff members are dubious about this arrangement, fearing that it may lead to duplication of effort. They note, too, that competing reporters will have to share desks and the too few video display terminals.

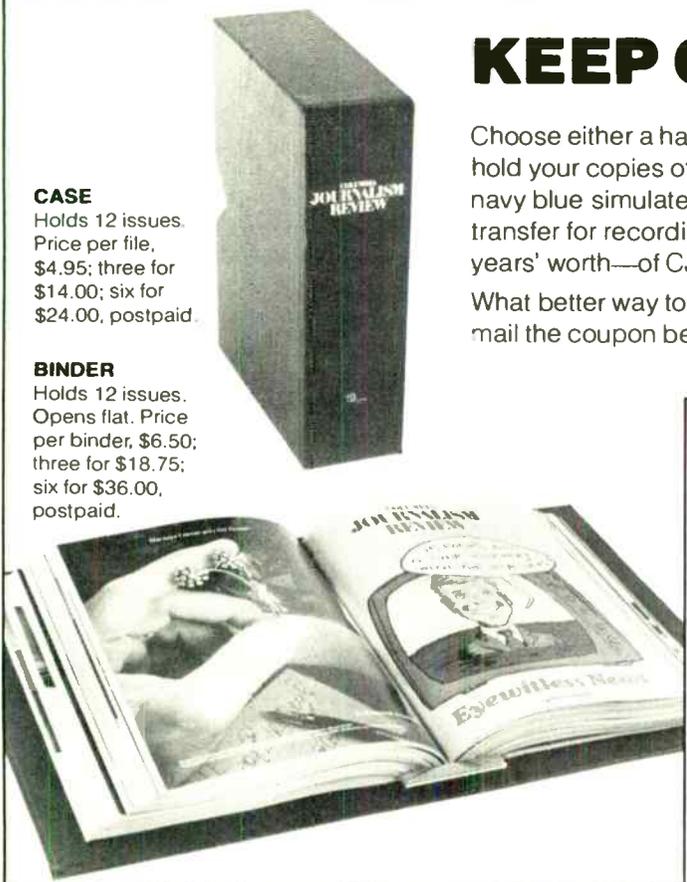
"Competition is good," Davies responds flatly.

Competition also costs money, as

do news space, added staff, and boosted salaries. The question is why Capital Cities seems committed to such heavy spending in Kansas City. The publisher, Hale, says his New York bosses are insistent on quality. It is his conviction as well, Hale says, that editorial quality is essential to long-term profitability.

Others offer somewhat different explanations. Davies, agreeing that Capital Cities seems "really hungry" for respectability in Kansas City, speculates that the conglomerate, which developed a reputation for quality in its broadcast properties, wants a good image for its newspapers as well. The bitter strikes in Pontiac and Wilkes-Barre, followed by the rejection of Capital Cities' offer to buy *The Hartford Courant*, might, then, have a side effect of engendering excellence in Kansas City.

Whatever the reasons, few would challenge the assessment of the retired executive editor, Cruise Palmer: "The papers are far better than they were two years ago." ■



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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

What the voters thought

TO THE REVIEW:

I don't know about the polls in other states ["Battered Polls," *CJR*, January/February], but you have it wrong on Illinois.

When Senator Percy returned from the Senate, he said he believed the *Chicago Sun-Times* poll. The results only "fluctuated wildly" because Percy was in fact trailing very badly. It was only after he campaigned intensively, doubled his campaign budget, recorded a whole new series of radio and television commercials, benefited from Mike Royko's attack on his opponent and then reprinted that column in newspapers throughout the state, and also publicized a devious radio commercial beamed to the black community that had characterized Percy as anti-black — that the polls actually reflected the fact that the public was having second thoughts about Democratic candidate Alex Seith and began to move back to the Percy column. And at that, it could never be said that Percy "won easily." It was bloody and hard-fought right until the final moment and I believe the 54 percent to 46 percent margin for Percy literally happened in the last couple of days after the final poll had been taken.

DANIEL J. EDELMAN
Chicago

The writer, a public relations consultant, was an unpaid advisor in the Percy campaign.

Fair dealing?

TO THE REVIEW:

In the November/December issue you tossed a dart our way for our coverage of the administration of Cleveland Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich. In particular you suggested that our coverage of the city's financial condition was aimed at beating the mayor during the August recall referendum.

It is your publication which deserves the dart for making conclusions without research. If you had bothered to research [*The Plain Dealer* coverage of the Kucinich administration, you would have seen that in February our reporters

spotted a built-in \$10 million deficit in the city's budget. Indeed conditions existed which promised to drive the deficit—illegal in Ohio—much higher if responsible action were not taken. Shortly after that article appeared, we assigned our top city hall reporter and our top financial reporter to concentrate on coverage of the financial problems of the city. We did not suspend their reporting during the recall months which came much later. We have not suspended them since. If you had checked you would have learned that their reports have been accurate.

Ah well, the finest newspaper in this country was roundly criticized for not warning its readers of the impending financial doom of New York City. I guess you intended to put us in good company by implication.

DAVID L. HOPCRAFT
Managing editor, *The Plain Dealer*
Cleveland, Ohio

The editors reply: *The "dart" was specifically aimed at front-page headlines. It made no reference to the suspension of reporters.*

CapCities comment

TO THE REVIEW:

Robert Friedman's story ["CapCities Comes to the Coal Country," *CJR*, January/February] contains factual errors—as well as open bias—about the strikes in Pontiac and Wilkes-Barre.

Friedman states that "there is no Guild or pressmen's union in Pontiac." He must be aware that these unions are still bargaining agents. If they have surrendered that authority, I wish he'd let me know when.

He states that in Pontiac "the company unilaterally announced that the old contract was no longer in effect and posted new work rules," implying by the context of his statement that this was done to the Guild. No work rules ever were posted in the Guild's jurisdiction. The Guild's own position is that the contract was still in effect when the strike started. Work rules for the pressmen had been posted five months before the strike began, and the pressmen will admit that their contract expired by its own language (not by some act of the compa-

ny) nine months before the strike.

Friedman's stated conclusion (hardly the function of an objective reporter) is that *The Oakland Press* "provoked" the strike in Pontiac. He would find the evidence very clear that the unions publicly threatened to strike a number of times going back to mid-1976, even setting their own strike deadlines. It took them a long time to get around to it, but Friedman is blind to the identity of who started the strike.

Enough about Pontiac. Because I also served as interim publisher of the *Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader* in October-December, I must seriously fault Friedman's reporting there, as well.

He mentions that I was detained by the police for allegedly hitting pickets with a car, but somehow failed to discover the multiple charges which were brought against James Orcutt, the Guild international representative.

He mentions the advertising the strikers' paper obtained, but failed to discover that much of it was obtained because *Times-Leader* advertisers were being threatened if they continued to run in our paper. He apparently never learned that a union group approached the *Times-Leader* about selling the paper, before Capital Cities arrived, telling one of the owners that organized labor wanted to have a newspaper in Wilkes-Barre. Now labor has one, existing because it doesn't have to pay normal wages to its employees and because hoodlum methods intimidate our customers.

BRUCE H. MCINTYRE
President and publisher
The Oakland Press
Pontiac, Mich.

Robert Friedman replies: *Objectivity is in the eye of the beholder. Had I concluded that the strike in Pontiac was not provoked by Capital Cities, this undoubtedly would have been objective reporting in McIntyre's eyes. His quarrel is not that I drew conclusions (certainly the function of a Review article), but that they happened to differ from his own. Unfortunately, in strikes, as in wars, there are always two sides.*

Nothing McIntyre says challenges the accuracy of what I wrote or undermines

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my conclusion that Capital Cities forced a strike in Pontiac. That the unions waited five months after the new work rules were posted speaks more to their patience than to their collusion. And for McIntyre to assert that the Guild and pressmen's unions still flourish in Pontiac is as meaningless as claiming that Reza Pahlavi is still the shah of Iran.

As for Wilkes-Barre, McIntyre takes exception not to what I wrote, but to what I didn't write. That is a more difficult terrain to defend. I did point out the violence on both sides, but I do not see how charges against Orcutt mitigate McIntyre's bad driving record. And although I heard rumors on both sides about threats to advertisers, I did not report them because the only advertiser I spoke to—one of the largest stores in the area—said there had been no arm-twisting by either the union or the Times-Leader.

Finally, McIntyre is correct in saying I did not know of the union's offer to buy the Times-Leader. Yet, it hardly seems fair of him to attack the union for displaying entrepreneurial intentions.

Ongoing debate

TO THE REVIEW:

I must disagree with E. B. White's opinion about the word "ongoing" [CJR, January/February]. True, many writers use the word thoughtlessly and needlessly, but that does not mean that the word itself is meaningless.

As I see it, the import of "ongoing" is that something is going on *now*, that it is continuing. An investigation may already have been completed; an ongoing investigation is still taking place. To be sure, in many instances this information is apparent from the rest of the sentence, and "ongoing" becomes redundant. But there are also times when the information is not otherwise apparent, and the word adds to our understanding of the sentence. Compare: "He reported on the findings of the investigation" (presumably, the investigation is completed; these are probably all the findings there will be); "He reported on the findings of the ongoing investigation" (the investi-

gation continues; there may be more findings yet to come).

In officialese and in newspaper jargon, I fear, improper uses of "ongoing" outnumber the proper ones; but let us not ban the word entirely, merely because it is much misused.

SANDY LANDSMAN
New York

Grant illusion

TO THE REVIEW:

It does not seem possible that the *Lou Grant* show Robert Sklar has been watching [CJR, January/February] is the same program I receive on my TV set. He criticizes the show's producers for not taking "a clear and definitive stand on controversial issues." Every episode I've seen has revealed a clear position on the particular "issue" involved. To the extent that the audience is sympathetic or identifies with one of the show's characters, the tendency is to agree with that character's opinions. While these opinions are not as "clear and definitive" as Sklar would seem to prefer, admiration for characters exercises a strong influence on audience opinion.

At the same time, the show's writers have a special knack for bringing in telling arguments for the opposite point of view. Such balanced scripts have often thrown a monkey wrench into my preconceived opinions. Issues are rarely as black and white as Sklar suggests. *Lou Grant* is "color" television in a rather refined sense.

Sklar would turn *Lou Grant* into a one-hour editorial page, taking stands on the issues and avoiding the intellectual muddle of reporting alternative points of view. I suggest that such a proposal has at least two dangers: First, it would make this show as dull as the average newspaper editorial. Second, it would leave the producers wide open to a charge of "bias" similar to that made by one of our recent vice-presidents. I would prefer not to have what Sklar calls "social significance" rammed down my throat by an entertainment program.

BRUCE PILGRIM
Editor
Wright State University Times
Fairborn, Ohio

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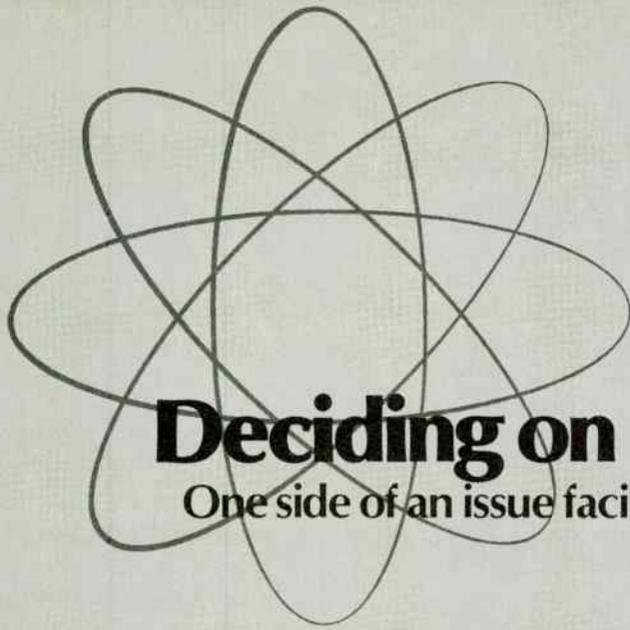
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Deciding on nuclear energy.

One side of an issue facing the electric power industry.

Nuclear power is not the energy form of the future. It is very much a part of the present. And important national decisions must be made if it is to continue to make its contribution to energy supply.

Nuclear plants have been generating electricity commercially in the U.S. since 1957. Today, 71 plants provide 12% of this country's electricity—about as much as we get from hydro-electric dams, more than *all* electric power generated in the country in 1946. In some areas, most of the electricity people use is nuclear. 95 more nuclear stations are now under construction. The number of countries with nuclear power programs is now 53.

A clean record

Nuclear generation of electricity has grown because of its safety, reliability and economy. No other industry started with a greater appreciation of potential hazards. None is operated under more stringent occupational and environmental safeguards.

The American Medical Association's Council on Scientific Affairs recently reported that, among the principal fuels available for electricity production over the next 25 years, nuclear power has the lowest adverse impact on health.

The near future

Nuclear power makes economic sense in meeting growing energy demands and in reducing the nation's dependence on oil and gas.

Unless we try to rely entirely on coal production for generation, or to shut down the economy until forms like solar power prove affordable, nuclear power will become increasingly important to the near-term well-being of the country.

Nuclear policy

The electric utility industry agrees with the many expert opinions that ultimate disposal of radioactive wastes presents no insurmountable technical problems. Several acceptable methods are available.

But failure of the federal government to implement available nuclear waste disposal technol-

ogy is being mistakenly seen as an indication that the nuclear waste issue cannot be resolved.

Recently, we urged the Administration to take advantage of extensive, existing technical and scientific knowledge and to implement a program on a rigid schedule to provide a spent-fuel storage facility and a waste repository at the earliest practical time. These steps are necessary to assure the continued operation of nuclear power plants, to minimize the uncertainty that has been slowing down commitments for future nuclear plants in this country, and to separate the waste disposal issue from the licensing of new power plants.

Congress has divided responsibility for the national waste management program among several agencies of the federal government. The Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Environmental Protection Agency have elements of responsibility.

Now, Congress must provide additional effective legislative guidance for the waste management and spent-fuel storage programs.

The long run

Opinion polls repeatedly show that majorities of the American people support the use of nuclear energy to generate electricity. Where nuclear plants are in operation, the percentages are even higher.

If we are to be able to take advantage of the economic and energy-supply opportunities presented by nuclear energy, both in the near term and the long term, the federal government will need to take responsible action today.

If you would like to read more about nuclear energy as a source of electricity or learn more about the management of high-level radioactive wastes and spent fuel, write to us: Edison Electric Institute, 90 Park Ave., New York, NY 10016. We will be glad to send you more information.

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NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

NBC's portrayal of life in Marin 'flawed'

Issue: A California official charged that an NBC-TV documentary presented a distorted picture of life in Marin County, California. Was NBC inaccurate and unfair in its program "I Want It All Now?"

Complaint: Barbara Boxer, a member of the board of supervisors of Marin County, charged that "I Want It All Now," broadcast on July 20, 1978, was "a blatant example of irresponsible journalism... which impugned the unique character of Marin and slandered our people."

The program, which focused on the abundance of "me" groups in Marin County, on self-indulgence and the so-called good life, was intended, according to NBC, to portray what might be in store for the rest of America in the years ahead. NBC said that the material it chose to show was intended as social commentary and that, as such, the selection and use of the material shown on the program was justified.

Details of Ms. Boxer's charges concerning the documentary, which featured Edwin Newman as reporter-narrator, were supplied in an edition of the *Pacific Sun*, a weekly newspaper published in Marin County's Mill Valley. The *Sun* detailed what it said were a number of specific inaccuracies and distortions in the program. On a number of these points the Council found "no serious example of error or distortion." Oth-

The reports of the National News Council appear in the Review as pertinent information and as a convenient reference source. Publication, which is made possible by the William and Mary Greve Foundation, does not imply approval or disapproval of the findings by the foundation or by the Review.

This report includes the findings issued by the Council at its meeting last December 5 and 6 at the University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis.

ers, on which the Council issued detailed findings, included:

Birth Party

A sequence showing a children's birthday party in which a Mill Valley firm called Dream Agents provided the children with limousine service, play money, and a fancy party, a service which the documentary reported was available for a fee of \$225. The charge was that it was a promotion, set up solely to provide press exposure for the firm, and that no one had ever bought the service. NBC said that it was a real party and was available for a fee.

Council action: The proprietors of Dream Agents told the Council that the birthday party was staged for promotional purposes. NBC's producers say they did not know that the party was held subject to television coverage. The program's producers saw the party as fitting in with the program's thrust: "I Want It All Now." The Council believes NBC should have been aware of the fact that this was a press promotion and the public should have been informed of that fact.

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

'Secret Garden'

A sequence showing a Secret Garden hot-tub treatment, available to purchasers for a fee of \$180. The sequence showed an apparently nude woman being stroked with peacock feathers. The complaint charged that the sequence was a staged recreation and that few Marin County women had availed themselves of the service. NBC said that what was shown was precisely identical to the treatment originally received by the same woman and that the Marin-based service was prospering in its present location.

Council action: It was clearly within NBC's judgment in the formulation of the documentary to show the Secret Garden experience, which, besides being titillating, is, in fact, a Marin-based service and has been patronized by people who live in Marin County.

However, only in NBC's response, and not in the documentary, do we learn

that Ms. Fruth, the recipient of the treatment shown in the broadcast, had agreed to recreate the experience. Nor did we learn anywhere, except through our own inquiry, that the original Secret Garden treatment was administered to her at the Miyako Hotel in San Francisco, not in Marin County, and that the garden shown in the documentary had never been used as a setting for a similar treatment.

The Council believes that the program should have said that this Secret Garden treatment was a staged recreation, in a new setting, of an actual event.

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Otwell, Renick, Rusher, and Scott.

Statement by Ms. Roberts: The Council concludes any inaccuracy in the number of women in Marin County who support the Secret Garden's service is unimportant. I disagree. Mr. Newman's narrative states: "In Marin County it seems there are enough women who can afford it and enough women who want it to make such service a reality."

The *Pacific Sun's* article regarding this documentary reflects material gathered from an interview with Secret Garden's consultants, Stubbs & Wilding: In a two-year period of operation 60 clients have used the Secret Garden services, 22 from Marin. Of these 22, "...about half a dozen Marin women have paid for a Secret Garden session." We have no information from NBC that these figures are inaccurate. Clearly, six Marin County women paying for this service do not "...make such service a reality." To make such an inaccurate statement distorts the popularity of such a service to Marin County women and gives a distorted view of their activities. The fact that this business chooses to be based in Marin County, which is accurate, does not remedy the critical distortion that such service is supported by Marin County women.

Abstaining: Lawson and Salant.

Teacher and class

A classroom sequence featuring an interview with a teacher, Fred Mitouer, who said that 75 percent of his children were from single-parent homes. The complaint charged that the program should

have made clear that this was a special class and not representative of Marin County homes. NBC said that it aired exactly what the teacher had said and that the sequence was not misleading.

Council action: The impression was left from this sequence that the 75 percent single-parent homes the children come from in Mr. Mitouer's class is characteristic of Marin County.

Mill Valley School Superintendent Peter Poliches told Council staff he believed this sequence was "dishonest." He said the average single-parent figure for his school district is about 30 percent. He also said that Mr. Mitouer's was the only class of its kind in the Tam Valley School. It is a special class, available only on parental request, and is designed for children having difficulties in normal classroom environments.

Unto itself, the portion quoting Mr. Mitouer was correct. The Council believes that the NBC staff could have and should have ascertained that the 75 percent figure was not representative of the full school district or of Marin County.

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Statement by Mr. Renick: To place Mr. Mitouer's statement in proper context, the program should have properly identified the special nature of his class, which enrolled only children with learning difficulties.

Suicide rate

A sequence in which the suicide rate in Marin County was characterized as being well over twice the national average. The complaint charged that the figure was inaccurate, since the national average was 12.5 percent and Marin's was 23.5. NBC responded that the complainant was laboring with statistics by citing a rate that was one percent less than twice the national average.

Council action: Both sides are guilty of "laboring with statistics." The NBC figure was close but the script went beyond accuracy when it opted for the phrase "well over twice the national average."

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Alcohol statistics

A sequence stating that Marin County had serious problems tied to the consumption of alcohol in the county. The

complaint charged that NBC chose a source not qualified to make the assertions and ignored contradictory information given to it by the county's official statistician on alcohol-related problems.

Council action: In advance of its filming for this documentary, NBC producers interviewed both Dr. John Weir, an expert on psychological aspects of alcohol-induced disorders, and Dr. Andrew Mecca, director of Marin County's alcoholism program, who also compiles statistics related to the county's alcohol program.

Dr. Mecca told Council staff that he had provided NBC with the following information:

- that alcohol consumption in Marin County was five times higher than the rest of the state on a per capita basis.
- that problems resulting from this consumption were not equally high. Public

'To bolster the point about self-indulgence in Marin, some scenes were misleading'

drunkenness complaints were almost nonexistent, and Marin stands in the center of the counties in the state on drunken-driving complaints.

Dr. Mecca characterized Dr. Weir's presentation as "grossly inaccurate" and said that Dr. Weir had been interviewed in an area in which he was least competent to provide facts. Producer Joseph DeCola told the Council that at the time Dr. Mecca was interviewed the NBC staff was not aware of the differences between the two viewpoints.

Journalists should know that there are many pitfalls in the use of statistics. Interviewees who use statistics in a free-wheeling form, relying on memory, can constitute such a pitfall. Even official statistics in themselves are often suspect. The Council believes that the NBC staff should have been more thorough in its checking in this area.

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Divorce statistics

Sequences in the documentary which stressed the high divorce rate in Marin County. A divorce rate of 75 percent was mentioned on the program by Mrs. Nancy McKinley, a new resident of the county. Another resident, John Gulko, was quoted as saying that there might be

more divorces than marriages, deaths, and births put together. The complaint charged that the divorce rate did not approximate the 75 percent figure mentioned by the woman.

Council action: No statistic which the Council was able to locate suggests anything like the 75 percent divorce rate suggested by Mrs. McKinley. The Vital Statistics Branch of the California Department of Health, which compiles figures on marriage and divorce, places the Marin rate at 6.7 per 1,000 of population. According to the Vital Statistics Branch, this was .7 higher than the statewide average of 6.0, per thousand, in 1977, and not "four times that of California," as stated by Lester M. Crystal in his response for NBC. Neither are there currently "more divorces than births, deaths and marriages all put together," as Mr. Gulko commented.

A check of statewide statistics reveals that 1,620 marriage licenses were issued in Marin County in 1977 and 1,492 decrees of divorce or dissolution of marriages. Thus, even without births or deaths, Mr. Gulko's estimate was incorrect.

The Council believes that it hardly seems to be "quibbling," as Mr. Crystal suggests, to point out that NBC used hearsay material and guesswork from interviewees. It had an obligation to check those statistics and, at the very least, to place them in perspective.

Concurring: Brady, Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

General conclusion by the Council: NBC's defense that it never claimed that this was all there was to life in Marin County is not supported by the program's content, which contained only two brief disclaimers and little relevant film showing anything other than the unusual. In the present case, not only did the program present a point of view, but it based that point of view on information that was sometimes inaccurate.

Additionally, in order to bolster the overall point about self-indulgence in Marin County, some scenes were misleading.

These portions of the documentary which lead the Council to this conclusion include the unqualified assertions by persons interviewed about a 75 percent divorce rate in Marin County, the characterization of the county's suicide rate as being well over twice the national average, and the unchecked assertions about the consequences of alcohol consump-

tion. The Council also found scenes depicting the birthday party, Secret Garden treatment, and Mill Valley class to be misleading.

The Council confines its findings to what it believes were journalistic flaws, not to the broad indictment of the program made by the complainant.

It, therefore, finds warranted the contention that the program was journalistically flawed at essential points.

Concurring: Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Rusher, Salant, and Scott. (Mr. Salant participated in the discussion and voted on this matter with the prior knowledge and consent of NBC News.)

Statement by Mr. Lawson: Given the pervasive influence of television, a documentary or report must conform to high standards of fairness, accuracy, and balance. This report might better have been called, not a "report," but a "social commentary." I would urge television to adopt such language.

Furthermore, if "reports" such as this one are to be "narrated" by well-known news people, the public is misled. TV news departments must disassociate themselves from the "documentary" that is more docudrama or commentary than report.

"I Want It All Now" is a most interesting program, causing the viewer to consider values and life styles. We need many programs like this one. Television must self-consciously help us assess our society, priorities, and values. But let television stop calling this a "report" and using the Edwin Newmans.

Let such a program be an "opinion" the public needs to see and wants to hear.

Statement by Mr. Renick: The essential point in this discussion is one of definition: What is the purpose or frame of reference for a documentary?

The classic study of this topic is A. William Bluem's work *The Documentary in American Television*.

Bluem tackles the subject both historically and conceptually and he states: "Those kinds of communications which are formed by the documentary idea are founded upon the conviction that the events and circumstances which shape man's life must not only be recorded but that such reporting must be made in as compelling a fashion as possible."

"The function of all documentary communication is to make drama from life." Bluem continues, "Documentary communication seeks to initiate a proc-

ess which culminates in public action by presenting information and to complete the process by making this presentation persuasive. Documentary seeks to inform, but above all, it seeks to influence."

The basic purpose of the documentary, Bluem concludes, "is to inform and to persuade."

And it is in this context we must deal with this complaint.

The program was a persuasive effort.

It was a collection of points or examples to reinforce a point of view. Naturally, the producers were seeking out the strongest and most graphic illustrations to build their case.

The flaws in the documentary were minor because they did nothing to reduce or dilute the basic message or argument of the program.

Dissenting opinion by Ms. Roberts (Mr. Brady concurring): I find the documentary misleading as a consequence of the journalistic flaws and inaccuracies in essential areas. While NBC was not obliged to air a balanced report, it owed the viewers accuracy in presenting the limited number of themes treated. This it failed to do, as the Council finds in several instances.

In addition, there is a "truth in labeling" issue, in my opinion. Time after time there are references to "Marin County," giving the impression that the activities and persons depicted were representative of the entire county. The two brief disclaimers in the script did not overcome this misleading labeling.

Statement on Paris UNESCO declaration

The general conference of UNESCO, meeting in Paris, has given unanimous endorsement to a final draft of the much-revised declaration on "fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, the promotion of human rights, and to counteracting racialism, apartheid, and incitement to war."

As is inevitable in any effort to establish a modus vivendi between East and West, North and South, in an area involving basic conflicts in approach, philosophy, values, and governmental structure, the final declaration is totally

satisfactory to no one.

Unquestionably, it represents a vast improvement over the original draft presented at the 1976 UNESCO conference in Nairobi with its assertion that "states are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."

The current accent is where it ought to be, on the need for open access to news sources and for keeping the flow of information free of governmental domination. Regrettably, this constructive recognition is linked to many muddy generalities, piled one atop another, in ways that invite abuse by those versed in employing the maxims of freedom to stifle freedom.

Because there are so many potential boobytraps, especially through the incorporation by reference of vaporous covenants and pronouncements adopted by various United Nations bodies in other years, no safe prediction can be made at this stage of how the diverse member states will apply the new declaration. Careful monitoring will be necessary to make certain that in practice the accent remains on freedom rather than on coercion.

The United States can best contribute to the ostensible purposes of the declara-

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tion by continuing and broadening the help it has been giving to assisting journalists in the developing countries in improving the quality and quantity of news coverage affecting their countries.

As the National News Council has observed repeatedly, there has been substantial warrant for Third World dissatisfaction with the shallowness and negativism of much present reporting. Recognizing the merit of such complaints, Western news agencies are devoting creative energy to attempting correction through better-trained correspondents and greater range in both the scope and depth of coverage.

A spur to adoption of the new declaration at the Paris meeting was the enthusiasm of many delegates from the developing nations for the assurances of broad technical cooperation freely put forward by the United States. This would apply in such fields as helping to equip and staff regional journalism centers, providing access to satellites and other facilities for printing and transmission, and assisting in the development of indigenous news agencies.

The recognition by many within the Third World of the perils involved in substituting regimented systems of news dissemination for the services they now feel inadequate made them receptive to the positive suggestions advanced by representatives of this country and others for fundamental shifts in the original thrust of the declaration and for backup programs to overcome flaws in the present information flow. Greater diversity in the sources and means of information and greater professionalism in its presentation can help enrich understanding of human developments all over this interdependent world. Americans have as much as Africans, Asians, and Latins to gain from such an improved exchange of knowledge in an atmosphere of freedom.

Concurring: Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, and Scott.

Dissenting: Brady, Rusher, and Salant.

Dissenting opinion by Mr. Salant (Mr. Brady concurring): I cannot agree. I believe that the majority's faint praise of the UNESCO Declaration should have been a damn.

A sigh of relief that things could have been a lot worse should not be a substitute for maintaining the fundamental principles of press freedom. I have the impression that the Council's statement is simply a feeling of relief that we have stopped being hit over the head with a hammer.

My basic difficulty with the new Declaration is that it means whatever any nation may want it to mean. And with the opaque references to a variety of other U.N. and UNESCO resolutions and actions—particularly the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights—the Declaration will inevitably be interpreted by many nations as encouraging and endorsing grave blockage of a free flow of information, and will be treated by those who wish to engage in such blockage as an approval of government intrusion and control.

Of course, the Declaration is better than drafts which have previously been advanced. So it is probably true that the Declaration is a triumph of diplomacy. But the principle of press freedom cannot and should not be compromised by those who believe in that principle merely on the ground that it could have been worse. The basic principles should not be, and I fear here were, a subject of diplomatic bargaining and compromise inappropriate in these circumstances and on this issue.

Dissenting opinion by Mr. Rusher: I dissent for the reasons stated by Mr. Salant, and for the further reason that the resolution condemns the "negativism of much present reporting" about the Third World. What on earth does this mean? Is the Council encouraging reporters to suppress unfavorable news, or accusing them of underplaying favorable news? The Third World has a great deal to be negative about, and reporters would be derelict if they didn't report it in full.

Sensitivity in reporting the abortion issue

Issue: Hugo C. Koch, project coordinator for the Catholic Defense League, an anti-abortion and anti-homosexual organization, complained about a number of *New York Times* articles dealing with the subject of abortion.

1. An article by Nadine Broznan on May 22 that dealt with pending New York State legislation which would require notification of parents when a minor under the age of eighteen was going to have an abortion. The complaint centered on the reporter's citing of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision on abortion. Mr. Koch charged that the *Times* was inaccurate in saying:

But of greater moment to the teenagers of this state is the question of what happens when their right to have abortions, without the knowledge of their closest of kin—a right so far upheld by the United States Supreme Court—collides with the concerns of their parents for their well-being.

Mr. Koch also objected to what he termed the "attacks on the character and integrity of the sponsors of the New York legislation by the *Times*."

2. An article in the January 23 *Times* by Judy Klemesrud reporting on a "teach-in" held to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's landmark decision on abortion. The complainant charged that a quote in the story attributed to Evelyn Reed, an anthropologist, was "factually unsubstantiated." Ms. Reed was quoted as referring to the "... unholy alliance of the Catholic Church's male hierarchy, the Ku Klux Klan, the Mormon Church and the John Birch Society."

3. An article by Laurie Johnston in the March 14 *Times* about a Federal Court suit challenging current federal law restricting the payments of federal funds for abortions. Mr. Koch objected to what he called one-sided reporting of the pro-abortionists' case and maintained the *Times* had not reported "to any significant degree" on the anti-abortion side since the suit began in July 1977.

4. A book review by John Leonard appearing in the *Times* on June 14 dealing with *The Baby in the Bottle*, by Dr. William A. Nolen. The book dealt with the manslaughter trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin in Massachusetts in 1975 which was related to an abortion performed by the doctor.

Specifically, Mr. Koch complained about the portion of the review in which Mr. Leonard said: "Only at the end of 'The Baby in the Bottle' do we learn that Dr. Nolen is an Irish Catholic with six children and regards abortion as 'repellent.'"

Mr. Koch said that, since Dr. Edelin had been tried for manslaughter resulting from an abortion, the review "amounted to an opinion that Roman Catholics cannot objectively evaluate legal facts and serve competently as jurors or judges, for example, because of their emotional involvement with the abortion issue." To bolster his contention that the *Times* was not objective, Mr. Koch cited the killing by *Times* editors of another Leonard column which dealt with the "Jewish-American Princess syndrome" on the ground that it could be considered offensive. Mr. Koch argued that the pa-

per had no difficulty in "maligned the objectivity and integrity of prominent members of the Catholic community such as Dr. Nolen."

The *Times* held to its policy of not answering inquiries from the National News Council.

Conclusion of the Council: The Council has stated in the past that the subject of abortion is a sensitive one and that added care should be taken in the reporting and editing of stories about abortion. The Council does not believe, however, that the *Times* has strayed from accuracy or care in any of the articles complained about by Mr. Koch. Regarding the specific articles complained about:

The article by Ms. Broznan (item 1) was an evenhanded account of the arguments for and against the proposed New York State legislation regarding parental notification for teenage abortions.

Mr. Koch concedes that the Supreme Court rules that those under eighteen could have abortions without parental consent. He argues that there has been no decision on parental "knowledge." Ms. Broznan's use of the "so far upheld" can be construed as wholly accurate in the total context of her report.

Ms. Broznan's observations about some of the political background to the proposed legislation are appropriate to such a story and do not, in the Council's opinion, reflect on the character and integrity of the sponsors of such legislation as suggested by the complainant.

The complaint that Ms. Klemesrud's article (item 2), with the quotation from Ms. Reed concerning an "unholy alliance," was unsubstantiated and should not have been used, or that some explanation for it was necessary, disregards a basic tenet of reporting. The reporter is there to cover what occurs at an event and to report what is deemed newsworthy. Ms. Reed's statement was one of a number of quotations used in the story. All were deemed newsworthy and it was not necessary for the *Times* to offer further interpretation in a news account of the meeting.

Ms. Johnston's report (item 3) brought up to date the suit which was initiated against legislation restricting federal funding for abortion. In addition, the story offered an adequate explanation of both sides. The story brought up the background legislation which was the basis for the suit. As such, it was a proper exercise of news judgment, coming as it did at the end of the plaintiff's presentation and before the defense had begun to present its case.

On the matter of the John Leonard book review (item 4), the Council has held to a rule of not reviewing statements of opinion in columns except where facts are questioned. It reiterates that stand in the present matter. It finds further that whether the *Times* killed another Leonard column and for what reason it may have been killed were strictly matters for its own editing judgment and irrelevant to the complaint at hand.

Reviewing all the points, the Council finds this complaint to be unwarranted.

Concurring: Brady, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Should the media use \$s to sway public issues?

Nature of complaint: Jim Bishop, author and syndicated columnist, whose articles appear regularly in *The Miami Herald* and many other newspapers, complained to the National News Council in his capacity as chairman of the statewide steering committee of "Let's Help Florida," an organization that had obtained 420,000 signatures to put on the ballot in the November 7, 1978, election a referendum item calling for legalization of casino gambling in Miami Beach and other nearby resort communities.

The specific challenge posed by Mr. Bishop was: "Did *The Miami Herald* and its president, Alvah H. Chapman, attempt to influence the outcome of a referendum issue through their financial contributions and the solicitation of funds from other media, in opposition to the referendum?"

The Miami Herald contributed \$16,000 in corporate funds to anti-casino groups. Three other Knight-Ridder dailies in Florida contributed an additional \$9,000. Mr. Chapman, his wife, his mother, and James L. Knight, chairman of the board of the *Herald*, gave slightly over \$10,000 more in personal funds, bringing the total from Knight-Ridder, its executives, and their relatives to \$35,000. Mr. Chapman also spearheaded the raising of an overall total of \$180,000 from media sources, both print and electronic, the great bulk of it for expenditure through "No Casinos, Inc.," a citizens' committee sponsored by Governor Reubin Askew to oppose casino gambling.

Mr. Bishop asserted that staff members at the *Herald* and at other publications included in the list of corporate contributors had expressed concern, both within their papers and elsewhere in public, over the adverse impact they felt these contributions might have on public perception of the objectivity of their news coverage. The complaint asked the Council to examine whether the direct giving of its own funds by the *Herald* and Mr. Chapman's solicitation of similar gifts from other publishers constituted, when linked to its hostile editorial stance, "an unprecedented influence of the media in a people's referendum campaign."

Response of news organization: In a Miami interview with A.H. Raskin of the Council's staff, Mr. Chapman and James Batten, Knight-Ridder group vice president for news, discussed at length the corporation's reasons for giving. They supplied statements and factual material and full access was given to John McMullan, the *Herald's* executive editor, who had personally dissented from the decision to make a corporate gift, and to members of the news staff critical of the decision. Similar cooperation was extended at *The Miami News* and other organizations, where differences of opinion over the advisability of such gifts existed. In all cases, people who disagreed with management felt no hesitancy in voicing their views.

The central reason for the *Herald's* financial involvement in the casino campaign, as set forth by Mr. Chapman, was his strong belief that the introduction of casinos into Florida, by way of the Miami area, represented a threat to the area's economy and an equally serious threat to the future economic health of the *Herald*.

"Specifically," he explained after Floridians rejected casino gambling by a margin of nearly three to one, "I was concerned that the Las Vegas South image in Miami would make it difficult to attract and hold the bright, competent newspaper professionals who are so vital to the future and present success of The Miami Herald Publishing Company."

This apprehension was predicated on Mr. Chapman's conviction that the business success of a newspaper is, in the final analysis, the determinant of its ability to fulfill its First Amendment responsibilities as a disseminator of news and analysis. He noted that the *Herald* was the chief profit center for the entire Knight-Ridder chain and that hopes for the paper's continued growth and pros-

perity were tied to the prospect of Miami's emergence as a gateway center for commercial, financial, and cultural interchange with Latin America. That prospect, he feared, would be blighted by the debasing impact of casino gambling, with its links to organized crime.

Mr. Chapman said his alarm was heightened by the head start pro-casino forces had obtained in raising funds for what he regarded as a brainwashing campaign. Hotel owners in the Miami Beach area had raised \$600,000 to underwrite the petition drive that put the casino issue before the voters and there was every indication that total spending on their side would be four or five times that sum before Election Day.

In the absence of a vigorous counter-offensive, Mr. Chapman feared the experience in Florida would duplicate that in New Jersey, where a \$1.3 million campaign was organized under the direction of Sanford Weiner, the out-of-state professional promoter retained to put across legalized casino gambling in Florida. Opposition forces in New Jersey, with only \$23,000 to spend, had been badly defeated at the polls. In Mr. Chapman's view, any comparable outcome in Florida would damage its economy, change its image, and destroy a lifestyle that was eminently in need of preservation.

The decision of the *Herald's* business management and of Knight-Ridder that they had a duty as good corporate citizens and guardians to intervene financially was made, according to both Mr. Chapman and Mr. Batten, with confidence that the tradition of independence for the paper's editorial and news operations was so deeply established and so widely recognized that there was negligible danger of public misunderstanding. They noted that, even among those within the staff who disagreed with the business decision, there was certainty that the integrity of these operations would be respected by everyone in executive position. Their concern was solely with outside perception and with the political capital that advocates of casino gambling might make of the issue.

Initial Council action: The complaint from Mr. Bishop was received on September 21. He asked for speedy consideration "in view of the timeliness of this complaint and its bearing on an impending vote by the people of Florida." On September 28, following a three-day visit to Miami by Mr. Raskin, basic documents and background information covering both sides of the case were sent to Council members. The members also were

polled as to whether the Council should schedule an emergency meeting to deal with the Florida complaint.

Fourteen members expressed the view that the questions raised merited exploration and assessment by the Council. The vote was 10 to 4 in favor of making that assessment at the regularly scheduled meeting, rather than at a special meeting before the popular vote. Council member Ralph Renick, vice president and news director of station WTVJ, Channel 4, in Miami, abstained from participation on the ground that its parent company, Wometco Enterprises, had contributed \$25,000 to the anti-casino campaign.

Two factors were cited with particular frequency by members in explaining their votes. One was that any departure from the normal schedule aimed at a finding by the Council before Election Day might be interpreted by Floridians as an effort by this group to influence the outcome of the casino referendum, a matter clearly outside the Council's proper jurisdiction. Associated with this concern was a fear that altering the timetable would set a precedent under which the Council might find itself flooded with future requests for intervention at the behest of one faction or another in election contests all over the country.

The second factor frequently cited was a recognition that the impact, if any, of the financial contributions by the media on either the quality of news coverage or on public confidence in the detachment of that coverage could be more fully evaluated if the Council had before it the record up to and including the time the voters registered their decision. From the standpoint of the one consideration important to the Council, the ethical implications for journalistic practice, the appropriateness of media contributions remained a live question, whether or not casinos were legalized.

Council action: Two principal questions confront the Council in its attempt to assess the complaint. The first is the degree to which, if at all, the publisher's financial contribution and his leadership role in raising money from the rest of the media and the general business community affected the news coverage of the casino issue in the *Herald*. The second is the more fundamental question of the appropriateness of such financial involvement by a newspaper on one side of an emotional and controversial issue that is before the voters for decision.

On the first count, the integrity of its news handling, the *Herald* acquitted it-

self with distinction. The reporters assigned to the story and the news editors in immediate charge admittedly felt themselves put in an uncomfortable position by Mr. Chapman's commitment of *Herald* resources to back the governor's campaign. They decided, in the best tradition of journalism, that the only response they could in conscience make was to strive even harder than they normally did to be fair. They succeeded admirably in that effort. The lapses were few and relatively insignificant, given the staggering volume of copy that appeared in the *Herald* during the casino fight. These lapses were far outweighed by conspicuous examples of independence by the paper's investigative team in turning up material that contradicted some of the main propaganda props of the side the *Herald* was supporting.

John McMullan, the *Herald's* executive editor, and other top news executives kept themselves totally remote from the coverage, an aloofness that almost certainly would not have been practiced in any other story the *Herald* regarded as worthy of such extensive treatment. (A detailed supplemental report, entitled "Comments on News Coverage," is available by writing to the National News Council, 1 Lincoln Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10023.)

Obviously, any contributions by the media should be publicly disclosed at the time they are made. Florida law insures publicity, in any event, since the reports of all campaign treasurers on contributions and expenditures are made public in Tallahassee on a weekly basis. However, for media corporations, reliance on routine disclosure of this sort is not sufficient, even in the few states that do have sunshine laws as embracing as Florida's. Newspapers and broadcasters have an affirmative obligation on their own to let their readers know what they are doing to influence public policy outside the columns of their publications and the contents of their news or entertainment programs. The acknowledgement of any cash contributions to groups involved in lobbying or in voting campaigns should be both prompt and prominent.

The legality of the *Herald's* decision to contribute its own funds and to urge other publishers to do the same is indisputable. All corporations have that right under the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment, the United States Supreme Court held last April in the case of *First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti*. The Court made a special point of the merit of such guarantees when applied to corporate financial involvement in a

referendum on public policy, as distinct from corporate support for individual candidates for public office, where it envisaged the risk of corruption as much greater.

But what is legal for corporations in general is not necessarily sound policy for corporations engaged in disseminating news and opinion.

There can be no serious question that, in contributing corporate funds to the anti-casino campaign, Florida publishers of the character of Alvah Chapman acted out of a deep sense of community obligation. They did feel that legalization of casino gambling would permanently alter for the worse the moral and economic climate of their cities and state. However, in future cases anywhere in the nation, the controversy engendered by the financial involvement of the Florida news organizations should alert media executives to the potential price their organizations may have to pay whenever they decide that the business interests of these organizations require similar contributions to put across a particular point of view in a public policy issue up for decision by the voters.

First, they run the risk of undermining public confidence in the fairness of their news columns, a possibility underscored by the results of the *Herald's* own statewide poll. It showed that both those favoring casinos and those opposed believed, by substantial margins, that papers contributing financially to the referendum could not be fair in their news columns. (A background report containing data on this poll, as well as the views of many participants in the fight, may be obtained by writing to the Council.)

Second, danger may be created of blurring the line of separation that should properly exist between the state and the press, each fulfilling its role in its own way, when the president of an influential newspaper enrolls as chief fundraiser for the governor of his state in a campaign that becomes the overriding preoccupation of both men. The line of separation is in further danger of becoming blurred when this same prestigious publisher takes the lead in raising funds from among bankers and other business leaders outside the media. The appropriateness of such activity must be weighed against the questions it may raise in the minds of readers about how detached the press can be in covering news or making editorial judgments affecting the business community.

A third line of potential danger arises out of concerns of the type voiced by Chief Justice Burger in the Bellotti case.

When publishers cite the need for assigning priority to the financial health of their enterprises in explaining their decisions to become involved financially in helping to shape the outcome of a referendum, they may find themselves reinforcing the argument of those who contend that the assertiveness of the trend toward conglomerate ownership has made newspapers and other media corporations just another form of big business, indistinguishable from other large corporations in their right to claim special protection under the Constitution.

The accumulation of tombstones in journalistic cemeteries all over the country offers abundant proof that newspapers must be diligent in safeguarding their own economic health and that of

'What is legal for corporations in general is not necessarily sound policy for corporations engaged in disseminating news'

their communities. But for organizations engaged in the dissemination of news and opinion as distinct from business enterprises in general, there are boundaries on the ways in which that advancement of self-interest may properly be exercised. Many newspapers and broadcasters have recognized those boundaries, both by ethics codes they enforce to prohibit even the appearance of conflict of interest by their staffs and by rules barring their executives from sitting on the boards of outside businesses.

The Florida dispute is another episode in the long-running argument concerning ethics within American journalism. That the contribution of corporate funds by publishing and broadcast enterprises has brought so many explanations is proof simple that there is reasonable question about the propriety of communications companies making such contributions toward one side or another of an issue before the public for vote.

The complaint before the National News Council is not one that can be disposed of in the manner of a standard grievance, with a simple finding that the complaint is either warranted or unwarranted. The issue is too complex for that. Plainly, all involved in this dispute—complainant Bishop, himself a journalist, who headed the roundup of votes for casinos, and the publishers and broadcasters, who contributed media funds on the other side, regardless of how lofty their motivations—put at risk public be-

lief in the integrity of independent news coverage and editorial expression.

What has occurred in Florida's battle over casino gambling will be useful if it brings to American journalists at every level a recognition of the urgency for appraising with utmost seriousness the dangers they run of damaging public perceptions of their own fairness and weakening public support for the special status of the press under the First Amendment whenever the media become financially involved in influencing the determination of public policy by the electorate.

Concurring: Dilliard, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Roberts, Salant, and Scott.

Dissenting: Brady and Rusher.

Dissenting opinion by Mr. Brady: The president and chief executive officer of a business enterprise has four major functions and responsibilities:

1. To manage the enterprise's economic resources to achieve the highest possible return on the capital entrusted to him by his stockholders.
2. To continually replenish the economic resources of the business so that competent people will be attracted to it, and so that facilities are constantly modernized to enable the enterprise to meet the competitive demands of its markets.
3. To plan and provide for the continuation of the business.
4. To respond at all times to the changing environments in which the business operates.

My conclusion is that, without Mr. Chapman's efforts, there would have been only meager opposition to the heavily financed pro-casino forces. Mr. Chapman, and the officers and directors of *The Miami Herald*, acted prudently and properly in accordance with their responsibilities and obligations to their stockholders, employees, and readers.

Dissenting opinion by Mr. Rusher: Not long ago I noted that a majority of the Council appears to share the vision of the journalistic profession as a sort of priesthood, endowed with special privileges and subject to various self-denying ordinances. I suggested playfully that journalists may even be on their way to celibacy.

That solemn day has apparently not yet arrived; but already the Council majority is busy warning "journalists at every level" of "the dangers they run" if they participate, as citizens or civic-minded corporations, in forms of political activity that would be regarded as downright praiseworthy if engaged in by

a nonjournalist. Celibacy may be nearer than we think!

The chief "dangers," according to the Council, are that by participating personally in any political activity save perhaps voting, and particularly by contributing financially, journalists may "[damage] public perceptions of their own fairness and [weaken] public support for the special status of the press." Like St. Paul on marriage, the Council stops short of condemning such activity outright, but its reservations are both clear and deep.

They are, however, wholly unnecessary. The American people fortunately do not share the perception of journalists as priests, and therefore do not expect them to behave that way. They are convinced (rightly, in my opinion) that journalists are just as biased as anybody else, and therefore approach with a healthy skepticism everything journalists write.

Far from deploring this, I rejoice in it. Nothing could be more dangerous than for journalists to become convinced, and then convince the American people, that they really are, like Fitzgerald's rich, "different from you and me": more objective, more dedicated to the search for truth, less buffeted by normal human passions.

Let each journalist earn, if he can, by the way he behaves and writes, a modest reputation for simple fairness. But otherwise let him be a fully rounded human being: faithful to his God if he has one, and loyal to whatever political creed attracts him. And if he cares enough to contribute financially to some cause he deeply believes in, most people won't think less of him for it, but more.

Abstaining: Renick.

A person's religion: is it relevant?

Issue: Did a *New York Times* news story unnecessarily single out for identification the religious affiliation of a person opposed to abortion?

Complaint: William F. Gavin of Arlington, Virginia, complained that a *New York Times* news story of June 20, which dealt with the effects of anti-abortion activity on political campaigns around the country, had unnecessarily and unfairly identified one anti-abortionist by religion.

The person so identified was Carolyn Thompson, head of the Pro-Life Action Council in Iowa, who is a Roman Catholic. In all, eight persons were identified by name and by political organization or affiliation in the story, but Ms. Thompson was the only one whose religion was mentioned. Said Mr. Gavin in a letter to the *Times*:

I thought the recent criticism made by the National News Council of your practice might have at least made you re-examine your views on this matter. But the vicious, irresponsible practice continues.

Mr. Gavin received no response to his letter and the *Times* held to its policy of not responding to News Council inquiries.

Conclusion of the Council: In two previous complaints brought by Mr. Gavin, the Council has made the recommendation that:

The practice of identifying religious affiliation in news accounts follows that generally applying to race and national origin—that all such designations be avoided unless the information is relevant and material.

In the present complaint, eight persons were identified by name and by political or organizational affiliation. An example was Mrs. Hilda Kilgore, described as executive director of the Planned Parenthood Center of Nashville. Her religion was not mentioned, nor were the religious affiliations of any of the other persons who either were political office holders or office seekers. Referring to the race for a U.S. Senate seat in Iowa, the *Times* story said:

At the center of the anti-abortion campaign is a state political action committee, Pro-Life Action Council, headed by Carolyn Thompson, a Roman Catholic and registered nurse, who has long been active in the National Right to Life Committee.

In keeping with its previously stated recommendation about reporting religious affiliation, the Council believes that the identification of Ms. Thompson as Roman Catholic was unfair in the context of the entire story since no other individual was identified by religion. In light of the repeated complaints on this specific issue, the Council can only conclude that the *Times* is either insensitive to justifiable criticism or is condoning careless editing.

The complaint is found warranted.

Concurring: Brady, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Salant, and Scott.

Crowd estimates notoriously unreliable

Issue: How reliable are reports of crowd estimates? Did WCBS-TV misrepresent the size of a crowd at a New York homosexual rights rally?

Complaint: Hugo C. Koch, project coordinator for the Catholic Defense League, complained that WCBS-TV's estimate that 100,000 persons had participated in a homosexual rights rally on June 15 "must be judged deliberately inflated in order to support the station's strongly pro-homosexual position, no matter how much leeway one is willing to grant in varying estimates of large crowds."

Mr. Koch cited other reported crowd estimates of 12,000, of 50,000, and a *New York Times* description of the crowd as being "in the tens of thousands."

WCBS-TV News Director James Cusick responded:

The estimate was announced by police at the rally. However, our report was flawed by its failure to attribute the estimate to those who gave it. At best, though, crowd estimates are always dubious, and this incident has led us to caution reporters and editors alike in reporting such figures.

At the same time, Mr. Cusick denied that the WCBS estimate was "deliberately distorted" for any reason.

Conclusion of the Council: Crowd estimates are notoriously unreliable, leading often to charges that figures were either deliberately inflated or deflated. Reporters and editors should be cautious about the use of such figures and should be explicit about attribution as well. WCBS-TV has made it clear that it intends to pursue such a policy.

This will help a situation which, at best, is likely to be flawed because such estimates, even by responsible police officials, are usually no more than educated guesses.

The Council finds nothing, however, in the present report to substantiate the complainant's charge of deliberate misrepresentation and finds the complaint unwarranted.

Concurring: Brady, Isaacs, Lawson, Otwell, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, Scott.

Absent during consideration and vote: Salant.

14 factors that could affect the performance of your next prescription.

Before you ask your pharmacist for a cheaper version of the medication prescribed by your doctor, consider.

In making the "same" drug, different companies may exercise different levels of skill and care. They formulate and manufacture the "same" product differently.

Change the inactive ingredients, compress the tablets too much, make any of a dozen other misjudgments, and the resulting product may cause problems. Yet it could look just like a well-made drug.

That's why it's vital to control factors like the few we've listed. To assure quality in every prescription drug, at every stage from research lab to pharmacy shelf.

PMA believes every company should be required to document the biological performance of its products

and identify the actual manufacturer on the package label. Because the manufacturer's competence is the key to quality.

To know you're getting a drug of assured quality at an acceptable price, ask your doctor and your pharmacist. These professionals know drugs. And they know drug companies from long experience.

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REPORTS

"Press Swallows Atom Industry Bait," by George R. Zachar **Critical Mass Journal**, December 1978

That blast of stories on the Soviet Union's nuclear power program which turned up in the American press last fall was no nuclear accident, but the result of a promotional program for journalists arranged by the nuclear industry's own trade association, Atomic Industrial Forum. Signing on for the fifteen-day ground-breaking Soviet tour, Zachar reports, were seventeen American journalists (the complete roster is included), representing such publications as *Time* and *Newsweek*, *The Washington Post* and *Star*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the Newhouse group, and several major dailies and business and trade papers, and while none reported any ethical problems with the industry-sponsored trip (the A.I.F. was scrupulously nonintrusive), neither were they entirely free from professional pressures to justify the \$2,000 expense tabs that had been picked up by their respective editors. Their dutifully filed reports, emphasizing the Soviet commitment to breeder technology, its push for plutonium fuel, its promotion of a strong reactor export program—all in inescapable contrast to American delays, equivocations, and hesitations in its own atomic energy policy—amounted, in Zachar's estimation, to the public-relations coup of the year. "While perfervid demonstrators, dallying bureaucrats, and well-paid lawyers are holding back the development of U.S. atomic power," he quotes *Time's* October 30 piece as saying, "the U.S.S.R. is moving ahead rapidly with its own nuclear programs." For sparking the old competitive cold-war juices, what more perfect fuel?

Names and Numbers, by Rod Nordland, John Wiley & Sons, 1978, \$24.95

The 560 pages and oversized format of this gem of a reference book may make it somewhat cumbersome, but it is sure to become as close a companion of the working journalist as his portable typewriter. An extension of the personal cardfile of a prizewinning Philadelphia

reporter, the 20,000 listings—names, addresses, phone numbers, contact people—comprise a comprehensive directory of the most needed information, organized around three major categories: useful logistics (airline ticket offices, hotel reservation numbers, bus lines, car rental agencies, travelers' aid societies, instructions on making international telephone calls); information sources and contacts (for government, business, labor, education, religion, science, sports, recreation, politics, arts); and the media (magazines, book publishers, daily newspapers, wire services, television and all-news radio stations, press clubs, journalism awards). The reporter scrambling to reach the public-affairs officer in Afghanistan, Maurice Stans's lawyer in Washington, Muhammed Ali's trainer in Florida, Jimmy Hoffa's son in Detroit, or the weatherman in Buffalo, can now relax: Nordland's tireless fingers have done the walking for you.

"The Candidates' Analysts," by James David Barber, **Psychology Today**, December 1978

There is more of the scientific method to our journalistic madness than meets the eye—the accumulation of evidence and the testing of hypotheses, for example, not to mention the skepticism and wonder of those who are doing it. Pursuing the analogy between science and journalism, the author contends that, like it or not, the very nature of presidential campaign reporting impels the journalist to make the kinds of judgments more usually associated with clinical psychology. Barber, a professor of political science at Duke and author of *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, challenges some of the underlying psychological assumptions operating in campaign coverage. Is the "campaign stress test," for instance, as true a predictor of future presidential behavior as, say, the Boston Marathon, or a forty-eight-hour session on *Meet the Press*? Until the stresses are identified, Barber argues, the question cannot even be addressed. Does the candidate's inevitable gaffe—to which reporters tune their third ears like classical

Freudian psychoanalysts—really provide that sudden flash of insight which demonstrates a truth? In the realm of science, Barber points out, such "key" observations require further testing to indicate whether the phenomenon is both representative and replicable. Does psychologizing about the candidate advance our understanding of his character? It can, says Barber, to the degree that it looks not only for motive, but also backward in the life history to the sources of the pattern, and gets the pattern straight. And, he adds, to the degree that, like psychoanalysts trained to deal with transference, the journalist understands his own motives, biases, and emotional reactions to the candidates he covers. In perhaps the most constructive extension of the analogy, Barber suggests the application to campaign coverage of those current trends in psychoanalytic thought (exemplified by Erikson and Coles) that focus less on pathology than on the essence of health. New journalists and new psychologists alike, he suggests, might join together in giving balanced attention to personal strengths.

"Rupert Murdoch Fights to Hold His U.S. Beachhead," by Thomas Griffith, **Fortune**, January 15, 1979

Let the *National Star* have Jackie-O and Elvis; for much of the rest of America's media-watchers a far more intriguing subject is the tabloid's publisher, Rupert Murdoch. This latest entry in the burgeoning bibliography on the Australian press lord offers an illuminating year-end review of the state of his realm, and suggests that a few revisions of the Murdoch myth may not be out of order. The popular image as establishment outcast, for example, is less supportable in light of Griffith's mention of those intimate little dinners at the Henry Kissingers; the conventional judgment of professional disservice is at least debatable in view of Griffith's observations on the increase in news at the *New York Post*—and news "of a paler shade of yellow" than had been anticipated, at that; and the general notion of the creeping threat to free-mar-

ket diversity may be somewhat misplaced, considering that, unlike the acquisitive chains, which have developed a taste for small-town monopoly, the Murdoch appetite runs strongly to big-city competition.

It is in its bottom-line analysis, however, that Griffith's report is particularly interesting: Murdoch's empire, it seems, is structured like a pyramid, and may be less financially fabulous than might be supposed. After-tax profits are off, debt service is up, and there was a 50 percent drop in net income for the current first fiscal quarter—this last due mainly to the drain of operations in the United States. All of which finds Murdoch at center stage in the tough newspaper town of New York, where last year his *New York Post* finished \$10 million in the red. (Substantial savings in operating costs will of course accrue as a result of the New York strike settlement—from which the unsteadfast Murdoch emerged with not a few new enemies—but at the same time, according to Griffith, efforts to expand the *Post*'s readership base have largely failed.) Scenarios for the future are various and bold: Will Murdoch finally launch his long-aborning morning *Sun*, and give the *Daily News* a run for its

money? Or is Murdoch really using the threatened rivalry to make the *News* nervous enough to sell it to him at an attractive price? Is Murdoch's non-elitist sense a sure one, and will his numbers increase? Or are his assumptions about the tastes of his readers alien and out of date? Perhaps, as the *Times*'s A.M. Rosenthal predicts, Murdoch will be out of town in a couple of years—but judging from Griffith's piece, the smart money won't be betting on it quite yet.

"The Bleached World of Black TV," by Pamela Douglas, *Human Behavior*, December 1978

The spirit of Amos 'n Andy is alive and well on network television, according to this biting report by a former "token black executive at the world's largest film and television company" who is now a freelance writer in California. Assessing the content of a wide spectrum of black sit-coms and variety shows from *Flip Wilson* to *The Jeffersons*, from *Sanford & Son* to *Good Times*, from *That's My Mama* and *What's Happening* to "a short-lived insult" called *Baby, I'm Back*, Douglas charges that such shows—written and produced under white control—depict blacks as hostile,

bickering, shiftless, and stupid, and derive much of their popularity from their implicit substantiation of racist views. Ironically enough, she asserts, white racism is built with a double-whammy twist into programming economics as well: First ignoring the programming needs of those with limited buying power and avoiding showing them anything that might improve their situation, the system then proceeds in effect to exclude them from a fair representation in the Nielsen sample. As for employment patterns in corporate television, the author claims that gains made by blacks after the turmoil of the 1960s appear to have been turned around, with the black presence in real decision-making now in a downward trend. Recent specials (*Roots*, *A Woman Called Moses*) notwithstanding, Douglas holds few illusions that truly fundamental change will come from within the network system in its present structure, and foresees more likely opportunities for blacks in such developing technologies as satellite and cable. Better shows for blacks will come when they make them themselves, she says flatly. "And they had better be trying to gain political and economic control of the systems to deliver them, too." G.C.



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Petroleum is a long-time sponsor of AAU swimming.

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The Lower case

Polish singer wins Nobel Prize

STOCKHOLM, Sweden (UPI) — Isaac Bashevis Singer, Polish-born writer who emigrated to the United States in 1935, has won the 1978 Nobel Prize for literature, the Swedish Academy announced today.

Sandpoint (Idaho) Daily Bee 10/5/78

Post-Dispatch talks down to two unions

The Christian Science Monitor 12/27/78

Rumors El Toro May Close Fly

Daily News Tribune (Fullerton, Cal.) 11/29/78

OVERSEAS USE MUSHROOMS

U.S. Pill Use Is Decreasing

The Indianapolis Star 1/23/79

For president or other leader

FBI has plans to handle any future assassination

The Wenatchee (Wash.) World 11/11/78

Church's Celibacy Ban Is Reaffirmed By Pope

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 11/10/78

PRINCETON — Ken Strachan, editor of The Brantford Expositor, spoke at the annual meeting of the Women's Institute on May 17.

The group decided to make a donation to the Mental Health Association.

The Brantford (Ont.) Expositor 5/30/78

Smoking riskier than thought

The Boston Globe 1/11/79

In his formulation, the "Third World" encompassed all of Africa; Asia, except for Japan, and Latin America excepting Argentina and Yugoslavia.

The Boston Globe 11/13/78

In Memoriam
WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 — Ronald Reagan, who will be 69 years old just before next year's New Hampshire Presidential primary, and his backers have decided to drop the age issue head on by bringing the subject up early and hoping the public will tire of it.

The New York Times 1/23/79

The festival commemorated the composition of the most important Protestant statement of belief based on the articles by Martin Luther King which became the classical statement of Lutheran doctrine.

Richmond News Leader 1/20/79

NEW YORK AP — Two men — one carrying a dynamite bomb and the other an officer of the New Jewish Defense League — were arrested today on charges of plotting to bomb the Egyptian government tourist office in Rockefeller Center, the FBI announced.

A.P. "A" wire 12/18/78

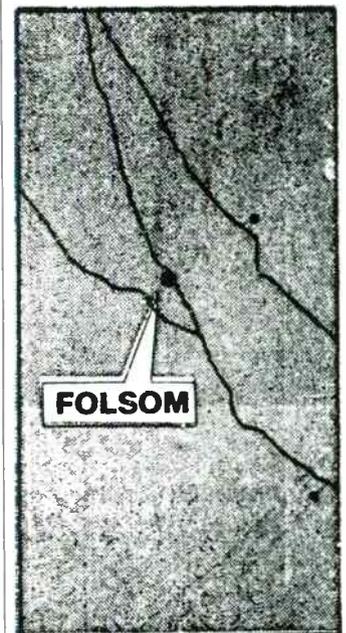
At his Baltimore home, codefendant William Rodgers interrupted champagne toasts from family and friends by answering the constantly ringing telephone with two triumphant words: "Justice for all!"

The Washington Post 1/12/79

ROME — Pier Luigi Nervi, 87, the pot of reinforced concrete who was one of the geniuses of modern architecture, died at his home here yesterday.

He left his unique imprint on the skyline of Rome.

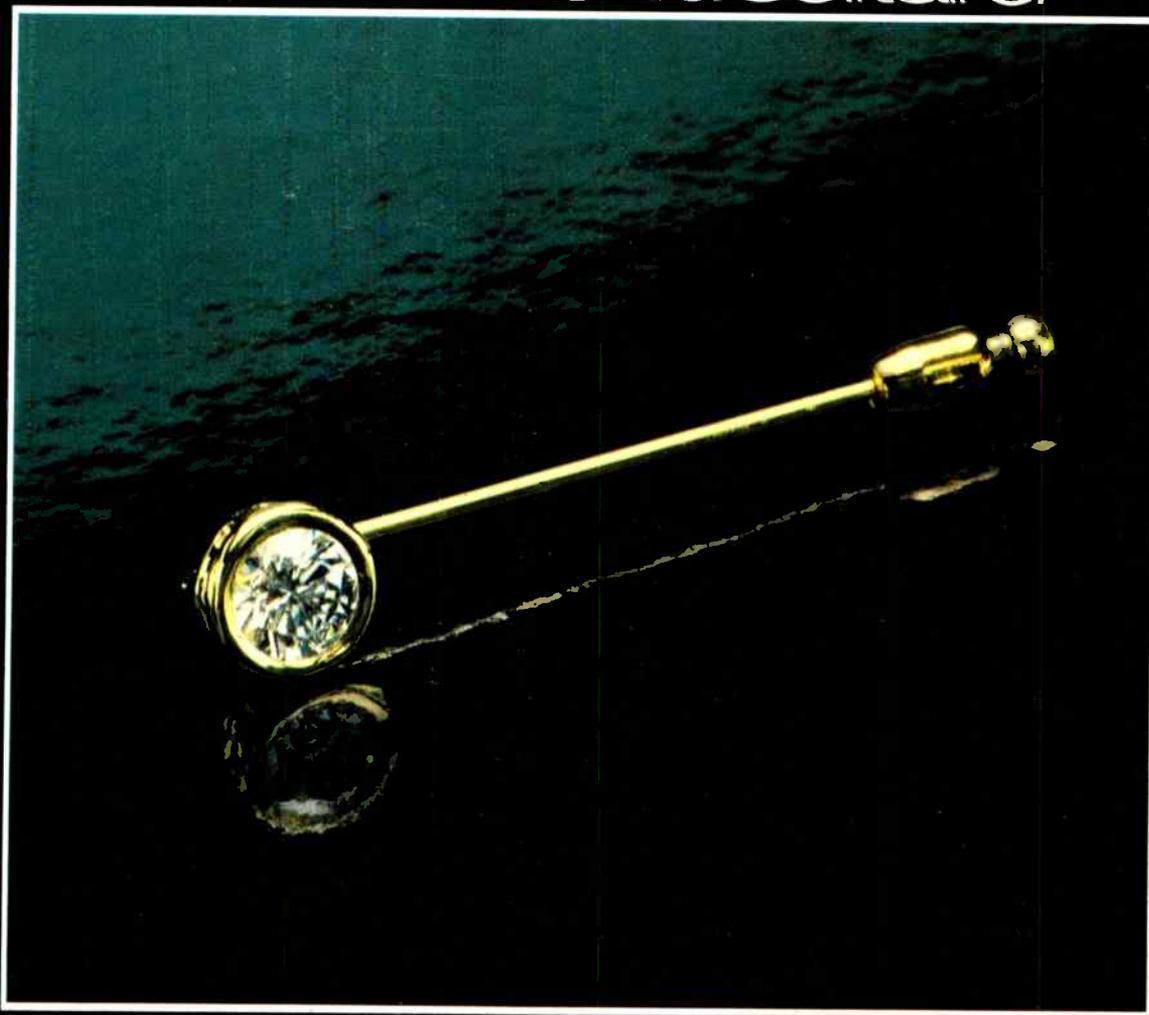
The Philadelphia Inquirer 1/10/79



MAP LOCATES MURDER SCENE

Courier-Post (Camden, N. J.) 10/31/78

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