COLUMBIA
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REVIEW

MARCH/APRIL 1978
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR/PRESS • RADIO • TV

COVERING THE BROWN-LUNG CONTROVERSY

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Taming the press in Southeast Asia

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World Radio History

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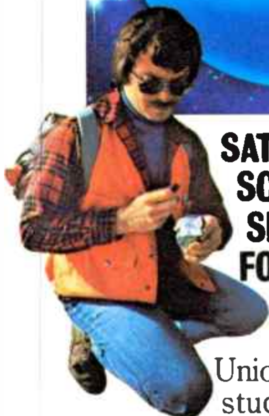

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THE TIDE IS TURNING.

For a long time, continuous, large increases in hospital costs have been looked at as inevitable.

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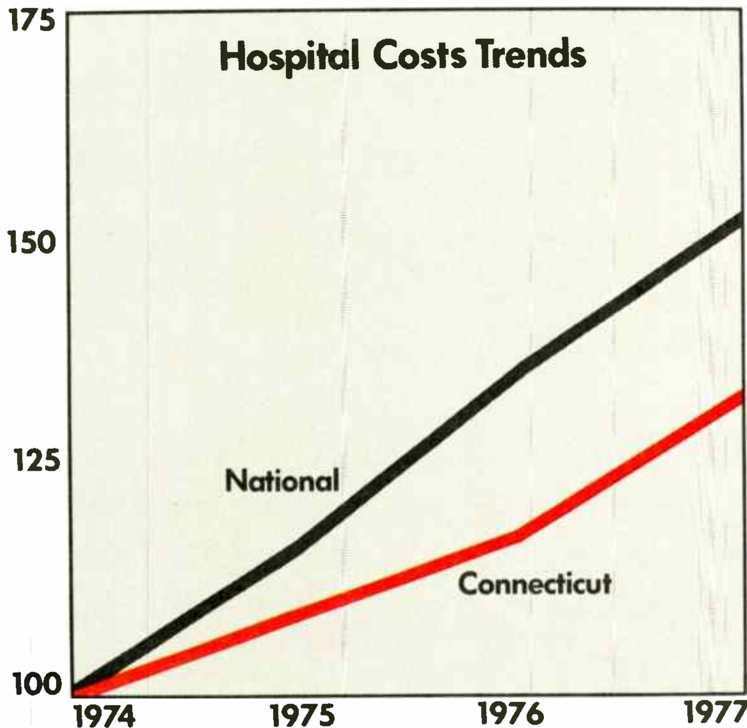

And as costs are brought under control, the insurance premiums that pay most of these costs can reflect the improvement. We have adjusted our rates in Connecticut in response to the improved costs records of Connecticut hospitals.

Insurance rates are, in a sense, a mirror of society. Its economics; its technology; even its morality.

And when society takes effective action to solve problems, it shows up in our rates.

For a copy of the annual report of the Connecticut Commission on Hospitals and Health Care, write The Travelers Office of Consumer Information, One Tower Square, Hartford, Connecticut 06115. Or dial, toll-free, weekdays from 9 to 5 Eastern Time, 800-243-0191. In Connecticut, call collect, 277-6565.

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"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

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CHRONICLE

INNOVATIONS

The Trib takes the plunge

Leonard Saffir, publisher-to-be, announced back in October that New York's new morning tabloid, *The Trib*, would begin publication on Monday, January 9, 1978. And so it did, ready or not. In some respects, it was decidedly unready, for its early editions were published against a background of an unfinished search for major financing, unresolved lawsuits involving its name, and distribution problems, which were cured in part by a stern court order to drivers charged with bringing in the paper from the New Jersey plant where it was being printed.

Thus attention focused — especially in the news stories in *The Trib*'s local competitors — on economic and legal difficulties, rather than the new product itself. The issues published in the first weeks nonetheless suggested a number of comparisons to observers: some thought *The Trib* resembled the tabloid *Christian Science Monitor* or Long Island's *Newsday*; others saw a likeness to Saffir's major previous enterprise, the profitable *New York Standard*, which he published in 1963 when the other newspapers were closed in a strike; and still others found *The Trib*'s magazinelike, departmentalized approach descended from the *PM* experiment of the 1940s. But one paper that it did not resemble much was its quasi-namesake, the old *New York Herald Tribune* (1924-1966), despite the presence of such *Tribune* alumni as John Denson, *The Trib*'s editor, Warren Rogers, Washington bureau chief, and critics Walter Terry and Emily Genauer.

If the name, whose use was being challenged in court by *Herald Tribune* heirs, had any meaning, it was that *The Trib* was trying to re-occupy the ground between the *Times* and the *Daily News* — a paper that like its predecessor would be serious, readable, somewhat conservative. The question was whether that ground still existed, for the *Daily News* in the past decade had become more serious and the *Times* had become more readable. And *The Trib*, despite claims in its advertising that it would be brilliant, arresting, penetrating, adventurous, and so on, was a relatively bland item at the start, tidily enough departmentalized and made up on the inside, but offering a vapid front page. There was surprising reliance on United Press International and Reuters for much of its straight news. It was a relatively complete paper, in that it offered such common secondary services as stock tables, racing information, and television programming, but it seemed still to be seeking a consistent tone or a framework.

THE TRIB

VOL 1 NO 1 — New York, Monday, January 9, 1978 — It's a Lovely Day — 25 cents

PEACE FOR ISRAEL

It's In Carter's Lap

[A TRIB ANALYSIS BY WARREN ROGERS, PAGE 3]

Before the end of its first month, *The Trib* took steps to gain financial stability. After the forced resignation in October of William Simon, former Treasury secretary, as chairman, the paper found a replacement in January in Raymond J. Learsy, president of Agricultural and Industrial Chemicals Inc., who headed a new group of investors. Learsy is the brother-in-law of William F.

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Business and the rational mind, Part I

Surviving in a complex world•The slot machine theory•Strengths, frailties, and shared water

As one of the world's largest industrial organizations, we know we can retain our franchise to do business around the world only as long as the job we do is effective, useful. and important in serving people's needs. And only as long as people realize this.

We have to be sensitively concerned with society's problems and hopes, even if only in our own self-interest, because we are intricately involved in the complexities of this increasingly complex world. And we learned a long time ago that the success of a company depends in part on factors that don't appear in the balance sheet.

We believe the United States has entered a period in which people will increasingly want to know more about a corporation than just the quality of its products and services. We believe that more and more people are going to want to know something of the value patterns and basic convictions of the individuals who run a corporation, the individuals who in many ways set the tone for the entire company and who inevitably exert an impact on society.

Which is to say that what people think of a company has a lot to do with whether or not it makes money, or indeed even survives. A company such as ours certainly cannot plead that it exists solely to sell goods and services and to earn a profit. No such company can any longer take for granted even the right to be in business, because that right could be withdrawn any time such action seemed desirable to enough people.

In the words of a former chairman of Mobil, "No business is truly safe unless it serves its customers better than they could serve themselves, persuades them that it is doing so, and retains their goodwill in the process. One can't be too sure how long corporations would retain their present opportunities to operate at a profit if making money were their sole contribution to society."

Mobil tries to be a good employer, a good supplier, a good customer, a good investment, and a socially conscious organization. We try also to be responsive to the aspirations and legitimate needs of minorities and others of the disadvantaged, to environmental problems, and to a host of other concerns. And we would not argue that this is undiluted altruism.

Clearly, however, a corporation labors under severe handicaps in trying to establish itself as a good citizen. The criteria are frequently hazy and subject to sharp differences of opinion among contending groups. There are, and probably always will be, those who find something sinister in the very existence of a large corporation—particularly, we suppose, a large oil company.

Many people view the modern corporation as a glorified slot machine created and operated by glassy-eyed, flint-hearted bankers, lawyers, and technocrats. All this quite naturally plays into the hands of political demagogues, who realize that relatively few of the general public have the information necessary to make value judgments where complex issues of economics and technology are involved.

Since many politicians' concept of infinity extends only to the next election, it is probably unrealistic to expect them to behave otherwise. But this compounds the problems of more-responsible politicians and of businesses that are laboring to persuade the public by concrete example that they are fair, conscientious, public-spirited, and socially desirable.

This is not to argue that all businesses—or any of them, for that matter—are perfect. Far from it. But the individuals who run businesses did not resign from the human race when they became corporate managers. And the individuals who devote themselves in such large measure to denouncing our industrial civilization do not thereby acquire halos. We all have our frailties.

Having said that, we have to add that we are mystified that so many of our critics can forget that we have to breathe the same air they breathe, drink the same water they drink, live in the same towns and cities they live in, enjoy the same beaches they enjoy, and exist in the same society in which they exist. How could we possibly be oblivious to the quality of life or to the aspirations of an upwardly mobile society?

We think the public is ill-served by a situation in which private business and its critics find themselves in a running battle of charge and counter-charge. In our view, our country needs and is entitled to a calmer, more constructive dialogue to delineate more sharply the most productive relationship between business and society. That way, we believe, lies the best hope for the future.

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A report on a matter of public interest:

How the Bell System is pumping more service out of less oil.

In 1973, when the OPEC oil embargo went into effect, the Bell System committed itself to reducing its energy consumption. That commitment has been fulfilled. In four years, the Bell System has saved the energy equivalent of almost 24 million barrels of oil and over 415 million dollars in energy costs—savings that help hold down the cost of your telephone bills.

Today, the Bell System is actually using 11 per cent less energy than it did in 1973, even though the number of

telephones in service has risen over 16 per cent and the volume of business has increased 33 per cent.

Here's how we are combining common sense with uncommon technology in four basic areas to achieve Zero Energy Growth.

Telephones are reconditioned three times.

The Bell System's energy needs begin with the power and fuel necessary to design and manufacture the basic communications components—cables, wire and equipment such as your home telephone.

In general, it takes much more energy to manufacture such items from scratch than it does to recycle them. Because Bell System equipment is designed by Bell Labs to be reliable, repairable *and* recyclable, extensive energy cutbacks have been realized through 40 years of recycling and reuse. New, more energy-efficient processes are constantly being devised by Western Electric, some of which entail modifying original designs for even greater materials and power savings.

Since 1974, the Bell conservation program has saved the energy equivalent of over three million barrels of oil by recycling metals. Also, more than six million equivalent barrels of oil have been saved through the reuse of equipment. The average telephone, for example, is reconditioned three times before it is unrepairable or obsolete.

New technology does more with less.

Another area in which the Bell System is effecting energy savings is in power for switching and transmission equipment. Constantly, new energy-saving technology is being added to the system. *Item:* Over two billion power-saving transistors, diodes and integrated circuits have been put into use. *Item:* Light Emitting Diodes (LEDs) are replacing incandescent bulbs in switchboards and telephones, saving over 90 per cent of the previously required power. *Item:* A new

World Radio History

microprocessor called MAC-8 is less than one-tenth the size of a postage stamp yet contains the equivalent of over 7,000 transistors. The MAC-8 can execute several hundred electronic "thinking" functions, yet it will operate on only one-tenth of a watt of power.

Smaller vehicles power giant fleet.

Twenty-two per cent of Bell's energy requirements are in fuel for its fleet of over 170,000 vehicles, the largest privately owned and operated motor fleet in the world. Here, a number of commonsense procedures have been adopted: engines are carefully tuned for peak efficiency, smaller and more fuel-efficient vehicles are being used, and shuttle services have been set up between some company locations. In addition, New York Telephone Company is experimenting with nonpolluting, energy-saving electric-powered trucks. Due to these and other efforts, the Bell System in 1976 used over five per cent less motor fuel than in 1973.

Even employees' body heat is used.

Heating, lighting and air conditioning of Bell System's 25,000 buildings account for 45 per cent of its energy needs. Broad economies have been achieved simply by removing thousands of unnecessary lights; by lowering temperature settings; by cutting back on hot water temperatures; and by heating or cooling unoccupied areas only to the extent required for equipment operations.

Moving beyond the obvious conservation measures, the Bell System created a building energy management program to redesign and retrofit existing buildings to improve their energy efficiency. Two examples of other power-saving programs at Bell facilities:

• On windy Block Island, Rhode Island, the New England Telephone Company began operating a wind dynamo in September, 1976. It can produce up to 15 kilowatts of electricity to power a central office and microwave radio terminal. Excess power from the windmill is fed back to the power company.

• In AT&T's new Basking Ridge, New Jersey, facility, an innovative computerized system heats about 1½ million feet of office space by recovering excess heat from the building environment—lights, equipment and the body heat of employees. It is estimated that the system uses 25 per cent less energy than conventional heating/cooling systems.

Bell trials of solar heating and cooling are providing valuable data which should lead to more widespread use of alternate energy systems.

Windmill helps power central phone office and microwave radio terminal (tower at right) on Block Island.

Today, throughout the Bell System, our commitment to energy conservation is more than a goal; it is an ongoing reality. And in looking to the future, we anticipate that in 1982 we will still be using no more energy than was used in 1973. *Keeping your phone system the best in the world.*

Bell System

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"I'll have to take these for the rest of my life. Thank God."

by Sy Levin.

I'm an advertising copywriter. And I had an assignment to create a message about the cost effectiveness of pharmaceuticals. In other words, that you get back what you pay for them.

I was reviewing the literature when I realized it was talking about me. I have high blood pressure.

My doctor discovered it about six months ago. Today it's very much under control, thanks to a small tablet I take daily.

It's an expense and another daily "must," but when my doctor explained the alternatives, I knew I was ahead of the game.

High blood pressure can lead to kidney failure, stroke, or heart attack. Any of which could, obviously, mean long hospital stays and considerable expense. Or worse!

I consider this cost-effectiveness argument one of the strongest for continuing pharmaceutical research. My own experience is only one example. For some ulcer patients, a drug that can reduce the need for surgery has recently been approved. So has another that dissolves pulmonary blood clots.

Research *will* undoubtedly lead to more breakthrough controls or cures. It'll save more suffering—and a lot of money.

Let's remember that—despite the need to hold down medical care costs. Let's remember that we dare not jeopardize research for better drugs and medical devices.

I'll remember it. Every single day.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.

If a new medicine can help, we're working on it.

Write for "Drugs and Devices: Tomorrow's Life and Cost Savers." PMA, Dept. CJ-803; 1155 Fifteenth St., N.W.; Wash., D.C. 20005

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Buckley and former Senator James Buckley, an early backer of the paper. Saffir announced: "Our financial footing is sound — we are seeking no additional money."

Péladeau's entrée

The *Philadelphia Journal*, a six-a-week morning tabloid, began publication on December 5, 1977. Not only did the paper represent the first new major daily in Philadelphia in fifty-one years, but it offered a test of a kind of classic tabloid journalism that has proved successful in Canada for Pierre Péladeau, who owns what *Time* called "an empire of 20 tacky Canadian newspapers, 22 magazines . . . , eight printing plants and an inkmaking concern." His company, Québecor, publishes the *Journal de Montréal*, which has become the biggest of Montreal's six dailies in thirteen years, and it is the *Journal*'s pattern Péladeau has tried to take to Philadelphia: emphasis on sports, cheesecake, and sensation, while making the merest pass at public affairs. For his Philadelphia operation, he hired a largely local staff — with almost equal numbers of reporters and sports writers — directed by Jacques Beauchamp, editor-in-chief, from the Montreal paper, and Douglas Bailey, managing editor, formerly Philadelphia bureau chief of the Associated Press; the editorial offices were set up in a vacated A & P, and Péladeau arranged composition and printing for idle hours at the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* and suburban dailies. In its early weeks, its style was Murdochian; *Publishers' Auxiliary* quoted the managing editor as saying: "On good days, when we're really cooking, national news will start on page 12." But would a paper float that cost 25 cents (against 15 cents for its competitor, the *Inquirer*) and had only newsstand and vending-box sales in a town accustomed to home delivery? As of mid-January, the signs were gloomy: the A.P. reported that the press run had been cut from 200,000 to 70,000 because sales were running at only 40,000 to 47,000 a day.

Filling out the week

On January 9, 1978, *The New York Times* added a section called "SportsMonday," thus leaving Tuesday's alone among the weekday editions still published in the paper's old two-section format. "SportsMonday," although it incorporates Sunday's sports news, is cut largely from the featurized pattern of its predecessor sections, "Living," "Home," and "Weekend." Like them, it includes arts coverage in its back pages. Unlike them, it tends to duplicate a section already in existence, the Sunday sports section, but the *Times* may be operating on the theory that among readers of sports news it is impossible to have too much of a good thing. The promotion ads assume, curiously, that the section will appeal only to males: they promise advertisers a million and a half "affluent, influential men you can reach almost overnight in an editorial setting created just for them." The enterprise was developed by Arthur Gelb, deputy managing editor, aided by James Tuite, departing sports editor, and Louis Silverstein, who carries the title of "director of corporate art."

Speedup

After retooling for half a year, *Fortune* magazine came out in 1978 at double its old rate. The slick heavyweight founded by Henry Luce in 1930 vanished with the December 1977 issue; in its place emerged a slenderer — but not too slender — biweekly, designed to keep up with its speeding competitors, *Business Week* and *Forbes*. The cover price dropped from $2 to $1.50, while the stated annual rate stayed at $20. The number of pages for each issue was cut back from about 200 to 125 or 150 in the early biweekly issues. So much for the surgery: how does the patient look? The art director, Ronald N. Campbell, has produced a pleasant, reserved new design, considerably newsier than its predecessor. The new issues contain approximately the same number of editorial listings as the old, which means considerably shorter features, and very few of those old 6,000-word-plus *Fortune* backbreakers. A new department, "Difference of Opinion," appeared in the January 16 issue, and gave a computer expert a platform to predict a possible new depression; the department did not appear in the following issue, of January 30. Among the most impressive features in the latter was the presentation of cameo portraits of new members of The Hall of Fame for Business Leadership, a project *Fortune* carries out for a business organization, Junior Achievement. Among those honored this time were Francis Cabot Lowell (textiles), Henry John Heinz (processed foods), Donald Wills Douglas (aircraft), and Conrad Nicholson Hilton (hotels). In discussing the new format, the Time Inc. house publication, *f.y.i.*, emphasizes its potential advertising advantages — in particular, the ability to supply editorial matter to face ads rather than forcing them to face each other.

DEALS

The survivor

The Nation, whose existence of 112 years has been a constant demonstration that, given publishers' tenacity and generosity, a political weekly can survive without profit, was acquired in December by a group that hopes to "turn it around" without abandoning its editorial traditions. Victor S. Navasky, a general partner in the purchasing group and the editor-to-be, was quoted in *The Wall Street Journal* as saying: "We intend to continue *The Nation*'s focus on issues. We recognize that this is a radical aspiration at a time when electronic journalism has turned news into entertainment and so many publications seem to be increasingly mired in life styles, gossip and essays on hair spray, upholstery, comparative soups and coping with dandruff." Navasky will be taking over from Blair Clark as editor; the new publisher will be Hamilton Fish, Jr., namesake and grandson of a New York congressman who was anathema to *The Nation* in his day. They are backed by twenty or so investors, including the ex-publisher and associate publisher, James J. and Linda E. Storrow, no one of whom holds more than a tenth of the whole. The purchase price was estimated at $150,000. In their parting message on the issue of January 14, 1978, the Storrows wrote: "For the first time in its history, this publication will be beyond the reach, and insulated from the whim, of any single wealthy patron."

Cincinnati pool

In September 1977, *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (Combined Communications) and the *Cincinnati Post* (E. W. Scripps Company) became the second pair of newspapers to seek approval for merging all non-news/ editorial functions under the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970. (The first two were Alaska's *Anchorage Times* and *Anchorage Daily News*, now locked in bitter litigation over the *Times*'s execution of their agreement.) For approval, the papers had to demonstrate to the U.S. attorney general that one of the pair

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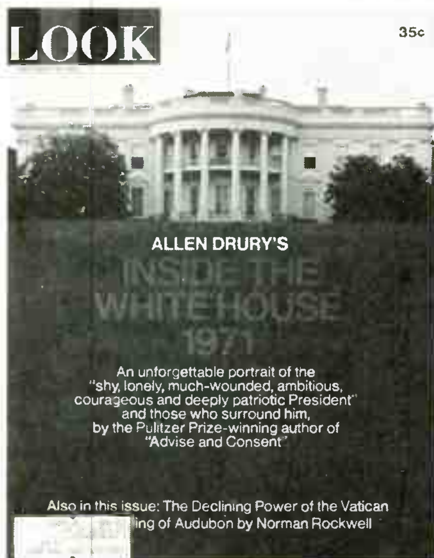
was in imminent danger of failing. It soon became apparent that the merger would not be carried out without opposition. The Justice Department was bombarded with letters from *Post* employees, who feared for their jobs, and from advertisers, who feared higher rates. The Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union made an official submission charging that the *Post*'s owners had failed to test its viability by offering it for sale. A group of typographical employees of the *Post* filed suit late in the year to block the merger and to have the Newspaper Preservation Act declared unconstitutional. On December 28, the Justice Department made its first response — that it could find no trend of mounting losses at the *Post* and, until ten issues concerning costs were resolved, could not decide whether the *Post* was in danger of collapse.

CLOSINGS

Folding the tent

Forty-one years ago, Gardner Cowles — a member of a prominent newspaper family that started out from Algona, Iowa — founded *Look*, a biweekly photo magazine. *Look* became the cornerstone of a good-sized conglomerate, Cowles Communications, which reached the height of its power and influence in the early 1960s. From that time, things went less well. An effort to float a Long Island newspaper, *The Suffolk Sun*, to carve a chunk out of *Newsday*'s territory lasted only eleven months. In 1971, *Look*, caught in the big-magazine expense trap, was closed. Cowles sold many of the rest of the company's properties, both periodical and broadcast, to The New York Times Company, and thus became a major shareholder of the Times. Cowles Communications became an investment company, rather than an operating one. On January 6, 1978, Cowles Communications announced its final step — distribution of its assets to stockholders and dissolution, leaving in existence only a subsidiary that owns three broadcast properties. Thus, provided tax authorities approve, each Cowles shareholder would receive a share of Cowles Broadcasting, .655 share of Times Company stock, and cash for each Cowles Communications share held. The chief beneficiary would be Gardner Cowles himself, now retired, owner with his family of 25 percent of the company's stock.

Look*'s last issue*



Infant mortality

The Hartford Tribune was born on November 14, 1977, published twenty-seven issues, and died on January 3, 1978, of malnutrition. The afternoon tabloid, designed as a replacement for the defunct *Hartford Times*, left its staff at the end unemployed and unpaid, and bitter toward H. Reese Butler 2nd and W. Sherman Butler, the founding brothers. The Butlers had announced the *Tribune* in 1976, but the paper had not appeared. A prototype was published in August 1977, and at last, in November, three-a-week publication started. The paper, which generally contained thirty-two pages, was neatly laid out, with stories from the Associated Press and Reuters, a wagering page for local horse and dog players, and local news and features. The meager advertising came in great part from a shopping center in nearby Farmington owned by two major backers, who were listed on the masthead as directors. The editor and publisher was Morton H. Sharnik, who had been an associate editor of *Sports Illustrated*. By the end of 1977 the paper was clearly failing. Employees had not been paid since December 16, financing stood at only a fraction of the $900,000 that had been publicized, and circulation was only a third of the 20,000 claimed. A news conference on January 3 announced that the paper was $120,000 in debt. It did not appear again. Sharnik did not blame the Butlers for the failure: he maintained that the puny *Tribune* had failed because of lack of community and advertising support. *Keith F. Johnson*

SPECIALS

Illegals

The Aliens (*CBS Reports*, December 27, 1977) was a sympathetic look by Bill Moyers at the "undocumented" immigration from Mexico into California, centering on three brothers who gave the producer, Tom Spain, their cooperation despite the risk of exposure and deportation.

Another behemoth

For the eighth time, NBC News took an evening of prime time (January 3, 8 to 11 P.M. E.S.T.) to try to bend a large subject into the shape of television journalism. "Medicine in America: Life, Death & Dollars" examined a sequence of major issues but, according to John J. O'Connor of *The New York Times*, "the enormous production logistics virtually guarantee a measure of disjointed superficiality." Tom Snyder was the principal reporter.

Selldom

Edwin Newman offered an amusing primer on promotion in *Land of Hype and Glory* (NBC News, January 10, 1978, 10 P.M. E.S.T.). He introduced viewers to the rock group Kiss, the Simon & Schuster novel *The Investigation*, by Dorothy Uhnak, and the film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, all selected, perhaps, because their success came not so much from excellence as from excellent promotion. The documentary fastidiously included a shot of Newman himself at work at a bookstore autographing party, as well as two glancing references to television's susceptibility to hype.

HONORS

'Eloquent outrage'

Murray Kempton, now returned to the *New York Post* as a columnist, received the sixth annual A. J. Liebling Award, presented by *More* magazine, on December 7, 1977, for "his acute sensitivity over three decades . . . often expressed with eloquent outrage . . . to the myriad injustices in American society, particularly the plight of the urban poor." Kempton remarked: "I can't remember many things I've ever done for the poor beyond, of course, enduring a lifetime conscription in their ranks."

The well-written word

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has announced Annual A.S.N.E. Writing Awards, the first major prize to honor the quality of writing in journalism. There will be four categories — commentary, news on deadline, news-nondeadline, features — and an "Editors Award" for the best of the bunch. Deadline: February 1, 1979. Details are available from A.S.N.E. Writing Award, Box 551, 1350 Sullivan Trail, Easton, Pennsylvania 18042.

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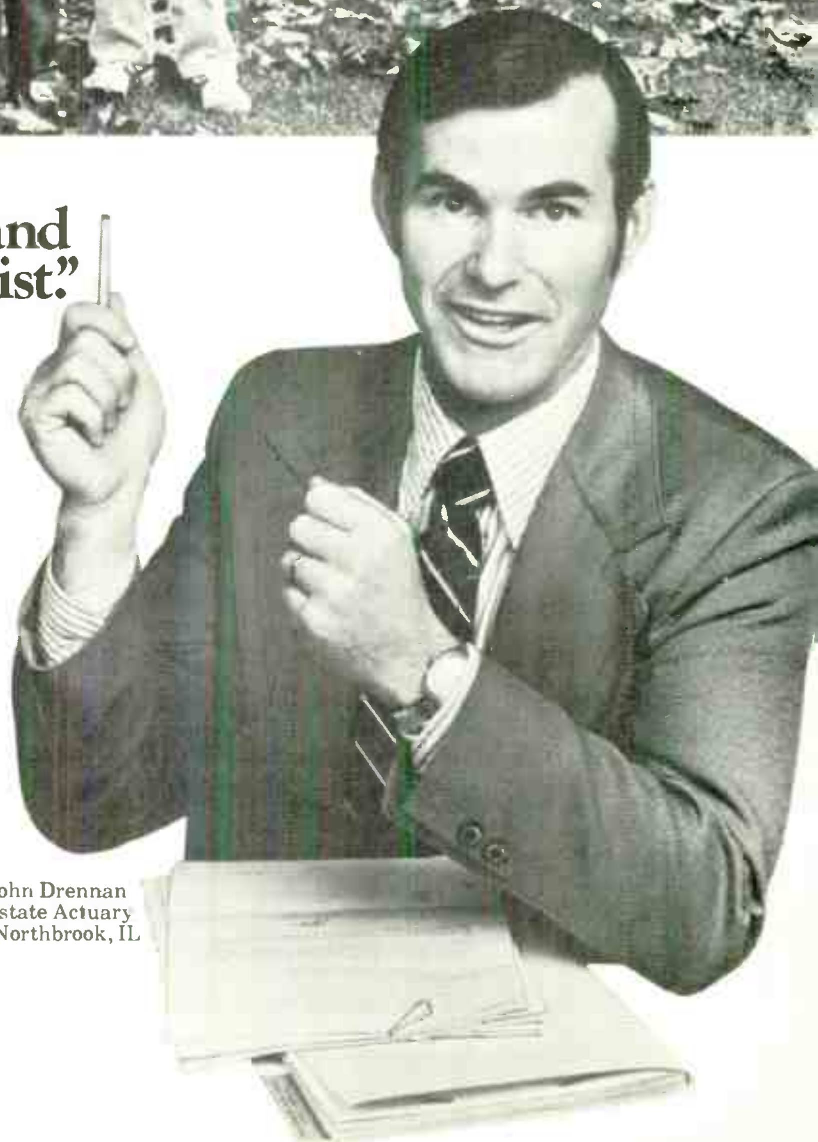

John Drennan
Allstate Actuary
Northbrook, IL

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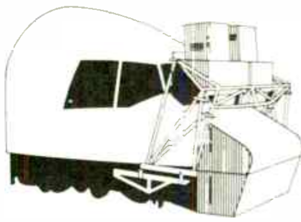

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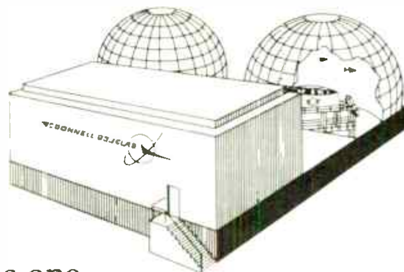

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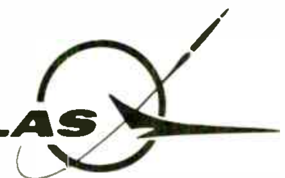

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AT ISSUE

Why wait for a second Carnegie Report?

President Carter's call for a billion-dollar investment in public television over the next several years has a glorious ring to it, but will hardly solve the monumental problems facing this alternative broadcasting system. It does not — and cannot — insure that public broadcasting will be insulated from congressional and administration pressures on programming philosophy. Nor does it provide assurance that another Congress and another administration will continue Mr. Carter's largesse. In a recent analysis of appointments to the National Endowment for the Humanities, *The New York Times* laments the unfortunate politicization of the administration's commitment to the arts; there is little reason to believe that a medium like public broadcasting will escape similar political pressures.

Public television, to flourish in an independent environment, needs a more durable commitment, as the framers of the original Carnegie Commission on Public Television report saw clearly when they recommended an excise tax as the most feasible way of funding this medium. But these recommendations were never acted upon by the Congress, and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the underwriting by the Carnegie Corporation of a second commission to evaluate and make recommendations on the future of public television should be greeted with euphoric enthusiasm by public-broadcasting executives and by a pro forma endorsement from the White House.

The Public Broadcasting System has been locked in a debilitating struggle with its "parent" organization, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Selection of programs by means of a so-called station cooperative plan has been chaotic and has all but destroyed any genuine national network interconnection. Above all, government funding allocations have been so sparse that PBS was forced to rely on grants from an ever-increasing number of major national corporations, with the result that public television, in a repudiation of its own mandate, has accepted advertising and industrial sponsorship of its programs. In effect, public television has become corporate television. (I made this point at somewhat greater length in the September/October 1977 *Review*.)

The appointment of a second Carnegie Commission, ten years after the publication of the landmark Carnegie Report on Public Television of 1967, implies that the original report was a failure, which is far from the truth. The recommendations in the original document were ignored by the Congress and grossly subverted by Clay Whitehead (then head of the Office of Telecommunications Policy) who, at the urging of Richard Nixon, destroyed a burgeoning national network and created a destructive schism between PBS and the C.P.B. One of Whitehead's incredible suggestions was that public television dissociate itself from news and public-affairs programming, because these areas were adequately covered by the three commercial networks. And this at the very time that the Nixon Administration was accusing the network news divisions of "ideological plugola."

Had the recommendations of the 1967 Carnegie Report been implemented and proved to be unsuccessful or unrealistic, there might be a rationale for a second study. But the "program for action" was never put to the test and the alternatives outlined in the report are still limited by crippling practical considerations. The overriding issue is funding — the lack of money has drawn public television into accepting corporate sponsorship of programs which were, unlike the networks, supposed to be totally free of advertising. With a viable economic base, PBS could have addressed the core of its mandate, which is to produce a creative and innovative program schedule to serve as an alternative to the familiar stereotypes of commercial television.

Political pressures successfully aborted the promulgation of the 1967 Carnegie Report. These came in part from members of Congress who feared that public television might prove too independent and "liberal" and from the Nixon administration, which appointed political hatchet men to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in an effort to prevent the forming of a strong network of public television stations and to keep programming bland and innocuous.

The decision to establish a second commission, according to the Carnegie Corporation, was in response to a request by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Ironically, the establishment of the C.P.B. was a prime recommendation to the Congress in the original Carnegie Report, which urged the establishment of "a federally chartered, nonprofit, nongovernmental corporation" to disburse funds and to "improve public television programming." The request by the C.P.B. for a new study, then, can only be viewed as an admission of failure to implement the recommendations of the first Carnegie Report. If, however, no genuine effort has been made to promulgate the twelve recommendations in the 1967 report, can a second commission hope to accomplish anything more than still another cosmetic blueprint for action?

An analysis of the objectives of the impending study reveals little more than minor semantic divergences from the first. Unquestionably, the major issue to be considered is funding levels, but the Congress cannot wait for a report that

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will not be available for almost two years. It is faced with the immediate task of determining a five-year funding plan for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. As for long-range funding for public television, the tenth recommendation in the original Carnegie Report suggested clearly that the Congress "provide the federal funds requested by the Corporation through a manufacturers (graduated) excise tax on television sets." This method of funding, had it been acted upon, would have assured public television not only of economic viability, but also of insulation from pressures and controls by either the Congress or the White House. It is difficult to see how a second commission can produce a more palatable method of funding and still assure freedom of action by the Public Broadcasting System. The excise tax method of funding has worked for the BBC and, although the C.P.B. is federally chartered, an excise tax would assure public broadcasting a latitude it has not enjoyed by being forced to rely on corporate and government handouts. This is hardly the road to independence.

Without adequate funding, the issue of creative programming is purely academic. But the broad inquiry to be undertaken by the second commission will address itself to "creative programming, public participation, the impact of new technologies." A reading of the immediate action recommendations in the original Carnegie Report reveals a clear call for implementation of each of these objectives. The seventh recommendation urges that the corporation "encourage and support research and development" toward the end of improving the program service. The eighth recommendation asks support for technical experimentation to "improve present television technology." The second Carnegie study calls for a consideration of similar goals.

Curiously, the notion prevails that the first Carnegie Report sacrificed national interconnection in favor of grass roots localism. This is a canard. The report plainly recommended that the corporation provide "as expeditiously as possible facilities for live interconnection" and even went so far as to anticipate the communications satellite as a source of national programming service.

One of the most puzzling aspects of the second Carnegie Commission is the composition of its membership. At least half of those chosen to determine the future of public broadcasting in this country cannot, by any remote stretch of the imagination, be considered experts in the field. Opera stars, television comedians, and corporation heads may lend an aura of prestige, but it is doubtful whether they can bring to this task the expertise and understanding that their mandate requires. Yet Lawrence K. Grossman, the president of PBS, expressed satisfaction that the commission would not have the benefit of scholars in the field. The simple fact is that, were it not for the educational and scholarly community, there would have been no reservation of channels for educational stations in the F.C.C. "final allocation" plan of 1952 and, therefore, no ultimate establishment of a public broadcasting service. However, not one of the many experts who were responsible for PBS has been asked to contribute to the work of this commission. Nor have any of the many industry leaders, artists, and writers who worked with dedication to help PBS succeed been asked to contribute to the second report. Examples come readily to mind. James Day, a major influence in the structure of public broadcasting, is omitted, as are Marya Mannes and such communications scholars as elder statesman Wilbur Schramm and Ithiel de Sola Pool of M.I.T. Other than Bill Moyers, who now works for CBS, no major journalistic figure is on the committee, although Fred Friendly, at both the Ford Foundation and Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, worked actively on public television. And it is certainly clear that so experienced a figure as Dr. Frank Stanton, former president and vice-chairman of CBS and a long-time advocate of public television, would have brought a unique combination of knowledge and creativity to the deliberations of the second commission.

The second Carnegie Commission may, indeed, produce a masterful blueprint. But it is difficult to see how — the options being limited — it can improve on the recommendations made in the original report. It is simply absurd to wait at least eighteen months for a second Carnegie Commission Report. The options are clear. Faced with an immediate decision on funding, Congress should not hesitate to approve a graduated excise tax. Indeed, Lionel Van Deerlin, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Communications, indicated in a reply to a query that this method of funding would receive serious consideration. With the economic crunch resolved, PBS can then proceed to establish a national network and to enlist the talent of this country's creative community.

E. B. White put it clearly in a letter to the first Carnegie commission: "Noncommercial television should address itself to the ideal of excellence, not the idea of acceptability — once in a while it does, and you get a quick glimpse of its potential."

Had the recommendations in the original Carnegie Report been promulgated, that potential could long have been realized without the need for PBS to demean itself by accepting corporate underwriting, and it might also have prevented the Corporation for Public

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"The Rolex Awards for Enterprise," by Gregory B. Stone, will be published later in the year as a lasting tribute to the Rolex Spirit of Enterprise. The book will give a full account of the winning projects along with the details of hundreds of other entries. In the meantime, if you'd like more information on the winning entries, write to Enterprise, Rolex Watch U.S.A., Inc., Rolex Building, 665 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

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Broadcasting from sinking into the mire of Washington politics.

CHARLES S. STEINBERG

Charles S. Steinberg, a former vice-president of CBS Television, is a professor of communication at Hunter College, City University of New York.

Exemption 1: F.O.I.A.'s catch-22

The Freedom of Information Act (F.O.I.A.), a law that is supposed to help journalists to get information that defense and intelligence agencies don't want to release, is not working in many instances. Because the law, under its so-called Exemption 1, does not force the disclosure of classified documents, defense and intelligence agencies have turned out to be virtually immune to F.O.I.A. suits.

Those writers who have time to sue for documents under the act — the law was not passed with reporters under daily deadlines in mind — often wonder whether it is worth the effort to seek disclosure of any information which has been withheld under Exemption 1. Certainly, they say, they have abandoned hope of forcing disclosure of such documents through the courts. The track record of litigation under Exemption 1 is miserable. Since February 1975, when substantive amendments to the F.O.I.A. took effect, there have been six cases decided by the courts in which Exemption 1 was one of the issues raised. In the two cases in which the national-security exemption was pivotal, secrecy prevailed. As a result, the Freedom of Information Act is merely an annoying gnat to the defense and intelligence community.

Moreover, after the agencies' court victories, journalists began to report delays in getting any kind of records relating to military matters. Reporters who used to be able to get information on the spot say they now are told by the agencies that they must go through F.O.I.A. procedural channels to obtain what they need.

According to these reporters, the material which is now released under the law has always been available to the press. Despite clauses in the act and administrative regulations providing for declassification, records with a security stamp are not often declassified as a result of F.O.I.A. requests. Instead, the law has merely formalized — and ossified — the way agencies accept and process requests for information that has been classified.

Congress rewrote Exemption 1 in 1974 to reverse a Supreme Court decision from the previous year. The court had ruled in *Environmental Protection Agency* v. *Mink* that the F.O.I.A. did not provide for judicial review of the "soundness" of an executive agency's classification decision. Dissatisfied with that interpretation of Exemption 1, Congress amended it to cover records that are "(a) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy, and (b) are in fact properly classified pursuant to such Executive order."

Despite the new language, the legislative history of the amendment shows that Congress was reluctant to view the F.O.I.A. as a means to reform the classification process or to bring about systematic review of individual decisions. As the conference committee report on the amendments said:

> The executive departments responsible for national defense and foreign policy matters have unique insights into what adverse effects may occur as a result of public disclosure of a particular classified record. Accordingly, the conferees expect that federal courts . . . will accord substantial weight to an agency's affidavits concerning the details of the classified status of a disputed record.

Defense and intelligence agencies have seized upon the report's language to thwart the use of the F.O.I.A. as a means to review classified documents. And the courts themselves also have been reluctant to take the opportunity provided by Congress to review such documents. The two major judicial interpretations of Exemption 1 since the amendments took effect endorsed the agencies' exploitation of the uncodified loophole. Rather

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than reviewing the documents themselves, the courts based their rulings upon affidavits submitted by the government explaining why the records were classified.

It turned out to be a loophole large enough for the Hughes *Glomar Explorer* to sail through. In 1975, the Military Audit Project, a public-interest group that investigates defense contracting, filed an F.O.I.A. suit against the Central Intelligence Agency over documents relating to the government's ownership of the *Explorer*. The ship had been involved in Project Jennifer, the attempt to raise a Russian submarine from the Pacific Ocean floor. The C.I.A. refused to confirm or deny the existence of the documents. Citing Exemption 1, the agency claimed that an admission either way would damage national security.

In October 1976, U.S. District Judge Gerhard Gesell held a closed session in his chambers during which he heard secret testimony and received eight secret affidavits from the C.I.A. Two days later, he dismissed the suit "for reasons stated *in camera*." The opinion detailing those reasons was sealed.

Since then, the National Security Council has "reevaluated" the C.I.A.'s role in Project Jennifer and acknowledged agency ownership of the vessel. Following that reevaluation, the C.I.A. reviewed individual documents and released some that the agency felt could not be protected under Exemption 1. But the court decision to decline its own substantive review of the documents still stands.

The result has been a reluctance to do battle over Exemption 1 denials. Faced with recent court decisions endorsing the classification stamp — and with nothing going the other way — newspapers, lawyers, and organizations that are sympathetic to reporters' efforts to open government files have shied away from cases involving national-security information. "The courts have created a zone of enemy-held territory that we aren't prepared to invade," said a spokesman for a public-interest group whose F.O.I.A. requests have often been turned down on national-security grounds.

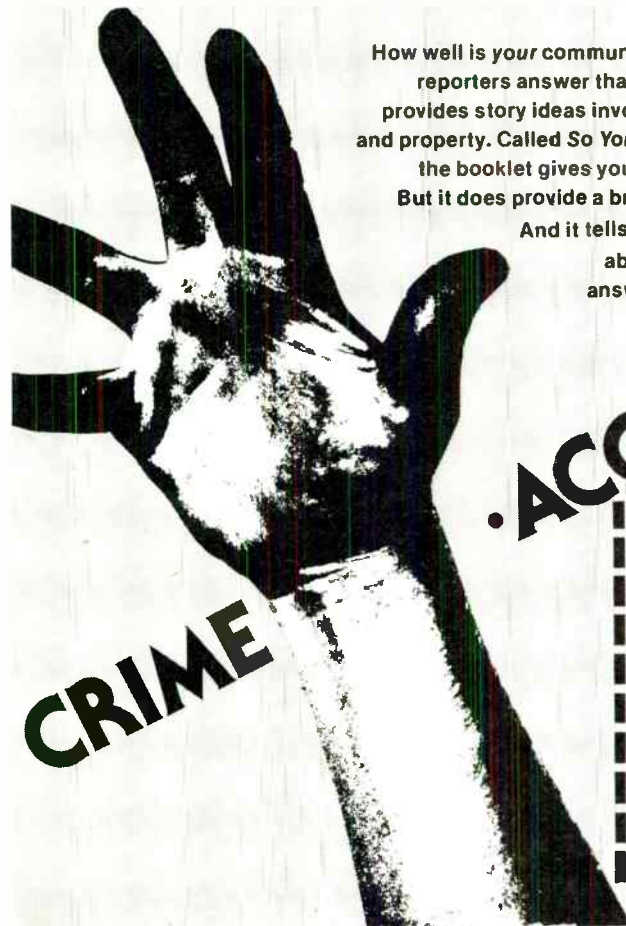
As currently worded, the exemption carries its own self-fulfilling prophecy. The Executive Order which is the authority to classify is the same as the authority to withold classified records. The result is that the decision to deny an F.O.I.A. request for a document is made long before the request itself.

The courts have shown that they will not force agencies to review classification procedures, unless there are further amendments to the F.O.I.A.

Until Congress acts to split the dual functions of the Executive Order into two separate authorities, there will be no reason for the courts to hear debate on the classification issue. And Exemption 1 will remain another bureaucratic weapon in the arsenal of paperwork, delay — and secrecy.

FIELDING M. McGEHEE III

Fielding M. McGehee III is a staff writer with the Military Audit Project, in Washington.



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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

Hoover revisited

The gradual unfolding of the shortcomings and transgressions of the late J. Edgar Hoover as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation should give many of us in journalism grounds for self-examination. Dozens of able Washington correspondents knew or suspected the real story while Hoover held office: how the early Hoover turned a shabby F.B.I. into an effective force; but how, afloat on a later wave of hero stories and broadcast dramatizations, he had come to abuse his powers — sharing confidential files with powerful members of Congress, using the F.B.I. to dig up "dirt" on some (like Martin Luther King, Jr.) whom he disliked, assigning F.B.I. agents to provide services for friends in Congress and elsewhere, and discreetly using the threat of disclosures. Those were the days when President Kennedy and Attorney General Kennedy decided they dare not fire the aging "most popular man in Washington." Similarly neither editors nor the public seemed to have much taste for disclosures about the F.B.I. director's feet of clay.

So, with rare exceptions, journalistic enterprise took a holiday.

Turning the corner

The last six-month period constituted a landmark for the *Review*. It achieved, for the period, net earnings of $27.31! This was our nonprofit magazine's first operating "profit."

It was exactly eighteen years ago that the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia decided on the experiment that became the *Review*. It sprang from recognition that the news media, which criticize every facet of society, should themselves be subject to regular evaluation, criticism, and praise as merited. The undersigned, as dean of the school at the time, joined with colleagues to experiment with the concept of a small critical journal. Various faculty members contributed suggestions.

When the pilot issue appeared in September 1961, it was distributed among selected journalists and concerned citizens. Most reactions ranged from good to enthusiastic, and the magazine was launched.

The launching and the survival of the magazine were made possible only by passing the hat among generous alumni and other individuals and by one tremendously helpful grant from the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation and two from the Ford Foundation. They believed in the *Review*'s goals, recognized its shortcomings in performance, but applauded its efforts to be fair and to give ample space to dissenters.

Some three years ago, still struggling for self-sufficiency, the *Review* decided to open its pages to advertising. Circulation had by then grown from the original 3,000 to more than 30,000. Paid advertising increased steadily, from an average of nine pages an issue to nearly thirty an issue last year. This, plus hard staff work and guidance from the current dean and from publishing consultants, has turned the tide (though there has since been a temporary setback because of the death of the ad director).

There are those readers who object to some — or all — of the advertising. They complain of pages in which large corporations tell of their virtues and social responsibility. They forget that this in itself is a marked advance from the days when few companies paid much attention to their corporate reputations and to their role in society. Some readers argue vehemently that we should reject ads from those with whom they disagree. They forget that no one agrees with all advertisers and that there are many mature journalists and others who are happy to examine the arguments of those they instinctively oppose.

For our part, we welcome the support of both subscribers and advertisers. They make it possible for us to pursue our one central mission: to praise the worthy, to spotlight the shoddy, to give our critics their full say, and to speak out for what we believe to be right, fair, and decent.

Grammatical sin

Newsweek has committed it. Presidents have committed it. The *Review* itself has committed it (some years ago). Now our bright friends at *More* magazine (January 1978) have committed it with a vengeance in a splashy three-column heading (over an article about coverage of gambling): "Has the Media Hit the Jackpot?"

The article's answer seems to be: yes, they has.

Family affair

Sometimes we of the *Review* think our circle of journalistic friends will continually narrow, since the magazine's frank criticism of misdeeds isn't quickly forgotten by the alleged offenders. Perhaps the undersigned may be forgiven for citing a personal experience. The *Review* last May rightly singled out for a "Dart" the Jacksonville, Florida, newspapers for soliciting college advertising in a special education section by promising equal space for a story about the college in the same section. It just happened that this writer's brother-in-law had recently become the publisher of the papers. And my colleagues later heightened the effect by inserting mention of that misdeed, along with those of other media, in updating a circulation letter signed by me. This particular newspaper publisher, bless him, proved different from some. He thanked us for flagging the offense, and told us steps had been taken to assure that it — or "anything like it" — would not happen again. Meanwhile the respected *St. Petersburg Times* has commended improvements being made in the Jacksonville papers. And in-law relationships are still intact.

Appointment

The *Review* announces the appointment of David H. Brooks as advertising director, succeeding the late George C. Wright. *E.W.B.*

World Radio History

A free press can of course be good or bad, but, most certainly, without freedom it will never be anything but bad.

Albert Camus

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COMMENT

Journalists and the C.I.A.: should we forget?

A consensus has started to develop as a result of almost four years of continual revelations of relationships between American journalism and the Central Intelligence Agency. It was expressed sharply in October in a resolution of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, which condemned the C.I.A.'s past use of American and foreign journalists, urged a halt to any present use, called on the C.I.A. to give public assurances that it had stopped such practices, urged the president or Congress to enforce the ban if necessary, condemned journalists who had been "used" by the C.I.A., and reaffirmed that the credibility of the press rested on "absolute freedom from government interference."

What remains unsettled, however, is the magnitude of this issue. What were the extent and significance of past C.I.A.-press relationships, and what do they tell us about what future policy ought to be? Some are willing to wipe the slate clean. Others, such as *Editor & Publisher*, rather aggressively defend past journalistic cooperation with the C.I.A. as reflecting "a high degree of patriotism" because, as the trade weekly asserts in a January 7 editorial, "When one enters the field of journalism he does not abandon his citizenship."

One voice particularly worth hearing on the subject is that of Stuart H. Loory, whose *Review* article ("The C.I.A.'s Use of the Press: a 'Mighty Wurlitzer'," September/October 1974) was one of the first to explore this issue. Loory, now managing editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times,* was among the group of journalists who testified before a House Intelligence Subcommittee in January. It is worth note that he finds, even after the ambitious article by Carl Bernstein in *Rolling Stone* and the solid *New York Times* series (December 25-27, 1977) written by John M. Crewdson and researched by Joseph B. Treaster, that the dimensions of C.I.A.-press cooperation remain unclear. Loory raised two main points. The first concerned disclosure. He saw a need, he said:

> . . . to air completely the past relationships between the C.I.A. and the press — including revelation of names, dates, places, and duties — in order to wipe the slate clean and create the conditions for a future free of suspicion. . . . I think the American people are entitled to a more specific accounting on the extent of the relationship. They are also entitled to know more specifically just what those journalists did for the agency — whether they functioned as intelligence gatherers (which raises one set of issues) or as propaganda disseminators (which raises yet another and far more serious set). I also think that until the agency makes complete disclosure of its past relationships with the press there will be little reason to think that it is telling the truth when it says it is sticking by its new policies [barring use of American journalists for pay]. . . . We have no way of knowing just how ambiguous the directives are unless we are made more familiar with past practices.

Loory's second point dealt with manipulation of the press. He believed it necessary to determine

> . . . the extent to which the C.I.A., during the Cold War, functioned as a propaganda machine aimed largely at affecting public opinion in the United States. Frankly, I do not believe that the primary purpose of the agency's propaganda effort was always only to support U.S. policy overseas. I think that it also worked to create a favorable climate at home for the enactment of foreign policy. . . . There have been reports that even some of the most distinguished of American journalists have at times disseminated C.I.A. propaganda, sometimes knowingly. If this is so, it makes a mockery of the historic arms'-length relationship between the press and government in the United States. The news business in this country cannot function properly if it is to become a handmaiden of government, if its reporters are to moonlight clandestinely for government agencies, if its dispatches are to be polluted unwittingly with untruths or slants that alibi for the government.

On Loory's first point, some say that to go back to past relationships would be a witch hunt. The chairman of the subcommittee, Les Aspin, a Wisconsin Democrat, said: "To know the names of people who were doing this in the 1950s would be applying 1978 standards to the 1950s and it can't be done. And it can't be done fairly."

Certainly, it is true that any fair investigation must recognize distinctions in "cooperation" with the C.I.A. It is difficult to fault any correspondent serving abroad for informal contacts with C.I.A. representatives in the same area. That is an appropriate part of every correspondent's obligation to keep informed. Quite another matter are long-term arrangements between individuals or organizations and the C.I.A. These deserve exposure, whether they were in force in the 1950s or the 1970s.

That the C.I.A. evidently used journalism as an arm of propaganda reflects, perhaps, a thinly veiled contempt for the avowed role of the press in American society. Yet the agency was able to play on journalists' eagerness to do something important, to exercise power, to show that they were on the American side — to transcend, in short, the limits of mere journalism. Possibly the only way to insure that such contempt is not earned in the future is to remind the C.I.A. and cooperating journalists that in the long run there must be a reckoning.

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The statesman from NBC News

Early last year, Henry Kissinger, with the help of Marvin Josephson of International Creative Management, negotiated a five-year contract with NBC, for an estimated $1 million. The contract reportedly calls for him to make occasional appearances on the *NBC Nightly News* and the *Today* show; to supervise and appear on programs based on his memoirs; to act as a consultant to the network; and to appear annually in a major documentary on world affairs. The first of these documentaries, "Henry Kissinger: On the Record," broadcast on January 13, dealt principally with the growing power of the communist parties in Western Europe. As a prime-time television news production, the ninety-minute show in many ways was most remarkable for what it might have been expected to contain, but did not.

☐ There could have been some acknowledgment that Kissinger had been hired by the network. But there was no hint anywhere in the broadcast of his special relationship with NBC News.

☐ David Brinkley might have asked Kissinger challenging questions. But he did not, nor did anyone else. The few questions that Brinkley did ask were little more than transitions from one topic to another.

☐ Kissinger could have been asked about his own actions as secretary of state as they related to the ringing statements of principle he made on the program. But not a single question was asked about his policies or conduct during those years.

NBC News understandably has not revealed the extent of Kissinger's control over the content of the documentary.

Versailles conference: Kissinger and Brinkley

Those familiar with reports about his touchiness and vanity could guess that he did not leave himself to the tender mercies of NBC's journalists. And the network perhaps thought that, after paying a great deal for the services of a star, it would be both rude and imprudent to discomfit him.

The special made an impressive platform — or pedestal — for Henry Kissinger. For NBC News, it turned out to be an expensive ninety minutes of prime time, not just in money, but also in compromising its own journalistic standards of candor and fairness.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to the *Jefferson City* (Missouri) *News-Tribune*, for its headline 'FAG' DEMONSTRATION CALLED OFF, over publisher William H. Weldon's November 20 editorial, which began, "A vast majority of Missourians will be happy to learn that the 'queers' will not be marching on the state capitol to demonstrate against Anita Bryant Monday."

Laurel: to *The Wall Street Journal* and reporters Richard E. Rustin, Robert Simison, and Bruce Freed, for a clear exposition of the muddy mess at the University of Houston (December 22) — a multi-million dollar securities pyramiding scheme involving the school's short-term investment manager. The case may be instrumental in the S.E.C.'s campaign to tighten control of the government-securities market.

Dart: to WNAC-TV, RKO General's Boston outlet, for blacking out controversial CBS network documentaries — one in November on the Panama Canal, another in December on illegal aliens.

Laurel: to the Camden *Courier-Post* and reporters Dennis M. Culnan and Carl A. Winter, for a seven-month investigation of the municipal-justice system that involved observations in more than fifty courtrooms and numerous surveys of judges, attorneys, and citizens. The six-part October series, which culminated in a 28-page tabulation of report cards on individual judges, is now required reading for all municipal judges in the state, and study for reform is under way. For related developments in judicial scrutiny, see also "Are Judges Getting Too Powerful?", *U.S. News & World Report* (January 16); "Judging the Judges," by David Pike and Thomas Crosby, *The Washington Star* (January 8-12); the September 1976 exposure in the New Jersey edition of *The Philadelphia Bulletin* that led to the indictment of a local judge; and the daddy of them all, "10 Worst Judges," Jack Newfield's third biennial blockbuster in *The Village Voice* (January 16).

continued

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Laurel: to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, for giving a new dimension to enterprising journalism. Investigating years of complaints of small business corruption, the paper, in cooperation with the Better Government Association, bought the Near North Side Mirage Tavern, and for four months, with reporters as bartenders and photographers as repairmen, cashed in on reality — shakedowns for liquor violations, payoffs to building inspectors, political fixes from jukebox and pinball machine operators, tax fraud in conspiracy with accountants. The thirty-day series on "government by envelope" began January 8.

Laurel: to the *St. Petersburg Times* and reporter Dudley Clendinen, for an extended narrative series (beginning September 19), "Florida: The Death Penalty" — an ambitious attempt, through the eyes and ears of the condemned, the families of victims, the prison guards, the officeholders, and the attorneys, to bear public witness to the state's return to capital punishment.

Laurel: to the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. While the local dailies focused on denials and explanations by councilman Robert Mendelsohn, nominee of the Carter administration to the number-two spot in the Department of Interior, the alternative weekly tenaciously pursued its eight-month investigation into his questionable campaign maneuvers, until finally the California Fair Political Practices Commission filed suit and the nomination was withdrawn.

On tour

Adam Clymer of *The New York Times* added a new wrinkle to public-opinion reporting by interviewing and traveling with fifteen senators and representatives during the winter congressional recess. His report in the January 17 *Times* represented a therapeutic break from the Washington view of the major issues — particularly in his finding that the dominant public issue was neither energy, nor the Middle East, nor the Panama Canal, but Social Security.

National News Council vs. Panax

The long-running dispute between the National News Council and John P. McGoff, president of the Panax Corporation, has been getting bad notices. *Publishers' Auxiliary*, a trade weekly, dismissed the controversy in an editorial as "A Silly Argument" like "the last days of a horrible fever: while showing encouraging signs of disappearing, the fever nevertheless has enough lingering power to persist in making one feel miserable."

Indeed, the dispute has been long enough and wordy enough to make all but the participants forget what it was about in the first place. The start was the order on June 6, 1977, from Panax headquarters to the chain's editors to run two dubiously reported and written stories about President Carter and the subsequent loss of their jobs by two Michigan editors who resisted. On June 25, the story broke in the national press. On June 29 Panax issued a policy statement, the hard core of which was: "John P. McGoff not only has the privilege, but is accorded the right as principal stockholder, president and chief executive officer of Panax Corporation to distribute whatever news copy he deems appropriate and to demand, if necessary, that such copy be printed." On July 8, the National News Council issued a statement following conversations with the two dismissed editors and with other Panax editors (but not with McGoff, who made himself unavailable) and after a telephone poll. The statement identified the principal issue as "the relationship of chain ownership to news control"; it found McGoff's policy "regressive — a throwback to the crass episodes that marked the journalism of a bygone era . . . a gross disservice to accepted American journalistic standards." One member of the Council, William A. Rusher, dissented, asserting that "the nature and responsibilities of ownership certainly entitle [McGoff] to override a particular editor if, in Mr. McGoff's own judgment, it is appropriate to do so."

Thereafter, it was all charge and countercharge. McGoff and Panax demanded a hearing before the Council, but withdrew when the Council refused to retract its criticism first; the Panax lawyers accused the Council of, among other things, violating its own bylaws. Panax similarly declined to appear at a hearing rescheduled for October 19. Instead, a rebuttal from McGoff appeared in trade and professional publications, in which he called the Council a "kangaroo court." (On November 10, Panax withdrew a $2,500 contribution to the Sigma Delta Chi national convention because of coverage of the controversy in the professional organization's magazine, *The Quill*.) Still bristling, McGoff got into a quarrel by mail with Richard S. Salant, president of CBS News and a member of the News Council, over potential CBS coverage of newspaper monopolies. In December, the reaffirmed decision of the News Council was published, this time with three dissents, those of Rusher, Salant, and Loren Ghiglione, who publishes a small newspaper in Massachusetts; both of the latter had had second thoughts about the Council's original definition of the issue.

In fact, it does appear that even after all these months and words, some elements of the issue have not been joined —

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that the critics have not even yet defined what was wrong and disturbing about that incident back in June, and why editors resisted the orders of the man who was, indisputably, their boss.

Perhaps the problem is the failure to describe adequately just what power a publisher can wield successfully. Both sides in the Panax controversy have tended to describe that power as all or nothing — either totally delegated or totally autocratic. But should a publisher's powers actually extend beyond those of — to take one analogy — the head of a constitutional state? That is, a publisher can lay down policy but does he remain the one individual who may violate it? The outrage was not that McGoff ordered news copy printed, but that the copy so clearly transgressed what editors had understood to be the policy of the chain, as established by no one but McGoff himself.

The gut question is not whether McGoff had a legal right to do what he did. Of course he had that right. The real professional question is whether such action makes ethical or practical sense in modern journalism. To the *Review* it does not, and no publisher-owner who follows such a course can expect to keep editors or staff of ability, integrity, or self-respect. Decent journalism, after all, has reached a point where ranking editors may expect to be full partners in responsible ownership, not lackeys obliged to print whatever "the man" wants printed. The degree to which such partnership exists is, indeed, a hallmark of reputable news organizations.

As to the News Council, it emerges with some luster worn off, in part because it made a decision on a matter of fact before a full investigation and in part because McGoff has been so determinedly slinging mud at it, with the enthusiastic backing of the trade weekly, *Editor & Publisher*. If sheer antagonism could destroy the Council, McGoff would have blown it out of sight already.

In the future, the Council might do well not to see itself as a fire brigade obliged to spring into action upon commission of an alleged misdeed, however seemingly flagrant. Its most useful role is to render mature judgments after careful inquiry and full discussion.

Admit one

Banned by the Secret Service from the White House in 1966 because he had once taken a swing at a Florida governor's press secretary, Robert Sherrill was judged by a federal appeals court on December 15, 1977, to have been wrongfully excluded. However tardily, the court confirmed that "a bona fide Washington correspondent" — Sherrill was that for *The Nation* — had a constitutional right to a press pass and could be kept out only if the Secret Service gave a concrete reason and permitted a response. (In the Sherrill case, he had not learned of the reason for the denial for six years.) *The Nation* observed: "A principle of decent and open public behavior has been vindicated by the court."

Taking a tiger by the tail

When the news reached the television jungle that, according to the little black boxes, the folks out there had watched less TV in 1977 than they had the year before, there arose much consternation among the tigers, and before very long, as tigers will, they fell to wrangling. First to attack were the tigers from the networks, pouncing on the validity of the unpleasing data and making low noises about deficient sampling techniques and faulty monitoring equipment. One of the Nielsen tigers, quick to spot a blame-the-messenger trend, tactfully pointed to changing demographic patterns and other developments of long-range implication, only to be rebuffed by the leader of his pack, who was loath to pursue the distasteful scent. The cats from the advertising agencies, meanwhile, had fallen on the necks of those from programming: had the program tigers done a proper job, they hinted, the jungle would still be as lush as ever and they would not now be keeping a nervous eye on the endangered species list. Nonsense, sniffed one from the number-three network, content had nothing to do with it (clearly he was unaware that a programming wundertiger — indeed, the grandest in the jungle — was about to descend on his very lair), and besides, if the advertising creatures knew what they were talking about they wouldn't be working in an advertising agency in the first place. And so they went, round and round, snarling and growling and chasing each other's tails, while the advertiser tigers licked their chops, dreaming of cuts in prime-time costs and adventurous forays into the jungle next door. Sooner or later, no doubt, somebody or other would have thought to ask the folks out there about their defection and how they were spending the reclaimed time, but before you could say "households using television," the analytical super-tigers had leaped through the brush. Their skins were saved! It was not, purred the heroes from Arbitron, that 1977 had been so lean, but merely that 1976 had been so fat. A few revised calculations, some new impressive considerations, an adjusted comparison for more typical years — and lo, in the television jungle, peace was at hand.

G.C.

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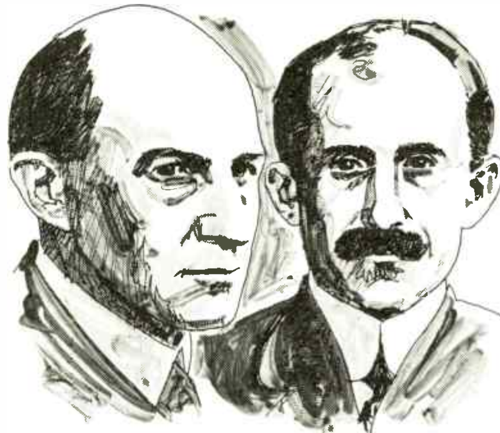
Wright...to now


Wilbur and Orville Wright

This year, the nation celebrates the 75th anniversary of powered flight by the Wright Brothers at Kitty Hawk, N.C., on December 17, 1903.

In the space of a single lifetime—more than 8 million Americans are 75 or older—remarkable progress has been made in air transportation.

Each day in 1978, some 700,000 passengers will use the nation's airlines for business or pleasure travel. They will account for 80% of all the miles traveled on intercity public transportation and 93% of travel abroad.

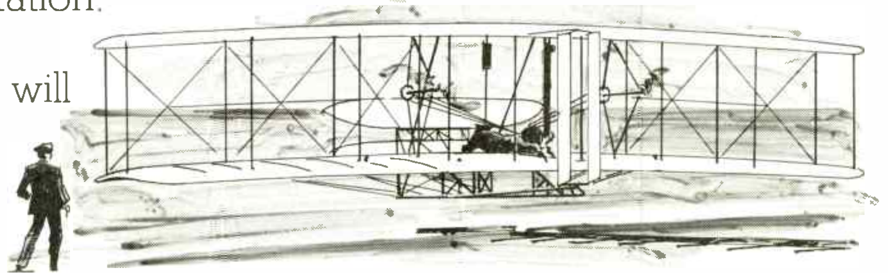
The U.S. scheduled airlines in 1977:

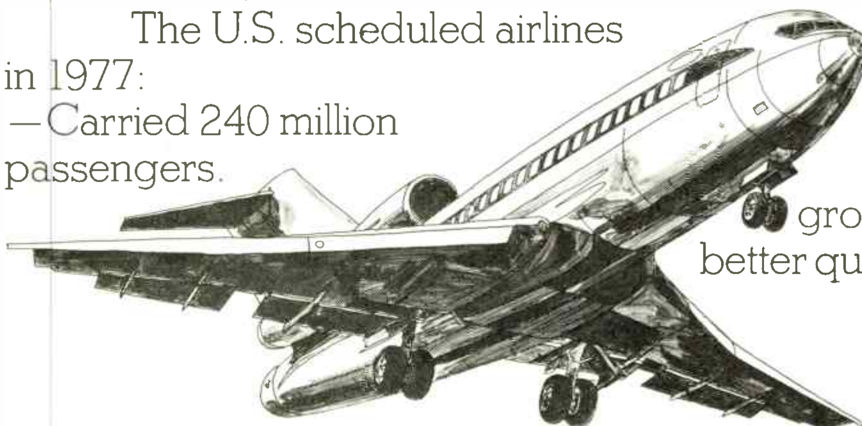
—Carried 240 million passengers.

—Moved 6.4 billion ton miles of freight and mail, including 9 out of every 10 first-class letters between cities.

—Used *less* fuel than in 1973, when the fuel crisis began, while carrying 38 million *more* passengers.

From that takeoff at Kitty Hawk—the 12-second flight was about the length of a modern day jet—air transportation has become a vital part of our nation's life. It has contributed to the country's growth, to its defense, and to a better quality of life for all its citizens.





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COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW
MARCH / APRIL 1978

The brown-lung controversy

How the press, north and south, handled a story involving the South's largest industry

by BOB HALL

In April 1977, fifty-five disabled cotton-mill workers traveled to Washington to testify at hearings being held by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, urging OSHA to adopt a lower cotton-dust standard. They came from North and South Carolina, where 435,000 of the nation's one million textile workers live. Most of the men and women in the group had begun work in the mills while still in their teens. They had remained there, sometimes on the same job, for twenty or thirty or even forty years, until breathing had become so difficult they could no longer work. Decades of inhaling the cotton dust thrown into the air by the machines they tended had permanently crippled them. Their work experience and their symptoms indicated they suffered from byssinosis, commonly known as "brown lung."

The group's journey to Washington was organized by the Carolina Brown Lung Association. Founded in 1975, the C.B.L.A. had concentrated from the start on informing workers about byssinosis, whose existence as an occupational hazard was long contested by the textile industry, the South's largest industrial employer. "The mills took our breath away, bit by bit," Linnie Mae Bass, who worked for twenty-two years in the Burlington Industries' denim mill in Erwin, North Carolina, said recently. "They kept us in the dark about brown lung for years, and now they'd like to keep others from knowing what they're doing. We've had to depend on ourselves and what help we could get from the press to get the truth out."

The OSHA hearings marked a turning point in the reporting of brown lung in both the Southern and the national press. Before the hearings, national attention to the subject had been restricted, by and large, to small-circulation, liberal-left magazines like *The Nation* and *The Progressive*. National coverage growing out of the workers' April 26 testimony included:

☐ a front-page, four column story in *The Washington Star*
☐ a five-minute segment on NBC News on the history of the brown-lung controversy, complete with footage taken inside a mill
☐ a news clip on ABC's *Good Morning, America* show
☐ wire-service stories that were picked up and featured on the front page of newspapers in southern textile towns
☐ an inside-page story in *The Washington Post,* two days after the workers testified, which focused on the group's demonstration in front of the offices of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute in Washington

During the hearings, representatives of the textile industry and of the workers had sharply disagreed on every major point: the number of people afflicted by byssinosis, the existing levels of dust in the mills, the effectiveness of OSHA enforcement of the established cotton-dust standard, what constituted a "safe" level of exposure to cotton dust, the length of the phase-in period for the proposed new standard, the availability of medical information to workers, and the role of the industry and insurance companies in helping disabled workers obtain compensation. They also disagreed sharply in their assessments of press coverage of the brown-lung story.

To Chip Hughes, a C.B.L.A. organizer, "the really fantastic thing was how the national television and press

Bob Hall is managing editor of Southern Exposure. *He lives in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.*

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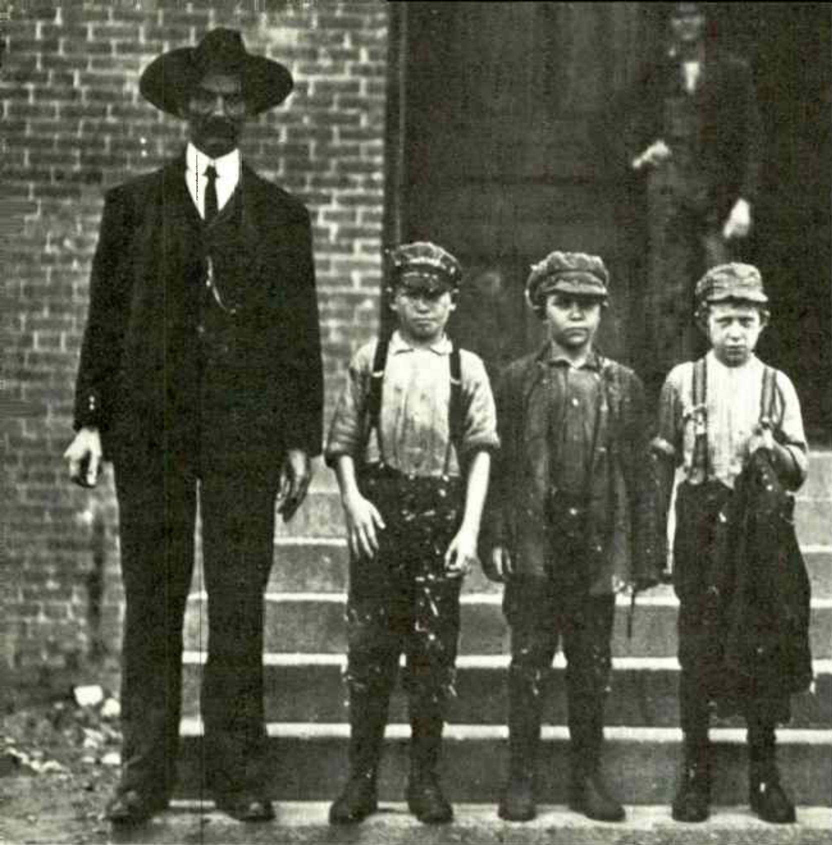

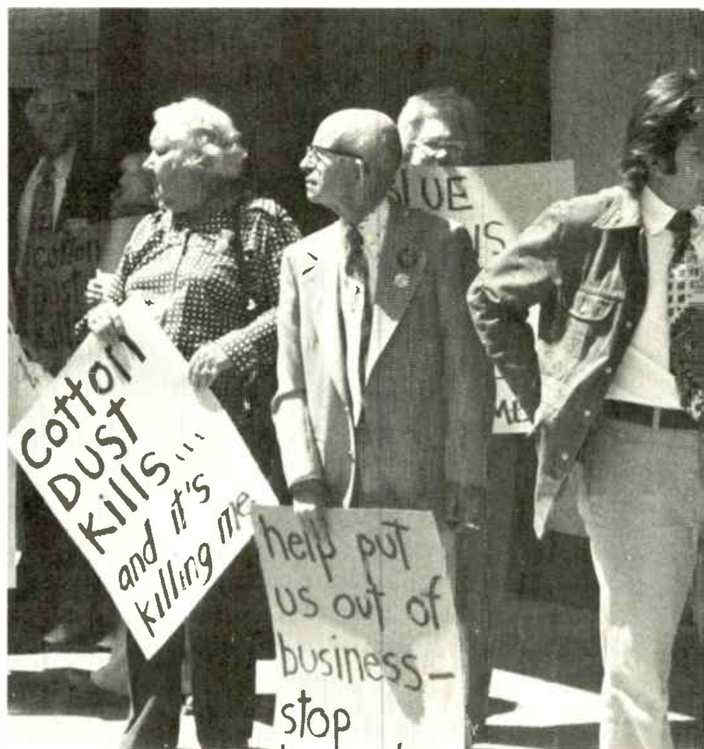

Lint-dusted North Carolina cotton-mill workers photographed by Lewis Hine in 1908, and disabled mill workers demonstrating in

legitimized the story for local papers in the Carolinas." Hughes said that small-town editors had previously been reluctant to cover brown lung, "But things changed after NBC and U.P.I. said it was okay to talk about byssinosis and how people are being killed in the mills and how the industry is doing very little about it." As evidence of this change, Hughes pointed to a banner headline in the April 26, 1977, Dunn *Daily Record,* which serves Erwin and neighboring towns in Harnett County, North Carolina. The eight-column headline read: BROWN LUNG CONDEMNED.

Before the hearings, Hughes said, "We always had to push ourselves onto the *Record.* We still have to seek out coverage, but at least now editors there and elsewhere recognize that the disease is real and something thousands of people have to face every day of their lives."

Hughes went on to speak of another effect of national coverage of the story. "It makes a big difference to people to see themselves in the news, especially on television. It gives them a sense of confidence and solidarity, of not being all alone. That's very important when you realize what a grip the textile industry has on this whole area."

Textile-industry spokesmen were as critical of the April press coverage as C.B.L.A. organizers were delighted. "It was a classic example of how the national media, particularly the broadcast media, have not given us a fair shake," said Richard Byrd, public-relations manager for Burlington Industries, the nation's largest textile company with 70,000 employees and sales of $2.3 billion. "Objectivity has gone right out of the window on this issue. For example, I don't remember seeing anything that covered the testimony of the industry's witnesses at the hearings, but they [the press] were there in flocks when these individuals from the Brown Lung Association came. I don't have any doubt in my mind that the B.L.A. was coaching them on how to perform in front of the cameras and was also prompting the press when poor old Joe Blow would be coming up coughing his head off."

Robert Armstrong, director of public relations for the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, was similarly distressed by the news media's performance, particularly by what he saw as their willingness to reprint "the tendentious and emotionally inspired allegations of various groups." Feature stories on brown lung "seem to follow an almost predictable pattern," said Armstrong. "They lead off with a reader-grabber, sob-sister approach. A sort of, 'Here's poor Nellie Gray, who used to be healthy and happy. Now she can hardly move. Every breath is a struggle. The reason? Nellie worked thirty years in a cotton textile mill. She has byssinosis, an incapacitating and often fatal disease contracted by breathing cotton dust.' Well, that's great for readership, perhaps. And, of course, readership is what newspapers are all about. But it doesn't do much to advance the search for truth."

The textile industry in this country has not always been so keen to advance the search for truth about byssinosis. In Britain, exposure to cotton dust was recognized as a cause of disease as early as 1831; byssinosis was made a compensable disease there in 1941. In America, as Ralph Nader wrote in one of the earliest magazine articles about brown lung ("The Cotton-Mill Killer," *The Nation,* March 15, 1971), "The reaction of the [textile] industry to warnings of brown lung has been to deny existence of the disease and to block attempts to study it." As a telling

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Len Stanley

Washington, D.C., in April 1977.

example of this behavior, Nader cited the experience of Dr. Arend Bouhuys, then of Emory University Medical School, in Atlanta. In 1964, Bouhuys was given a federal grant to carry out a five-year study of brown lung among Georgia textile workers. An executive of the Georgia Textile Manufacturers Association urged mill owners to keep Bouhuys out of their mills, which they did. As Nader wrote: "Dr. Bouhuys was not admitted to a single textile plant in Georgia. He conducted his study in the mill at the U.S. penitentiary in Atlanta, from which he could not be barred." Twenty-nine percent of prison textile workers, Bouhuys reported, suffered from byssinosis. Other researchers met with equally stiff resistance from mill owners in other states in the late 1960s.

Not surprisingly, workers seeking compensation for byssinosis have also encountered resistance, from the industry and from the insurance companies paid by employers to handle such claims. As of last spring, in South Carolina only one disabled worker had been granted compensation for byssinosis through the state-administered compensation system; in North Carolina, which has a somewhat more liberal procedure, forty-nine byssinosis claims had been approved by the state's Industrial Commission. The number is minuscule if one accepts the estimate of Dr. Bouhuys, now at the Yale University Lung Research Center; he estimates that at least 35,000 workers suffer lung damage as the result of exposure to cotton dust. Even if one accepts the industry's estimate that less than 1 percent of cotton mill workers show symptoms of byssinosis, the number of claims paid is small.

The brown-lung story is not merely a Carolina story. It involves the federal agencies charged with setting standards regulating occupational exposure to hazardous substances and with the enforcement of those standards, as well as giant insurance companies such as Liberty Mutual, of Boston, the nation's largest seller of workers' compensation insurance. It is an occupational-health story, but one with a rich political subplot, delineated by Nader in 1971 and reexamined by journalist Nick Kotz in his THE BROWN-LUNG BATTLE, in the January 1, 1978, *Washington Post*.

The scope of the story, the sharply differing views and statistics presented by the various parties involved, and the fact that — in the Carolinas, at least — a mill owner may be both principal employer and a paper's largest advertiser, have made the brown-lung story one that tests the mettle of reporters, and of editors and publishers.

The Piedmont, a 125-mile swath of hills running through the center of the Carolinas, is the heartland of America's textile industry, and the legacy of the mill village has left it dotted with numerous small towns and cities instead of one or two large population centers. The area enjoys a good number of conscientious newspapers. The dailies in Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh foster a particularly fruitful competitive spirit that has led to more aggressive journalism and better reporting on the brown-lung story than stereotypes of the conservative South might suggest. This is not to say that any of the papers uncovered the disease and propelled it into the public debate before the Carolina Brown Lung Association appeared on the scene. But once the association started sponsoring obviously newsworthy events and teaching the press about the disease, most of these papers have followed the evolving story with above-average competence and diligence. None of them has done a major investigative series on the issue, probing, for example, the role the medical community played, or might have played, during the years the textile industry refused to recognize the existence of byssinosis. Rather, by and large, the papers have incorporated the story into the news as another ongoing political/economic controversy, like land-use planning or the regulation of milk prices, using what is handed them by one or another participant in the controversy. In the past two years, the four cities' morning papers among them have done about forty stories on brown lung.

Of the North Carolina papers, the Raleigh *News and Observer,* the morning newspaper of the state capital, has provided the best coverage. As the cotton-dust hearings approached, a staff reporter, Rick Nichols, wrote two background pieces, which covered nearly all features of the debate. Nichols, who jokingly describes his beat as "the bleeding-heart stories," had written several earlier stories that began with the sort of "sob-sister" tales from disabled workers that so distressed Armstrong of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute. But when it came to his two background pieces, Nichols, like many other reporters, ignored the workers, the C.B.L.A., and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union as sources of hard data. Nichols briefly mentioned the C.B.L.A. in one article; in neither did he mention the union — despite the fact that its suit against the slow-moving Occupational Safety and

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Health Administration had forced the scheduling of the April OSHA hearings. (That level of background was largely omitted in most newspapers.) On the other hand, Nichols did give his readers an occasional glimpse beneath the surface, revealing such tidbits as the fact that Raymond P. Boylston, the former director of North Carolina's OSHA enforcement program, "now works for the textile industry's trade association," and that Dr. Mario Battigelli, a pulmonary specialist on the panel of state-approved examiners who certify brown-lung claimants for the state's Industrial Commission, receives grants from the industry-supported Cotton, Inc. and had previously testified before OSHA "on behalf of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute." (Ironically, these facts had been exposed by the C.B.L.A., whose role in the story Nichols barely acknowledged.)

Once the brown lung delegates reached Washington, *The News and Observer* continued its coverage with two stories by its permanent Washington correspondent, Ferrel Guillory, and an A.P. wire story, which together fully reported the group's testimony before OSHA, their demonstration at the A.T.M.I. headquarters in Washington, and their visits with members of the North Carolina Congressional delegation. The amount of space *The News and Observer* devoted before and during the April hearings is indicative of the pace-setting role it played among the state's newspapers.

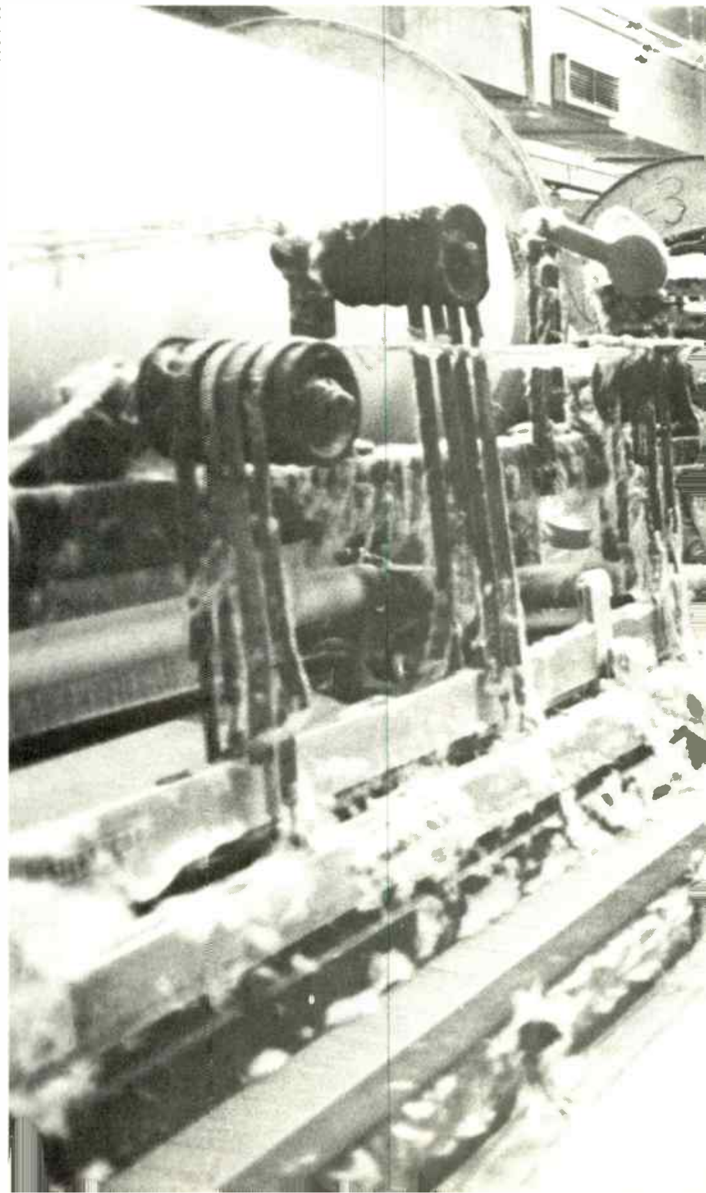
The Charlotte Observer, which recently established the first full-time labor desk in a newspaper between Washington and Miami, ran fewer stories, and it failed to provide background to the hearings, but coverage by its Washington correspondent, Jerry Shinn, of the events of the week of hearings was easily on a par with Guillory's.

Coverage in Winston-Salem was sporadic and shallow, perhaps in part because there is no C.B.L.A. chapter there to prod the city's papers.

In Greensboro — corporate headquarters of Burlington Industries and Cone Mills — the newspapers settled for one wire story covering the hearings. The city has an active C.B.L.A. chapter, including members who went to Washington in April. Nevertheless, neither the morning *News* nor the afternoon *Record* assigned a reporter to follow the brown-lung story. "It just fell through the cracks," said reporter Rick Gray, who has written a few stories on the subject for the *Greensboro Daily News*. "It just hasn't been anybody's prime responsibility to cover. Besides, how many times can you write a story about some old guy who worked thirty years in the mill and can't breathe?"

That, of course, is not the only story around. The hearings provided the Greensboro papers an excellent opportunity to follow the cotton-dust controversy from the perspective of two principal antagonists, both of Greensboro: Lacy Wright, the seventy-two-year-old former president of the local C.B.L.A. chapter, and the textile industry's chief medical witness, Dr. Harold Imbus of Burlington Industries. Neither paper seized this opportunity. They would seem to have a special responsibility to investigate the claim of Burlington Industries that it now has a medical screening program and system of transfers which will "virtually insure that no one entering the mill now will come out in twenty or thirty years with byssinosis." Or the claim made by Richard Byrd, Burlington's public-relations manager, that the company "actively assists" people who have the symptoms of byssinosis to get compensation.

In the South Carolina textile belt, coverage of the brown-lung story has long been distorted by the blatantly pro-industry, anti-union *Greenville News,* the flagship of Multimedia, Inc., a conglomerate that includes papers in Asheville, North Carolina, Montgomery, Alabama, and Clarksville, Tennessee. Metropolitan Greenville, the largest urban area in South Carolina, is the site of more than fifty mills, which employ half the industrial workers in the town. *The Greenville News* is part of a power structure that features as its mainstays J. P. Stevens & Company (with twelve plants inside the city), Dan River Mills, and Deering Milliken. There are many structural links: J. Kelly Sisk, chairman of Multimedia and the Greenville News-Piedmont Company, for example, is a director of Dan River Mills and joins men from five other mills on the board of South Carolina National Bank, the state's largest; the current public-relations director for J. P. Stevens, Paul Barrett, is a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longtime associate of Sisk's and former managing editor of the afternoon *Piedmont*.

In effect, *The Greenville News* functions as a spokesman for the textile industry. It reports almost daily on some aspect of the industry's development, but only rarely brings to a story the perspective of the industry's critics. Thus, while it ran only a wire story on the April hearings, the *News* assigned one of its top reporters to write a three-part story in late June that followed closely the description of the industry's "major threats" given by Robert P. Timmerman, president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, in a mid-June speech widely promoted by the A.T.M.I. as its answer to the press attention given the cotton-dust hearings. Each of the thirty-five-to-forty-inch articles, which contained extensive quotations from industry officials, focused on one of three problems — imports, health and safety regulation, and labor organizing. The second article, headlined INDUSTRY FIGHTS NEW FEDERAL RULES, described at length why "the industry maintains that the regulations [of cotton dust and noise] are unreasonably stringent and would pitch the industry into economic chaos." The Carolina Brown Lung Association was mentioned only once, in the eighteenth paragraph, as giving a different estimate from the A.T.M.I. of the number of people in South Carolina who suffer from brown lung. Nothing was said about the industry's current violations of existing cotton-dust standards, or of the state's failure to enforce such standards. Instead, the "problem" of cotton dust was presented, like the problem of increased imports and labor-union activity, as something imposed on the industry from the outside with the aid of an insensitive federal government. Fifteen of the article's thirty paragraphs are direct quotations from industry officials, or begin with phrases like, "The textile industry maintains . . .," "The textile industry, which argues . . .," "In addition, the textile industry is urging. . . ."

A few miles north, *The Spartanburg Herald* has given brown lung even less attention, despite the efforts of a local C.B.L.A. chapter which at one point sent a delegation to visit the paper's editor. Following this mild confrontation, the *Herald* ran a feature on the association; it then resumed its policy of avoiding the brown-lung issue.

From March to June 1977, *The Anderson* (South Carolina) *Independent* ran a series of articles on the state's OSHA inspections of neighboring cotton mills, describing

Interior of a North Carolina textile mill

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what they did, or failed to do, to protect workers. The series, written by staff reporter John McManus, was the closest any reporter in either Carolina has come to an investigation of this crucial subject. After eight articles had run, McManus found that others were being shelved. He left the paper in June. Since then, the *Independent* has contented itself with infrequent and brief wire stories about brown lung.

In South Carolina, only the newspapers in the capital city have adequately covered the brown-lung controversy. Columbia is the hometown of the C.B.L.A.'s first chapter and last spring it was the focus of the association's intensive legislative campaign to modify South Carolina's workers' compensation law. Both the Columbia *State* and the afternoon *Record* covered every step of the legislative battle, with government-affairs reporter Douglas Mauldin writing more than twenty-five stories in the last two years (by far the most for any paper) and the *Record*'s special assignment reporter Jan Stucker periodically writing excellent twenty- to thirty-inch summaries and news analyses. Their coverage gave the papers' readers a rare look at the maneuverings of the textile industry inside the state house. (The newspapers of the Greenville-Spartanburg area, where most of the state's textile workers live, failed to provide more than cursory coverage of the bill's debate, although *The Greenville News* maintains a full-time capital correspondent.) Readers of the *State* and the *Record* could follow the bill through legislative study sessions and committee votes on through to the discussion and final vote in each house. They could also follow, with only a few gaps, the lobbying of the C.B.L.A. and the textile industry.

'The media that most textile workers actually get in their homes . . . are also the media most intimidated by industry'

Chip Hughes, C.B.L.A. organizer

Had it not been for writers like Mauldin and Stucker (and McManus), "coverage" would have been a misnomer for the reporting that the brown-lung story received in South Carolina. In fact, the major factor in the volume and quality of reporting on metropolitan papers generally comes down to the energetic work, dedication, and vision of the individual reporter. Rick Nichols, who left the Raleigh *News and Observer* in August 1977 for a year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, commented recently on his own experience: "Nobody told me to do the brown-lung story. It's not a traditional story, so it takes more energy to do. But each time you do a story, you get more information. You get to know your sources better and you develop a feel for things. There are some complex issues involved, but, by staying with it, a local daily can handle an issue like brown lung as well as any national paper."

For many small dailies and country weeklies, the problem is having no staff to write news stories, even if political realities allow them to cover a controversial subject like brown lung. These small newspapers, says C.B.L.A. organizer Chip Hughes, are "the media that most textile workers actually get in their homes, the papers that will make the difference in workers hearing about brown lung and seeing that there is something they can do about it." But, Hughes adds, "They are also the media most intimidated and controlled by the industry."

Tom Bowen, the young, conscientious editor of the *Harnett County News*, in Lillington, North Carolina, says, "I'd like to do more reporting on brown lung, but I just don't have space in the paper or staff to cover everything that happens. I did a feature on the B.L.A. chapter in Erwin, which is probably a little unusual for papers our size. You know how these little papers are; it's who pays the bread and butter that counts."

A complex system of paternalism and repression still operates in hundreds of small towns across the region. It is buttressed by the ultimate threat which the textile industry delivers (and sometimes carries out) whenever it faces unwanted pressures: if you do *that*, we'll leave town and your whole economy will collapse! "That" can be anything from voting for the union to raising the minimum wage to imposing a stiffer cotton-dust standard.

Tom Bowen believes his paper is relatively immune from industry pressure. But he also recognizes that he would be in a tight position if he were editing the Dunn *Daily Record*, which serves the mill town of Erwin twelve miles to the east, and which regularly enjoys revenue from full-page ads by Burlington Industries.

"Erwin is like a feudalistic town where Burlington is the only thing happening," says Bowen. "It's the reason for Erwin being on the map. It's called 'Denim Capital of the World,' and the big festival for the year happens when 'Denim Days' are celebrated. If you talk bad about the mill or Burlington, then you're talking bad about the economy, about the town's future. The brown-lung work is kind of a lonely fight, if you know what I mean."

Since the C.B.L.A. formed a chapter in Erwin in early 1976, it has made a conscious effort to establish warm relations with the Dunn *Record*. "They run our press releases almost verbatim now," says Len Stanley, an organizer for the chapter. The paper's editor and owner, Hoover Adams, says that, in his search for local news, he regularly reprints press releases from the textile mill and from the C.B.L.A. chapter. "But," Stanley notes, "they always leave out a key phrase or sentence from the stories we give them. When we announced our second screening clinic last June, they left out the part of our release which said our first clinic had identified some people as having byssinosis and they were now in the process of getting compensation. Of course, that's the whole point of going to such a clinic for a test, so they left out the most important part of the story." Adams says he left it out because Burlington Industries told him only the state's Industrial Commission can ultimately determine if a person has byssinosis.

Organizers just beginning work in Eden, North Carolina,

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are finding the same kind of inequity in coverage. Fieldcrest Mills has ten plants employing 6,000 people in the immediate area, making it the dominant force in the community of 25,000. Even though Fieldcrest no longer denies that brown lung exists, the *Eden News*, a twice weekly published by the Leakville Printing Company, is hesitant to publicize the brown lung organization's activities in its area. One reason for slighting the C.B.L.A. may be that the company's biggest commercial customer is Fieldcrest Mills' fortnightly employees' newspaper, *The Mill Whistle*, which has a press run larger than the *Eden News*. Such a relationship is not uncommon in small towns. "I'm continually grateful," Claude Sitton, editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer* told me not long ago, "that we're not dependent on one main advertiser, or one main employer in the town. It makes all the difference in the world."

It is one of the curious ironies of Southern regionalism that major Southern papers share an informal network of friends, often editorialize on region-wide phenomena, yet rarely cover news emanating from beyond their neighboring state, if, indeed, they range that far from home. In the case of the brown-lung story, some regional newspapers, such as *The Atlanta Constitution, The Montgomery Advertiser*, and the Nashville *Tennessean*, have dismissed the story as too complicated or too distant to consume their reporters' limited time. (The *St. Petersburg Times* effectively solved this problem by using free-lance writers to report on brown lung.) Thus, while Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee have the third, fourth, and fifth largest number of textile workers in the country, none of their metropolitan papers has treated the subject of brown lung.

The national dailies, for their part, have also tended to shy away from the brown-lung story, for a variety of reasons. Some reporters and editors say that the story is too small, too regional, too boring for national papers. David Burnham, *The New York Times*'s Washington specialist covering regulatory agencies, including the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, had some interesting comments to make on this subject. Burnham has been writing about the government's role in worker safety for the *Times* since 1974 and has earned a reputation as one of the country's best reporters in the field.

"A class bias exists," said Burnham, "and I have to calculate my stories somewhat to that reality. The upper-middle-class people who read the *Times* can shrug their shoulders and see cotton dust as very distant, as a minor problem affecting some poor textile workers down South. But they can identify with a story about carcinogens. Cancer terrifies everyone."

Occupational health, Burnham went on to say, "is very important, but you have to choose how you explain issues. It's more dramatic to use carcinogens than something less fatal. Brown lung is more ambiguous. It just doesn't have the impact that talking about cancer does."

When asked why he hadn't covered the April OSHA hearings, Burnham said that he considered the brown-lung story basically regional or local, while his job is to cover "the performance of government and the broader issues of occupational health regulation that cut across specific substances."

The *Times*'s coverage of the brown-lung story following the April hearings was spotty and eccentric. On May 14, 1977, the *Times* ran a front-page story headlined U.S. TEXTILE INDUSTRY BESET BY IMPORTS AND LABOR WOES; on page 21, facing the lead-story jump, was a shorter story headlined COTTON MILLS RESIST COST OF CURBING DUST. The main story, written by Wayne King of the *Times*'s Atlanta bureau, led with a paragraph that perfectly stated the position of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute:

> The textile industry, whipsawed by a growing flood of cheap foreign imports, a powerful union organizational drive and relentless pressure from the Federal Government to spend billions on new safety equipment, is entering one of the most critical economic periods in its recent history.

King quotes almost exclusively from industry officials and his piece conveys the textile industry's long-held positions on the causes of its current woes.

When I asked King if he had talked with textile-union officials about the issues raised in his article, especially about cotton dust, he replied, "I didn't think it was essential to get the union's position since it was the same as OSHA's." He made the same incorrect oversimplification in viewing brown-lung organizing as merely a part of the A.C.T.W.U.'s attempt to unionize J. P. Stevens. (Stevens, which a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals recently called "the most notorious recidivist in the field of labor law," has for years fought off all attempts by workers to form a union in its mills. In an unprecedented move, the National Labor Review Board has sought a nationwide injunction against the company to compel it to obey labor laws.) "You see these signs like 'J. P. Stevens Took My Breath Away.'" King said, "and you can see what a volatile issue it is. It's a good organizing tool for the union, which means you have to be especially careful about anything they say." In fact, OSHA, the A.C.T.W.U., and the C.B.L.A. have different positions regarding cotton dust and are often at odds with one another, a fact which reflects their separate interests — an interesting story in itself.

'I'm continually grateful that we're not dependent on one main advertiser or employer in the town. It makes all the difference in the world'

Claude Sitton, Raleigh *News and Observer*

"King's story was outrageous," says Eric Frumin, assistant director of the A.C.T.W.U.'s department of occupational safety and health. "It's not a question of the industry being attacked from the outside. Their problems are self-

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inflicted. If he had talked to me, I would have told him the industry can't survive *unless* they clean up their mills and begin to put more money into research and development and modernization. It's exactly the opposite of what they say."

The union was so upset with King's article that officials sent off a letter of protest to the *Times*. "We submitted it as either a letter to the editor or an op-ed piece, and the *Times* preferred for us to develop it for the op-ed page," said Burt Beck, A.C.T.W.U.'s director of public relations. That option meant abandoning specific references to King's article in favor of a more generalized statement, but, said Beck, "We were just as happy to re-do the piece for the op-ed page since it would get us better exposure." As it turned out, it ran on a Saturday.

B. Drummond Ayres, Jr., King's partner in the *Times*'s Atlanta office, wrote the companion piece to the page-one May 15 story. Ayres let the victims tell how it feels to have brown lung and then, like King, let industry officials give the hard information on the impact of the disease, returning at the end to a victim's story. The C.B.L.A. was not mentioned by name, nor was the A.C.T.W.U. On the other hand, Robert P. Timmerman, president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, was given two paragraphs to speak his own mind in his own words.

Curiously, the sharpest and most lucid reporting on brown lung to appear in the *Times* as of this writing, in mid-January, appeared on the "family/style" page. The article, in the July 18, 1977, *Times*, was filed from Columbia, South Carolina, by reporter Georgia Dullea. It bore the headline THREAT OF BROWN LUNG PROMPTS WOMEN TO FIGHT THE COTTON DUST OF TEXTILE MILLS. Dullea avoided the "tear jerker" opening which Ayres had employed. She made clear the problems in diagnosing byssinosis. And she succinctly and fairly dealt with the issue of the number of workers threatened by brown lung, as neither Ayres nor King had done, citing Dr. Bouhuys's estimates and industry estimates. Women are the focus of Dullea's article because, as she explains, "they dominate the ranks of the Brown Lung Association by more than 60 percent."

'Middle-class journalists who are used to dealing with middle-class officials won't get off their asses to find people on the other side'

Karen Rothmyer, former *Wall Street Journal* reporter

In the fall of 1977, the *Times Magazine* assigned Nick Kotz, a Pulitzer Prize winner and an occasional *Magazine* contributor, to do a major story on brown lung. Kotz spent weeks on the article, and C.B.L.A. officials had high hopes that his piece, appearing in the prestigious *Times*, would help generate pressure on OSHA to set a tough federal cotton-dust standard. Kotz turned in a 6,000-word story that combined the struggle of a former J. P. Stevens worker to win compensation for acute byssinosis with a history of the medical research, industry resistance, and government regulation leading up to the still-awaited issuance of a new OSHA standard on allowable dust levels in textile mills. The article was accepted, paid for, and scheduled to run in early January. It appeared, instead, in the January 1, 1978 "Outlook" section of *The Washington Post*.

What had happened? At the last minute, in late December, *Times Magazine* editor Edward J. Klein had killed the piece; Kotz, who says he was "shocked," immediately took the piece to the *Post*, where it was read, bought, edited, laid out, and printed within four days. "Outlook" editor Al Horn called the piece "a first-rate article, a real gift."

Why had the *Times* rejected it? "It was not what we conceived to be the best writing for our audience," Klein said. "It just did not get at the way of making the story a compelling piece — and we can't afford to print articles that people won't read." Assistant editor Martin Arnold explained the rejection of the Kotz piece in the context of the new criteria at the *Times Magazine*, saying, "It was a traditional type article for the old *New York Times Magazine*, which we are more or less trying to stay away from. It wasn't the kind of thing you'd want to read on Sunday morning."

Stories about brown lung have no place in that world.

If the *Times* largely failed to present the brown-lung story in a balanced fashion, *The Wall Street Journal* succeeded admirably in its first attempt. Karen Rothmyer's June 7, 1976, article headlined WASHINGTON MOVES SLOWLY ON TOUGH CONTROLS TO PREVENT LONG-IGNORED COTTON DUST DISEASE remains the best overall treatment of the subject in a national newspaper before or after the April hearings. It is balanced, comprehensive, and interesting. Rothmyer, who has since left the *Journal*, said she worked at the piece, on and off, for about five weeks. "The *Journal* is not the only paper that gives its reporters that kind of time to develop good stories," Rothmyer pointed out. She went on to say that, while finding the time and energy to do a thorough job on the brown-lung story presented problems, "there's no excuse for thinking it doesn't belong in a paper that purports to cover news from a national perspective."

Among the problems Rothmyer faced was the lack of universally accepted data regarding various aspects of the brown-lung story. "My editor kept pressing me to get some hard numbers on how many people have died from brown lung," she said. "It's natural for the paper to want to lead off with that kind of dramatic statement, but there just aren't any snappy, sharp figures people agree on. They can't even agree on what actually causes brown lung, so you're left with those inherent problems in the story." Rothmyer opened her story with a conversation between some disabled textile workers about "fellow workers they had known over the years who had died of lung ailments." She was careful not to say that they died specifically of byssinosis, but she effectively raised the question of why so many mill workers die with lung disorders. She went on to cite a number of

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medical studies, but, in the end, she let the victims' own stories convey the dramatic impact of the disease.

"That's when you come to the biggest problem for a daily reporter," said Rothmyer. "Middle-class journalists who are used to dealing with middle-class officials won't get off their asses to make the difficult effort to find people on the other side. You've got to get out and talk with elderly, sick, working-class Southerners who may not even be aware that's it important to talk to the press. Too many reporters wind up being establishment stooges, not because

'Only one truly investigative piece of journalism on brown lung has appeared in a national newspaper — and it was written by a free lance'

they're uncaring people, but because they're middle class and don't want to struggle with speaking another language, with different people."

One of the most startling things about press coverage of the brown-lung story is that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, only one truly investigative piece of journalism has appeared in a national newspaper — and it was written by a free lance. The writer was Mimi Conway, based in Chapel Hill, North Carolina; her investigative work appeared as a two-part series in *The Boston Globe* last July.

Conway had followed the brown-lung story since the founding of the C.B.L.A. in 1975, writing for a variety of magazines and, subsequently, for the *St. Petersburg Times* and the *Globe*. She got her first inkling of a major story while attending the April 1977 cotton-dust hearings. A Burlington Industries research analyst casually mentioned in his testimony that in tests conducted in 1971 the company's workers' compensation insurer, Liberty Mutual of Boston, found dangerously high cotton-dust levels in nineteen Burlington mills and that, in the same year, Burlington's own medical staff established that 18 percent of the workers in the dustiest mill areas had "classic byssinosis symptoms." As Conway saw it, this was news: the world's largest textile company had just admitted that both it and its insurer knew, at least as early as 1971, that conditions in some parts of the mills were causing people to get sick. Meanwhile, of course, as Burlington's compensation insurer, Liberty Mutual was contesting workers' claims for brown-lung compensation in the Carolinas.

Conway called the *Globe*. Her editor was mildly interested in the involvement of the prestigious Boston-based insurance company in the brown-lung controversy, but he wanted the story pinned down. Conway spent the next two days in the Library of Congress, reading legal documents; she learned that if an insurance company, in its role as mill inspector, discovered and failed to report conditions that could cause accidents or sickness, the insurer could be held legally liable for accidents or sickness resulting from those conditions.

The *Globe*, thinking that Conway might be onto something, commissioned an article. "I got into the whole issue of workers' compensation laws — how they evolved, and how they protected employers from being sued by people injured on the job," Conway recalled. "I found out that the whole case law of occupational health had hardly been started. Who is responsible for people getting sick on the job?"

In the end, Conway uncovered a case in which Liberty Mutual had been held liable as "the inspection service" for an injury a worker had suffered and a then-pending case in which a South Carolina mill worker had sued a machinery manufacturer for "negligence, recklessness, and willfulness" for designing equipment in such a way that it would "create dust and/or chemicals" causing the worker to be "permanently disabled." Conway also got quotations from legal authorities indicating Liberty Mutual might be subject to suits for brown lung and from the president of Liberty Mutual saying he thought the firm had no responsibility to warn mill workers about dust conditions.

As a result of Conway's series and of C.B.L.A. actions prompted by her reporting, North Carolina's insurance commissioner John Inman ordered Liberty Mutual and other workmen's compensation carriers to deliver to him immediately all their records concerning brown-lung victims and the amount of money they have spent for compensation claims and in fighting compensation claims for brown lung. Several insurance companies, including Liberty Mutual, are bitterly opposing the order. The consequences of the actions for producing new information in the ongoing debate about brown lung are extreme. Yet, as of this writing, no North Carolina paper has assigned a reporter to dig into the matter.

The flurry of brown-lung reporting occasioned by the 1977 hearings has subsided. Coverage has generally returned to the pre-hearing humdrum of occasional local press news stories. None of the obvious questions raised by the hearings has been followed by national or local reporters: for example, why is there such a wide disparity in the data given by government, industry, and non-industry medical sources? When did the industry first know that people in their mills were getting sick from byssinosis and why weren't workers told? What role did the local medical establishment play in keeping people uninformed about a serious threat to the health of the region's cotton-mill workers? What responsibility did the companies' insurers have in possible cover-up of knowledge about brown lung? Is the industry really beset with internal or external problems and how does it operate differently than industry in other countries that have solved their brown-lung problem? Or just two crucial questions: does the British system of compensating workers disabled by byssinosis — in effect for nearly forty years now — work? And, if so, why can't it work here?

Past coverage suggests that it will be the exceptional reporter who will look for, and perhaps find, answers. ■

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Hyperbowl

Three tons of wool and 53⅓ yards wide

by ROY BLOUNT, JR.

As I was sitting in Super Bowl Media Headquarters in the Hyatt Regency Hotel in New Orleans the day after this year's National Football League extravaganza, I began to hear a young reporter I didn't know crying out: ". . . and another thing, *the monkey wearing the Dallas uniform in the press box* was in bad taste. I have a list of *thirty-five* things that were in bad taste!" He was waving an actual piece of paper and carrying on like Senator Joe McCarthy.

I envied this writer's enthusiasm, but it seemed to me that the bad-taste angle was not new. As a matter of fact, Super Bowl this year was in better taste than usual, I thought. The subdued shoulder bags containing media information were much more presentable than the usual odd-colored plastic satchels, and they contained no tinny-looking freebie N.F.L. watches. (Accredited correspondents used to be flooded with gewgaws during Super Week, but the N.F.L. Players Association complained that league funds thus expended might better go to players.) The halftime show was tacky but restrained. And anything in New Orleans has a better flavor than the same thing in either of the last two Super sites, Pasadena and Miami.

This year's Super Bowl *was* in bad taste, of course. There was the usual conspicuously big-spending N.F.L. Party at which cracked lobster, barbecued everything, frozen daiquiris, and raspberry crepes vied with crawfish *étouffé* for the favors of 3,200 milling party-ticket-holders. (The great majority of whom, including "media and wives," were barred from a special guarded compound in the middle of the room, which was reserved for the higher class of guest such as club executives and John Denver.) There were the usual wild estimates of how much money was rolling in and out ($300 million wagered on the game, $30 million pumped into the New Orleans economy, game tickets being scalped for as high as $450). And there was the usual two-week publicity buildup followed by the usual boring game. SUPER BOWL NOT SO SUPER was one of the eight or ten day-after headlines concerning the game in the New York *Post*. This is an obligatory Super Bowl headline.

The truth is, there is no way to cover the Super Bowl. It's like trying to knit a sweater for a man permanently buried under three tons of wool. If you try to knit a sweater big enough to fit the pile of wool, you feel overextended. If you try to guess and knit a sweater to fit the man, you feel you haven't risen to the occasion. Nearly every year the Super Bowl is an event of enormous magnitude — *because of* the attention it receives — and minimal intrinsic interest.

Not only is this true, it is repeatedly acknowledged in conversation and even in print by the sporting press. Representatives of tiny publications wangle a trip clear across the country for the pleasure of sitting around drinking free liquor and putting down something Super. They always spell the Bowl's name right, however. Part of the bargain is that they provide some kind of coverage. Except on those infrequent occasions when the game proves rousing, covering the Super Bowl is, if I may extricate myself from all that wool, like writing a magazine cover story about a hugely ballyhooed but not particularly good new movie: it must be a big story or your employer wouldn't be allotting such resources to it; on the other hand. . . .

Oh, you generally find out some provocative things during Super Week. Two years ago I learned that Ernie Holmes of the Pittsburgh Steelers had bought his old high school. After hearing it had been closed down, he bought it. Here was no sports story, but the subject of a novel. If a person could only buy his high school while attending it! I guess you would own the cheerleaders too, wouldn't you? No. But certainly the blackboards and rooms. And the halls. And the coaches. It was in high school that I began to cover sports, and to play them less intently.

But Ernie Holmes wasn't even in the Super Bowl that year. Discovering that someone has bought his high school is not enough to get a purchase on the Super Bowl. Maybe next year the N.F.L. will finally break down and admit that "Super Bowl" is too small a term; it ought to be "Stupendous Cauldron."

Super Week '78 is already something of a blur in my mind. New Orleans stays open too late. I remember breaking my glasses while dancing next to Ray Bolger at a party, and walking into the side of a moving automobile on Chartres Street, and waking up one morning to the horrifying sight of what appeared in the half-light to be a splotch of blood on my pillow — I had slept on my complimentary mint. ■

Roy Blount, Jr., is a sports columnist with Esquire.

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Southeast Asia's intimidated press

'Developmental journalism,' in most countries, is that which will not embarrass the government

by DAVID DeVOSS

It was with the purest of motives that the Press Foundation of Asia ten years ago propounded the theory of "developmental journalism." What Southeast Asia needed, said the foundation, was a phalanx — a generation — of investigative reporters trained in economics who could explain the ins and outs of poverty to their readers. Journalists who could read a balance sheet, question a corporate executive, and evaluate a factory's efficiency were more important to the development of their country than all the front-page stars writing about politics, sex, and crime.

The foundation challenged journalists in a simply worded, widely distributed pamphlet entitled "A Manual of Development Journalism — Or How to Help One Thousand Million Asians Earn a Decent Living . . . Yes, We Mean YOU." The pamphlet informed reporters that "it is your job not only to give the facts of economic life, and to interpret those facts, but to promote them, to bring them home to your readers. You must get your readers to realize how serious the development problem is, to think about the problem, to open their eyes to possible solutions — to punch that hole in the vicious circle."

Some journalists responded to the call, and tried to tell readers why those who sold hamburger earned more than those who raised cattle. But before they could get organized, the term was co-opted by government information ministries insisting that a developmental journalist's duty was to become the nation's partner in progress. "The idea was to teach journalists to recognize corruption, but it never got beyond the stage of talking about how many bags of flour a mill could produce," remembers *Asiaweek*'s managing editor, Michael O'Neill.

That the Press Foundation of Asia's idea of developmental journalism was never effectively practiced is just one result of the fact that in most of Southeast Asia today, the press either is effectively controlled by government or, even where free, is generally timid and ineffectual. Today one seldom reads a discouraging word in newspapers outside of Australia, Japan, and New Zealand. What one hears, if he is a journalist in Asia, are repeated exhortations like that delivered by Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo at a five-day Confederation of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) journalists in Manila last year. "Corruption in public office should be an anathema to development and should be exposed," said Romulo, a former Pulitzer Prize winner. "Obsession with it, however, lying in wait for an official to slip, at the expense of more useful work, should be discouraged."

It must be admitted, however, that Southeast Asian governments cannot be accused of subverting a tradition of good journalism. Even after the introduction of the concept of developmental journalism, Asia's dailies gave more space to sensation than to local land reform. In Bangkok's daily press, the sexual proclivities of the prime minister and lists of massage parlors frequented by members of Parliament were standard fare prior to the October 1976 coup that reduced the number of Thai-language newspapers from twenty-two to nine. Manila's seven dailies, touted as the world's freest before the imposition of martial law, vied also for the title "Most Irresponsible."

Especially in Thailand and the Philippines, newspapers' bad judgment became the main rationale for the periods of political repression that followed. "The freedoms of expression and publication were wantonly exercised by the most abject illiterates in the philosophy of liberty," wrote University of the Philippines president Onofre D. Corpuz. "They ran roughshod over a right that is more ancient and precious than free expression and publication. This is the right of every person to privacy and dignity, ruthlessly violated by slander, libel and calumny in the old mass media."

Government curbs on press freedoms were not imposed hastily. During the years of Vietnam escalation, the non-communist nations of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines studied their media. By 1972, when it became clear that South Vietnam would fall eventually, they began to act. Remembers *Far Eastern Economic Review* editor Derek Davies: "There was a feeling among those nations once labeled potential dominos that they could not afford the luxury of a divisive opposition. They thought America lost the war not on the battlefield, but on the front pages of newspapers and on TV screens."

Except in Taiwan and Korea, where (respectively) stories on Mainland China and the Congressional bribery investigation are automatically confiscated, there is no direct press censorship in Asia.* But there are plenty of taboo sub-

David DeVoss is a Time *correspondent based in Hong Kong.*

* *Obviously omitted from this generalization are the Communist countries of Asia. The recent expulsion of* Toronto Globe and Mail *correspondent Ross Munro from Peking fol-*

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jects. In Malaysia journalists who criticize the Royal Family, the national language, or the rights bestowed on the native Malay population (often at the expense of the Chinese and Indian populations) can be prosecuted under the Sedition Act. The monarchy in Thailand and the Marcos family in the Philippines are subjects off limits. Authorities in Indonesia will arrest a reporter and close his newspaper if it jokes about the Suharto family or implies that it is corrupt. "You always have to take into account that so many people will be unemployed if the newspaper ceases publication," says a cautious Jakarta editor. "You have to restrain yourself." As of late January, the Suharto regime had banned seven newspapers.

Foreign publications and their correspondents are not exempt from these limitations. Foreign reporters who attack sacred cows cause their publications to be clipped in Taiwan, inked out in Singapore, confiscated in Indonesia — or worse. After a blunt story on official corruption appeared in a November 1976 issue of *Newsweek*, Indonesia banned the magazine for seven months.

Television is a favorite target for developmental communicators. Singapore and Malaysia both own all their TV stations, and the latter — which underwrites all proselytizing of the state religion Islam — often interrupts popular shows like Mannix for three-minute readings from the Koran. It is in the Philippines, however, that government control of television reaches Orwellian proportion. Three of Manila's five stations are controlled by Ferdinand Marcos or his friends. First Lady Imelda dominates the nightly news. First Daughter Imee has a weekly talk show called *Metromagazine*. At any time of the day or night all stations simultaneously will interrupt their programming for live coverage of a Ferdinand Marcos speech, press conference, hospital dedication, or airport reception.

lowing an excellent series on human rights aptly illustrates the paucity of same in the People's Republic. Both Hsinhua, the New China News Agency, and Hanoi's Vietnam News Agency are propaganda vehicles that distribute verbatim soliloquies of government leaders under the slug, "Interview with. . . ." Laos quickly learned the censorship game. "One of the charges against me was talking to Lao people for the purpose of gathering news," remembers John Everingham, an Australian free-lancer expelled from Vientiane last summer. "When I pleaded guilty to that charge I was told that the duty of a journalist is to broadcast only government opinion." Strictly speaking there is no newspaper censorship in Democratic Kampuchea. The reason, of course, is that peasants outside of Phnom Penh have no paper on which to print news.

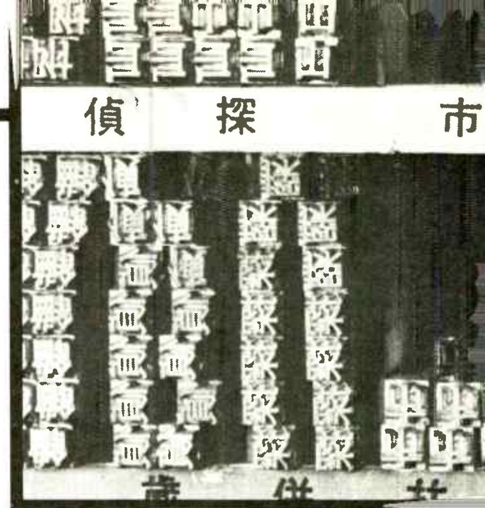
Viewers don't escape the government's message by turning off the news. Filipino producers of popular situation comedies receive monthly development communications called "devcomms" outlining the government policy (nutrition, population control, urban renewal) that will be subtly woven into upcoming plots. The following are government plot suggestions given to the producers of *John and Marsha*, the most popular Philippines situation comedy:

May. All episodes will include proper nutrition thru low-budget food items.

June. All episodes will try to create awareness of the human settlement program of the First Lady. The relocation of squatters, factories and other infastructure. This month will also touch on the ill effects of air, water and noise pollution.

July. All episodes will stress the importance of self-employment thru family enterprise. The family of John will start a small business which will be the source of the family income.

The Marcos government insists that it allows a free press, and in some ways it does. The period of political discussion that preceded the December 17, 1977, referendum, in which voters were asked if they approved of Marcos exercising the dual powers of president and prime minister in the upcoming transition government, was spiced with anti-government comments delivered openly in well-attended debates. But it is difficult to "temporarily suspend" the effects of five years of martial law. The tendency toward self-censorship is strong. On November 29 *The Times Journal* published a page-one story alleging that former Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal, an implacable Marcos foe, was consulted about martial law prior to its declaration. The charge



was swiftly denied, and duly reported by the paper — on page 24 of the business supplement. "The only believable things in the controlled newspapers today are the classified ads," says Manila attorney Jovito Salonga, a former senator known for his opposition to martial law.

Manila journalists are not ashamed of their caution, nor should they be, given the lack of constitutional guarantees. Sighs one reporter: "The president says he wants constructive criticism and investigative stories, but that doesn't mean the intelligence squad is listening. By the time the president hears of my arrest I may have been in jail for six months. We need written guidelines that state how deeply we can investigate and how strongly we can criticize."

American journalists overseas are not without sympathy for the developing countries in which they work. "Most U.S. reporters write patronizing stories about the foibles of 'tiny Singapore' or 'war-torn Thailand,' says Dow Jones's Peter Kann. Sixteen months of publishing the Asian *Wall Street Journal* has given Kann a new perspective on the news. "Instead of calling Singapore 'a tiny island state,' I now like to think of it as 'an Asian financial center,'' he smiles.

Western correspondents and their developmental colleagues define news differently, but they have no trouble agreeing that the Republic of Singapore is the worst violator of press freedom in Southeast Asia. Unlike some of its neighbors, Singapore has no internal insurgency or external Communist threat to excuse its repression of the press. Its $2,500 annual per capita income is the highest in Southeast Asia. Sixty-five

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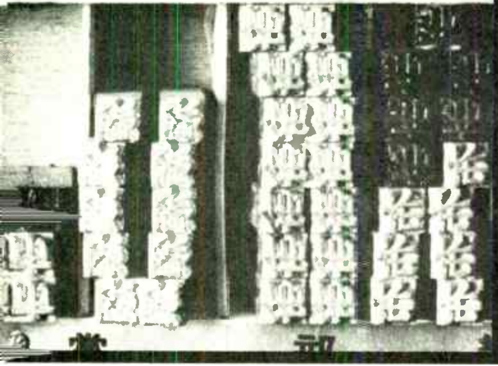

Jane Corbett

percent of its 2.5 million citizens are middle class, and 75 percent of the adult population is literate. There are eleven daily newspapers with a total circulation of over half a million. But Singapore's apparent sophistication doesn't help editors who cross paths with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew.

Lee's most recent victims are two family-owned Chinese-language dailies, *Nanyang Siang Pau* (South Seas) and *Sin Chew Jit Poh* (*The Daily Star*), that made the mistake of lobbying for Chinese interests. That might seem the logical thing to do since 76 percent of Singapore's population is Chinese, but in Lee's book it's "Chinese chauvinism." As the leader of a multi-racial state with four official languages, Lee worries about ethnic pride. By treating their readers as overseas Chinese instead of Singaporeans, the papers obscured the national identity, Lee felt.

In July of last year Singapore moved against the papers by passing an amendment to the Newspaper and Presses Act. Ostensibly an egalitarian measure that would allow the average citizen to buy up to 3 percent of the stock in a newspaper, the law had the effect of forcing the Lee (no relation) and Aw families to put most of their stock — and control of the papers — up for sale to the public. (The quiescent *Straits Times*, an English-language daily controlled by three large business concerns, remains untouched by the law.)

Hostility between *Nanyang* (circulation 72,000) and Prime Minister Lee began in 1972 when he had four of the paper's top executives arrested and charged with subversion. Their crime: publishing editorials requesting government support of Chinese language, education, and culture. "They worked up more and more Communist news, slanted and played up," Lee once said about the arrests. "And this was long before the Ping-Pong business."

Lee's first victory over Chinese chauvinism came in 1971 when the *Eastern Sun* folded after he accused it of "black operations" against the state. The tabloid, also owned by the Aw family, earned the government's suspicion by allowing the Bank of China to invest in the paper. Two weeks later, Lee struck again, axing *The Singapore Herald* which made the mistake of allowing its English and Australian reports to criticize the government. The *Herald* became a target when it lambasted the National Service (national guard) proposed by Lee. Since the bulk of the paper's financial support came from outside Singapore, the government launched an audit. The inspection showed that the Malaysian-owned *Herald* had two overdrafts worth $400,000, the larger, $250,000, from the Chase Manhattan Bank. Combined with the personal enmity between Lee and the editor and the poor Singapore-Malaysia relations, the foreign funding was sufficient to get the *Herald* into the "black operations against Singapore" category. At Lee's insistence, David Rockefeller, the head of Chase Manhattan, flew to Singapore and recalled the loan, forcing the paper to close.

Lee Kuan Yew is not likely to change, but there are a few hopeful signs elsewhere. Officials in Manila, for example, are urging journalists to take more initiative. Ironically, the self-censorship resulting from martial law is proving to be an embarrassment. "This [self-censorship] has resulted in some timidity," sighs Francisco Tated, the Philippine secretary of public information. "The most sensitive journalists are refusing to articulate their views. The restrictions are not there, but our assurance notwithstanding they refuse to get out of their shell. Now if we want to see an open discussion we have to make a proclamation lifting the effect of martial law."

The developing governments in Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, aren't ready for an adversary press, but recently some of them are showing that they are willing to tolerate and even react favorably toward criticism. The new Thai government of General Kriangsak Chamanand so far is allowing press inspection of government policies and politicians. The Press Advisory Board, which censored newspapers under the previous regime, is closed. Political columnists like the respected Suthichai Yoon are out of hiding.

Malaysia retains its Sedition Act, but the government is allowing more sensitive feature stories than ever before. An especially significant event was the appointment of a talented Chinese to edit Kuala Lumpur's *Business Times*. In Jakarta the government plea for help in rooting out corruption is being taken seriously by the vernacular press, especially the Catholic-owned daily *Kompas*. Reporters have uncovered illegal highway tolls and aided the government in exposing the Immigration Department practice of levying "tea money" surcharges on passport fees.

Asiaweek's O'Neill is ready for developmental journalism to blossom. "Journalism won't improve as long as Asian journalists regard themselves as martyrs," he says. "They're intimidated by their own self-censorship. We have to put the possibility of the midnight knock on the door out of our minds."

That is exactly what some journalists are starting to do, but before they can succeed their governments will have to decide that free speech is worth the inherent risks. "The emergency in India, last year's restrictions in Thailand, and the present situation here show that the press, by itself, is not a power," says S.M. Ali, joint executive officer of the Press Foundation of Asia headquartered in Manila. "The press derives its strength from the system under which it operates. Until there are sound constitutional safeguards you can't expect things to change."

In his own way, Ali is more anxious than O'Neill that developmental journalism mature rapidly. "Because authoritarianism and self-censorship have continued so long the members of our profession are dwindling," he sighs. "Where are we doing to find experienced people if beautiful newspapers become feasible in the 1980s?" ■

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Justified claims should be fairly compensated. But it's time to look at state laws that permit excessive and unwarranted awards. California has done so with a citizens' commission created to help bring balance back to the system. We urge other states to follow.

Insurers, lawyers, judges—all of us share some blame for this mess. But it is you, the public, who can best begin to clean it up—by making your views known to your elected representatives. Don't underestimate your own influence. Use it, as we are trying to use ours.

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[1] Jury Verdict Research Inc. of Cleveland, Ohio, keeps records of million-dollar-plus awards. These, however, are only the tip of the iceberg. Extravagant jury-awarded damages set a standard for *out-of-court* settlements—the real problem, since most liability cases *are* settled out of court.

[2] A "tort," strictly speaking, is a wrongful act (other than breach of contract) for which damages may be recovered in court.

[3] In this case, a 23 year-old woman was arrested, tried, and found innocent of shoplifting. In turn, she sued the store and its special policeman. To compensate her for "depression, anxiety, nervousness, phobia, fears and nightmares," the jury awarded her $1,100,000 in damages. In the past, awards for such intangible damages were reasonably related to actual medical expenses and economic losses. Today, these vague terms are often the basis for huge demands. We have recently seen the filing of a $31-million malpractice suit on the grounds of "mental distress."

[4] Most awards are paid by insurance and any continuing increase in the size or number of awards must be reflected in insurance costs. For example, product liability insurance for manufacturers, and malpractice insurance for physicians, *more than doubled* in one recent 12-month period. While these were averages country-wide, for many the increases were even more severe. In California recommended increases for product liability protection for clothing manufacturers *jumped 400%* in 1976, while malpractice insurance for some physicians *increased 347%*.

Further information may be obtained by contacting Henry L. Savage, Jr., Public Relations, Ætna Life & Casualty, 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, CT. 06156, Telephone (203) 273-6545.

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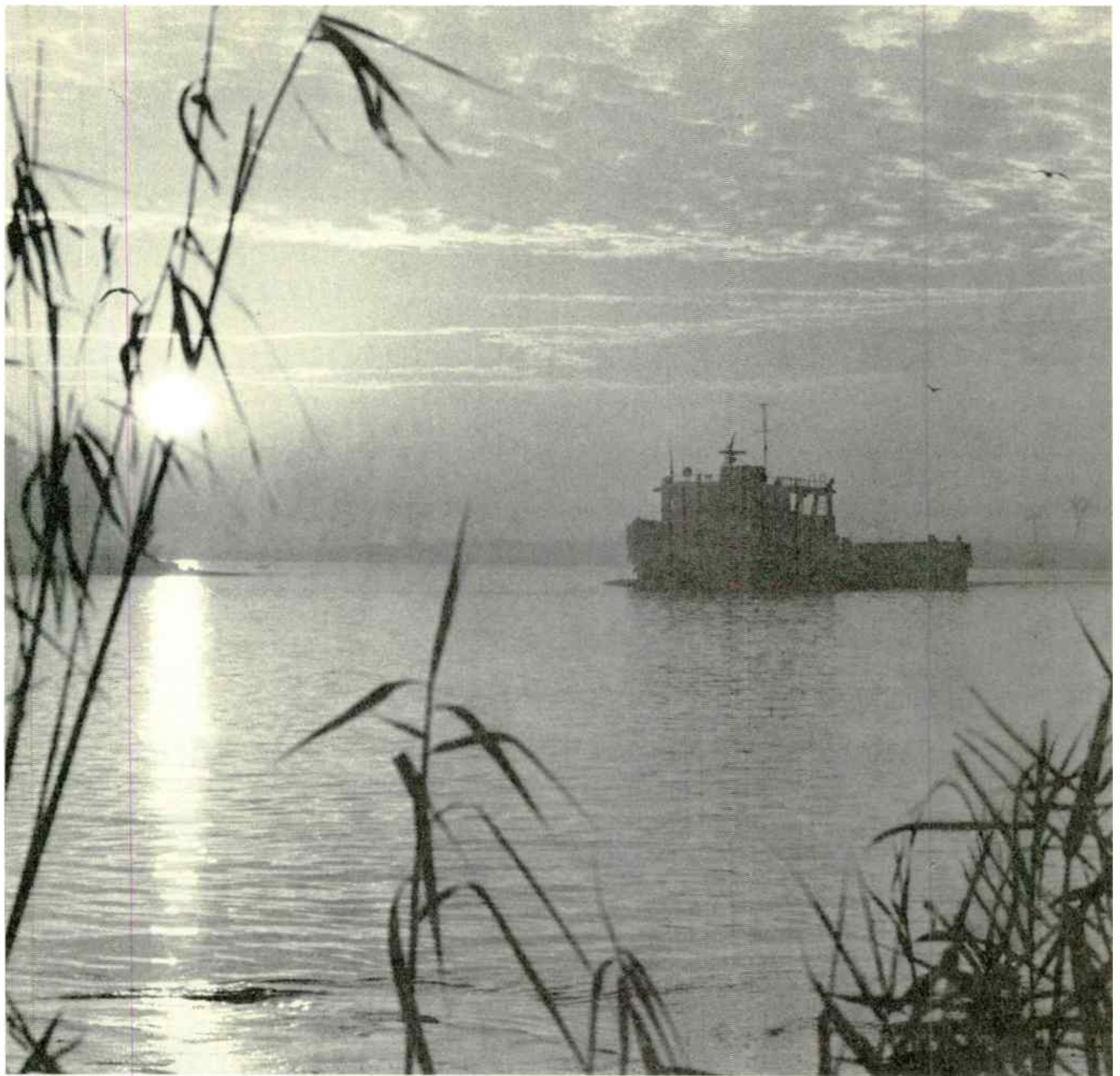

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The taming of the Korean press

After more than a decade of resistance, South Korea's newspapers have learned their place

by SUNWOO NAM

In the early 1960s, as part of my job as a foreign news analyst on the staff of South Korea's largest newspaper, the *Dong-A Ilbo*, I translated portions of an interview by Edgar Snow of Mao Tse-tung which I had come upon in a London newspaper. It included a passage the gist of which was that the Chinese people venerated Chairman Mao as if he were a combination of Confucius, Jesus Christ, and the Buddha. Shortly after this excerpt appeared in the paper, managing editor Cheon Kwan-woo received a telephone call from the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. The caller demanded to know the name of the translator so that "he can be taught a lesson" — presumably, that he should never again translate or submit any copy about a Communist leader that might be construed as being even remotely favorable. Fortunately for me, Cheon refused to reveal my name, insisting that he alone was responsible for the contents of his newspaper.

Since then, the K.C.I.A. has perfected its methods of controlling the nation's press. An eloquent testimonial to the effectiveness of those methods is that for several months while the story of the bribing of United States congressmen by South Koreans was front-page news in the United States, no South Korean newspaper printed a word on this subject. When, at last, a trickle of stories appeared, the blame for the bribes was laid to a few "overzealous" individuals; the K.C.I.A. was not mentioned by name, being referred to only as "a certain Korean institution."

The process of taming the nation's press — comparatively free under Syngman Rhee — began in the 1960s. Total control was achieved only a few years ago.

Sunwoo Nam was on the staff of the Dong-A Ilbo, *South Korea's leading newspaper, from 1959 to 1964, when he came to America. He presently teaches journalism at Norfolk State College, in Virginia.*

Following the military coup of 1961, which brought General Park Chung Hee to power, martial law was repeatedly invoked. Outright censorship was imposed and many reporters and editors were jailed. To some, jail apparently taught the value of conforming, because they later became key members of Park's government. Editorial writer Hwang San-duk, for example, was jailed in the early 1960s for an editorial he wrote for the *Dong-A Ilbo*; in the 1970s he became minister of justice, then minister of education.

In 1963, so-called civilian rule was restored. Park and his party professed to be leading the country toward democracy even as the constitution was being rewritten to ensure the continuation of the Park regime. While censorship was occasionally imposed, subtler means of controlling the press were also employed. Potential foes were brought into the ruling elite. When Park began to rule in mufti in 1963, he tapped the retired president of the *Dong-A Ilbo*, Choi Doo-sun, as his premier during the first six months of the civilian rule, his cabinet playing the role of the "bulletproof cabinet," warding off criticism of the government in the press. The owner of the *Hankook Ilbo*, another large Seoul daily, was later recruited as vice-premier. In addition, the ruling elite recruited several bright middle-echelon journalists, from whom they were able to learn the inner workings of the press. This knowledge would prove useful in subsequent attempts to force the collaboration of certain newspapers and individuals.

Loans from semi-official banks and foreign loans, which require government approval, were — and remain —

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'As a result of printing two mildly critical editorials, the publisher of the *Dong-A Ilbo* was interrogated by the K.C.I.A. for four hours. K.C.I.A. agents almost daily make the rounds of newspaper offices to "chat" with editors and reporters and also may read copy before it goes to press.'

another means of exerting pressure. A few years ago, the *Chosun Ilbo* used a Japanese loan to build a new office building with a hotel on the top floors; the government's approval of the loan to what was once an opposition newspaper served as another object lesson in the benefits of conforming. For the smaller provincial dailies there was the law relating to "the standard for publication facilities of newspapers," enacted to "encourage" mergers; it served — and still serves — as a constant reminder that, if the smaller papers do not want to be forcibly merged, they had best toe the government line.

There were other laws that could be invoked whenever the Park regime chose to stifle criticism. The so-called Anti-Communist law, for example, provides that "Persons praising, encouraging, or cooperating with anti-state organizations shall be punished by a term of penal servitude that shall not exceed seven years." Several reporters and editors, as well as a prominent novelist and a well-known poet, have been prosecuted under this law. These cases were generally concluded in the lower courts or at the investigative stage — carried out with dreaded thoroughness by the K.C.I.A. (The revised criminal code of 1976 makes even Koreans living abroad fearful of criticizing the K.C.I.A. The code reads, in part: "Any [Korean] national who insults or criticizes the Republic of Korea or its constitutionally instituted agencies . . . or propagates falsehood about the said agencies or in other ways harms or causes potential harm to the security, interest, or prestige of the Republic of Korea will be sentenced to a term of penal servitude not to exceed seven years.")

In the early 1970s the pressure on newspapers was immensely increased. In 1971 a state of national emergency was declared to give the government the means to quell domestic dissent. The *Dong-A Ilbo* printed two editorials mildly critical of the declaration. As a result, the publisher, Kim Sang-man, was interrogated by the K.C.I.A. for four hours. What happened during this interrogation is not known, but shortly thereafter Kim dismissed his editor-in-chief, Lee Dong-wook, and the paper's managing director, Cheon Kwan-woo, who, during his term as editor-in-chief, had had several scrapes with the K.C.I.A. How offensive were the editorials? A representative sample reads: "We have seen how, in the name of liberal democracy, a number of developing nations have resorted to a contradictory policy of suppressing the very advantages of liberal democracy. If we . . . fall into this kind of contradiction in the process of confrontation with the communist dictatorship in North Korea, it will be difficult for the declaration of national emergency to yield good results. . . ."

In 1972 the government's campaign to perpetuate Park's regime culminated in the "October Revitalization Reforms," which gave the president unlimited powers and reduced the legislature and the courts to mere rubber stamps. The ground rules under which the government's campaign for the so-called referendum on the revitalization constitution prohibited any debate about the constitution in the press. The only position newspapers were permitted to take was one of wholehearted support.

Some editorial writers tried to register their opposition by using the word "revitalization" as seldom as possible. This subterfuge came to the attention of the K.C.I.A., whose agents almost daily make the rounds of their assigned newspaper offices to "chat" with editors and reporters and who also may read copy before it goes to press. One agent reportedly inserted the word "revitalization" in several places as he read the proof of an editorial. Journalists who refused to support the revitalization constitution did so at their peril. As Elizabeth Pond reported in the November 11, 1972, *Christian Science Monitor*:

> Those who demur receive the penalty. Three *Dong-A Ilbo* editors were held overnight by the Korean CIA and beaten, according to one report. In another report they were simply intimidated by being held, but were not beaten. (In the past, this was the more usual treatment of anyone of editorial rank; rough handling was reserved for lower ranks of reporters.)

It is doubtful that this distinction was scrupulously observed either then or

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later in the seventies. Fear of K.C.I.A. reprisals prevents most victims from telling what happened to them, but since even national assemblymen were tortured, it seems likely that some reporters and editors were tortured as well. (According to a floor speech of an opposition national assemblyman in March 1975, he and ten other opposition members at one time or another had been tortured — including being beaten up and being subjected to electric shocks — and two high-ranking members of the ruling party had been tortured because they had encouraged other assemblymen to vote for a measure that Park opposed.)

How did the South Korean press respond to such pressures? Many publishers and journalists had already been coopted or otherwise cowed. But a surprising number continued to resist, in admittedly esoteric ways. If they could not write about the oppressiveness of the Park dictatorship, they wrote articles about the excesses of the autocratic Syngman Rhee regime which, if read between the lines, suggested that, stifling as that regime had been, it was vastly preferable to the systematically repressive Park regime. If they were indignant about the excesses of the K.C.I.A., about which they could say nothing, they described the brutality of the Russian K.G.B. under Beria. But such oblique means of expression can only minimally relieve one's feelings of frustration and impotence. It was in this atmosphere that a catalytic event caused an explosion.

The event occurred in 1973, when K.C.I.A. agents kidnapped the self-exiled opposition leader, Kim Dae-jung, who was living in Japan, and brought him back to South Korea. Newspaper articles were devoid of any mention of the K.C.I.A.'s complicity in the kidnapping.

Later that year, college students in Seoul began demonstrating against the Park regime, protesting its handling of the Kim Dae-jung case and the K.C.I.A.'s ironclad control of all segments of society. For six days no South Korean newspaper mentioned the demonstrations or the arrests made. Subsequently, for two days running the *Dong-A Ilbo* prepared stories on the demonstrations, but each time it was forced to scrape the story from the stereotypes. When the demonstrations spread to other cities, newspapers tried to report them at least on an inside page. Editors were pressured to desist from even such limited reporting.

At this stage, young reporters began to react en masse. Once again, the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the historical leader of the opposition, took the lead. Three sit-in protests against K.C.I.A. intrusion and the lack of press freedom generally were staged there; the movement then spread to the *Hankook Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo*. The outcome seemed promising: K.C.I.A. agents were withdrawn from the newsrooms and the Ministry of Information took over the job of monitoring the press.

Encouraged by the government's seeming flexibility, a group of prominent intellectuals began calling for the restoration of democracy — a development that was reported on the front pages of many newspapers. The movement gained momentum. Then, in January 1974, President Park once again invoked emergency powers. To return the country to democracy would, of course, involve repealing or drastically amending the revitalization constitution. Park's edicts made it illegal to "deny, oppose, misrepresent, or defame the constitution" or to "assert, introduce, propose, or petition for revision or repeal of the constitution." Park's orders also banned all acts of informing other persons of any such proscribed activities by means of broadcasting, reporting, or publication. Arrest and search without warrants and prison terms of up to fifteen years were among the provisions of the presidential declaration. Probably the most chilling news, however, was the announcement that the K.C.I.A. would "coordinate and supervise" the enforcement program.

One last move toward press freedom took place in October 1974, again at the *Dong-A Ilbo*. Its publisher and staff, finding government restrictions intolerable, boldly decided to report the news as they saw fit. Symbolic of their boldness was a sign posted at the entrance: "No agents [of the K.C.I.A.] allowed." The newspaper gained thousands of new readers because it alone was covering such forbidden subjects as the extreme hardship of the lower classes, corruption among the privileged, and criticism of the government among the nation's college students.

The K.C.I.A. did not react immediately. But when the agency did move, it proved that it had learned a key lesson in journalism. Starting in mid-December 1974, under K.C.I.A. pressure, all the major and smaller companies that had traditionally advertised in the paper began to withdraw their advertising. For several months, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and its subsidiaries, a monthly magazine and a broadcasting station, were supported only by advertisements of encouragement from anonymous readers and by contributions from small groups of concerned sympathizers around the world.

How long can a newspaper survive under such conditions? Initially, the publisher, his top-level editors, and the reporters vowed never to capitulate. This unified stand did not last long. To cut costs the paper dismissed twenty-six employees. A group of young journalists demanded their return; they refused to write or edit and they occupied the press rooms. This led to the dismissal of forty-nine more employees, including many of the protesters, and the suspension of an additional eighty-two. Many young staff members or former staff members suspected that the paper would soon knuckle under to the government to regain its lost advertising. Their suspicions were confirmed. In mid-1975, normal advertising returned to the *Dong-A Ilbo* — a paper that, by then, had become as docile and innocuous as the rest of the nation's press. In 1976, when eighteen prominent South Koreans, including former president Yun Bo-sun and Kim Dae-jung, were sentenced to long prison terms for calling for the return of democracy, not a single newspaper expressed a word of editorial indignation.

The press has been tamed. From time to time, for its own purposes, the government may allow newspapers to behave as if they were free. But the whip is there. After each brief government-approved show of liberty, the press can be counted on to return to its cage. ■

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Photos of 'horror' in

The only visual evidence of Khmer Rouge atrocities to reach the West arrived with shaky credentials

by DOUGLAS ZOLOTH FOSTER

During the two years since the Khmer Rouge seized power in Cambodia — and renamed the country Kampuchea — the Western press seems to have depended entirely on copies of a single roll of film for visual evidence of widely rumored mass executions. The most dramatic of the photographs shows a soldier holding an ax poised above the head of a kneeling civilian; other soldiers stand by, their rifles pointed at the kneeling man. The photograph was published in the November 21, 1977, *Time*. It was captioned, "Khmer Rouge partisans execute a traitor of the old Cambodian regime with an ax[;] How the new government goes about the 'elimination of contradictions.' " It had run also in *The Washington Post* of April 8, 1977, and, a year earlier, in *Paris Match* and *Der Stern*. The problem is that the photos may well have been faked.

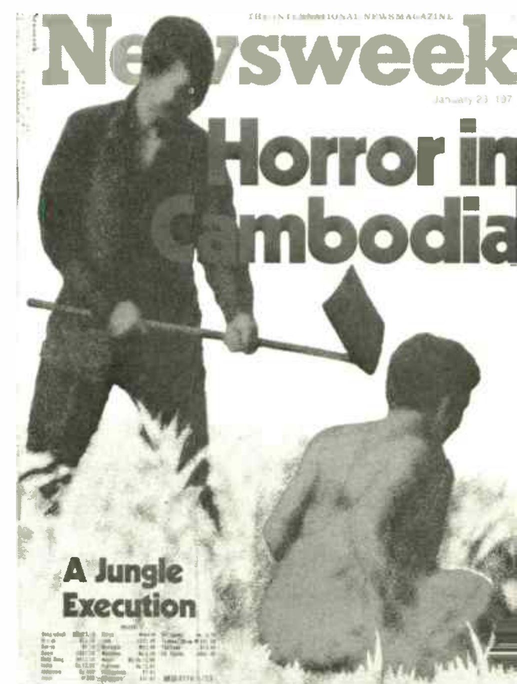
Serious doubts had been raised about the authenticity of the photos even before the *Post* and *Time* published them. The fact that they were used in spite of such doubts, and without more than cursory checks on their source, suggests that when a photograph shows something that there is a predisposition to see, a little authentication may well be just as good as a lot.

In July 1976 a small newsletter called *U.S./Indochina Report*, published in Washington by the Southeast Asia Resource Center, took note of the fact than an English-language newspaper in Thailand, the *Bangkok Post*, a frequent critic of the Khmer Rouge, had published on April 19, 1976, an article headlined KHMER WATCHERS QUESTION ORIGINS OF PHOTOGRAPHS. The article noted that one of the *Post*'s stringers had been offered the photos for 3,000 baht ($150) but had refused to buy them because he doubted their authenticity, and that another paper, the right-wing *Thai Rath*, had run them two days before a Thai election. The *Post* hinted that their publication may have been politically motivated. The article noted that "Khmer watchers" doubted the photographs because a soldier in one of them "did not look like a Khmer Rouge. His shirt and trousers and the casual way he sports the M16 across his shoulder are not characteristic of Cambodians." The *U.S./Indochina Report* added that a Thai intelligence officer, after seeing the *Bangkok Post* article, admitted to a journalist that the photos had been posed in Thailand, adding, "Only the photographer and I were supposed to know."

Still, the photographs appeared that month in Europe and in one Australian newspaper. Eventually, copies reached this country. *The Washington Post* came upon them through a friend of a reporter, Anne Mariano. The friend's Chinese-speaking wife had learned of the film from the Chinese wife of a Cambodian refugee. The film reportedly was handed over by yet another refugee, who claimed that the photographer had been shot while fleeing to Thailand, but that the refugee had scooped up his camera and escaped. The *Post* trusted its source and published three of the photographs, including the "ax execution," along with an article headlined FORCED CAMBODIA LABOR DEPICTED. To its credit, when doubts about the photos were pointed out, the *Post* published a short item acknowledging the doubts, but pointing out that the pictures had been published elsewhere.

Time was less cautious, and apparently less interested in informing its readers even after the fact about the dubious standing of the photograph it

The photo above, allegedly of an execution by the Khmer Rouge, was used on the cover of Newsweek *International, below.*



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World Radio History

Cambodia: fake or real?

James Ridgeway

Another frame from the same roll of film supposedly shows forced labor.

James Ridgeway

used, even though by November 1977 detailed questions about it had been published not only in *U.S./Indochina Report*, but in the biweekly *International Bulletin*, (April 25, 1977) and *The Nation* (June 25, 1977). The magazine bought the photo from Sygma Photo News, in New York City. Eliane Laffont, Sygma's director, says she "told *Time* that the photograph might be a propaganda plant." But *Time* staffer Mary Fernandez, who checked back with Sygma after receiving a letter questioning the photograph it printed, says that Sygma expressed "absolute confidence in its authenticity."

And how did Sygma come by the pictures? Laffont says she was approached in Paris by a Cambodian refugee who said he was a friend of the photographer. The photographer, according to this refugee, was not dead (as the *Post*'s source had it), but alive and living in Paris. Laffont says she accepted the photos because "they were a *find*," and because the man "really *looked* like a refugee." She did not get precise information about the circumstances in which the photos were taken, she says, "because you never get a direct answer from these people." According to Laffont's own calculations, so far the New York office of Sygma has taken in more than $20,000 from the sale of the photos.

When *Time* was informed about the doubts surrounding the photographs staffer Fernandez wrote that the photograph had been published "in good faith," and that there seemed to be no way of proving its authenticity — or lack of it. The readers of *Time*, of course, had been led to believe that the photograph was authentic, and were never told otherwise.

None of the published doubts has deterred the use of the photographs. Indeed, their most recent appearance is the most striking of all: the "executioner" and his "victim," tinted in garish color, appear on the cover of the January 23, 1978 international edition of *Newsweek*; two other photographs from the roll appear inside. *Newsweek*'s source for the photographs: Sygma. ■

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CITIVIEWS

CITIVIEWS is distributed quarterly to Citicorp investors. It contains viewpoints on timely public issues. We believe the following may be of interest to you...

The Public Interest

"It was a terrible week. First we found our Automobile Club infested with pedestrians...then we discovered six experts who'd infiltrated the Laymen's Association...and Friday we caught three people in the Public Interest Forum secretly pursuing their own special interests..."

No one is known to have actually reported such a week, but it should come as no surprise if someone eventually does. Certainly, it is the sort of thing against which many of the voices raised "in defense of the public interest" seem to be warning us.

Probably no phrase in the English language affords more ambiguity or opportunities for demagoguery than "the public interest." Aside from the obvious question of who has the right to speak "for" the public, there is the still larger problem of just whose interest is being protected, and from whom.

What, exactly, is The Public? Who belongs to it, or, conversely, who does not? If The Public includes everyone, then the individual who volunteers to "defend the public interest" is really offering to protect us from ourselves. If The Public does not include everyone, then who has been excluded, and on what authority?

Or perhaps instead of one great Public we are referring to many smaller ones: as in the traveling public, the investing public, the theater-going public, or the Nielsen public. After all, people do form themselves into groups based on a community of interest, and those interests will sometimes conflict with one another. In that event, perhaps, the public interest advocate fills the role of impartial arbiter, dispensing justice or at least wisdom from some neutral vantage point, free of the special interests that entangle everyone else. But sometimes that neutral territory is hard to locate, and its disinterested inhabitants hard to identify.

Anyone trying to cross a busy intersection on foot, for example, knows that pedestrians and motorists sometimes have conflicting interests. So does the motorist trying to turn the corner. If there is a debate tonight in City Hall about altering the traffic lights for the greater convenience of one group or the other, whose side will you be on? And regardless of what you believe at the moment, how do we know you can be trusted? You might start out as a motorist, find a parking space on the way downtown, and arrive as a pedestrian. Yet, does it follow that we can find a fair solution to the problem only with the help of someone with no commitment to either side; that is to say, somebody who neither drives nor walks?

The purpose of this line of reasoning is not to denigrate anyone's efforts to speak disinterestedly on behalf of the general welfare, but merely to invite attention to certain aspects of the *pro bono publico* dialogue that are too often overlooked.

Consider, for example, the question of consumer advocacy. While there may be some uncertainty about just who or what constitutes a public, there is no doubt whatever that we are all consumers. Since no meeting can be held in which everyone present is not equally a

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consumer, who then does the "consumer representative" actually represent? Clearly, it must be either (1) a specific group of people who have in some manner selected a delegate to convey *their* convictions to the meeting; or (2) the speaker's own point of view.

In the latter case, the "consumer advocate" (at a stockholders' meeting, for instance) should really be saying something like this:

"I realize that everyone here is as much a consumer as I am. But you have other interests that may be more important to you than your interests as consumers. Since I am free of such conflicts, or able to deal with them more objectively, I am here to serve as the authoritative spokesman on that subject."

This is not, of course, the way such representations are usually made.

If, on the other hand, the advocate appears as the representative of a formal, organized group, the problem of objectivity becomes even more troublesome. Any organized group of people constitutes a special interest—by definition. Moreover, the longer an organization exists, the more specialized its interests become. It is unnecessary to demonstrate this fact: it is immediately apparent to anyone with even a passing acquaintance with any group, even if only a bridge club. Nor is objectivity—or the lack of it—linked solely to the profit motive, as any philanthropist can testify who has tried to honor competing claims by representatives of equally worthwhile charities.

Over the past decade, there has come into existence something often referred to as "the public interest community." It consists of men and women with a common desire to emphasize certain values and social perspectives—e.g., a clean environment—that affect all of us alike, and to act on behalf of those values whenever and wherever they perceive the rest of us to be neglecting them. It does nothing to detract from anyone's efforts to suggest that even the noblest cause can at length become a vested interest, or that it may attract at least a few who are perhaps more interested in doing well than in doing good.

Every American is entitled by law and the Constitution to fair representation by a president and a vice-president, two senators and a congressman, not to mention a governor, a state legislator, and probably a mayor. The vigor of our two-party system and the frequency with which we return our officials to private life testify that these legal representatives sometimes leave many of us less than satisfied. Anyone stepping forward to supplement their efforts by reminding us that something that ought to be done is not being done, or vice versa, should always be welcome in the national meeting hall.

It is only prudent, however, to review occasionally what used to be called in the Old West their *bona fides*. And it seems only fair to recall, from time to time, Dr. Johnson's admonition that "a common prejudice should not be found in one whose trade it is to rectify error."

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BOOKS

Up from provincialism

The Washington Post: The First 100 Years
by Chalmers M. Roberts. Houghton Mifflin. 495 pp. $15.95

Thinking Big: The Story of the *Los Angeles Times*, Its Publishers, and Their Influence on Southern California
by Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 576 pp. $15

In a critique in 1959 of the state of newspaper history, the historian Allan Nevins wrote: "Taken as a whole, it is deplorably uncritical and some of it is dishonest. With too few exceptions, the authors wrote like kept hacks. In their silences they imitate some present-day attitudes of the press itself. . . . they gloss over blunders, defend misinterpretations and injustices, and sweep glaring omissions and lost opportunities under the bed."

Had Nevins lived to see the publication of these histories of two of the current American Big Three newspapers, he might have felt better about the state of the art. *The Washington Post*, by commission, and the *Los Angeles Times*, through no fault of its own, have been made the subjects of worthy chronicles of their century of existence. (In point of fact, the *Times* is still more than three years short of its centennial, and may yet produce a history on its own.) The works share admirable qualities — ambitious research (none of it footnoted, however), an unblinking attitude toward their subjects' faults, and consistent effort to gauge the newspapers' social and political impact. Less fortunately, they tend in varying degrees to pick up peripheral detail as readily as a dark suit picks up lint. On balance, *The Washington Post* has been well served in its project and the *Los Angeles Times*, although it has many causes for annoyance in what Gottlieb and Wolt have written, could have been handled much worse in an unauthorized history.

For more than half of its first century, the *Post* was a demonstration that a national-capital newspaper could struggle along without being particularly good or important. As Roberts makes clear, the morning daily that was started on December 6, 1877, by Stilson Hutchins, a peripatetic editor and Democrat, was a journalistic lightweight, and became even more so under its later longtime owners, the McLeans. John R. McLean, a politician-publisher who owned the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, acquired the *Post* in 1905 and gave it a turn toward Hearst. His hapless son, Ned, took over in 1916; Ned became a confidant of Harding and a minor participant in Teapot Dome (the paper's cover-up of that scandal is a measure of how far it traveled to the Watergate exposure fifty years later), and ultimately, while drinking himself to death, let the newspaper slide into bankruptcy.

The life span of the *Post* might well have been cut short at the age of fifty-six, in 1933. But fortunately for the newspaper, and for the nation's journalism, the *Post* was bought, not by another publisher or a chain, but by Eugene Meyer, a banker with extraordinarily serious ideas about journalism and with the tenacity to invest money and years in making the *Post* represent those ideas. The Meyer succession has run the *Post* to this day: Meyer himself, aided by his outspoken wife, Agnes, until 1945; then his brilliant son-in-law, Philip Graham, until his suicide, the consequence of a manic-depressive illness, in 1963; and his widow (and the Meyers' daughter), Katharine Graham, to the present. Another generation, represented by her son, Donald, is preparing.

The forty-five years of Meyer ownership have built the *Post* from a trivial paper into one worthy of the capital. It is probably not coincidental that the rise of

March 17, 1954: publisher Eugene Meyer savoring the Post's *first press run after it swallowed up the morning competition, the* Times-Herald

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the *Post* coincides with the era, dating from the start of the New Deal, when American life came to center increasingly on what happened in Washington. The last twelve years — the period since Katharine Graham installed her choice, Benjamin C. Bradlee, as the head of the news operation — have brought the *Post* a kind of celebrity never before enjoyed by a mere newspaper. But, of course, no mere newspaper had ever before helped remove a president in midterm and found itself, collectively, a movie star.

As indispensable to the *Post* as was the leadership of Meyer, the two Grahams, and Bradlee, there was another factor in its success. Roberts makes clear that the *Post* began to gain real momentum only when it became a monopoly paper. As late as the 1950s, it trailed the evening *Star* in most economic indicators and still faced head-on competition from the morning *Times-Herald*, a money-losing paper that had fallen into the hands of Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune*. In 1954 McCormick sold out to the *Post*. A table in the book shows the consequences: in two decades, the *Post*'s percentage of Washington newspaper advertising rose from 24.9 to 65.8; of daily circulation, from 24.3 to 56.6.

Roberts, a quasi-retired *Post* reporter, has handled the *Post* saga with remarkable skill, and with a quotient of critical directness that is high for an authorized history. It would not have been astonishing if Roberts had, say, borne down on the McLeans and let up on the Meyers and Grahams. But Meyer's cantankerousness is not disguised, nor are the tragic facts of Philip Graham's illness, nor the racehorse aspects of Bradlee's newsroom, nor the sometimes charitably forgotten stubborn support that the *Post* gave Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policies. If Roberts indulges in any hagiography, it is in his respectful portrait of Katharine Graham, but he gives the impression that she has earned, rather than commanded, his respect. And if he blinks at any point, it is in a possible leaning toward *Post* management in recounting the bitter dispute with *Post* press operators that started with vandalism in the pressroom on October 1, 1975; in particular, Roberts fails to mention management's wildly exaggerated claims of damage.

Sherman Foundation

Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles Times: *"an editorial blunderbuss"*

That can be considered a small flaw in an honorably executed story. Roberts is to be commended in particular for the skill he has shown in blending its varied elements: the *Post*'s role in national affairs, its part in the troubled growth of its home city, its changing staff rosters, its handling of major stories, its editorial policies, its corporate fortunes. The book shows especially the benefits to the historian of sitting down and reading as much of the product — the newspaper itself — as mind and body can bear. Occasionally Roberts does fall victim to mere detail, most frequently in the last chapters where, it appears, he must weave in the names of literally dozens of past and present colleagues. But the book as a whole is a pleasant surprise — a newspaper history that reflects the newspaper's own critical spirit.

The Gottlieb-Wolt story of the *Los Angeles Times* is different in origin and in temper. Written with the non-cooperation of its subject, it represents a triumph of research and investigation over corporate reluctance. Not surprisingly, where Roberts was a friendly critic, Gottlieb and Wolt take the muckraker's stance: they never evince outright hostility to the newspaper, but they present facts so as to leave the reader with the least favorable impression.

In the first half of the book, they tell the story of a newspaper as an epic of a family, much as Ida Tarbell told the story of Standard Oil through the Rockefellers. They show convincingly that the *Los Angeles Times*, from its first year, 1881, was the creation of one family and reflected, in its standards, in its economic and political attitudes, and its relationship with southern California, the opinions and energies of that family.

The founding father was Harrison Gray Otis, an Ohio Civil War veteran who became editor of the *Times* half a year after its founding and full owner in 1886. Otis was an editorial blunderbuss who believed that organized labor was the root of all evil. Not only did he make the *Times* into an anti-union crusader ("We defy these bluffing shouting scavengers — these workingmen who do not work, but who fatten upon decaying commerce, despoil honest toil," he wrote during a struggle with the typographical union), but organized city-wide efforts to make Los Angeles entirely an open shop. In 1910 the *Times* building blew up, and two union conspirators admitted the crime; but Gottlieb and Wolt revive plausible and forgotten evidence that leaky gas vents may have led to the explosion.

When Otis faded from the scene in 1917, he had already begun to relinquish the paper to an heir long prepared: Harry Chandler, his son-in-law and for twenty-five years business manager of the *Times*. Although Chandler's ideology differed little from Otis's, he was less a blusterer and more a manipulator. Chandler made the *Times* into a promotional organ for southern California business and real estate, and became wealthy himself through investments aided by the *Times*'s promotions. He also involved the *Times* deeply in local government, using reporters as political lieutenants to keep council members in line. To Harry Chandler must be attributed the unsavory professional reputation that the *Times* bore for years. Depending on one's point of view, it could be said that America was spared by hav-

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ing Chandler's journalism confined to one area, or that southern California was unjustly punished by having to absorb the brunt.

Harry Chandler's son, Norman, who took over in 1941, was a key figure in the transition from the abuses of personal publishing. While he failed to break the *Times* of many of its bad habits, at least he named editors who, when given the opportunity later, overhauled the paper. He also expanded the operation by founding the *Mirror*, an afternoon tabloid designed to oppose the Hearst *Herald-Express*. The *Mirror* lasted only from 1948 to 1962 — but the deal that put it out of business was as beneficial to the *Times* as was the *Washington Post*'s purchase of *The Times-Herald*, for the *Times* was left with no opposition in the morning and only Hearst's sickly *Herald-Examiner* in the afternoon. As with the *Washington Post* deal, the Justice Department sniffed about and declared that it could find no scent of monopoly.

In a sense, everything that went before was merely a prelude to the era of Otis Chandler, Norman's son, who was tapped to become publisher in 1960, at the age of thirty-two. Gottlieb and Wolt devote about 40 percent of their book to the Otis Chandler years. The emphasis is justified, for it is only in this period that the *Times* emerged from its old character as a dreary, if large, provincial newspaper into a force in American journalism and a communications conglomerate with holdings strewn across the country.

Possibly the recent virtues of the *Times* have been overstated because they stood out against the grimy past, but there is no doubt that under Otis Chandler the newspaper became for the first time an organ of journalism rather than personal policy, that its primary content became information rather than ideology, and that it was written and edited by professionals of national stature rather than trusted family henchmen. Not that it was entirely free of family influence, for Otis Chandler's mother, Dorothy Buffum Chandler, was still able to enlist the *Times* in her ambitious cultural objectives for Los Angeles. But it is indicative that the final portions of *Thinking Big* are no longer merely the chronicle of a kind of publishing Forsyte family. Rather, in the vein of Gay Talese's *The Kingdom and the Power*, they discuss personalities and issues of the newsroom, which becomes, for the first time, an independent force in the story. From these controversies there does not emerge any single figure as dominant as Bradlee has been at the *Post*, but Gottlieb and Wolt write sensitively of half a dozen journalists who helped drag the *Times* into modernity, sometimes faster than it wanted to move.

The expansion of the corporate *Los Angeles Times* — the Times Mirror Company — is a less engrossing tale but, in the long run, just as important as the newsroom revolution. Diversification has led Times Mirror into broadcasting, book publishing, and other common appurtenances of conglomeracy. The company publishes two other major newspapers, *Newsday* of Long Island and the *Dallas Times-Herald*. It is a rather plain, straightforward list compared with the exotica of Harry Chandler's investments, but hefty and still growing.

In compiling their history, Gottlieb and Wolt, who are Los Angeles freelance writers, have canvassed a remarkable range of material — holdings of archives throughout the state, official documents, past writing about the *Times* and its area. However, the complexity of the story has defeated them to an extent, for they leave the reader feeling that their facts are only half-digested, that they did not really have a chance to sort out what was important and what was less so. Moreover, the story is told almost without interpretation. What, the reader wonders, do the authors make of this tale? Is the *Los Angeles Times* a unique instance of newspaper influence on a region? Was that influence entirely malevolent? How good is the paper in its new era?

Both of these books tell remarkable tales. Like the other major claimant to national prestige, *The New York Times*, the *Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* show that a newspaper, although its nameplate remains the same, is a changing entity. Each of the three had to pass through a crisis of regeneration before emerging in modern form — the *Los Angeles Times* last because, in a sense, it had to be freed from its owners. Each benefited as well from the death of a major rival, and each now stands at the head of a burgeoning conglomerate. Yet if there is any lesson in newspaper history, it is that newspapers are far from secure, for society casts them aside as readily as readers throw away yesterday's copy. Perhaps the rules of newspaper mortality will be repealed for these splendid near-monopolies, but they cannot count on it. *J.B.*

Overkill

The Zapping of America: Microwaves, Their Deadly Risk, and the Cover-Up
by Paul Brodeur. Norton. 343 pp. $11.95

In December 1976 *The New Yorker* published a two-part series of articles by Paul Brodeur describing the dangers to all of us from microwave radiation. Those pieces, which comprise a large chunk of *The Zapping of America*, stand out as one of the finest works of journalism in recent years.

Before the *New Yorker* articles appeared, few scientists or government officials in this country were concerned, or at least willing to express concern publicly, about health hazards from microwaves. With exquisite clarity, Brodeur detailed the potential dangers, ranging from nervous disorders to cataracts to cancer. He showed how the military and industrial establishments, which have long dominated research in this field, for years ignored or suppressed evidence that microwaves might be dangerous and ridiculed the few scientists who attempted to investigate the problem.

What is microwave radiation? Technically, the term nowadays refers to everything on the electromagnetic spectrum below infrared. The television we watch and the radio we hear travels to our sets from distant broadcast towers as microwave radiation. Radar is microwave radiation; so microwaves track airplanes, guide missiles, and trap

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highway speeders. The telephone company relays long-distance calls with microwaves. And microwaves cook food in millions of ovens in restaurants and homes.

Thousands of Americans get daily doses of microwave radiation at jobs near radar installations or broadcast towers. Millions are irradiated by leakage from microwave ovens. And all of us are exposed to microwave radiation from the enormous volume of broadcasting — C.B. to TV — which saturates our environment.

It is hardly surprising that industry and Defense Department officials would deny that microwaves pose a health hazard. Admission of a danger could jeopardize huge segments of our defense network and pose serious problems for our broadcasting systems, the microwave oven industry, and other commercial enterprises. But, as Brodeur pointed out, while most American scientists saw no harm in microwaves, their counterparts in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries published volumes of articles demonstrating a variety of hazards. As a result of this work, the maximum amount of microwave radiation to which a Soviet citizen can be exposed is one thousand times less than what is permitted for Americans.

The contrasting East-West views of the microwave danger became a problem for the U.S. government when it was revealed that for years the Russians had been bombarding the American embassy in Moscow with microwave radiation. (The reason for the bombardment has never been adequately explained.) The government was caught in a bind. If the State Department complained too vehemently, it would be admitting that exposure to microwaves was dangerous. It responded with evasion and lies. (In his book, Brodeur reproduces the cable which then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger sent to top officials at the Moscow embassy shortly after the *New Yorker* articles appeared. Kissinger offered step-by-step guidance for evading questions that the press and embassy employees might raise as a result of reading the articles.) To this day, the government continues to deny that there is a problem at the Moscow embassy, even though several staff members have developed mysterious blood ailments and other illnesses.

In his articles, Brodeur opened up and explored an important subject that had been largely ignored by the press. There were a few exceptions, and Brodeur gives them credit. Jack Anderson and Les Whitten wrote several columns about various aspects of the microwave problem. Barton Reppert, an Associated Press reporter, did a splendid job of digging out the details of the Moscow embassy story. But Brodeur's articles offered the first comprehensive survey of the problem.

Near the close of *The Zapping of America*, Brodeur observes: "A year or so ago, one would have had a hard time finding anyone who believed that microwave radiation might turn out to have potent biological effects similar to those associated with X-rays and other ionizing radiation. Today, there is considerably more concern about the matter." Perhaps out of modesty, Brodeur does not add that this change of attitude began with the publication of his articles.

For one thing, those pieces prompted other journalists to explore the microwave problem. I did a feature piece for *NBC Nightly News* on microwaves, CBS's *60 Minutes* carried a segment on them, and several newspapers across the country printed articles on the subject. I relied heavily on Brodeur's work for my spot, as I suspect the others did, too.

Also, the *New Yorker* articles forced government agencies outside the Defense Department to move finally to investigate the health effects of microwaves. At the Environmental Protection Agency's laboratories in North Carolina, scientists are exposing animals to levels of radiation humans might encounter. Already, the scientists have discovered birth defects and other problems in the animals. Brodeur can take credit that this work is now open to public scrutiny.

Unfortunately, the portions of *The Zapping of America* that did not originally appear in the *New Yorker* are, for the most part, poorly organized and badly written. And much of the careful reasoning that Brodeur employed in the articles evaporates as he presents new information.

Brodeur is convinced, for example, that America is developing a new weapons system that could disrupt the guidance systems of Soviet missiles with powerful bursts of microwave radiation. The experiments necessary to develop this weapon, Brodeur contends, pose a threat to Americans. All this may be true, but Brodeur's evidence is thin.

Brodeur then goes on to accuse a number of journalists, whom he names, of unwitting complicity in a Pentagon scheme to conceal the existence of the alleged new microwave weapon. For this charge, Brodeur produces more speculation than evidence.

But here's how he says it worked: starting in the summer of 1976, there were several leaked reports and official denials that the Soviets were developing a charged-particle beam weapon — different from the microwave weapon — that could destroy our missiles. These "phony alarms and phony denials," Brodeur flatly asserts, were designed "not only to drum up public apprehension — and, therefore, congressional support — for a directed-energy weapons program that had been in full bloom since the early 1970s, but also to fool the Russians about the true nature of this program." The true nature of this program, we are told, is that it is "a powerful microwave pulse." How does Brodeur, alone among science reporters, know this? Because it "seems far more likely," since the microwave pulse provides "a far more efficient directed-energy weapon than a charged-particle beam, which can only be propagated through the atmosphere with great difficulty." In short, Brodeur is speculating — and making a number of assumptions, among others, that the Pentagon will invariably choose the most effective weapon system available. His assertion, then, that "Department of Defense officials . . . strummed the news media as if [they] were a guitar" is merely one more speculation.

Such accusations and jumps of logic sound more like a zealot promoting a pet conspiracy theory than a reporter as re-

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sponsible as Brodeur has proved himself to be.

The topic of the possible hazards from microwave radiation is a crucial one. To explore it, one should read Brodeur's *New Yorker* articles, not *The Zapping of America*.

ROBERT BAZELL

Robert Bazell is a correspondent for NBC News who specializes in science and medical reporting.

Which South are you in?

The Innocence of Joan Little: A Southern Mystery
by James Reston, Jr. Times Books. 340 pp. $12.50

James Reston, Jr. argues that in the sensational Joan Little case "manipulation of the national press was possible only because the national press brought to North Carolina the nostalgic, fixed view of an Old South of helpless black victims and gross, ignorant, white law enforcement. This was the sixties revisited, and it brought out of the closet a lot of those dusty trappings. The Joan Little defense played this theme to a fare-thee-well, and it was lapped up by the press and the nation."

Who brought what from where, and who was had by whom in reporting the Joan Little murder trial are indeed interesting questions, although the answers are not quite so simple as the author of this first book-length account of the affair would have it.

In August of 1974, the half-nude body of white jailer Clarence Alligood was found in a cell of the county jail in Washington, North Carolina, on the bunk of Joan Little, a twenty-one-year-old black woman who was the jail's only prisoner. Alligood had been stabbed to death, apparently with the ice pick that was found in his hand. Joan Little was gone. A week later she gave herself up, claiming that she had killed Alligood in self-defense during a sexual assault. She was accused of first-degree murder, and after a trial accompanied by a media circus whose ringmaster was Jerry Paul, the chief defense counsel, she was acquitted, in August of 1975.

Reston, a novelist and lecturer in creative writing at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, covered the proceedings for *Newsday* and for TVN, the short-lived television network. His book is presented as an oral history of the case, in the style of the Japanese film *Rashomon*. It is composed of fourteen extended interviews with various principals in the case, presented at length and largely uncritically in separate monologues.

The author's commentaries, which frame the monologues, contain a number of factual errors. John Wilkinson, one of the prosecuting attorneys, told me that he counted sixteen mistakes in his chapter alone (not in the quotations, which were taped) — including his age, the make and color of his car, and the destination of a ride that he and Reston took together.

Herbert Leon MacDonell (whose name Reston misspells as Hubert MacDonnell), a forensic investigator whose key testimony for the defense receives six pages of disparaging remarks in the book, Reston refers to as "one of the most notorious professional witnesses in America." In fact, MacDonell's expertise was so widely respected that the prosecuting attorneys and the judge were vocally deferential, and a half dozen technicians from North Carolina's state criminal laboratory took time off from work to listen to his testimony.

But the problem with this book is more in its structure and the attitude of the author than with the errors of fact. Confessing himself to be undecided as to whether the killing in the basement cell of the Beaufort County courthouse was an innocent black woman's act of self-defense against the armed sexual assault by her lecherous white jailer, or the premeditated murder of a harmless old man standing in the way of a jailbreak, Reston offers the contradictory and necessarily self-serving opinions of those involved in the case. Of all those interviewed, I found only one — defense psychologist Courtney Mullin — to be wholly credible, and two others — prosecutors William Griffin and John Wilkinson — to be credible in the main. (Judge Henry McKinnon was entirely believable, although his appearance in the book is baffling, since he presided only over the pre-trial stage of the case.) Admitting that for him the character of Joan Little was "indistinct to the end," Reston presents as her chapter a transcript of her trial testimony rather than an interview or any new material.

Even so, the book offers some fascinating insights into how a diligent attorney works to make a case into a cause. Jerry Paul, the inventive chief defense counsel, recalls the nuts and bolts of his campaign to make the country aware of Joan Little after the initial news stories about the case were published in North Carolina papers.

> A newspaper story like that starts you, but of course it does not make a national case, and in September I began to work with the underground press. Now the underground press will print. You've got to give them the whole story. You've almost got to write it for them. But they will print.

To keep the print reporters — state and national — interested in the case, Paul says he used the device of "filing appeals and motions by the pound and attaching information to them as exhibits that I wanted to make public. . . . We attached the autopsy report to a motion that had nothing to do with the report, and then called a press conference. This was the only way the autopsy report could be made part of the public record." (Paul fails to mention that he also *gave* copies of the report to any journalist who requested one.)

With the state, underground, and national print reporters secure in his hip pocket, Paul then went on to the broadcast media, calling on a friend in Washington whom he had helped to prepare a documentary on an unrelated subject for a national television network.

> I called her up, told her I had this case, and asked her how I could get some national publicity for it. We talked about it some, and she told me to make a trip up there and promised to set me up with some women's groups. . . . They put us on the radio, made tapes of what we said, and sent them all over the country. A TV station got interested, and sent a woman down to do an interview with Joan. . . . . I went back up several weeks

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later and [she] told me, "You've got the biggest case in town." We sold the Joan Little case in Washington, D.C.

It was not only the defense that played games with the press. Sheriff Red Davis, a shrewd old bird who protests too much about being maligned in the media, is asked why he neglected to mention to local reporters that the jailer's body had been discovered locked in Joan Little's cell, naked from the waist down with semen stains along the dead man's thigh.

I didn't feel too bad about that. Ashley Futrell, the editor, is a friend of mine, and I told him three or four days later how the body was found. But if a man wants to stick his neck out without knowing all the facts, it's his own damn problem.

Twice in the interview with Sheriff Davis, incidentally, Reston allows him to get away with more than he should. First, Davis excuses the conduct of a certain police official in the course of the investigation by saying that he was ill. Neither the sheriff nor Reston mentions that the illness was alcoholism. Later, Davis repeats a favorite statement regarding his own lack of racism by claiming that when he last ran for reelection he received ninety percent of the black vote." When he used that line on me, I asked whether the figure applied to the democratic primary or to the general election — since there are few Republicans in the county. With a little less bluster, he said it was the latter.

Defense attorney Jerry Paul won the case, but the media monster he claims to have created may have brought about his own downfall. In another self-serving post-acquittal interview — with Wayne King, a Hickory, North Carolina, native who covered the trial for *The New York Times* — Paul waxed eloquent about how easily the media had been had and how easy it is to buy justice in the South. His remarks subsequently formed the basis for disbarment proceedings now pending against Paul, who currently practices law without the three partners he had when the Joan Little case began.

Reston's view that the press exploited outdated assumptions about Southern justice is at least brought into question by the fact that well over two-thirds of the journalists who covered the Joan Little trial, state and national, print and broadcast, were residents or natives of North Carolina. Fully 80 percent were from the South, and while a good number of them got burned once or twice by the fairy tales of Jerry Paul and Sheriff Davis, the story they told was the story they found. And there is no mystery about that.

MARK PINSKY

Mark Pinsky, a free-lance journalist based in Durham, North Carolina, covered the Joan Little trial for Reuters and Westinghouse (Group W) radio. His "Reflections on Joan Little" appeared in the March/April 1976 Review.

A view from the top

On Press
by Tom Wicker. The Viking Press. 288 pp. $10

Tom Wicker writes in *On Press*: "The overwhelming conclusion I have drawn from my life in journalism — nearly thirty years so far, from the *Sandhill Citizen* to *The New York Times* — is that the American press, powerful as it unquestionably is and protected though it may be by the Constitution and the laws, is not often 'robust and uninhibited.' " In contrast with colleagues who regard their adversary position as a last line of defense for the people or mistake the modest achievements of gadflies and muckrakers as grand and representative, Wicker contends that American press coverage suffers from too frequently choosing price over principle.

Wicker's writing is an unexpected mix of memoir and manifesto that challenges his profession to meet a higher standard of skepticism. It includes a charming confession about his failure as a sportswriter and double-edged reminiscences about his reporting on presidents and pretenders from Eisenhower through Carter. Siding with Carlyle about responsibilities of the press as a "fourth estate," Wicker imbues with new irony a famous phrase of James Madison: "A popular Government, without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both."

On Press provides an historical gloss on the past few decades through the eyes of a newspaper reporter. Wicker observes the eclipse of objective journalism in the "age of disclosure" and the substitution of image for party label of American politicians. He credits a shift from cooperation to chariness in press treatment of the Vietnam War to the impact of television and suggests how that change in tone spread through other reporting. He marks the replacement as heroes of foreign correspondents by investigative reporters, with independent columnists falling a dignified distance behind.

As a popular primer, *On Press* is entertaining and educational. It should be welcome to readers who haven't understood why Woodward and Bernstein's exploits, for example, shook the cautious, patterned world of journalism as well as the government and, also, to readers of *The New York Times* who did not fathom the changes in Wicker's attitudes during the past decade that led to his column's challenges to social policy.

How does *On Press* disappoint? At the core of Wicker's chapters are troublesome conflicts of logic, First Amendment theory, and social values that he doesn't always acknowledge or resolve successfully. Consider his central theme. In "Who Elected the Press?" Wicker argues that we need not worry about its excesses, because the press generally operates under "severe limitations." Competition and "dailiness" (the pressure to put out newspapers daily, publishing stories when they break — what James Reston called "catching history on the wing") keep newspapers from presenting independent and intellectually coherent views, let alone coloring news to suit their fancies. The press is a free-enterprise institution, part of the Establishment, and, as such, is governed by the "First Law of Journalism: . . . a newspaper inevitably reflects the character of its community."

On its face, the argument is attractive, if conventional. Yet Wicker's conclu-

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sion is startling. He contends that the Establishment cast of the press limits its force. This is an odd sidestep for an observer who has experienced the increasing power of the media through the symbiosis of politics and the press. Wicker says that it is hard to make a case for the "press as a super-power" when "important institutions and processes find the American press mostly indifferent to their functioning." He means that the press misuses its authority by failures of omission — a heinous failing to a believer, like Wicker, in the press's pivotal role in the processes of liberal democracy.

On the way to this conclusion, Wicker offers some idiosyncratic interpretations, for example, of the relationship between economic and editorial control of newspapers. On one hand, he asserts that although 60 percent of all dailies, commanding 71 percent of circulation, are controlled by chains, "chain formation and expansion seems mostly a financial rather than a journalistic or political operation." On the other, he recognizes that 97.5 percent of dailies have no in-town competition! What effect must such monopoly have on local political debate? And hasn't First Amendment theory spawned proposals like right-of-reply laws on how to counter-balance an acknowledged single opinion source problem? Wicker does not answer, or even raise, such questions.

In his final chapters, Wicker builds a commendable case about the dangers of the centralized power of government and, in a neat series of illustrations, demonstrates how the screen of "national security" has often been thrown up against press inquiry to shield official bumbling and lies. Wicker echoes the opening words of the Free Press Clause of the Massachusetts Constitution, drafted by John Adams: "The liberty of the press is essential to the security of the state." That sentence alone does much to expose the weakness of government arguments to the contrary.

I think Wicker carries his national security analysis too far, by applying a parallel argument to American libel and privacy law. Predicting a "chilling effect," should libel and privacy law be liberalized to allow increasing judicial supervision of press coverage, Wicker gathers under one rubric issues of law and social policy that are related, but involve different concerns. He notes the clash between press and privacy claims but sees no systematic resolution of them. He underscores the constitutional mandate for press freedom but refuses to accept that the Constitution may require protection of privacy as well. Although sensitive to state encroachments on individual liberty and, in areas like national security, supporting the province of the press to protest them, Wicker doesn't grant that invasions of privacy by the press can be similarly intrusive on individual liberty.

Wicker would prefer that the press police itself, adhering to standards of responsibility that are professionally rather than judicially defined. His fear of constraints on colleagues' independence causes him to overlook an implication of the press's informative function, when it acts as an extraordinary check on government representatives: each of the four branches checks the other. Remembering this, he might admit that, if in checking executive action, the judiciary can be of service to the press and body politic by removing the cloak of national security from facts that inform popular choices, the judiciary can also play a legitimate part in defining the bounds between newsworthy and private facts.

The general good sense of *On Press* justifies close criticism of it, although its polished perceptions sometimes give way to folksy rambling. Besides drawing lessons from a first-rank career in journalism, Wicker calls for commitment to methods outside his own experience. In particular, he joins a small chorus in favor of thoughtful, if tedious, reporting on places and policies where nothing "happens" and much is at stake, like administrative agencies, corporations, and financial organizations. Wicker also writes with respectable candor about the distribution of power among men and institutions and its effect on public comment and criticism, as well as on social life. He grants that his influential role as a *Times* columnist colors his vision. Perhaps it is in keeping with his high station for him to paint a portrait of prevailing mediocrity at a time when the press is just recovering from its recent spasm of self-satisfaction. He nonetheless deserves credit for the effort.

LINCOLN CAPLAN

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Movie news

The March of Time, 1935-1951
by Raymond Fielding. Oxford University Press. 359 pp. $14.95

I remember a particular evening in the mid-1950s, during my college days, when I took a date to the movies in New York City. I forget the movie, and — alas — even the name of the girl. But I still remember vividly the short that was shown that night: the 1935 *March of Time* newsreel sequence on Huey Long. And I also remember the audience's enthusiastic applause for the short — in part because in those movie-going days applause for the "selected short subject" was most unusual. In its day, the *March of Time* had enormous impact.

Like the majority of *March of Time* sequences (especially the issues released from the series' inception in 1935 to their commercial heyday in the early 1940s) the Huey Long subject had drive, verve, and style. In a few minutes it encapsulated a complex individual and touched on various aspects of Long's career — ranging from his dictatorial rule in Louisiana to his being punched out in the men's room of a posh Long Island country club in 1934 by someone who did not appreciate Long's inability (or lack of patience) to wait until a urinal was free.

When I saw Long on screen being knocked down, my initial reaction was amazement. How was it possible for a camera crew to be there at that moment? It didn't take me long to realize that this (and many other such unique situations) were made possible through the magic of "reenactment." And as Professor Fielding in this splendid book explains

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in fascinating detail, reenactment played a most significant role in the production of the *March of Time*. For the scene at the urinal a Long look-alike was used; for a 1936 issue dealing with Father Divine, he was more than willing to cooperate in the restaging of certain incidents. And for the 1946 issue dealing with "Atomic Power," various scientists, including Einstein, Lawrence, and I. Rabi (realizing the impact of the series), consented to recreate their roles; indeed, a scene with James Conant and Vannevar Bush, supposedly stretched out on the sands of New Mexico, was actually filmed in a Boston garage.

This emphasis on reenactment stems from a variety of causes, according to Fielding. First of all, in its early years the *March of Time* lacked a library of stock footage, so necessary to this kind of compilation film. But, more important, Louis de Rochemont, the driving force behind the *March of Time*, firmly believed that "re-enactments were frequently sharper and more detailed than the 'real' thing."

Fielding has gone into considerable detail on the reenactments, and on every other aspect of the production *and* distribution of the *March of Time*. The book not only includes lengthy excerpts from shooting scripts but also reproduces in note form some of the music used. He has dealt at length with the people involved as well as their feelings about the series — then and now. His picture is a complete one, warts and all. Thus Fielding perceptively discusses Rochemont's dynamism and generosity — and his bullying insensitivity. The book deals intelligently with Time, Inc.'s support of the *March of Time*, as well as Henry Robinson Luce's indifference to it.

It is obvious that this book is based on Fielding's 1956 U.C.L.A. master's essay — a work that has been very heavily drawn on by other authors during the past two decades. But Fielding has updated and significantly expanded his essay, especially through intelligent use of the massive amount of *March of Time* material deposited at the National Archives and through stunningly good use of interviews with seventeen veterans of the series, including Rochemont — a reclusive and not easily approachable person these days.

The emphasis of the book is on the *March of Time* in the six years prior to America's entry into World War II, the years when, under Rochemont's toughminded leadership, the *March of Time* "had an electrifying effect on other film makers, infusing the documentary movement with new vitality, and popularizing the 'idea film' for theatrical audiences." Fielding is, in my opinion, correct in his assumption that once Rochemont moved on to other ventures the *March of Time* lost the spark that had made it glow with life. After the war the series gradually declined until finally in 1951 it "flickered out."

The *March of Time* "was an amalgam of many features and stylistic touches — fresh in their day, unique in their combination, and imitated in the years that followed." It was extraordinarily innovative in editing and camera techniques, and even more so in its willingness to take a strong editorial stance, as for example in its anti-Fascist, anti-Nazi attitudes. Fielding is to be commended for noting all these aspects of the *March of Time*, and in dealing with them objectively rather than in terms of hagiography.

I would take issue, however, with some of the parenthetical comments Fielding makes in placing the *March of Time* in the context of film history and in defending the series against some of its more simpleminded critics then and now. It does not seem to me, for instance, that the "docu-dramas" on network television such as *The Missiles of October* are, as Fielding claims, in the *March of Time* tradition. The newsreels were presented as news (and for that very reason were taken to task by contemporary journalists). The docu-dramas for all their claims of historical authenticity admit to being reenactments, which the *March of Time* did not.

A more interesting comparison could have been drawn between the *March of Time* and television attempts such as the *World at War*, Thames Television's highly acclaimed and commercially successful multi-episode history of World War II. This British-made series — which has had extensive showings in the United States — shunned any kind of reenactment and went to great lengths to use only authentic footage. Thus, when a viewer sees German paratroopers landing on Crete in 1941, this footage was taken at that time at that place, and is not a splicing together of footage of German paratroop maneuvers with footage of other battle scenes. *The World at War*, and other series like it, moreover, are able to escape the "high density narration" that characterized the *March of Time*. Although contemporary television relies all too often on a "talking head shot" — something that Rochemont abhorred and avoided — there is also much more emphasis today on the visual image and in something like the *World at War* it is clear that enormous efforts were made to avoid the *March of Time*'s ex cathedra pronouncements by a narrator.

Fielding has written a model monograph. This book is well-researched, carefully thought out, intelligently presented. The illustrations complement the text in the best possible way. Moreover, unlike many other such scholarly works,

A 1935 March of Time *used an office boy to play Haile Selassie of Ethiopia*

Time, Inc

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this one has the advantage of being well-written; Fielding's style is informal and attractive. His work is that rarest of combinations: a knowledgeable discussion of a complex subject and a joy to read.

DANIEL J. LEAB

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Show news

The Newscasters: The News Business as Show Business
by Ron Powers. St. Martin's Press. 243 pp. $8.95

In *The Newscasters,* Ron Powers has actually written two books. One of them is an indictment of the proprietors of local television newscasts on a charge of pandering to lowbrow tastes. The other, in the form of a group of interviews with people in local and network news, is a loose survey of the state of the art, with room left for readers to draw their own conclusions. The second book is safer and sounder than the first, but both are interesting.

Powers's indictment can be summed up quickly: for the sake of higher ratings and greater profits, TV executives over the last ten years steadily have debased their local newscasts. They've done this by turning to some of the principles of marketing, in order to try to learn what viewers *want* to see. To do this, and to change newscasts accordingly, is to push the news in the direction of show business, since people are bound to say that what they want is more entertainment in their news.

Clearly, the TV industry does drive hard for higher local ratings and the larger profits they bring. Clearly, too, it has created a demand for marketing consultants with local news portfolios — Frank Magid & Associates, McHugh & Hoffman, Telcom, and others — and these firms do make surveys of the thoughts and feelings, the likes and dislikes, of actual and prospective viewers. Further, many newscasts do indeed display more and more silliness and japery. (Powers offers a catalogue of this garbage.) Finally, if the audience somehow gets a voice in shaping the form and contents of news shows, then at least some of the values it will ask for are likely to fall outside of the professional ethos of American journalism. So, the charge seems plausible, until you take a closer look at it.

For one thing, if local news has been debased, then there must have been a higher and better period for it, a golden age of television news, located ten or more years back in time. Yet, as evidence in *The Newscasters* shows, there never was such a time. Fifteen to twenty years ago, local news shows were backed by token commitments. Instead of reporters, these shows featured old radio men, who, if they ever left the studio to cover a story, had to share the station's single camera crew. Five to fifteen minutes long, local newscasts barely took enough time to cover a few headlines, two or three filmed feeds, the ball scores, and the temperatures for today and tomorrow. Moreover, as Robert Lemon, formerly an NBC manager in Chicago, tells Powers:

> "Throughout the fifties, the local news on TV was a throwaway. Stations had literally no control over any of their programs, news included. Programs were sponsor-created in those days. In 80 to 90 percent of the major markets, one sponsor owned the newscast entirely and called all the shots. I mean all. Who was the anchorman, what was the appearance of the show — and content. Especially content."

Further, Powers's account of how marketing advice has changed the local news is muddled, evidently for two reasons. For one, because many of the TV people who get the advice apparently don't understand it, they don't know how to use it. They mistake its means for ends and so turn the tools of marketing into a set of absolute values. Then, too, Powers doesn't seem to know what marketing is or what it does. He equates it almost entirely with market research. (Of course, there's far more to it than just the research: TV news borrows on the full range of marketing's tools and habits of mind and so its influence is even greater than Powers knows.) He then goes on to misunderstand the nature of market research. For Powers, market research in TV news offers the viewers a blank slate and invites them to fill in whatever picture of the news they would care to supply. With this straw portrait of research in hand, Powers can then tear it down:

> The best American journalism has traditionally proceeded from the assumption that it is mining areas that the public *did not know even existed.* [His italics.] How could any motivational survey, no matter how perfectly worded, yield the information — in advance — that Americans wanted to read the Pentagon Papers? Or that Americans wanted to know about the secret Constitutional assaults of the Nixon administration? Or about illegal massacres in Vietnam, or faulty automobile-safety standards, or the rise of multinational corporations, or CIA involvement in Chile, or the Black Sox scandal, or Boss Tweed, or Teapot Dome?

Yet, this isn't how market research works. Virtually any market survey is based on a given, something to guide inquiry and channel the answers. If the survey is done for a political campaign, then the fixed point may be the candidate: the candidate's record, character, ethnic background, and so forth. So, too, for market surveys in local TV news. An element, or set of elements in the newscast, serves as the given — the weather segment, say, or the opening trailer, trivial as these elements might be. Then, the results of surveys can be used to get a picture of how people view the given and what kinds of evidence would alter their view.

With the picture in hand, the marketers can try to make some adjustments accordingly. This done, the marketers should then get ready for a fresh set of surveys, in order to see if the adjustments are making a difference and, if so, if the difference is the desired one. Yet, these rounds of trial-and-error are really only tools, and different interests can put them to very different purposes. They can aim a newscast straight at an audience's sweet tooth, or they can suggest how to coat some of the bitter elements in a newscast, or they can gauge an audience's tolerance for bitter elements, pure and uncut. Thus, one set of surveys can defend excellence and a second set can advance schlock.

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A third objection. The local TV news business has crossed the line into show business, Powers is convinced, but he never draws the line, never offers a definition of what he means by show business and how much of it can enter a newscast (if any) without poisoning it altogether. He does offer cases and many of the cases are extreme enough to prove his point — even if they don't belong properly to show business, neither do they belong to journalism.

Finally, Powers is suspicious of the audiences for local news and seems to mistrust their judgment, at least as it's embodied in the ratings and in market surveys. To ask them what they'd like to see more or less of, he is convinced, is to open the newsroom door to the crowd's taste for bread and circuses. On this score, he quotes the president of CBS News, Richard Salant: " 'I take a very flat elitist position. Our job is to give people not what they want, but what we decide they ought to have. That depends on our accumulated news judgment of what they need.' " Interestingly enough, though, this polarity — of wants *versus* needs, of audience values *versus* professional values — isn't supported by the evidence in *The Newscasters*. American viewers do know there's a difference between news and entertainment. They aren't purists and they can be gentled into gradually changing their implicit notion of what news is — but there are limits to the compromises they'll make and the suggestions they'll take. Reflecting on some market studies he'd seen, an anchorman for the CBS station in Chicago told Powers, apparently without irony: " 'I was surprised that people reacted to content and information. Believe it or not, they really watched the news to get the news.' "

In the second book in *The Newscasters*, Powers makes an easy canvass of eight people in the television news business and lets them generally speak for themselves. He offers a profile of Barbara Walters, a confessional encounter with an anonymous station manager, and straightforward interviews with Frank Magid, Philip McHugh of McHugh & Hoffman, Albert Primo, Geraldo Rivera, Stephanie Edwards, an early casualty of an ABC talk show called *A.M. America*, and the weatherman for the show's successor, *Good Morning, America*, John Coleman of the ABC station in Chicago. Their collective portrait of the local TV news business (and, though to a small degree, the network news business) seems to suggest several themes.

For one, the audiences for local TV newscasts tend to be disloyal, at least in comparison to the audiences for daily newspapers. A newspaper enjoys a steady base of subscribers, people who literally sign a written contract to support the paper for three or six or twelve or more months at a time. Thus, subscription figures for newspapers tend to change slowly. Space rates are fixed in price and prices tend to be stable over months and even years. In TV news, though, viewer loyalties can literally shift in a minute. Night by night, ratings can rise and fall by 20 percent. Advertisers can get and use the overnight ratings as a basis for altering their time purchases. The price of TV time can rise and fall by 50 percent within a week, and the manner of its sale —within a fixed range, local TV time is auctioned off — reflects this fluidity. As a result, the pace of developments in local TV news is far faster, the need for quick data and quick changes is far greater. Naturally, the people who try to survive in these conditions hope to build some regularities into the chaos. Market surveys and marketing advice offer (or seem to offer) a pole star. Moreover, their evidence gives the station's salesmen an added pool of selling points, scraps of information they can use to enhance high ratings or cushion the shock of low ratings.

Further, the proprietors of local TV news evidently are a gullible lot. Local television news is young and its body of experience is slight. History is something it sheds, not something it honors and looks to for guidance. The TV newsroom, despite the rhetoric of its managers, has bred few of its own standards, norms, or folkways. Thus, local TV news lacks its own traditions, tailored to its own circumstances, its distinctive strengths and weaknesses. As a result, it's open to all kinds of analogies: treat the newscast *as if* it were a magazine, *as if* it were a listing service for the headlines, *as if* it were a talk show, *as if* it were a film essay — and so on. Eventually, TV newscasts will be shaped *as if* they were TV newscasts. Until then, local executives will continue to be easy marks for anybody with a pool of parallels to sell.

Finally, local television news occupies an interesting place in the American political culture. For the last few years, the polarity of insiders versus outsiders has taken on greater force in the marketplace for politics, the media, and the consumer economy. In this imagery, government and large corporations tend to be viewed as insiders. Ordinary people, or a rhetorical equivalent to this phrase, are the outsiders. And local TV news holds virtually a unique place within this cultural landscape. On paper, it's an insider. It blends elements of government — its quasi-public status as a regulated industry — and the corporation, since it's put on the air by a set of large and exceedingly profitable corporations and serves at the same time as the channel for the appeals of hundreds of other corporations. At the same time, though, local TV news comes into our living rooms for two or more hours a day and consequently enjoys an unusual opportunity to downplay its insider's role. As lodged as it might be on the inside, it can still try to put itself on the outside — on *our* side.

Consequently, the rise of marketing strategies in local TV news should be seen as more than an attempt to turn news into show biz, for it seems as well to involve a political strategy. The local TV newscast may be evolving into a sophisticated form of political advertising, aimed at establishing the legitimacy of the television industry as the people's partisan. Surely in much of what has happened to local television during the last decade there are elements not only of show business, but of industrial propaganda as well.

RALPH WHITEHEAD, JR.

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Dean D Dixon, Mobile Press Register

Quarreling newlyweds in Alabama

Stanley Forman, *The Boston Herald American*

Racial strife in Boston

Rescue in the Rockies

Bill Wunsch, *The Denver Post*

Picks of '76

The Best of Photojournalism 2
National Press Photographers Association, University of Missouri School of Journalism, Newsweek Books. 256 pp. $16.95 cloth; $9.95 paper

Newspaper photographs by nature are poorly reproduced, impermanent, and often limited in distribution. Hence there is a legitimate need for an annual book well printed and nationally distributed to preserve the best examples of each year. *The Best of Photojournalism 2,* which is assembled from the entries to the 34th Annual Pictures of the Year Competition, meets that need in part, but falls short of the scope implied by the title.

The book is devoted to photographs of 1976, which on the evidence was a good year for traditional photojournalism. The first section, covering national news, succeeds fairly well in representing the major events of the year, but the second section, depicting international news, is narrowly focused on the world's trouble spots. The third section, on people, includes the famous (Bing Crosby straphanging in a New York subway) and the unknown (a terminal cancer victim, small and vulnerable against an expanse of wall relieved only by a calendar over her head). Of some sixty individuals pictured, only ten are women; blacks are better represented with fourteen. In the section devoted to features, one-third of the stories concern violent events, so it is appropriate that one of the sequences — from accident scene to operating room — is a model of its kind. The final section, on sports, tends toward the predictable.

The limits of the book are the limits of the competition itself, which seems to draw a disproportionate number of entries from smaller papers. *The New York Times* and *The Boston Globe* are not represented at all, and U.P.I. is represented by only one photo. In principle, magazines are invited to participate in the competition on equal footing with newspapers, but in practice the overwhelming emphasis has been on newspapers. This is unfortunate because magazines generally practice a more sophisticated form of photojournalism than do newspapers. *C.v.R.*

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Eddie Adams, The Associated Press

Gymnasts Olga Korbut (right) and Nadia Comaneci

Politician-dodging in Tennessee

Nancy Warnecke, Nashville *Tennessean*

Don Black, Binghamton *Press & Sun-Bulletin*

Nelson Rockefeller reacts to jeering

Jim McTaggart, *The Minneapolis Star*

Conductor Sarah Caldwell rehearsing

Worker in a Florida tobacco warehouse

Bryan Grigsby, *Gainesville Sun*

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The Ultimate Threat To Academic Freedom

Leon Knight is a college teacher, an officer of the Minnesota Democratic Party and an unabashed liberal. He is also opposed to compulsory unionism—which places him on the enemies list of the National Education Association.

In 1968-69, Knight served as president of the faculty association at North Hennepin Community College in suburban Minneapolis. He fully supports the right of everyone to join and participate in labor unions. But he draws the line at compulsory affiliation.

"The big difference," he says, "between the faculty association I headed up and the union there now is the issue of voluntary versus compulsory."

After the faculty association became an affiliate of the militant NEA, the association backed legislation requiring compulsory union fees for public employees. Once passed, it was decided all faculty members would have to pay a fee to keep their jobs. Knight's liberal philosophy wouldn't allow him to go along.

"The idea of academic freedom," he explains, "the idea of the dissident person, the idea of a person who marches to a different drum, is very precious. And yet unionism is coming in and saying I must march to that drum."

"If they can determine," he stresses, "not what I teach in the classroom, but whether I teach at all, that is the ultimate threat to academic freedom."

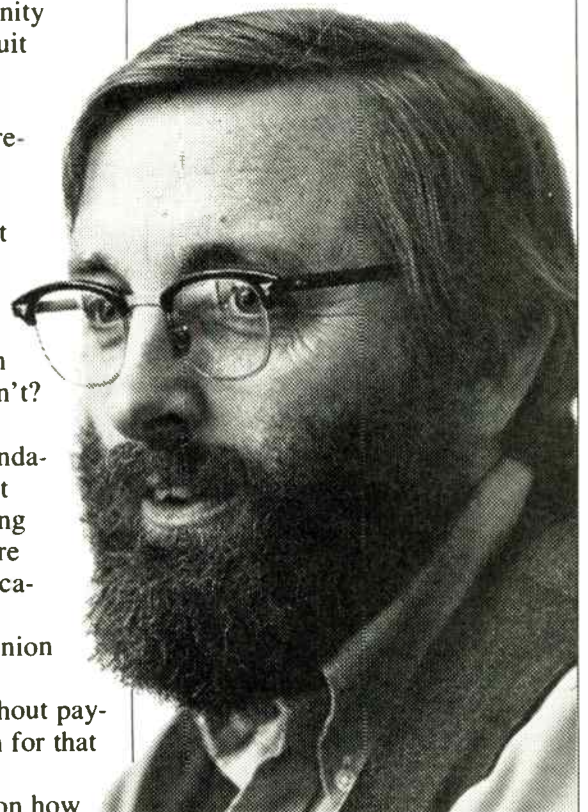
Leon Knight went to court to protect his Constitutional rights. With the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, he and 19 other members of the Minnesota Community College system brought suit against the NEA and its local affiliates. The suit challenges the forced representation and compulsory fee provisions of Minnesota's Public Employment Labor Relations Act.

Leon Knight was fortunate. He found help. But how many other Leon Knights in America haven't?

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can. It is currently assisting individual workers in more than 75 cases involving academic freedom, political freedom, freedom from union violence, and the right to work for government without paying a private organization for that privilege.

For more information on how you can help American educators like Leon Knight write:

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation
Suite 600
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Fairfax, Va. 22038



World Radio History

Soviet dissidents and the American press: a reply

by ANDREI AMALRIK

Peter Osnos has raised an important problem in his article ["Soviet Dissidents and the American Press," CJR, November/December], and I thought it would be interesting to look at this problem not only from the point of view of an American journalist, but also from that of a Soviet dissident.

Roughly, Osnos sets forth two propositions: first, that the dissidents owe their prominence and influence to the Western mass media, which exaggerate their importance, and, second, that Western correspondents because of their associations with dissidents paint a distorted and simplified picture of Soviet life. I will try to show that both of these propositions are scarcely accurate.

Mass media undoubtedly make a person and a movement prominent, and prominence in turn increases the chances for influence. If journalists were to agree among themselves not to write or say a word about President Carter, for instance, then despite all levers of influence at his command or the most dramatic gestures, he would turn into something of a nonexistent figure. However, Mr. Carter's position and actions are important not because the press writes about them, but, on the contrary, the press writes about them because they are important. No matter how good Mr. Carter's friends might be at *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*, they would not write a word about him were he doing nothing to attract public interest. The same principle applies to anyone anywhere, including dissidents.

However, there is much evidence to show that for a long time the Western press ignored rather than exaggerated instances of dissent in the U.S.S.R. From 1962 to 1965 a number of people were arrested for their political or artistic nonconformity, and although foreign correspondents were aware of these cases, they wrote nothing about them because the arrests of little-known personalities were not considered an event. In particular, my own attempt to give an interview to *Newsweek* led directly to my arrest in 1965, but not a word about my arrest appeared either in *Newsweek* or elsewhere.

Osnos mentions me as an example of a man who "achieved international stature because correspondents of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, who were his friends, wrote admiringly of his bravery." Indeed, I owe a great deal to my friends, the correspondents, but they started writing about me only in connection with my book, *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*, whose success in the West had made me known. Incidentally, in those days the American press wrote not only about my bravery; it also wrote that the book had been written on direct or indirect instructions from the K.G.B. I cite this as an example of how unprepared the Western press was for the appearance of dissidents in the U.S.S.R.

The attention of foreign journalists is focused primarily on a number of leading dissidents who have emerged from within the Soviet establishment, and this produces a tendency to treat the dissident movement as if it were the exclusive province of the intelligentsia, although an analysis of known political arrests in 1969-70, for example, shows that 34 percent of those arrested were workers. And lately the efforts of workers to defend their economic rights have become known after they turned for help to the dissidents and foreign correspondents (David Shipler in *The New York Times*, December 9, 1977).

The interest of journalists in dissidents began in 1966, when the authorities arranged the show trial of Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky and covered it in the press and on radio and television. Only after noticing the great importance Soviet authorities attached to the trial did Western journalists begin writing a great deal about Sinyavsky and Daniel and later about dissidents in general. Had the authorities sentenced the two writers with no noise, Western journalists in Moscow would not have attached any importance to them. It was not at all in the interest of the authorities to advertise Sinyavsky and Daniel, but they understood much sooner and much better than foreign journalists the danger dissent represented to the regime. By the trial they wanted to frighten potential dissidents and at the same time to turn society against them.

As an example of how "a small number of little-known private citizens in the world's most powerful totalitarian state" could influence the West, Osnos cites the Helsinki Group, headed by Yuri Orlov, and adds that "only Western reporters in Moscow could have brought them so prominently to the public eye and then kept them there." Facts do not support that. Western correspondents in Moscow had written little about the activities of the group before the arrests of three of its members, Yuri Orlov, Alexander Ginzburg, and Anatoly Scharansky — or more specifically, before statements appeared on this matter, first by State Department spokesmen and later by President Carter. Only when this matter — totally independent of its coverage by foreign correspondents in Moscow — came to the attention of the American administration, did the American press start to write a great deal about it. The group always had open contact with the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, sending it the group's documents on human rights violations in the U.S.S.R.

Equally debatable in my view is the question raised in Osnos's article of

Andrei Amalrik, a dissident Russian writer, is visiting professor at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. This article was translated by Nikita Moravsky.

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whether the American press over- or underestimates the significance of dissidents in the U.S.S.R. Mr. Osnos said a number of times while he was still in Moscow that the American press should give the dissidents no more space than they actually occupy in Soviet society. If, mathematically, out of a Soviet population of 250 million, not more than 250 dissidents have achieved prominence, then the American press should only give them a millionth of its coverage of the Soviet Union. But if we assume that dissidents are the only indicators of the ferment taking place in the silent Soviet society — as well as one of the society's fermenting agents — then we come to an entirely different conclusion. This is analagous to the question of which is more important to the dough: the flour, of which there is a lot, or the yeast, of which there is little but by means of which the dough rises.

The years-long struggle with the system by lone individuals is perhaps the most dramatic event of internal Soviet life. Not surprisingly the arrest and fate of a "private citizen" like Anatoly Scharansky, for example, evokes much more interest both within the country and abroad than the ouster of Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny, who was forgotten a month later.

I fully agree with Osnos that a sort of symbiotic relationship exists between foreign correspondents and dissidents. But indeed this is a normal relationship between the press and active groups in society. Similarly, any active group in American society tries to attract the press's attention and provides material of interest to it, material which even in exaggerated form always signals this country's real needs and problems.

In addition, as Osnos writes, the dissidents serve as a source of information for foreign correspondents concerning many other aspects of Soviet life and as a connecting bridge to more typical Soviet citizens. For example, although Robert Kaiser and Hedrick Smith devoted one chapter each to dissidents in their recent books about Russia, it is quite clear that without their association with dissidents they could hardly have written most of the other chapters.

Osnos considers that the dissidents provide distorted information, comparable to what would be provided about the United States by its "most disenchanted and persecuted citizens." This comparison is hardly appropriate because of the great differences between American and Soviet sociopolitical situations, between the situations in regard to freedom of information in both countries, and in the different social experiences of American and Soviet dissidents. It seems to me, moreover, that such scientists as Sakharov, Orlov, Turchin, and Shafarevich are trained by their whole work experience to weigh information carefully and to seek a balanced approach to any problem. The dissidents' journal, *The Chronicle of Current Events*, has provided for the last ten years credible information, always sharply separating rumor from fact. There are undoubtedly people among the dissidents who are inclined to overemphasize some facts and underemphasize others or who reason that "who is not with us is against us." However, the dissidents do not claim that their activities should be the only subject for American journalists or their information the only source of information. They only want their information to be taken into account within the overall picture of Soviet life painted by American correspondents so that the correspondents' work would not be reduced to paraphrasing articles from the official Soviet press.

In writing about dissidents Osnos always appears somewhat amazed at how a number of "private citizens," as he calls them, who do not represent any powerful organization comparable to the K.G.B. (or at least *The Washington Post*), nonetheless exert influence. Faith in the supra-individual organization and lack of faith in the power of the individual are, in my opinion, at the base of everything he has written about the Soviet Union.

Finally, Osnos completely disregards in his article the moral aspects of the situation in which a free journalist finds himself in a country where freedom — in particular, freedom of the press — does not exist. Osnos does mention, however, that recognition of a dissident abroad forces authorities to be more careful regarding him, but Osnos mentions this rather as a factor that hinders the journalist in objectively describing Soviet reality. Yet, for the journalist more than for anyone else the words of the Marquis de Custine are relevant; Custine said that in Russia "every foreigner is regarded as a savior by the crowd of the oppressed because he personifies the truth, open expression and freedom for a people deprived of all these blessings. . . . Anyone who does not protest with all his might against such a regime is to some degree its coparticipant and accomplice."

Peter Osnos replies:

Andre Amalrik's summary of my article in his two propositions makes it clear that he misunderstood the purpose of the piece, so I will restate it briefly. Because of our democratic traditions and a deeply held belief in the right of individuals to speak out, American journalists in Moscow find themselves drawn emotionally to Soviet dissidents. Moreover, the activities of dissidents and the repression they suffer appeals to what our sense of news tends to be — comprehensible political conflict as distinct, say, from the complexities of general Soviet economic and social problems. For three years in Moscow, during which I wrote a considerable amount about the dissidents and made close friends among them, I was concerned over whether my treatment of these people reflected their true role in the country. I certainly never said that coverage should be done by any mathematical formula. American reporters — in contrast to Amalrik and other dissidents — have a responsibility to reflect the Soviet Union as it is and not as we wish it to be.

In writing the piece I recognized that I was raising some sensitive and difficult questions because (as I said) "to answer them with anything less than a ringing endorsement of that small group of people who take on the massive Soviet security apparatus and who dare to speak freely in a totalitarian state may imply reservations about them." And that is what Amalrik thinks I was trying to do. He is wrong. To quote again from my article, "The dilemma . . . is not whether to write about dissent — it is obviously a significant story — but how better to place it in a perspective that gives readers a picture of what it means."

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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Dissident views

TO THE REVIEW:

Peter Osnos makes a compelling case in the November/December *Review* for the argument that prominent coverage given to Soviet dissidents by the Western press exaggerates their true importance in this country. He also took pains to explain the subtle interaction of forces that leads Moscow correspondents to pay attention to them.

Unfortunately, the accompanying piece by Fergus M. Bordewich ["The Press Harmonizes on a Presidential Theme"] suggests, simplemindedly, that my newspaper, Osnos's, and the *Los Angeles Times* increased their coverage of dissidents in early 1977 simply because President Carter had got interested in them. Bordewich somehow manages not to mention the actions the Soviet authorities were taking against dissidents here at the time — the subject of most of the news stories he tallies up, and the reason for Carter's interest.

In particular, he accuses me of imagining "facts to fit the framework" of the *Times* coverage of the dissidents, and writing from Bonn last February 20 about "almost daily arrest [*sic*] of Soviet dissidents," when he says "arrests simply were not taking place with such frequency."

It is Bordewich who is imagining to fit his own framework. He completely ignores the major Soviet crackdown on the dissidents — and the major news stories — that had occurred in the previous weeks: the arrest of Aleksandr I. Ginzburg on February 3, the arrest of Mikola Rudenko in Kiev a few days later, the arrest of Yuri Orlov on February 10. I may have been guilty of some slight hyperbole (if the phrase was mine, which I cannot check now from Moscow) but I must protest vigorously this unjustified libel on my journalistic reputation.

CRAIG R. WHITNEY
The New York Times
Moscow

TO THE REVIEW:

Fergus M. Bordewich's attack on the Moscow press corps is unjust and easily refutable by a simple examination of the reporting from here. He accuses us of writing so much about dissidents early this year that our readers during the first four months "could have been forgiven for thinking that not much was happening in the Soviet Union beyond the controversies over the dissidents."

This is a facile untruth. In fact, American correspondents in Moscow during that period produced a remarkable variety of perceptive and illuminating pieces on many facets of Soviet life and politics. This is enough of an achievement in a closed society at any time, but especially so then, when we had some major running stories on our hands.

Since Bordewich uses the rather silly approach of judging a newspaper's coverage by counting articles, let me play his game for a moment. In January through April of 1977, the period he is concerned with, the Moscow bureau of *The New York Times* filed seventy-seven stories, only twenty-two of which, 28 percent, touched on the human-rights question, and most of those were relatively short spot stories. The remaining 72 percent included a number of page-one features and take-outs representing extensive research, often performed under highly adverse conditions, in such areas as consumerism, religion, agriculture, military affairs, cold-weather living, education of the handicapped, desert reclamation, book publishing, theater, energy, contemporary Soviet literature, and ecological problems.

We did a two-part series on the coexistence of Christianity and communism (January 3-4); a page-one piece on the rigors of shopping, with a description of the kinds of children's toys available in Moscow (January 1); a story on consumer price increases (January 5); one on the country's record grain harvest (January 6); another on the inefficiency of Soviet civil defense (January 17); a page-one analysis of Soviet-American relations (February 1); a piece on what it's like living in a part of Siberia where temperatures drop to minus 70 (February 26); a story on training blind and deaf youngsters (February 28); a front-page piece on the fate of an extraordinary private collection of early twentieth-century Russian avant-garde painting (March 15); a piece describing the difficulty of getting books of good literature here and the resulting black market in books (March 16); a short piece on Muscovites crowding into Easter services (April 11); a story on desert irrigation efforts in Ashkhabad (April 14); another analysis of the state of Soviet-American relations (April 20); a piece on the stage production of *The Master and Margarita*, one of the most significant pieces of theater here in years (April 24); a story on Moscow cabbies' attitudes toward doubled taxi fares (April 25); a piece on energy conservation (April 26); a profile of Vladimir Voinovich, a brilliant Soviet novelist (April 27); and many others.

In May and June our report included pieces on Armenian ethnic identity problems within the context of Russian domination. We examined the dynamics of Brezhnev's rising political power within the Soviet hierarchy. We wrote about a play on alcoholism, one of the Soviet Union's great problems. We analyzed Soviet urban planning and did a long take-out on the quality and delivery of Soviet medical care.

Does this really look like "not much was happening" besides dissent?

Of the twenty-two dissident stories we did file in the period of January through June, only two were outright features on the plight of individual activists, stories which could have been written at other times, or not at all. All the rest were unavoidable reports of breaking news — in most cases arrests or other action by Soviet authorities against dissidents, and analyses of what became in those months a point of real tension between the Soviet leadership and the Carter administration.

It may not be to Bordewich's liking, but *The New York Times* feels an obligation to its readers to examine with "intensity," to use his word, any issue that creates conflict between the two superpowers, whether in the field of nuclear-arms deployment, Middle East frictions, or human rights. Six of those twenty-two stories were reports of official Soviet statements and attitudes toward Carter's outspokenness on human rights, which in turn came as a reaction to an upsurge in official action against dissidents here.

I'm glad Bordewich thinks we gave the impression "that repression was becoming increasingly severe," because that was precisely the case. In three months, three times as many prominent dissidents were arrested as in the previous three years. The main part of the superstructure of the democratic "movement," as Bordewich resents its

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being called, was swept away. Now, in fact, Andrei Sakharov is the only one of the versatile and highly talented dissidents left. The community of activists has been broken up by a very skillful K.G.B., using arrests, threats, and pressure to force those who want to stay to leave for the West. The last such campaign was in 1972, though even then it was somewhat less sweeping. This has been an important story, and we would have been irresponsible if we hadn't given it the prominence it deserved. That less is being written now, and less is being said by Carter, reflects the fact that the K.G.B., having done its work, has allowed the arrests and other actions to subside. That means less news, and less that Carter can criticize. Bordewich makes believe that the causal relationship is reversed, that Carter's interest caused the upswing in reporting. Not so. The K.G.B.'s actions caused it.

Bordewich makes another error when he says that Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times* was the only correspondent to "make a serious effort to examine Carter's human-rights policy." Didn't Bordewich read any of the articles he was so busy counting? On February 12 I had a news analysis exactly on this point, presenting both sides of the argument — that Carter's outspokenness may help or hurt the dissidents — and examining the possibility that "direct attacks and ultimatums can provoke a backlash against less visible dissidents and may even harden overall Soviet policies." On March 27 I had another lengthy piece in "The Week in Review," including a detailed discussion of the human-rights conflict and anticipating problems over it during Vance's upcoming Moscow visit.

The one story of mine Bordewich mentions is cited in such a distorted fashion that it raises questions about his motives. It was a short piece that ran January 14 — before Carter's inauguration, by the way — reporting one of those peculiar quirks that often operate in Soviet life, though usually with less disastrous consequences than in this case. A young Jew in Uzbekistan whose internal passport was seized was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for not having it. I made a particular effort here to put the event in some context for the reader, noting that "it seemed at least partly the result of an odd series of bureaucratic foul-ups and parochialisms." But in quoting that sentence, Bordewich didn't say that I "wrote" or "observed" or "noted," which would have been accurate. He said that I "had to concede" it.

This slippery construction, "had to concede," is familiar to all of us who regularly read *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, and other Soviet journals. It is their way of making use of something that we write that is to their liking, and attacking us at the same time. The implication is that we included the facts reluctantly, that we have a set of prejudices and political views — a line, so to speak — that we pursue in our reporting except when the truth is so enormous that we just can't ignore it. I am certainly not suggesting that Bordewich has anything to do with the Soviet press, but the technique in this instance is the same. It is the technique of a propagandist, not a journalist.

Working reporters need criticism, but I think we have a right to expect that our critics will adhere to the same high standards of fairness and faithfulness to the truth that we set for ourselves. Any *New York Times* correspondent who performed with such sloppy research and specious reasoning would quickly find himself on the street looking for another job.

DAVID K. SHIPLER
Moscow bureau chief
The New York Times

Fergus M. Bordewich replies: *The aim of my article was to underscore the way in which the inflated coverage of dissidents significantly distorted the reporting of contemporary politics in the Soviet Union and helped, perhaps unintentionally, to sustain a short-term U.S. government policy. My aim, unlike that of Shipler and Whitney, was not to assault individuals' good faith.*

I repeat my major finding about their paper: of the total 196 news items that The New York Times *published on Soviet political affairs from January through April of 1977, 170 items concerned the dissidents or President Carter's response to their plight.*

My tallies included — as was obvious in the text of the story — not only articles by newspapers' Moscow bureaus, but also op-ed pieces, wire-service reports, briefs, and stories which concerned the dissident issue but originated outside Moscow, mainly in Washington. Counting stories is, indeed, a tedious way to make a point, but the figures are too striking to ignore.

The litany of articles filed from Moscow that Shipler cites to contradict me is simply dwarfed by the plethora of stories on the dissident issue. Readers of The New York Times *(and, to a slightly lesser extent,* The Washington Post *and the* Los Angeles Times*) were treated last year to a flood of stories that consistently depicted the U.S.S.R. as a land where political repression was the salient fact of daily life.*

While nearly all news reports on the dissidents were meticulously accurate in their specifics, some news people — including neither Shipler nor Whitney — apparently were willing to go to great lengths to force the dissidents into the news. As I stated in my article, there is no evidence to suggest that the U.S. government pressed newspapers to structure the news in behalf of the dissidents; still, unrelievedly uncritical reporting of the issue consistently sustained the government's view of the problem.

There was also a disturbing dearth, in influential American newspapers, of critical investigation of Carter's human-rights offensive. Despite Shipler's angry remarks, Robert Toth's op-ed piece in the Los Angeles Times *remains the only really incisive evaluation of the human-rights policy while that policy was underway. Likewise, among the newspapers I surveyed, only the* Los Angeles Times *carried substantial excerpts from Marshall Shulman's trenchant article in* Foreign Affairs *magazine, which carefully analyzed the human-rights policy vis-a-vis the U.S.S.R. That excerpt was the only newspaper story I found between January and April that forthrightly criticized Carter's policy. (Shipler included a sentence or two of the professor's remarks at the end of his February 12 "news analysis."*

I was interested to note that Shipler began a recent in-depth review of the fate of the dissidents as follows:

> *The small Soviet human rights movement, which has attracted so much attention around the world though it is probably unrepresentative of any broadly held opinion. . . .*

It is pleasing to see that coverage of the dissidents has returned to reality.

Whatever Shipler's innuendo, I am not an agent of the K.G.B. In fact, having worked as a journalist under the constraints of a government possibly even more repressive than that of the U.S.S.R. — Iran — and one whose critics are in desperate need of even a fraction of the attention heaped on the Russian dissidents, I even share his views of the secret police.

Smoking epistles

TO THE REVIEW:

Your article asserting a shortfall in magazine coverage of the smoking-health controversy ["The Magazines' Smoking Habit," by R. C. Smith, CJR, January/ February] is provocative and in one respect earns no disagreement here. It has always been our position that informed consumers are society's best guarantee of optimum health, economics, and nutrition.

But we do, I suspect, part company on

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what might be the desirable *content* of expanded communication on smoking and health. To state the negative, "estimates" by "authorities" or "experts" which reiterate the "conventional wisdom" about smoking are mostly trash and yet are the hallmarks of most of what is written.

No doubt we both want potential consumers of anything to be able to assess any risks of their decision-making. I should think neither of us really would want these assessments to be made by third parties — with the exception of personal physicians. This means that the useful role of magazines or any other medium is to report facts.

I realize that this may be a respectable and fundamental difference of view which has much to do with all sorts of attempted arbitration of our life-styles these days. I cling to the prerogative to advise my children and to seek my advice from my doctor. I feel I don't need to be told what's "good" or "bad" for them or for me from a context of political imagery, circulation building, or public service. Is that altogether nonsensical?

WILLIAM KLOEPFER, JR.
Senior vice-president
The Tobacco Institute
Washington, D.C

TO THE REVIEW:

I've just read your piece on the failure of magazines to address the cigarette issue. It was marvelous! I have long had my contributions to the major women's magazines censored. Recently, one of the women's magazines asked me to do a piece on men and cancer — and when they saw it they were horrified by how often cigarettes showed up. Finally they killed the piece, paying me because they felt it was their position, not my work, that was the problem.

About three months ago, *Glamour* had a brief article on the dangers of smoking among women. I was so pleasantly surprised I wrote to congratulate them.

ELIZABETH M. WHELAN
Research associate
Harvard School of Public Health

Brainstorming at K-R

TO THE REVIEW:

Frank Pollock's excellent — and chilling — piece on Knight-Ridder's use of psychological testing in its employment operations is timely, even though such testing is by no means so recent a development in the newspaper business as he suggests ["Knight-Ridder Wants to Know the Real You," CJR, January/February]. Indeed, it brought back to me an experience of more than twenty years ago — my first encounter with this sort of test.

I was being considered for the editorial page editorship of a newspaper (since I have a high regard both for it and for its still living publisher, the newspaper shall be nameless) and had agreed to a visit for interviews. There had been mention of a test to be taken, but I had assumed it would be one of those intended to measure the I.Q. — a kind of test at which, in fact, I had always been something of an over-achiever.

It did surprise me a bit that one had to make a trip of some distance to the headquarters of the firm in charge of testing procedures for this newspaper. My surprise was even greater when, ensconced in a pleasant room with comfortable furnishings, a supply of coffee, and other amenities, I opened up the test and began reading.

One of the first "questions" asked me to draw the figure of a woman, then write a story about her. Baffled by what possible connection this could have with my qualifications as an editorial page editor, I read on before setting anything down on paper. The "test" got more and more curious. One question: "Have you ever kicked a dog?" A blank to be filled in: "If I were king, I would ________."

Sometime in the process of reading, I'd decided that if this wasn't a joke, it ought to be so regarded. So I went through the test, drawing pictures, writing heart-rending stories, and filling in blanks in the most preposterously facetious manner possible.

I had dinner that night with the publisher, who was friendly enough, but definitely reserved. We talked about many things. Finally, he said: "Oh, about that test. Dr. Blank found it quite disturbing. I think he may write you about it."

Dr. Blank never did write and I never found out what the test revealed. It's probably just as well. Even so, it does occasionally bother me to think that, somewhere in some voluminous file, that test may still be rattling around. Who knows what fiendish use could be made of it?

JOHN M. HARRISON
Professor, Journalism and American Studies
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pa.

Big Story: the author responds

TO THE REVIEW:

Peter Arnett is a first-class A. P. reporter, a star Vietnam hand, and a good companion.

But, even as I share his wry dismay over the hasty interpolations by the *pasionarias* of the Right, I must add that Arnett, too, misses much of the argument and the supporting evidence as he zigzags through the dense pages of *Big Story* ["Tet Coverage: A Debate Renewed," by Peter Arnett, CJR, January/February]. In contrast to other reviewers, Arnett tends to treat the book as a study of Vietnam reporting per se.

Big Story attempts much more than that: an analysis of the total informational performance by reporters *and* managers of each of the major media at home and abroad during the topsy-turvy days of February-March 1968. External factors (including official statements, the fog of war, the character of Tet events themselves, Washington reactions, "rival" news developments) affected that performance. So did the technical constraints, manpower limitations, internal incentives, and competitive pressures of each news organization.

This meant that I looked not only at official statements and individual news reports, on, say, the siege of the Marine base at Khe Sanh or the damage to pacification but also at the Tet "environment" and a wide range of other evidence: the relative prominence given to various aspects of Tet over time, the patterns of TV film and photo usage, the themes in "news analysis," what kinds of stories got on page one and what got buried inside, which subjects got heavy treatment and which did not.

Focusing on these broad trends (rather than simply on "positive" or "negative" statements, which I discuss only on two pages), one gets a rough cumulative pattern for February-March 1968 that adds up to a media portrait, strongest on TV, and in *Newsweek*, of "disaster," real or impending, in Vietnam. That portrait was, historically, wide of the mark.

The media, in my view, were not engaged in a conscious, ideological fit of anti-war fervor. To varying degrees, they were overwhelmed by Tet's peculiar circumstances — initial surprise, melodrama, White House ambiguity, uncertainty — as they were not overwhelmed by, say, Hanoi's much stronger 1972 offensive or by the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Tet was, as I say, an illuminating "extreme case."

Arnett does not challenge my evidence. He challenges my conclusions and my asser-

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tion that historians have "concluded that the Tet offensive resulted in a severe military political setback for Hanoi in the South." "What historians?" Arnett asks. He cites as rebuttal the partly contrary thoughts of Henry Kissinger. These are penned in 1968 for *Foreign Affairs* while Henry, no Vietnam specialist, was still a professor at Harvard.

Arnett apparently missed *Big Story*'s excerpts from the work of serious analysts of the Tet period, notably Don Oberdorfer (*Tet!*), Frances Fitzgerald (*Fire in the Lake*), and London's Institute for Strategic Studies *Strategic Survey—1969*. Other citations could now be added, notably from Herbert Schandler (*The Unmaking of a President*), but let's repeat Oberdorfer's scorecard:

> . . . it is clear that the attack forces — and particularly the indigenous Vietcong, who did most of the fighting and dying — suffered a grievous military setback. Tens of thousands of the most dedicated and experienced fighters emerged from the jungles and forests of the countryside only to meet a deadly rain of fire and steel within the cities. The Vietcong lost the best of a generation of resistance fighters, and after Tet increasing numbers of North Vietnamese had to be sent south to fill the ranks. The war became increasingly a conventional battle and less an insurgency. Because the people of the cities did not rise up against the foreigners and puppets at Tet — indeed, they gave little support to the attack force — the communist claim to a moral and political authority in South Vietnam suffered a serious blow.
>
> Under the stress of the Tet Offensive, the South Vietnamese government faltered but did not fold, and after the battle it became more of a working institution than it had ever been before. After Tet, the Saigon regime nearly doubled its military strength, from 670,000 men to roughly 1,100,000 men. This process of general mobilization, though supported by massive American economic and military aid, required more political will than the South Vietnamese had ever been able to muster before . . . .

As Oberdorfer, Schandler (and I) also make clear, the "political and psychological defeat" occurred not in Vietnam as claimed by Kissinger in *Foreign Affairs*, but in Washington. It is a complex story, still not totally clear. Tet followed hard upon the administration's last big propaganda effort in late 1967 to show "progress" in the war. At Tet Lyndon Johnson had to confront the old "internal contradictions" of his Vietnam policy; both Pentagon hawks and the more visible doves sought to exploit the Tet surprise to force a change in the administration's costly "incremental" approach to the conflict. L.B.J. hunkered down and sought to buy time. For two months, he gave local sermons but no nationwide TV address — until March 31 when he announced his "abdication," a partial bombing pause, and another offer to Hanoi to talk peace. To his surprise, Hanoi accepted the offer, and thereafter, "peace," not "winning," became a top U.S. goal.

Arnett cites my observation that cautious military spokesmen in Saigon (occasionally) helped to foster a media impression of North Vietnamese omniscience and infallibility. True, but he suggests that this excuses the media tendency at Tet (not repeated in 1972) to paint the North Vietnamese and the "wily Giap" as ten feet tall. I disagree. On one occasion, at least, *Newsweek*'s Francois Sully and Merton Perry managed to put together a more realistic, if flawed, account of Hanoi's battlefield strengths and weaknesses as shown at Tet; we others did not.

Arnett says the "basic flaw" of *Big Story* is my preoccupation with the war's "military level." The rebuttal is easy: the great bulk of Vietnam reporting at Tet, the A.P.'s included, was on the military aspects, hence my focus thereon. For example, the siege of the Marine base at Khe Sanh, which, in reality, was a relatively low-intensity seige and no Dienbienphu, got heavy, often melodramatic play. It alone was the subject of almost 25 percent of Vietnam film reports on evening TV news programs and 38 percent of all A.P. reports filed from outside Saigon.

As Michael Herr later noted, "for a while it looked like nothing that had happened on the ground [at Khe Sanh] during those weeks seemed as thrilling and sinister [to newsmen] as the recollection of [the French disaster of] Dienbienphu . . . the parallels with Khe Sanh were irresistible."

Indeed, I make the argument that continuing media preoccupation with Khe Sanh and other obvious dramas left certain key developments across Vietnam largely obscured, or ignored, especially as the fog of war lifted in March, such as the ebbing of Communist pressure elsewhere and the Saigon regime's muddling through. *Time* attempted an on-the-spot, region-by-region early March reassessment of Tet's effect in Vietnam; we others did not.

Lastly, Arnett says that I received "raw files and lengthy candid memos" from "major news organizations." Not so. All the candid memos and raw files came from individuals. As stated in *Big Story*, A.P. and U.P.I. gave us access (generously enough) only to file copies of their edited Vietnam dispatches taken off the "A" and "B" wires (hardly "raw files") and to their widely circulated respective house bulletins, which were no more "candid" than you'd expect. Thus, *Big Story* is hardly a kiss-and-tell betrayal of confidences, as implied.

But Arnett does score some points. He rightly belabors the short chapter on "psychological victory" coverage. In my view, its main flaw is that it duplicates material in other chapters on "the media's penchant for self-projection and instant analysis," not that the claim was inadequately substantiated. Arnett rightly scores fuzzy language and possible ambiguities in my treatment of instances of superior reporting, echoing the criticisms of other old Vietnam colleagues. He does not discuss my "anti-headquarters" bias — that of a reporter who was in Vietnam, not in New York or in Washington, at Tet, and who therefore doubtlessly fails to capture fully the working environment at home.

Did the media's Tet performance, as both its ideological critics and its more vehement defenders seem to claim, affect public opinion and thereby alter the course of the war?

Such claims of media power are impossible to substantiate. From Schandler and Oberdorfer, we know that the White House was shaken not only by the Tet offensive but by its portrayal on TV and so (as a result?) was the rest of political Washington. Out west of the Potomac, Johnson's poll ratings went up briefly, then declined, dropping far faster in February-March 1968 than did public support for the war itself. Anti-Johnson hawks outnumbered anti-Johnson doves among Democrats who voted for Eugene McCarthy in the March 1968 New Hampshire primary. But Robert Kennedy entered the race after the primary on a "dove" platform, making ample use of media Vietnam themes.

My own hunch is that the media's generalized "disaster" portrait of events in Vietnam affected the politicians more than the general public. As Oberdorfer suggests, the "disaster" may have given many "elite" figures, long uneasy about Johnson's war policy, an opportunity to put themselves on record against it. But I would also guess that election year politics and Lyndon Johnson's presidential behavior — in 1964-67 and at Tet — did far more to produce the Washington crisis of February-March 1968 and L.B.J.'s slump in the polls than did the alarums of the media.

Arnett was kind enough to mention the forthcoming *Big Story* paperback, due out this May. I will send him a copy, along with a brand-new edition of Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*, for comic relief.

PETER BRAESTRUP
The Wilson Quarterly
Washington, D.C.

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Yay, team (and nay)

TO THE REVIEW:

Congratulations to CJR and to Melvin Mencher for the superb article on the Arizona project in the November/December issue. That article alone more than pays for the cost of the annual subscription.

One quibble: the article reports that, "In fact, the Associated Press has been testing that concept [task force journalism] in Illinois since 1973." Actually, the A.P. in New Jersey under then bureau chief Bob Haring pioneered the idea in late 1969 when an A.P. team and nineteen reporters from newspapers produced Task Force '70, a look at the problems and promises facing New Jersey as it entered a new decade under a new governor. Several other cooperative projects followed in the early 1970s in New Jersey.

ROBERT A. DUBILL
Executive editor
Courier-Post
Camden, N.J.

TO THE REVIEW:

Melvin Mencher's evaluation of the I.R.E.-Arizona Project was as lopsided and as noteworthy for slapdash reporting as was in fact the I.R.E. effort there. It was carpetbag journalism at its modern acme.

The fact is that virtually all of the usable material the I.R.E. campaign produced was fairly common knowledge among media people and media buffs — going all the way back to the 1950s. In addition, the series was noteworthy for the fact that not one of the godlings of the Arizona liberal establishment was connected in the series with any of the sinister characters cited by I.R.E. It would be extremely difficult, and actuarially very improbable, that in all the criminality (re)discovered by Robert Greene and all no Arizona liberal played a round of golf or conversed or drank or went whoring to Las Vegas with the villains Mr. Greene found hiding in the saguaros.

Those flaws alone materially reduce the real value of the I.R.E. effort, however bizarre they may have read to *Boston Globe* or *Newsday* readers who were a long way from the realities.

It is all too stereotyped, and the bad guys are all too ideologically identifiable. It was also rather predictable, since people knowing the track record of Robert Greene, his paper, and the sponsoring papers of most of the other I.R.E. people were pretty well aware there would be a predetermined result neatly tied to ideological poses — particularly with input from Jack Anderson, who remains indistinguishable from any number of incipient Goebbelses employed in the Democratic party's national flackery.

Finally, Mencher's solemn pronouncement that there was little resentment against I.R.E. from Arizona-employed working-press people is subject to challenge. I left Arizona in 1974 but have kept in touch with several colleagues in Phoenix and Tucson, and I found there was in fact a great deal of bitterness and dislike over the arrogance and pomposity of the I.R.E. approach.

BILL DAVIDSON
Mandeville, La.

Melvin Mencher replies: *As close as I can approach comprehending Mr. Davidson's letter, my piece on the Arizona project lacked objectivity because much of the material was old; no Arizona liberals were mentioned in the series and I should have pointed that out; I should have been aware that the I.R.E. reporters were themselves liberals or followers of the liberal line; and there was a lot of bitterness among Arizona journalists against the I.R.E. team.*

My daddy told me never to argue with a man who sees hobgoblins in the woodwork. (I see Mr. Davidson has Herr Goebbels lurking in the lath and plaster.)

Nevertheless, here goes: The old news angle was discussed in the piece; some indeed was old, but necessary; much was new. I have no idea of what litmus-paper test Mr. Davidson applies to reporters to determine their politics, and I cannot guess how he would define the Arizona figures the team wrote about. But I believe the underworld characters whose activities filled the articles are apolitical, and I know one of the last pieces was about a well-known Democrat in the state. Perhaps Mr. Davidson did not catch that piece.

As for the angry Arizona journalists, I'm sure he can summon them up. I would have been madder 'n the devil had someone come into my turf and shown me up.

Solomon's choice

TO THE REVIEW:

While I am an admirer of the *Columbia Journalism Review* and the role it is playing in policing the standards and ethics of the profession, I must take exception to the "Dart" that was directed at me in the November/December issue. A reader of your column, without knowing the full story, would be led to believe that I was advocating the unrestricted use of saccharine for use by the general population. Nothing could be further from the truth.

I have always taken the view that known carcinogens present a serious threat to the public health. But so does obesity and diabetes, two areas in which the benefits of the limited use of artificial sweeteners, in my judgment and in the judgment of many other specialists, outweigh the risks. Persons who are overweight or suffer from diabetes may have a serious psychological problem in being able to eat or partake of food that is sweet since they already are usually under highly restrictive diets. It is in this context that my recipes were written. The fact that the federal government has delayed its ban on the use of saccharine indicates that others in the medical profession share my opinion.

Your readers should also know that a number of highly regarded medical groups have endorsed the use of saccharine for particular patient groups, always with the hope and expectation that a truly safe and palatable sugar substitute will be developed.

NEIL SOLOMON, M.D., Ph.D.
Baltimore

AIMing darts

TO THE REVIEW:

In the "Darts and Laurels" section of your November/December issue you commend *Mother Jones*'s article "Pinto Madness," which you say is an "appalling tale of how the Ford Motor Company produced a car it knew to be susceptible to gas-tank explosion on rear-end collision."

The assertions in this article are not correct and I would like you to know the facts. I checked with the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and was given these figures: in 1975 there were 848 deaths associated with passenger-car accidents in which fires also occurred in some part of the vehicle; thirteen of these 848 fatalities involved occupants of Pintos. In 1976, the number of fatalities in fire-associated passenger-car accidents in which Pintos were involved is twenty-two out of 943. In 1975 and 1976 Pintos made up 1.92 percent of the total number of passenger cars in the U.S. In 1975 and 1976 the involvement of Pintos in fire-associated traffic fatalities was 1.93 percent of the total number of fire-associated traffic fatalities. Thus, these statistics, as provided by N.H.T.S.A., clearly show the chance of gas-tank explosions resulting in fire and possible death to the passengers is no greater in the Pinto than in any other passenger car.

This would suggest that a dart should be directed at *Mother Jones* for putting out a story that is defamatory and without founda-

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tion. An even larger dart should go to the *Columbia Journalism Review* for praising this inexcusable article without checking the facts.

DANIEL FRIESEN
Accuracy in Media
Washington, D.C.

The editors reply: *The federal figures cited by AIM were not the source of the estimates used in the* Mother Jones *article.*

A.P., U.P.I., and the M.C.P.

TO THE REVIEW:

As J. D. O'Hara's review of their new style books indicates [CJR, January/February], both A.P. and U.P.I. are attempting to "get with it." Both news services, unfortunately, have made little progress in eliminating sexist language from news copy.

Take, for example, the ubiquitous "newsman." Day after day I rip off wire copy that says "So and so told newsmen . . . ." There are plenty of reporters covering newsmakers who are women. I would suggest that A.P. and U.P.I. bury the dinosaur.

Another is the use of the word "coed" to describe female students who attend coeducational schools. Why not use the unisex "student"? Why aren't male students called coeds? A.P. and U.P.I. should banish the relic.

I even saw a story from A.P. that referred to British tennis star Virginia Wade as a girl. Virginia Wade is over thirty.

A.P. and U.P.I., you've got a long way to go!

MARTY DAVIS
WNEM Television
Saginaw, Mich.

And the list goes on

TO THE REVIEW:

The readers of the *Columbia Journalism Review* are invited to participate in a national research project to compile "The Ten Best Censored Stories of 1977."

They can help the public learn more about what is happening in its society by nominating stories they feel should have received more coverage in the mass media.

The story should be current and of national social significance. It may have received no media attention at all, appeared in the back pages of a newspaper, or in a small circulation magazine.

Last year's national panel of judges, including Ben Bagdikian, Noam Chomsky, Robert Cirino, Nicholas Johnson, Victor Marchetti, Jack L. Nelson, Jerry terHorst, and Sheila Ross Weidenfeld, selected Jimmy Carter's little known relationship with David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission as the "best censored story of 1976."

To nominate a "best censored story of 1977," just send information about the story, or a copy of the story if available, including the source, address, and date, to Dr. Carl Jensen, Project Censored, Department of Sociology, Sonoma State College, Rohnert Park, Calif. 94928.

CARL JENSEN
Sonoma State College

Post impressionism

TO THE REVIEW:

A dart to the *Review* for its dart to the *New York Post* for its coverage of Wilfred Burchett's tour.

You seem to accept at face value his denials, and you failed to mention that the *Guardian* is a leftist weekly. Even the New York *Times* described Burchett recently as "leftist."

Whose side are you on, anyway?

W. M. HOLDER
Nashville, Tenn.

Ad-denda

TO THE REVIEW:

A well-placed "Dart" is awarded to the *Review* for giving the new bi-weekly *Politicks* prominent coverage, with accompanying graphic display (in-color) on page four (CJR, January/February). Although the review is lukewarm, it pointed out a magazine many of your readers might subscribe to (you made that possible, too). But any such review is tasteless in light of the full-page ad (only in black and white, against your three-color display) that *Politicks* runs on page 79 of the same issue.

At my company, which publishes specialized business magazines, such a journalistic tactic would be more than frowned upon. You should know much better.

Now I know I liked you better without advertising.

DAVID E. GARLOCK
Editorial director
Executive Business Media, Inc.
Lynbrook, NY

The editors reply: *Strict separation between editorial and advertising departments will sometimes permit the kind of coincidence Garlock cites, but the* Review *prefers such happenings to the alternative — that is, altering editorial material to avoid conflict with advertising. Incidentally, the* Politicks *notice was not a paid advertisement, but an exchange for a* CJR *ad in that magazine.*

TO THE REVIEW:

As a woman and as a member of The Newspaper Guild I am outraged by the National Right To Work Legal Defense Foundation ad "They Wanted A Job But Not At That Price" in your January/February issue.

While there are arguments and issues concerning union membership, sexual harassment on the job is not one of them. It has absolutely nothing to do with union membership. Just the opposite, in fact: it is management men most often guilty of the sexual harassment of women who work for them. Endless testimony on sexual harassment has confirmed this. And frequently, unions have protected the right of women to resist such advances from their bosses, and have provided lawyers and money to sue in courts to win back their jobs.

The ad is misleading, unfair, and stupid. It mocks truth and demeans women. Why do you accept such advertising?

PAULA BERNSTEIN
Chappaqua, N.Y.

The advertiser replies: *I am sorry that Ms. Bernstein was outraged by our ad, but I think her reaction results from a misunderstanding of the foundation's work and the purpose of the ads.*

The foundation was founded for the sole purpose of providing free legal aid to workers suffering abuses or injustices that result from compulsory unionism. These ads are intended to generate support for our work; each ad details a genuine abuse suffered by real people.

The important thing to remember about the two women featured in the ad is that they were denied jobs when they turned down the sexual overtures of union officials and that they could not have been so treated if they could have gotten jobs without going through the union hiring hall. If this is not an abuse of compulsory unionism, I don't know what is.

The foundation is not trying to say that sexual harassment is a primary issue regarding union membership, only that it can be if corrupt union officials abuse compulsory unionism.

Deadline

To be considered for publication in the May/June issue, letters to the Review *should be received by March 20. Letters are subject to editing for clarity and space.*

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NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

The Bermuda Triangle on TV: muddy waters

Issue: When is a "documentary" on TV not a documentary? Does a disclaimer give carte blanche to distort or omit available facts? Or was this program for entertainment only?

Complaint: Robert Sheaffer of Silver Spring, Maryland, complained that "In Search of the Bermuda Triangle," a syndicated program shown on several NBC-TV stations, was characterized by "gross bias and distortion." The program was produced by Alan Landsburg Productions, Inc., of Beverly Hills, California, and supplied to NBC by Bristol-Meyers Co., of New York.

Citing the fact that some TV listings called the program a "documentary," Mr. Sheaffer contended that "it made no attempt to present a balanced picture of this highly controversial subject." He further contended that although representing itself as a "factual inquiry," the program made many statements concerning disappearances of ships and planes in the Bermuda Triangle that are "totally unsubstantiated."

In support of his contentions, Mr. Sheaffer provided the Council with material which he said "definitively lays to rest the supposed mystery" of the Bermuda Triangle disappearances.

The material included a book, *The Bermuda Triangle Mystery — Solved*, by Lawrence David Kusche.

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 January 30 and 31 in New York.

Mr. Sheaffer took issue with three "allegedly mysterious" disappearances related to the Bermuda Triangle and cited evidence which he claimed refuted each of the three.

To the program's contention that the ore-carrying freighter Proteus "was lost without a trace" in 1941, he said it "was almost certainly the victim of a German submarine."

He cited naval investigation records to support his contention that the Navy submarine *Scorpion* sank near the Azores in 1968, nowhere near the Bermuda Triangle.

And to the program's contention that no trace was ever found of PBY search aircraft sent to look for a naval air squadron of five planes. Flight 19, which was lost on a patrol mission off Florida in 1945, he said naval records are available which show that the crew of the S. S. Gaines Mills saw the plane explode in midair and that an oil slick and debris were also seen. The Kusche book, he said, identified the plane lost as a PBM, not a PBY.

Responding to Mr. Sheaffer's charges, Jay Gerber of NBC's Law Department said that "While we can understand your [the News Council's] possible concern, we nevertheless must question your decision to get involved in an investigation of an entertainment program which quite clearly was not presented as news or public affairs." He declared that NBC is mindful of its responsibility to the public when it presents programs dealing with the so-called "paranormal" phenomena; that it has not neglected the point of view held by such people as Mr. Sheaffer, and that it recognizes that debate on this subject is necessary.

The network declined to provide the Council with a tape recording of the program as requested, stating that it did not have a script and that its agreement with the supplier did not give it the right to supply copies without consent.

Landsburg Productions provided a script. In an accompanying letter, Mr. Landsburg cited scientists with whom his office had dealt in preparing the program and contended that the samples of "misrepresentation" cited by Mr. Sheaffer were presented in incomplete context. He contended further that the Council, in questioning the appellation "documentary" was entering an arena "filled with divergent opinion."

> What constitutes a documentary? Unfortunately, by practice it has become a mere extension of the nightly newscast. By heritage it is, as John Grierson puts it, an effort to 'make poetry of our problems and drama of our daily life'. I long to know which definition you would apply since you have posed the listing as a question.

Mr. Landsburg also took issue with the Council's investigation, declaring that "I have the uneasy sense about the objectivity of a self-appointed committee which stands as judge and jury."

The Council sought from *TV Guide* an explanation for its listing of the program as a "documentary." John Hayes, editor, Local Editions, declared in responding that "categorizing any program can often be largely a matter of opinion, or interpretation." He said that the magazine tries "to make sure that the program is not speculative, fantastic or exploitive, and that it is instead a serious treatment of factual material." He added:

> Those are the guidelines we used for "In Search Of." But we had second thoughts in early June when, in response to a reader's query, we reviewed this program. It became apparent to us then that this program was not in fact a documentary, and we immediately stopped calling it one. Unfortunately, we cannot routinely screen this syndicated series or read episode scripts — a procedure we follow for almost all network programs. The production schedules and telecasting schedules of syndicated programs make it simply impractical. So instead we wrote "In Search Of" synopses from information supplied to us by the series' producer.

Mr. Hayes told Council staff that the proliferation of programs such as this one had led to a policy at *TV Guide* of either not giving them any label, labeling them "dramas," or in some cases labeling them as "speculation," for listing purposes. The Council commends *TV Guide* for its announced change in policy.

In addition to reviewing Mr. Kusche's book, *The Bermuda Triangle Mystery —Solved*, Council staff also viewed a BBC produced program, "The Case of the Bermuda Triangle," which appeared in the public television *Nova* series and which relied heavily on Mr. Kusche's research for its explanations of Bermuda Triangle disappearances.

continued

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Conclusion of the Council: Mr. Sheaffer charges NBC with three specific errors in his complaint. Factual accuracy, however, is only one part of the problem concerning programs such as this one. On the one hand it contains a disclaimer saying the information is based in part on theory and conjecture. On the other, it says that the program was "the result of the work of scientists, researchers, and a group of highly skilled technicians."

Such conflicting statements, taken along with the narration by Leonard Nimoy and the background music track generally associated with science fiction presentations, place the program in a grey area which the editors of *TV Guide* acknowledged in removing the "documentary" designation from it in the magazine's listings.

The NBC Law Department questions the Council's decision to get involved in an entertainment program "which was quite clearly not presented as news or public affairs." But the record fails to clarify that it was not so presented in the light of the original documentary listing, advertising for the program, and the format of the program itself. The fact that a program such as this was not prepared by a news department is not something that is readily evident to the casual viewer.

NBC says that "our files of viewer reactions do not indicate any confusion about the entertainment nature of this series." But the Council believes that the manner of its promotion and presentation was an invitation to such confusion.

In this case, it was Landsburg Productions, not NBC, that sent out the advance information on the program which led *TV Guide* to list it as a documentary. Surely, NBC, as the purchaser of such a program, should have reviewed such material, just as it did the program itself, before deciding to purchase and distribute it. This should have been of particular concern because this program was neither produced nor purchased by its news division.

The Council believes that NBC was lax in its oversight of this program, and that this laxness abetted a great deal of confusion as to whether the program was or was not a documentary.

NBC says the program "clearly was not presented as news or public affairs." The Council, as noted above, does not believe that things were quite that clear. Since programs such as this employ the same techniques as news or public-affairs documentaries — interviews, location filming, actual rather than fictional people — the Council will apply the same standards of accuracy to them that it applies to broadcast news and public-affairs programs. Applying these standards, the Council finds as follows regarding the complainant's charges that three statements made on the program were inaccurate:

☐ That while the complainant alleges that the Proteus "almost certainly" was the victim of German submarines, no specific record of that was available. The Kusche book relies on German records which the author himself said he had not seen. He was also unable to say where they could be located. This portion of the complaint is unwarranted.

☐ That naval records indicate that the Scorpion did sink near the Azores, outside of the perimeter described in the program as the Bermuda Triangle. This portion of the complaint is warranted.

☐ That the Navy record supports the contention that the search aircraft did explode in mid-air and was a PBM and not a PBY aircraft. This portion of the complaint is warranted.

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

Too much 'Time' for Teamsters

Issue: Was a news magazine report on a Teamsters Union pension fund report pocked with factual error, motivated by anti-labor prejudice, and violative of "all standards of responsible reporting?"

Complaint: On July 11, 1977, *Time* magazine carried an article headed "Equitable Alchemy." Focused on the annual report of the Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Health and Welfare Pension Funds to the U.S. Department of Labor, the article was written in tart *Time* style. It began:

> Few organizations in American society are endowed with such a complement of criminals, confidence men, rogues and ruffians as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. And nowhere within that fraternity was rapacity more apparent than in the management — most people would call it mismanagement — of the union's $1.4 billion Central States, Southeast and Southwest pension fund.

Time went on to analyze the pension fund report. In a complaint to the News Council, Robert W. Billings of the Pension Fund charged that there were "no less than eight critical factual errors." *Time* senior editor George J. Church defended the article as "accurate with two exceptions, one of which was not our fault and neither of which affects the tone of the story nor the conclusions we drew."

The eight points:

☐ Calling the investment portfolio "lopsided," *Time* used a figure of $108 million cash on hand. The correct figure was $144 million. The complaint called it a wilful mistake. *Time* said "we misread two columns of figures and we regret it . . . Comparing even $144 million in cash to the Fund's loans and investments still makes the investments lopsided." The News Council decided that in spite of the factual error, *Time*'s description of "lopsided" was reasonable.

☐ *Time* said $52 million was on loan to "parties in interest." The complaint said the figure was actually $43.4 million and that *Time* had incorrectly lumped together defaulted and uncollectable loans. "A simple phone call would have cleared up the matter," said Mr. Billings. *Time*'s reply was that its report followed the Department of Labor requirements applying to all such funds. The Council decided *Time* was technically correct, but held that a fuller explanation could have been made, and it agreed with the fund that a phone call might have added clarification. *Time*'s explanation "hardly stands as a defense of good reporting," said the Council.

☐ The Fund said *Time*'s assertion that pension fund leaders had "frittered away" a substantial amount of assets was "entirely pejorative and baseless." *Time* replied that the report listed $186 million of loans as uncollectable and $34.6 million in default. "That . . . seemed and still seems to us to warrant the wording we used," Mr. Church wrote. The Council found that it was a subjective description and "one appropriate for editorial judgment."

☐ *Time* wrote that "a generous proportion of the loans were granted on especially favorable terms with minimal payments for years and big balloon on termination." The Fund claimed its practices were in accordance with accepted accounting and banking practices. The Council said it couldn't decide this point; that it would require the services of an actuary or accountant and "it is entirely possible that such experts would produce conflicting statements."

☐ The Fund charged *Time* with incorrectly listing Alexander Butcher, a person with a loan outstanding from the Fund, as an "asset manager." The Council examined the annual report and found that *Time* was in error.

☐ The Fund said *Time* used incorrect figures in reporting that "at one point Allan Glick [a

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Nevada hotelman] owed [the fund] $146 million." The Fund contended that Glick's transactions represented not only personal loans but mortgages assumed from previous borrowers. *Time*'s reply was that the Fund's "own figures on loans that he is responsible to repay add up to the $146 million we cited." The Council felt that "the only point of importance was whether Glick owed money to the Fund or didn't, not whether part of it represented personal loans and the remainder the assumption of debt from previous borrowers."

□ The Fund claimed *Time* erred in saying the La Costa Land Company owed the Fund $66.6 million. The Fund said its executive director Daniel J. Shannon in a press conference December 28 had said the La Costa balance was $43 million. *Time* replied it was relying on the Fund's annual report. The Fund sent the Council copies of coverage of the press conference. There was no mention of the $43 million figure.

□ The Fund said *Time* was misleading in its overall portrayal of the Fund's actuarial soundness and that it was incorrect in stating that "rank and filers will have to work 30 years instead of 20 to gain their maximum pension." The Fund further objected to the descriptions of Teamster officials and management in the article. *Time* replied that it based its conclusion on actuarial soundness on Mr. Shannon's testimony to the House Oversight Committee. The Council decided it was a subjective issue and within the scope of editorial judgment.

The *Time* statement about pension benefits was not totally clear, said the Council. The pension plan was revised in 1977. Under it, the Fund will pay more to those who work thirty years than those who work twenty years. *Time*'s wording could be interpreted to mean that union members would lose promised benefits unless they worked more than twenty years. According to the Fund, however, the revised plan did not affect the old guarantees to those who retired after twenty years' service.

On describing union officials, *Time* replied:

> Surely, Messrs. Hoffa and Fitzsimmons are public figures and we are entitled to our editorial opinion of them. Certainly you must be aware that far more pejorative adjectives have been attached to both of these gentlemen than those we used.

The Council termed *Time*'s response on this "unassailable."

Overall conclusion: *Time*'s article was bitingly critical of the Teamsters Pension Fund, forceful in approach, pungent in description. The article was clearly defensible as one publication's evaluation of a publicly reported fund operation.

However, the Council finds that *Time*'s research was faulty in the preparation of this article and that it specifically was in error on the following points:

□ that the Fund had only $108 million in cash at the end of fiscal 1976. *Time* published no correction of the figure, while admitting the error in a letter to the complainant.

□ that Alexander Butcher was an "asset manager" for the Fund.

Further, the Council believes that *Time* should have checked with the Fund for a fuller explanation of figures on uncollectable loans and those that were in default and that *Time*'s description of the number of years union members would have to work to gain maximum pension benefits was, at best, murky.

On these specific items, the Council finds the complaint warranted.

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

Statement on the C.I.A.

For more than two years, dating back to November 1975, the National News Council has been examining the relationship of the Central Intelligence Agency to the news community in the United States.

The Council originally urged then that the C.I.A. director, William Colby, issue an order to end the employment of journalists by the agency and make the order public. In February 1976, the new C.I.A. director, George Bush, did issue an order stating that the C.I.A. would not enter into a contractual relationship with any "full-time or part-time news correspondents accredited by any United States news service, newspaper, periodical, radio or television network or station."

At a follow-up meeting with the Council in June 1976, the C.I.A. offered unequivocal assurance that no American journalist would be hired in the future by the agency and that the agency's existing ties with such journalists would be phased out as soon as possible.

Two further problems with the C.I.A.'s relationship to the press were explored during recent congressional hearings. First, Eugene C. Patterson, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and representatives of other journalism organizations contended that the C.I.A.'s ban on using American journalists for intelligence work should be extended to foreign journalists, even if it makes the agency's job more difficult.

Others questioned the impact on the American public of articles planted by the C.I.A. in foreign newspapers. They noted the existence of "domestic feedback" — the acquisition and dissemination by American news organizations of propaganda, some false, in foreign publications by the C.I.A. overseas.

Gil Cranberg, editorial page editor of the *Des Moines Register & Tribune*, testified, "The CIA should be required to quit planting false and misleading stories abroad, not just to protect Americans from propaganda fallout, but to protect all readers from misinformation. This government should not deliberately deceive foreign readers any more than it should deceive its own people."

The National News Council recognizes the importance to the United States of the C.I.A. and its ability to carry out effectively its duties. But the Council also recognizes the vital importance abroad as well as at home of

THE NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL
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the United States's upholding the principle of a press free from government interference. For that reason, the Council favors the C.I.A.'s extending its ban on the use of media people to foreign journalists and ending its practice of planting false stories in publications abroad.

Concurring: Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, and Salant.

Dissenting opinion of William Rusher: I find it difficult to imagine a more wrong-headed initiative than the decision of this Council to try to pressure the C.I.A. into dropping the use of correspondents for foreign publications, writing primarily for foreign consumption, for such intelligence purposes as disseminating false information.

The past deeds and/or misdeeds of the C.I.A. are irrelevant here. If it has transgressed, it ought of course to be corrected. The principal question before us is whether the dissemination of false information is an impermissible activity *per se* for an agency of the United States government. The argument that it is rests on the contention that America is obliged by its own principles to forswear such activities, regardless of any possible deleterious consequences of doing so. The argument to the contrary rests upon the proposition, to which I adhere, that until and unless this country can persuade the rest of the world to subscribe to its principles, it cannot possibly afford to commit itself to their blind observance abroad in all cases whatsoever. In many desperate situations around the world, freedom, and even life itself, daily depend upon opposing foreign tyrants by means not permissible here at home.

A subordinate problem concerns the matter of "fallout" or "feedback": the domestic impact of false information disseminated by the C.I.A. abroad, for foreign consumption, but picked up innocently and relayed to the United States. This is a real problem, as the C.I.A. itself has acknowledged, but there is no dependable evidence that it is of substantial size and (hence) importance. Whatever these may be, the harm done by such "feedback" must be weighed against the harm of refraining from the initial dissemination. The latter harm would be both real and substantial, and for the present that consideration must prevail.

Concurring: Brady

Hauser, Huston, and Scott elected by News Council

Margo Huston, *The Milwaukee Journal*'s prize-winning reporter, and S. William Scott, Westinghouse Broadcasting's radio news vice-president, were elected members of The National News Council at its January 31 annual meeting, and Rita E. Hauser, New York lawyer, was elected an advisor.

Scott takes the seat formerly held by R. Peter Straus, now director of the Voice of America. Ms. Huston takes the place held by Molly Ivins, now *New York Times* Denver bureau chief, and Ms. Hauser succeeds Henry Geller, now assistant secretary for communications and information in the Department of Commerce.

All three have long records as award winners. Scott's include a Peabody Award, Ms. Huston's a Pulitzer Prize. Ms. Hauser has won distinction in international affairs, including a current role on the Board for International Broadcasting.

'Blowing the Whistle': missing elements

Issue: Was a *New York Times Magazine* article so one-sided as to have strayed beyond an acceptable range of editorial judgment? Was it biased?

Complaint: Dr. Stephen J. Barrett, chairman of the Lehigh Valley Committee Against Health Fraud, complained that an article in *The New York Times Magazine* on October 30, 1977, entitled "The Price of Blowing the Whistle," was inaccurate and biased in its contention that Dr. J. Anthony Morris was discharged from his post as a research scientist in the Food and Drug Administration because he spoke out against the government's swine flu vaccine program.

Unmentioned in the article, according to Dr. Barrett, was the fact that Dr. Morris had been fired after a long series of administrative hearings which had challenged his scientific methodology and data in areas other than the swine flu vaccine program. Dr. Barrett submitted material which noted that the hearings in Dr. Morris's case dated back to 1975, before the swine flu vaccine program had started.

Conclusion of the Council: The *Times* article, by Helen Dudar, dwells on Dr. Morris's long history of government service and opposition to influenza vaccines. It states that he was fired from the F.D.A. for "insubordination and inefficiency," but does not detail any of the reasons other than to quote the findings as saying that Dr. Morris's behavior "challenged the integrity of scientific progress."

The complaint is similar to one brought by Dr. Barrett against *Parade* magazine, which had published an article about the Morris firing. In upholding that complaint the Council said:

> There is no disputing that he [Dr. Morris] fought the flu shots and that the government fired him. But in between the two events lies a saga of governmental hearings, witnesses testifying to the competence of Dr. Morris's scientific methodology and conflicting evidence. However, nowhere in this article . . . is there any indication of the breadth of the controversy or that there might be some substantive arguments on any side other than Dr. Morris' — arguments that could and should have been presented without affecting the authors' basic point of view.
>
> The Council, thus, does not challenge the right of the authors to champion Dr. Morris' case. Rather, the issue before The Council is whether in this instance the presentation was so one-sided as to have strayed beyond an acceptable range of editorial judgment.
>
> The article neglected the other side of this controversy, and the arguments advanced by the opponents of Dr. Morris were ignored. As a result, an essential element of the story was clearly missing.

The Council does not believe that the complainant in the present matter offered any support for his contention that the article was deliberately biased. But in the matter of the article's failure to refer to significant and material facts, the Council finds its earlier decision controlling here and finds the complaint warranted.

In the present matter, the Council is moved to note that *The New York Times* did publish in its January 22, 1978, *Magazine* a letter from John T. Walden, assistant commissioner for public affairs of the Food and Drug Administration, outlining the agency's view of why Dr. Morris was fired from his post.

The *Times* thus did grant access to an opposing view, but the Council also notes the following timetable relevant to the publication of Mr. Walden's letter.

He wrote it on November 17, 1977. On November 27, 1977, the *Times* published in its *Magazine* four letters which commented favorably on the article. It also had received a letter, dated November 8, from Charles Marwick, Washington science reporter of *Medical World News*, stating the "proposal to remove Dr. Morris from government em-

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ployment was made on July 11, 1975, seven months before the swine flu outbreak at Fort Dix." Mr. Marwick's letter was not published.

On December 15, 1977, the Council forwarded Dr. Barrett's complaint to the *Times* for its comment. There was no reply. On January 22, almost two months after the four favorable letters were published, Mr. Walden's letter appeared in the magazine. Without any explanation from *The Times* for the delay, the Council concludes that the late publication of the Walden letter did not remedy the original article's failure to refer to significant and material facts.

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

Concurring opinion of Loren Ghiglione: I am disappointed that *The New York Times* has chosen not to answer Council queries about "The Price of Blowing the Whistle." Despite my disappointment about the *Times*'s silence, I feel compelled to avoid drawing any conclusions from that silence. I do not have enough information available to me to make a decision about the timing of the *Times*'s publication of a letter critical of the article.

Laetrile: a sure-fire argument

Issue: Was a television station irresponsible in publicizing Laetrile? Was enough airtime given to those who consider the drug worthless in treating cancer?

Complaint: Dr. Samuel G. Taylor, a faculty member at the Northwestern University Medical School, complained about coverage of the controversial drug Laetrile on WBBM-TV, Chicago. "No other TV station in this city," Dr. Taylor charged, "has covered the Laetrile issue with such bias and without any attempt to gather professional opinion or opposing arguments to its use."

Responding to the complaint, Jay R. Feldman, WBBM news director at the time of the complaint, wrote, "We believe . . . we have followed the highest journalistic standards. . . . This was clearly a subject of major importance, of deep concern to a large portion of the public, and a serious political issue in this state." Mr. Feldman supplied transcripts of all the news segments in question.

Dr. Taylor made four separate complaints about news reports broadcast between January and September, 1977, as follows:

1. That a report on the attempt of a man to secure a court order to obtain Laetrile for his wife who was dying of cancer lacked balance and raised innuendos that the couple was being victimized by "organized medicine."

2. That a five-part "Focus" report purported to give all the facts about Laetrile but showed only three people who claimed they had been cured of cancer. As a result, he said, several of his patients started taking Laetrile.

3. That the on-air promotion of a news story on what was described as a "breakthrough" in the use of Laetrile was excessive.

4. That Bill Kurtis, the reporter on the five-part "Focus" series, had a conflict of interest because his wife had died of cancer and should have disqualified himself from reporting on the issue.

Regarding Dr. Taylor's four specific contentions, WBBM's records show:

1. The report on the man whose wife was dying of cancer said that most competent medical authorities consider Laetrile worthless and quoted an "expert in the study of tumors" as saying "I think it's a fraudulent drug and no more than I would . . . grind up meats, tongues and butterfly wings and give it, do I think that this drug can do anything."

2. That while the five-part "Focus" series contained filmed portions on persons who said they had been helped by Laetrile, it also contained repeated references to those who called the drug worthless. The final report included the statement: "The physicians worry that someone might see the so-called miraculous cures . . . and ignore accepted medical treatment. We share that fear and say frankly . . . Laetrile is no magic cure for cancer."

3. That WBBM on September 5 broadcast a "newsbreak" as a promotion for its 10 o'clock News which said: "A reported breakthrough with the controversial drug Laetrile. A Chicago doctor says that Laetrile produced significant remissions of breast cancer in laboratory mice." Subsequently, in the headlines immediately preceding the newscast, Mr. Kurtis declared, "A Chicago scientist makes claims of a cancer breakthrough . . ."

4. That Mr. Kurtis's wife had died of cancer several months after the "Focus" series was broadcast and was never given Laetrile.

Conclusion of the Council: Aside from the injudicious use of the word "breakthrough" in its promotional "newsbreak" and in its introduction on the September 5 newscast, the record does not support Dr. Taylor's complaints.

Nothing in the transcripts lends credence to assertions that the programs were unbalanced or gave inadequate representation to both sides involved in the continuing debate over Laetrile.

Similarly, the Council rejects the complainant's contention that Mr. Kurtis was not an impartial observer and was involved in a conflict of interest because his wife had died of cancer. Nothing in the "Focus" series supports such a contention.

The News Council on other occasions has held that it is an essential element of enterprising journalism that controversial topics be reported with candor and vigor. In itself, this type of reporting is often perceived as biased by those closest to the issues. Dr. Taylor must recognize that Laetrile is a newsworthy subject and merited the type of attention devoted to it by WBBM-TV. The full record, in summary, shows only that the station was wrong to have described the scientific test as a "breakthrough."

One could argue whether useful information, much less any kind of understanding, can be achieved in the "newsbreak" format.

At the network level, it is a question of compressing three or four stories into the space of 40 to 50 seconds. At local stations, the newsbreaks often are limited to 10 seconds or less.

The "stories" are thus reduced to headlines. And that always means a potential for distortion.

However, unlike an inaccurate newspaper headline, in television there is a substantial space of time between when the headline is heard and when the story is heard. So a newsbreak about a plane crash, a hotel fire, a school bus accident, etc., is often stated very generally and often with the express intent to tease the audience into staying with the station for the next hour until the newscast is aired in order to get details.

The WBBM-TV case is similar in nature. Viewers, especially those who have cancer or who are relatives of cancer victims, are teased or titillated into waiting for news of a cancer "breakthrough."

There was no breakthrough and anyone whose hopes were soaring with those words had their hopes cruelly dashed an hour later.

Stations and networks should exercise extreme caution to avoid distorting the content of a story with a sensational newsbreak tease.

However, in all other respects, the Council finds that WBBM-TV, in its reports on

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Laetrile, acted in the public interest and that the complaints are unwarranted.

Concurring: Brady, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, and Rusher.

Abstention: Salant (conflict of interest).

Statement on cameras in the House

The proposal to open the proceedings of the House of Representatives to regular television coverage raises an important First Amendment question.

Present plans for operation of the television cameras would place control of the cameras solely in the hands of the House of Representatives. Thus, those who are making the news would be in charge of the manner in which it is disseminated.

Such government control of the means of obtaining news is surely as much of a contravention of First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press as government control of a newspaper devoted to reporting the happenings of Congress would be.

The Council agrees with the position of the nation's major broadcast groups and organizations that journalists ought to cover events, and that the parties to the events should not be covering themselves.

The Council does not question House installation of its own TV system to create a visual equivalent of the *Congressional Record*.

If cameras are to be installed, however, what is important to The National News Council is that broadcasting entities, and ultimately the public, be afforded free access to House proceedings, not just to those elements of the proceedings which the House itself wishes us to see.

In print and broadcast journalism the reporting and editing processes have been handled traditionally with professional concern by the news organizations independent of government involvement. We urge that the transmittal of congressional proceedings for news purposes be unfettered — free of the taint of any form of government control.

Concurring: Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pultizer, Renick, Roberts, and Salant.

Dissenting opinion of William Rusher: I have, in past public statements, steadfastly opposed the televising of sessions of the Senate or House in any form, and I see no reason to change my opinion now. The proceedings of deliberative bodies can and will be adversely affected by televising them. Such a step will merely increase the power of those forces — already too powerful, in the opinion of many — that can mobilize public opinion in favor of certain policies and against others. It will produce great theater, and no doubt many Emmys; but it will be a net obstacle to cool judgment and unemotional decision-making.

Nonetheless, the House (to be followed, no doubt, more sedately by the Senate) has already decided to televise its sessions. Now we discover that the terms of coverage are unacceptable to the Council majority. The cameras are to televise the entire chamber and the whole session, rather than zeroing in on trembling hands, hurried floor caucuses, piquant expressions, etc. The Council majority believes those decisions must be left strictly to the television directors involved.

Believing as I do that television cameras have no business in the House and Senate at all, I am reluctant either to oppose the Council's narrow point (about what to televise) or to endorse it. I think, however, that the House and Senate would do well to note the position assumed by the Council majority, and to understand that this is the direction in which they will rapidly be carried if they open their doors to television cameras.

Concurring: Brady

Reporting on methadone from the inside

Issue: A reporter poses as a drug addict to show how easy it is to get on a methadone program. Is it legitimate for him to approach the subject as a crusader against the drug and the treatment programs?

Complaint: Professor Vincent P. Dole of The Rockefeller University and Lee Koenigsberg, director of the Methadone Information Center in New York City, complained that a *New York* magazine article about methadone treatment was "grossly slanted," "irresponsible," and "startlingly inaccurate." "For a temporary sensation," Dr. Dole wrote the Council, "the magazine has seriously damaged the credibility of a treatment program that is literally life saving for thousands of otherwise untreatable heroin addicts."

The article, written by free-lancer Blake Fleetwood, appeared in the October 17, 1977, issue under the title "Psst, Kid . . . Wanna Be a Junkie? Try Methadone!" It was in large part a first-person account of the writer's experiences at the Lafayette methadone clinic in New York City. The complainants charged that Mr. Fleetwood (a) used deceptive reporting techniques, (b) was inaccurate in his description of his experiences at the Lafayette clinic, and (c) was inaccurate in his general statements about methadone maintenance.

Posing as an addict, Mr. Fleetwood was admitted to the Lafayette program and given two doses of methadone. His article expressed astonishment that even a non-addict could be accepted.

As evidence of addiction, Mr. Fleetwood presented a fictionalized letter from an "aunt" telling of his drug problems. He told the clinic staff he had been satisfying his habit by "buying methadone on the streets." According to the clinic, his application was accepted because of a laboratory test that detected methadone in his urine. In the article, Mr. Fleetwood claimed not to have taken methadone before the urinalysis. In their complaints, Dr. Dole and Mr. Koenigsberg contended that Mr. Fleetwood had deliberately taken methadone to dupe the clinic into accepting him.

Mr. Koenigsberg said Mr. Fleetwood had admitted taking methadone before the urinalysis in an interview with Peter Vogelson, who works at the Methadone Information Center. Mr. Fleetwood has reiterated his denial that he had taken methadone before the test and denies telling Mr. Vogelson that he had done so.

In the article, Mr. Fleetwood said he had needed only this one attempt to gain admission to a program. The complainants charged that, in reality, Mr. Fleetwood had tried several other clinics before succeeding.

When asked about this charge, Mr. Koenigsberg attributed the information to Richard Marx, an official in the State Office of Drug Abuse Services. Mr. Marx told the Council his information was also secondhand. Further investigation established that the charge was simply a rumor with no evidence to support it.

Describing his experiences at the Lafayette clinic, Mr. Fleetwood wrote that the director, Dr. Massismo DeGiarde, "wasn't there the three times I visited the place." The complainants said that Dr. DeGiarde, "who happened to be dressed in casual attire rather than a white coat" was present at the clinic

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each day Mr. Fleetwood was there. Furthermore, they asserted that Dr. DeGiarde's staff was much larger than the eight people reported in the article.

Mr. Fleetwood stands by his statements and says they were based on interviews with patients and his own observations.

The complainants also objected to the article's negative comments about methadone maintenance in general. They called Mr. Fleetwood inaccurate in claiming that methadone makes users "very high," that most methadone patients continue to abuse other drugs and cannot hold long-term jobs, and that methadone programs have no large impact on addict-related crime.

Conclusion of the Council:

Reporter's Techniques. In a previous decision the Council declared, "The Council cannot accept any definition of investigative reporting that could be construed as an open-ended approval of ends justifying the means. Simultaneously, The Council recognizes that journalists are at times confronted with situations in which some forms of subterfuge may be appropriate."

In this instance, we feel that the question of enforcement of strict admission requirements for methadone programs was an important subject for investigation and that Mr. Fleetwood's techniques were appropriate for obtaining his story.

On the question of Mr. Fleetwood's urinalysis, the Council can make no determination. It is a matter of Mr. Vogelson's word against Mr. Fleetwood's.

The complainants produced no evidence to support the charge that Mr. Fleetwood had applied to several clinics. We question the fairness of making an accusation based on unsubstantiated, second- or third-hand information.

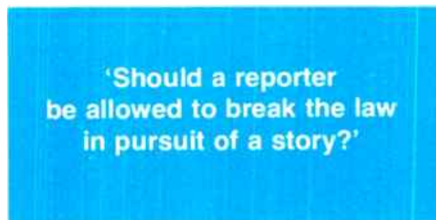
Description of Experiences at Clinic. The complainants said that the *New York* article did not give an accurate picture of conditions at the Lafayette clinic. The Council has no way of determining what Mr. Fleetwood actually saw or heard.

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione, Isaacs, Lawson, Pulitzer, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant.

Dissenting opinion of Ralph Renick: This article raises a fundamental problem largely *not* confronted by the media. Simply stated, the question is: "Should a reporter be allowed to break the law in the pursuit of a story?"

In this case it is the illegal acquisition of a controlled substance. In other cases in recent memory it has been the taking or giving of bribes, giving minors alcohol and staging a party for marijuana users.

Many media executives who have strongly condemned the abuses of law-enforcement agencies find no problem when they authorize illegal activities of their own. "Intent" seems to be the most common excuse for illegal media activities. But does the "public right to know" allow for illegal activities where the media itself is making the decisions to break the law?



Certainly, there are cases in tyrannical nations and during extraordinary times when some violations of the law might be acceptable. But recent media aggressiveness has produced an atmosphere in which any violation of the law is excused with the argument that it is justified when it is part of the pursuit of news.

For this reason, I do not believe the Council should condone those illegal actions used to obtain portions of the *New York* story.

General statements about methadone. Regarding the complaints related to the article's general statements about methadone maintenance, the Council divided evenly and emerged with no decision. Four members voted to find the complaints warranted, four members to find them unwarranted and two members abstained.

Opinion entered by Sylvia Roberts: The article moved from the writer's personal experiences to a general indictment of all methadone programs. The presentation was totally one-sided; no arguments in favor of methadone were included.

We recognize the value of robust opinion journalism and would never attempt to hold journalists to some hypothetical standard of complete objectivity. We believe, however, that there are limits to how far a reporter should go in ignoring information that does not support his or her viewpoint.

In this instance, the writer cited only those statistics that supported his arguments and ignored other important evidence that was readily available. For example, to support his contention that methadone patients continue to abuse other drugs, he used an eight-year-old study and failed to report more current studies that showed different results.

The article leaves the distinct impression that all methadone patients are "junkies" who are so continually "stoned" that they cannot hold jobs. Methadone alone may not be the answer to the nation's addiction problem, but there is substantial evidence that methadone therapy has helped many patients function productively. By labeling methadone patients as unreliable "junkies," the article contributes to a stereotyped image that makes it difficult for even the most motivated patient to obtain a job.

Presentation of a totally one-sided article dealing with aspects of methadone therapy would be permissible if the writer and/or editor indicated that another "side" had been considered and rejected because, in the writer's view, contentions and studies of such other side had no merit.

With this information, the reader would be advised that the article is aimed at relaying only the material which proves a point, rather than an attempt to report on various aspects of the effectiveness of methadone therapy. Such "truth in labeling" of advocacy journalism as opposed to straight reporting should apply to both print and electronic media.

The editors of *New York* bear the ultimate responsibility for the lack of reference to "the other side." We find the complaints about the article's general portrayal of methadone maintenance warranted.

Concurring: Brady, Lawrence, and Pulitzer.

Opinion entered by William Rusher: By analogy to our decision in the Mobil case (May 10, 1974) which held that ABC had the right, in its pursuance of robust opinion journalism, to "slant" its presentation in favor of a particular viewpoint, and bearing in mind the wider opportunities for rebuttal in print as opposed to electronic media, we would prefer to find this complaint unwarranted as within the wider latitude of editors to "tilt the pinball machine" in a particular direction.

Concurring: Cooney, Isaacs, and Renick.

Abstentions: Ghiglione and Salant.

Full reports

Due to both space limitations and the desire for a more readable form, complaint reports by the Council in CJR have been shortened. Copies of full reports may be obtained by writing to The National News Council, 1 Lincoln Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10023. Enclose $1 to defray mailing and handling costs.

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REPORTS

"This Man was Made Possible by a Grant from Mobil Oil," by Michael Gerrard, **Esquire**, January 1978

Gerrard peers closely into the mouth of Mobil's gift horse to the media — its $21 million-a-year p.r. budget, out of which spring, among other things, those familiar columns on the op-ed page of *The New York Times*, three hours a week of the best of public television, a series of sophisticated art posters, and an appealing coffee-table volume called *The Genius of Arab Civilization*. Architect of Mobil's image-polishing strategy — that is, of persuading the movers and shakers, particularly those with friends in Washington, of the corporation's fine sensibilities — and distributor of its goodies is forty-seven-year-old, $200,000-a-year (plus stock options) vice-president for public affairs Herbert Schmertz, who, from the training grounds of Columbia Law, voter registration drives for J.F.K., and advance publicity for Bobby, has emerged as the classiest flack in the country, with extraordinary powers over its cultural life. Through Mobil's largesse, for example, Schmertz not only promotes the kind of public television programs dear to its corporate heart, but even more significantly, may subtly stifle the development of programs uncongenial to its interests, simply because smart producers shape their plans with an eye on potential big-business funding. Gerrard's revealing article traces the history of Mobil and Schmertz to their present happy union (the major obstacle to a Schmertz corporation presidency, it is suggested, is the Jewishness that causes Arab unease), describes the patron's plans for the future (continued efforts at outright purchase of media themselves, together with the possible formation of a convenient fourth network), and worries about the impact on the arts and society of the Medicis of the seventies.

"The Global News Flow Controversy," **Atlas World Press Review**, December 1977

This collection of four articles offers valuable insights into the problematic issue of the communications flow in the third world. "Challenge to the West," by Shashi Tharoor, an Indian writer doing graduate study in the United States, provides a cool and lucid exposition of the rationale behind the third world impulse toward a "development journalism" with a "balanced flow" uniquely distinct from both Soviet and Western mass media models, which in the third world view are fundamentally distorted by their respective allegiances in the selection and content of the information they disseminate. In "Toward a New Information Order," the director general of the Yugoslav national news agency Tanjug defends the concept behind the new "pool" system and describes how it functions; marked by great diversity as well as strong common interests, he says, it is in no way either a supranational news agency or a monolithic bloc. "A Global Opportunity," by Peter Galliner, director of the International Press Institute of Zurich and London, emphasizes the constitutional provisions drawn up to govern the pool that will safeguard against total government control; he argues that the need for change in the current system of communications in the third world is indisputable, that there are recognized advantages and attractions to third world leaders in both Soviet and Western models, and that Western nations should offer financial, technical, and moral support in the third world's efforts to develop independent agencies and news agency pools. The final article, "A Time for Reason," is a thoughtful interview with Reuters's managing director Gerald Long, who believes that the West's strong reaction to the current controversy may have been somewhat exaggerated.

"Scientists in the Popular Press," by Robert Gordon Shepherd and Erich Goode, **New Scientist** (London), November 24, 1977

Just how expert, anyway, are those "scientific experts" the media like to quote? In an illuminating case study designed to explore the communications flow from the scientific literature to the popular press, these college professors examined, first, 271 articles on the subject of marijuana that were published in English between 1967 and 1972, as listed in the standard medical bibliographic reference work, the *Index Medicus;* and, second, 275 articles on the same subject that ran in the New York *Daily News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The New York Times*, and twenty-six magazines during the same period. Their conclusions are mixed. The

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good news is that the press tends to select for news stories those studies regarded as most influential by the scientific community itself. The not-so-good news is that in the category of "summary" articles, the press is less inclined to seek out the views of the truly influential researchers and tends instead to rely on administrative spokesmen — the head of the National Institute of Mental Health, say, or of the Food and Drug Administration — who may have little or no personal expertise in the subject in question but who, at the same time, may enjoy a significant standing in tangentially related areas. For similar stories on sports or the arts, the authors argue, reporters go directly to the source — the athletes and artists themselves; what a "curious anomaly," they sigh, "that this fundamental maxim does not appear to hold when it comes to practitioners of scientific research."

"Readers Let Fly in Letters to the Editor," by David Shaw, **Los Angeles Times**, November 5, 1977

A three-hundred-year-old tradition, the letter to the editor currently rides a wave of increasing reader popularity and expanding editorial space — in most cases around 20-25 percent, sometimes 35-40 percent, of the paper's total editorial page. Here the press critic of the *Los Angeles Times* examines the phenomenon engaging an estimated ten million letter writers, drawing on scholarly analyses, interviews with letters editors, pithy examples, and his own observations on a department that reflects not only the controversial concerns of its readers but also, perhaps less obviously, the personality and character, philosophy and priorities of the publication itself. One sidebar sketches briefly the famous letters section of *The Times* of London, and another reports on a few bizarre aspects of the genre, ranging from the problem of hoax to the policy of a now-defunct periodical that charged writers by the word to print their epistolary efforts.

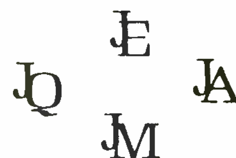
"Banned in South Africa," **More**, December 1977

A grim, twenty-page examination of the press in South Africa, from a variety of perspectives. Patrick Laurence, a reporter for the *Rand Daily Mail*, describes the acute fear and obsessive caution attendant on current newsroom life. *Mail* political editor Martin Schneider characterizes the country's English-language papers in terms of their black-white readership, coverage, internal organization, and political posture, arguing that the papers have been "more an ally of white privilege than of black liberation." One of the country's two black editors, Obed Kunene (the other is Percy Qoboza, now under detention without trial) rehearses his personal experiences with newsroom apartheid. And Daniel Schecter of the Africa Research Group and WBCN-FM in Boston explores what he regards as the more serious lacks in American coverage of the South Africa story: a misunderstanding of the economic nature of apartheid; a failure to grasp the crucial factor of U.S. economic involvement; a consistent slighting of the black resistance movement (Steven Biko was barely covered before his death, he notes); and misleading attempts at professional neutrality that equate the Afrikaner position with that of a majority. The package is enhanced by several informative sidebars, including a basic bibliography, a review of the controversial Krugerrand ads, a report on the advocacy of the Afrikaans regime by the Panax newspaper chain, and a fascinating list of banned books, records, magazines, and objects that include Marx, Freud, Jesus Jeans, and *Jaws*.

"The Newspaper Business," by William H. Jones and Laird Anderson, **The Washington Post**, beginning July 24, 1977

The impressive twelve-part series on press concentration that ran last summer in *The Washington Post*'s business and finance section has been reprinted in a forty-page pamphlet (available from the *Post* upon request). Focusing on the theme of newspapers as big business, the surprisingly readable profiles are stuffed with hard facts on finances and management policies, revenues and acquisition deals of such journalism giants as Gannett, Knight-Ridder, Newhouse, the Times Mirror Company, the New York Times Company, Media General, Dow-Jones, Harte-Hanks, and, evenhandedly enough, The Washington Post Company itself.

G.C.



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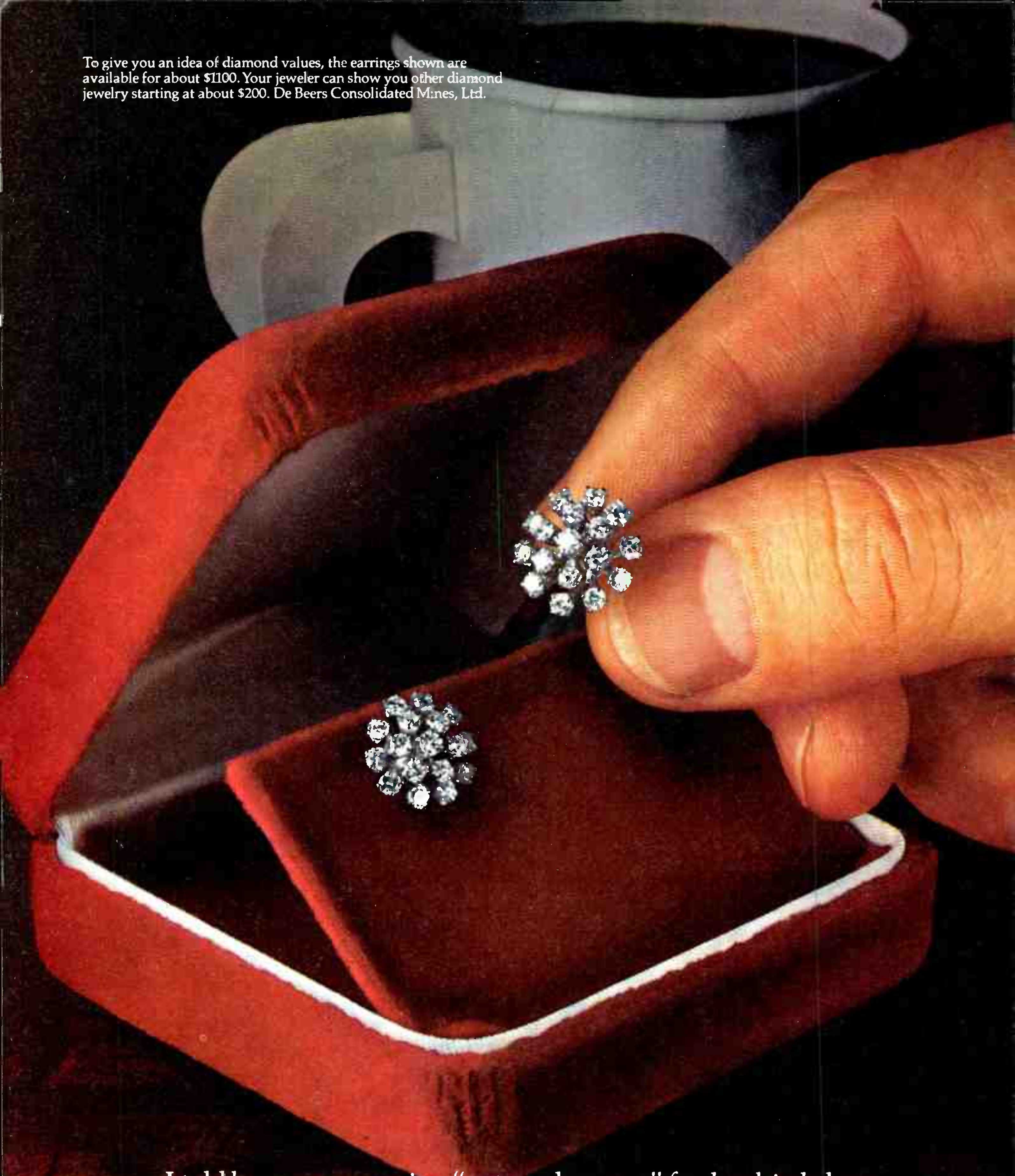

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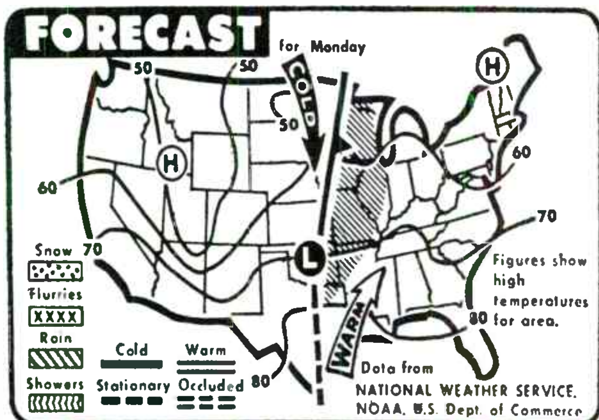
The Lower case



Shaded parts of map locate areas occupied by Israel since 1967.

Milwaukee Sentinel 10/31/77

Boycott snowballs in Pontiac

The Guild Memo November, 1977

NEXT year would be a good year for the voters of California to lay the ghost of Elbridge Gerry. They should be given the chance to do so.

San Diego Evening Tribune 12/29/77

Foley: World peace rests on fool supply

Walla Walla Union-Bulletin 1/18/78

Food Is Basic To Student Diet

Bridgeport (Conn.) Post 1/18/78

After years of being lost under a pile of dust, Walter P. Stanley, III, left, found all the old records of the Bangor Lions Club at the Bangor House. On Jan. 18 he donated them in a presentation to Lions Club President Earl Black.

Bangor Daily News 1/20/78

SE Asian refugee needs topic at lunch meeting

The Daily Californian 1/13/78

The Writer's Forum

Do you enjoy writing and are looking for helpful criticism to improve?

Richmond Times-Dispatch 10/27/77

Talks to bear on Seattle future

The Seattle Times 9/25/77

Greene Urges Restrictions on Sentencing

Greene Urges Sentencing Restrictions

The Washington Post 12/18/77

REWARD

Any information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons making threatening telephone calls or any kind of threats to a Mora County resident, Miguel Romo, or any member of his family will be punishable to the extent of the law.

A reward is offered for this information.

Please notify the Mora County Sheriffs Department or the New Mexico State Police.

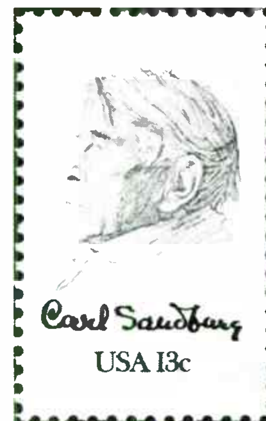
Las Vegas Daily Optic 1/12/78

Mrs. J. Hawood Evans unearths the candelabra for the presentation doorway through which debutantes enter to be introduced from attic storage.

Durham Morning Herald 12/25/77

The Mormon Church has no doctrinal position on when life begins but takes a hard line against abortions performed for reasons other than to save the life of the mother or in cases of rape and incest after counseling with a bishop.

The Idaho Statesman 1/17/78



Sandberg stamp

The U.S. Postal Service announced Wednesday that a 13-cent commemorative stamp honoring Carl Sandberg will be issued Jan. 6, the 100th anniversary of his birth. Sandberg's signature is reproduced at the bottom of the stamp.

The Morning Union (Springfield, Mass.) 12/1/77

CJR asks readers who contribute items to this department to send only original clippings suitable for reproduction; please include the name and date of publication, as well as your name and address

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NOBODY HATES A WELL MADE CAR.

A recent survey shows there's something the average new car owner doesn't like about his car. And it's one of the things the average new Volvo owner likes most about his.*

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At a time when most Americans are fed up with the quality of new cars, we ask you: why buy a car there's a good chance you'll hate, when you can buy a car there's an even better chance you'll love?

**Survey conducted among owners of new cars bought in May, 1977.*

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