

NiemanReports

December 1969

Democracy and the Press

By John S. Knight

Covering the Vietnam War

By Peter Braestrup

What I've Learned About the Press

By Lord Devlin

Robert G. McCloskey, 1916-1969

By Alan Barth

Harvard Appoints Nieman Selection Committee for 1970-71

NiemanReports

VOL. XXIII, NO. 4

Louis M. Lyons, Editor Emeritus

December 1969

—Dwight E. Sargent, Editor—

—Tenney K. Lehman, Managing Editor—

Editorial Board of the Society of Nieman Fellows

Robert W. Brown Augusta Chronicle	Roy M. Fisher Chicago Daily News	C. Ray Jenkins Alabama Journal	Sylvan Meyer Miami News
Millard C. Browne Buffalo News	Robert B. Frazier Eugene Register-Guard	John Strohmeier Bethlehem Globe-Times	Robert Lasch St. Louis Post-Dispatch
William B. Dickinson Philadelphia Bulletin	Thomas H. Griffith Life Magazine	E. J. Paxton, Jr. Paducah Sun-Democrat	Robert Giles Knight Newspapers
Tillman Durdin New York Times	Rebecca Gross Lock Haven Express	Harry T. Montgomery Associated Press	Smith Hempstone, Jr. Washington Star
William F. McIlwain Newsday	Alan Barth Washington Post	David Kraslow Los Angeles Times	George Chaplin Honolulu Advertiser

Published quarterly by the Society of Nieman Fellows from 77 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138. Subscription \$3 a year. Second-class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.

What I've Learned About the Press

By Lord Devlin

Lord Devlin has just retired after five years as chairman of the British Press Council.

When I became chairman of the Press Council—and thereby, I suppose, left the Establishment for the outer world—I did not expect to find a high degree of mutual admiration existing between the Establishment and the Press. Their natures make them opposing forces whose interaction is designed to set the delicate balance on which a free society rests. A basic antagonism is healthy as well as in-

evitable. But I have been surprised to find in many public men a feeling of personal hostility towards the Press that was sometimes quite intense. What causes it?

The image of a profession reflects its past, especially its immediate past, more clearly than its present. All professions have a discreditable past. Even those that are now most respected have their skeletons—their medical quacks, their rascally attorneys and the like. During the past 100 years one profession after another has submitted to discipline.

The freedom of other professions is largely their own to do with what they will: the freedom of the Press belongs in the

(Continued on page 15)

Democracy and the Press

by John S. Knight

What Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois said last September 26 at the Lovejoy Monument rededication ceremonies in Alton is incontestable. The Governor rightly observed that "to truly honor the Lovejoy heritage demands a renewed dedication to the principles he espoused and to the land which he loved."

Which properly invites the question as to how well the press of America is meeting this test. Are we as vigorous and dedicated as we might be? Or, as a now departed Washington politician once put it, "do we duck, dodge and slide" when confronted with the gut decisions?

I can speak only as one recently described by Hugh Sidey of LIFE as "that old curmudgeon," a term which in Webster's New International Dictionary means "an avaricious, grasping fellow; a miser, niggard, churl."

While reeling from the impact of this low blow to my dignity, Mr. Sidey soothed my feelings with another definition from William Safire's "The New Language of Politics." According to Safire, "a curmudgeon is a likeably irascible old man."

Well, that was better. But along came a letter from a self-styled devoted reader who said that through the years he had found me "stubborn, exasperating, frequently wrong, unpredictably right, liberal, conservative, drastic and moderate."

And to the New York Times, I am invariably "crusty."

Having thus been dissected in public, a common occurrence in nearly 40 years as a regular writer of commentary and opinion, I beg your indulgence to proceed with some thoughts and observations.

As with the late Ralph McGill, I am a sentimentalist about newspapers. And I have always shared McGill's view that newspapers ought to believe in the journalistic relevance of moral principle.

Philosophy, broadly construed, is the love of wisdom. In application, says the dictionary, it is the science which investigates general facts and principles of reality and of human nature and conduct.

My philosophy of newspaper publishing centers upon these basic points:

The Knight Newspapers strive to meet the highest standards of journalism. We try to keep our news columns factual and unbiased, reserving our opinions for the editorial page where they belong.

We have no entangling alliances. We are not beholden to any political party, faction or special interest.

Our editors and officers studiously avoid conflicts of interest. They serve on no corporate boards or committees other than appropriate civic organizations or committees in the fields of education and communications.

It is our publishing judgment that business and general managers should conduct the managerial functions of our

newspaper group; that the editors be responsible for the news, feature and editorial quality.

We believe in making a profit through efficient production and modern business procedures, but we do not sacrifice the quality of our newspapers on the altar of the counting house.

True, we have our critics who take issue with aggressive editorial performance. But the truly distinguished newspapers in this country are those which have dared to face public wrath and displeasure.

As responsible purveyors of information and opinion, our newspapers are committed to the philosophy that journalism is likewise a public trust, an institution which serves, protects and advances the public welfare.

For me to maintain that we have consistently achieved perfection in the pursuit of these goals would be an impertinence. But they stand, nevertheless, as guidelines and inspiration for the officers and editors who direct our policies. And they make us believable to the thousands of men and women in our organization who hold to high ideals of ethical journalism.

The charges most generally directed against the press—and I refer specifically in this instance to newspapers—include the following: The American press is not to be believed. Newspapers are not objective in their coverage of people and events. Bias and sensationalism show through their columns.

The press is pro-establishment and cares nothing about the rights of minority groups. Newspapers have shown little or no appreciation or understanding of the motivations of youth in their reporting of campus demonstrations or the incidents at Grant Park during the 1968 Democratic convention. Editorial position dictates everything that appears in the news columns.

These allegations are by no means all inclusive. But they will suffice for the purposes of this dissertation.

Newspapers, unlike the ordinary run of magazines and much of the electronic media, are sitting ducks for the unbelievability charge since they dare to take strong positions on public men and issues. The politician whose integrity is challenged by the press resorts to cries that he has been misquoted and to threats of libel. His friends and supporters naturally tend to side with him and cast aspersions on the ancestry of the editor.

We come under criticism if we misspell a reader's name or err in the reporting of a news event. Some accept our voluntary corrections but many prefer to grouse about not being able to believe anything you see in the newspapers. Since it is more satisfying to berate the press than to praise it, credibility suffers.

Let me cite one personal example of 15 years standing. President Johnson came to be distrusted because he misled the people on the war in Vietnam. Reams of official dispatch-

es poured forth from Washington and Saigon to prove that we were actually winning the war. Years ago, I maintained that these overly optimistic pronouncements were a mendacious melange of misinformation.

On April 25, 1954, I warned that the United States was headed toward another war through the pattern of gradual involvement. "Intervention in Indochina," I wrote, "would find us fighting another dead end war with virtually no support from our allies." I said further that "if the President, the Vice President and Secretary Dulles are to be believed, the United States will be irretrievably involved before the year is out."

For my pains, I was assailed as an un-American appeaser and a pro-Communist sympathizer. The drum beat of criticism swelled in volume and sound for the next 12 years. So my believability suffered steady erosion until the Fulbright hearings of 1966-67 when the American people came to the shocking realization that they had been duped.

On the subject of objectivity, there are many diverse views. If dictionaries have not gone out of style, objectivity means "involving the use of facts without distortion by personal feelings or prejudices." Objective reporting to old-time newspapermen meant an unbiased and accurate account of the event being covered. "Ideally," says journalist Herbert Brucker, "the reader should not be able to tell, from reading a news story, which side the reporter is on. That is precisely what it was—and still is.

"But today," laments Mr. Brucker, "objective news has become anathema to young activists in journalism, to some of the rising generation of university intellectuals, and to others who should know better." It is indeed a fact that many of the younger journalists are more intent upon reforming the world than in reporting it accurately. They find nothing unethical in attempting to use the news columns for what they consider to be the vastly more important issues of progress and betterment of mankind.

The doubters say there is no such thing as absolute objectivity. Kerry Gruson, daughter of a New York Times news executive, declares that objectivity is a myth. "There comes a point," avers Miss Gruson, "when you have to take a stand. . . . After that you try to be fair."

I disagree. If a newspaper did not pursue the quest for objectivity—while confining its opinions to the editorial page—the bewildered reader would be even further bogged down in the morass of unbelievability.

In my years—both as reporter and author of a column of opinion—I have sought first to ascertain the facts and then offer reasoned comment based upon these findings. It is not our purpose to fix policy in advance and then set out to prove it correct. In the Grant Park melee of 1968 I entered the area and talked with dozens of young people.

Admittedly, the hard core troublemakers were there. They

did indeed provoke attacks upon the police, shouted obscenities and generally behaved in unseemly manner before the television cameras. But others, the large majority, were there, too. The young people with whom I talked included idealistic students and married couples for Sen. Eugene McCarthy, opposed to the war and easily stirred by the excitement and commotion.

These were not the rabble rousers but youth involved in matters of tremendous importance to their futures. Their activity was to be commended, not scorned. My opinion was, of course, not widely shared by the nation's editorialists. Most lumped together all of the kids in Grant Park with the radicals of the New Left. In my humble judgment, too much of the opinion offered on the Grant Park ruckus was based upon observations from the safety of a high Conrad Hilton window directly across Michigan Avenue.

To the accusation that press is pro-establishment I would agree—if by "establishment" we mean faith in democracy under constitutional processes as opposed to anarchy and destruction. For one to assert that the press has no interest in minorities is to be convinced that the press is blind to the nagging problems which beset our country.

I have detected no such myopia, and certainly not in recent years.

And to those who aver that news coverage is colored and influenced by editorial policy, I concede that the practice is not unknown. I have had some experience with newspapers where ownership largely dictated policies consistent with their personal holdings in commerce and industry; where the poorest candidate was usually a Democrat and in times when "the good of the nation" editorials were strongly influenced by the publisher's personal and political philosophy.

Today's press is infinitely superior to that of any other era. Admittedly, it is not as colorful as the journalism practiced in the early part of this century nor as savagely personal in carrying out the owner's mandates. But prejudice, passion and partisanship have all been tempered by the passage of time. No self-respecting editor or reporter of this age would long remain with a publication which deliberately distorted the news. The putrefaction of dishonest journalism has put a pox upon the "polecat press."

There is today an increasing awareness and understanding of the vast changes taking place in our social, economic and political lives. Moreover, the press no longer underestimates the intelligence of its audience which, with the alertness of youth, can make a ready distinction between candor and claptrap.

What I do find encouraging about the press, and newspapers in particular, is a mounting sense of responsibility to the public which it serves. Gen. Maxwell Taylor and former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara may have misled Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on Vietnam, but not so

that courageous band of mature reporters who pierced the fog of fallacy and brought light and truth to the American people.

It is the press which audits government, exposes wrongdoing and prods the sluggards and papsuckers into action.

It is the press which turns up corruption, both in public and private affairs. It is the press which sheds the spotlight on the private world of a man nominated to the Supreme Court.

It is the press which must interpret social change—fearlessly and honestly.

The press, and the press alone, has the resources and determination to uproot crime and corruption and reveal the extent to which the mobsters have gained control of respectable business institutions.

Our best Washington correspondents are never satisfied with government press releases but keep digging for more information to which the public is entitled. The loudest cries of "foul" come from bureaucrats who have been singled in the journalistic fires. Former President Lyndon Johnson once expressed surprise "that any citizen would feel toward his country in a way that is not consistent with the national interest."

I would agree, but I would also ask, "Whose national interest?" The national interest is not the President's alone to decide. It comes from dialogue and debate not only at the White House and on Capitol Hill, but in every place in the land where two citizens can meet to speak freely.

In Elijah Lovejoy's day, Judge Luke E. Lawless proclaimed that he favored freedom of the press while at the same time believing that the law should protect society from abuses of the press "which perverse and misguided men can wield for the purpose of harm either to the individual or to the mass."

Editors no longer face the brutalizing forces which murdered Elijah Parish Lovejoy, yet the elements of ignorance we still have with us.

We have seen misguided men in high office urging silence in the name of patriotism. Gen. Hershey sought to use the draft laws to punish those who exercised their constitutional rights of free speech. In support of the General, now happily removed, Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina said "college deferments may become a thing of the past and this is fair warning to every college student."

Quite overlooked by these unestimable gentlemen is the Bill of Rights which guarantees freedom of speech and the right of peaceable assembly while petitioning for a redress of grievances. But when you try to tell an ultra-conservative that the exercise of dissent is a conservative rather than a radical procedure, he shrugs his shoulders in disbelief.

The Far Right should hearken to Judge Harold Medina who says that "of all constitutional rights, the freedoms of

speech and assembly are the most perishable, yet the most vital, to the preservation of American democracy."

History has been filled with attacks upon dissenters, but also with moments when dissent led to change, and where speaking out in an unpopular cause has shifted the nation's course by changing the persuasion of its citizens.

Yet despite the examples of history, including the influence of Lovejoy, we find today, as other Americans before us have found, that dissent is being equated with sedition. If the debate between the dissenters and their government has been more acrimonious than normal, in large part it is because the first casualty of war is truth.

To the normal frustrations of war with all its costs, and mistaken optimism, the people learned they were not told the truth during the Johnson administration. And they have suffered since from the frustration of credibility. As the critics became more vocal—and more critical—the past administration escalated its attempts to wrap controversial policies in the American flag and demand conformity in the name of patriotism.

Those who would suspend democratic freedoms in critical times might also yearn to suspend them at any time they feel so inclined. It is the duty of dissent to preserve those freedoms, an exercise of patriotism which belongs to the people. It is a duty which cannot be delegated.

During the period of our gradual involvement in the tragic mess that is Vietnam, there were ample indications that the course on which we were embarked could result only in misfortune and misery. While President Johnson and Secretary Rusk talked solemnly of our "sacred commitments" in Southeast Asia, a careful reading of the language adopted by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization clearly indicates that the United States was in no wise bound to commit troops in defense of South Vietnam.

In other words, SEATO called for no automatic participation on our part as in the case of NATO where our treaty pledges are indeed binding instruments of action.

As Arthur M. Schlesinger has pointed out in "The Bitter Heritage," Secretary Rusk's proposition that SEATO commits the United States to military intervention "can only be regarded as an exercise in historical and legal distortion."

Yet members of the Senate lost their tongues at a time when full and searching debate might have altered the course of history. With a mere handful of notable exceptions—including Fulbright, Morse, Gruening, Church, Eugene McCarthy and McGovern—they waved the flag and pledged full support to the President for a bloody conflict having uncertain and unattainable objectives.

And other Americans, while respecting the right of dissent but not the duty, remained silent when the times cried out for opposition to the most tragic war in our history.

Lest I be misunderstood, let me say that I hold no brief for

those willful violators of the law who cannot draw the line between dissent and disobedience. Further, they seem to forget that as violence begets violence, irrationality and intemperance beget further irrationality and intemperance. If those such as the defendants in Conspiracy Eight, the professional peaceniks and the Black Panthers feel they have the right to take the law into their own hands, they can hardly deny the same right to their opponents.

Thus a meeting of the militants to plan violence must expect to be challenged by equally militant and tyrannical organizations which use their liberty of free speech as a license to deny it to others.

The fact that the first Moratorium Day constituted orderly dissent lent credibility and persuasiveness to the anti-war protests. But no one, other than the extreme militants and their misguided camp followers, is willing to give credence to the type of dissent which marches through the streets waving Viet Cong flags and mocks our traditional American institutions.

No, this is not the way. The imperiousness of the rabble defiles our democratic system and disgusts every freedom loving citizen. And, ironically, the anarchists who abuse our Constitutional liberties would find themselves prisoners of the police state in the authoritarian world to which they give such frenetic devotion.

Yet it is grossly unfair, as so many are doing, to brand today's youth generation as a mass of irresponsibility. Quite to the contrary, today's youth is not only better educated and more perceptive than their elders but put the graybeard generation to shame in their concerns over the strains and stresses of our society.

Race relations, poverty and slums, crime, lawlessness and the avoidance of future wars rank high on their list of youth priorities.

When parents and grandparents attempt to judge the youth of today by their own standards of yesteryear, we have an immediate generation gap. In turn, the inability to understand the motivations, sensitivities and convictions of our younger people only widens the chasm of misunderstanding. For nothing is as simple to them as it was to us. This new generation cannot grasp, nor will it accept the notion that the war in Vietnam is a holy crusade against Communism.

Within the year, I have had the rare privilege of talking with groups of students at Cornell, Harvard, Oberlin and Michigan. Whereas their elders often succumb to a rigidity of thought, the students in our colleges and universities refuse to swallow the dogmas of the past. The educated young man or woman of today is searching for a better tomorrow, not only for himself or herself alone but for the world and its peoples.

And even from those who brought about so much turmoil

may emerge the strongest and most thoughtful leaders of tomorrow as they acquire a balance of individual freedom and social responsibility. In the search for participatory democracy, no finer example can be found than the recent Colby Constitutional Convention. While the plan under consideration may have its imperfections, it nevertheless represents a serious and intelligent approach to desired reforms.

Finally, the role of the press in a free democratic society demands total involvement in and dedication to the problems which beset that society. This means both the right and the duty to point out governmental sins of omission as well as commission, to turn the light of publicity on the government's house itself.

Unlike the press in too many other parts of the world, from Sao Paulo to Saigon, this the press of the United States is well able to do, without undue concern about governmental reprisal or recriminations. It is one of the factors which sets the United States apart, and which has helped to prove groundless the fear expressed more than a century ago by Alexis de Toqueville.

Then, he wrote, what he found "most repulsive in America is not the extreme freedom reigning there, but the shortage of guarantees against tyranny."

This observation has led modern-day alarmists to warn that the press—both print and electronic—must show more concern for the "rights of those persons and parties representing less than the majority opinion."

I submit that the press has been showing precisely that concern, with the result that we have frequently witnessed the transformation of a powerful majority into a minority at the polls.

No, there is no danger from "the overpowering omni-

potence of the majority" so long as we have a free and unshackled press. The greatest of all government documents—the United States Constitution—provides ample safeguards against tyranny and injustice. With the responsible and unfettered use of our First Amendment rights, what more can we ask?

Unlike Elijah Parish Lovejoy, the editor of today seldom faces a choice between principle and the wrath of a murderous mob. The pressures put upon us are more subtle and infinitely less dangerous to human survival. Yet there are those among us—and especially in the deep South—whose voices have been stilled by the antagonistic application of overwhelming economic power.

Men of courage such as the revered and beloved John N. Heiskell of the Arkansas Gazette—an early recipient of the Lovejoy Award—have endured the slings and arrows of public disapproval only to rise again to win acclaim and confound their tormentors.

"Ned" Heiskell would have stood with Lovejoy at Alton, stout of heart and serene in conscience. The honor you do me in the Lovejoy heritage of "fearlessness and freedom" will provide support and encouragement for further efforts in the pursuit of truth and its prompt dissemination thereof.

For I shall always hold with the great Winston Churchill that "a free press is the unsleeping guardian of every right that free men prize; it is the most dangerous foe of tyranny."

(Mr. Knight is Editorial Chairman of Knight Newspapers. This is the text of the 18th annual Lovejoy Lecture at Colby College, where Mr. Knight received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.)

Covering the Vietnam War

By Peter Braestrup

Mr. Braestrup covered Vietnam for The New York Times in 1966 and 1967, and was chief of the Saigon bureau of The Washington Post in the following two years. He was a Nieman Fellow from the New York Herald Tribune in the class of 1960.

In view of the impact of public opinion on the prosecution of the war, the accuracy and balance of the news coverage has attained an importance almost equal to the actual combat operations. These factors, together with the rules and regulations under which we operated, have served to add a new dimension to battlefield command.

Gen. William C. Westmoreland
June 30, 1968

When we get a piece of good news, we wait 36 hours, and then, if we're really lucky, it turns out to be 25 per cent correct.

Gen. Creighton W. Abrams
January 30, 1969

Last fall, a 28-year-old-Washington lawyer friend of mine showed up in Saigon, a newcomer to the Embassy staff. He was astonished by the hustle-bustle of the treelined streets, the strolling unarmed G.I.'s, the Oriental zest for commerce, the absence of war ruins downtown. At night, he listened to the rumble of distant bombing by B-52's and watched the orange flares over Saigon. It was a while before he agreed to venture into Cholon, the western (and Chinese) end of the city, for won ton soup. And, downtown, he at first preferred to take his lunch at the rear of the restaurant. Later, sipping a beer on the terrace of the

Continental Palace (Graham Greene's hotel), he admired the slender Vietnamese girls, straight-backed and graceful in *ao dais*, riding home on their noisy Hondas. He complained cheerfully about delays at the Cholon PX, a partial power failure at the embassy, and the public drunkenness of American civilian construction foremen on Tu Do Street. "This isn't at all the way I imagined it from TV and the newspapers," he said. "You wouldn't know there was a war on."

Indeed, there were, inevitably, always great gaps between the realities of Saigon and the "image" at home. Except during the grey nervous days of Tet 1968 and the May 1968 "second wave," *downtown* Saigon seemed remarkably untouched by the war. The slummy outskirts—and lesser towns elsewhere—bore the brunt of Tet. Here, terrorism was rare. The Vietcong were not suicidal fanatics.

True, with the U.S. influx, much of the "Paris of the Orient" flavor was gone, along with most of the French. The "European" restaurant menus were monotonous and expensive. Uniforms, barbed wire, and police were everywhere. Exhaust fumes hung in the air. But the French, whatever else they did, knew how to build cities; they put parks and restaurants as well as warehouses along the winding Saigon River; they built broad avenues and lined them with trees; as in North Africa, Laos, and Cambodia, they built with red tile and cream-colored stucco.

The villas and schools and small apartment houses off Cong Ly Street, occupied by diplomats, civil servants, and, occasionally, American newsmen, made up a quarter as pleasant to the eye as any in the Orient (or the U.S.). The vast slummy outskirts were out of sight. Moreover, in marked contrast to Washington, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, or Hong Kong, downtown Saigon was a place where almost everything was within walking distance, except the U.S.

military headquarters and the Vietnamese high command out by Tan Son Nhut Airbase. The telephone system, by Third World -(or Manhattan) standards, was adequate. There was no censorship, in contrast to Tel Aviv or Beirut (although Gen. Westmoreland contemplated it), and Hong Kong was only 90 minutes away by air.

The climate was less debilitating than Bangkok's. The countryside was beautiful. The long-suffering Vietnamese were never boring or boorish. There were plenty of frustrations and costs were high, but Saigon had its peculiar feverish appeal. And, above all, the work was never dull.

Most visiting newsmen and V.I.P.'s bunked in at the Caravelle (where CBS had its bureau) or at the Continental Palace, across Lam Son Square. A few cloistered themselves in the Majestic, down Tu Do Street by the riverfront. The more permanent types, and the married men with wives, sought apartments and houses, which cost less than the hotels, and were less dreary. Rents for a two-bedroom apartment within walking distance were high—\$300 a month—and a villa further out cost up to \$600 a month (usually shared). But as any accountant could tell you, it cost less to eat at home than at restaurants and hotels. A few Americans, accredited to weeklies or working as freelancers, took up cheap "non-European"-style quarters in the Cholon area for \$100 a month, or less.

(After \$800-a-month stretches at the old-fashioned Continental [big rooms but poor telephone service] and at the French-modern Caravelle [small rooms but good telephone service], this writer in 1968 took over a two-bedroom villa on Tu Xuong Street with a TV colleague for half the price.)

All told, as of March 1969, there were 170 Americans and several hundred others, mostly French, English, Japanese, and Vietnamese accredited to the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV). For the Americans, regardless of the importance of their respective Stateside employers, this meant equal access to daily military briefings, military air transport, PX privileges, U.S. officers' messes in Saigon and elsewhere, and helicopter rides and press centers in the hinterland. Foreigners and Vietnamese got no PX privileges. But they were impressed, just the same, by the freedom of movement permitted to newsmen.

The press was a motley crew. The accredited included the best in the business and any tourist who could get a letter from his hometown publisher. (In the case of foreigners, a letter from his embassy, too). At one point the list included a demented old lady from an evangelical journal in Duluth, a brace of dogmatic pacifists, an Irish Catholic priest, Koreans who doubled as spies, an American lady who indulged in black-market currency manipulations, a stalwart girl parachute jumper, and Swiss photographers who never took pictures. MACV and JUSPAO's Barry

Zorthian could never get the wire services and others to agree on stricter criteria; freedom of the press was observed for all comers, lest any have a friend in Congress.

When my wife visited me in Saigon in October 1966, I took her to the five o'clock follies—the evening war briefing at the paneled, air-conditioned, Marine-guarded JUSPAO auditorium—and she promptly labeled the whole thing a "happening."

There were maps with cardboard bombs showing the location of raids on North Vietnam ("Air North") and cutouts of aircraft showing where our own planes were downed. An Army major appended updates on the communique ("in item 7 of your release, it should read 'seven U.S. KIA' and 32 enemy 'KIA'"), and 100 American, British, German, Vietnamese, Japanese, French newsmen shuffled paper and scribbled notes, and a small crowd of PIO's stood in the back and listened.

Three or four newsmen asked questions: "How far was that strike from the Chinese border?" "What was the name of that battalion commander?" The amount of extra information available was limited; few briefing officers had ever been outside Saigon and the communiqués were necessarily made up of fragmentary situation reports sent in from the field. There were repeated squabbles about "body counts" and the lack of available detail, especially on allied mishaps. But newsmen expected too much.

In truth, the "five o'clock follies" meant, essentially, the issuance of an official communique about the previous day's actions. The precedents were communique readings in Tokyo during the Korean War and similar catalogs presented in World War Two. It was an occasion for seeing one's colleagues, for baiting officialdom, for picking up wads of mimeographed official reports, and for arranging trips.

The Follies were also the prime source, for the wire services and TV, of the daily war wrap-up—usually bits and pieces, occasionally fleshed out by reports from their men in the field, often garnished by imaginative "interpretation." But of course it was not where you found out how the war in all its aspects was going. You could not stay in downtown Saigon and do the job.

General William C. Westmoreland, between mid-1964 and mid-1968, had his difficulties with the press. He was not prone, as a troop leader, to airing his vast problems in public, least of all to newsmen. The White House and Defense Secretary McNamara, beginning with the Halberstam-Sheehan-Browne era in 1962-63 had been pressing the U.S. Mission in Saigon to stress "the positive" side of the war, not its costs, difficulties, and imponderables; Westmoreland obeyed orders. As a result, during his occasional background briefings, Westmoreland sounded to many newsmen like a

Polyanna, a Boy Scout, a True Believer in McNamarian statistics.

He stressed the enemy's burdens, not his own. This both deepened the "credibility gap" and made his own task seem far easier than it was. Thus, when the Tet offensive came, there was only head-shaking among newsmen as Westmoreland claimed a *military* defeat for the foe. Months later, the Westmoreland judgment became widely accepted, but without retroactive credit to the General.

General Creighton W. Abrams who succeeded Westmoreland in mid-1968 regarded the press as a necessary evil—and wisely did little to woo newsmen en masse. Happily for him, after Tet, there was little pressure from Washington to "accentuate the positive" for domestic political advantage. Abrams held no mass press conferences or "background briefings." Instead, when time permitted, he received individual newsmen (bureau chiefs, only) in his big bare office at "Pentagon East" over coffee and Filipino cigars. If the visitor had demonstrably done his homework, Abrams responded with humor and refreshing candor. The credibility gap all but disappeared.

It became fashionable in the magazines and among the less sophisticated Washington pundits to credit Abrams with a long overdue radical change from Westmoreland's "search and destroy" tactics to presumably less costly, less massive "clear and hold" tactics in populated areas. As Abrams' aides pointed out privately, this analysis was bunkum; tactics changed to meet a changing military situation, notably a diminution of enemy regimental-size threats in some areas as 1968 wore on. Here again, the Saigon press corps, as a whole, was a good deal more sophisticated than the chorus of second-guessers back home.

In Saigon we often criticized the U.S. military for being unprepared for "revolutionary war" in Vietnam. But, on reflection, I felt that the U.S. press as an institution showed no greater prescience, possibly less.

Vietnam, in terms of permanent assignment of U.S. correspondents, remained a backwater even after the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin raids and after the February 1965 bombing began. In mid-1964, there were only 20 foreign resident correspondents in Saigon; most were pinned down in the capital by the political turmoil or the daily war story.

"No newspaperman can be very proud of the American press in this show," wrote Jim Lucas of Scripps-Howard in 1966. "In the six months I lived in the Delta (in 1964), I was the only correspondent regularly assigned to—working and living with—combat troops. . . . this is the only war of recent memory which has not been covered to saturation."

Only in 1965 after the U.S. military buildup, did the New York Times (with six men in Paris), for example, permanently beef up its one-man Saigon post, and the news magazines and other major newspapers begin to staff the

place on a regular basis. For a long time, it seemed, managements back home thought of Saigon as a temporary post, despite its Page One role, and such accessories as office space, Girls Friday, and files were slow to be granted. Only Time-Life, to my knowledge, set up communications and working space that were adequate from the start.

By 1968, that had changed. The N.Y. Times had four Yankees and the Post and the L.A. Times each had two; the TV networks, rotating men on short tours, and the wire services each had a half dozen or more Americans. Reuters made do with four or five men and AFP with four. The Christian Science Monitor, the Washington Evening Star, Newsday, the Baltimore Sun, Scripps-Howard and the Wall Street Journal each had one man; the Chicago Daily News had two. Neither the Knight newspapers nor the St. Louis Post-Dispatch had a permanent man in Vietnam. All told, 649 newsmen (and hangers-on), including two-week visitors, were accredited in February 1968. By mid-1968, eight U.S. and ten non-U.S. newsmen had been killed in action.

Tardy in despatching more reporters, the U.S. media it must be added, did little to prepare them for their assignments. No American newsmen, to my knowledge, spoke Vietnamese; none were sent to learn it prior to assignment to Vietnam. Nor were those men who lacked previous contact with the military given an opportunity to brush up at Fort Bragg on the differences between a machinegun and a howitzer, "battalions" and "regiments." No sports editor would permit a greenhorn to cover the World Series without knowing baseball; we sent plenty of reporters to Vietnam who had never before been in uniform or out of the U.S., let alone involved with politics and conflict in the Third World.

None of us spent enough time with the ARVN in the field, although we wrote reams, especially before Tet, on how badly the South Vietnamese did as soldiers. During Tet, the ARVN held up far better than any newsman, some Vietnamese higher-ups, and our readers back home would have believed possible beforehand.

We continued to cite the 18th, 25th and 5th ARVN Divisions around Saigon as of poor quality; yet from October through December 1968, only eight U.S. newsmen (out of 170 accredited) visited any of them, according to U.S. advisers; I was the first American newsman to visit the 18th (in January) since the previous May. In 1969, South Vietnamese battle dead outnumbered those suffered by the U.S. forces by an increasing margin every month. This "Vietnamization" of the war has largely gone unnoticed in the U.S. press. And, because it was easier to cover American troops, our reporting of the war has been "ethnocentric" since the U.S. buildup began.

Most of us went to Vietnam only for a year's tour; many especially in TV, went for six months or less. In 1966-69

there were repeaters and long-tour men: Keyes Beech and Ray Coffey of the Chicago Daily News, Charles Mohr of the New York Times (whom many rated as the best all-around Vietnam reporter in 1965-68), Murray Fromson of CBS, Jim Lucas of Scripps-Howard, the Times' Neil Sheehan and Joseph Treaster, Mert Perry of Newsweek, Time's Frank McCulloch and James Wilde, the Post's Ward Just and the Los Angeles Times' William Tuohy, Beverly Deepe of the Monitor, and, of course, the AP's Peter Arnett and Horst Faas. Al Webb and Dan Southerland of the UPI stayed on and learned, as did R. W. (John) Apple of the Times. Denis Warner of The Reporter and Robert Shaplen of the New Yorker were the Old Asia scholars, who had been visiting Vietnam since the French days. Experience was no guarantee of clarity or wisdom, but it helped.

Oddly enough, in view of the story's importance, editors of major publications were not besieged with pleas for Vietnam duty. There were easier paths to glory. For example, both Time and Newsweek in 1967-68 sent non-volunteers to head their Saigon bureaus. The results were predictable. The reluctant newcomers found Asia, especially Vietnam, and War repugnant. They seldom left Saigon. They produced, on occasion, "analyses" that made their Saigon colleagues grin. Neither man stayed a full year.

The effects of lack of preparation, inexperience and the language gap showed most often in the coverage of political "crisis" or near crisis. We seldom got it all straight the first time. There was much talk of the importance of "Vietnamese politics" and "reporting what the *Vietnamese* think." Yet, in practice, most of us depended heavily on (a) a handful of experienced U.S. Old Vietnam hands, most of them outside Saigon (b) the Embassy's political section, whose information was, at times, inadequate to the occasion (c) a Vietnamese politician or two (d) our Vietnamese stringers.

All too often, the stringers would meet over Coca-Cola at the Cafe Pagode at 7 p.m., trade rumors and gossip, and bear the informally syndicated composite version to rival American reporters. Naturally, every Vietnamese newsman had his own viewpoint (Buddhist, militant Buddhist, pro-Thieu and anti-Ky or vice versa, moderate Catholic, hawk Catholic) and his own personal friends and enemies in Saigon politics.

Few had any contacts outside the capital. Fewer still had professional training. (I had the good fortune, with the Times and with the Post, to work with Nguyen Ngoc Rao and Vu Thuy Hoang, two professionals). Often Vietnamese officials and their political foes were helpful over tea or drinks on a leisurely background basis, especially if one spoke fluent French. But on a breaking story, they rarely knew for sure what was breaking, and if they did, they

seldom thought it prudent to communicate this knowledge to foreigners.

When crisis appeared to "loom," the American was often left with a series of rumors (of arrests, of resignations, of troop movements) and his own set of fallible instincts.

TV and the wire services, ever grateful for confrontation home and abroad, inflated both the spring 1966 Buddhist crisis (as did some U.S. embassy specialists) and the political appeal of Thich Tri Quang.

They had some help from the dailies and the news magazines. A now-forgotten "Southern cabinet crisis" was a one-day wonder in the fall ("SEVEN GENERALS RESIGN FROM CABINET" was one of the erroneous headlines). But gradually everybody began to forget the Buddhists' (actually, the Army's) 1963 overthrow of Diem and the 1964-65 series of coups, and to take the Thieu-Ky regime's relative stability for granted.

By 1968, benefiting from hindsight and good advice, I came to the conclusion as did most of my senior colleagues that when it came to "looming" Saigon political crises, there was usually less there than met the ear. And there was even less to new impressive-sounding political alliances, pro- or anti-government. And a viable "Third Force," so beloved by Stateside pundits, did not in fact exist. But on less dramatic matters, such as impending Cabinet re-shuffles and administrative change, rumors had a way of eventually becoming facts.

By the time I left, I agreed with one of my few close Vietnamese friends that reality was the Army, the Catholics, the national and local Administration, the regional sects (Hoa Hao Cao Dai) Hanoi and the Vietcong. In terms of political "clout," all else was, relatively speaking, a mirage—divided Buddhists, students, and voluble Saigon "intellectuals" included.

On military matters, our touch was somewhat surer. But we tended to be suckers for drama—real or press-created. For example, TV and the wire services—with their secondary effect on editors of newspapers and magazines—went a trifle overboard on the "siege" of Con Thien.

This muddy Marine battalion outpost on the DMZ in the fall of 1967 was subjected to the threat of ground assault and to fairly steady North Vietnamese artillery fire. It was an unpleasant place, but accessible to newsmen. It had good "visual impact" on film. To those who had not undergone enemy bombardments in Korea or World War Two, the amount of "incoming," unprecedented in Vietnam, seemed high. But fewer than 100 Marines died at Con Thien under this bombardment during the month of September 1967. Far more Marines died in unpublicized battles in the scrub outside the outpost and in other areas, such as the Queson Valley, during the same period. But Con Thien had "drama."

For a month, the press made it a Thermopylae, a symbol of "static" Marine tactics. The Marines were bemused. The enemy's failure to take the outpost, or even try hard to take it—as the Chinese Communists had overrun such hills in Korea—became a footnote. As did the fact that a fixed line of outposts at the DMZ was the brainchild not of Marines, who hate digging, but of McNamara, who announced his "barrier plan" that fall.

It was extremely difficult for newsmen—as it was for Saigon higher-ups—to evaluate what was going on in a remote brigade action. Even on the spot, it was easy to misjudge success or failure. Relatively few newsmen understood tactics, or tried to learn. There was the fog of war. But, the Americans' on-scene reporting of the enemy Tet lunar New Year offensive in January-February 1968 stands up pretty well. It was dangerous work, but fighting in and around cities was easier to explain than jungle warfare, or pacification.

Granted, almost everyone went a bit overboard again agonizing over Khesanh (which, inevitably, soon loomed in print as "another Dienbienphu"); it was scary flying in and out of that place. There were some worried commanders at Danang and Saigon, too. Not to mention a worried White House 12,000 miles away. (Alarm, or complacency, in war seems to increase rapidly as one goes further to the rear.) Hue's ordeal was well-covered on the Marines' front; the ARVN was inaccessible for most of the battle. By the time the mid-February round of attacks came, most of us were astute enough to note that they were "attacks-by-fire" (mortar and rocket bombardments), not the more serious ground assaults which marked Tet. Although we did not then know it, the enemy had shot his wad.

Thereafter the enemy was to try some strong but localized operations, notably against Dong Ha, south of the DMZ in late April, the destructive "second wave" against Saigon in May, and the weak "third wave" against Tay Ninh and other frontier towns in August-September 1968. But, despite repeated predictions, he never again put together another big offensive. History may tell us why.

Tet also brought a major change in the adversary relationship between the U.S. Mission and the press. Tet cleared the air. Newsmen who had avoided the war had its realities brought home to them forcibly. And, on the official side, there was far less pressure from the White House and Pentagon on the Saigon mission to present a "positive" view of the war. It seemed to me that after Tet there was a good deal less "dove" and "hawk" talking and writing in Saigon; at MACV, occasional talk of conventional "military victory" had long since evaporated, and there was far greater acknowledgement of problems that had been so often cited by Americans and Vietnamese in the field.

As a matter of fact, from Halberstam's day onward,

energetic newsmen had no difficulty getting at some of the realities of Vietnam. They had to be willing to take dawn airplanes, spend a few nights a month with ARVN and American troops, tour key districts with veteran U.S. advisers, dine with political specialists, and ask intelligent questions of generals, sergeants and province chiefs.

There were always knowledgeable U.S. Old Hands, ready to offer a viewpoint which conflicted with the White House line. In 1966-67, the period of official euphoria, there were always truths to be had at battalion level. Only with constant field experience could a newsman hope to question or illuminate the Big Picture painted in Saigon. And everywhere you went, unless you were blind, there was a story waiting to be reported.

It was tiring, and, on occasion, risky. My rule was never to rush off blindly to where the action was. I always tried to follow the chain-of-command down to the battle—from division to brigade to battalion to company, picking up details as I went along. This was not my first war. Unlike the wire service photographers and the TV cameramen, I never ventured out on patrols or hovered behind the point squad. But like most of the old hands, I learned that "truth began" at battalion level. (And in pacification, at the district level). It was also where morale was usually highest.

The war was ever-changing, despite the seemingly unvaried melange of bits and pieces in the 700-word daily war wrap-ups that got the best play back home. Etienne Manac'h, the present French Ambassador to Peking, who helped arrange the Paris talks, observed earlier this year that the biggest single influence on the Communist negotiators was not the state of U.S. domestic morale, important as it was, but the military and political situation on the ground in Vietnam. To keep abreast of that situation, reporters had to get out in the field. Many did not, and their editors let them get away with it.

For me, the biggest frustration was the number of stories I had no time to get at. Everything worthwhile ate up time and manpower. Both on the Times and on the Post, the work week ran seven days, with a weeklong R & R in Hong Kong or Singapore or Bangkok every eight weeks. But getting from Saigon to the DMZ or to Bien Hoa in the Delta usually took 24 hours and getting a good story together even for an old hand might take two days.

Total investment for a single solid 800-word story far from Saigon could run to four or five days, although there were usually features or elements for a Saigon wrapup as by-products. Ideally, some of us thought, a newspaper bureau in Vietnam would have five Americans: one digging in each of the three more distant Corps Areas; one (plus a Vietnamese reporter) in Saigon; and one swing man. But that was more manpower than any but Time, the TV networks, and the wire services could afford. And even they

restricted their permanent hinterland operations to Danang, in I Corps. The rest of Vietnam was covered by visits, which grew less frequent as 1969 wore on.

Overall, we could have been far better prepared, earlier on the scene (especially *prior* to the U.S. troop commitment), and less trigger-happy when political or military crises loomed. (The special pressures from New York on TV correspondents in Vietnam for “bang bang and blood”—in living color—are well known.)

We paid enough attention to South Vietnamese politics in Saigon. We did not pay enough attention, after the Paris talks began, to the South Vietnamese, military and civilian, or the Americans in the provinces where the struggle for control of land and people remained crucial to the talks' outcome. We did fairly well on the set-piece stories: the 1966 and 1967 elections, the 1968 fighting, the U.S. build-up, the plight of refugees, inflation, corruption, ARVN's equipment and leadership shortages, the problems (if not the progress) of pacification, and, after Tet, the curious mix-

ture of failings and strengths of the NLF and Hanoi. We realized no one could tell “how the Vietnamese feel.”

Given our numbers, our backgrounds, our relative inexperience as a group, and the state of the art, we did collectively about what could be expected. We had some individual brilliance and few complete disasters. I'm sure the Vietnam-based newspapermen will look better in the history books than the faraway kibitzers, speechmakers and pundits who took up so much air time and newsprint on Vietnam back home.

(Indeed, in late 1968 and 1969, the managers of the media increasingly let Vietnam become an abstraction; news of debate or assertions *about* Vietnam in Washington or elsewhere virtually drowned out the reporting *from* Vietnam.)

We were right, I think, more often than we were wrong, starting with Homer Bigart and David Halberstam. Whether that is a sufficiently good collective batting average on a crucial story remains a question. I hope we do better next time.

Robert G. McCloskey, 1916-1969

By Alan Barth

Mr. Barth, on the editorial page staff of the Washington Post, was a Nieman Fellow in 1948-49.

There was a sense in which Bob McCloskey could fairly be called "old-fashioned" as a teacher. He believed in authority. This was as true of him 20 years ago when he was a youngish newcomer to the government department at Harvard as it was last spring when he was reckoned a stalwart member of the Harvard "establishment" and a leader of the "Conservative Caucus" during the student uprising.

Authority as he defined it did not derive from rank or status. It had nothing to do with age or tenure; he felt it and exercised it no less among Nieman Fellows who were his peers and often his seniors in years and experience than among the undergraduates who listened to him lecture about American Constitutional Development. His authority was rooted in knowledge, in study, in discipline. It was related to his role and responsibility as a teacher—as a mentor, to apply an old-fashioned term to him.

Bob McCloskey did not think of himself in a classroom or lecture hall, as just another student discussing a subject with fellow-students who happened, for the most part, to be younger than himself. He did not regard his students, within the framework of his professional relation to them, as his equals; he looked upon them as learners and upon himself as a scholar. And this meant for him the hard discipline of leadership—extensive study and reflection so that his lectures were painstakingly prepared distillations of his

own thought and learning. Because he brought to his subject genuine enthusiasm, a lively, inquisitive mind and a warmth that precluded pomposity, his lectures became a joy and an exciting provocation to great numbers of students, many Nieman Fellows gratefully among them.

It follows from his concept of a professor's role and responsibility that Bob McCloskey did not have much sympathy for the notion that students ought to share as equals with faculty members in determining the curriculum or the tenure and advancement of teachers. There was in this no lack of respect for students; he gave them the highest form of respect—a faithful discharge of his responsibilities to them. But he saw teachers and students as clear different things—different as editors are different from reporters and as artisans are different from apprentices.

If this made him a "conservative" in the current campus jargon, so much the better for conservatism. He could probably be called a conservative also in his approach to constitutional law. Like Felix Frankfurter, he believed strongly in judicial self-restraint; and he expressed in his distinguished book, "The American Supreme Court," a marked impatience with the liberal rhetoric that failed, as he saw it, to take "adequate account of the legislature's claim to share in 'the power to govern.'" One could quarrel with this view but not with the high-minded standards out of which it grew.

It was a natural part of Bob McCloskey's character to value tradition and to respect the high standards on which tradition rests. He loved Harvard for its past as well as for its present and saw them as inescapably integrated. He loved his calling as a teacher and gave himself to it with unstinting generosity.

What I've Learned About the Press

(Continued from page 2)

first instance to the public. Is it not better, some asked, to keep the full freedom, even if the retention has to be paid for in odium incurred?

The answer came in the form of an at first hesitant, but now firm, negative, and the change is here. Nevertheless, the portrait, taken from the past, of the cynical hard-boiled Pressman who acknowledges no standards of truth or decency or indeed any standards at all that do not suit himself, is not to be quickly effaced. It is, at the present day, as I can testify from personal experience over the last five years and more, a false portrait.

There are, of course, cynical journalists, as there are rough policemen, sharp lawyers and slipshod doctors. But there is in general as high a respect for standards of professional conduct as there is in any other profession. If there were not, the Press Council would be treated as a nuisance. In fact it is treated with respect. Opinions vary as to the value of its work; but I have not encountered a single editor of any consequence who does not accept his obligations to the Council or who treats a charge against his paper as a matter of little account.

I do not attribute this change of attitude wholly or even mainly to the influence of the Press Council. I believe that that has helped. But the real truth is that the institution of the Press Council was, as the Catechism says or used to say, "the outward manifestation of an inward grace." The change has come because the leaders in the Press world recognised that times had changed. It may be part of a general tendency; in my own profession of the law it is often said that judges and advocates now behave much better than they used to. Or it may be that competition from radio and television has had a wholesome effect. Criticism of the Press is no longer dependent for publicity on the hospitality of the Press itself and the Press has lost the self-satisfaction that monopoly induces. Whatever the cause, a change has happened and the Establishment is being unduly suspicious in refusing to recognise it.

There is some excuse for suspicion. The sphere in which the change is least apparent is in the attitude of the Press towards persons in public life. There is an old-fashioned idea—not by any means universal but sufficiently widespread to be significant—that men and women who go into

public life either have no personal feelings or should leave them behind before they step out. Consequently there is in provincial as well as in national life a number of men and women whose attitude towards the Press is conditioned, consciously or not, by justifiable resentment at the treatment they or their friends have received.

I doubt whether much of it is due to malice, though it may appear so to the victim. Some of it is due to the temptation offered by an easy target. Most of it is due to a school-boyish belief that the role of the Press in the democratic process is to give public men a rough time, which need not always stop short of cruelty. There are men who think that this is in some way bound up with the independence of the Press. This sort of notion is not peculiar to journalists. I remember at the Bar barristers who genuinely thought that freedom to be rude to a witness was essential to a fair trial.

Undoubtedly, the duty of the Press is not confined to criticism of policy and administration. It is its legitimate function to prick pomposities and expose follies in public men. This cannot always be done without hurting. It is the unconsidered and unsparing use of the power to wound because it is thought to be good fun that is objectionable. Before an editor publishes a piece that wounds, he should take thought and ask himself not only whether it is true and whether it is fair, but also whether it is necessary. Very many editors do.

Thoughtlessness in such a matter is not only wrong; it is also slightly dangerous. The British Press does not live under the protection of an article in a Constitution. The freedom of the Press, like all our freedoms in the twentieth century, depends chiefly upon the judgment of the men in power. Some newspaper men seem to believe that in any quarrel between the Press and the Establishment the Press could rally the populace to its defence with the cry that its freedom was in peril. This is an illusion, comparable to the illusion held 50 years ago that the Press could make and unmake Governments.

Of course, if a Government in 1970 tried to censor the Press, there would be a public revolt. The British public will always revolt against any shocking departure from tradition. If freedom of the Press in Britain perishes, it will not be by sudden death. There will be no great battle in which leader writers can win imperishable glory. It will be a long time dying from a debilitating disease caused by a series of erosive measures, each one of which, if examined singly, would have a good deal to be said for it.

There are many ways in which the Government of the day can make things difficult for the Press without incurring popular disapproval. I do not at present see any signs that ways are being looked for. But I do find a very firm determination not to make things any easier. There is, for

example, no disposition to review even the more archaic aspects of the law of libel. I believe that much of the opposition to reform, while it is rationalised as a feeling that the Press does not yet know how to behave itself, is sustained by well-grounded resentments and the memory of personal slights and intrusions which it is only human to magnify.

The real guarantee of the freedom of the Press in Britain is the belief held by men in power that, however irritating at times they may find it to be, its freedom is necessary to a good society. This belief really exists. It is not lip service. These men as individuals do not want to live in a country

where the Press is shackled. A like belief is the real guarantee of all the freedoms we enjoy. It is to be cherished as our most valuable national possession. If it could be cherished only by an abatement of the fullest measure of vigorous criticism (including a reasonable allowance for misplaced swipes), the price would be too high; and indeed a demand for it would expose the hollowness of the belief. But if it means no more than according to the public lives of public men the same sort of respect for personal dignity as is given to those in private life, it is a price that any lover of freedom ought willingly to pay.

Legal Notice

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Date of Filing:
October 1, 1969
2. Title of Publication:
Nieman Reports
3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly
4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 77 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers, Same
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor:
Publisher: Nieman Alumni Council
Editor: Dwight E. Sargent, 77 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Managing Editor: Tenney K. Lehman 77 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts

7. Owner: Society of Nieman Fellows, 77 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts

8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities:
None

10.

A. Total No. Copies Printed:
Average No. Copies each issue during preceding 12 months 2450
Single issue nearest filing date 3000

B. Paid Circulation:

1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales
average none
single issue nearest filing date none
2. mail subscriptions
average 1447
single issue nearest filing date 1494

C. Total Paid Circulation
average 1447
single issue nearest filing date 1471

D. Free Distribution By Mail, Carrier or Other Means
average 108
single issue nearest filing date 108

E. Total Distribution
average 1555
single issue nearest filing date 1555

F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing
average 895
single issue nearest filing date 1445

G. Total
average 2450
single issue nearest filing date 3000

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
(signed) Dwight E. Sargent

The Canadian Press

By Stuart Keate

Mr. Keate is publisher of the Vancouver Sun. He is a former president of the Canadian Press.

A Committee of the Senate of Canada is conducting a full-scale survey of Canadian mass media—the first such study of its kind in the country.

Senator Keith Davey, a former radio executive who is chairman of the committee, said in a recent speech that he thought the press of Canada was doing “a pretty fair job” but that the time had arrived to examine such questions as:

—Should Canada have a Press Council?

—Who owns and controls Canadian mass media?

—What is the extent of inter-locking ownership in newspapers, radio and television?

—How is the press fulfilling its obligations to the public?

—What is the long-range psychological impact of the mass media on the quality of Canadian life?

These questions, sweeping though they may be, have been met with equanimity by Canadian publishers. Opinion on the value of a Press Council is divided. Some, studying the British performance, incline to the view that it is a largely pointless exercise. Others—notably publisher Beland Hondrich of the Toronto Star, Canada’s largest (400,000) daily—think that it may provide a valid check against excesses of the press.

Those publishers who welcome the survey do so on the grounds that they are doing an honest, conscientious job and have nothing to hide. Whatever else may be said of the press of Canada, it has three fundamental virtues:

It is free, in the same sense that it has no compunction whatsoever in lambasting governments at the federal, provincial and municipal level;

It is honest, in the sense that readers can’t buy their way into Canadian news columns—and perhaps more importantly, can’t buy their way *out* of them;

It is independent, because all but a few Canadian dailies are financially healthy and need not succumb to the blandishments of advertisers or politicians.

Canadian newspapers are competitive with radio, with TV, and with each other, vying annually for awards in writing, editorial excellence, photography, cartooning, promotion, makeup, and color advertising.

In his speech outlining the aims of his committee, Senator Davey indicated that chain ownership, which has been growing, would be a topic for investigation. In this, he has some support from labor unions, academics, and citizen’s committees in one-paper towns.

There are today 109 dailies in Canada with a total circulation of approximately 4.5 million.

The largest groups are the Roy Thomson papers, numbering 28; the Southam Press Ltd., with outright ownership of 10 dailies and a subsidiary interest in two others; and FP Publications Ltd., which owns eight dailies.

Thus about half of the Canadian dailies are group-owned, if one excepts the two Clifford Sifton dailies in Regina and Saskatoon; the four Irving dailies in New Brunswick; and the family holdings (two papers apiece) of the Dennises in Halifax and Herders in Newfoundland.

Some Canadians deplore the concentration of ownership and the decline of the old “family paper.” But the fact remains that the Thomson dailies are all held in comparatively small towns, where more than one paper is a financial impossibility; while the Southams, from their office in Toronto and FP from Winnipeg grant editorial autonomy to their respective local staffs.

In terms of group circulation, Thomson is the smallest, with about 350,000, while the Southams and FP are approximately equal at 850,000 apiece.

In terms of individual newspapers, the Toronto Star is far out in front of the field with a circulation of 400,000. Originally a labor-oriented and slightly hyperthyroid paper, it has in recent years undergone a transformation and has emerged as a responsible daily of wide reach, generous news-space, brilliant editorial cartoons (by Duncan McPherson) and superb cultural critiques.

Virtually deadlocked in second place are the Toronto Globe and Mail and the Vancouver Sun, with about 260,000 subscribers apiece. The Globe and Mail, like the Montreal Star, sometimes is referred to as "the New York Times of Canada" and labels itself in its masthead as "Canada's National Newspaper."

There is some truth in this. It airmails the early edition across the 4000-mile expanse of Canada and has a solid following for its special supplement, Report on Business, which can be found each morning on executive desks from St. John's to Victoria.

Behind the Globe and Mail and the Sun, at about 235,000, stands the Toronto Telegram, a lively and inquiring sheet which remains the strongest Tory voice in the country.

Following on the Toronto and Vancouver dailies are two Montreal newspapers—the French-language *La Presse*, with approximately 225,000 readers, and the Star, with 200,000.

La Presse boasts one of the healthiest advertising lineage counts in North America, but is just now regaining its old vigour after a round of internal dissensions leading to a prolonged and injurious strike three years ago. More widely quoted, though infinitely smaller (40,000) is the French-language *Le Devoir*, an offset paper renowned for the intellectual quality of its editorials and cultural reviews. Its editor, Claude Ryan, is regarded as a leading voice of reason and common sense in the current conflict between French-Canadian separatists and the moderates of both languages throughout Canada.

The papers which most members attending the IPI General Assembly in June read are the Ottawa Citizen and the Journal. This is one of four cities in Canada (the others are Vancouver, Calgary and Winnipeg) in which the two big circulation rivals, Southams and FP, compete.

For years the Citizen and the Journal have been engaged in a head-to-head race, with the Citizen strongest in the city zone and the Journal in the country. Today they are separated by only a few thousand papers, with the Citizen (85,000) slightly ahead.

While published in Canada's capital, these dailies—unlike the Times of London or the Post of Washington—make no

pretense at being national in scope. Instead, their main thrust is in the direction of a very large civil-service population living in or near Ottawa; in this respect, they are regarded as "home-town" papers to which the promotion of a deputy minister is a story of strong local significance.

The third paper in size in Ottawa is the French-language *Le Droit*, whose publisher Aurele Gratton was recently honoured by his fellow citizens for contributions to community life.

The tone and character of Canada's dailies may be a bit difficult for visitors to define. Are they "American"? Certainly they carry a lot of U.S. syndicated cartoons and columnists. Are they "British"? No one can deny that they publish a solid budget of Commonwealth and overseas news. (In the last four months of 1968 the Vancouver Sun printed 6,361 columns of British Columbia news; 1,958 columns of national Canadian news; 3,266 columns of foreign news; and 369 columns of entertainment. In the same period, 42 of its front-page headlines were on British Columbia; 33 on foreign affairs; and 22 on Canadian national affairs.)

Canadians themselves like to think that they combine the best features of both the British and American press. They publish more foreign news, on the average, than their U.K. cousins; but few of them would lay claim to the literacy, or style, of a Guardian or an Economist. On the other hand, there are none of the sex-and-scandal or "penny dreadfuls" in Canada which occasionally tarnish the British journalistic image.

Perhaps by propinquity, or osmosis, Canadians have absorbed from across the border some of the pith and vinegar of the U.S. press, notably in makeup. The comic strip "Peanuts" and the columns of Art Buchwald are every bit as popular—and as ubiquitous—in Canada as in the United States.

On the whole, however, Canadian dailies tend to be a shade quieter and a bit more global in outlook than their American counterparts.

Are Canadian dailies profitable? Since most of them are privately-owned, precise data in this area are unattainable. However, two large dailies in which the public holds shares reported net earnings in 1968 of \$1.6 and \$2.2 millions, and trade gossip indicates that returns of 10 per cent, after taxes, are not uncommon. The survival rate of Canadian dailies over the past 20 years has been 98 per cent, another index of robust health.

In a recent study of the "elite press" of the world, an American author singled out only two Canadian dailies for inclusion among the top 40—the Toronto Globe and Mail and the Winnipeg Free Press. Which caused envious colleagues to murmur: "Ah, yes, but the poor chap also picked Pravda!"

Korea Still Has Its Woodcarvers

By Lee Kyoo-hyun

Mr. Lee is editor of Joong-ang Ilbo in Seoul.

I believe the Korean newspapers will undergo drastic changes in the coming decade—the kind of change that the press of no other nation has seen in modern history.

The greatest problem that we shall have to cope with is the elimination of Chinese characters: when and how?

There are two schools of thought among editors on this question: one impatient with the speed of this movement, advocating the exclusive use of the indigenous Korean alphabet within the shortest possible time, and the other more considerate, warning against any hasty change in our writing system. It is purely a matter of time. No one disputes the necessity of such change.

I would like to make it clear from the beginning that I belong to the first group: namely, those who would like to see the day when all our publications print in pure Korean alphabet which is called "Hangul".

At present Korean newspapers are using Chinese characters mixed with the Korean alphabet. I think major papers in Seoul have about 7,000 letters in one font, including around 2,000 Korean letters. This is not enough. We have a man sitting in the composing room ready to carve on a piece of wood the rarely-used Chinese characters that we find in proper nouns.

This is one of the major reasons why the Korean papers still depend on the handsetting process, why we must store so many hundreds of thousands of pieces of lead on so many square meters of floor space, and why each paper must keep so many typesetters on its payroll.

Although every Korean is proud of the writing system of his own nation and although all Korean scholars, editors and writers claim that it is best suited to the Korean language, all our newspapers are still loaded with thousands of Chinese characters and many contend that we cannot and should not do away with them in the foreseeable future.

I wonder if editors are aware of the fact that almost all government and business documents are handwritten or typewritten neatly in pure Korean alphabet. I wonder if they have noticed that a high percentage of the letters they receive from their readers are in the Korean alphabet. I wonder if we are not closing our eyes to the many thousands of young people coming out of colleges and high schools every year who are not able to read many Chinese characters and to those who have just become literate. I wonder if we are not happy pedantically demonstrating our own knowledge, pre-occupied only with the highbrow readers, as in the days when the newspaper was for the privileged class.

A right move was made when the Korean Newspaper (Publishers) Association resolved to limit the number of Chinese characters to be used in daily papers to 2,000 with the

exception of proper nouns. The Dong-A Ilbo at the same time announced its own list of 2,000 characters and three months later announced a further limitation to 1,600. The Joong-ang Ilbo limited the number to 1,300 as of January 1967. It is the first and so far the only paper to introduce Monotype machines into the country. On its 650 keys, which carry four letters each, are arranged 1,028 Chinese characters, 1,403 Korean letters, and 169 Roman letters and other marks and signs, bringing the total up to 2,600.

I think it is safe to predict that Korean newspapers will be printing purely in the Korean alphabet within the next ten years and would like to refer briefly to the kinds of changes that we may experience.

If Korean newspapers throw away all Chinese characters, mechanization of their production will be expedited and competition in this field will become keen.

First of all, reporters will write their stories with typewriters. At present all stories are handwritten and no typewriter can be seen in the news room, although very efficient typewriters have been developed and are available. The Korean typewriter, already in wide use, has the same number of keys as the English.

The Korean newspaper will be able to revolutionize its typesetting process by mechanizing it. The Monotype developed in Japan will not be the solution, because it is geared to set the Japanese writing. In Japanese, the whole sentence is written without any space between words, whereas words are separated in Korean. There is no problem of justification in typesetting Japanese, whereas Korean-language typesetting requires justification as in English.

I believe the Korean typesetting process will be able to go beyond the Japanese by introducing the electronic computer and the Hangul typewriter. The Korean typesetting could adopt the photosetting and offset printing process. Or the conventional TTS system could be introduced by using the Hangul typewriter. I would like to add that the major newspapers in Seoul are financially capable of automating their production to that extent.

Korean newspapers will change greatly in format. If printed purely in the Korean alphabet, almost all the papers will print horizontally to read from left to right, instead of vertically from right to left.

It is hoped that horizontally-set Korean papers will come out in different formats with distinct characteristics of their own. Korean newspapers now look all alike with the same column division and with two identical type faces only.

Great progress will be made in typography if Chinese characters are eliminated and the number of letters thus drastically reduced. Wider varieties of type will be made in light, medium, bold and heavy faces, italics, and condensed. This in turn will enable Korean papers to do away with their photo block headlines, which are both time and labour consuming and are one of the factors slowing production.

The Korean newspapers are investing heavily in modern equipment—high-speed rotary presses, colour printing equipment, airplanes, helicopters, etc. But there has not been much progress in the editorial aspects of newspaper making. The editorial operation in many respects has not changed basically since 1945. It is important and urgent to modernize our brains before machines.

Behavior Models for the Editor

By John De Mott

Mr. De Mott is a professor in the News Editorial Department of the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University.

In addressing itself to the community which it serves, the newspaper of general circulation is tempted to try to be all things to all men.

Impossible, obviously. And also an unrealistic ambition which subjects the newspaper and its editor to all kinds of criticism.

Since it can't be all things to all men, then what IS a newspaper?

In his attempt to help the newspaper discover its true reality, and himself discover his real identity, the newspaper editor has an assortment of models from which to select in playing his social role as the paper's editor.

In many cases, both the editor's role and the newspaper's identity are suggested in the paper's nameplate.

Perhaps it's a Tribune. Or a Mirror. Defender. Herald. Chronicle. Mercury. Examiner. Monitor. Sentinel. Free Press. Observer. Journal. Scout. The Times. The Bulletin. Or perhaps it's just the News.

From a newspaper's name, the reader presumably takes some clue concerning which of its functions—surveillance over the environment, correlation of the community, education or entertainment—is considered most important by a newspaper and its editor.

Through the newspaper's name, the editor or publisher appears to be attempting to communicate his conception of the paper's proper role in society, and perhaps also his self-image.

In addition to the newspaper's name itself, other guides exist for the editor's selection of his ideal role in his community's social structure.

In discussing his work with associates and attempting to explain it to others in the community, the editor appears at times to be using models borrowed from other occupations and fields.

The models most often used by a newspaper editor appear to be political, commercial, professional, clerical, historical, and recreational.

The Political Model

Although many newspaper editors appear to covet an important place in the community's power structure, the political model for newspaper publishing or editing does not appear to have power for its own sake as the principal objective.

Rather, as Harry Pease several years ago pointed out in an attempt to explain the Milwaukee Journal's character, the political model means community leadership of the kind reflected in the Pulitzer prize for disinterested public service. The newspaper is not the community's ruler, but its most public-spirited citizen.

"It has achieved citizenship," Pease observed of the Milwaukee Journal, "in the highest sense of the word."

Pease went on to describe the newspaper as an important "instrument of government."

In its role of the Fourth Estate or "Fourth Branch of Government," as Douglas Cater termed it, the newspaper is seen in terms of the political model as performing all kinds of quasi-political functions on an extra-legal basis.

Sometimes the function is a positive or active one of taking the lead in promoting programs for social reform or public improvement. Under other conditions, the political model invoked to explain the newspaper's playing "watchdog" over the community's formal system of government, furnishing, as the Chicago Tribune put it, "that check upon government which no constitution has been able to provide."

Employing the political model for his role in society, a newspaper editor or publisher sees his subscribers or readers as constituents. The editor is elected daily as it's been described, by the ballot of those readers and subscribers.

The Commercial Model

Using this model, the editor or publisher sees himself as a businessman selling a product.

The product and its quality, rather than its political impact or influence on the community, therefore become the chief consideration.

Spurning ambitions to be the community's "leader," a publisher or editor using the commercial model puts his chief effort into the merchandising of news. He is in the simple and plain business of newsmaking, but proud of it.

Following this model, and a related industrial one, the publisher can explain his function as buying blank white newsprint, adding black ink to it, and then re-selling it for a profit. He is in the business of manufacturing high-grade reading material for general public consumption; and, again, proud of his simple and honest role as a manufacturer and merchant of a basic commercial product—the daily newspaper.

Since the editor or publisher employing this model is tempted to endorse the old commercial slogan "the customer is always right," the product is tailored to fit the trade.

Through extensive analyses of its audience, the newspaper factory's product is designed for maximum appeal to the reader. Readers are seen as "consumers," and growth of circulation as the dividend on a superior product.

Carried to its extreme, of course, use of the commercial dictates giving the reader what he wants, in every way, without consideration to other sometimes conflicting responsibilities to the community.

The critics of publishers and editors using the commercial model are sometimes unfair, it seems to me, in failing to recognize the democratic equalitarian nature of consumer taste-oriented newspapers.

In following the "customer-is-always-right" principle,

such newspaper editors are being responsive to the people of a community. If the press should belong to the people, as some of the newspaper's most severe critics argue, then doesn't the commercial model and its obedience to the dictates of the market represent the ultimate in journalistic service?

The Professional Model

Under the influence of this model, the editor or publisher sees the newspaper much like a hospital, a consulting firm of engineers, or a legal firm providing a specific service to the individual clients, rather than the public in general.

The public service being provided, of course, is objective and impartial intelligence of current events.

Under the terms of an unwritten contract with the newspaper readers, its team of specialists puts together an integrated report of each day's news which it then delivers to each individual client.

In their highest professional capacity, members of the news gathering and reporting organization are seen as being more or less detached members of the local community, putting a high premium on their independence.

Because they are disinterested professionals, members of the news organization can be depended upon to compile each day a report of high fidelity.

Using the professional model, the editor conceives of himself as an administrator of highly-skilled professional activities, and the publisher and his associates as the board of directors of an institution much like a hospital or university. The difference is that the institution is supposed to make a profit, in addition to providing an important public service.

The professional is most often criticised, of course, on the basis of its attempt to achieve journalistic detachment, non-involvement, or objectivity.

Assailing what they describe as the journalistic "cult of objectivity," critics of the professional model argue that its use represents a denial of moral obligations and renouncement of social responsibility.

The professional model user's response, of course, is the familiar answer that the newspaper's obligation is to "tell it like it is," regardless of the consequences.

"We don't make the news," the professional answers. "We only print it."

Using the professional model, newspaper editors and others have developed the "mirror" theory of news. The newspaper's function is to hold a mirror up before society, and to reflect it as it is—to reflect the image coldly, impartially, and objectively.

The Clerical Model

Using this model, the editor sees his role as that of making moral judgments on the community and its life.

Somewhat like an old-time hell-fire and brimstone preacher, the editor using this model is tempted to spend too much time showing his neighbors the error of their ways and taking the hide off a community's most notorious sinners.

Under the model's influence, an editor is tempted to become increasingly moralistic, and more given to viewing with alarm all kinds of trends in the community.

With God dead now, of course, the editor using a clerical model for his role runs into a lot of heavy work. Given the newspaper's potential for power, the moralist "called" to be an editor can hardly avoid becoming "involved" in bringing his community around to the point of confessing its sins and seeking salvation.

Closely associated with the clerical model is a journalistic response to criticism called the "Greek messenger" theory. Although it is also related to the professional model and its "mirror" theory, the "Greek messenger" theory finds its most enthusiastic adherents in the clerical camp.

Since people don't like to receive bad news, the theory explains, they will often turn on the bearer of bad tidings—bearers of bad tidings were sometimes slain in ancient Greece—and take out their frustration on him. The newsman is criticised for "creating" bad news, when he's only reporting it. If the news is bad, it's the fault of the news media, somehow.

Although the Greek messenger hypothesis is based on reality and is therefore entertained by many newsmen, it is most popular among newspaper editors using the clerical model. It helps feed the martyr complex which some of them appear to need.

Also important to some newspaper editors using a clerical model is the existence of Satan. Since a personal devil is passé, Satan must be translated into modern terms. The mod god of evil is, of course, an all-purpose Hegelian sociological monster known variously as The Power Structure or The Establishment. The establishment is Satan's successor, and holy war must be pressed against it daily, relentlessly.

Talking to a small-town newspaper editor about a prospective employee of his one day, I happened to mention that the young man had been editor of his campus newspaper in college.

"Good," the editor responded. "Then he has a well-developed persecution complex already."

On the other hand, the editor using a clerical model can just as logically adopt the role of an understanding counselor tolerant of the human condition.

The Historical Model

Using this model, the editor tends to see the newspaper as "history written on the run," or the "first rough draft of history."

Every newspaper is seen as one of record, chronicling the community's life day-by-day, year-by-year.

The record and its accuracy are chief considerations, although analysis of the news and its interpretation, can also be seen as major responsibilities.

Using the historical model, the editor sees himself as an intellectual engaged in scholarly work.

Perhaps the best articulation of the historical model and its implications is that found in Thomas Griffith's book, the *Waist-High Culture*. In a chapter "The Pursuit of Journalism," Griffith makes these observations:

"Journalism is in fact history on the run. It is history written in time to be acted upon, thereby not only recording events but at times influencing them. This explains its temptation to passion and its besetting sin of partisanship. Journalism is also the recording of history while the facts are not all in. Yet any planner of battles knows the eternal conflict between needing to know enough to act and needing to know enough to act in time: a problem in journalism as in diplomacy and warfare. Adolescents and second-rate poets who specialize in large misstatements often tell us that life is chaos, but if life were only that there would be no such thing as monotony; life includes both the world we know (which, if we do not fully understand or appreciate, we are at least not surprised by) and the unwinding of the unpredictable. It is the function of journalism—daily, in the case of a newspaper, weekly in a magazine—to add up the latest unpredictable events and relate them to the familiar. Not a judgment for history, for too many facts emerge later, but an estimate for now, from the known; and it is a function essential in a democracy. If journalism is sometimes inaccurate and often inadequate, ignorance would not be preferable. Journalism's desire to reconstruct the world anew each day, to find a serviceable coherence and continuity in chaos, may be a losing game and is always an artificial one: it is circumscribed by the amount of information available, limited at times by the journalist's lack of imagination and weakened at other times by the journalist's lack of imagination and weakened at other times by his excess of it. Yet it has its own uses, even when set against history."

The Recreational Model

Using this model, the editor is tempted to see himself as being engaged in the "newspaper game" and to put chief emphasis on the paper's entertainment function.

Like other entertainers, the editor using this model becomes preoccupied with the newspaper's audience, and its ratings.

Prestige, admiration, and adulation are things to be de-

sired for themselves, and athletic-like triumphs the most satisfying ends of journalistic effort.

Such gamesmanship encourages, of course, all kinds of journalistic "grand-standing" and "show-boating" in the styles established by yellow journalism and its pandering to the public's appetite for sensationalism, etc.

Excitement, sensationalism, and relaxation: those are the aims of the editor using this model.

How widely is it being used?

Professor John Merrill, of Missouri University's School of Journalism, points out in his book *The Elite Press*, which is a study of the world's great newspapers, that:

"With few exceptions, the world's press is more concerned with the 'game-like' aspect of its operation, of helping the reader to forget the deadly seriousness of national and international affairs and to enjoy himself in the play of news-reading.

"In other words," Merrill points out, "the vast majority of the world's newspapers are entertainment/play oriented."

The use of news media as media of escape, relaxation, and recreation has been noted by newspaper editors themselves, and also social scientists. It also explains, perhaps, the over-emphasis upon writing at some schools of journalism, and the priority given to style over content by newspapers upon occasion.

"How important is excellent newswriting as entertainment?" a newspaper editor once asked.

Providing entertainment—vicarious adventure, escape, diversion, relaxation, excitement—is the most important thing of all to a newspaper editor using the recreational model. It's by excelling as an entertainer that such an editor wins the top trophies, the biggest money, playing the "newspaper game."

Other models can be devised and used, of course, in ascribing motives to the editor, analyzing his performance, and criticizing it.

Is there, for example, an educational model—a model emphasizing the newspaper's role in socialization of the young and social engineering? Is the editor an educator too, in addition to being a quasi-political leader?

Is there also a judicial model? Does the newspaper editor function as a judge over the court of public opinion, providing the adversaries in a controversy a forum for public debate of their issue, and then hand down a ruling for the court of public opinion?

Is there another legal model—that of the advocate? William Rockhill Nelson once described the Kansas City Star as the people's attorney. There are numerous Tribunes, of course; and other newspapers have "ombudsman" columns.

Is there a martial model, related to the political and clerical models, under the influence of which a newspaper editor sees his editorial campaigns as "crusades," and his daily work as a continuing fight for right, or battle for the good? Is each issue of the newspaper a massive offensive against ignorance, a blast at apathy, a heroic assault upon the forces of entrenched corruption?

Most editors, undoubtedly, make use of all the models discussed and combine them in attempts to explain the newspaper's function and roles in society.

For the modern newspaper is much "more than a game, more than a business," as the New York Times once observed.

In a public relations effort on behalf of newspapers and their publishers generally, the Newspaper Public Information Committee once observed that:

"Today's newspaper is a friend of the family, guide and personal counselor, employment service, marketplace of ideas and commodities, source of news and information, a stimulant of thought and opinion and a great deal more."

The editor/publisher has an abundant number, and wide range, of models upon which to base his own behavior.

Nieman Notes

1948

William German, former news editor, has been appointed executive news editor of the San Francisco Chronicle. German has been with the Chronicle since 1940. He also is editor of the Chronicle Foreign Service.

1949

Robert R. Brunn, an editor of the Christian Science Monitor, died in July. He joined the Monitor staff in 1946.

1951

Dwight E. Sargent was a visiting lecturer at the Vancouver Institute in November. This is an annual series of lectures conducted by the University of British Columbia.

1953

Kenneth E. Wilson, former assistant news editor, has been named news editor of the San Francisco Chronicle. Wilson has been with the Chronicle since 1953.

1955

Mort Stern, assistant to the publisher of the Denver Post, has received a Ph.D. in Communications from the University of Arkansas. He has a Master's degree from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

1956

Donald J. Sterling, Jr., editor of the editorial page of the Oregon Journal in Portland, has been elected to membership in the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

1959

Mitchel R. Levitas has been named an assistant metropolitan editor of The New York Times. He has been an editor of the Sunday magazine staff since 1964.

1968

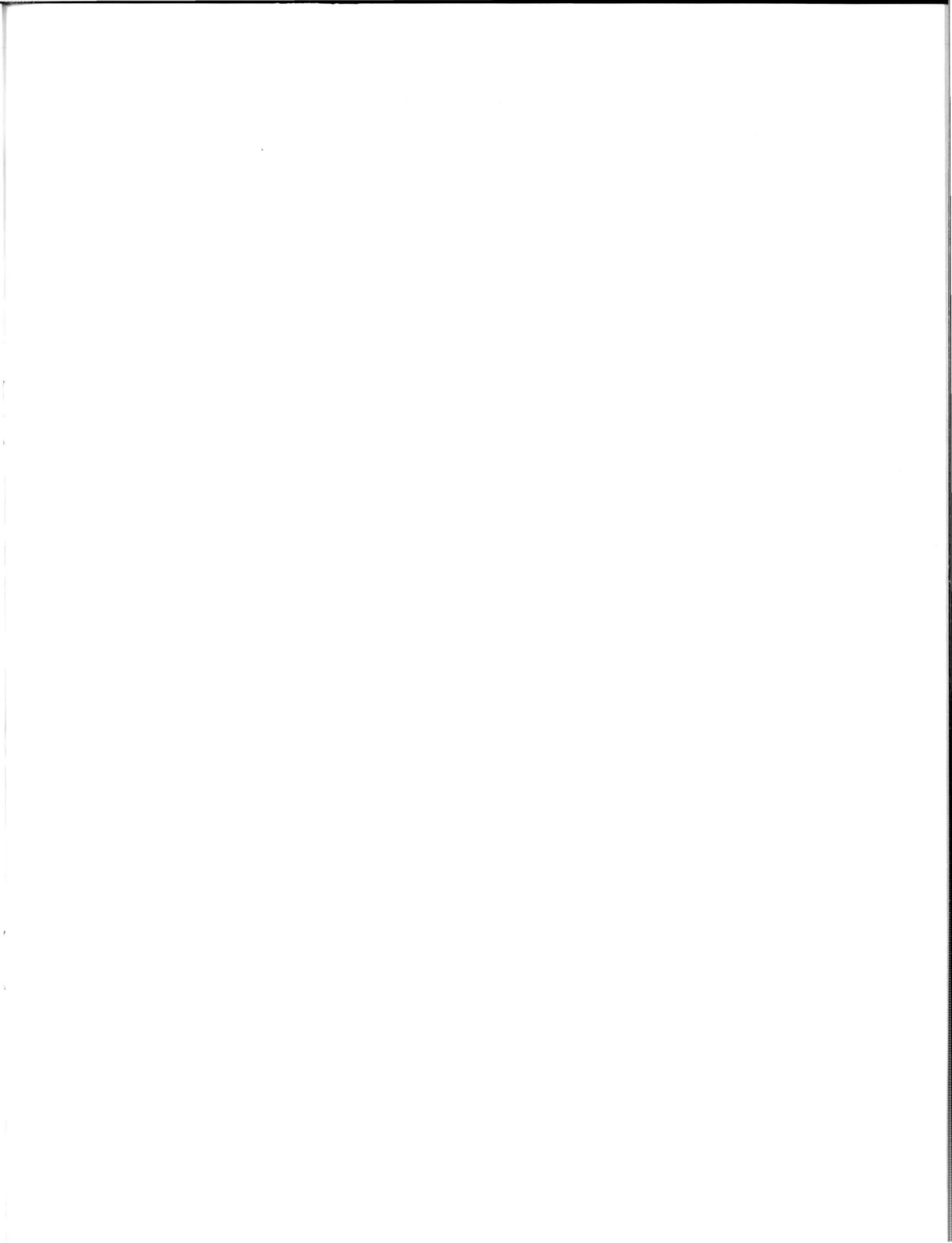
Philip D. Hager, formerly with Newsweek, has joined the San Francisco bureau of the Los Angeles Times.

(Editor's note: The following is a statement of the mission of Nieman Reports, a quarterly founded by the Society of Nieman Fellows in 1947. The statement was written by Louis M. Lyons, Curator of the Nieman Foundation from 1939 to 1964, and Chairman of the Society of Nieman Fellows, in his book, *Reporting the News*. This is a Belknap Press Book, published by the Harvard University Press in 1965.)

"It is intended to publish a quarterly about newspapering by newspapermen, to include reports and articles and stories about the newspaper business, newspaper people and newspaper stories.

". . . It has no pattern, formula or policy, except to seek to serve the purpose of the Nieman Foundation 'to promote the standards of journalism in America . . .'

". . . It was the one place a speech or lecture could be published, and, if important enough, published in full. To provide full texts, if significant, was accepted as one of its functions."



1970-71 Nieman Selection Committee

Three newspapermen and three officers of Harvard University will serve on the Nieman Selection Committee for the next academic year.

The President and Fellows of Harvard College have appointed the following to select the 1970-71 Nieman Fellows:

Moss William Armistead, III, President and Publisher of The Roanoke Times and World-News. He is an alumnus of Randolph-Macon College, a director of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and a former Secretary to the Governor of Virginia and the Commonwealth.

Robert Joseph Manning, Editor in Chief of The Atlantic Monthly. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1946, a former Senior Editor of Time Inc., Chief of its London Bureau, Sunday Editor of The New York Herald Tribune, and Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

Warren Henry Phillips, Executive Editor of The Wall Street Journal. He is a graduate of Queens College, is a former Foreign Editor and Managing Editor of The Wall Street Journal, Chief of its London Bureau, and a member of the Dow Jones Company's management committee.

Ernest Richard May, Dean of Harvard College, and Professor of History. He was graduated from the University of California, and was a member of the historical section of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1952-54.

William Moss Pinkerton, Harvard University News Officer. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1941, was graduated

from the University of Wisconsin, and is a former correspondent for the Associated Press.

Dwight Emerson Sargent, Curator of the Nieman Fellowships. He was Editorial Page Editor of The New York Herald Tribune, and a Nieman Fellow in 1951.

Subsequent to nominating applicants for appointment by the Harvard Corporation in May, committee members remain active for a year as an advisory group that assists the new class in planning its program.

Newsmen wishing to spend the academic year in background studies at Harvard must apply by March 15th, 1970. Applicants, who are required to return to their employers, must have had at least three years of news experience and must be under 40.

About twelve Fellowships will be awarded for 1970-71. Each grant provides for a year of university residence and study for newsmen on leave from their jobs.

The current class includes twelve Fellows from the United States, three Associate Fellows from foreign countries, and the first senior journalist to receive an appointment as a Nieman Research Fellow.

The 1970-71 class will be the 33rd annual group of Nieman Fellows at Harvard. The Fellowships were established in 1938 under a bequest from Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius W. Nieman, founder of The Milwaukee Journal.