FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY: THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MEDIA

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PREFACE

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Two hundred years ago our founding fathers framed the document that has served as cornerstone to the foundation of American life--the U.S. Constitution. Over the past two centuries, few issues have been discussed as frequently or as hotly as First Amendment rights. The topic is likely to produce quite strong reactions from people in all walks of life. Nowhere does the debate become more complicated than when freedom of the press and the "public's right to know" comes in conflict with national security.

In a democratic society a well-informed public is crucial to intelligent participation in the government. First Amendment freedom is "more than just self-expression; it is the essence of self-government," noted the court in Garrison vs. Louisiana, 1964.[1] The United States is one of only a few countries in which freedom of expression is so protected. "The world today is beset with many great issues," said W. Scott Thompson, associate director of the U.S. Information Agency at a worldwide conference on telecommunications, "but none is more universal than the denial of the right of the individual to participate in the governance of his or her country."[2] Thompson noted:

> When individuals are denied the right to communicate, they are, by extension, denied the right to form free associations, to share ideas, and to have open access to sources of information independent of their government. When governments repress information they are limiting political participation and perpetuating their monopoly of power.[3]

He continued by saying that well-informed political decisions, made with the participation and consent of the governed, are requisite conditions for a world truly at peace.[4]

In an ideal country in an ideal world, there would be no tension between the government and the media. Both institutions state that serving the public is their main goal. It is to the advantage of both to have a well-informed public. But this is not an ideal world. Recognizing that, the framers of the Constitution built a manner of tension into the system by granting sweeping freedoms of speech and press. On occasion this leads to conflict. The conflict arises in attempting to determine what defines national security and who is competent to judge what should be kept secret. When are the guarantees of civil liberty in conflict with the requirements of national security?

Most people would agree that the press should not print anything, anywhere, anytime it pleases. This relates to the analogy of yelling fire in a crowded theater. Nor would they agree to letting the government operate in total secrecy. The difficulty is in reaching agreement on just what that middle ground should be. Admiral Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA, speaks out against extreme views on either side:

> Those who criticize our intelligence as a threat to our society's values and those who would condone any kind of intrusion into our personal privacy for the sake of the nation's security are both wrong. Between those outlooks is the mature appreciation for good intelligence

> capabilities, but the need cannot justify abuse of the secrecy that must surround intelligence activities.[5]

Citing the dangers posed by hostile nations and terrorists among others, John Norton Moore, director of the Center for Law and National Security at the University of Virginia, said:

> It should not be necessary to remind thoughtful Americans that we maintain secrecy and an intelligence capability for reasons which are unimpeachably necessary for the maintenance of world peace and our democratic system.
>
> This does not mean that secrecy in the intelligence community should be free from oversight, or that abuses have not occurred and will not occur. It is simply to remind us that as citizens in a democratic society, an appropriate and capable intelligence effort needs and deserves our support as much as an appropriate and capable foreign policy or defense effort.[6]

The duty of the media is to keep the public informed on what its government is doing, but with that duty comes accountability to the public. Noting that the First Amendment is vital to a free society, television newsman Peter Jennings stated, ". . .but that does not mean that the press should not be accountable, that the press should not restrain itself when key issues of national security are involved."[7]

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore freedom of the press as it relates to matters of national security. Due to the wide-ranging issues involved in press freedom, this paper has attempted more narrowly to examine those topics dealing with relationships between the media and the government and how the American people perceive both entities.

How far is the average American citizen willing to trust the government's word on matters of national security? Do the media exercise

proper responsibility in reporting on stories of national and international consequence? If the general public reversed roles with the media would it make the same editorial decisions? Just how much does the average citizen want to know? Dan Rather, CBS news anchor, notes:

> When journalists grow emotional about such matters as protecting the public's right to know, we need to acknowledge that the public isn't all that hot to be protected. Many Americans really do not want to be told what their government is doing, anymore than they would want to know what went into the grinder to make the hot dog they are eating.[8]

This study was undertaken at a time in when a number of major events dominating the news--the Iran-Contra affair, U.S. hostages still being held in Lebanon, the withdrawal from the presidential race by Gary Hart as his alleged affairs with women were exposed, the scandal in the PTL ministry, and most recently, the tragedy aboard the U.S.S. Stark in which 37 American sailors were killed by an Iraqi missile.

It seems to be a particularly turbulent time in American history. There are periods of very little controversy in government. It would not be illogical to presume that in the "quiet times," the American public is less concerned, less interested in the details of their governance. In more active, turbulent times where big stories keep breaking into the headlines, the public, conceivably, becomes more concerned about and more interested in the stories and having full information disclosed.

In matters of national security, how much information should be given to the public? How much does the public want to know? Is the public's right to know being well-served or is any gain outweighed by the damage to U.S. credibility abroad? When events such as these happen, who

is at fault? The government for its actions? The government for keeping its actions secret? Or the media for exposing the government's actions?

It is important to note that neither the media nor the government are single entities. Certain branches of government or types of media might be perceived more favorably or unfavorably than others. Rather than an opinion survey, this study attempted to put members of the general public in the shoes, so to speak, of the media gatekeepers. Given the same information, will members of the general public be more reticent or more willing to publish certain types of national security-related information than members of the media? Or will there by any significant difference of opinion between the two?

Previous studies on the "gatekeeping" function of the media, notably those of Ward and Galow, have found that members of the general public tend to have similar news values to those held by members of the media.

Walter Ward pioneered a series of studies addressing the question, "What is news?" He devised a theoretical framework of news which he related to the "gatekeeping" function of the news media. Briefly, the media serve as gatekeepers because many events take place beyond the individual's sensory range and therefore must be "relayed" by those who were there. The media are the gatekeepers who select which of these news items will be relayed to the public from among all the news items available.[9]

Carl Galow in 1973 undertook a study in which he attempted to discover similarities in news desires, values, and standards between the professionals who edit a given publication and the subscribers to the publication. Galow found a significant correlation between the editors'

and subscribers' use of news elements (as outlined in the Ward studies). He noted, "It appeared in this case that the newspaper was giving its subscribers substantially what they would have chosen for themselves given the same input possibilities."[10]

The researcher in this study was interested in seeing whether these findings of similarities between media and non-media respondents would hold true in news judgements related to national security.

As technology continues to bring startling advances to the means of communication and the world becomes even more complex, the issue of press freedom versus national security is likely to grow more complicated. This paper does not attempt to provide any definitive answers, merely to put into perspective the viewpoints held by various media practitioners, government employees, and lay citizens.

ENDNOTES

[1]Archibald Cox, "First Amendment," Society, Vol. 24, No. 1 (November/December 1986), p. 10.

[2]W. Scott Thompson, "Communication and Information: Principles are Important," Vital Speeches, Vol. XLIX, No. 13 (April 15, 1983), p. 408.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Stansfield Turner, Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), p. 1.

[6]John Norton Moore, "The Greatest Threats are External," The Center Magazine (May/June 1985), p. 49.

[7]"Pressures to Impound the Public's Watchdog," Scholastic Update, Vol. 117, No. 17 (April 26, 1985), p. 12.

[8]Dan Rather with Mickey Herskowitz, The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1977), p. 299.

[9]Walter J. Ward in collaboration with Edward Carter, Carl Galow, and George Rhoades, The Nature of News in Three Dimensions (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University Bureau of Media Research, 1973).

[10]Carl Frederick Galow, "A Comparison of One Newspaper's Editor and Subscriber News Values." (Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1973), p. 97.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The World Picture

Times have changed since early colonial days when news from Europe was relayed to America by sailing ships from across the Atlantic Ocean. Modern methods of communication are a far cry from the network of pony express riders who brought information from one part of the country to another. Satellite transmissions have not only brought the world to our doorstep but also into our living rooms. The delivery of information from one country to another is virtually instantaneous. A viewer, in the course of a single newscast, may be transported from Huntsville, Alabama, to Washington, D.C., to China or Brazil all within the space of a few minutes. Modern technology has radically changed the way the world communicates. We live in what is known as "the information age."

Nowhere are the changes more evident than in the United States. Reporters in the newsrooms now write their copy onto computers. Lasers have revolutionized the printing process. In addition to the traditional network broadcasts, people with cable television or satellite dishes can choose from a multitude of channels for information or entertainment.

The potential benefits of this new age are enormous. Perhaps someone in Atlanta may gain an even better understanding of a person from New York or Nebraska. The same applies worldwide. After seeing the devastating results of the famine in Ethiopia brought home to their kitchens night

after night, Americans were moved to contribute--and contribute heavily--to the relief efforts. Two distant parts of the world were brought closer together. The American people became enchanted with their Australian cousins during the televising of the America's Cup from Sydney.

The information age has brought with it much potential for good. Yet not all governments have greeted these new technological advances with enthusiasm. Many hold different philosophical assumptions about the freedom to communicate and receive information. W. Scott Thompson, associate director of the U.S. Information Agency, says that "the choice is essentially between efforts to control the flow of information or encourage it."[1]

Some governments do not want their people to have access to outside information. Media channels are owned and operated by the state. The Soviet Union has banned access to the West through direct-dial telephones and routinely jams radio broadcasts from the West.[2]

According to Peter Galliner, director of the International Press Institute of Zurich and London, only two dozen countries in the world have press freedoms as we know it. He notes that in UNESCO discussions, governments that control the media are in the majority. Galliner warns, "Where democracies are in difficulties, where there are economic problems, governments will tend to foster their viewpoint through the press, radio and television."[3]

Secretary of State George Shultz underscores the changes brought by the information age, commenting that the industrial age is at an end:

> The economy of the future will be based more and more on information technologies. And the creative flow of information requires freedom--freedom of thought and communication. Ideology has nothing to do with this; it is just a fact of life . . . Democratic societies understand that cultural vitality springs from individual creativity and not from the state.[4]

Despite the fact that freedom of the press is a goal enshrined in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to most of the U.N.'s 158 members that pledge seems hollow:

> . . . governments may censor publications and broadcast outlets if they do not own or operate them directly, officials sometimes imprison journalists for what they print; bureaucrats frequently have the power to decide what information the international wire services can distribute within their nation's borders.[5]

In some countries, journalism has become a most dangerous profession. Secretary Shultz noted the hazards in his remarks to the 1986 Poets, Playwrights, Essayists and Novelists (PEN) international conference:

> There are countries in which writers know that if their art appears to threaten the political fortunes of their rulers, they may be silenced, imprisoned, even killed. Equally tragic, there are countries in which writers choose to aid the apparatus of repression.
>
> By contrast, there are other countries--and I'm proud to say the United States is one of them--where writers can speak, write and publish without political hindrance. Their freedom to criticize the state is the true measure of their independence.[6]

Free speech is becoming a "dying right," according to the London-based International Press Institute. Each year sees an increase in the number of journalists throughout the world expelled, jailed or murdered.[7]

A U.S. rights group, Freedom House, reports that in 89 nations, uncensored broadcast news does not exist. Sixty-four have no uncensored newspapers. Many Third World leaders' perceptions of a good journalist, says Time correspondent B. William Mader, "is someone who repeats the government line."[8] In Indonesia, journalists are ordered to "Serve the state . . . preserve national stability . . . and not to print anything that can form a negative public opinion."[9] Les Payne, a writer for

Newsday, says, "In Africa and most of the world, there is no concept of 'the public's right to know'."[10]

Before Americans feel too self-congratulatory about their system of press freedoms, it might be interesting to hear what some of these Third World countries think about the U.S. media. A Brazilian journalist writes, "the U.S. media is the most dishonest in the world, excepting the Soviet."[11] This writer, Paulo Francis, and other Third World spokesmen believe that the U.S. and Western media offer a distorted view of their countries, showing only the negative--the poverty, the political upheavals and economic crises. They contend that our "proclaimed commitment to objectivity" is just a "positivist delusion." They believe that foreign journalists will inevitably filter information in a way that supports the thoughts of their own wealthy nations. Many members of the Third World press believe they are fully justified in trying to impose restrictions on the Western media.[12]

Efforts are being made by Third World countries, with the support of the Soviets, to regulate the world press in an attempt to control what is reported about their countries to the rest of the world. Among the options being raised are government-enforced codes of conduct for foreign news organizations, curbs on access to news sources and the licensing of reporters. These steps, they claim, are designed to "protect" foreign journalists and improve coverage of their countries.[13]

Despite what some call a worldwide decline in freedom of the press, there are brief moments even in Socialist regimes when the press speaks out regardless of government displeasure. An irate Prime Minister of France in May 1986 reportedly warned state television and radio

journalists to "get a grip on themselves." He was unhappy with the way political independence movements of French holdings in the Pacific, Caribbean and Mediterranean were being reported. Nor was the government happy with the coverage of last summer's sinking of a Greenpeace vessel in a New Zealand harbor by French secret service agents. Writing in Variety, Jack Monet outlined the French governments distress, "It was very embarrassing to the socialist government. In the olden days it could easily have been an Orwellian 'non-event' on Gallic state radio-television."[14]

According to the PEN Congress:

> The minimum contract between the state and the citizen is for the maintenance of order, to provide for the common defense and diplomacy, to administer justice, to look to the equality of opportunity and the distribution of income, and to manage a sound currency.[15]

Noting his agreement with the PEN Congress, Secretary Shultz added, "That's about it, in my view. Governments around the world should be criticized in direct proportion to the extent to which they go beyond those functions."[16]

The Media: In Principle and in Practice

Following is an overview of the U.S. media. The writer takes a look at its goals and ideals as well as areas in which it falls short of those ideals. It is important to get the broad perspective of the media in general to understand the role they see themselves playing in the governance of the United States and why this role sometimes comes into conflict with what some perceive as national security interests.

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it."[17] The words of Thomas Paine remind us that freedom has its price. Within the complicated system of checks and balances established by U.S. forefathers, the price of freedom is in each citizen, each medium, each member of the government making every effort to maintain that freedom. This effort ensures freedom for all the American people, not just privileged ones or "right thinking" ones.

Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina has said,

> The First Amendment extends its freedoms to all human beings regardless of whether they are wise or foolish, profound or shallow, learned or ignorant, devout or ungodly, and regardless of whether they love their country and its institutions.[18]

The media are zealous in seeing that their First Amendment rights are upheld because of the importance they attach to their role of keeping the people informed on government activities. Wilber Schramm and Donald F. Roberts write:

> Only the media can ensure that this information is complete. Theirs is the responsibility of making sure the public receives all available information about various issues before those issues are resolved by our elected leaders. Theirs is the responsibility of insuring that the power which information implies remains diffused throughout the populace.[19]

Recognizing the importance of a free press, C. M. Kittrell, executive vice president of Phillips Petroleum Company, speaking to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications in 1984, emphasizing the need for a highly principled mass media: "Together, journalists and business people can help ensure that the press stays free of every burden but responsibility."[20]

Some members of the media believe that the guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press hold an absolute preferred position because "they

are the measures adopted by the people as the ultimate rulers in order to retain control over the government, the people's legislative and executive agents."[21]

James Madison, author of the First Amendment, expressed a similar thought in a speech in 1794. "If we advert to the natures of Republican Government, we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the Government, and not in the Government over the people."[22]

This First Amendment right applies even to those thoughts which to one person might seem obviously foolish or false. The founding fathers believed that truth would win out in the marketplace of ideas. Legal expert Archibald Cox writes:

> Some harmful political and religious doctrines gain wide public acceptance. Adolf Hitler's brutal theory of a "master race" is sufficient example. We tolerate such foolish and sometimes dangerous appeals not because they may prove true, but because freedom of speech is indivisible. The liberty cannot be denied to some persons and extended to others. It cannot be denied to some ideas and saved for others . . . The judgement that the risks of suppression are greater than the harm done by bad ideas rests upon faith in the ultimate good sense and decency of free people.[23]

Newsman Dan Rather made a similar point. He recounted that many people came to him to ask why the station aired speeches by George Wallace. They opposed the things Wallace believed in and thought that by putting Wallace on television, the media were giving this "wrong" man the opportunity to fool people and increase his support. Rather argued, "If he's as bad as you say he is, you ought to be buying him time on television."[24] Rather also noted that only when McCarthy began being televised did the public change in its feelings toward the man--a change that brought McCarthyism to an end.

The responsibility of the press is to encourage public debate by airing all sides of an issue. Noting that healthy democracy must encourage vigorous public debate, an editorial in Business Week stated, "Fruitful exchange of opinion can only take place when people who disagree behave toward one another with some minimum level of civility."[25] Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes observed that the most essential constitutional protection is "not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought we hate."[26]

What kind of standards should the media adhere to in providing the information which fuels the public debate? Ed Kauber set the standards of broadcast journalism in the 1930s with his "Standards of Fairness":

> What news analysts are entitled to do and should do is elucidate and illuminate the news out of common knowledge or specialized knowledge possessed by them or made available to them by this organization (CBS) or through its sources. They should point out the facts on both sides, show contradictions with the known record and so forth. They should bear in mind that in a democracy it is important that people not only should know but should understand, and it is the analyst's function to help the listener to understand, to weigh and to judge, but not to do the judging for him.[27]

The late Edward R. Murrow epitomized for many the ideal journalist. David Halberstram wrote of Murrow, "His passion was not for the scoop, but for intelligence, for the audience to understand what was going on in the world."[28] In 1959, Walter Lippman, journalist, educator and the developer of communication models still in use, told the National Press Club that the job of a Washington correspondent was to make a meaningful picture out of the jumbled jigsaw-puzzle pieces that are the daily bits of raw news. He added that the analogy was imperfect, "Our job is harder than it implies. In real life there is not, as there is in every jigsaw puzzle, one picture only into which all the pieces will eventually fit."[29]

As with all institutions, the media, ideals notwithstanding, are far from perfect. One of the major criticisms confronting the media today is whether they exercise good judgement and responsibility in their reporting. In a 1983 speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Michael J. O'Neill, editor of the New York Daily News, observed:

> While there has been an astonishing growth in the power of the media over the last decade or so, I am by no means sure we are using it wisely. The tendency has been to revel in the power and wield it freely, rather than to accept any corresponding increase in responsibility . . . Indeed, the media now weigh so heavily in the scales of power that some political scientists fear we are upsetting the checks and invented by our forefathers.
>
> . . . Similar questions need to be asked about our intensely adversarial coverage of government because this, too, is falsely coloring the information flowing to the public.[30]

What are some of the factors contributing to an increase in public criticism of the press? Arrogance, bias, double standards, as well as size and profitability, are among criticisms most often mentioned. Elie Abel, chairman of the Department of Communication at Stanford University explained why the growth in size and power of the press has worried some Americans. This is a country which has traditionally supported the underdog. Is the modern day media an underdog? Said Abel:

> The First Amendment was written to protect the freedom of the printers of Revolutionary times. But in the age of far flung newspaper chains and broadcast networks, a typical citizen finds it more difficult to understand the need to protect press freedom. Increasingly, Americans tend to look upon the media as large, immensely profitable corporate enterprises that deserve little or no special considerations because they are perceived as having become remote, insensitive, and arrogant in the exercise of their power.[31]

Journalist Bob Greene wrote in the Chicago Tribune of a growing backlash to the increased power of the press:

> People used to think of the press as the guy down the block who worked as a reporter for a local paper. Now that has changed. The phrase 'the media' carries a connotation of distance and arrogance and power; even on the local level, anchormen earn enormous salaries, which are dutifully reported in the papers. It's a little difficult for a viewer of the evening news to feel indignant about a story of a $30,000 civil servant raking in a little extra dough when the viewer knows that the anchorman who is reading that story is making $300,000 to $400,000.[32]

An article in Scholastic Update also addressed the issue of rising public dissatisfaction with the media, noting the irony of the fact that the media's successes are major contributing factors to this feeling of dissatisfaction:

> This should be a happy time for U.S. journalism. Protected by the First Amendment, the press in the U.S. has long been the freest in the world. And in an age of rapid communication, its influence has grown and grown as it has become the nerve system of our society. Its central role has translated into profits that, for many news organizations are twice as high as those in most other industries.[33]

Critics complain that journalists are unfair, irresponsible or just plain arrogant. White House science adviser George Keyworth II expressed the irritation of many when he accused the press of "trying to tear down America."[34]

One woman in a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner summed the feeling of a number of Americans, writing, "Journalists are so out of touch with majority values--such as honor, duty and service to country, that they are alienated from the very society they purport to serve.[35]

The late Jessica Savitch, writing in her autobiography said, "Newscasters have an obligation to understand as thoroughly as possible everything they are trying to communicate to viewers."[36] Newscasters see

themselves as trying to keep in touch with and informed about the values and interests of the American public.

When the United States took military action in Grenada without allowing journalists to tag along, the media were outraged but much of the public, "seemed almost relieved that the press wasn't there to meddle."[37] Speaking of Grenada, NBC commentator John Chancellor, was indignant. "The American government is doing whatever it wants to, without any representation of the American public watching what it is doing." Chancellor's audience was not so willing to concede that the press stood for the people. In 500 calls and letters, viewers supported the press ban 5 to 1.[38] Editor & Publisher found in an informal poll of a dozen dailies, that letters-to-the-editor were running 3 to 1 in favor of the press ban.[39]

These criticisms are a bitter pill to swallow for journalists who see their role as a major force in working for the public good. "One of the appeals of journalism is the opportunity to save the world," said Peter Jennings. "This attracts rather romantic persons, not people who are primarily interested in making money."[40]

David Lawrence, publisher of the Detroit Free Press, believes that the press is to blame for not taking the time better to explain itself to the public:

> Essentially we are coming across as folks who, by God, know what is good for you. We come across as a high and mighty profession. We do not come across as what we are, folks who entered journalism to perform a genuine public service. That is why most of us entered, at least in part. Not only was journalism exciting and romantic, but one could honestly make a contribution to the world.[41]

Many view members of the media as not being so much concerned with saving the world, as with making a name for themselves. Noting that right after Watergate public confidence in the press rose to an all-time high while journalism school enrollments tripled, C. M. Kittrell, noted the other problems this trend posed for journalism educators:

> As journalism educators, you must have had mixed emotions about this trend. On the one hand, these young, budding journalists were focusing on the big picture and the big story. This is always a healthy sign of professional development.
>
> But on the other hand, I can imagine that this preoccupation with Woodward and Bernstein may have inspired too much ambition and too little attention to the basics of good reporting.[42]

One of the most sweeping condemnations of the press was brought by former Vice President Spiro Agnew who said that the media were a small but far too influential elite, unrepresentative of the people as well as not having been elected by the people--and therefore not "un"electable. He believed that the Washington and New York press were in touch and in contact only with themselves, reinforcing their same viewpoint. What was worse, he argued, was that television commentators did not just report, but constantly editorialized promoting their own opinions.[43]

Dan Rather of CBS News took issue with Agnew's statements. He said Nixon and Agnew ran a carefully orchestrated campaign to discredit the press. He believed they were making a mistaken assumption that coverage, to be fair, had to be favorable. Said Rather, "I would argue that totally favorable coverage would be the unfairest of all because it discourages free thought."[44]

Some observers link the criticism to rising standards in journalism. "The press is more professional, more responsible, more

careful, more ethical than it ever has been," said David Shaw, media critic for the Los Angeles Times. "But we are also being far more critical toward other institutions, and people are asking, 'Why don't you criticize yourselves?'"[45]

If the media are biased, are they biased to the left, to the right, against anyone but itself, or just basically negative? Most American people seem to think the media are biased, however, they do not agree which way. According to a 1984 Gallup Poll, 46 percent of the public believed the news media's bias is liberal, while 38 percent said it was conservative. Most journalists--59 percent--described their political views as "middle of the road," nineteen percent said they "leaned to the left," and seventeen percent said they "leaned to the right."[46]

Robert Novack is one of those who believes the media lean to the liberal side. He believes this is causing a gap between the media and the general public:

> First, the journalists working for the television networks, the big news magazines, and the important metropolitan press had now become part of the liberal establishment, both in their manner of living and in their ideological commitment.
>
> Second, in a later and less fully developed trend, these journalists were increasingly advocating causes of the moment rather than functioning as neutral observers. Taken together, the developments widened the gap between the mass media and great masses of citizens.[47]

Taking a different tack, William Grieder in 1984 wrote the following in Rolling Stone magazine:

> Today, my impression is that the press is in retreat. It seems to be pulling in its lances, taking fewer risks, avoiding the hard and nasty confrontations it would have zealously pursued five or ten years ago. Yes, on some days, the press still infuriates the government, exposes larcenous politicians or directs its beam at social injustices. And that's just what its critics and the politicians are always

> complaining about: Why doesn't the press quit making trouble and just report the news.[48]

It is easy to see why the press would be tempted to throw up their collective hands in despair. The media seem to be stuck in the proverbial "no win" situation. If the media aggressively pursue an issue they might be called biased or irresponsible by one side. On the same story the other side could accuse them of being too soft. An indirect source of bias is the choice of what to print or broadcast and what to leave out. Sander Vanocur, former vice president of ABC news, voiced his concerns:

> I think that we're more than mere reflectors of the political process. I think in many ways, probably too many for our own good or for politics, we really threaten to become the political process itself because we decide by our very presence or by our very absence what's important and what's not.[49]

Warren H. Phillips in a July 1986 USA Today article wrote that charges of media bias stem from people's own commitments and ideologies and that they look to newspaper accounts of events to "reinforce and agree with their own views, even their prejudices. If they don't get that, they often feel the press is not credible."[50] The selective processes of the media as well as the selective perception by the general public add up to a perceived credibility problem.

An example of charges of media bias surfaced when an incensed Jesse Helms in 1985 attempted to buy enough stock in CBS to force it to reflect conservative views and thus "end the liberal bias at CBS."[51] As A. C. Leibling observed, "freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who can afford to own one."[52]

There is a degree of truth to that observation. Throughout U.S. history newspaper publishers have attempted to reflect their views through

their newspapers or magazines. For some, it was the only way they could get their views across. In the early 1700s, John Peter Zenger became a publisher. He wished to express his views about the colony's Royal Governor and found in his newspaper the vehicle for so doing. Zenger was arrested for seditious libel after attacking the governor's policies and methods in print. Zenger was vindicated when the jury agreed with his lawyer, Alexander Hamilton, that the truth of a story was justification for publishing it.[53]

Many publishers have believed in printing the truth as they see it. Henry Luce, founder of Time magazine, candidly said to a staff member, "I don't pretend this is an objective magazine. It's an editorial magazine from the first page to the last and whatever comes out has to reflect my views and that's the way it is."[54] "Mister Henry Luce is like a shoe salesman," said Earl Long, at that time governor of Louisiana and not a Luce admirer, "but all the other shoestore owners stock all different sizes of shoes, but Mr. Luce, he only sells shoes that fit hisself."[55]

Phil Graham, former publisher of the Washington Post, left no doubt in his staff's mind that the paper was to be an instrument for social progress. Stories that reflected badly on some of his pet projects like integration or home rule simply would not make it into the paper.[56] David Halberstram wrote that:

> Phil Graham used the paper as he saw fit for his definition of social good, benign, liberal, but also very mucy the in-trument of his power, not choosing to let the people of Washington know and decide things in their own awkward, clumsy way.[57]

Another major U.S. newspaper was decidedly partisan. The Los Angeles Times began championing Richard Nixon from the time of his first bid for

elected office. The paper, for the next couple of decades, ignored or attempted to discredit Nixon's opponents and printed whatever made him look good.[58] Halberstram wrote:

> The paper gave Nixon enormous leverage and clout at home but it was not by any means the healthiest of relationships; it spared Nixon from the normal give-and-take of politics and journalism, it bred in this most fragile of egos a sense that he could attack others without being attacked in return; it allowed him to rise to higher and higher levels of politics without ever testing his ability to take the normal strain and criticism of politics. It made him think that no one would dare attack him--for few in California did --and it made him believe that his lesser moments, if known to journalists would not be printed, and that finally, if journalists did write normal, balanced, tough-minded analytical stories, they were virtually personal attacks. Few other major politicians came out of a metropolitan area so pampered.
>
> It all created in Nixon a sense that he could get away with things, that the press was crooked and could be bought off. That there were, in fact, special rules.[59]

Few politicians have expected to receive the kid-glove treatment from the media, however, recently there has been an increase in the number of libel suits brought by public figures against the media. Warren H. Phillips writing on the subject observed:

> George Washington didn't sue when in 1793, the New York Journal called him "infamously niggardly" in his private business and said he was a "most horrid swearer and blasphemer" despite his religious pretensions, or when the Philadelphia Aurora said he had legalized "corruption," and was guilty of "political degeneracy," and was the debaucher of a nation."
>
> Jefferson didn't sue when The New England Palladium called him a "plagarist." Lincoln didn't sue those who wrote about him as a baboon, or Franklin Roosevelt those who said he knew about Pearl Harbor before it happened.
>
> That is because they shared James Madison's view of the press. Madison summed it up this way: Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press. It has accordingly been decided. . . that it is better to leave a

> few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth than by pruning them away to injure the vigor of thos yielding the proper fruits.[60]

Some of those "noxious branches" have led to the credibility problem faced by the media. A poll taken in August of 1985 by the American Society of Newspaper Editors found that two out of three persons considered their local paper reliable but felt that "reporters are too intent on getting a good story and don't worry much about hurting people."[61]

A 1980 Gallup Poll found that the American people, by a margin of 2 to 1, believed that curbs on the press at that time were not strict enough. Three main reasons were suggested by the respondents for placing stricter controls on the press:

> Newspapers publish information--including news about the government and foreign affairs--that should not be made public because it is not in the best interest of the nation.
>
> Newspapers distort and exaggerate the news in the interest of making headlines and selling papers.
>
> Newspapers do not devote enough time to getting all the facts straight before they publish.[62]

A 1981 survey by the Los Angeles Times asked respondents to rate government, business, labor and the media in terms of honesty and integrity. The media received the highest percentage at 36 percent, followed by business at 17 percent, government 16 percent, and labor 12 percent (14 percent were unsure or did not answer and five percent said none). The survey also asked how the media rated in terms of acting responsibly. Fifty-three percent said the media exercise their power responsibly while 39 percent said the media abuses its privileges. When asked about controls for media abuse of privilege, respondents favored

self-regulation by 33 percent, easier libel suits against the media 35 percent, and government regulation by 21 percent.[63]

In 1973 an independent media watchdog, the National News Council, was formed upon the recommendation of a Twentieth Century Fund Study, prompted in part by Agnew's criticism of journalists as a "small and unelected elite." The Council folded in 1984 due to the lack of support and endorsement from a number of major news organizations--despite the fact that the Council's members were quite distinguished journalists. One of those former members, Margo Huston, wrote in a Newsweek article:

> The Council provided a much-needed voice in the wilderness between the First Amendment, which rightly prohibits Congress from making any law abridging freedom of the press and its potential misuse. Now that the nation is without the News Council, the nation's press is without a conscience. People such as Governor Lamm (she was alluding to newspaper articles in which Lamm had been misquoted as wanting old people to die and "get out of the way")--and possibly you or me--are without an acceptable and practical vehicle for airing grievances against an increasingly powerful and centralized media.
>
> In my view, this absence of an independent press watchdog, or conscience, is a major threat to that precious First Amendment freedom to report and criticize government actions. Without such a safety valve, I fear, the pressure to enact laws restraining the press will increase.[64]

Whatever the reason, many public figures are resorting more and more to libel suits to redress the wrongs they believe the media have caused them. Time magazine was even sued by a foreign government official. Israeli defense minister, Ariel Sharon, believed that a 1983 article implied he had in some way encouraged Christian Phalangists in Lebanon to murder 700 Palestinian refugees. After a lengthy trial, the jury agreed that there was no proof Sharon encouraged the massacre. However, the jurors refused to believe that Time's writers and editors had knowingly

published false informatin in an attempt to smear Sharon. Time saw the verdict as a victory. It had feared that had Sharon won, the media would be overly fearful of printing anything critical of foreign politicians. Yet the victory was not complete. In an unusual step, the jury issued a statement criticizing "certain Time employees who acted negligently and carelessly in reporting and verifying their information."[65]

Speaking harshly of another recent libel case, Westmorland vs. CBS's "Sixty Minutes," Fred W. Friendly, former head of CBS and recipient of the John Peter Zenger Award for Freedom of the Press and the People's Right to Know, said:

> The broadcast was flawed, perhaps even unfair. Crile (CBS producer) admitted several serious journalistic sins: to list a few--hiring a consultant for $25,000 and then using him both as a central interviewee in the documentary and a type of associate producer. The payment was not mentioned in the script. Another ethical problem: after interviewing one CIA agent, Crile decided to take him into the editing room to show him the original rushes of his interview and several others. Then he reinterviewed the same agent. Such practices are UNACCEPTABLE in any newsroom, broadcast or print.[66]

Westmorland also lost his libel case. The Sharon and Westmorland cases are an indication of how the press' credibility has been damaged even while winning the cases. Bob Greene of Newsday writes:

> The worst enemy of investigative reporting is not the timid publisher, the oppressive president, the outraged advertiser or even the biased judge. It is bad investigative reporting. When investigative reporting loses its credibility with the people because it is wrong, biased hyped or otherwise unprofessional, its enemies have both the excuse to destroy it and the people's permission to do so.[67]

Some people believe the media hold a double standard, one for themselves and one for the rest of the world. The media are the first in calling for a politician to admit a mistake, yet often unwilling to admit

mistakes. John R. Burke wrote of the irony implicit in the media's belief that they in some way protect the people from the government yet the avenue of approach to government is relatively open to the U.S. citizen while the avenues of approach to the media are less accessible. He spoke of what he called the arrogance of the media in not admitting mistakes:

> They may make a mistake or two--say a thirty-six point headline on Page 1 just above the fold, but the retraction is always on Page 36, lower right hand corner in 12 point Bodini. That is, if you are able to get them to admit they made a bad assumption, a misjudgement, or, God forbid, an outright mistake.[68]

Is there a double standard? What happens in the media when a public official "erases" tapes or destroys documents? There is outrage. Yet, in a roundtable discussion of members of the media discussing the escalation of libel cases against the media--several members of the panel advocated destroying pertinent notes and outtakes so they could not be used by the prosecution to determine the "state of mind" of the journalist (necessary to prove malice and reckless disregard for the truth). Said Eugene Patterson, chairman and chief executive officer of the St. Petersburg Times:

> I don't understand why you fellows (broadcasters) keep outtakes. Years and years ago, we in print journalism started destroying negatives of pictures of newsworthy events that might be subpoenaed because we knew they probably would be subpoenaed.
>
> . . . Increasingly we are no longer keeping notes of reporters. The reporters come in now and write on computers. It doesn't take a long stretch of the imagination to see how a smart lawyer will sway a jury when he says, "Here were five revisions of this story. Here's the way it appeared. Now let's go back. Revision one, two, three, four. Why did you change that paragraph, reporter?" I saw this happen in Clearwater, Florida, three years ago, when the Tampa Tribune lost a $300,000 libel judgement. The plaintiff's lawyer was marvelous. He had subpoenaed this young reporter's notes. He stood there and said, "Why didn't you put this in

> your story? This makes my client look a lot better than you made him look. Why did you omit this from your story?" And the jury sat there with its mouth open, and convicted the Tampa Tribune. Why do you keep outtakes? Why don't you get rid of them?[69]

In this same roundtable discussion, Seymour Topping, managing editor of the New York Times, speaking about sensitive issues of national security said: "The point is, we do not rush in and make hasty decisions, and we are not panicked into doing something for competitive reasons."[70] Yet David Halberstram, writing about the competitiveness between the Washington Post and the New York Times, seemed to contradict this assertion:

> . . . Hersh developed a story based largely on (secret) grand jury material and was told by his superiors that Times did not publish 'that kind of thing.' When the Post printed essentially the same story the next day, that policy went out the window. The Times did not want to be number two any more.[71]

Most people would agree that the media have been very good at attempting to keep the government from invading the privacy of American citizens, yet in the pursuit of a story, some reporters have been known to disregard those same standards. Writing about Carl Bernstein, who became famous for his investigative reporting on Watergate, Halberstram said:

> When other reporters failed it was Bernstein who seemed to come up with the crucial unlisted phone numbers that that paper desperately needed. That was not by chance; as a young reporter around town he had deliberately cultivated, not the top people at the White House or the State Departmeant, but some insiders at the phone company. He had learned the advantage of this early on. It was amazing what such friends could do in moments of crisis.[72]

This is not to say that Bernstein was entirely happy about his methods, Halberstram later wrote:

> Bernstein had often been troubled by the ethics of getting confidential information from inside the Bell system. He

> would not have liked anyone doing anything like that to him. It was, he knew, a violation of privacy.[73]

Critics of the press wonder how much the press is genuinely motivated by the "public's right to know" or its passion for the scoop. The rise in international terrorism has led to concern that the media are playing into the terrorists' hands. When NBC interviewed fugitive Abu Abbas Zaudan, the Palestinian terrorist sought for masterminding the 1985 hijacking of the Achille Lauro in which a wheelchair-bound American was killed, there was a tremendous outcry against NBC news for keeping the terrorist's whereabouts secret. Joe Saltzman wrote in defense of the NBC decision:

> There was nothing extraordinary about NBC's arrangement with Abbas. Sometimes the only way to get information from people is to accept certain ground rules, such as keeping the source of the information confidential or pledging not to disclose details of where an interview took place. Some argue that citizenship should come before the duties of the journalist. But that is murky ground. Journalists must never become law enforcement officers, their job is always simply to report information to the public. When journalists worry about the moral consequences of their actions on a daily basis, the public is always the loser.[74]

Saltzman said that the Abbas case was another example of the public blaming the messenger "for the evil that men and women do."[75]

Saltzman's point touches on a debate still unresolved among the ranks of journalists--the issue of morality. Should the reporter tell all then let the truth win out? How does this correlate, or should it, with any notions of the media's social responsibilities. Typical of the questions raised is the following illustration of the difference in styles between Philip Graham, former publisher of the Washington Post and Ben Bradlee, current editor. Halberstram writes:

> Some people . . . who vastly preferred the new paper to the old and thought it a better and fairer paper, less committed in its news columns to causes, nonetheless

> worried about the attitudes that the newspaper reflected. Did it have a moral center? Should a newspaper have a moral center? What worried many of the reporters and some some of the editors about Bradlee was that a story was an end in itself. Get the story, beat the opposition, stick it to them before they stick it to us. The story without any sense of the large context or implication. Bradlee was classically, for all his modern style, of the old Chicago school: the story was everything. It made his attitude toward journalism clean, but it disconcerted many of his colleagues--well-educated, middle class--who thought journalism had some measure of social responsibility.[76]

Other criticisms of the media center around lack of depth in reporting, limiting both print and broadcast material to the attention span of the "average" American. Writing about the media's political coverage of campaigns, William Greidor noted,

> such substantive issues (taxes, gas deregulation) . . . do not fit into the press' definition of political coverage. In fact, political reporters rather loathe "issues" as a tedious burden they must occasionally deal with then they intrude on the horse race.[77]

Halberstram noted the predominance of entertainment versus news programming on the networks, "most broadcast executives in their hearts regard news and public service as a form of charity."[78] Halberstram also stated that a half-hour news show was like trying to fit the New York Times on a postage stamp:

> There was a standing insider's joke at CBS that if Moses came down from the mountain the evening news lead would be: 'Moses today came down from the mountain with the Ten Commandments, the two most important of which are . . .'[79]

Halberstram noted television had made issues grow larger more quickly, but also die more quickly. People reach the saturation point of boredom more quickly--even before an issue is decided or a problem solved.[80]

Former press secretary, Jody Powell, commented on the difficulty in conveying accurate information to the public on complicated issues:

> The trouble with journalism is that it is like a bathroom. You have hot and cold running water. The State Department either has scored a triumph or the State Department had plunged us to the brink of war and disasterous humiliation for the American people. Things are always more complicated than they seem in the media. But to a large extent I think that the people in the profession have been trained to exaggerate or simplify a complicated story so that their readership or viewership can understand it. If you had to explain the Iran (hostage) story in thirty seconds on the CBS evening news it would be very difficult to give a simple picture of the situation; it's an enormously complicated story.[81]

Another media criticism is that they present only bad news, negative news. Seymour Topping, managing editor of the New York Times, believed that the majority of news is bad news:

> Every morning the newspaper, a mirror of the society, is held up for the people to look into. And what do they see every morning? Mostly they see all the warts in their society. What they see about themselves and what is going on in that town is essentially ugly. That is because bad news is essentially the bulk of the news. And it makes people uncomfortable. And if you make people uncomfortable day after day, how do you get them to love you.[82]

David Lawrence, publisher of the Detroit Free Press, countered that if the media is to reflect society, they have an obligation to look for the good as well as the bad:

> That is absolutely consistent with honest, aggressive journalism. But what has happened in the smart set among journalists is that bad news is perceived as the only good journalism.
>
> . . . We are so uptight about this good news/bad news issue, we are so afraid that if we even discuss it, we will be led into the chasm of the Pollyanna journalism.[83]

Dan Rather echoed Lawrence's thought explaining how he struggled to maintain his professionalism and not be seen as a Pollyanna:

> My job is to inform, not persuade. At the same time I don't want to come across as some kind of Pollyanna. I do not subscribe to the idea of reporter-as-robot. I can't walk into a room and say to you, "Look, every day that I went to the White House I left my emotions behind me." But one test of the professional is how hard he tries and how well he succeeds in keeping his own feelings out of a story.[84]

Edward Joyce, president of CBS news, strongly objected to the kind of self-criticism he believed the press is subjecting itself to:

> I think we should move away from the defensive, apologetic posture we have taken. We are not arrogant, we are concerned. We are not elitist, we are more in touch with the country and the world in many ways than any number of people who sit in positions of real power. Unfortunately, through our public paroxysms of guilt, we have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy which does nothing but create doubts about us in the minds of a public that is damn well served.[85]

Yet there is no escaping that many people feel a sense of impatience with the media. Roy Danish in July 1984 wrote in <u>USA Today</u> that this frustration:

> . . . provokes an urge to censor which sometimes wears a mask of social or political conservatism. However, it is hardly conservative; instead, it is a counterrevolution against the legal and traditional openness of our society, and its targets include the university just as surely as they include free inquiry and communication.[86]

Danish concluded by saying that "none of us can afford to yield the hard-won ground of intellectual freedom and free expression--not the media, not the people, not government itself."[87]

Joe Saltzman also argued strongly about the issue of media self-restraint:

> Why do so many public officials, journalists, lawyers and business people have so little faith in the American people? What is wrong with truth and falsehood grappling on the airways and in print so that the viewer and reader decide what is right, what is wrong, what is good, what is bad? Why can't the media leave the moral decisions--no matter how odious, how evil, how horrible that information may be?

> . . . Slowly, the doctrine of self-restraint will accomplish what all of the censors and media critics have tried to do since this county began--it will create a nervous and self-censoring media that will alter and stop information at its source, only allowing the broadcast or publication of whatever it believes is good for the American people.[88]

While some agree completely with Saltzman's view, as noted earlier, the majority of people believe the media should act responsibly using some self-restraint particularly in not publishing or airing known falsehoods without labeling them as such. Kenneth W. Thompson summed up the case for acting responsibly, writing:

> Honesty requires that we say that the net effect and long-term influence of the media remain something of a question. The public's concern centers on whether the media's investigatory skills are matched by a sense of responsibility. Sometimes those who gain most notice and attention in the media appear to be willing to discover a story whatever the costs. Some reporters ride rough-shod over the personal lives and reputations of dedicated leaders. Truth is subordinated to the unquenchable thirst to be the first to disclose a scandal. The restricted coverage possible in relatively short news reports put a premium on simplification even if the story throws a dark shadow over a long and unblemished professional career.
>
> The media rests its case on the First Amendment, but especially where national security is involved the need for freedom with responsibility is apparent. The public knows all too little about the assumptions and commitments of those who proclaim they speak the truth.[89]

Bob Schieffer, chief Washington correspondent for CBS news emphasized the responsibility of journalists to "encourage those who see journalism only as an avenue to fame and fortune to seek their fulfillment elsewhere." And he reminded his audience at the 1984 Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi convention in Indianapolis "the bedrock of journalism remains what it always was: The individual journalist's personal integrity, curiosity, sense of fairness and determination to find the truth--whatever it is."[90]

The Media Versus the President

The President of the United States is the most public of all public figures. Nearly every word, every action he makes is recorded and commented upon by the media. Because the President is one person and not an impersonal entity like "Congress" or the "Department of Defense," he is highly visible and easy for the press to focus upon and for the public to relate to. The President dominates the news--some feel to the point of extremes. "How can anybody withstand the amount of scrutiny that any President now gets," writes Dumas Malone. "It's too bad that there can't be a better distinction between the public and private . . . some of these things are reported and interpreted to an absurdity, really," he continued.[91]

Noting the great expectations the media and the public place upon each-newly elected President, Kenneth W. Thompson echoed Malone's thoughts:

> In effect we expect much more than a President can ever possibly deliver, and in the period of office he is stripped to his underwear virtually so that any President who could maintain that kind of support needed to govern is almost difficult to see.[92]

Many see the relationship between the media and the President as an adversarial one. Certainly, historically relations have not always been the most cordial. Thomas Jefferson felt so villified that he believed the newspapers should run a special section called "Lies." Alexander Hamilton called the press "a wild animal in our midst."[93]

In the White House press office is a photograph of Franklin Delano Roosevelt inscribed to the White House reporters from their "devoted victim." Harry Truman has been quoted as saying, "When the press stops

abusing me, I'll know I'm in the wrong pew." "Reading it more and enjoying it less," said Kennedy.[94]

Helen Thomas, White House reporter for many years, noted that under Nixon when the press once walked into the cabinet room for picture taking, Nixon looked up and said aloud, "It's only coincidental that we're talking about pollution when the press walks in." She said former President Jimmy Carter "always seemed to be saying, 'Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.'" Thomas said the atmosphere under President Reagan is ". . . like being in a silent movie. He thinks we should be seen and not heard."[95]

There has been a noticeable change not only in the journalism profession itself but in its coverage of the President. The Washington press corps in 1937 consisted of 600 journalists. In 1982 there were more than 4,000.[96] Reporter Richard Strout writes of his first meeting with President Warren G. Harding:

> There was this group of I suppose about thirty newspapermen about his desk and they were asking him mean questions. He held up his hand and he said, "Gentlemen, gentlemen, please be gentle with me today, I want to go out and play some golf. Let me go." And so they did.[97]

David Halberstram noted that for many news organizations in the 1920s one reporter covered the entire executive branch while a colleague covered the Congress. Two men might make up the entire Washington bureau.[98] The style and aggressiveness of reporters in those days was different as well:

> When journalists visited President Hoover they submitted their questions for him in writing. On occasion he deigned to answer them. In writing of course.
>
> Increasingly, as the weight of the Depression bore down on him, Hoover declined to respond at all. Indeed, his press

> secretary suggested on occasion that the reporters would do well not even to use the terms "financial crisis" and "unemployment" in their stories without checking with the White House press office. Some of them thought that bordered on censorship. Complaints were made and the White House backed down.[99]

Historian George Juergens wrote that President Wilson's misunderstanding on how the press works caused great tensions between him and the White House correspondents. Wilson was extremely unhappy about what he believed was an invasion of privacy into his family's life, but even worse, Wilson thought, were the media's comments and interpretations about his policies:

> He thought of news as the announcement of a decision made or a step taken which it was the responsibility of the press to convey without comment or interpolation. Reporters, as far as he was concerned, had no business speculating about what might happen, or printing information before it had officially been released . . . Wilson was hardly unique among presidents in wanting the press to be little more than a conveyer belt passing along his statements as provided.[100]

Juergens noted that Wilson felt particularly strongly about foreign affairs "an area where as far as he was concerned the press could only cause mischief and therefore had no business intruding."[101] Wilson also gave the impression, according to a former associate, that "he was the best judge of what was proper for newspapers to have. He was saving mankind, and he would let the world know about it in his own good time."[102]

Most Presidents have felt similarly. Richard Strout wrote, "They (the Presidents) are trying to guard the sheep and we are trying to steal the sheep. We try to get the news and they try to give us the news that is appropriate as they see it."[103]

A telling comment by FDR summed his estimation of journalists' abilities to get the truth of a story. In speaking about a certain columnist FDR said he considered Lindley's to be ". . . one of the most respected columns that he considered only about 20% wrong, as against other columns that are 80% wrong."[104]

John F. Kennedy enjoyed a good relationship with the press far longer than his counterparts. He was the first "television" President. He became through the new television technology, not just a political leader but a star. "Politics became a kind of show, with the President the national idol," wrote David Halberstram.[105]

Charles Roberts of Newsweek said that as time passed, however, Kennedy, who was the friendliest of Presidents, was also one of the most thin-skinned:

> Although JFK and his aides were quick to compliment a reporter on a "good story," i.e. one favorable to the administration, they were intolerant of any criticism. What was worse, reporters who wrote stories that annoyed the White House suddenly found that their sources of information were drying up. Those staffers who had been so accessible were suddenly too busy to talk. Phone calls went unreturned. "You're either for us or against us," is the way Kenny O'Donnell, the President's appointment secretary, put it to me.[106]

That refrain has been echoed by many Presidents. Under the Johnson administration, Secretary of State Dean Rusk exploded during questioning about the Vietnam War, "which side are you on? I'm on our side," he said.[107]

Johnson was also known to do the opposite of his first intentions merely to spite reporters who leaked information before he announced it officially. For years, Ben Bradlee of the Washington Post was known as the man who got J. Edgar Hoover a lifetime appointment:

> At one point, in 1964, when Johnson was thinking of replacing J. Edgar Hoover at the FBI, Bill Moyers had leaked the story to Bradlee. Bradlee had gone into print with it, and Johnson had immediately called a press conference, and there, before the assembled television cameras he had announced the appointment of J. Edgar Hoover for life. When it was over Johnson turned to Moyers and said, "Now call up your friend Ben Bradlee and tell him I said, 'F . . . you!'"[108]

Information leaks have always been a Presidential pet peeve (the subjects will be covered in more depth later in this paper). JFK after the Bay of Pigs incident called for increased self-censorship by newspaper publishers. He conceded that while he was sure those who had leaked advance stories before the operation were loyal and patriotic, he believed that (in the absence of open warfare, in which he was sure nothing would have ever been published) the newspapers had recognized only the tests of journalism and not the test of national security. "And my question tonight," said Kennedy, "is whether additional tests should now be adopted . . . Every newspaper now asks itself with respect to every story: 'Is it news?' All I suggest is that you add the question, 'Is it in the interest of national security?'"[109]

Jody Powell, press secretary for President Jimmy Carter, commented on the change in media attitude toward the presidency after the Vietnam War:

> I don't believe you can even come close to claiming the coverage was the same for the President I worked for . . . I think it ended basically with Vietnam and Watergate, and John Kennedy was the last President that got the sort of treatment which read: "We're all part of the same deal here; gee whiz, Mr. President, we'll have a few talks with you tonight and work this thing out."[110]

After Vietnam, the press was not content merely to pass along information presented by the President or his men. Paul Duke, writing for Washington Week in Review, noted:

> For one thing there is a difficulty we have in pursuing the truth in Washington. Mark Twain once said that "Washington is a city that regards the truth as a precious commodity and therefore it should be rationed." There is a great deal of rationing which goes on in Washington at all times.[111]

Dan Rather expressed the feelings of many journalists during the Watergate period: "The President obviously had a right to defend himself. He was entitled, if he could, to pick his spots and stack the crowds and screen the questions. But the press, we felt, should not serve as his stooges."[112] It was Rather's belief that the media did not bring down the President: "In the end," he said, "the country rejected a government run by men with small minds who wouldn't obey the laws they were sworn to uphold."[113]

Two things have resulted from the Vietnam and Watergate eras--the President's words are greeted with more skepticism than in the past and the public perception of the media's role in reporting the news has changed. Michael Grossman and Martha Kumar wrote:

> One of the main consequences of the subsequent decline in the credibility of presidents is the presidential invocations of national security in the post-Watergate period are often greeted with cynicism by important portions of the media and the public.
>
> During the same period public perceptions of news organizations changed from that of society's "mirrors and messengers" to one of self-interested participants in the political process . . . Some challenged the media's claim to represent the public interest . . . Others agreed that news organizations are commercial ventures more interested in the competitive advantage gained from anti-administration scandal mongering than in reporting the whole story, and that they are aided by reporters who are more concerned about the rung they have reached on a career ladder than in serving as fact finders for their audience.[114]

How adversarial is the relationship between the President and the media? How adversarial should it be? George Reedy commented that it is a

matter of perception, "The President doesn't have press problems: he has political problems and the press is the nearest thing he sees every day which brings his political problems home to him."[115]

Thomas Reston, deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs in the State Department, believed that the relationship between government and the press is adversarial and that it should be:

> It's proper that the press should not really entirely trust what I am telling them. It's proper that they should go digging around and try to trap me in any inconsistency or some half-truth. That is their role, to keep a check on the government . . . I am paid to represent the interests of the government and the Administration.[116]

Reston noted, however, that in some cases there was a need to keep certain things unspoken and out of the press, particularly negotiations:

> Everything somebody says in public becomes a rigidly defined position. So that if we take a position on something it is very hard for us to climb down from it. Therefore, if we say nothing--and much of the time I say nothing about our various initiatives which are going on--it allows us to retain private flexibility over what our position will ultimately be.[117]

Reston added that many Americans do not realize the statements made by the White House and Department of State are not only going throughout the United States but to people abroad: ". . . which is another reason why often the statements sound murky because you're trying to address two audiences at the same time," Reston observed.[118]

The press and Presidents have long memories of real or imagined slights. Grossman and Kumar write:

> Like a president who can reel off incident after incident of press errors and distortions and irresponsible reporting, these reporters cite a litany of Press Office goof-ups in the form of incomplete information of inaccurate statements.[119]

Grossman and Kumar believed this is somewhat misleading. In their opinion the President's activities, character and style are accurately reflected by the media for the most part. They also believed the White House primarily provided news organizations with accurate information and necessary access to it.[120] Grossman and Kumar noted the high stakes involved in a good working relationship between the press and the President. They said that despite the pressures brought about by Vietnam and Watergate it was a mistake to view the relationship as primarily antagonistic. "The adversary element of the relationship tends to be its most visible aspect," the authors observed. "Cooperation and continuity are at its core."[121] Grossman and Kumar continued:

> Presidents and newspeople depend on each other in their efforts to do the job for which they are responsible . . . The President needs regular assistance from the press to get his message across . . . News organizations must cover the President because his activities represent the single biggest continuing news story that their audience demands they present.[122]

David Halberstram agreed with the point of view presented above. He noted:

> At the heart of the relationship between politicians and journalists is a sense of trust. The one has to trust the other, each knowing the limits and frailties of the other's profession. Politicians are allowed by reporters to dissemble within certain limits, particularly if they signal those limits; reporters, in the eyes of politicians are permitted to analyze and criticize within certain limits. But at the heart is a common denominator: each is trying to be essentially straight and honest, trying to be fair and accountable within the codes of their very different professions.[123]

White House correspondent James Deakins believed that a major part of the media's problems with the public is the psychological need by people for an authority figure--one that will organize public affairs and create

order. The President provides that authority figure and the continuity the American people need. So when the press criticizes this authority figure it creates a sense of uneasiness and for this uneasiness they resent the media. Deakin observed:

> One of the things the press needs to examine and that the public needs to be aware of is that the American public is like any other public. It needs an authority figure. It needs a government. It needs to have its public affairs organized. It needs to believe there is continuity, that there is hope, all the rest of the things that people have to have in order not to go bonkers.
>
> . . . The press is eternally criticizing and finding fault with this authority figure that symbolizes what the American people need in terms of emotional stability and emotional security. That's the way it construes professionalism, that's what it construes to be its responsibility.
>
> The press' findings, what the press covers, the press' quibblings, the press' carping, the press' criticism, the press' uncovering of scandal, mostly mistakes above all, is in constant conflict with this emotional need of everybody to have stability and authority. Those two things cannot be reconciled and they shouldn't be reconciled.[124]

The Media Versus the Military

"Public opinion wins wars," General Dwight D. Eisenhower said in 1944. As far as he was concerned, correspondents assigned to his headquarters were "quasi-staff officers." Eisenhower believed that as the main source of information to the public, newspaper reporters were invaluable to the war effort.[125]

Not all U.S. generals have been so kindly disposed to the press--the Vietnam War and more recently the military action in Grenada found the media and the military at odds. This is not without historical precedence. During the Civil War, General Sherman, fighting for the North, became enraged when reporter Thomas Knox evaded his censorship

requirements and reported on the heavy casualties sustained at Vicksburg and Onickasaw. Sherman ordered Knox arrested and court-martialed as a spy. Writing to a fellow officer, Sherman said:

> The spirit of anarchy seems deep at work in the North, more alarming than the battalions that shell us from the opposite shore. Reporters print their limited and tainted observations as the history of events they neither see nor comprehend.[126]

When Sherman heard that Lincoln intended to intercede on behalf of Knox, he wrote to his wife that he would:

> . . . never again command an army in America, if we must carry along paid spies . . . If he (Lincoln) wants an army, he must conform to the well-established rules of military nations, and not attempt to keep up the open rules of peace.[127]

Yet for many Americans, those of the generation that fought in World War II and the Korean War, press criticism and skepticism began with Vietnam, the war that many in this country believe was lost by the media.[128] Daniel Shorr, a well-known reporter, disagrees. He believed that the present bitterness between the media and the military over coverage of the Vietnam war was the military's attempt to find a convenient scapegoat, "They would rather say it was the media that lost the war than that they lost the war."[129]

There is certainly a contrast between World War II and more recent conflicts. For example, despite the possible security risk they posed and the absolute need for surprise, 558 journalists and photographers were with the troops to cover the invasion of Normandy.[130] When President Johnson sent the marines to Santo Domingo in 1965, journalists kept the pre-battle briefings secret. When U.S. soldiers secretly crossed the border into Cambodia in 1970, General Creighton Abrams loaned his personal

aircraft to reporters, and trusted them to hold their stories until the action was well underway.[131]

Contrast this to the action in Grenada where not only were journalists excluded from the invasion fleet, but also some who had chartered private boats were picked up and held on board a Navy vessel until the conflict was over.[132] CBS news president Ed Joyce said in fury, "To suggest that the press was kept out for its own good is an insult to the men and women who died covering wars."[133]

Secretary of State George Shultz noted that the difference between the past and Grenada was that in World War II "reporters were on our side."[134] President Reagan in a 1983 news conference continued with the same theme:

> Sometime, beginning with the Korean conflict and certainly in the Vietnam conflict, there was more criticizing of our own forces and what we were trying to do, the point that it didn't seem there was much criticism being leveled at the enemy. And sometimes, I just wish we could get together on what is of importance to our national security in a situation of this kind, what is endangering our forces, and what is helping them in their mission.[135]

Many believed as the President did. David Halberstram wrote about an editor of the Washington Post who, for the majority of the Vietnam War, refused to believe the accounts his reporters were sending. Thinking much along the lines Reagan outlined, then editor Wiggins believed that, "any writing that reflected doubt aided and abetted the enemy; weakened the fiber of our boys; and encouraged the dissenters which rallied the otherwise exhausted enemy."[136]

Often the question comes down to who should or can a reporter trust for accurate information? Most prefer to observe events first-hand. Charles Kaiser writing in Newsweek about what he called "an off-the-record

war" in Grenada quoted Howard Simons, managing editor of the Washington Post as saying, "If someone had come to me and said, 'You can't report this until the operation is secure,' I would have said, 'Fine, but I want to be there. I want to see it with my own eyes, not the Pentagon's.'"[137]

Dan Rather, CBS newsman, told the story of a meeting he had with a Presidential adviser after returning from a stint of covering the Vietnam War, ". . . I walked out of there thinking the briefing had been a disaster. Either the President's principal adviser on the War was shockingly misinformed, or I had been through a blizzard of snow."[138] Rather believed the adviser was most likely misinformed because "by the time the information is passed up the chain of command, everyone puts the best possible face on it."[139] He explained:

> In my experience, I had never known a single person in any branch of the military below the rank of colonel who lied to me. Sometimes they were mistaken. But they never tried to bullshit me. Any number of times I sought out a major, or a captain, or a lieutenant, or a sergeant, and I said, "Look, it's hard for me to tell, I've only been here a day. What's going on?" And he would say, "I'll tell you, we're just getting creamed."
>
> Then I would walk into the command tent and I would be told, "We're having a very effective operation. The body count is two hundred enemy dead and . . ." This is where the sugar coating starts, the lies that eventually provide the President with what he wants to hear.[140]

Observing that it is difficult for the public to know what to believe when it is faced with such contradictory differences of opinion, James D. Watkins, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, noted, ". . . Americans have had to develop Diogenes-like intellects. We must constantly question sources of our information, and where some of these analysts and experts get theirs."[141]

According to Jerry W. Friedheim, executive vice president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, much of the current animosity between the media and the military is due to a "generation gap." He stated:

> Few of today's journalists have served in, or know much about the military. They know even less about wartime military operations and about how to accurately and safely report those operations--without putting in jeopardy the lives of soldiers or compromising the operation.
>
> Even more importantly, few U.S. military officers or troops know much about how newspapers work. They've met only rarely with a reporter. Newspapermen worry them a lot. Television people scare them almost to death!
>
> . . . We somewhat older newspaper folks, and our somewhat older military officers know about each other's role in a free society--we even appreciate our joint indispensibility to the preservation of strong democracies. But a lot of younger people in each of our institutions neither understand nor particularly appreciate each other.[142]

Friedheim quoted a Twentieth Century Fund study which described the primary differences in personalities and values between journalists and military men as in obedience and acceptance of authority. He noted, "The military wraps itself in the flag; while journalists wrap themselves in the people's right to know. Both are often confident to the point of arrogance."[143] Friedheim urged both sides to consider that they are joint servants of a free society, saying:

> No one wants a system in which only the good news--or only the government's news--is reported to the citizenry. Everyone knows that in an imperfect world, defense forces protect liberty from anarchy and from tyrants who inevitably make a free press their first casualty.[144]

James D. Watkins, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, wrote in a similar vein. He said that the military supports the public's right to know what the government is doing. But he insisted that there needed to be a proper

balance between security and flow of information. He urged both sides to reduce the adversarial nature of the relationship saying that neither side benefitted from an "us vs. them" situation.[145] Watkins stated:

> We must remember, as citizens of this great nation, that our freedoms depend upon a well and properly informed body politic. The media must fight against any improper and inaccurate reporting of facts with as much ferocity as they would fight against any form of illegal government censorship.[146]

Reporter Karen DeYoung, writing for USA Today, January 1985, voiced her opinion about the proper role and responsibility of the press in covering military conflicts:

> Our responsibility is to send the best people we can find, whose experience, professional judgement and capabilities are beyond question. We have an additional responsibility to analyze our sources, to look at who is telling us what, for what purpose, and, to the extent that we can, communicate that identity and purpose to our audience so that bits of information can be weighed against each other.
>
> We make mistakes, and we should admit them. Our coverage is incomplete and we should be aware of it. Neither the Washington Post nor any other newspaper or television network has the entire picture. What each has is a part of the puzzle and a part of the mix that goes into the public debate.[147]

Friedheim summed the importance of the media and military coming to an understanding of each other's proper roles when he said that the stakes in their relationship were too high not to merit proper attention because:

> If we fail in sports coverage the fans are unhappy. If we fail in earthquake coverage families can be distraught. If we fail in election coverage readers will be confused. But if we--and the military--fail in national defense coverage a free people could become less free. Or worse.[148]

Media Leaks Versus Government Overcaution

"Nothing riles Presidents like reading about yesterday's secret policy debate in the morning paper. Especially when the reporter's source for the leak is an unnamed U.S. official."[149]

Unauthorized leaks are the bane of many a government official, yet many journalists are quick to point out that this same government official may himself be the source of a leak when it suits his purpose. Where does one draw the line between what the public should know and the government's need for secrecy? Should there even be such a line, or should all the workings of government be completely open? Or vice-versa? Who is competent to judge what is in the best interests of national security--the media, the government, the courts, the general public? There is no single answer which will satisfy everyone on every occasion. The following is an attempt to present the viewpoints on various sides of the issue.

Hans Linde, associate justice of the Oregon Supreme Court, stated, "Once the press concedes there is a category called national security, it has already lost. If you concede that, the game is over."[150]. Helen Thomas, longtime UPI White House correspondent concurred, "My feeling is that I have found out that any time a big secret has been revealed it has been more helpful to world knowledge and more important than the harm it does."[151]

Others argue that even in a free and open society, there is a need for some aspects of government and intelligence operations to remain secret:

> It has become increasingly difficult to prevent pressures for publicity from getting out of hand. "Exposure for exposure's sake," as the Supreme Court has noted, is by no means a political necessity in a free society. Since the values of democracy permit and even encourage a large measure of privacy in the polling place, in the jury room, and elsewhere. And it may be far from prudent, in view of the substantial contribution privacy often makes to the efficiency of democratic government, not only in diplomacy but in domestic administration as well. There is no more difficult task facing the modern democratic state than that of containing pressures toward excessive publicity, without at the same time encouraging practices of secrecy which choke off the flow of information about public affairs upon which the vitality of government by discussion essentially appears.[152]

Sociologist Max Weber noted that while administrative secrecy "has its roots in a perfectly rational concern on the part of an administrative organization of its efficiency or even its existence, it tends inevitably to transform itself into an obsession."[153]

Admiral Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA, stated that administrations tend to draw the line of secrecy on the "overcautious side." He believed there is a tendency to overclassify documents which, while seemingly being the safest course, actually "endangers secrets by making a mockery of the secret label."[154]

Most Washington journalists would probably agree with Stansfield's assessment. In their eyes the government has cried wolf too many times for the label of national security to be taken overly seriously. Daniel Schorr wrote, "The great temptation is to conceal things which are not really national security matters--but simply embarrassments such as cost overruns on military hardware, personal feuds, these kinds of things."[155]

Donald McDonald, editor of The Center Magazine, noted that "the presumption behind every government request for secrecy is that the government knows more about national security than the media do."[156]

Ben Bagdikian of the Washington Post disagreed with that assumption. Speaking about the Pentagon Papers, Bagdikian said the Post had some of the most serious and professional journalists in the country and that they were more than competent to judge what damaged and what did not damage national security.[157]

Howard Simons, curator of the Nieman Foundation, noted:

> All they (the government) know more about is what they regard as national security. And publication rarely reveals genuine secrets. Most of the real secrets in this country walk out the door for logical or financial reasons.[158]

Seymour Topping, managing editor of the New York Times, believes that historically there have been very few examples of violations of national security by the press. He said the Pentagon Papers incident was "the most gross example of the government falsely raising the question of national security." He said the Supreme Court decision to allow publication was justified, since now more than ten years later "not a single example has been shown to prove that publication of the Pentagon Papers adversely affected national security."[159]

It is interesting to note that before printing the Pentagon Papers, the New York Times sought the advice of its legal firm. The senior partner of the firm, Louis Loeb, was 72 years old. Halberstram described him as an old-fashioned man respectful of power and authority:

> he did not, unlike the younger men at the Times, make a distinction between government documents that had been classified for political reasons, that is, to hide the government's true aims for domestic political reasons or to cover up its mistakes, and classifications for true reasons of national security, secrets which if they got out might cause a ship to be sunk, a battalion to be wiped out, a weapons system to be invalidated.[160]

Loeb said he would not defend the Times in court if it chose to publish the Pentagon Papers. He said he believed the newspaper was violating the espionage act and being unpatriotic and disloyal. However, a younger member of the firm, James Goodale, saw no violations of national security or the endangering of life. He believed the Papers made the government look foolish and that they were classified for political rather than security reasons. He agreed to represent the Times.[161]

As demonstrated above, the issue of what constitutes a breach of national security is extremely subjective. Lois Sheinfeld writing for The Nation criticized the Reagan administration for thwarting the people's right to know and participate in government decision-making. She referred to an incident in which the director of the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, ordered his staff not to talk to a particular New York Times reporter any more. The reporter had written an article--based on information that had previously appeared in the foreign press--about the United State's contingency plans to deploy nuclear depth charges in the territory of eight allied countries. Those countries had not been consulted about the plan. According to the Department director the information printed was classified and its release was harmful to the U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, while acknowledging that the material had previously been disclosed by the foreign press maintained, nevertheless, that it was damaging to U.S. interests. Sheinfeld believed the retaliatory action in not speaking with the reporter any more was a form of government censorship and unfair, since the information had already been published abroad.[162]

Former CIA director William Casey at various times recommended prosecuting news sources for the information they publish on the premise that those who accept leaks are as guilty as the leakers. However, on a number of occasions Casey was able to persuade news organizations not to print or broadcast stories he thought would damage national security. Casey noted that he was obliged by law to protect sources and methods of intelligence gathering.[163]

While maintaining that the overall media record for not publishing "real" secrets is good, Mel Elfin, former Washington bureau chief of Newsweek, admits that every once in a while the media print damaging items. He specifically referred to his magazine's once having run a story involving a Navy information ship which caused the Navy to have to shift its whole communications pattern--a process which took four or five weeks. Said Elfin, "It wasn't serious damage; it could be remedied. But it did affect national security."[164]

William Thomas, editor of the Los Angeles Times, noted his paper cooperates with the government when the government specifically outlines its need for national security. He elaborated on the sunken Glomar Explorer. The government was anxious to recover the entire ship (they had already retrieved half) before the Russians heard about it and beat the U.S. to it. "In that case the CIA came in again, and again and again. They laid out the evidence, the drawings . . . we would not have held up on the story if they hadn't been so forthcoming with details," Thomas said.[165]

Daniel Schorr commented that government officials themselves frequently breach national security:

> For example, after the downing of the Korean airliner in the Soviet Union. President Reagan decided that the most effective way to dramatize that in the United Nations was to have our monitoring tapes played by Jeane Kirkpatrick. The U.S. intelligence community screamed blue murder at revealing their monitoring of air-to-ground conversations of the Soviet pilots.[166]

Schorr noted that occasionally a secret will come out that should not have, but after 50 years in the news business he had come to the conclusion that "the country may on occasion suffer from excessive exposure by the media, but it suffers much more from excessive secrecy."[167]

There are many who would take issue with Schorr's assessment. His involvement in disclosing the "Pike Report," a secret report compiled by the House Select Committee on Intelligence which investigated abuses covered up by the CIA, led to the charge that "some reporters regard the First Amendment as a license to steal."[168] The House Committee at one point voted to make the report public, at which time an unknown member of the Committee leaked several copies to a number of reporters. However, after the document had been passed, the House voted against releasing it. The other newsmen returned their copies, when asked by the leader. But Schorr copied his before returning it and turned it over to the Village Voice which printed it verbatim. At the same time, Schorr broadcast it over CBS.[169] Schorr later refused to identify his source. The Pike Committee discussed citing him for contempt of Congress but backed off in a 6 to 5 vote.[170]

In Canada, the Winnepeg Free Press caused an uproar when two of its reporters at an informal press conference by the Finance Minister noticed that as he left the conference he forgot two of his folders. Rather than

calling it to his or anyone else's attention, they waited until the room cleared and tape recorded passages from the Finance Minister's notes into a tape recorder. Two hours later they made an anonymous call informing the Minister's office that his notes had been left at the conference. The Free Press printed excerpts from the notes. Its attitude seemed to be, "Look, we're journalists, right? Our job is to get the news and print it. If politicians have information they don't want to get out, they should look after it better."[171]

Another questionable journalistic ethics case is the Progressive Case. In this case the judge granted the government the right of prior restraint against the Progressive magazine whose staff had in its possession an article outlining the design of a hydrogen bomb. The judge agreed with the government's contention that the underlying technology could provide a hostile nation with information for harmful acts it could not commit otherwise. The judge granted an injunction against publication because it related to: "information dealing with the most destructive potential to nullify the right to free speech and endanger the right of life itself."[172] It was an exercise in futility, however, because a Wisconsin paper published the information while the Progressive was on hold. The injunction against the Progressive was then vacated.

In the 1980 case of Snepp vs. the United States, the court recognized that "no government interest is more compelling than the security of the nation."[173]

Admiral Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA noted several types of security information which are classified as secret:

> The first category is the warning of an impending event, like the outbreak of war, a coup or a terrorist attack.

> Secret photographs of military forces on the move or electronic intercepts of signals to military commanders or reports from agents who have penetrated a military headquarters are often the best or only tipoff.
>
> The second category is status reports on events in progress, like a battle, a negotiation, or an attempted revolution. In such a case, much of the relevant information is likely to be public, but it may well also take secret photos or a spy inside the negotiating team to help us keep close track of what's going on. The third category is the long-range forecasting of political, economic and military trends. Here, so many diverse factors must be taken into account that the secret ones are relatively less important.[174]

As noted earlier, Turner believed that governments tend to be overcautious in classifying secrets. Members of the media cite the case of Samuel Loring Morison. Morison sold three satellite photos of a Russian aircraft carrier under construction in the Black Sea to a London military journal. Random House president and CEO Robert Bernstein made the following remarks about the incident:

> No real "secrets" were involved in this case. The Russians certainly knew they were building the carrier shown in the satellite photo that was given to the press, and the government admitted that the capability of the satellite itself was fully described in the manual that one of its CIA agents handed over to the KGB in 1976.[175]

Members of the media saw in Morison's conviction a grave blow to First Amendment rights. An editorial in <u>New Republic</u> called for clarification of the Espionage Act--a clarification that would distinguish between true espionage and unauthorized use of government documents for personal gain:

> The mere fact that information has been classified should not be enough to warrant prosecution. If every leak to the press of classified military information lead to prosecution for espionage, the entire defense establishment from Weinberger on down would probably have been indicted by now.[176]

The magazine suggested reducing the number of classified papers and the number of employees with access to them.

Agreeing with a general need to reduce the number of classified documents, former CIA director Turner warned against declassifying certain types of information:

> We can declassify a piece of analysis if we take several precautions. One is to guard against giving away some exclusive information that only we have and that gives us an advantage over someone else--for example, what that other person's position is going to be at tomorrow's negotiation.
>
> Another is to remove any clues that point directly to the technique we used to collect it--for example, whether our agent was one of only three or four people present at a a particular conversation, information that could point a finger right at him.[177]

Turner cited the case of convicted spies Christopher Boyce and Daulton Lee (the Falcon and the Snowman) where the need for secrecy might not be obvious to the public but was nonetheless important:

> I had to decide how much information the CIA would release so that these two obvious traitors could be prosecuted. In this instance we would have to produce in court at least some of the documents that had been stolen and explain what they were. Only then could a jury evaluate the extent of damage to national security.
>
> Even though the Soviets had the documents, we did not want to expose them further in public. Other nations did not have the information, and if it got in the U.S. press, it might help persevering reporters deduce and expose other secrets that had not reached the Soviets.[178]

Many members of government distrust the motivation of reporters who do not readily accept a government edict that certain material should be kept secret. A 1983 report prepared by then deputy assistant attorney general Richard Willard sought to "convict those journalists who seem to believe that quoting from 'highly classified' documents is an appropriate

means of entertaining as well as informing the public."[179] The report states that "the person who received classified information is no less responsible than the person who takes it."[180]

Reporters contend that such measures will curb free debate and endanger the ability of the press to report the news. They cite the Reagan administration as consistently making efforts to keep the press from knowing essential facts for intelligent decision-making and therefore thwarting the public's capacity to hold the administration responsible for its actions.[181] In 1983 President Reagan attempted to give supervisors of federal workers the authority to force subordinates to submit to lie detector tests when leaks were being investigated. John Shattuck, national legislative director of the ACLU, called the move "official bullying."[182] The administration backed down from making such a sweeping policy.

However, for certain members of government, lie detector tests are administered on occasion. A March 1987 story about former national security adviser Robert McFarlane revealed that in 1982 while serving as NSC deputy he was asked to take a lie detector test to prove that he was not the source of major leaks to the New York Times. He flunked. Astounded, he asked for another test. He failed again. William Safire wrote about the incident:

> In desperation, McFarlane called the publisher of the New York Times . . . Bud said nothing of the polygraph tests, but said he was sure he was not the source of Taubman's story. Could the Times corroborate that he was not the leaker?[183]

The publisher consulted with his executive editor--they faced a major potential problem:

> Once the precedent was set for "clearing" any government official as having not been a source, where would it end? How many guesses did the government get? In this case, the publisher decided to back up Bud McFarlane's truthful assertion but not to respond to further questions about other suspects.[184]

The incident demonstrates the difficulties of carrying out national security policies even at the highest level. Nevertheless the administration continues to urge reporters to act with greater care in publishing stories containing classified materials. U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese said he hoped reporters would stop using "stolen information" in ways that might hurt the national interest. Reporters again countered, saying that most leaks come from high-level officials, even Cabinet members, who want to sabotage a rival or test public reaction to a proposal.[185]

Thomas Reston, former deputy assistant Secretary of State for public affairs, conceded the inevitability of leaks:

> The point is there will always be leaks because there is always going to be someone who is unhappy. What is going to happen even if you have the most closely held meeting at the White House, with only five or six people very high up, they'll come back and tell their deputies or their staff aide and then in order to lord it over somebody at a cocktail party that night, the staff aide will say, "Guess what, we're going to war with Russia tomorrow." The word will get around and it will come out. So I think there will always be leaks.[186]

It was precisely for such reasons Turner, as CIA director, opposed a move in the Senate to require the CIA to give prior notification of all covert actions, "I felt it unreasonable to ask a person to risk his life and then tell him I was going to notify some 30 congressmen and their staffs about what he was going to do."[187]

Reston noted that some leaks are officially sanctioned:

> I leak classified information to journalists all the time but I do it because an official says, "You know, you had better sit down with the New York Times today and explain to them how this policy, even though it looks like a disaster, is a brilliant success, and mention this aspect of it," which was previously secret.[188]

Reston also pointed out that many leaks are the result of policy battles in which the loser leaks the information. He also said he believed that some unauthorized leaks have been morally justifiable, "I think there were a lot of people in the Nixon administration who were horrified by what was going on and would leak things in order to get it in the public record."[189]

Turner noted that no branch of government had a clean slate when it came to leaks:

> The White House staff tends to leak when doing so may help the President politically. The Pentagon leaks primarily to sell its programs to Congress and to the public. The State Department leaks when it's being forced into a policy move that its people dislike. The CIA leaks when some of its people want to influence policy but know that's a role they're not allowed to play openly. The Congress is most likely to leak when the issue has political ramifications domestically. In dealing with the Congress, then, we were deliberately reticent about exposing too much when there was a risk of someone making partisan political use of our information.[190]

Writing in his book, Secrecy and Publicity: Dilemmas of Democracy, Francis Rourke acknowledged that there was a great difficulty in drawing the line between what should remain secret and what should be brought into the open. Speaking about the flow of information to the public, Rourke wrote:

> . . . its impact is sharpest in the areas of defense and foreign affairs, where public officials come closest to having monopoly power in the field of information; and where--through skillful use of secrecy and publicity--they can wield an influence over public opinion not

> altogether different from that enjoyed by the autocrats of modern totalitarianism.[191]

Because of this near-monopoly of information held by the government, reporters have at times believed that they have been made dupes in swallowing the government line. One example cited is the 1960 U-2 affair. A U.S. reconnaissance plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. Khrushchev claimed it was a spy plane. The U.S. government maintained that it was a weather observation plane. Newspapers such as the New York Times ridiculed the Russians in its editorial pages for being so concerned over an accidental violation of Soviet air space by a simple weather plane. American newspapers were chagrined when the pilot confessed he was a spy and the government conceded that the plane had been on an intelligence mission. President Eisenhower explained that the government's first story was a "covering statement designed to protect our intelligence operations from being disclosed to the enemy."[192]

What was the public reaction? In 1960 the public did not seem to be greatly disturbed by "this official effort to conceal the facts with covering statements when it proved expedient to do so."[193]

Turner agreed that in the past the:

> public has preferred to let the CIA do what it needed to do, but only if it didn't have to know about it. There was an attitude of not wanting to know about the seamy necessities of surviving in a sometimes threatening and imperfect world.[194]

Turner explained that there are occasions which demand covert action:

> There is an old cliche in intelligence that says the place for covert action is an alternative between diplomacy and war. It is just such circumstances as these in which that cliche is applicable.

> Circumstances in which resort to military force is either not warranted or feasible and in which either diplomatic or economic sanctions seem little more than a slap on the wrist. For instance, it was little consolation to the American public that we had frozen Iran's assets in this country, as we watched our diplomats held hostage for 444 days; and we were equally frustrated at the weakness of the grain embargo as a response to the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.[195]

Some reporters regard covert action as something the United States should not be involved in. Daniel Schorr observed:

> Some of the worst things that have happened in government have happened behind a veil of secrecy. People who work secretly for too long a time begin to feel that they are free to do what they want. Some of the things that the CIA itself is most ashamed of--things that happened in the nineteen-fifties--they would now admit happened, in part, because they thought nobody would ever know.[196]

A 1984 editorial in The Nation relates the story of writer Stephen Schlesinger who with Stephen Kinser published a study of the alleged CIA overthrow of Guatemala's government in 1954. Schlesinger asked, under the Freedom of Information Act, for the CIA's files on the events. His request was denied by the U.S. District Court which ruled that disclosure would be "risking damage to American foreign relations . . . particularly at this time in light of the delicate political situation."[197] The editorial stated that:

> What is in the mountains of CIA operations files is not just of academic or historic interest. Much of it is still pertinent to dirty tricks and drastic practices still in progress today. No one claims it will be easy to scotch such schemes, but when the press, the public and independent political forces have access to intelligence information, they are better able to prevent history from being repeated.[198]

Objecting to the media's portrayal of the situation in Central America, Faith Ryan Whittlesly, director of public liaison at the White House, stated:

> The news media and some major U.S. churches have tried to portray what we think are the bad guys, the communists, as Robin Hoods. And I think that the confusion has been deliberate, and that accounts for some of the ignorance and lack of public support.[199]

The necessity of covert action and secret intelligence activities insert a disturbing note in the tenor of American idealism and desire for a free and open society. The government says the problem is that we do not live in an ideal world and that to deal effectively with global realities covert and secret intelligence activities are necessary. Political philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote:

> The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by <u>all</u> governments. The despot must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession comes to this miserable issue--that the wrong side may help the wrong, but the right must not help the right.[200]

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

To study the relationship between the news media's selection of stories and that of the general public, the researcher created 72 "news scenarios" loosely based on actual or imaginary incidents which dealt with matters in which the public's right to know must be weighed with the interests of national security or a public person's right to privacy. The researcher attempted to determine the probable-use hierarchy of the news scenarios among then Tulsa members of the print and electronic media and ten members of the general public. The respondents were asked to rank-order the stories along a quasi-normal Q-distribution from "most probably use" to "least probably use" as if they were a media decision maker in the selection of stories to print or broadcast.

The independent variables in this study were the 72 news scenarios created for the research project. The dependent variable was the subjective probable use of the Q-rank scores. The 72 news scenarios were based on past incidents as discovered through the author's research, current events, or events that are within the realm of possibility. All the scenarios were "fictionalized" to some degree so as not to prejudice the response a person might have to an event or issue--for example, Bay of Pigs, Watergate, etc. conjure up preconceived opinions in the minds of most people. The researcher, although basing the 72 scenarios primarily on factual incidents, tried to eliminate a "knee-jerk" response by composing the 72 news scenarios presented in Tables VI, VII, and VIII.

Selection of Respondents

The 10 media respondents were selected from a directory of Tulsa members of the print and electronic media. Because of the sensitive nature of many of the news scenarios, the respondents asked to remain anonymous. They wished to make it clear that their choices were not necessarily indicative of their station's or newspaper's opinion. The media respondents were taken from three television stations, four radio stations, and three newspapers. Each of the media respondents had more than 5 years of experience as editors or newsmen, with the majority having more than 10 years of experience. Each of the media people expressed interest in the study and a willingness to participate in the sorting process, which required one hour of time on average.

The 10 members of the general public were selected to reflect a diversity of occupations and/or opinions. The researcher believed it was important to include a variety of "types" of people rather than one particular set of people, such as all lawyers, to reflect more of the diversity of the American populace. Therefore, if any significant differences were found, it would be less a factor of "type." The respondents also requested anonymity but their occupations are as follows: housewife, student, accountant, travel agent, retired FBI agent, lawyer, secretary, mechanic, optometrist and entertainer. None of these respondents had previously worked for or with the media.

Hypotheses

This study was designed to discern the relationships between probable use of stories by members of the media as compared to members of the general public. The following hypotheses were presented:

1. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly among the various media members.

2. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly among the general public respondents.

3. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly between members of the media or the general public.

Q-Methodology

Since this study was limited to a small number of persons, Q-methodology was used as a basis for design and analysis of the 20 respondent's judgements. Q-methodology is a name devised by William Stephenson to characterize a set of philosophical, psychological, statistical and psychometric ideas oriented to research on the individual.[1]

According to Fred N. Kerlinger, "Q-technique is mainly a sophisticated way of rank-ordering objects and assigning values to subsets of the objects for statistical purposes."[2] Using the Q-technique, respondents are asked to sort a deck of cards, called the Q-deck, from which the responses of the individuals are correlated.

The Q-sort is a useful method of testing theories on small sets of individuals carefully chosen for their known or presumed characteristics or knowledge.[3]

The number of cards in a Q-distribution is determined by the researcher's convenience and statistical demands. For statistical stability and reliability, the number should probably be not less than 60 nor more than 140. According to Kerlinger, a good range is from 60 to 90 cards.[4] For the purposes of this study, 72 cards were used.

The respondents in the study--10 media, 10 general public--were instructed (see Appendix A, pg. 110) to Q sort the 72 news scenarios which had been printed separately on 3" by 4" cards. The respondents were asked to read all the news scenarios and sort and place them into nine stacks. The nine stacks were a ranking of the 72 scenarios on a nine-point continuum ranging from "most probably use" to "least probably use." The array made up a quasi-normal distribution shown in Table I.

TABLE I

THE Q-SORT DISTRIBUTION OF 72 NEWS SCENARIOS

Most Probably Use						Least Probably Use			
Assigned Values	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
No. of Items	4	6	8	11	14	11	8	6	4

The numbers above the line are values assigned to stories in each pile. The numbers below the line are numbers of stories to be placed in each

pile. For example, the four cards at the extreme left received a score of nine each. All statistical analyses were based on the resulting scores. The sorting of news stories reflected similarities and differences of the respondents'--media and general public--use of the news scenarios.

Correlation and Linkage Analysis

To determine the similarities between the respondents, Louis L. McQuitty's elementary linkage analysis was used. According to McQuitty: "Elementary linkage analysis is a method of clustering. It can be used to cluster either people or items, or any objects, for that matter, which have distinctive cluster-characteristics."[5]

By using linkage analysis one can identify "types" or "clusters" of respondents. In this case, the researcher was attempting to find those respondents in each group who were most alike in their probable use of the news scenarios. The researcher hoped to glean valuable information from similarities or differences in responses which might account for perceptions that the media are either more biased or more objective than the general public, more interested in the sensational or less interested in the sensational than the general public. In short, the focus of the study was to address media criticisms by allowing both members of the media and general public to participate in the sorting of 72 identical news scenarios. Linkage analysis identified those members of the general public who tended to be most similar in their probable use of the news scenarios and those members of the media who were most similar in their use of the news scenarios.

Using Karl Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation coefficients, the author correlated the assigned values of the 72 news items of each respondent with the other members of the group.

Analysis of Variance

Following linkage analysis, which identified the similarities within each group, the author then used a Type I analysis of variance, to determine the main and interactive relationships between the two groups of respondents and their probable use of the news scenarios.

The Type I is a two-factor mixed design with repeated measures on one factor. It is frequently used in communication research in which different classes of people are asked to respond or to rate different aspects of a mass media unit(s). In this study, two groups of respondents were asked to rate probable use of 72 news scenarios. The 72 news scenarios were subdivided into three categories--ethics/fair play, privacy/personal, and secrecy/government security.

Analysis of the mean probable uses of news elements enable the author to tell if there were significant differences between the two groups in use of the news scenarios. In other words, did the media respondents rank stories involving ethical decisions over those related to government secrecy? And how did this differ from the rankings by the non-media respondents?

Endnotes

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CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

General Public Similarities in News Values

Ten members of the general public Q-sorted 72 news scenarios along a nine-point continuum. The news scenarios dealt with a variety of issues related to the roles and responsibilities of the media on questions of national interest and/or security. Although the respondents are anonymous, their occupations are listed as follows: a--lawyer, b--travel agent, c--retired FBI agent, d--accountant, e--secretary, f--housewife, g--entertainer, h--mechanic, i--optometrist, and j--student. Table II shows the Q-matrix of correlations between each of the ten respondents' probable use of the news scenarios.

With 72 pairs of responses for each correlation between two respondents, by using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation one finds that at 70 degrees of freedom for a correlation to be significant at the .01 level of confidence it must be equal to or greater than .302.

Twenty-two pairs of respondents' correlations were significant at the .01 level of confidence. They are: A and B at .9503, E and G at .5372, A and H at .4409, B and C at .4192, B and H at .4409, B and I at .7378, C and E at .4968, C and I at .4503, D and E at .4472, D and F at .4968, D and I at .4285, E and I at .4099, A and D at .3819, A and G at .3571, A and I at .3043, B and D at .3819, B and E at .3447, B and G at .3322, C and G at .3043, F and G at .3726, F and J at .3509 and G and I at .3571.

TABLE II

INTERCORRELATIONS OF TEN GENERAL PUBLIC RESPONDENTS' PROBABLE USE OF 72 NEWS SCENARIOS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
A		.9503	.2701	.3819	.2919	.0372	.3571	.4409	.3043	.0372
B	.9503		.4192	.3819	.3447	.1211	.3322	.4409	.7378	.1894
C	.2701	.4192		.0993	.4968	.0062	.3043	.0776	.4503	.2795
D	.3819	.3819	.0993		.4472	.1459	.4968	.0962	.4285	.2080
E	.2919	.3447	.4968	.4472		.1583	.5372	.1459	.4099	.2142
F	.0372	.1211	.0062	.1459	.1583		.3726	.2577	.0279	.3509
G	.3571	.3322	.3043	.4968	.5372	.3726		.2919	.3571	.2888
H	.4409	.4409	.0776	.0962	.1459	.2577	.2919		.0279	.2173
I	.3043	.4378	.4503	.4285	.4099	.0279	.3571	.0279		.2763
J	.0372	.1894	.2795	.2080	.2142	.3509	.2888	.2173	.2763	

Correlations .302 and above significant at the .01 level of confidence: df=70.
Correlations .232 and above significant at the .05 level of confidence: df=70.

Seven pairs of correlations were significant at the .05 level of confidence, which requires the correlations to be greater than .232. They are: A and C at .2701, A and E at .2919, C and J at .2795, F and H at .2577, G and H at .2919, G and J at .2888, and I and J at .2767.

Sixteen pairs of correlations between the pairs of general public respondents were not significant. They are: D and J, E and J, H and J, A and F, A and J, B and F, B and J, C and D, C and F, C and H, D and F, D and H, E and F, E and H, F and I and H and I.

By using McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis we are able to determine which respondents are most alike in the ranking of the 72 news scenarios. Figure 1 illustrates the "clustering" of respondents with similar values.

Type I

A -- .9503-- B --.7378--I

.4409 .4409

H

Type II

D .4968 G -- .53 72 -- E

.3726

F

.3509

J

Figure 1. Linkage Analysis of General Public Respondents

The linkage analysis discovered two types of respondents. Type I respondents included A, B and H. Respondents A and B were the most similar in their ranking of the 72 news scenarios, with a correlation of .9503. Respondent H related as well to Respondent A as to Respondent B with a correlation of .4409 for each. Respondent I intercorrelated most highly with B at .7378. Respondent A was a lawyer, B a travel agent, H a mechanic and I an optometrist.

Type I respondents included G, E, D, F, C, and J. Respondents G, E, D, F, C, and J were an entertainer, secretary, accountant, housewife, retired FBI agent, and student, respectively. Respondents G and E shared the most similarities of the Type II respondents with a correlation of .5372. Respondent D correlated most closely with G at .4968 with F also correlating with G at .3726. Respondent J was most similar to Respondent F with a correlation of .3509. Respondent C correlated most closely with E at .4968.

When respondents can be grouped into types, it simply means that the rankings of the 72 news scenarios by any respondent in the type are more like the other respondents in that type, on the average, than with respondents in the other types. What is most interesting is that the respondents did not conform to any stereotypical views one might assign to them based on their occupations. For example, one might presume that the lawyer and the FBI agent to be the most similar, yet they would fall into two different "types." Certainly few people would guess that the lawyer and the mechanic would fall into the same type. Yet in this study, based on the 72 news scenarios, the respondents--despite their diversity of occupation--were more similar than dissimilar.

Media Similarities in News Values

Ten members of the media were given the identical news scenarios given the general public respondents to be sorted on a nine-point scale of most probable use to least probable use. Intercorrelations between each of these ten media members were derived using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation. The media represented by the respondents are as follows: A--radio, B--newspaper, C--television, D--television, E--radio, F-- television, G--radio, H--radio, I--newspaper, and J--newspaper. Table III shows the Q-matrix of correlations between each of the ten media respondents' probable use of the news scenarios.

TABLE III

INTERCORRELATIONS OF TEN MEDIA RESPONDENTS' PROBABLE USE OF 72 NEWS SCENARIOS

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
A		.4782	.3913	.4503	.5155	.3602	.5527	.6459	.6925	.6987
B	.4782		.4068	.2267	.3633	.3074	.2173	.3447	.4658	.5279
C	.3913	.4068		.2453	.3260	.5776	.6242	.6521	.4192	.5901
D	.4503	.2267	.2453		.2857	.2919	.2919	.2391	.5310	.5621
E	.5155	.3633	.3260	.2857		.3074	.2546	.3571	.4037	.5124
F	.3602	.3074	.5776	.2919	.3074		.4161	.5496	.5403	.5496
G	.5527	.2173	.6242	.2919	.2546	.4161		.5590	.5527	.6366
H	.6459	.3447	.6521	.2391	.3571	.5496	.5590		.6086	.6211
I	.6925	.4658	.4192	.5310	.4037	.5403	.5527	.6086		.8281
J	.6987	.5279	.5901	.5621	.5124	.5496	.6366	.6211	.8291	

Correlations .302 and above significant at the .01 level of confidence: df=70.
Correlations .232 and above significant at the .05 level of confidence: df=70.

Thirty-nine of the 45 possible pairs of respondents intercorrelated significantly at the .01 level of confidence. Only two pairs of respondents' rankings did not correlate significantly. These were Respondents B and D, and B and G. Significant at the .05 level of confidence were pairs D and F at .2919, D and G at .2919, D and H at .2391, and E and G at .2546.

McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis was used to determine which media respondents were most alike in the ranking of the 72 news scenarios. Figure 2 illustrates the "clustering" of respondents with similar values.

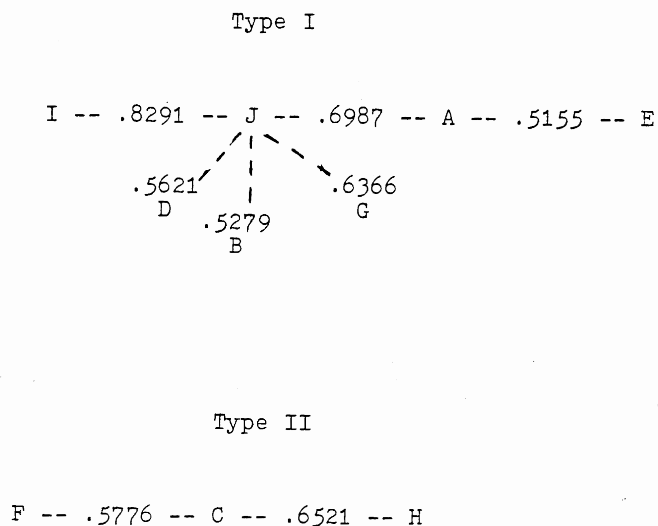

Figure 2. Linkage Analysis of Media Respondents

The linkage analysis discovered two types of respondents. Type I respondents included A, B, D, E, G, I, and J. Respondents I and J were the most similar in their ranking of the 72 news scenarios with a correlation of .8291. Respondents I and J are members of the print media. Respondents A, B, D and G correlated most closely with Respondent J. Respondent A, a radio newsperson, with a correlation to J of .6987, Respondent B, a newspaper editor, with a correlation to J of .5279, Respondent D, a television journalist, with a correlation to J of .5621, and, Respondent G, a radio newsperson, with a correlation to J of .6366. Respondent E, a radio newsperson, was most similar to A with a correlation of .5155. As noted earlier, A is also a radio journalist.

Type II respondents were F, C, and H. Respondents C and H were the most similar with a correlation of .6521. Respondent F was most closely related to C with a correlation of .5776. Respondent C is a television journalist, as is F. Respondent H is a radio newsperson. As is shown, there is little difference in response from the three media represented. Print and broadcast journalists, when asked to sort the same 72 news scenarios, responded similarly.

Analysis of Variance

Using a Type I analysis of variance, a two-factor mixed design with repeated measures on one factor, the researcher determined the main and inteactive relationships between the two groups of respondents and their probable use of the news scenarios.

The 72 news scenarios were subdivided into three categories--ethics/ fair play, privacy/personal, and secrecy/government security. The three categories were devised by the researcher; an independent judge reviewed

them and agreed with the division of the 72 news scenarios. The "ethics/ fair play" category is defined as those scenarios relating to journalistic standards of ethics, or a personal sense of fair play. The "privacy/personal" category related to news scenarios dealing with an individual's right to privacy or to keep certain information secret. The scenarios dealt with matters of health, medical and/or psychiatric treatment, affairs, etc. The "secrecy/governmental security" category related to scenarios in which government agencies might request secrecy to protect certain information or lives. Table IV illustrates the data matrix for the Type I design.

From the data in Table IV, the researcher using the Type I design developed the analysis of variance shown in Table V.

TABLE IV

DATA MATRIX FOR THE TYPE I DESIGN

		Ethics/ Fair Play	E/EP^2	Privacy/ Personal	P/P^2	Secrecy/ Govt. Sec	S/NS^2	Totals	$Totals^2$
General Public	1	4.79	22.94	6.25	39.06	3.96	15.68	15.00	225.00
	2	5.00	25.00	6.13	37.58	4.33	18.75	15.46	239.01
	3	5.79	33.52	5.75	33.06	3.46	11.97	15.00	225.00
	4	5.21	27.14	5.42	29.38	4.38	19.18	15.01	225.30
	5	5.71	32.60	5.33	28.41	3.96	15.68	15.00	225.00
	6	5.92	35.05	3.21	10.30	5.88	34.57	15.01	225.30
	7	5.75	33.06	4.88	23.81	4.54	20.61	15.17	230.13
	8	5.46	29.81	4.79	22.94	4.79	22.94	15.04	226.20
	9	4.88	23.81	5.83	33.99	4.29	18.40	15.00	225.00
	10	5.83	33.99	4.46	19.89	4.04	16.32	14.33	205.35
Totals		54.34	296.92	52.05	278.42	43.63	194.10	150.02	2251.29
Media	1	5.96	35.52	4.13	17.06	4.75	22.56	14.84	220.23
	2	5.21	27.14	5.50	30.25	4.13	17.06	14.84	220.23
	3	4.67	21.81	4.88	23.81	5.42	29.38	14.97	224.10
	4	5.38	28.94	5.54	30.69	4.29	18.40	15.21	231.34
	5	6.00	36.00	4.50	20.25	4.50	20.25	15.00	225.00
	6	4.71	22.18	5.21	27.14	4.83	23.33	14.75	217.56
	7	5.13	26.32	4.71	22.18	5.17	26.73	15.01	225.30
	8	5.25	27.56	4.33	18.75	5.42	29.38	15.00	225.00
	9	5.54	30.69	5.25	27.56	4.21	17.72	15.00	225.00
	10	5.50	30.25	5.00	25.00	4.50	20.25	15.00	225.00
Totals		53.35	286.41	49.05	242.69	47.22	225.06	149.62	2238.76
Grand Totals		107.69	583.33	101.10	521.11	90.85	419.16	299.64	4490.05

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Source	df	ss	ms	F	P
Total	59	27.20	.4610	29.55	--
Between Subjects	19	.28	.0147	.94	n.s.
Between Respondent Type	1	0	0	0	n.s.
Between Subject Error	18	.28	.0156		
Within Subjects	40	26.92	.0673	.13	n.s.
Between News Categories	2	7.20	3.60	6.98	(.01)
Interaction: News Categories and Respondent Type	2	1.14	.57	1.10	n.s.
Within Subjects Error	36	18.58	.5161		

There were no significant differences found between subjects, between respondent type, within subjects or in the interaction between news categories and respondent type. The only significant difference was between news categories. This difference was found to be significant at the .01 level of confidence indicating that certain categories of news were ranked differently by both the media and the general public respondents. By applying the gap test to the means of the three categories--Ethics/Fair Play; Privacy/Personal; and Secrecy/Government Security, significant differences were found at the .01 level of confidence. All respondents would be least likely to publish or broadcast the items found in the category of secrecy or government security. The respondents would be most likely to publish or broadcast items in the

category of ethics or fair play, with the category of privacy or personal falling in the middle. (The Standard Error of Difference for the Gap Test was .60, DF = 2, t = 9.95 at df2 p < .01, with a critical difference of 5.97. The difference between mean scores for ethics--107.69, privacy--101.10, and national security--90.85 were all greater than 5.97.)

The following tables lists the 72 news scenarios by category showing the mean scores of media and general public respondents. Respondents ranked items on a scale of 1 to 9 with 1 being the least likely to publish/broadcast and 9 being the most likely.

TABLE VI

NEWS SCENARIOS DEALING WITH ETHICS/ FAIR PLAY

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
1.	One of your reporters has a very demanding allegation against a prominent politician. He won't disclose his source even to you. You therefore can't be sure the source isn't someone with a political axe to grind or if the information is in any way embellished. Yet it could be a big sortie. Do you publish the information anyway?	4.8	3.8
2.	A terrorist leader contacts you and tells you he will give you an exclusive interview if you agree not to reveal his whereabouts. The government learns of this and asks you to tell them where he is. They also ask you not to run the interview thereby giving the terrorist more publicity. Do you run the interview under the guidelines requested by the terrorist?	4.9	4.9
3.	Following up on a story in which you learned that the Soviets provide all-expenses paid scholarships to certain students in foreign countries to attend their national universities, you then learn that the Soviets, under the cover of a non-profit foundation, do the same in the U.S. At the head of the list of recipients is a prominent and popular senator. You have no proof that the recipients knew the actual source of their scholarship funds. Do you list the scholarship recipients in the story?	6.3	4.4

TABLE VI (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
20.	You learn that the Soviets fund all-expenses paid scholarships to U.S. students under the guise of a non-profit foundation. You have no evidence that the recipients knew the actual source of their scholarship funds. On the list of recipients is the head of your network, the man who signs your paycheck. Do you list the scholarship recipients in the story?	5.4	3.8
14.	You obtain State Department files indicating that the President of a Latin American government's family is a major grower of cocaine. The country is one of the U.S.' best allies in Latin America. Do you report this information?	5.0	6.9
31.	You obtain State Department files indicating that the President of a Latin American government's family is a major grower of cocaine. The country is hostile to the U.S. Do you report this information?	6.9	6.9
12.	You discover information that will be embarrassing to a hostile nation. Do you run it?	7.2	6.2
30.	You discover information that will be embarrassing to a major U.S. ally. Do you run it?	4.3	5.6
38.	You are assigned to cover a demonstration at the U.S. embassy in Pakistan. It turns out to be relatively quiet with only 50 or so people waving banners. They soon disperse. As you are packing up to leave, your chief competitor arrives. Disappointed to find no action he goes in search of the demonstrators. Ten minutes later he returns in the midst of a screaming mob. He gets some great footage as they storm the embassy, injuring a few locals as well as U.S. marine guards before they are beaten back. Do you report on your competitors incitement of the assault?	6.1	5.6
56.	You are covering what turns our to be a non-eventful demonstration outside a U.S. embassy. One of the members of your news crew decides to "liven things up." He gets those closest to the camera to start yelling. The whole crowd soon begins screaming and throwing rocks at the embassy. Some marine guards are grazed with the rocks. Do you make public the part your news team had in the assault?	5.3	4.4
49.	A hostile foreign president claims that the U.S. President is lying about his involvement in the Iran/Contra affair. He offers no evidence for these claims. Do you publish his assertions?	4.3	4.7
67.	Margaret Thatcher claims that the President is lying about his involvement in the Iran/Contra affair. She offers no specific evidence. Do you publish her assertions?	5.4	7.2

TABLE VI (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
43.	You are ready to run a story about a cabinet official seen shredding secret government documents you believe might pertain to a certain investigation. You then learn that the shredding of documents is routine and must be supervised by this official on a daily basis. Do you run your original story?	4.0	2.3
61.	You learn that a colleague has been subpoenaed to give testimony at a trial in which his notes and files have been requested. You return to the office late in the evening because you have forgotten something and see him destroying some files. Later at the trial he testifies that there never were any notes pertinent to the particular case. Do you make public that you saw him destroying some files that night?	5.7	4.7
55.	You learn that U.S. aid money earmarked for agricultural purposes has instead been spent by the Philippine government to fight the communist factions. Do you make this information public?	6.7	6.8
37.	You learn that the U.S. has been supplying arms to the Philippine government to fight the communist factions. Do you make this information public?	6.5	7.2
19.	The ringleader of a failed assassination attempt against the President offers you an exclusive interview if you promise not to reveal his whereabouts. Do you agree?	5.3	5.9
45.	A high-ranking Vietnamese official accuses the U.S. of conducting germ warfare experiments in isolated Vietnamese villages. The State Department says the accusations are ridiculous. Do you publish the Vietnamese allegations?	5.3	5.8
50.	One of your reporters used a skeleton key to open a file cabinet in a government officials office while the official left briefly to go to the restroom. He discovers some pretty startling information. Do you report the reporter's findings?	4.3	4.2
57.	You hear of a major anti-American demonstration outside the American embassy in Peru. You have been told-- although no one has witnessed it personally, that the people demonstrating there have been paid to appear. Do you even cover the demonstration?	5.5	4.4
36.	You hear of a major anti-American demonstration outside the U.S. embassy in Peru. One of your local sources says that his daughter's university class was offered money to participate in the demonstration. Do you make this information public rather than covering the demonstration?	5.8	5.3
62.	You discover that the U.S. paid 7 million dollars to a high-ranking Cuban official to place deadly explosives in Castro's cigars. To date nothing has indicated that the man has attempted to fulfill his part of the bargain. Do you make this secret deal public?	4.6	6.2
68.	You learn that the U.S. has been paying millions of dollars to the Ayatolla's second in command to mount a coup against him. Do you make this information public?	5.0	6.6
66.	You obtain information on the proceedings of a secret grand jury trial that is underway. Do you publish this secret information?	4.2	4.6

TABLE VII

NEWS SCENARIOS DEALING WITH PRIVACY/ PERSONAL INFORMATION

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
51.	You learn that a candidate for President underwent psychiatric treatment for six months following the death of his father. Do you make this information public?	3.3	2.7
69.	You learn that a candidate for President once sought psychiatric treatment in college after breaking up with a girl-friend. Do you make the information public?	4.9	3.1
47.	You have evidence that the President has been seeing a faith healer regularly. Most people believe this faith healer is a quack. Do you run the story?	5.1	4.8
32.	You learn that the publisher of a major rival magazine, a man who wields a great deal of political influence and uses his magazine to publish his own views has been placed in a mental hospital twice this past year. Do you publish this information?	6.6	3.9
60.	You discover that the President is having an affair with another man. You have photographs of him kissing and embracing this man on a private beach. Do you report your findings?	6.5	5.9
42.	Your White House sources tell you that the President is having an affair with a soap opera star. You discover that they meet quite frequently when the President's wife is out of town. Do you report the affair?	5.3	4.4
18.	You discover the President has a mistress he sees regularly. FBI reports note that she has made two furtive visits to the Soviet embassy in Mexico. She also, according to the reports, has made comments at social events indicating pro-communist learnings. Do you make the affair and your findings public?	6.4	6.6
4.	The President buys his mistress a Rolls Royce. He is independent wealthy quite apart from his presidential salary. You have respected his privacy in the past. Do you make this purchase and the affair public?	5.3	4.4
24.	You hear from your sources at the White House that the President has a mistress he sees several times a week. She is a housewife with two small children and is married to the owner of a local lumber yard. Do you report on the affair?	4.6	5.1
7.	You receive anonymously in the mail medical documents showing that a senator, elected in part for her strong anti-abortion stand, had an abortion in college. There is no doubt the documents are authentic. Do you report your findings?	5.4	5.1
59.	You receive anonymously in the mail medical documents showing that a presidential candidates wife had an abortion in college. The documents are authentic. Do you report your findings?	3.7	1.8

TABLE VII (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
22.	You are at a private party and the maid tells you she had observed several congressmen snorting coke. You didn't see them do it personally but they do look high. Do you report your suspicions?	4.5	4.3
40.	You are a guest at a private party and a member of your reporting staff tells you he witnessed two congressmen snorting coke in the men's room. He swears there can be no mistake about what he saw. Do you report the incident?	6.8	4.8
16.	You learn that a candidate for the presidency was once hospitalized for a drug overdose after a party. According to witnesses at the time, the drugs were slipped into his drink without the man's knowledge by a person at the party who thought it would be "funny to see how old Mr. Straight Joe" reacted. Do you make the incident public?	4.1	3.5
58.	You are at a private party and the Speaker of the House tells a racial joke that, although distasteful to you, gets a laugh from all present. Do you report the Speaker's joke?	4.7	4.5
23.	You are at a private party. The President makes a racial joke and nobody laughs. Rather, they appear to be embarrassed. The President apologizes for his remark. Do you report the incident?	4.6	4.3
6.	You are at a private party. The President tells a racial joke that, although distasteful to you, gets an appreciative laugh from all present, including a member of the racial group in the joke. Do you report the incident?	4.7	4.2
10.	You learn from a Russian source that the Soviet Premier is dying. No one but this source, and now you, know this. The Premier is trying to keep it secret until negotiations for the SALT talks are complete. He is a rigid hardliner against the U.S. position. Do you reveal the facts of his ill health?	7.4	8.2
63.	You learn from a Russian source that the Soviet Premier has cancer and is dying. The same source tells you that he and the doctor are the only ones who know this. The Premier is trying to keep it a secret until negotiations for the SALT talks are complete. He is the closest Soviet to being in agreement with U.S. desires. Do you reveal the facts of his ill health?	5.6	7.2
27.	You learn from a trusted source that the U.S. President is dying of cancer. The President is trying to keep this knowledge from the public and the Russians until the SALT talks are completed. The president is a hardliner against Russia. Do you reveal the facts of his ill health?	3.8	8.1
9.	You learn from a trusted source that the U.S. President is dying of cancer. The President is trying to keep this knowledge from the public and the Russians until the SALT talks are completed. The President is taking a "softer" stance than previous Presidents. Do you reveal the facts of his ill health?	5.4	8.0

TABLE VII (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
44.	You learn from a trusted source that the U.S. President is dying of cancer. He is trying to keep this secret until he pushes through a major tax increase. Do you reveal the facts of his ill health?	6.1	8.1
25.	You hear a rumor that a TV anchorman was once a member of the communist party. His wife confirms, in a private conversation, that it was true. She later calls and swears she will deny ever having said anything. Do you make the information public?	5.2	3.4
41.	You are at a public fundraiser for a Presidential candidate. You are keeping track of the number of drinks he's taking. He's had at least ten glasses of whiskey on the rocks, you've seen them pour it from the bottle, so you're fairly certain it is not a soft drink of some sort. However, his performance does not seem to be in the least affected by the drinking. Do you report what you have seen?	4.9	2.2

TABLE VIII

NEWS SCENARIOS DEALING WITH SECRECY/ GOVERNMENT SECURITY

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
70.	A local photographer is first on the scene of a plane crash in Arizona. Government officials soon arrive and bar reporters from the scene. The photographer is able to conceal his rolls of film which he then sells to you. You develop them and can't see anything unusual about the plane crash. The government finds out you have the photos and asks you not to run them. They refuse to give you any information other than that the plane was on a secret mission. Do you run the photos?	4.8	7.4
72.	A Soviet spy plane crashes in New Mexico. You learn it was really hijacked by a Soviet defector. The U.S. government does not want any information released about him because they want the Soviets to think he is dead and that the crash was an accident, not a defection. Do you report the defection and the survival of the defector?	3.7	4.7
35.	Your sources at the Pentagon bring you documents outlining plans for a military assault on PLO headquarters in Lebanon scheduled for midnight tonight. You know you are the only news source with the information. Do you report the plans before the assault takes place?	2.1	3.5
29.	You learn that the U.S. has located a major terrorist headquarters. They are mounting a surprise attack at dawn. Do you broadcast the information now?	1.7	3.0
48.	You have decided to hold a story about an imminent attack on terrorist headquarters until after the attack. However, you see your major rival arrive at the naval base which is launching the attack. He has never been known to hold a story. Do you broadcast immediately?	3.9	3.5
15.	You learn that a U.S. hostage in Lebanon has been killed. The State Department doesn't want you to reveal the information because their source is one of the terrorist leaders who is appalled by the situation and is secretly working with the U.S. to help the rest of the hostages escape. They fear if you reveal the death of the hostage it will result in the execution of their source and the end of hope for the hostages' escape or release. Do you make public the death of the hostage?	3.6	3.8
53.	You learn of a secret meeting that will soon take place to discuss solutions to the terrorist problem. Do you publish the date, time, place and meeting participants before the actual meeting takes place?	4.2	4.4
33.	You obtain a list of major businessmen who on occasion have gathered information for the CIA. Do you publish the list?	7.5	4.7
52.	You obtain a list of major businessmen who on occasion have gathered information for the CIA. A few of those businesses are the recipients of large government contracts. Do you publish the list?	7.2	5.9

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
54.	You hear of a secret cargo aboard an AT&T satellite which is supposedly only to be used by AT&T for commercial purposes. A high ranking government official urges you not to release the story. You agree not to. As you leave the parking lot you see a major competitor entering. You know he has never held up on a story. It is ratings week. Do you report on the secret cargo?	3.8	3.6
13.	You learn through secret CIA information that the Japanese are going to devalue the yen within the month. This could have a major impact on the U.S. fiscal policy and trade. Do you publish the story now?	6.2	6.2
17.	You receive secret information outlining how far Soviet delegates are willing to go in favor of a new SALT agreement. Do you publish the information before the negotiations are finalized?	4.5	5.6
11.	You receive secret information outlining how far the U.S. delegates are willing to go in favor of a new SALT agreement. Do you publish the information before the negotiations are finalized?	3.4	5.3
39.	You learn from a reliable source that the U.S. has been able to tap into communications between the Soviets and the Nicaraguan government. The information clearly shows that the Soviets master-minded an assault on the Contra headquarters in which heavy casualties were suffered. Although this governmental source believes the release of this information would favorably influence public opinion of Contra funding, he does not want it divulged for fear that the Soviets would learn that the U.S. can successfully monitor their communications. Do you report the Russians involvement against the Contras?	4.2	5.1
28.	A department head at the CIA informs you that there are several Russian spies secretly being held in CIA prisons and that they have been there for over 10 years. Do you make this information public?	5.6	6.4
8.	You see a piece of paper fall from a government official's wallet as he pays his check at a restaurant. You pick it up intending to bring it to his attention when you notice it has a phone number on it. Out of curiosity you call it. It turns out to be the phone number for the Russian embassy. Do you make this information public?	5.3	3.1
71.	You learn of a secret anti-terrorism campaign in which the U.S. is providing secret funds to special Israeli troops in which their mission is to eliminate--by whatever means available--terrorist leaders. Do you make the U.S. involvement in this secret campaign public?	5.0	62
26.	You discover that the U.S. is providing weapons and funds to Cuban nationals to overthrow Castro. Do you make this information public?	5.2	7.1
65.	You receive secret documents showing the impending overthrow of a communist government by democratic factions in the country. Do you run the story before the actual overthrow attempt?	2.7	5.0

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Item #	Content	Mean General Public	Mean Media
5.	You receive secret government documents showing the impending overthrow of a democratic government by communist factions in the country. Do you run the story before the actual overthrow attempt?	7.4	6.0
64.	A source in the Department of Defense informs you that the U.S. has built a secret missile base outside of London that is disguised as an industrial plant and fronted by a British industrialist. The British government, according to your source, knows nothing about the secret base. Do you accept this source's word and publish the information?	3.6	4.1
21.	Your hear from a reliable source within the CIA that the U.S. has broken a major Russian secret code used to communicate with their overseas operatives. Do you make this breakthrough public?	2.0	2.1
34.	A source in the State Department slips you a file that was supposed to have been destroyed. It outlines U.S. negotiations with South Africa which run counter to what the government has been saying at its press conferences. Do you make public the secret negotiations?	5.9	7.2
46.	There have been a rash of suicides by scientists in a military think tank. There is speculation that either they have discovered technology so fearsome they are killing themselves rather than continue to develop it or that they are being killed to prevent their developing it. There is absolutely no evidence supporting this conclusion. Do you publish the speculations?	5.0	3.1

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Attitude surveys indicate that the general public, even some members of the media, believe that the media do not always act responsibly. Concentrating on issues of national importance, the purpose of the study was to determine if there were differences between journalists and lay people in the selection of what and what not to publish. This study is particularly relevant at a time when there is focus on the Constitution, the governmental process, and the personalities involved in this process. The Iran/Contra affair and the Gary Hart scandal are two current issues in which questions have been raised on whether the media is exercising its power responsibly. Many of the scenarios deal with similar "fictionalized" events. The results of this small study indicated that the general public respondents, given the same information, were similar to the media respondents in their selection of news scenarios. Although this can not be construed to reflect national tendencies (see limitations of the study) it brings up an interesting question for future study.

The Q-methodology was used because the researcher believed that what was most important was not people's opinions but an exercise demonstrating those issues of what they would or would not publish. What people say and what they do are not necessarily the same thing. By using the Q-sort technique the researcher was able to eliminate much of the "do as I say, not as I do" type of information that is generated through an opinion questionnaire.

In this study, the 20 respondents--10 media, 10 general public--were given identical 72 news scenarios. They were asked to sort the news scenarios on a nine-point continuum of what they would or would not publish or broadcast.

Testing the Hypotheses

In attempting to discern the relationships between probable use of stories by members of the media as compared to members of the general public, the following hypotheses were presented.

1. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly among the various media members.

2. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly among the general public respondents.

3. Mean probable use of stories will not differ significantly between members of the media or the general public.

All three hypotheses were substantiated. The members of the media were a highly cohesive group with only two of the possible 45 pairs of respondents not intercorrelating significantly above the .05 level. The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation was used to determine the media respondent's correlation coefficients. McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis was used to find those types or clusters of media members most similar to each other. The Analysis of Variance reported no significant differences among subjects.

The general public respondents, although not as cohesive a group in their responses as members of the media, did not differ significantly as indicated by the Analysis of Variance. The Pearson Product-Moment

Correlation was used to determine the general public respondent's correlation coefficients. The majority of pairs of respondents was significant above the .05 level of confidence. McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis identified those members of the general public most similar to each other.

The third hypothesis was also substantiated as the mean probable use of stories did not differ significantly between members of the media and the general public. The only significant difference found was between the news categories themselves as all respondents were more likely to publish or broadcast certain types of information than others.

This study seems to indicate that, given the same information, members of the general public are likely to make the same types of news decisions as are members of the media.

Limitations of the Study

Given the small number of respondents used, it is not possible to make any sweeping statements on the similarities between the media and general public in the selection of news stories. This study can only speak for the opinions of those ten members of the media and ten general public respondents who participated in the study. However, the use of the Q-methodology was important in helping to determine participants choices rather than mere opinion. This exploratory study should provide important information for further studies.

Another limitation of the study was in the news scenarios themselves. The researcher used 72 news scenarios to obtain a broad range of information and to expose the participants to a wide selection of

ideas. The researcher, in the interest of keeping the respondent's time to a reasonable limit, attempted to keep the scenarios brief. However, many respondents noted that it took them more than one hour to thoughtfully participate in the sorting process. The respondents also noted that in some instances they would have needed more information to make a decision had this been the "real world."

Recommendations

The researcher recommends that future studies on the roles and responsibilities of the media in relation to national security use a statistically significant sample on a nationwide basis. The selection of media respondents should also be based on a cross section of media from throughout the country to explore any kind of differences in news value between members of the so-called "East Coast" liberal press and other geographical areas.

The researcher also recommends that, in the interest of the respondents' time, fewer but more fully developed scenarios be used. Such a study would provide interesting information and were the three hypotheses in this study to be substantiated on a national basis it would do much to answer current criticism of the media.

Conclusion

This paper sought to examine the role of the media, particularly as they relate to national security affairs, by looking at both the strengths and weaknesses of the media and of the government. As noted earlier, neither the media nor the government is a monolithic entity. In the end

each is made up simply of individuals--some good, some bad, some wiser than others, and many with widely divergent opinions. This paper did not seek to provide answers or to take sides. Its purpose was to present the differing viewpoints to bring some measure of understanding to a most complicated issue.

Some final thoughts on the issue of media responsibility. There is no doubt that the media play a powerful role in our information-based society. Sociologist C. Wright Mills observed:

> Very little of what we think we know of the social realities of the world have we found out first hand. Most of the "pictures in our heads" we have gained from these media--even to the point where we often do not really believe what we see before us until we read about it in the paper or hear about it on the radio. The media not only give us information; they guide our very experiences. Our standards of credulity, our statements of reality, tend to be set by the media rather than our own fragmentary experience.[1]

Faced with increasing public criticism and costly lawsuits, many members of the media are calling for greater self-examination and accountability. Robert Morse, president and general manager of WHAS-TV in Louisville, Kentucky, said the threats to the First Amendment are in direct proportion to the credibility problem of the media:

> If we deny there is a problem or that anything can be done about it if there is, we will slowly but surely see the vitality slip from our newsrooms because we will have lost our place in society. The answer must emerge not in dictates from any outside source, but from open and self-confident reexamination of what we seek to do.[2]

Elie Abel, chairman of the Department of Communication at Stanford University, also endorsed greater media accountability:

> If media managers were a little more willing to investigate public complaints and, when warranted, to retract or correct, the flood of libel cases might just possibly diminish in the years to come. And to those in media who continue to contend that the First Amendment is all the

protection they need--and who invoke it more or less automatically when they are challenged--let me suggest that a little more voluntary accountability would leave the First Amendment in better shape than it is today.[3]

Fred Friendly, former head of CBS, spoke along the same lines, saying:

It's time for judges to clean up the definition of malice, and its also time for journalists to clean up their act. Unless we start producing our television documentaries and newspapers as if truth is our only defense, proving malice or absence of malice will continue to call journalistic practices into question and into court; juries will continue to be impressed with claims that sloppiness or bad judgement is tantamount to recklessness. Arrogant, amateurish, careless reporting, and haphazard editing give litigators a field day.

It always seemed to me that Ed Murrow survived the attacks of his enemies, foreign and domestic, not because he cloaked himself in the mantle of the First Amendment but because he walked and worked in fairness.[4]

Vermont Royster, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist said in a 1979 speech to the National Press Club:

We should remember that the First Amendment protects the freedom of speech of all citizens, not just our own voices. That is where we should stand our ground, defending the rights of all.

. . . And it cannot be said too often: freedom of the press is not some immutable right handed down to Moses on Mt. Sinai, it is a political right granted by the people in a political document, and what the people grant they can, if they ever choose, take away.[5]

Underscoring the power of the media and the way in which an adversarial role colors the information received by the public, Michael J. O'Neil, editor of the New York Daily News, observed in a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors:

The media have, in short, made a considerable contribution to the disarray in government and therefore have an obligation to set matters straight. Or at least to improve them. The corollary of increased power is increased responsibility.

> We should begin with an editorial philosophy that is more positive, more tolerant of the frailties of human institutions and their leaders, more sensitive to the rights and feelings of individuals--public officials as well as private well as private citizens. We should make peace with the government. No code of chivalry requires us to challenge every official action. Our assignment is to report and explain issues, not decide them.[6]

This study, in a limited way, indicates that respondents in this project share a similarity in news values. As noted earlier, the respondents were all from the Tulsa area which leads to the suggestion of future study based on a nationwide sample. However, the importance of a responsible media is without doubt an issue of significance to all persons whether in the government, media or general citizenry. Each has an important role to play in the governance of the country. Each must be aware of the attendant responsibilities of roles.

Endnotes

[1]Chris Argyris, "The Media's Capacity for Self-Destruction," Nieman Reports (Winter/Spring 1978), p. 20.

[2]Bert R. Briller, "Television and the Free Press Issue," *USA Today*, Vol. 115, No. 2496 (September 1986), p. 34

[3]Ibid., p. 35.

[4]Fred W. Friendly, *Malice in Wonderland* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona, 1983), p. 15.

[5]Vermont Royster, "On the Freedom and Responsibility of the Press," *Policy Review* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, Summer 1979), p. 38.

[6]Michael J. O'Neil, "The Media and a Valid Public Purpose," *American Forest*, Vol. 89, (June 1983), p. 6.

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APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPONDENTS

APPENDIX A

Instructions to Respondents:

1. This study is an attempt to determine the kind of information the public has a right to know and the kind of information that is in the best interests of the nation to keep secret.

2. Please imagine that you are a newsman for a major network or major newspaper or magazine and that the following stories are uncovered by you or a member of your staff. On the basis of the public's right to know and national security, please rank the stories in the order in which you would most probable to least probable to use them.

3. Lay aside the blue identification cards for a moment. Take the remaining white cards which have the news stories on them, and read each story carefully.

4. After you have finished reading every card, place it in one of the three piles, according to the probability of your using it. In the left-hand pile you create, place all stories that you would most probably use. In the right-hand pile, place all stories that you would least probably use. Put all stories left over in the middle pile.

5. Now take the group of blue identification cards. Spread this deck of cards infront of you, left to right, No. 9 to No. 1, as follows:

Choose 4	Choose 6	Choose 8	Choose 11	Choose 14	Choose 11	Choose 8	Choose 6	Choose 4
#9 Stories most prob-ably use	#8 Stories	#7 Stories	#6 Stories	#5 Stories	#4 Stories	#3 Stories	#2 Stories	#1 Stories least prob-ably use

6. Pick up the left-hand pile that you previously sorted. From these stories, choose four that you would most probably use and place them on top of Card #9. From the remaining stories you have in your hand, take 6 stories that you would most probably use and place them on top of Card #8. Go on down the line until you run out of stories that you have from the left-hand pile. (You may change your mind at any time about the placement of stories, if you wish.)

7. Now, pick up the right-hand deck of stories that you originally sorted. From these stories, choose 4 you would least probably use and place them on top of Card #1. From the stories you have left in your hand, choose 6 stories that you would least probably use and place them on top of Card #2. Work on up the line until you run out of stories that were in the right-hand pile.

8. Now pick up the middle pile of stories. Begin sorting them at the point where you previously ran out of stories when you were moving from left to right from Card #9.

For example, let's say that on the first pile you ran out of stories when you got to Card #6. In fact, let's say you ended up with only three stories to lay on #6, even though it calls for 11. So, from the middle pile you now have in your hands, choose the 8 stories you would most probably use and add them to the 3 already on Card #6. Then go to Card #5, etc.

9. When all the cards are sorted and the correct number is on each blue identification card in your order of preference, pick up the piles from left to right in the following order: Place Pile No. 9, including the blue identification card on the bottom, on top of Pile No. 8. Then pick up piles No. 9 and 8 combined and place them on top of Pile No. 7. Continue down the line until you have all stories in one pile.

10. Now in this pile, the top 4 stories are the ones you would most probably use and the 4 stories on the bottom are those that you would least probably use. If you have any comments you'd like to make regarding the reasons for your most and least probable use of those 8 stories, please make them on the back of those cards.

After writing your comments, place the stories back in their proper place, put the rubber band around the complete pile and that's it.

THANK YOU!

2

VITA

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