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WASHINGTON STAR
28 JUL 1972

Tour of China Set By Editors' Group

NEW YORK (AP) — The American Society of Newspaper Editors has accepted an invitation to send a 22-man delegation to visit the People's Republic of China in September, J. Edward Murray, the group's president, has announced.

Murray said yesterday the invitation was extended by Chang Hai-tao and Tai Tseng-yi of the Hsinhua News Agency on behalf of the journalists of China.

The ASNE group expects to begin its three-week visit Sept. 9. Members of the group, most of them ASNE directors or committee chairmen, include:

Murray, associate editor, Detroit Free Press; Newold Noyes Jr., editor Washington Star-News; Arthur C. Deck, executive editor, Salt Lake Tribune; Warren H. Phillips, editorial director, the Wall Street Journal; George Chaplin, editor, Honluiu Advertiser; James A. Clendinen, editor, Tampa Tribune.

Emmett Dedomn, editorial director, Chicago Sun-Times-Daily News; Wilbur Elston, associate editor, Detroit News; John Hughes, editor, editor, Christian Science Monitor; Charles S. Rowe, editor, Fredericksburg, Va., Free Lance-Star.

John H. Sengstacke, editor, Chicago Defender; Millard C. Browne, editor of editorial page, Buffalo Evening News; William B. Dickinson, executive editor, Philadelphia Bulletin; Clayton Kirkpatrick, editor, Chicago Tribune; William H. Hornby, executive editor, Denver Post.

Norman Issacs, executive editor emeritus, Louisville Courier-Journal & Times; Charles L. Bennett, managing editor, Daily Oklahoman and Times of Oklahoma City; Don Carter, executive editor, Macon, Ga., Telegraph & News; Michael J. Ogden, editor, Providence Journal & Bulletin; Gene Giancarlo, managing editor, ASNE Bulletin, and executive editor, ASNE; John Duprey, chief photographer, New York Daily News.

The 22nd member of the delegation will be named shortly, Murray said.

The discussions that led to he invitation were initiated by ASNE.

This was the second recent announcement of a trip by American journalists to China.

A four-man group from the Associated Press, including President Wes Galagher and Chairman Paul Miller, is in China now to negotiate an agreement with Hsinhua for an exchange agreement covering news and photos.

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WASHINGTON POST
20 APR 1972
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STAT

Government Secrets and the Press

By William L. Claiborne

A high-level Justice Department official warned the nation's newspaper editors yesterday that if they publish classified government documents or files stolen from government agencies they run the rick of criminal prosecution.

A high-level syndicated newspaper columnist warned the same editors that if they don't publish such documents, they run the risk of assuring the political security of "governmental blunderers."

If the admonitions left the editors confused, they could always fall back on the advice of a Harvard University law professor, who advised them to publish secret documents only after long and serious deliberations, and after they were certain that the national interest would not be compromised.

The Justice Department official was Kevin T. Maroney, deputy assistant attorney general for the Internal Security Division, who was one of four panelists who addressed the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the Shoreham.

Maroney said that "interminable mischief" would result if the editors were to have substantial access to classified material and were "entirely free to determine for themselves what was proper to publish."

He urged the editors to exercise "the greatest caution" in publishing information which they have determined, without consultation with government officials, to be necessary to the public interest.

In case anyone missed the point, he alluded to the Espionage Act and specifically cited state and federal laws relating to the receipt of stolen property.

The syndicated newspaper columnist was Jack Anderson, who followed Maroney at the podium and declared,

"I hope no one will be intimidated by the threats made here today, that you may be put in jail, that you may be prosecuted."

"That is the kind of authority that is exercised in the Kremlin," Anderson said.

Saying that "selected" classification of routine documents is "flagrant" in the Nixon administration, Anderson said, "This isn't national security, this is political security."

In case anybody missed his point, Anderson intoned "They use secret documents if these facts make them look good . . . do your duty to the American people . . . the press is to represent the governed, not the governors."

The Harvard professor was Roger Fisher, a former consultant to the Defense Department, who said that if he were an editor, he would have ublished the Pentagon Papers but would not have claimed afterward that "newsmen would be exempt from the criminal law."

"What is best for newspapers is not necessarily best for the country,' said Fisher. "We all want some secrets kept. Don't ever forget it . . . Don't say, 'The more disclosure the better',", advised Fisher.

Warning that a "cat and mouse" tradition between the news media and the government could evolve into the "law of the jungle," Fisher declared "the free press might serve us better if it devoted a little less effort to publishing purloined letters."

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NEW YORK TIMES
21 SEP 1971

News Groups Appeal to High Court Against Subpoenaing of Reporters

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — Widely differing elements of the news industry have filed friend-of-court briefs with the Supreme Court in the past few days, warning that the increasing issuance of subpoenae to the news media is threatening press freedom but disagreeing as to what the courts should do about it.

Today was the deadline for amicus briefs in three press subpoena cases that will be heard early in the high court term that begins on Oct. 4.

Briefs flowed into the clerk's office over the weekend, filed by such diverse journal elements as the reporters' and photographers' organizations, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, The New York Times and all three major television networks.

They presented data showing that the practice of subpoenaing journalists increased markedly as prosecutors' investigations of political radicals grew in the last two or three years. Unless journalists are shielded from having to testify, they argued, sources will stop talking to them and the flow of information to the public will dry up.

But a long-standing division between journalists was reflected in the solutions that were urged on the Court. Some of the news media organizations said that it would be sufficient to shield newsmen from testifying except in certain unusual circumstances, while others insisted that newsmen must have an absolute privilege not to testify.

The former position was taken in a brief filed by Prof. Alexander M. Bickel of the Yale Law School, who took a similar non-absolutist position last June in representing The New York Times in its successful litigation against the Government's efforts to suppress the Pentagon papers.

Professor Bickel said that the volume of press subpoenas had risen tremendously recently as prosecutors sought to use newsmen as "a springboard for investigation" or as "an investigative arm of the Government."

The brief contained an appendix listing 124 subpoenas that were served in the last two and a half years on the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System and their wholly owned subsidiary companies. Some of the subpoenas were sought by defense lawyers.

The Bickel brief asserted that newsmen should not be required to respond to grand jury subpoenas unless there was first a showing that they probably had knowledge of a specific crime, that the information could not be obtained from other sources and that the Government had a compelling need for the information.

Such a compelling need, according to Professor Bickel, could only be justified in an investigation of a major crime — not an inquiry of such victimless activity as prostitution, narcotics and gambling offenses.

The cases before the Supreme Court concern Earl Caldwell, a New York Times reporter, who refused to enter a grand jury room to testify about Black Panther activities; Paul Pappas of WTEV-TV in New Bedford, Mass., and Paul M. Branzburg, a reporter in Louisville. The latter refused to testify about black militant and narcotics activity, respectively.

Professor Bickel argued that none of the subpoenas against the three were justified. The brief was filed for the New York Times. N.H.C., C.B.S., The American Broadcasting Company. The Chicago Sun-Times, the Chicago Daily News, the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the Associated Press Broadcasters' Association and the Association of American Publishers.

Briefs filed by The Newspaper Guild and the Authors League of America took a similar nonabsolutist position.

However, three amicus briefs filed by other news media groups insisted that the First Amendment creates an absolute and unqualified "newsmen's privilege." These groups were the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Sigma Delta Chi journalism fraternity, the Dow Jones Publishing Company, The Washington Post, Newsweek magazine and the National Press Photographers Association.

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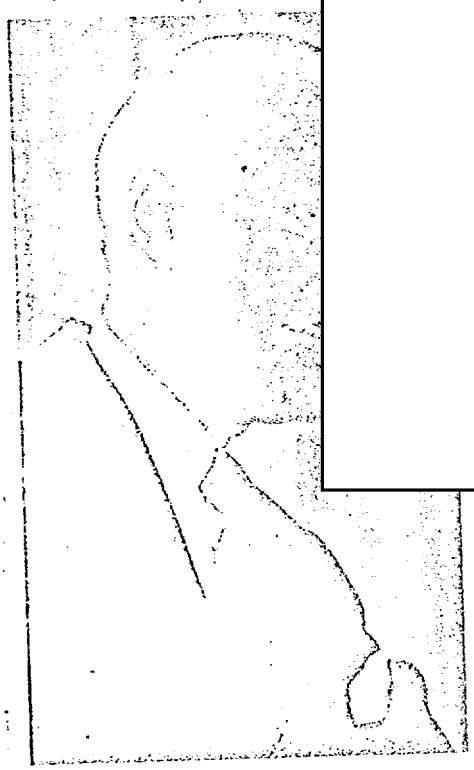
FOR MEN ONLY
OCTOBER 1971

EXCLUSIVE PROFILE

CIA BOSS RICHARD HELMS



STAT

Cool and cunning, Helms knows what the Reds are thinking even before they think it — which makes the CIA the most deadly-efficient fact-finding corps in the world

AMERICA'S TOP SUPERSPY

He's Outfoxed Castro, Mao, And The Kremlin

By ARCHER SCANLON

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Continued

WASHINGTON POST
26 JUN 1971

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Editors' Group Defends Use of Secret War Files

The American Society of Newspaper Editors said yesterday that editors and all other Americans have the "right to publish information in the public interest without prior restraint by government except in time of war declared by Congress."

J. Edward Murray, former managing editor of the Arizona Republic and president-elect of the ASNE, was one of a panel of news and other publishing spokesmen testifying before a House subcommittee investigating government information policies in defense of the right of newspapers to publish accounts of the Pentagon study of the Indochina war.

John B. Callaham, vice president of McGraw-Hill Publications Co., another panelist, proposed that some agency independent of the executive branch, such as the General Accounting Office, be empowered to decide what information has been improperly classified and kept secret by executive agencies.

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NEW YORK TIMES
26 JUN 1971

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STAT
STAT

Newsmen at House Hearing Accuse U.S. of Attempting Censorship

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 25—Representatives of the nation's news media accused the Government today of attempted censorship in blocking publication of the Pentagon study of the Vietnam war.

Except in time of declared war, the news executives told Congress, the Government has no right to exercise "prior restraint" to prevent publication of information in the public interest.

The panel of newsmen appeared before a House Government Operations subcommittee to defend The New York Times, The Washington Post and other newspapers that have published parts of the Pentagon study and to criticize what was termed the Government's excessive secrecy.

J. Edward Murray, president-elect of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, testified that the editors who decided to publish the secret data "are just as loyal, just as patriotic, as any man in this room or in the White House."

Defends Record of Press

Declaring he felt that newspapers have been "under unjust assault" in recent weeks, Mr. Murray said that he was appearing before the House subcommittee "to defend the rights of the newspaper editor, which, not at all incidentally, are the rights of every American citizen."

He said he felt that the record of the nation's newspapers in reporting the war in Vietnam "is better than that of the executive branch" of the Government.

He noted that the newspaper editors' society as early as 1967, had begun to criticize the Government for "excessive secrecy." He said that the society's Freedom of Information Committee had reported in 1967 that "President Johnson continues to hurt his image and his credibility by consistently trying to make the news sound or seem better than it is."

Mr. Murray said he hoped that one by-product of publication of the secret study "will be to restore public confidence in the traditional axiom that you can believe what you read in your newspapers."

Guild Head Testifies

Until recently, Mr. Murray was managing editor of The Arizona Republic. He jokingly told the subcommittee that the place of his next job was "classified for the moment."

Charles A. Perlik Jr., president of the American Newspaper Guild, testified that he felt that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press "faces its most serious challenge in memory, if not, indeed, in our history as a nation."

He said that the guild, representing 35,000 news and commercial employes, and many of its principal local unions unanimously supported publication of the Pentagon study.

He said that "once the public's right to know is abridged by government censorship of the press," the credibility of both the press and the government are destroyed.

Richard Kleeman, Washington correspondent for The Minneapolis Tribune and chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee for Sigma Delta Chi, a journalism society, suggested that further threats to freedom of the press could be in the offing.

"How soon will the next one occur, and the next, and the next?" he asked.

John R. Callaham, vice president of McGraw-Hill Publications Company, representing the American Business Press, Inc., suggested the need for more periodic or continuing review of classified material by an independent agency or group, not the agency that did the original classifying.

Others criticizing the Government's attempt to block publication of the study were W. Bradford Wiley, president of John Wiley and Sons, Inc., representing the Association of American Publishers; and J. W. Roberts, Washington bureau chief of Time-Life Broadcasting, chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of Radio-Television News Directors.

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NEW YORK TIMES
18 JUN 1971

Reactions Range From Support to a Charge of 'Near Treson'

Reactions ranging from commendation to a charge of near treason were issued by a variety of organizations yesterday in the controversy over publication by The New York Times of material from a secret Pentagon study of the Vietnam war.

Amng organizations supporting publication were the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the Association of American Publishers, the New York City Democratic Committee's Commission on Youth Affairs and a group of editors and officers of college newspapers.

The national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars called The Times's action "very close to the thin edge of treason, if not treason itself."

The Associated Press Managing Editors Association, in a letter sent to Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, said:

"The government of the United States is treading upon the most dangerous of grounds in taking legal action to prevent publication of information by The New York Times. The Associated Press Managing Editors Association strongly protests an action which reflects upon the integrity of The Times editors in making a considered judgment to publish certain information deemed by them properly in the public realm and therefore obviously not crucial to the security of the nation."

The letter continued: "The record of the newspapers of the United States has been exemplary in adhering to news judgments that take into account the nation's security. Editors have not, and do not deny the right of the government to classify information as to whether its release is vital to this security.

"But once information has been made available to editors, through watever means, and they have had opportunity to judge it as not being crucial to security, it becomes their responsibility to resist by every means any attempt to interfere with their constitutional responsibility to publish that information for their readers."

The Times was also defended by the Association of American Publishers, a trade group representing 90 per cent of the country's book-publishing industry.

A resolution adopted by the organization's board of directors praised The Times for courage and initiative in publishing the Pentagon documents and said, "We believe that the freedom to publish without prior restrain is of vital importance in maintaining the checks and balances that are the only basis on which our democracy can survive."

Prosecution Urged

The Times was condemned by H. R. Rainwater, the national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. In Bemidji, Minn., for the Minnesota V.F.W. convention, Mr. Rainwater told newsmen that The Time should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

He said: "In my judgment, it is the greatest breach of trust by any newspaper in the history of this country, when The New York Times took it upon themselves to publish a classified document because The New York Times knows full well the policy of the newspaper and radio and television in this country is not, even if it's obtainable, to reproduce or present as news a classified document dealing with the national security of this country."

Mr. Rainwater continued: "Revealing for the first time the contingency plan of a war that's still in progress, that's still on in South Vietnam, places this country in a very dangerous position in a continuing war.

"The New York Times should be brought immediately to account for this. They have a responsibility. If there was no contingency plan on the war, then everyone in the Pentagon would be wrong. There must be a contingency plan, and that's the plan The New York Times is trying to reveal while we are in the middle of a war. It's very close to the thin edge of treason, if not treason itself."

College Editors' Statement

The college editors issued a statement saying that the Nixon Administration had set "the gravest of precedents" by "successfully interfering with the freedom of the press to publish news." The editors said, "Such an action might, indeed, herald the end of American civil liberties."

The statement was issued ove nine names of college editors or college newspaper officials at the University of Virginia, Harvard University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, the University of Wisconsin, Columbia Universit the University of California at Berkeley and Dartmouth College.

The statement said, in part: "The Nixon Administration's action in connection with The Times series illustrated the peculiar reversal in priorities that has characterized the government's course of action during the past decade. Government officials have argued that suppression of the series is justified by the damage that would be done to United States interests abroad by further publication of the secret war document.

Injunction Called 'Outrage'

"But for years these same officials have explained that our involvement in foreign nations stems from the Government's overwhelming desire to bestow the civil liberties that Americans enjoy upon those nations threatened by totalitarian powers. It seems now that the Administration has become willing to sacrifice those civil liberties to the objectives of foreign policy, to enshrine a seemingly self-perpetuating series of military and diplomatic moves as an end in itself."

The Commission on Youth Affairs of the New York City Democratic Committee said that the fact that The Times was in the process of being enjoined from further publication of the Pentagon material "is an outrage."

Another reaction came from C. A. McKnight, editor of The Charlotte, N.C., Observer and the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Mr. McKnight said that it was a personal statement and that he was not speaking for the more than 600 editors in the society.

He said:

"I would not presume to second-guess the editors of The New York Times on their decision to print the Pentagon documents, but I have very definite ideas on another issue that has arisen.

"I am appalled at this exercise of prior-restraint censorship by the Government. At the same time, I agree with the decision of The New York Times to publish before a Federal court restraining order.

"I have great faith in our Federal courts, and I am confident that this unprecedented effort at governmental censorship will ultimately clarify still further the responsibility of a free press in a free society.

"After consulting with our counsel, I will poll the directors of A.S.N.E. on the question of filing an amicus curiae brief either now or at a later stage in the legal proceedings if a permanent injunction is issued and appealed."

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NEW YORK, N.Y.
VILLAGE VOICE
APR 29 1971
WEEKLY - 140,292

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Editors vote for objectivity

'A code word for playing it safe'

by Martin Nolan

WASHINGTON, D. C. — A. M. Rosenthal, managing editor of the New York Times, sat next to Otis Chandler, owner of the Los Angeles Times and Newsday, as each, watched the proceedings intently. Each man voted differently as part of the 400-man jury of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, engaged in what they called, with modest objectivity, "The Great Debate. The Question—Resolved: That good newspaper reporting requires strict adherence to the principle of objectivity." The debate really did concern itself with what editors talk about and worry about, even though columnist Art Buchwald described it with some objectivity as "an exercise in self-abuse."

If the wording of the question seemed rigged in favor of the Old Guard, that's all right, because most of the meeting at the Hotel Shoreham went that way. Despite Agnew's assaults on a few East Coast papers, most American newspapers are as critical of the war as are the American Legion and the Rotary. The editors invited as speechmakers Richard Helms, the director of the CIA; Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Nixon's first choice to head the Pentagon and the current Paul Revere preacher of "a strategic balance tilting toward Moscow"; and, at their final banquet, Nixon himself. For a panel discussion on the war, the editors reached all the way leftward for Senators J. William Fulbright and Jacob Javits. With that menu of "objectivity," they then cheered on their brethren who defended the noble principle of the deadpan, AP night-lead "objective" news story.

The first defender of virtue was Don Carter of the Bergen Record in Hackensack, New Jersey, who blamed young reporters for "carrying campus activism into the newsroom" and "converting news columns into staging areas for their own beliefs." One of the anti-objective rebels came from the heart of Barry Goldwater's constituency. J. Edward Murray of the Arizona Republic started out with some heretical metaphysics: "No serious thinker any longer believes in a verifiable, objective reality. In epistemology and natural science, it's been pretty well proven that there's no such thing as objectivity. There are only different patterns of subjectivity . . . Let's give up the word objectivity. It's meaningless. It's a Linus blanket to feel safe behind."

The second speaker for objectivity, Robert P. Clark of the Louisville Courier-Journal, was pretty solemn about the whole business, saying, "We have come a long way in American journalism. Let's not kick away the standards we have attained." Another Old Guardsman, John C. Quinn of the Gannett Newspapers, was funnier. The new type of advocacy journalism, he said, "is like wetting your pants in a blue serge suit. It gives you a nice, warm feeling and nobody notices." It's a good line, but it's stolen from one of the best reporters in Washington, Bill Ringle of the Gannett chain, whose stuff, alas, appears in Rochester, Hartford, Binghamton, and smaller places. And Ringle applied the metaphor to editorial writing, now new journalism.

I thought the best speech was given by the editor of the Boston Globe, Thomas Winship. I thought that despite the objective fact that he had displayed obvious traits of folly, poor judgment, and mismanagement by hiring me as a reporter 10 years ago. His paper is besieged by young people looking to work for it and is one of the few metropolitan dailies that retains the interest—let alone respect—of young people. The Globe, one of the other editors said contemptuously, is "one place where the inmates are running the asylum." Be that as it may and all things being equal and such and so forth of American journalistic crap, here's how Winship started his talk:

"I'd like to give my definition of objectivity. Objectivity is what we gave Joe McCarthy before a great group of reporters took their gloves off, and before Ed Murrow's tv show. Objectivity is what we gave cancer-producing cigarettes before the Surgeon General's report. Objectivity let the most unexplained war in history go on without challenge until one and a half million people were killed. Objectivity let industrial wastage almost clobber to death the face of America. Ralph Nader and Rachel Carson blew the whistle; not our great newspapers. That's our definition of objectivity. I say it's spinach and I say to hell with it. . . . We all know why objectivity as a debate is on the ASNE dance card this year. It's because ever since Agnew yipped at us, many editors have been more 'objective' than ever. I call it a nice, quiet backslide. . . . Objectivity is such a nice trip for an editor. Every morning he swallows his little objectivity pill. It turns him off from all that paranoia among the long-haired kids in the city room who whisper dirty talk over the water cooler, words like 'Nader,' 'Hanoi,' and 'Panther.' Objectivity is a code word for playing it safe, covering up, and superficiality. These young people still think the newspaper is one of the most effective instruments for social change. They are not in the business to become stenographers. Certainly activist reporters are hard to handle. But what counts in the credibility issue is what gets into the paper. That's what we pay editors for. And, by God, these socially concerned young men and women *are* susceptible to good editing. They can be taught to be responsible and fair, if only editors will stay out of the executive dining room and the country club long enough to teach them and keep them interested. . . . Editors and publishers who continue to preoccupy themselves with this objectivity jazz will have as much luck keeping the establishment press afloat as they will selling Nixon as a folk hero to

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PITTSBURGH, PA.
PRESS MAY 1974
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Spying—American Style

MOST thoughtful Americans, we imagine, recognize that the nature of the world in today's Thermonuclear Age dictates that this nation operate a large, secret agency devoted to the extensive collection and analysis of foreign intelligence. National security and self-preservation demand that this be done.

Still, the uncomfortable feeling persists that such covert activity is somehow incompatible with the democratic principles of an open society such as ours.

☆ ☆ ☆

IT MAY BE of some comfort to know that those who run America's foreign intelligence network acknowledge that incongruity, and say they wish such work were not necessary, although they are deeply convinced, of course, that it is.

Richard Helms, director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, said as much in a recent speech in Washington to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The CIA's leaders, he said, "understand as well as anyone the difficulties and the contradictions of conducting foreign intelligence operations on behalf of a free society." Mr. Helms acknowledged that he had no "easy answer to the objections raised by those who consider intelligence work incompatible with democratic principles."

But since the essential need for secrecy precludes the CIA's going into its myriad operations in detail with the public, about all it can do to assuage the public's misgivings is to ask the citizenry to accept, on faith, official assurances that America's superspies are good and honorable men devoted to her service and undesirous of seeing their work distort her values and principles.

That is just what Mr. Helms did, assuring his listeners that the CIA wishes "to adapt intelligence to American society, not vice versa."

Such assurances are worth enough — when added to a dime — to get you what used to be a nickel candy-bar.

But while the U.S. public at present must accept such assurances solely on faith, the U.S. government does not. Contrary to what some citizens apparently believe, there is an extensive system of governmental checks and controls over the CIA's organization, operations, plans and budget. As noted by Mr. Helms, they include supervision by such diverse groups as the National Security Council, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the Office of Management and Budget, and no fewer than four congressional committees.

☆ ☆ ☆

IT MAY BE that closer supervision — especially in the area of CIA-sponsored foreign military operations and other covert activities far removed from pure intelligence-gathering — is needed. It may be that Congress should exert greater control over what our spy agency may and may not do. But to suggest that the shadowy CIA today stands apart, unchecked, its own master, is grossly misleading and unfair.

Somehow, the fact of Mr. Helms' appearance before the nation's newspaper editors and his long (if not detailed) discussion of the CIA's role and responsibilities is in itself mildly comforting. A public appearance by such an official before a large group of private citizens would be unheard of in practically any other free Western nation, let alone a totalitarian state. Even in Britain, it would be unthinkable, since the public there is not allowed to know even the identity of its intelligence chief.

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CINCINNATI, OHIO
ENQUIRER

M - 189,425
S - 302,445 MAY 5 1971

FBI, CIA Must Be Accountable To American People

By FRANK GETLEIN

WASHINGTON—The most astonishing thing about the whole, on-going national discussion of the FBI and its venerable master, J. Edgar Hoover, is that the Grand Old Cop is defended in his rights to spy on the rest of us in the name of patriotism, of all things.

There actually are Americans around who apparently believe that part of the essence of Americanism is to demand a free hand for the national police.

The same argument, in slightly different form, is heard, too, in defense of the practical immunity of the CIA from any kind of effective accountability to the elected representatives of the people.

In all human affairs, of course, accountability is not only what keeps the game honest, but also what keeps the work efficient and productive. The principle can be run into the ground and made to work against efficiency and productivity: such super-accountability, on low levels, is responsible for much of the daily idiocy in the Army and other big bureaucracies.

BUT THE OPPOSITE fault, no accountability at all, produces even worse idiocies: all of the big-dollar-big-weapon fiascos of recent years, for example, were produced precisely because the people producing them did not have to make any meaningful accounting to people outside the gang.

This is what Lord Acton had in mind when he said, "Absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is not just that corruption is a revolting, though fascinating, thing to see; it also renders the corrupt mind incapable of acting clearly and correctly. The sovereign remedy and restorative of clear vision and prudential judgment is accountability.

Those considerations are on the common-sense, Yankee ingenuity, Ben Franklin level of Americanism. When you move over to the Wildeyed, visionary, lower-case republican level of Tom Jefferson, the case for accountability is even stronger. Accountability is all over the Constitution.

It is the essence of checks-and-balances. And it is there ultimately to protect the people, who are masters, from their servants, who are the government.

This principal is the heart of the American system. The true patriot, not now but years ago, would have demanded accountability of the FBI. The bureau must be brought under the effective surveillance of the Congress. The question has nothing at all to do with whether one admires the personal style of J. Edgar Hoover; it has to do, rather, with what one thinks of the spirit of the Constitution.

The same thing is true, for the same reasons, of the higher military. For all the theoretical briefings of Presidents and presentations to Congressional committees, the higher military are a law unto themselves and must be brought into accountability. Congress is the obvious instrument to do it, but it must be a part of Congress not personally beholden to the military for industrial largesse.

AS A MATTER of operating principal, the chief Congressional overseer of the high military should be a legislator from a non-industrial area who cannot stand riding in military aircraft and doesn't like grand deluxe living.

But that, at the moment, is a crazy dream.

The CIA is a somewhat different case. The spook shop poses no demonstrable threat to the liberties of Americans. It operates for the most part outside those liberties and the Head Spook, Richard Helms, is capable of cajoling The Newspaper Editors of America, a professionally skeptical crowd, into accepting him and his crew as vital defenders of those liberties.

The danger there is the Lord Acton, Ben Franklin-type maxim on the corruption of power.

We the people may have to be saved from the FBI, but the CIA needs to be saved from itself. The only salvation in both cases is a new and real accountability.

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NEW YORK TIMES
3 MAY 1971

SUPPORT OF RADIO BY C.I.A. MAY END

Council Sought to Operate 2 European Outlets

By BENJAMIN WELLES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—The Nixon Administration is reported to be preparing to ask Congress to authorize a "public-private" corporation that would finance Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through annual Congressional appropriations of $36-million.

If approved—and preliminary reactions from leaders of Congress are said to be favorable—the plan would end the financing of the stations by the Central Intelligence Agency. They were created as a product of the cold war in the early nineteen-fifties.

The Administration is expected to propose the formation of an American Council for Private International Communications, Inc., with a board of 15 to be appointed by the President with Congressional approval. The council would receive the Congressional appropriations and pass them in turn to the radio stations. It would also supervise the existing boards of public figures who now, theoretically, control both radio stations.

The council would be a way of continuing both stations, which the Administration and many Congressional leaders want, but with open State Department policy guidance and regular Congressional appropriations.

This would replace the semi-secret C.I.A. control that has been subject to disclosures embarrassing to the Administration and has also been criticized in Congress.

On Jan. 24, Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, disclosed that the C.I.A. had spent "several hundred million dollars" in secret subsidies on the stations. "Yet at no time," he said "was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Last year alone, he said, the C.I.A. spent more than $30-million to operate the two stations. C.I.A. control of the stations is officially denied.

Senator Case and Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, introduced legislation to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide direct subsidies of $30-million to the stations, and barring any other form of Government financing.

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Eastern European countries, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, report foreign and local events.

Operations in Munich

The two stations have offices in New York City, but their operational headquarters are in Munich and their powerful transmitters are in Portugal and Spain. Jointly the employ in Munich more than 1,000 staff analysts, newsmen and broadcasters, mainly of East European ethnic origin.

With information furnished largely by clandestine sources the two radio stations serve as the United States Government's "unofficial" voice to Europeans living under Communist rule. The Voice of America is, on the other hand, the "official" United States voice and, as such, avoids affronting the Soviet Union and other Communist governments.

Representative Reid said he approved of the Administration's plan for a corporation. "There is concern in Congress over the need to fund a program of communications between the peoples of the world," he said, "but there is also concern over the need to strengthen the credibility of these stations."

A spokesman for Senator Case said that the Senator would support direct Government subsidies to the two stations or financing through such an intermediary as the proposed corporation. The spokesman added that Mr. Case would oppose continuation of secret financing through the C.I.A.

Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of Brooklyn, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee for the State, Commerce and Justice Departments and the Federal judiciary, said that the measure had not been discussed with him yet. However, he added:

"For years I've been a strong supporter of the Voice of America and I think Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are as important or perhaps more important."

Government sources said that the Administration's plan had been prepared in the State Department with the aid of the C.I.A. and United States Information Agency. It has been approved by a subcommittee of the National Security Council.

So far, informants said, the plan has been explained by the Administration to a small number of Congressional leaders, including Senator Case and Representative Reid; Representatives George H. Mahon, Democrat of Texas, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee; Representative Carl Albert, Democrat of Oklahoma, Speaker of the House; representative Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan, House minority leader; Representative Thomas E. Morgan, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Representative William S. Mailliard of California, second-ranking Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

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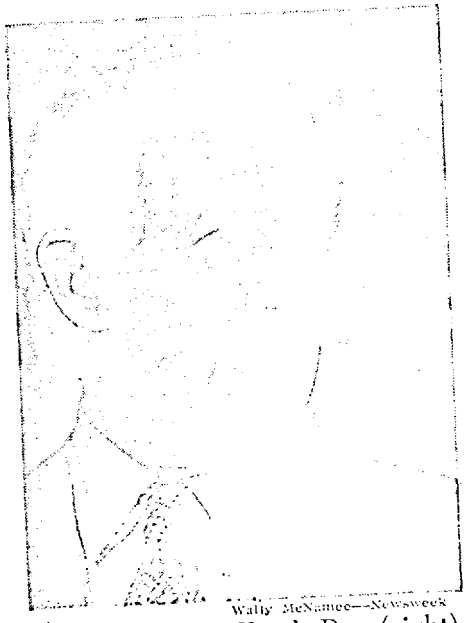
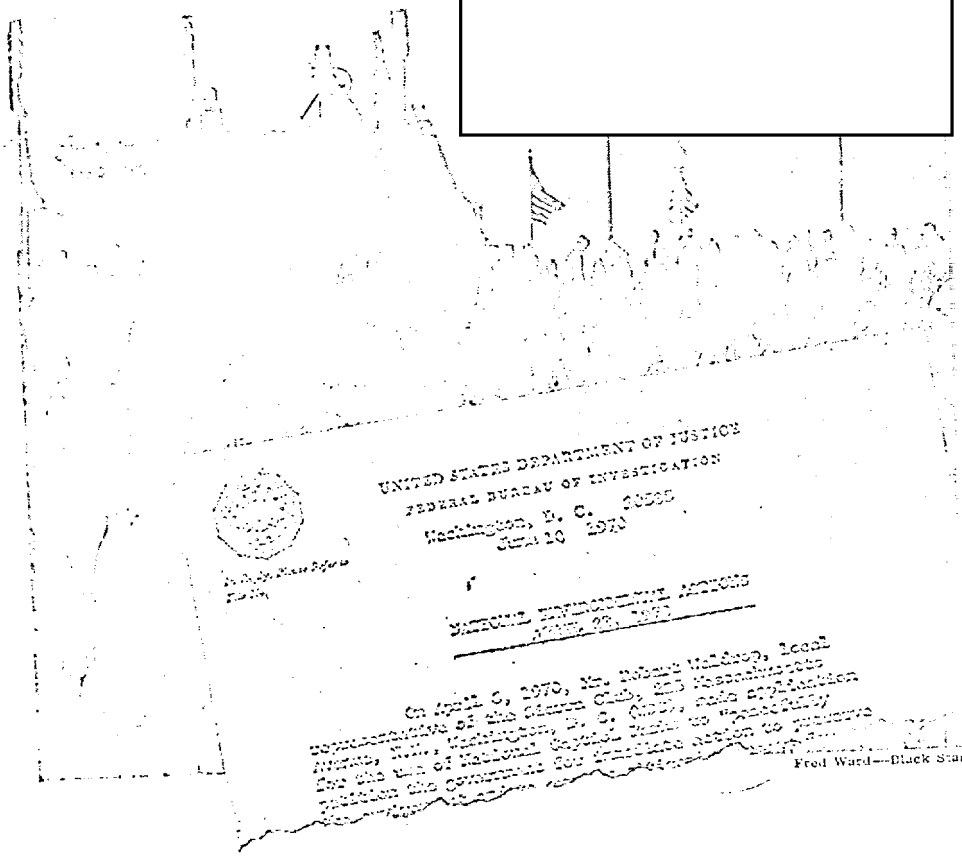


Wally McNamee—Newsweek



Fred Ward—Black Star

If FBI spied on Earth Day (right), Muskie wondered what was immune

Who Dug for Dirt on Earth Day?

Just how far may a government go in gathering secret intelligence information without undermining the freedom of the society it is bound to protect? That is one of the oldest dilemmas of democracy and also one of Washington's freshest political debates. Last week, the Administration's critics in Congress pressed new charges of overzealous snooping on the part of the FBI. And the director of the CIA, in a rare appearance on a public platform, defended his agency against those who accuse it of constituting a sinister "invisible government."

The FBI dispute was by far the more serious, for it is becoming plain that the Democrats sense they have a powerful public issue in the surveillance activities of the feds. Early this month, House Majority Leader Hale Boggs dramatically accused the FBI of tapping congressmen's phones—but he failed to supply any hard evidence. This time, the accuser was Sen. Edmund Muskie, front runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination next year, who sharply denounced FBI spying at an event so apparently innocuous as last year's Earth Day celebration. And he offered documentation.

Muskie made public copies of an eleven-page intelligence report,* written on FBI stationery, covering the Earth Day rally in Washington a year ago. It was, he said, only one of 40 to 60 FBI reports on similar environmental observances around the nation the same day. In it, the FBI described the preparations for the rally, listed the organizers (one of whom, said the report, "has been publicly identified in the past as a Communist Party leader") and summarized the gist of the speeches, songs and placards—including the fact that Muskie himself had given "a short antipollution speech." In appendices to the report, the FBI described two leftist organizations, Students for a Democratic Society and the Progressive Labor Party. "The inference," Muskie declared, "is that Earth Day, Senator Muskie and many thousands of Americans who gathered together to protest pollution were somehow related to SDS and the Progressive Labor Party."

Watchful: The Earth Day snooping suggested that even if the FBI does not, as it claims, maintain surveillance over any members of Congress, it does frequently observe events in which they are closely involved. According to Sen. Gaylord Nelson, a Wisconsin Democrat and one of the originators of the Earth Day idea, at least 150 senators and representatives and 100 Administration officials took part in Earth Day rallies last year. What's more, 31 members of Congress have endorsed the antiwar demonstration scheduled in Washington this weekend (page 29), which will doubtless include more than a few watchful G-men.

Beyond that, Muskie wondered what might be immune from inquisitive F eyes if something so unsubversive as antipollution rally was not. "If there widespread surveillance over Earth D last year," he asked, "is there any po cal activity in the country which the does not consider a legitimate subject watching? . . . How many Americans hesitate, will not attend meetings will not raise their voices because t feel what they do will become part o FBI dossier?" The FBI performance Earth Day, he charged, was at bes monumental waste of the taxpay money" and at worst "a dangerous th to fundamental constitutional rights."

The White House called the att "politically motivated," and Atto General John Mitchell said the FBI at Earth Day only to watch radical a tors. One such FBI target was the cago Seven's Rennie Davis, who spo the rally but was mentioned only b in the report. Muskie questioned the bureau disseminated so long a r when no criminal behavior was man

At the weekend, the President li finally spoke out, during an inter with six newspaper editors--and he Hoover a brisk but finally ambiguous of confidence. While some criticis the director could be justified, Mr. said, some was "unfair and malicio He is taking a bad rap on a lot of and he doesn't deserve it." The fac the number of FBI wiretap been sharply reduced during the years, the President said, and, to a

*The document was unclassified and was not among the [illegible] Media, Pa., FBI office last month, [illegible] and exposure of FBI campus surveillance and propaganda, which did much to inspire the current criticism, reportedly so infuriated director J. Edgar Hoover that a number of the FBI's 500-odd small [illegible]

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FAIRFAX SENTINEL
22 APRIL 1971
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The Non-Selling of the Central Intelligence Agency

Publicity-Shy CIA Shuns Public Relations

By Bob Woodward
Sentinel Reporter

"We have no public relations department," said the telephone operator at the Central Intelligence Agency after answering a call with the simple statement of the number called, "351-1100."

According to an agency spokesman, the CIA has "no press relations, no public relations. Most of the time we say, 'No comment,' . . . and always on the substance of intelligence, the method and sources."

In Contrast to the $30 million in Pentagon public relations spending reported in the controversial CBS-TV documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon," the CIA does not appear to be very much in the public relations business.

Richard Helms, CIA director, however, broke a five year precedent last week and gave his first public speech, but public contact with the CIA is generally confined to recruitment of new employes and dealings with "patriotic people" who have traveled abroad, the agency spokesman explained.

The CIA "only receives 10 to 12 calls a day from the press, students, free lance writers and public," a spokesman said. He added, "This is an open democratic society. When I can answer, I do." The spokesman said he and his assistant are the only staff members who handle these few, public inquiries.

New CIA employes are recruited at "200 to 300 universities each year," he said. The chief foreign intelligence agency runs no TV ads, no radio ads and only an occasional printed advertisment, the spokesman said. When objections are filed about campus recritment, the CIA moves to the nearest federal office building, he explained.

He said he could not disclose how many employes the CIA has or even discuss the CIA budget since it is only to be dealt with confidentially by Presidential representatives and Congressional committees.

Another informed government official estimated that the CIA has over 10,000 employes in the U.S., several thousand abroad on the payroll, and spends well over $500 million a year.

"We are characterized as the silent service of the govenment," the official spokesman said.

Telephone callers to the CIA are quietly greeted by the operator with the number, 351-1100, instead of the agency name because "operators across the country could be heard opening their keys" to listen to conversations years ago when the name was used after a call was answered, the spokesman said.

The name on the CIA headquarters building in McLean, Va. was taken down years ago "during the Kennedy administration because of too many tourists," he remarked.

"Patriotic people" who call after traveling abroad are referred to a downtown Washington, D.C. office to give reports, the spokesman said. He would not give the address of this office.

If a telephone caller insists on giving information over the telephone and not in persons, the CIA refuses, the spokesman said. "We assume it's a screwball," he added.

A request for information on the CIA brought the following information in the next mail: a 32-page pamphlet of quotations from U.S. Presidents from George Washington to Richard M. Nixon on the value of intelligence; a recruiting brochure on the "Intelligence Professions"; a small general description of the agency; and two magazine article reprints, one an interview with a former CIA director, Admiral William F. Raborn, and another asserting "Caps and gowns -- not cloaks and daggers -- hang in the guarded halls of 'spy' headquarters, actually a great center of area studies."

Helms is a Democrat but has been kept on as CIA director by President Nixon. An informed government source said it is likely Helms will remain the director, and Nixon has been pleased with his work, though initial intentions were only to keep the Jonson appointee on for one year after Nixon took office.

Last week Helms gave his first public speech in nearly five years as head of the agency. Speaking before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 14, Helms said the CIA was not an "invisible government -- a law unto itself, engaged in provocative, covert activities repugnant to a democratic society, and subject to no controls"

The law establishing the agency in 1947, Helms said, "specifically forbids the Cntral Intelligence Agency from having any police, subpena, or law-enforcement powers . . . in short, we do not target on American citizens."

Helms went on to outline the specific Congressional and Presidential controls to which the CIA is subject. Emphasizing the restriction on CIA involuement in either politics, foreign policy, or even answering its critics, Helms said:

"The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

He attacked CIA critics who take "advantage of the traditional silence of those engaged in intelligence (and) say things that are either vicious, or just plain silly." Helms indirectly called a recent Ramparts magazine article alleging CIA involvement in the drug traffic in Laos as such an "example."

Asked about Helms precedent-breaking speech, a CIA spokesman said it reflected "a general concern that built up over the years. People have been misled by the melodrama of spy stories. It was timely and he thought is was in the national interest."

The spokesman would neither confirm nor deny various newspaper speculations that Helms gave the speech because of recent attacks on surveillance by the FBI which is often linked with the CIA. Also, the CIA has been rather widely charged with extensive involvement in the Vietnam war. In his speech Helms said, "We cannot and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts -- the agreed facts -- and the whole known range of facts."

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NEW YORK TIMES
19 APR 1971

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Dailies Report Gains in '70 As Publishers Meet Here

Daily newspapers across the country gained circulation, revenues and jobs last year, and should show "modest but steady growth" again this year, the American Newspaper Publishers Association reported yesterday.

The report at the start of annual press meetings here came despite a recession that has lessened profits and caused job losses on some individual newspapers.

The A.N.P.A. labor relations committee complained that unions citing continuing inflation had "commanded wage settlements far in excess of any warranted equitable cost-of-living make-whole adjustments."

While the 1,748 morning and evening newspapers were 10 fewer than in 1969, the publishers reported daily circulations last year up 47,938 to 62,107,527, and reader spending for them up $85,887,000 to $1,885,114,000.

Sunday newspapers declined in circulation. The 586 Sunday papers were one more than in 1969, but total copies were down 458,245 to 49,216,602. Nevertheless, their circulation revenues rose $86,668,000 to $2,598,112,000.

Newspapers' advertising revenues were reported up $97-million, or 1.7 per cent, to $5.85-billion. The newspapers' share of the advertising dollar was reported as 29.7 per cent, a rise of 0.2 points.

The newspaper advertising gains were attributed to more retail linage, despite a falling off in classified advertising. By contrast, magazines and business papers lost ground and dollars.

Newspaper jobs rose 6,000, or 1.9 per cent, to 372,600, a growth exceeding the 0.9 per cent increase for all United States employment, according to the A.N.P.A.

Salary Improvement

Nationally, the publishers' group reported, starting salaries for journalism graduates on daily newspapers averaged $132.39 a week, up 7.9 per cent. Wire service salaries, it said, rose 12.9 per cent to $147.19.

It compared these with averages reported as $137.12 in public relations, down 2.2 per cent, and $134.68 for television newsmen, up 8.4 per cent.

At the same time, Editor & Publisher, the newspaper trade weekly, published in its current convention issue financial data for newspaper organizations whose shares are publicly traded.

The Editor & Publisher reports showed comparisons with net income in some cases derived from broadcasting and other operations in addition to newspapers—as follows:

Organization	Operating Revenue 1970	Net Income 1970	Net Income 1969
	In thousands of dollars		
Bstn Hrld Trvlr	$ 43,530	$ 2,031	$ 2,833
Cincinnati Enquirer	26,579	2,034	2,314
Gannett Co.	158,812	11,450	10,065
Knight Newspapers	243,404	13,678	12,661
Lee Enterprises	34,637	3,023	2,530
Media General	127,135	6,342	2,949
Multi Media	33,492	3,592	3,276
New York Times	231,907	9,733	14,853
Southam Press	112,592	7,836	8,070
Ridder Publications	118,945	9,553	8,421
Thomson Newspapers	114,944	14,810	11,235
Times-Mirror Co.	528,103	30,574	34,005

More than 1,500 newspaper executives are to attend meetings at the Waldof-Astoria Hotel this week of The Associated Press, United Press International, A.N.P.A. and Bureau of Advertising, A.N.P.A. Yesterday, the Newspaper Comics Council opened a two-week exhibit on the 75th anniversary of newspaper comics. It will be free to the public daily at Lever House, 390 Park Avenue, at 54th Street.

In reports made public yesterday, the A.N.P.A. labor committee held that there was "no discernible union willingness or agreement to permit operational flexibility to increase productivity" despite demands for labor gains.

It warned of jurisdictional disputes as newspaper publishers turned to new technology "to overcome the skyrocketing costs burgeoning from inflated wage settlements." There was an increase in strikes — 30 called against 38 newspapers in 27 cities last year, with 15 of the newspapers maintaining publication during the strikes.

"How many other strikes were avoided simply because of publisher capability to publish cannot be accurately assessed," the committee said. "It is to be hoped that the number would be impressive."

Electronic Possibilities

The publishers' task force on broadcast and cable television ownership reported that it was defending newspapers' rights to equal treatment in ownership and licensing of electronic media.

"The time may come when we must rely on some form of electronic communication to our readers," the task force said. "This might be a form of cable system, FM radio, television or some technology not yet fully developed, such as laser beams."

The A.N.P.A.'s government relations committee said it was opposing proposed Federal Trade Commission regulations, "which would require warning messages of various phraseology in advertising."

It said such rules would "create a chaotic situation," particularly for retail advertising that features many products. Instead, the committee reported that it was discussing with the Federal agency an idea that would simply provide for advertising to call attention to "warning messages and instructions in labels" on the products.

Classified Advertising

The committee also said it was contending that the 1968 Civil Rights Act did not intend to subject newspapers to charges of violations for housing advertising indicating race or color discrimination or for classified advertisements separated by male and female categories.

It suggested that such charges would infringe First Amendment guarantees of press freedom.

In its annual report, the board of directors of The Associated Press, a news cooperative, said it ended 1970 with a new high of 1,265 dailies on its leased wire network in the United States, with a net gain of three during the year. Broadcasting members increased by 64 to 3,285.

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BALTIMORE SUN AMERICAN
18 APRIL 1971

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Editor's Report:

Still a Free, Critical Press

By WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST JR.
Editor-in-Chief, The Hearst Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Of all the balls, picnics and banquets newspapermen go to or have to go to throughout each year, by far the most interesting is the spring gathering of the ASNE. This translates into the American Society of Newspaper Editors and results in their meeting and discussing the future of our business and listening to panel discussions and speeches by high government officials.

W. R. HEARST JR.

The get-together is held four out of every five years in Washington. On the fifth year, the editors journey to some other city as they did last year to San Francisco and a few years ago to Montreal.

I always find the ASNE get-together fun and productive—and this year's meeting was no exception. In fact it was one of the best because the president of the ASNE was Newbold Noyes, editor of The Washington Star, which has for many years been owned by his family and been regarded as the family newspaper of the Washington area.

Since Newbold is a Washingtonian through and through, he knew exactly the kind of program to put together to enlighten and entertain the editors and their wives. For example, instead of following the traditional custom of getting the Secretary of State or Secretary of Defense for a luncheon session, he pulled a real coup and got CIA Director Richard Helms to deliver his first public speech.

The next day he produced Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington, who, in my book, is one of the most responsible and dedicated public servants we have in government today.

In fact, I regard Scoop Jackson as the most qualified of all the possible Democratic contenders for next year's presidential nomination. He is a warm human being and has been a friend of mine for years. More to the point and the subject of his speech is a staunch advocacy of the kind of nuclear defense policy that would keep us ahead of the Soviets and prevent us ever having to bow to their blackmail.

Should next year's election develop into a contest between Scoop Jackson and Dick Nixon, I think the American people would not make a mistake whichever way they turned.

This theory was confirmed not only by hearing Scoop at the luncheon but also by President Nixon's appearance at the final ASNE banquet, where he was interrogated by a panel of tough, perceptive editors.

It was a special treat to hear and meet Dick Helms. I had known most of his predecessors at the CIA—Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, Allen W. Dulles and John McCone. But I had never had the chance to even talk with Helms. He is just not the kind of fellow who circulates on the banquet circuit or gets into the public eye.

Helms advanced the very sound view that he and his agency should be anonymous, because they deal in highly secret security matters that should come to the attention only of the President and the National Security Council.

Anyone with an ounce of patriotism and concern for this nation should realize that men like Helms and his CIA associates are performing a vital service to the United States. So he took the opportunity to talk to America's editors about the place of an intelligence service in a democratic government, saying:

"In doing so, I recognize that there is a paradox which I hope can be dispelled.

"On the one hand, I can assure you that the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States government in 1971 is better than it ever has been before.

"On the other hand, at a time when it seems to me to be self-evident that our government must be kept fully informed on foreign developments, there is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency."

Helms dispelled the thought some editors might have had that the CIA was some sort of "big brother" police operation. It is wrong for liberal critics of our government to make such assertions—including the recent attempt to smear the aging J. Edgar Hoover as some sort of mean, senile Gestapo chieftain. I don't think the American people are about to turn their back on men like Hoover, who has served more than 40 years as chief of the FBI, or Helms, who has been with the CIA for more than 20 years. Both are Americans of whom we should be proud.

As the richest, most influential and most benevolent country in the world, we cannot afford to let our defenses down. We need every ounce of evidence we can lay our hands on about internal developments in various countries—both friends and foes—around this globe.

In a sense, the CIA does for the federal government what newspapers are supposed to do for the general public: Gather information and lay it out honestly and objectively for others to study.

The ASNE had on its agenda the question of whether reporting should be subjective or objective. In other words, the editors felt they had to debate the issue of whether reporters should fill the news columns with propaganda born of their own advocacy or whether they should report only the news, honestly and fairly—and as it happened.

To me, this is not a question worth debating. I learned from my father years ago there is no place in the news columns for subjective reporting. The place for newsmen to express their own prejudices is [illegible] columns.

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Continued

WASHINGTON POST
APR 1974

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Taking the CIA on Faith

Welcome indeed are CIA director Richard Helms' assurances that the quality of his agency's work "is better than it has ever been before," that "we do not target on American citizens," that "we not only have no stake in policy debates but we cannot and must not take sides," that "the elected officials of the U.S. Government watch over (CIA) extensively, intensively and continuously," and that "we understand as well as anyone the difficulties and the contradictions of conducting foreign intelligence operations on behalf of a free society." Whether his assurances are based on fact or feather-fluffing is, of course, another matter, and one which he conceded the public cannot judge. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith," he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

In all due respect to Mr. Helms, no one questions his honor or devotion, or that of his agency's staff. Moreover, on the basis of what little independent knowledge is available to us, we suspect that the high marks Mr. Helms gave the CIA are generally quite deserved. But that is not the point. The point is that the public has no firm or reliable basis on which to make any satisfactory judgment of the CIA at all. It is a secret agency. Mr. Helms is surely aware of the irony implicit in his plea that the nation accept on faith the CIA's devotion to democracy. For it is the essence of a democracy that matters of public policy be examined in public, not taken on faith.

Take, for instance, the one specific charge that Mr. Helms defended the agency against in his ASNE speech—that "the CIA is somehow involved in the world drug traffic." He said: "We are not." But does the CIA have connections with others involved in drug traffic? If it does, would it not have double reason—the dirtiness of drugs and the protection of a particular intelligence operation—to deny the charge? For that matter, would a CIA confession have any more objective validity than a CIA denial?

The core of the matter lies, we believe, in Mr. Helms' observation that "the United States, as a world power, either is involved or may with little warning find itself involved in a wide range and variety of problems which require a broad and detailed base of foreign intelligence for the policy makers." As a general proposition, this is unassailable: nobody in his right mind would contend the United States does not need to collect foreign intelligence. In the specific application, however, questions arise: How much intelligence is enough? Does an able and ambitious intelligence agency's anticipation of contingencies in a given place or situation induce policy makers to posit an American interest there? Does the CIA's perception of the world as "fearsome," in Mr. Helms' word, affect its judgment of what contingencies it ought to prepare for and of what information it ought to pass on to the President?

To be sure, it is no more reasonable to expect the director of Central Intelligence to question publicly the premises of American global policy than to expect him to denounce the CIA as incompetent, imperial and anti-democratic. It is always going to be unsettling in our society, nonetheless, to be asked to take the CIA—or any other agency or operation of government—on nothing more than faith.

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STAT

WASHINGTON STAR
30 APR 1971

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France's Little Bit Of Africa—Djibouti

By NICHOLAS W. STROH
Special to The Star

DJIBOUTI, French Somalia—It is almost as if there had been no war in Indochina, no French defeat in Algeria, no breakdown in France's once far-flung colonial empire. It is as if the hands of the clock had stopped in the 1950s or even earlier.

In this sandy, sun-drenched corner of Africa, thousands of miles in time and space from the major world powerpoints, ramrod straight men of the French Foreign Legion still strut proudly. Shirts and khaki shorts always are immaculately pressed, haircuts are close and very military.

The Legion's colors once flew throughout the world—Guadaloupe to Saigon, Dakar to Madagascar. More than a quarter of the population of Africa alone lived under direct French rule. And always there was the Legion Etrangere—it was supreme, the symbol of the might of a great nation.

But time has marched on and Djibouti somehow has been left in the backwater, a curious museum piece, an historical anachronism, a diplomatic mystery. It is the only place in all Africa where the presence is legitimately and legally French.

"Yes," said the slightly greying French colonel, his voice in a near whisper. "Djibouti is a sort of throwback to the earlier, less complicated days. It is artificial in some ways, but for an old soldier it is not a bad spot to end a career."

The 45 year-old Legionaire sat on the veranda of his pleasantly furnished home, reminiscing thoughtfully in French. A gentle sea breeze wafted through the trees. It was hot—very hot.

The officer pulled from a nearby shelf a dated issue of the respected daily Le Monde—June 1954. Dog-eared and faded, it carried a front page analysis of the French defeat at Dienbienphu. Moments later, he produced a recent issue with an analysis of the American and South Vietnamese incursion into Laos.

"Too Complicated"

"You see," he said, "it is true the world has become much too complicated for us—the defeat in Indochina, the Algerian war, independence for Africa before our colonies were really prepared—but out here in Djibouti, a man can still be a Frenchman because we know this place belongs to us."

The attitude of the colonel, who served in Indochina as a lieutenant—but was spared Dienbienphu by a leg wound—is characteristic of the older Europeans in this 8,000 square mile territory which on a map looks like a tiny notch hacked from the northernmost rim of the Horn of Africa. There are 150,000 people in French Somalia, about 95 percent of whom—if not more—are illiterate Islamic nomads who prowl the parched hill country with their undernourished herds as they have for centuries.

There are 10,000 Europeans, mostly French; half are military and their families. The balance are civil servants, who run the territory, and businessmen. The capital is Djibouti—proper, clean, well-designed, dignified and very colonial, a city of some 70,000 population surrounded on three sides by barbed wire.

The nomads can only enter the city if they have work permits and since the closure of the Suez Canal the city's economy has sputtered. Unemployment is said by officials to be mounting—presumably among the Africans who live in the city—but no figures were immediately available.

The French presence goes back to an 1862 treaty between France and an important Sultan on the Somali coast. It was firmed up in the 1880s with agreements for trade between France and Ethiopia. It is said that somewhere in the archives of Paris or Addis Ababa there is a treaty giving Ethiopia residual rights to the area when the French leave.

But the French profess ignorance of such a document and, in any case, they are not ready to leave.

"You must understand the situation," a senior civil servant explained. "This place started as a coaling station—a kind of halfway point—to Indochina. Following the Second War we were thriving, but with the Middle East and the closing of the canal we have our problems. Our port is the biggest in the area, with a major railway linking Addis, but ship traffic has dwindled since the six-day war and business here is only 10 percent of what it was before the conflict of 1967.

"We know if France stays here, she is a force for peace. The moment we leave, the Ethiopians and Somalis will each assert their historic and ethnic claim to this land and there will be war. It is for that reason that we stay. For us the place means nothing. It costs France billions of francs each year."

The business community has indeed suffered with the closing of Suez, but is optimistic. "Some day we shall bloom again," a long-time resident said. "A look at the map will explain all. We are resting at

HOW DEEP IS THE WATER?

Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, speaking last week to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, outlined some urgent requirements for foreign intelligence. Among them: What is the scope of the strategic threat to U.S. security? What are current Soviet intentions?

Then, in a sudden turn to specifics, he furrowed more than one editorial brow with a reference to one of the lesser known problems in foreign intelligence.

"Or, for that matter," said he, "to give you an extreme example, how deep is the water alongside the docks in Djibouti? This question is not as far-fetched as it may sound. If France should one day grant independence to French Somaliland—now formally the Territory of the Afars and Issas—the area would almost certainly be a source of contention between Ethiopa, which looks to the United States for support, and Somalai, which is highly dependent on the Soviet Union. What ships could be used to land a UN peace-keeping force—or unload relief shipments? Thus information on Djibouti could suddenly become necessary to the United States government in an effort to *prevent* a new international crisis."

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100310001-2

Continued

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100310001-2

25X1

ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST-DISPATCH

E - 333,224
S - 558,018

APR 17 1971

Who's Spying Now?

If you think the Government is spying on you, blame it on the FBI or the Army, maybe, but not on the Central Intelligence Agency. CIA Director Helms has assured the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in his first public address since taking office in 1966, that "we do not target on American citizens."

A few hours after Mr. Helms' speech, President Nixon's press secretary was trying to cool some of the criticism about FBI domestic spying activities. "I sense that an impression is developing in this country that there is surveillance of private individuals," he said. "This is unfounded and repugnant to this Administration."

If the CIA is not in the business of spying on American citizens, if the Army is getting out of the business, and if the FBI doesn't do anything that would be "repugnant" to the Nixon Administration, we wonder what Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst was talking about the other day when he told Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz that the Government's domestic "surveillance and intelligence apparatus" is "the best in the world"? Maybe it's all done with mirrors.

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25X1

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER

E - 119,238

APR 17 1971

Keep the Cloak:

Those who make their living beard-ing the government, find that one of their greatest advantages is the un-ending list of targets available to them. And because they never regard any response to their accusations as satisfactory, the bureaucracy-baiters revel in a self-perpetuating business. President Nixon surely knows this fact of political life, but occasionally he makes one doubt.

The other day Mr. Nixon allowed Richard Helms, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to speak before the American Society of News-paper Editors. Given that Helms never has made a similar address in his five years as director of the CIA, it was apparent that Mr. Nixon, rather than Helms, wanted to bring a few things out from the shadows as a counter to ever-mounting criticism.

So Helms dutifully told the editors —and by extension, the American people—that the CIA really isn't fil-led with bogeymen, but rather with honorable men seeking to aid the na-tion's defense. Helms explained that the CIA has neither the power nor the inclination to use police-state tac-tics, and that the Agency is closely monitored by high-ranking govern-ment officials who insure that it can't get out of hand.

Such was the tenor of Helms' speech, and a reasonable man would be hard-pressed to argue with it. Un-fortunately, that is the point: Reason-able men realize that the CIA is not about to turn into Nixon's Gestapo; *un*reasonable men believe the CIA is incapable of becoming anything else. Helms therefore made a speech that probably changed no minds, but in-stead brought the CIA what it needs least—attention.

Mr. Nixon thus handed the anti-CIA (and anti-Administration) forces more fodder for their verbal cannon. New attacks on the CIA were inevit-able, of course. But there is no reason why Mr. Nixon should have encourag-ed them. It would have been far bet-ter to let Helms keep wearing the same cloak of near-anonymity he don-ned five years ago.

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17 APR 1971

Noyes urges ASNE members to guard their perspective

By Luther Huston

Newspaper editors must achieve a more serious, more sophisticated perspective on their jobs. Revise their basic concept of news and quit being "suckers" for either side of the proponents of change, Newbold Noyes, president of The American Society of Newspaper Editors, told several hundred editors at the opening session of the society's annual convention in Washington April 14.

"The newspapers," said Noyes, who is editor of the *Washington* (D.C.) *Star*, "are not exactly writing a glorious chapter" in the history of the profession and have "a good deal to answer for at the bar of public opinion."

If the reader confidence in the newspaper press is at a low ebb it is because "we are lazy and superficial in much of our reporting" and fail to give readers the information and understanding that will "permit them to sort out the forces at work in society and to decide where their true interests lie."

After Noyes "keynote speech", the society adopted a report of its freedom of information committee which recommended enactment of a National Shield Law to protect newsmen from disclosing confidential information or the sources of such information: agreed to let Congress know that it opposed efforts of the Staggers subcommittee to subpoena Columbia Broadcasting Systems and transcripts of its documentary on "The Selling of the Pentagon"; voted against a proposal to establish national press councils but authorized formation of an ad hoc committee to select some specific ethical violation by a newspaper and conduct a "dry run" trial to see how the press council idea might work.

Noyes criticized the press for maintaining stero-typed standards of news coverage. "Not only do we devote 80 per cent of our time and space to stereotyped happenings, but we also insist these happenings are newsworthy only if they meet certain stereotyped standards". Noyes said, "there is no story in a speech or a [illegible] ence or what-have-you unless it involves conflict or surprise. Before a situation is worthy of our attention, it must burst to the surface in some disruptive, exceptional (and hence newsworthy) event. Even when we know what is happening under the surface, we are forever waiting for a traditional news peg to hang the story on. What are we thinking of, sticking to such old-fashioned concepts in a time of revolutionary movement? If we have so little faith in the intelligence of our readers, how can we expect them to have faith in us? No wonder the readers constantly feel that events are overwhelming them, unawares." Newsmen, Noyes said, are not "merely spectators on the unfolding scene." We are the people who [illegible], whether we like it or not, decide what is worthy of public attention and who must determine the way it is to be presented. The difficulty of [illegible] task has made it convenient for us to hide behind simplistic, even childish formulas as to what is news, the simplest and most childish being that this, after all, is what people naturally want to read."

New techniques must be developed that will permit newspapers to convey to readers the truest possible picture of what transpires, Noyes asserted. He acknowledged that he did not know what these techniques are but told the editors that "we must grow up, must change, because our readers are changing and growing up. They are demanding more of us now, and they are entitled to more from us than what they are getting."

"Change we must have," Noyes went on, "but the trick is to give our readers a basis, factual and intellectual, for assessing the paths of change into which they are being pushed, form rational choices while the choice is still theirs.

"I think the worst of our lazy and superficial performance today is that we of the press are allowing ourselves to be manipulated by various interests—some for change and some against it—some powerfully in support of the system, some destructively seeking to tear it down—all clever in the business of [illegible] nesses, our laziness, our superficiality, our gullibility. No doubt the Pent[illegible] makes suckers of [illegible] but no more eas[illegible] New Left does. We [illegible] to me, tragically [illegible] velop for our reade[illegible] ingful perspective[illegible] ties of such speci[illegible]

In the first publ[illegible] has made as dire[illegible] Central Intelliger[illegible] Richard Helms tol[illegible] can Society of Ne[illegible] tors that the work [illegible] criticized CIA is [illegible] "permit this countr[illegible] in a fearsome worl[illegible] its way into a bet[illegible] peaceful one."

"We are, after [illegible] this democracy, ar[illegible] in it," Helms, a fo[illegible] and advertising s[illegible] "We would not [illegible] our work distort [illegible] and its principles. [illegible] to adapt intelligen[illegible] ican society, not vice versa."

Helms said that the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States government in 1971 is better than it has ever been before. He said that the "intelligence community—a name for all of the intelligence assets at the disposal of the United States, comprised the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the intelligence components of the various armed services, the National Security Agency, the intelligence elements of Department of State and—when appropriate, those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Atomic Energy Commission." All of these agencies are represented on the United States Intelligence Board, chaired by the director of Central Intelligence, not as head of the CIA, but as the principal intelligence adviser to the president and the National Security Council."

"By necessity" Helms said, "intelligence organizations do not publish the extent of their knowledge and they do not challenge criticism of their operations. We answer to those we serve in government."

The CIA, he said, is the only one of the organizations named [illegible] many to handcraft a special kind of report for a very few."

Helms gave a detailed report of the CIA's part in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. He cited the agencies success in disproving various reports, such as that light bombers were being stored in a particular cave and that what was reported as a rounded dome covering missiles was actually a relatively new movie theatre in Havana.

"Our intelligence files in Washington, however — thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union. We knew what to look for.

"Guided by this background, the interrogators were able to sort out from the flood of reports the ones which established the arrival of MRBM and IRBM equipment in Cuba. We were then able to locate the sites under construction and tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat."

The CIA's efforts to obtain foreign intelligence in this country, Helms said, "have generated some of the most virulent criticism of the agency. They have led to charges tha

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WASHINGTON POST
16 APR 1971

Jackson Sees Soviet A-Lead

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said yesterday that "the United States is slipping" and that "the overall strategic balance is tilting in favor of Moscow."

In his gloomiest view yet of the Soviet-American nuclear equation, the senator plugged for his proposal of last month for a one-year freeze in land-based offensive weapons of the two superpowers.

Jackson, regarded as a dark-horse possibility for the Democratic presidential nomination, spoke at a luncheon session of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at the Shoreham Hotel.

As before, Jackson's emphasis was on the Soviet SS-9, the monster ICBM. He said that the only strategic area "in which we are staying ahead is in the number of individual warheads and we are doing that only by going to small-yield multiples." This was a reference to MIRVs, a program for land and sea-based missiles which will vastly increase the number of U.S. warheads.

Jackson's view has consistently been that the SS-9s constitute a threat to the American Minuteman force. He said yesterday that the SS-9 "has characteristics that could be well adapted to destroy hardened missile silos in a first strike" and that "one is tempted to conclude that the Soviets are not really committed" to the theory of deterrence as is the United States.

"Severe Threat"

He foresaw the Soviet submarine missile force overtaking the U.S. Polaris fleet in two to three years. By stationing its Polaris-type Y-Class submarines off the American coasts, he said, the Soviets "could blanket practically the entire United States" and thus pose "a severe threat" to the U.S. bomber force.

Jackson recalled that President Nixon has spoken of moving from an "era of confrontation" to an "era of negotiation" with the Soviet Union, adding "I see scant evidence to support such a sunny forecast concerning our relations with Moscow."

If the balance continues to tilt in Moscow's favor, Jackson said "we could expect Soviet intransigence in negotiations and efforts at blackmail and intimidation across a broad range of foreign policy issues with a consequent rise in the incidence of dangerous situations.

Red Brinkmanship

"Beyond that, if present trends in the strategic balance continue, we could find ourselves in a situation that encouraged Soviet brinkmanship with a resulting risk of accident, miscalculation and nuclear war."

He declared that "the motto of the Kremlin today is very likely: 'No more Cubas.' The Soviets may relish the prospect that in future crisis encounters, we, and not they, will back down and accept diplomatic defeat."

Jackson repeated his weapons freeze proposal as a device "to buy time" at the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT). But there is no sign that Moscow would accept his proposal since, in the view of many U.S. officials, it is weighted too much in the American favor.

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CHICAGO, ILL.
SUN-TIMES

M - 541,036
S - 697,966

APR 15 1971

CIA director tells of spy ring in Russia

By Thomas B. Ross
Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency stated Wednesday that it has penetrated the Soviet government with a "number of well-placed" Russian spies.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, cited the spies' key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them are still operating in the Soviet Union.

By surfacing the statement at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to the Kremlin that the United States has secret ways of checking on Soviet good faith in current negotiations on strategic weapons, the Middle East and other critical issues.

Speaking to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Helms said the CIA was able to detect Russian missiles in Cuba in 1962 "thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" who provided crucial details on Soviet missile systems.

Refers to Penkovsky?

Helms was asked later if he was referring to Col. Oleg V. Penkovsky, the Soviet military intelligence official, who served as a double agent for both the CIA and British Intelligence. Helms replied that his remarks covered Penkovsky and "others."

Penkovsky was arrested Oct. 22, 1962, at the height of the Cuban missile crisis, and executed May 16, 1963. But the Soviet government has made no public mention of additional spies in the case.

Helms' speech thus left the implication that other CIA agents remain in place inside the Soviet Union.

CIA director Richard Helms addresses annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington. (AP)

Helms obtained clearance from President Nixon before accepting the invitation to speak before the annual convention of ASNE.

Herbert G. Klein, the President's communications director, saw nothing unusual in the CIA making a public defense of its operations at this time.

Don't target on Americans

But Helms' speech created a considerable stir in view of the current clamor over Army and FBI "spying" on civilians. Helms went to great lengths to insist that the CIA has "no domestic security role."

"We do not target on American citizens," he said.

Helms acknowledged that the CIA collects "foreign intelligence in this country" by tapping university experts and interviewing persons who travel to Communist countries.

"The trouble," he lamented, "is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words 'interview' and 'hire' translate into suborn, subvert and seduce or something worse."

Calls charge vicious

He denied as "vicious" a charge that the CIA is involved in the world drug traffic.

Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) demanded Wednesday that the CIA and the State Department investigate allegations by Racquets Magazine that the CIA facilitates the movement of opium out of Southeast Asia.

Helms conceded, on the other hand:

"Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of a free society . . . assertions that the Central Intelligence Agency is an 'invisible government, a law unto itself, engaged in preemptive covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls. . . .

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it."

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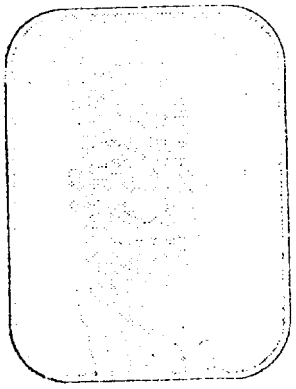
NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
16 APR 1971

CIA—WE'VE GOT TO HAVE IT

At a luncheon meeting in Washington Wednesday of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms delivered a speech of the first importance to the American people.



Richard Helms

The CIA, Mr. Helms observed, is often called an invisible government, spreading slimy tentacles around the country and plotting the eventual enslavement of the American people.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Actually, the CIA is a giant spy agency devoted to gathering information on the activities of all other nations' governments—with special and relentless attention to the enemy regimes in Moscow, Peking and Havana.

It has fascinating pipelines into all of these governments. One of the CIA's star performers, for example, was Col. Oleg Penkovskiy, outwardly a high Soviet military intelligence officer who funneled information to our side until the Kremlin found him out and killed him in 1963.

We simply have got to have the CIA, just as the British Empire in its heyday had to have the world-famous British intelligence service. And to keep our so-called Department of Dirty Tricks efficient and effective, we must let it do most of its good works in secret.

As Mr. Helms said in closing, Uncle Sam is a big boy now, and he lives in "a fearsome world," and the CIA is vital to his survival and continued safety.

Speaking of enemy nations, President Richard M. Nixon on Wednesday loosened restrictions on—

U.S. TRADE WITH RED CHINA

—saying U.S. firms henceforth will be permitted to export non-strategic items to the slave state presided over by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai.

We hope the President knows what he is doing, and we expect to discuss this matter in detail in Sunday's editorials. But it is even more to be hoped that extreme care will be taken in determining what are non-strategic items.

Specifically, let us hope every precaution will be taken against exporting to Red China goods which can be transshipped to Red North Vietnam to beef up Hanoi's war against South Vietnam and our fighting men there.

It is often said that in modern warfare almost anything can become strategic. In trading with this sworn enemy of ours, let's not forget that danger for a moment.

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NEW YORK TIMES

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100310001-2

6 Newsmen to Interview Nixon Over 2 Radio Networks Tonight

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 15—An hour-long interview with President Nixon by four newspaper executives and two reporters will be broadcast live on radio tomorrow night.

The National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System announced today that they would carry the interview, which is scheduled for the final session of this year's convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The White House ruled out the televising of the interview. It will be broadcast on radio at 9 P.M.

Interviewing the President will be Emmett Dedmon, editorial director of The Chicago Sun-Times and Daily News; William B. Dickinson, executive editor of The Philadelphia Bulletin; Sylvan Meyer, editor of The Miami News; Otis Chandler, publisher of The Los Angeles Times; Eugene V. Risher, White House correspondent of United Press International, and Frank Cormier, Whit House correspondent of The Associated Press.

Editors Hear Jackson

At a luncheon meeting today, the editors, who have been meeting since Tuesday at the Shoreham Hotel, heard Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, advocate a one-year moratorium on the deployment of most offensive and defensive nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Senator Jackson, who has been mentioned as a contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972, said that the strategic balance was "tilt-favor of Moscow."

He said that his proposal would "at once have the effect of slowing the strategic arms competition and adding to the immediate security of the strategic balance."

The Senator, a member of the Armed Services Committee, added that China was not a "serious strategic threat" to either the United States or the Soviet Union "now or for the rest of the nineteen seventies."

Editors Protest Subpoena

WASHINGTON, April 15 (AP)—The American Society of Newspaper Editors sent to the House of Representatives today a telegram denouncing the action of a House Commerce subcommittee in subpoening all background material amassed by the Columbia Broadcasting System for its controversial documentary program "The Selling of the Pentagon."

The telegram, signed by Newbold Noyes Jr., president of the society, said the society had cast an almost unanimous vote yesterday protesting the action by the subcommittee headed by Representative Harley O. Staggers, Democrat of West Virginia.

The telegram said:

"The society agrees that every news report can be judged for accuracy and fairness. It disagrees totally with any attempt to pry into newspapers', broadcasters' or any other journalist's private files to seek to judge editing.

"The society views the subcommittee's order as an open attack on the First Amendment guaranteeing the nation a free press and stands unwaveringly beside its jounalistic colleagues in broadcasting in viewing the subcommittee action as a dangerous and unwarranted intrusion into journalistic freedoms. The society urges immediate reconsideration."

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PROVIDENCE, R.I.
JOURNAL
APR 15 1971
M - 66,673
S - 209,501

CIA Chief Discloses Russian Help in '62

Journal-Bulletin Wire Reports

Washington -- In his first public speech as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Richard Helms yesterday declared that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" helped the United States in identification of Soviet weapons in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

He mentioned no names but the reference appeared clearly to be to Col. Oleg Penkovsky, the Soviet intelligence officer who brought much information out during visits to London in the 16 months prior to the missile crisis. He was arrested that October and subsequently executed for treason.

"The Penkovsky Papers" published as a book in 1965 were widely believed to be based on CIA interrogations, and the claim was made in the introduction that Penkovsky's information was invaluable during the crisis.

However, not until Helms' speech yesterday at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors had an American official in a position to know come so close to crediting Penkovsky openly.

Helms detailed the kind of work the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies did at the time, trying to separate fact from fiction about what Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was doing in Cuba. He then included this paragraph:

"Our intelligence files in Washington, however — thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us — included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union."

This enabled specialists, with the help of pictures taken over Cuba, to "tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat," Helms said.

Much of Helms's speech was a defense of the CIA against charges that it is an "invisible government."

Helms said, "There is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a central intelligence agency.

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view," he said, "but I respect it. It is quite another matter when some of our critics —taking advantage of the traditional silence of those engaged in intelligence — say things that are either vicious, or just plain silly."

Helms emphasized that the CIA had no domestic security functions and had never sought any. "In short," he said, "we do not target on American citizens."

Helms said that "our efforts to obtain foreign intelligence in this country have generated some of the more virulent criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency."

If an American citizen traveling abroad has acquired information that might be useful, "we are certainly going to try to interview him," he said.

"If there is a competent young graduate student who is interested in working for the United States government "we may well try to hire him.

"The trouble is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words 'interview' and 'hire' translate into suborn, subvert, seduce, or something worse," he said.

He added, "We use no compulsion. If a possible source of information does not want to talk to us, we go away quietly. If some student groups object to our recruiting on campus, we fall back to the nearest federal office building."

The closest Helms came to discussing the CIA's role in current policy issues was his reference to the strategic arms limitation talks. He said it would be "unthinkable" to conclude a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

He did not discuss the CIA's role in the observation satellite program or in electronic eavesdropping used for just that purpose. He did say that the United States can safely undertake such an agreement "only if it has adequate intelligence assets to assure itself that the Soviets are living up to their part."

He mentioned checking on both offensive and defensive missile systems with a special reference to the possibility raised in the Pentagon that the Soviets might upgrade certain surface-to-air missile systems.

The United States "must have the means of detecting new developments which might convert one of the regular Soviet air defense missile systems into an ABM network," Helms said.

"We make no foreign policy," he said. The nation "must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are, but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public," he added.

Helms, who has been with CIA since its creation in 1947 and has been its director since mid-1966, declared that "we not only have no stake in policy debates" within the administration "but we cannot and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts — the agreed facts — and the whole known range of facts -- relevant to the problem under consideration. Our role extends to the estimative function — the projection of likely developments from the facts — but not to advocacy, or recommendations for one course of action or another."

The CIA under one of Helms' predecessors, Allen Dulles, was widely charged with advocacy in the Bay of Pigs debacle and in other covert activities. This was said to have been changed after a probe of the Bay of Pigs that set up the guidelines listed by Helms.

Helms said it is "for Congress to decide" how the CIA is to be supervised but that "elements" of the Senate and House appropriations and armed services committees "are told more about our operations than is known to most of the personnel in our highly compartmentalized agency."

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MIAMI HERALD
19 APRIL 1971

25X1

Editor Chides Fellow Newspapermen For 'Lazy and Superficial Reporting'

By Herald Wire Services

WASHINGTON — The president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors chided fellow editors Wednesday for what he called lazy and superficial reporting, saying they are duped as readily by the Pentagon as by the New Left.

NOYES

Newbold Noyes Jr., editor of Washington's Evening Star, urged 500 ASNE members at the start of their 1971 convention to try for "a more sophisticated, a more serious perspective on our jobs.

"We cannot keep saying that we are merely spectators of the unfolding scene, charged with transmitting it to the public.

"We are not just spectators. We are the people who must, whether we like it or not, decide what is worthy of public attention and who must determine the way it is to be presented," he said.

Noyes suggested that newspapers have been "letting the kooks on both sides determine for us what constitutes tomorrow's news — and the kookier their activity, the bigger the news." He asked: "Can we blame our readers for sensing that something is wrong with our performance?

"NO DOUBT the Pentagon easily makes suckers of the press — but no more easily than the New Left does," he said. "We are, it seems to me, tragically failing to develop for our readers any meaningful perspective on the activities of such special pleaders.

"Newspaper readers, which means ordinary people, need and deserve the information, the understanding, which will permit them to sort out the forces at work in society and to decide where their true interests lie."

The most frequent criticism of newspapers, he said, seems to be that the press has forsaken objectivity, "that public confidence is being eroded by a wave of activism sweeping through our newsrooms."

NOYES disagreed, but he said he did find newspapers guilty of being "lazy and superficial in much of our reporting."

At a luncheon Wednesday, Director Richard Helms of the Central Intelligence Agency told the editors that the CIA's role is as vital to the keeping of world peace as it is to provide information vital to the national defense.

In his first public speech about the CIA, Helms said that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" had provided information on Soviet missile systems, which, along with U2 photography, was of great help to the United States at the time of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

HE ALSO said that, without an effective intelligence system, a U.S. agreement with Russia to limit nuclear armaments would be "unthinkable."

U.S. intelligence, he said, will have "a major and vital role" in any strategic arms limitations agreement.

Helms said the CIA has no police, subpena, or law enforcement powers, or any domestic security functions.

He said he hoped by his accounting of CIA's aims and functions to dispel criticism that his agency is an invisible government, engaged in provocative covert activities in conflict with the ideals of a free society — and other assertions, Helms said, that are "either vicious or just plain silly."

AS THE CONVENTION opened, a poll of editors indicated that Sen. Edmund S. Muskie is viewed as President Nixon's strongest potential challenger in 1972 and the Democrat most likely to win his party's nomination.

After Muskie, who outdistanced all rivals by a 5-1 margin, the editors saw Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and darkhorse Henry M. Jackson of Washington as the "strongest" potential Democratic nominees.

But none saw Jackson as the likely winner at the Democratic National Convention, and none mentioned Sen. George S. McGovern of South Dakota, the only declared candidate for the nomination, as either a strong rival to Nixon or as a likely nominee.

The editors who were polled cautioned the Democrats against overconfidence. Only three were willing now to write off Nixon as the first president since Herbert Hoover to seek and be denied reelection.

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WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
15 APR 1971

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'Dedicated, efficient, unbiased'

Helms defends his CIA

(UPI) — Richard Helms, in his first public speech since he became CIA director in 1966, told the American Society of Newspaper Editors yesterday the CIA had been subject to criticism that was "either vicious, or just plain silly." He described the agency as a dedicated, efficient, unbiased, money-saving organization which does not interfere in domestic politics.

Mr. Helms specifically denied one allegation that the CIA is somehow involved in the world drug traffic. He described the charge as "arrant nonsense."

The CIA director noted that the public appearance of a nation's intelligence chief would be unthinkable in most countries. He pointed out that in Britain, even the name of his counterpart is treated as a state secret.

Mr. Helms, who spoke with the approval of President Nixon, said "we propose to adapt intelligence work to American society, not vice versa."

He said his agency was essential to the survival of a democratic society and asked Americans to "take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to the nation's service."

He noted that the U.S. intelligence will have "a major and vital role in any international agreement to limit strategic arms."

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Orig American Society of Newspaper Editors

WASHINGTON STAR
4 APR 1972

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—United Press International

CIA Director Richard Helms (left) talks with Newbold Noyes Jr., president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of The Star, during the editors' conference yesterday.

Soviet Buildup 'Relentless'

The "relentless" Soviet weapons buildup poses a serious threat to the entire American deterrent force of bombers, missiles and submarines, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., warned today.

The Soviet Union, he said, is "like a burglar walking down a hotel corridor trying the doorhandles. When he finds one unlocked in he goes."

Speaking to a luncheon meeting of the American Society of Newspaper editors, Jackson said many of his fellow politicians, caught in a cross fire between "hawks" and "doves," are "acquiring the protective habits of the ostrich."

Jackson, the only outspoken "hawk" among the possible Democratic contenders for the presidency next year, said he had little hope for the Nixon administration's attempt to move from a period of confrontation to a period of negotiation.

New Missiles Cited

The Washington senator, who revealed earlier this year that the Soviets are preparing silos for what may be a new large missile, said they had the ability to deploy 70 of the new missiles in a single year.

"And if they do deploy 70 of the new missiles they would be adding in this one year alone more megatonnage (or destructive power) than the United States has in its entire land-based Minuteman ICBM system," he declared.

At the same time, he said, the Russians have been pursuing a vigorous research and development program that has included "extensive tests of various new antiballistic missile components, including advanced improved ABM radars."

Not Slowing Down

"The central fact is that the Soviet Union has continued to support, at great cost, a comprehensive, forward-moving program of strategic and conventional weapons procurement that is not slowing down," he declared.

"On the contrary, the hopes of those who predicted the Soviet buildup was tapering off have been bitterly disappointed several times.

"The Administration has made the claim that we are leaving an 'era of confrontation' and entering an 'era of negotiation.'

"I see scant evidence to support such a sunny forecast concerning our relations with Moscow. The massive Soviet weapons buildup does not suggest to me that with greater strength they will be more wary of confrontations," he said.

Jackson said the United States should take two immediate steps to meet the Soviet threat: Protect its Minuteman deterrent force and press more vigorously for an agreement in the strategic arms limitation talks.

Rejects Limited Aim

He rejected the Soviet proposal for an agreement to limit ABM deployment only. Instead, he said, the two sides should agree to limit deployment of offensive weapons while leaving open the chance for each to deploy ABM systems to protect their missiles, but not their populations.

"Such a program would greatly [illegible] strategic forces. Moreover, it should calm any possible Soviet concern that we might be increasing the offensive potential of our forces so as to threaten the security of their deterrent.

"I would hope, therefore, that such a proposal would be vigorously pressed at the SALT talks," Jackson said.

Warns on Credibility

In a Senate speech, one of Jackson's colleagues, Sen. Stuart Symington, D-Mo., said government efforts to discredit the news media could be dangerous to a free society.

"If the credibility of any news media can be shaken, a major obstacle to acceptance by the public of all that a government wishes to be believed is removed," he declared.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, yesterday told the editors that spies inside the Kremlin played aa key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them still are operating in the Soviet Union.

By making the claim at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to the Kremlin

continued

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NEW YORK TIMES
15 APR 1971

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His Mission Is Facts

Richard McGarrah Helms

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14—In early 1969, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the Soviet Union was "going for a first-strike capability" in building new intercontinental missiles. At about the same time, the committee heard Richard McGarrah Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, give a professional estimate that the Soviet Union was concentrating on defensive missiles. Later, on June 23, shortly before the Senate began a debate on an antiballistic-missile system, both men appeared at the same closed session of the committee to resolve the apparent difference.

Man in the News

According to reports from some of those who attended the session, Mr. Laird retreated partly from his original position, while Mr. Helms deferred to the Administration's view without changing his earlier testimony.

Respected Figure

This ability to keep intact his reputation as a speaker of facts, while avoiding the political fights that emerge around them, makes the 58-year-old, tall and dark Mr. Helms one of the most respected men in Washington.

"Helms is great with Congress," a Senate staff official said recently. "He admits when he doesn't know something. He never lies."

President Nixon went out of his way last May in a television news conference to emphasize that "Director Helms" played a key role in the Administration as one of his advisers.

And today, many members of the American Societ of Newspaper Editors appeared to consider it a greater coup that Mr. Helms gave at their convention his first public speech since becoming intelligence director in 1966 than that Mr. Nixon is scheduled to address the meeting later this week.

Reared in Jersey

Mr. Helms was born March 30, 1913, in St. David's, Pa., and reared in South Orange, N.J. He spent two high school years in Switzerland and Germany, learning French and German and social graces.

He graduated from Williams College in 1935 with an out-[illegible] Phi Beta Kappa, class president, school newspaper editor and yearbook editor. His classmates voted him "most likely to succeed," "most respected," "the one who had done the most for Williams" and "class politician."

He went to Europe as a cub reporter with United Press and soon made a name for himself by getting an exclusive interview with Hitler.

Financial and personal problems cut short his career as a foreign correspondent, however, and he returned to the United States in 1937 as national advertising manager of The Indianapolis Times.

War a Turning Point

World War II was a turning point for Mr. Helms. He was assigned to the Office of Strategic Services because of his linguistic and other talents and has done nothing but intelligence work since.

After the war, he began to move up the ranks of the newly created Central Intelligence Agency. Associates say it was his capacity for work, his patience, his knowledge and understanding of government and his "professionalism"—traits they say they still admire in him—that brought him quickly to a top position in the agency in the early nineteen-fifties.

He stayed near the top for nearly 15 years under such men as Allen Dulles, Richard M. Bissell, John A. McCone and Vice Adm. William F. Raborn.

Then, in 1966, President Johnson named Richard Helms—he prefers his middle name not be used—as Director of Central Intelligence. Besides the role of senior intelligence adviser to the President and Congress, the job entails being chairman of the United States Intelligence Board and head of the C.I.A.

Mr. Helms was married several years ago to Cynthia McKelvie, 47. It is the second marriage for both. Mr. Helms has a son, Dennis, who is a Washington lawyer, and Mrs. Helms has four children by her previous marriage.

The Helmses are frequently seen on the Washington social scene, at small embassy dinners and on the tennis courts.

Mrs. Helms once told a reporter that she and her husband liked to relax by reading mysteries to each other for entertainment.

"They often are a bit far out, aren't they," she said with a smile.

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15 APR 1971

CIA's Helms Talks Of '62 Cuban Crisis

Washington, April 14 (AP)—Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, implied today that there was more than one high-level Western spy in the Soviet Union during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

In his first public speech since he became chief of the CIA, Mr. Helms told a newspaper editors conference here that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians," along with U-2 reconnaissance planes, had provided data on Soviet missile systems at the time.

The only name previously connected with high-level leaks of military information has been Col. Oleg Penkovsky, a senior Soviet military intelligence officer who was tried and executed for espionage by the Russians in 1963.

Penkovsky, whose purported memoirs were published here in 1965, was said to have supplied vital information on Soviet plans and ability to carry them out during the Berlin crisis in 1961 as well as the Cuban crisis the next year.

President Kennedy was said to have relied heavily on this information in planning his own moves.

Mr. Helms was not available to comment further on his remark following the speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in which he said U.S. intelligence "will have a major and vital role in any international agreement to limit strategic arms."

He said it would be "unthinkable to conclude a strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union without the means for monitoring compliance."

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
15 APR 1971

STAT

CIA Director Bares Role in Iron Curtain

By STAN CARTER

Washington, April 14 (News Bureau)—CIA Director Richard Helms disclosed today that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" had in previous years passed military secrets to the United States.

The American spy chief said later that the Russian informants included Col. Oleg Penkovskiy, the Soviet military intelligence officer who was shot to death for treason in 1963, "and others."

Helms made the disclosure in his first public speech in five years as head of the Central Intelligence Agency. Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he described the agency's role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

"Our intelligence files in Washington—thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems," Helms said.

"Knew What to Look For"

"We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters, and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union. We knew what to look for."

Helms said this information in the CIA's files was used to sort out misleading and erroneous information from Cuba. Then, he said, American reconnaissance planes were able to locate Soviet missile sites under construction on the island.

Questioned after the speech, Helms said it was the first time, to his knowledge, that he CIA had confirmed receiving military informaton from "a number" of Russians. He said published accounts of the 1962 crisis had not revealed this. He said he was making the disclosure to indicate that the CIA had known exactly what to look for in Cuba and was not dependent solely on technological means of obtaining information.

Acknowledged for 1st Time

Though it was generally known that Penkovsky had worked for both British intelligence and the CIA, Helms acknowledged this for the first time. Asked whether it could be assumed that his reference to well-placed and courageous Russians meant Penkovsky and other persons, he said: "Yes, and others."

Sentenced, Shot in 5 Days

Presumably, some of the Russian spies are still in place."

Penkovskiy was arrested on Oct. 22, 1962, at the height of the Cuba missile crisis, on charges of espionage for the United States and Britain. He was sentenced on May 11, 1963, to be shot for treason. Greville Wynne, a British businessman accused of being a spy-go-between, was sentenced at the same time to a long prison term.

Penkovskiy was executed on May 16, 1963. Wynne was later traded for Gordon Lonsdale, a Soviet spy in England.

With the approval of President Nixon, Helms accepted the editors' invitation in order to answer charges that the CIA "is an invisible government'—a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society, and subject to no controls."

Helms said that simply wasn't so, that his agency did not give policy advice, did not spy on Americans, and was strictly accountable to the President and appropriate congressional committees.

Saying that the CIA would lose its effectiveness if it did not maintain secrecy about its work, Helms told the editors:

"We believe, and I say this solemnly, that our work is necessary to permit this country to grow on in a fearsome world and to find its way into a better and more peaceful one."

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM NEW YORK TIMES INSIGHT

STATION

DATE April 15, 1971 7:30PM

CITY New York, N.Y.

CLIFTON DANIEL: The last word this evening is about the CIA and the public. For the first time since he became head of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1966, Richard Helms made a public speech yesterday. He appeared before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington.

Among other things, Mr. Helms said the nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too, meaning we in the CIA, are honorable men devoted to her service. I hope Mr. Helms will forgive me if I express a little skepticism. I accept the fact that he is an honorable man. More than that he is an intelligent, efficient, and effective public official and an honest and candid one as well. So far as one can know he has improved the work of the Central Intelligence Agency and liquidated some of its more dubious enterprises. The fact remains, however, as Mr. Helms himself recognizes, that the mission of the CIA appears to many Americans in his words, "to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of our society." It makes me nervous, it

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LOS ANGELES TIMES

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CIA Chief Reveals Soviet Spy Help in Cuba Missile Crisis

BY CHALMERS M. ROBERTS
Exclusive to The Times from the Washington Post

WASHINGTON—In his first public speech as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Richard Helms said Wednesday that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" helped the United States identify Soviet weapons in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

He mentioned no names, but the reference appeared clearly to be to Col. Oleg Penkovsky, the Soviet intelligence officer who brought much information out during visits to London in the 16 months before the missile crisis. Penkovsky was arrested that October and was subsequently executed for treason.

"The Penkovsky Papers," published as a book in 1965, were widely believed to be based on CIA interrogations, and the claim was made in the introduction that Penkovsky's information was invaluable during the crisis in evaluating the threat from Russian missiles.

However, not until Helms' speech Wednesday at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors had an American official in a position to know come so close to crediting Penkovsky openly.

Helms detailed the kind of work the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies did at the time, trying to separate fact from fiction about what Russian Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was doing in Cuba.

Helms then included this paragraph: "Our intelligence files in Washington, however—thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union."

This enabled specialists, with the help of pictures taken over Cuba, Helms said, to "tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat" in determining whether the Soviet missiles were capable of striking at the United States if Mr. Kennedy gave the Russians an ultimatum for their removal.

With that secret data, Helms said, "we were able to inform the President precisely how long it would take (the Russians) to make the missile sites in Cuba operational."

Helms said knowledge of Russian weaponry developed by the CIA, plus its understanding "of Soviet knowledge of our progress," helps the government decide how much money to invest in new weapons.

"If good intelligence can narrow down the choices," he said, "it can save the U.S. taxpayers many times its cost."

Much of Helms' speech was a defense of the CIA against charges that it is an "invisible government." He denied reports that the CIA is "somehow involved in the world drug traffic." Without mentioning recent charges against the FBI, Helms said, "We do not target on American citizens."

The closest Helms came to discussing the CIA's role in current policy issues was his reference to the present strategic arms limitation talks. He said it would be "unthinkable" to conclude a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

He did not discuss the CIA's role in the observation satellite program or in electronic eavesdropping used for that purpose only. He did say that the United States can safely undertake such an agreement "only if it has adequate intelligence assets to assure itself that the Soviets are living up to their part."

Helms also said that the CIA wants to talk to private citizens who may have acquired useful information abroad, but that if such a person "does not want to talk to us, we go away quietly."

Referring to student protests against the CIA, Helms said, "If some student groups object to our recruiting on campus, we fall back to the nearest federal office building."

Helms said it was "for Congress to decide" how the CIA is to be supervised but that "elements" of the Senate and House Appropriations and Armed Services committees "are told more about our operations than is known to most of the personnel in our highly compartmentalized agency."

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NEW YORK TIMES
15 APR 1971

Excerpts From Speech by Helms to Society of Newspaper Editors

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14—*Following are excerpts from an address by Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, before the American Society of Newspaper Editors:*

I welcome this opportunity to speak to you today about the place of an intelligence service in a democratic government.

In doing so, I recognize that there is a paradox which I hope can be dispelled:

On the one hand, I can assure you that the quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States Government in 1971 is better than it has ever been before.

On the other hand, at a time when it seems to me to be self-evident that our Government must be kept fully informed on foreign developments, there is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency.

I am referring to the assertions that the Central Intelligence Agency is an "invisible government," a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls.

This is an outgrowth, I suppose, of an inherent American distaste for the peacetime gathering of intelligence. Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of our free society.

May I emphasize at this point that the statute [National Security Act of 1947] specifically forbids the Central Intelligence Agency to have any police, subpoena or law-enforcement powers, or any domestic security functions. I can assure you that except for the normal responsibilities for protecting the physical security of our own personnel, our facilities, and our classified information, we do not have any such powers and functions; we have never sought any; we do not exercise any. In short, we do not target on American citizens.

In matters directly affecting the security of the United States, the President and his National Security Council want what we call "national" intelligence—evaluations which reflect the con-

of all of the intelligence components of the United States Government. The production and dissemination of this national intelligence is the responsibility and the primary function of the Central Intelligence Agency.

We not only have no stake in policy debates, but we can not and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts—the agreed facts—and the whole known range of facts—relevant to the problem under consideration. Our role extends to the estimate function—the projection of likely developments from the facts—but not to advocacy.

Ironically, our efforts to obtain foreign intelligence in this country have generated some of the more virulent criticism of the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is a fact that we have, as I said, no domestic security role, but if there is a chance that a private American citizen traveling abroad has acquired foreign information that can be useful to the American policy-maker, we are certainly going to try to interview him.

If there is a competent young graduate student who is interested in working for the United States Government, we may well try to hire him.

The trouble is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words "interview" and "hire" translate into suborn, subvert and seduce, or something worse.

We use no compulsion. If a possible source of information does not want to talk to us, we go away quietly. If some student groups object to our recruiting on campus, we fall back to the nearest Federal office building.

Similarily, we welcome the opportunity to place research contracts with the universities, but again, these are strictly voluntary.

And so I come to the fundamental question of reconciling the security needs of an intelligence service with the basic principles of our democratic society. At the root of the problem is secrecy, because it is axiomatic that an intelligence service—whatever type of government it serves—must wrap itself in as much secrecy as possible in order to operate effectively.

If we disclose how much we know, the opposition is handed on a platter highly damaging indications of how and where we obtained the information, in what way his security is vulnerable, and who may have helped us. He can seal off the breach in his defenses, roll up the agents, and shut off the flow of information.

I cannot give you an easy answer to the objections raised by those who consider intelligence work incompatible with democratic principles. The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are, but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public.

I can assure you that what I have asked you to take on faith, the elected officials of the United States Government watch over extensively, intensively and continuously.

Starting with the executive branch, the Central Intelligence Agency operates under the constant supervision and direction of the National Security Council. No significant foreign program of any kind is undertaken without the prior approval of an N.S.C. subcommittee which includes representatives of the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense.

In addition, we report periodically and in detail on the whole range of foreign intelligence activities to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, a group of men who have distinguished themselves in Government, industry, education and the professions.

Our budget is gone over line for line by the Office of Management and Budget and by the appropriate committees of the Congress as well.

There are elements of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees in both the Senate and the House which—like the President's board—are told more about our activities and our operations than is known to most of the personnel in our highly compartmented agency. But how, in the end, we are to be supervised is for Congress to decide.

In short, the Central Intelligence Agency is not and cannot be its own master.

The same objectivity which makes us useful to our Government and our country leaves us uncomfortably aware of our ambiguous place in it. We may chafe under the criticism we do not answer, but we understand as well as anyone the difficulties and the contradictions of conducting foreign intelligence operations on behalf of a free society.

We are, after all, a part of this democracy, and we believe in it. We would not want to see our work distort its values and its principles. We propose to adapt intelligence to American society, not vice versa.

We believe, and I say this solemnly, that our work is necessary to permit this country to grow on in a fearsome world and to find its way into a better and more peaceful one.

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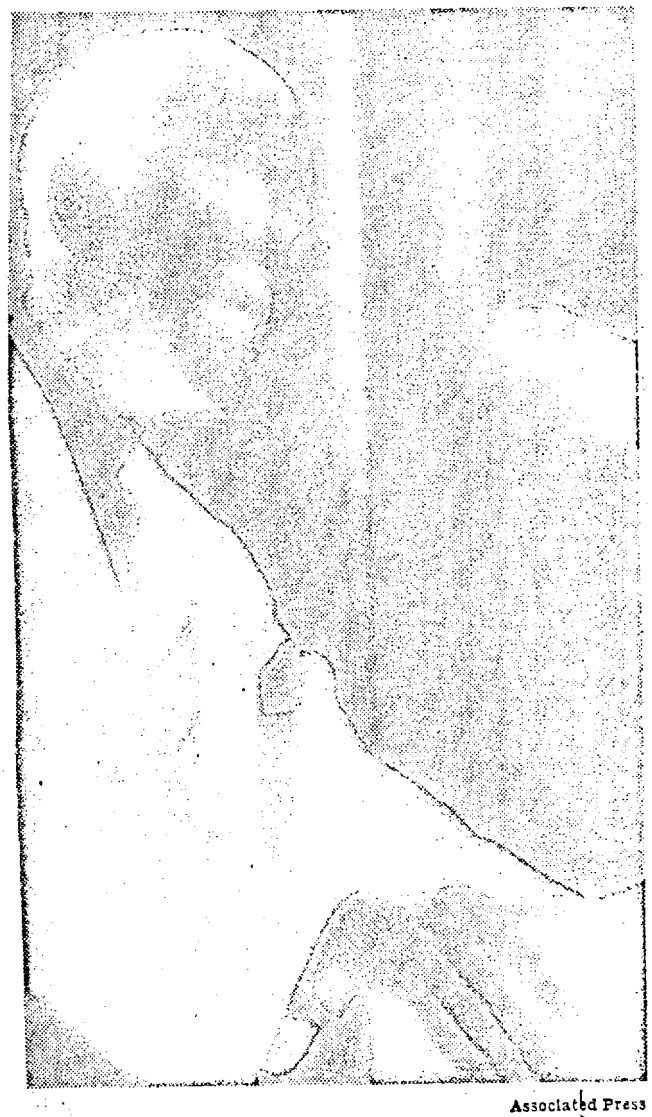

Associated Press

CIA Director Helms addresses newspaper editors.

STAT

Russians' 1962 Aid Confirmed by CIA

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

In his first public speech as CIA director, Richard Helms yesterday declared that "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians" helped the United States in identification of Soviet weapons in Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

He mentioned no names, but the reference clearly appeared to be to Col. Oleg Penkovsky, the Soviet intelligence officer who brought much information out during visits to London in the 16 months prior to the missile crisis. He was arrested that October and subsequently executed for treason.

"The Penkovsky Papers," published as a book in 1965, were widely believed to be based on CIA interrogations, and the claim was made in the introduction that Penkovsky's information was invaluable during the Cuba crisis. Talking to newsmen after the speech, Helms acknowledged that the Russians he mentioned included Penkovsky.

However, not until Helms' speech yesterday at a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors had an American official in a position to know come so close to crediting Penkovsky openly.

Helms detailed the kind of work the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies did at the time, trying to separate fact from fiction about what Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev was doing in Cuba. He then included this paragraph:

"Our intelligence files in Washington, however—thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed and courageous Russians who helped us—included a wealth of information on Soviet missile systems. We had descriptions or photographs of the missiles, their transporters and other associated equipment, and characteristic sites in the Soviet Union."

This enabled specialists, with the help of pictures taken over Cuba, to "tell President Kennedy the exact scope of the threat," Helms said.

Much of Helms' speech was a defense of the CIA against charges it is an "invisible government." He denied reports the CIA is "somehow involved in the world drug traffic." Without mentioning recent charges against the FBI, Helms said that "we do not target on American citizens."

The closest Helms came to discussing the CIA's role in current policy issues was his reference to the ongoing strategic arms limitation talks. He said it would be "unthinkable" to conclude a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union "without the means for monitoring compliance."

He mentioned checking on both offensive and defensive missile systems with a special reference to the possibility raised in the Pentagon that the Soviets might upgrade certain surface-to-air missile systems.

The United States "must have the means of detecting new developments which might convert one of the regular Soviet air defense missile systems into an ABM network," Helms said.

"We make no foreign policy," he said. "The nation must to a degree take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service. I can assure you that we are but I am precluded from demonstrating it to the public," he added.

Helms, who has been with CIA since its creation in 1947 and has been its director since mid-1966, declared that "we not only have no stake in policy debates" within the administration "but we cannot and must not take sides. The role of intelligence in policy formulation is limited to providing facts—the agreed facts—and the whole known range of facts—relevant to the problem under consideration."

The CIA under one of Helms' predecessors, Allen Dulles, was widely charged with advocacy in the Bay of Pigs debacle and in other covert activities. This was said to have been changed after a probe of the Bay of Pigs that set up the guidelines listed by Helms.

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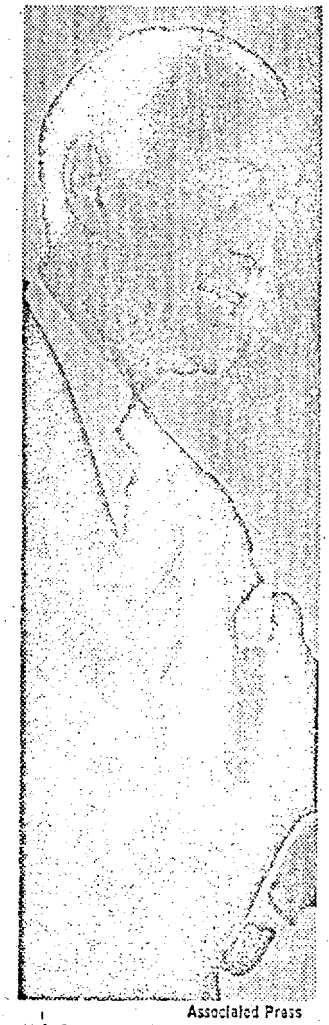
15 APR 1971

Helms Defends the C.I.A. As Vital to a Free Society

Rare Speech Discloses Some Russians Aided U.S. in Cuban Crisis

Excerpts from Helms address will be found on Page 30.



Associated Press

Richard Helms addresses editors in Washington.

By RICHARD HALLORAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14 — The Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms, vigorously defended his agency today as necessary to the survival of a democratic society and asked the nation to "take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to her service."

Mr. Helms asserted, in his first public address since becoming head of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1966, that "we propose to adapt intelligence work to American society, not vice versa."

He spoke with the specific approval of President Nixon before a luncheon meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

In a footnote to history, Mr. Helms revealed that American intelligence in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis was aided by "a number of well-placed and courageous Russians."

He told reporters later that he was alluding not only to Col. Oleg V. Penkovsky, who was identified previously, but also to others who provided information on Soviet missile systems. When asked for their names, Mr. Helms laughed.

Colonel Penkovsky was a Soviet intelligence officer secretly working for the Americans in 1961 and 1962. He was detected in October, 1962, and executed in May, 1963. The publication of his alleged memoirs in the West in 1965 aroused considerable controversy over their authenticity.

Mr. Helms asserted today that United States intelligence would have "a major and vital role in any international agreement [illegible]

Noting that the Soviet Union had rejected proposals for inspections within its territory Mr. Helms said the United States could undertake an agreement to limit such arms "only if it has adequate intelligence to assure itself that the Soviets are living up to their part."

China Held Police State

At a time when the visit of an American table tennis team to mainland China has generated official hopes for better relations with Peking, Mr. Helms told his audience that "some of our most important intelligence targets lie in totalitarian countries where collection is impeded by the security defenses of a police state—for example, Communist China."

Mr. Helms's rare public appearance today was initiated by Newbold Noyes, editor of The Washington Star and president of the society of editors. When Mr. Helms said he could speak only with the approval of the White House, Mr. Noyes wrote to Herbert G. Klein, the President's director of communications.

Mr. Klein said today that President Nixon had readily approved Mr. Helms's appearance. He said the Administration thought it a good time for the American public to have Mr. Helms explain the role of the C.I.A., since the agency was not under the kind of fire that had been directed toward it in the past.

Mr. Helms noted in his address that in Britain and other European democracies, "it would be unheard of for the head of intelligence services to talk to a nongovernmental group as I am talking to you today."

Dulles Talks Recalled

A spokesman for the C.I.A., in response to an inquiry, said later that Allen Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence from 1953 to 1961, spoke publicly about twice a year. But he could not recall an instance in which Mr. Dulles's successors, John A. McCone and Adm. William F. Raborn, delivered public addresses. Thus, Mr. Helms's speech was probably the first from an intelligence director in 10 years.

Mr. Helms, who has a reputation as a skilled administrator, said, "There is a persistent and growing body of criticism which questions the need and the propriety for a democratic society to have a Central Intelligence Agency.

"It is difficult for me to agree with this view," he said, "but I respect it. It is quite another matter when some of our critics, taking advantage of [illegible] engaged in intelligence, say things that are either vicious or just plain silly."

No Domestic Functions

Mr. Helms emphasized that the agency had no domestic security functions and had never sought any.

"In short," he said, "we do not target on American citizens."

The agency was discovered in 1967 to have financed several international activities of the National Student Association and to have given subsidies to unions, foundations and publications.

More recently, the agency was implicated in the Government's surveillance of political dissidents in the United States by the testimony of former military intelligence agents given before a Senate subcommittee.

Mr. Helms asserted that the agency had no stake in policy debates.

'Must Not Take Sides'

"We can not and must not take sides," he said. "When there is debate over alternative policy options in the National Security Council, to which he is an adviser, "I do not and must not line up with either side."

If he recommended one solution to a problem, those recommending another would suspect "that the intelligence presentation has been stacked to support my position, and the credibility of C.I.A. goes out the window," he said.

Mr. Helms, after asking that the nation believe that the agency's operations were compatible with democratic principles, said "I can assure you that what I have asked you to take on faith, the elected officials of the United States Government watch over extensively, intensively, and continuously."

He said the National Security Council, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the Office of Management and Budget and four committees of Congress regularly reviewed the agency's operations, plans and organization.

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WASHINGTON STAR

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—United Press International

CIA Director Richard Helms (left) talks with Newbold Noyes Jr., president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of The Star, during the editors' conference yesterday.

CIA Has Agents in Kremlin

Spies Are 'Well-Placed,' Helms Tells Newsmen

By THOMAS B. ROSS
Chicago Sun-Times Service

The head of the Central Intelligence Agency says the CIA has penetrated the Soviet government with a "number of well-placed" Russian spies.

Richard M. Helms, in his first public speech in five years as director of the CIA, yesterday cited the spies' key role in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and implied that some of them still are operating in the Soviet Union.

By making the claim at this time, Helms apparently sought to serve notice to the Kremlin that the United States has secret ways of checking on its good faith in current negotiations on strategic weapons, the Middle East and other critical issues.

Helms said the CIA was able to detect Russian missiles in Cuba in 1962 "thanks to U-2 photography of the Soviet Union and to a number of well-placed courageous Russians" who provided crucial details on Soviet missile systems.

British, CIA Agent

Helms was asked later if he was referring to Col. Oleg V. Penkovsky, the Soviet military intelligence official who served as an agent for both the CIA and British intelligence. Helms replied that his remarks covered Penkovksy and "others."

Penkovsky was arrested Oct. 22, 1962, at the height of the Cuban Missile crisis, and executed May 16, 1963. But the Soviet government has made no public mention of additional spies in the case.

Helms' speech thus left the implication that "other" CIA agents remain in place inside the Soviet Union.

Helms obtained clearance from President Nixon before accepting the invitation to speak before the annual convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Helms' speech created a considerable stir in view of the current clamor over charges of Army and FBI "spying" on civilians. He went to great lengths to insist that the CIA has no domestic security role.

Helms acknowledged that the CIA collects "foreign intelligence in this country" by tapping university experts and interviewing persons who travel to Communist countries.

Semantic Troubles

"The trouble," he lamented, "is that to those who insist on seeing us as a pernicious and pervasive secret government, our words 'interview' and 'hire' translate into suborn, subvert and seduce or something worse."

He denied as "vicious" a charge that the CIA is involved in world drug traffic. Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., demanded yesterday that the CIA and the State Department investigate allegations by Ramparts magazine that the CIA facilitates the movement of opium out of Southeast Asia.

Helms conceded, on the other hand: "Our mission, in the eyes of many thoughtful Americans, may appear to be in conflict with some of the traditions and ideals of a free society . . . Assertions are made that the Central Intelligence Agency is an 'invisible government' — a law unto itself, engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls . . .

It is difficult for me to agree with this view, but I respect it."

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NORFOLK—Advertising [illegible] Secy: Mrs. Nancy Fe[illegible] Liberty St., Chesapeake [illegible]

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MILWAUKEE—Milwaukee Junior Advertising Club. Secy: Kathy Wellenstein, James Jeffords Adv., 2040 W. Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53233

RACINE—Advertising Club of Racine, Inc. Secy: Stephen Kohl, Racine Hydraulics, 2000 Albert St., Racine, Wisconsin 53404

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM—Frank R. Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial Appeal, representing A.S.N.E., Pres.; Milton Gross, School of Journalism, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., 65201, Secy-Treas. Election in April, even years.

AMERICAN ADVERTISING FEDERATION—HQ.: 1225 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036. Howard H. Bell, Pres.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF GRAPHIC ARTS—1059 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. 10021. [illegible] Exec. Director.

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AMERICAN NEWSPAPER WOMEN'S CLUB—HQ.: 1607 22nd St., N. W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Mrs. Gwen Dobson, Pres., Washington Star.

AMERICAN PAPER INSTITUTE, INC.—260 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, John R. Kennedy, Sr., Chmn.; Edwin A. Locke, Jr., Pres.

THE AMERICAN PHOTOPLATEMAKERS ASSN.—Room A1315, 166 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill. 60604. Geroge D. Beck, Pres.; Rodney A. Harris, Exec. Director.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF BUSINESS PRESS EDITORS—Lars Soderholm, Pres., Design News, Chicago, Ill.; John Kirk, First Vice-Pres., Banking, New York; Charles R. Goerth Treas., Package Engineering, Chicago, Ill.; Paul A. Slone, Exec. Vice Pres., 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS—HQ.: Gene Giancarlo, 750 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017. Exec. Secy.; Newbold Noyes, The Washington Star, Pres.; J. Edward Murray, The Arizona Republic, [illegible] Dock, Salt Lake Tribune, [illegible] Treas.

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ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS—Officers: John Milt Morris, Associated Press, Pres.; Jack Jurden, Secy.-Treas.

ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM—Wayne A. Danielson, Univ. of Texas, Pres.; Hiller Kriegbaum, New York Univ., Pres. Elect; Ralph O. Nafziger, Univ. of Wis. Ex. Secy & Placement Service; Harold W. Wilson, Univ. of Minn., Treas. Elections in Aug.

ASSOCIATION OF BETTER BUSINESS BUREAUS INTERNATIONAL—Greenwich Plaza, Greenwich, Conn. 06830. Victor H. Nyborg, Pres., Ward L. Quaal, Chmn. Elections in May.

ASSOCIATION OF CANADIAN ADVERTISERS, INC.—HQ.: 159 Bay St., Toronto 1, Ont. T. A. Yellowless, Canadian General Electric Co. Ltd., Pres.; W. T. Blakely, Assoc. of Canadian Advertisers Inc., Man. Dir. & Secy. Elections in Fall.

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WASHINGTON STAR
10 APR 1971
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Nixon to Brief Meeting Of Newspaper Editors

The American Society of Newspaper Editors will begin its annual convention Tuesday at the Shoreham Hotel.

President Nixon will head a varied list of guests who will brief the assembly of over 500 editors on national and international problems.

On Wednesday, Richard Helms, director of the Central Intelligence Agency will discuss "Global Intelligence and the Democratic Society."

The speakers Thursday will include Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D—Wash., and a panel discussion will be held among editors on whether good newspaper reporting requires strict adherence to the principle of objectivity.

On Friday, the final day of the convention, the guests will include Critic Malcolm Muggeridge who will speak on "Television—Reality or Fantasy?" President Nixon will be interviewed by a panel of editors at a banquet Friday evening.

The current president of the ASNE is Newbold Noyes, editor of The Star.

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WASHINGTON STAR
8 APR 1971

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President to Address Newspaper Editors

President Nixon will address the American Society of Newspaper Editors banquet April 16, he says.

He disclosed that yesterday while talking to reporters after his Vietnam speech. The editors will be in Washington for their annual meeting.

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NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 20 1966

Newspaper Editors Elect 8 to Board of Directors

MONTREAL, May 18 (UPI) —Eight members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors were elected to the society's board of directors at the group's convention here Wednesday.

Re-elected to three-year terms were Newbold Noyes of The Washington Star; John Q. Mahaffey of The Texarkana (Ark.) Gazette; John H. Colburn of The Wichita (Kan.) Eagle and Beacon, and Arthur C. Deck of The Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune.

Eugene Patterson of The Atlanta Constitution was elected for a three-year term and J. Edward Murray of The Arizona Republic was re-elected for a two-year term. Charles Bennett of The Oklahoman and Times, and William Dickinson of The Philadelphia Bulletin also were elected to two-year terms.

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EDITOR & PUBLISHER
MAY 21 1966

ASNE Directors, Officers Elected

MONTREAL

The board of directors on Thursday elected Robert C. Notson of the *Portland Oregonian* as president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He succeeds Vermont C. Royster, *Wall Street Journal.*

Other officers are: first vicepresident, Michael J. Ogden, *Providence* (R. I.) *Journal-Bulletin;* second vicepresident, Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers, Rochester, N. Y.; secretary, Norman E. Isaacs, *Louisville Courier-Journal and Times,* and treasurer, Newbold Noyes, *Washington Star.*

The membership elected the following directors for three years: Newbold Noyes, *Washington Star,* incumbent; John Q. Mahaffey, *Texarkana Gazette,* incumbent; Eugene Patterson, *Atlanta Constitution;* John H. Colburn, *Wichita Eagle-Beacon,* incumbent; and Arthur C. Deck, *Salt Lake Tribune,* incumbent.

For two years: J. Edward Murray, *Arizona Republic,* incumbent; Charles Bennett, *Oklahoma City Oklahoman and Times,* and William Dickinson, *Philadelphia Bulletin.*

Attendance at the convention was more than 500.

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WASHINGTON STAR

MAY 19 1966

Society of Editors Elects Directors

MONTREAL (AP)—The American Society of Newspaper Editors elected new members to its board of directors yesterday.

For three-year terms:

Newbold Noyes, Washington Star; J. Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana, Texas Gazette; Eugene Patterson, Atlanta Constitution; John H. Colburn, Wichita Eagle and Beacon, and Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune.

For two-year terms: J. Edward Murray, Arizona Republic, Phoenix; Charles Bennett, Oklahoman and Times, Oklahoma City; William Dickinson, Philadelphia Bulletin.

Ther are 15 members on the board plus the past president who serves for one year ex-officio.

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How the ASNE Began

The American Society of Newspaper Editors grew out of a meeting in February, 1922, which had been called by Casper S. Yost, editor of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, "to elevate the practice of journalism" and to prescribe certain rules of ethics for it.

Five men met in the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago and agreed to call an organizational meeting in April during the publishers' convention in New York. With Yost were Eric Hopwood, *Cleveland Plain Dealer;* George Miller, *Detroit News;* E. S. Beck, *Chicago Tribune;* and Charles H. Dennis, *Chicago Daily News.*

'First Annual Meeting'

What became known as "the first annual meeting" took place April 27, 1923, in the New Willard Hotel in Washington. The principal speaker at the annual banquet was President Warren G. Harding, who, as editor and publisher of the *Marion* (Ohio) *Star*, was granted an honorary membership in the new society.

The membership today, at a high of 675, is limited, with occasional exceptions, to directing editors having immediate charge of editorial or news policies on newspapers with circulations of more than 20,000 daily. For many of its early years membership was limited to editors of daily newspapers from cities of more than 100,000 population. Publishers are eligible only if they are also editors and spend a major part of their time on editorial affairs.

By its constitution, the Society is intended "to interchange ideas for the advancement of professional ideals . . . and to work collectively for the solution of common problems." A Canon of Ethics, drafted by H. J. Wright of the *New York Globe*, was adopted but not without strong objections by some members, notably Herbert Bayard Swope of the *New York World*, that it lacked any force. "We have no way of sinking our teeth into an offender against our code," Swope declared at the 1923 meeting.

A Hope, Not a Code

Hamilton Owens of the *Baltimore Sun* looked back at this viewpoint in 1955 and wrote: "Thus the Canons of Journalism as finally adopted expressed a hope rather than a true professional code. Later events were to prove that it was just as well we abandoned the idea of policing our membership."

Owens, who had some reservations originally about Harding being "the perfect mentor for newspaper editors" in view of the scandals popping in his administration, made these comments on that first annual dinner meeting:

"There was the white-haired President himself, benign in appearance and unctuous in manner. His theme, believe it or not, was newspaper ethics and he took as his text the code we had just adopted. He approved every clause in it and went even further. If he had his way and could write the code, he said, 'I would ban everything of a vicious character except that which is necessary as a public warning. If I ran a newspaper to suit my own ideals, there would not be a police court reporter on the paper—never a police court column in the paper."

"I got the impression that he was making a plea for the suppression of news, but then you have to remember that mine was a worm's-eye view."

In recent years the Society has devoted its attention to secrecy in government, serving as the champion of "The People's Right to Know." Currently it is active in representing the newspaper industry's position on the question of fair trial and free press.

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ASNE Admits 20 Members; Total 684

In a mail ballot just concluded the board of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has elected 20 editors to membership in the society. These editors are eligible to attend the annual convention of the society as full-fledged members. The meetings will be at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, Montreal, from May 16 to May 19.

Total membership in the society now stands at 684.

Membership in ASNE is limited to directing editors having immediate charge of editorial or news policies of daily newspapers. Newspapers over 100,000 circulation are entitled to three memberships; those in the 50,000-100,000 range, to two memberships and in the 20,000-50,000 category, one membership.

The names and affiliations of the new members follow:

Over 100,000 Circulation

Benjamin C. Bradlee, managing editor, *Washington Post.*

William W. Broom, editor, *Long Beach* (Calif.) *Independent, Press-Telegram.*

Richard R. Campbell, chief editorial writer, *Cleveland Press.*

Everett D. Collier, editor-in-chief, *Houston Chronicle.*

Louis G. Gerdes, executive editor, *Omaha World-Herald.*

Richard Hollander, editor, *Washington Daily News.*

DeWitt John, editor, *Christian Science Monitor.*

James J. Kilpatrick, editor, *Richmond News Leader.*

Raymond K. Price Jr., editor of editorial page, *New York Herald Tribune.*

William C. Sexton, managing editor, *Louisville Courier-Journal.*

A. A. Smyser, editor, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.*

50,000-100,000 Circulation

Margaret Dixon, managing editor, *Baton Rouge* (La.) *Morning Advocate.*

J. Richard Early, executive editor, *New Bedford* (Mass.) *Standard-Times.*

Woodrow Hall, editor, *Evansville* (Ind.) *Courier.*

Coit Hendley Jr., executive editor, *Elizabeth* (N. J.) *Daily Journal.*

William B. Smart, executive editor, *Salt Lake City Desert News.*

Henry R. Webb, executive editor, *Durham* (N. C.) *Herald & Sun.*

20,000-50,000 Circulation

David Bernstein, editor, *Binghamton* (N. Y.) *Sun-Bulletin.*

Len H. Small, editor and publisher, *Kankakee* (Ill.) *Journal.*

James L. Whyte, editor, *Hollywood* (Fla.) *Sun-Tattler.*

Board Nominees

With eight vacancies to be filled, 16 candidates for places on the ASNE board of directors have been nominated. The are:

Robert B. Atwood, editor and publisher of the *Anchorage* (Alaska) *Daily Times.*

Brady Black, editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer.*

Howard C. Cleavinger, managing editor of the *Spokane Daily Chronicle.*

Arthur C. Deck, executive editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune.* Incumbent.

Charles L. Bennett, managing editor of the *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman.*

Robert W. Chandler, editor and publisher of the *Bend* (Ore.) *Bulletin.*

John H. Colburn, editor and publisher of the *Wichita* (Kans.) *Eagle and Beacon.* Incumbent.

William B. Dickinson, managing editor of the *Philadelphia Bulletin.*

Gordon Hanna, editor of the *Evansville* (Ind.) *Press.*

J. Q. Mahaffey, editor of the *Texarkana Gazette and Daily News.* Incumbent.

Newbold Noyes Jr., editor of the *Washington Star.* Incumbent.

Robert M. White II, editor and publisher of the *Mexico* (Mo.) *Ledger.*

Howard H. Hays Jr., editor and co-publisher of the *Riverside* (Calif.) *Press-Enterprise.*

J. Edward Murray, managing editor of the *Arizona Republic.* Incumbent.

Eugene Patterson, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution.*

Thomas Winship, editor of the *Boston Globe.*

Baltimore Sun Opens Bureau in Hong Kong

BALTIMORE

With the arrival of Peter Kumpa, 15-year veteran *Sunpaper* foreign correspondent, in Hong Kong on March 7, the Baltimore Sun opened its newest foreign bureau, the seventh in the network. The Sun does not syndicate its foreign news but offers it exclusively to the readers of the Sun.

Mr. Kumpa served as Sun Bureau Chief in Moscow from 1951 to 1961.

The six other locations of Sun bureaus are London, Rome, Moscow, Bonn, Rio de Janeiro, and New Delhi.

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April 5, 1966

Newspaper Editors To Hear McNamara

NEW YORK (AP).—Defense Secretary Robert McNamara will address the American Society of Newspaper Editors at its May meeting in Montreal, it was announced Monday.

Vermont Royster, society president and editor of the Wall Street Journal, said Secretary McNamara will speak at a luncheon on Wednesday, May 18.

Some 500 American editors will attend the convention, the first to be held outside the United States.

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EDITOR & PUBLISHER
April 2, 1966

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McNamara at ASNE

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has accepted an invitation to address the meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Montreal, May 18.

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25X1

EDITOR & PUBLISHER
27 November 1965

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ASNE Chairman

Vermont Royster, editor of the *Wall Street Journal* and president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, has appointed John H. Colburn, editor and publisher of the *Wichita* (Kans.) *Eagle and Beacon*, as chairman of the society's Press-Bar Committee. He will succeed Alfred Friendly of the *Washington Post*, who resigned from the society.

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CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

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APR 20 1965

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Those Pentagon 'Editors'

There is more than mere coincidence in the fact that the most vigorous military news management policy within the memory of veteran reporters is accompanied by a state of utter public confusion about the war in Viet Nam. For the military cannot "control" news—as it has tried to do in Viet Nam—without distorting it. And a needlessly muddied picture of the day-to-day progress of affairs in Viet Nam has crippled the public's understanding of what is going on.

A committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors headed by Creed C. Black, managing editor of The Daily News, has issued a bare-knuckle report supporting newsmen's continuing charges against Defense Sec. McNamara and his news policy people in the Pentagon.

The report cited and supplemented the statement by Wes Gallagher, general manager of the Associated Press, that "barring correspondents from free access to air bases and other military installations and providing an 'escort' for every correspondent is clearly aimed not at security matters but at controlling what American fighting men say."

The report also recalled a Pentagon directive a year ago requiring the armed services to join in a big public buildup of the controversial TFX fighter plane. Only this week testimony released by Congress revealed that Navy spokesmen have expressed serious doubts that the TFX will ever meet their needs.

All of these instances betoken not so much a valid concern for security as a kind of dogged instinct to control the nature of news, itself, and to filter out whatever might embarrass the Pentagon bosses or the administration.

Some of the specific problems that have arisen in Viet Nam have been straightened out later. But new problems keep arising, suggesting that no real working policy has yet been developed. It is past time for such a policy.

But prior to any formal press-Pentagon discussions looking toward such a policy, we believe some fresh soul-searching by McNamara and his public relations chief, Arthur Sylvester, is in order. They might profitably reflect upon the nature of the relationship between the Pentagon and its bosses, the American people, and upon the essential connection between a well-informed public and the political wherewithal to sustain a military policy. For no enduring decisions can be made except with the support of an informed public.

It is undoubtedly true that in both the global cold war and the hot little Viet Nam war disclosure of certain information would jeopardize the national security. The administration will find the communications media most anxious to co-operate in avoiding such disclosure. That is not what is being complained of. What irks the reporters and editors is arrogance, arbitrariness, inconsistency, and self-serving by the proprietors of the Pentagon. If a case could be made for actual wartime censorship we believe the press and public could be persuaded to put up with it. But they cannot be persuaded to put up with a policy stemming from personal pique toward the press and indifference toward the public.

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WASHINGTON STAR

25X1

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APR 18 1965

Editors Told U. S. Must Help to Reunify Europe

"America can set itself no nobler or timelier task than to seek the end of European partition," Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University told the American Society of Newspaper Editors yesterday. The job requires U.S. leadership, he said.

The expert on Russian affairs addressed the editors at the final business session of their convention at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Noting that next Sunday marks the 20th anniversary of the meeting between Russian and American soldiers on the Elbe, Brzezinski said that day marked not only a moment of triumph over Nazi Germany, but the beginning of the partition of Europe into East and West—into Soviet and American spheres of influence.

After 20 years of cold war, he said, both sides have acknowledged that they are not going to push the other out of Europe. It is only when the West shows weakness in the face of Russian provocations, he said, that the Soviets' hopes of expanding to the West are encouraged.

For this reason, he said, no threat to Berlin must be tolerated. He said the answer to the Russians' sealing off Berlin for hours or days should be the United States blocking Russian access to Cuba for a similar period.

Gradual evolution of East Europe from Soviet domination and, finally, reunification of Germany, are the steps to press for in the eventual rehabilitation of Europe, he said.

The final day's luncheon speaker, Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler, warned against too sharp a cut in excise taxes or too rapid a growth in the nation's economy. These could cause inflation and unnecessary government deficits, he said.

"The prudent amount of excise tax reduction we scheduled for the last half of this year, while improving our tax structure, will also help sustain our economic momentum and offer new incentives for price reductions," he said.

Fowler's remarks were the first Administration effort to restrain Congress from making deeper reductions than the President has sought in excise taxes.

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WASHINGTON STAR

APR 14 1965

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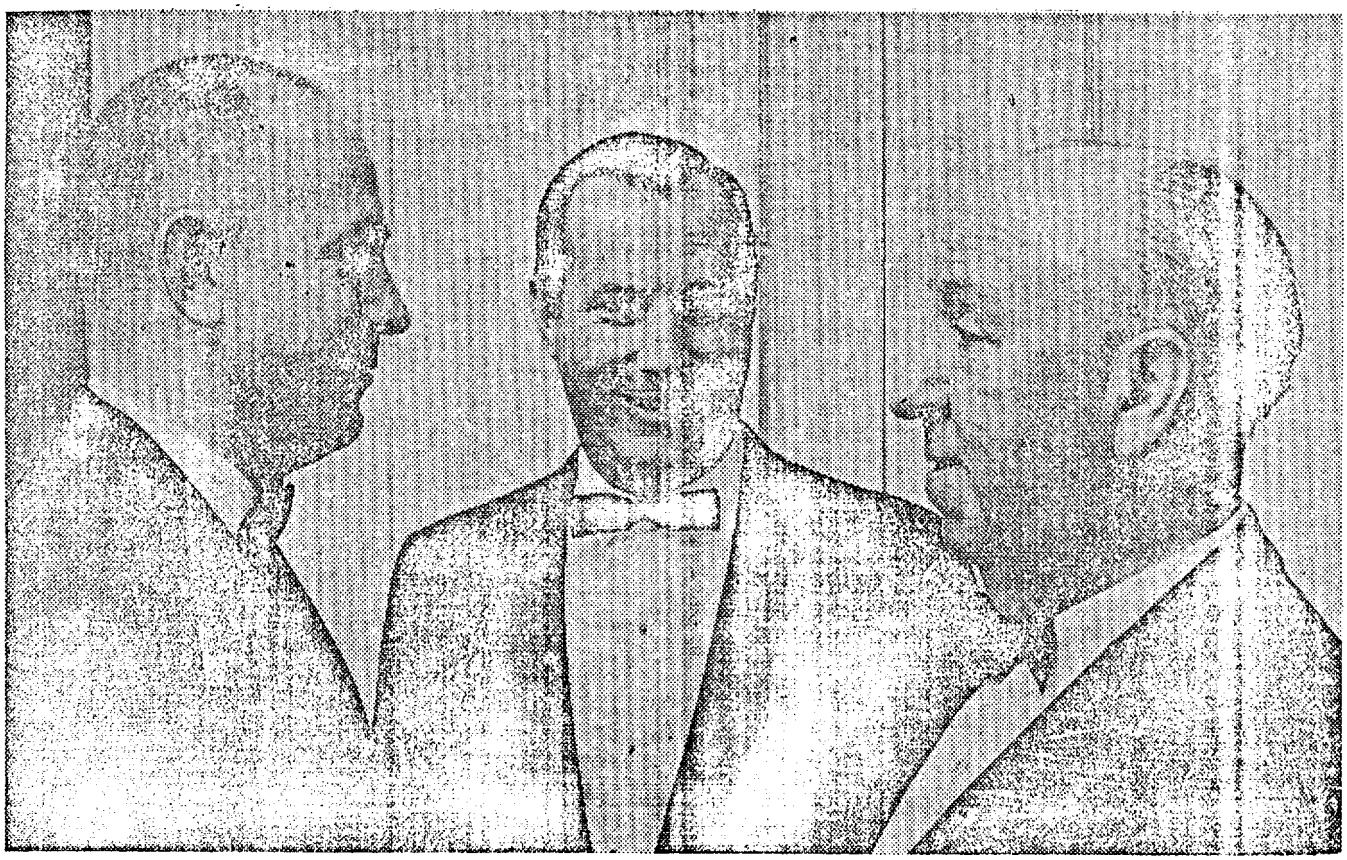

Screen and television producer Alfred Hitchcock (right), chats with award-winning reporters John Barron (left), and Paul Hope, after the two were presented the Raymond Clapper Award for distinguished Washington reporting.—Star Staff Photo.

Star Baker Stories Win Clapper Prize

This year's Raymond Clapper Memorial Award for distinguished Washington reporting has been won by Paul Hope and John Barron for their coverage of the Bobby Baker case for The Star.

The award, which includes a check for $1,000, was presented at a dinner of the American Society of Newspaper Editors last night at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Established in memory of one of the Capital's most respected correspondents, the award honors reporting in the previous year that "most closely approximated the Raymond Clapper news tradition." A panel of newspapermen makes the selection each year.

Hope and Barron's coverage of the Bobby Baker case also has brought them the George Polk Memorial Award in national reporting for "breaking and developing the story of the Bobby Baker controversy in the face of counterpressure from high government officials.

Honorable mentions for the Clapper award were given James H. McCartney and Charles E. Nicodemus Jr. of the Chicago Daily News for a series on the costs of the Sam Rayburn House Office Building in Washington; John F. Cramer of the Washington Daily News for promoting savings in federal government costs; and Dom Bonafede of the New York Herald Tribune, also for reporting and analyzing the Bobby Baker case.

Also, Louis Kohlmeier of the Wall Street Journal for an analysis of the Lyndon B. Johnsons' broadcasting empire, and David Wise of the New York Herald Tribune for detailed and dramatic reporting of the Walter Jenkins case.

Hope, 40, has been a Star reporter since 1955. He was born in Hemlock, Ohio, received a bachelor of arts degree in journalism from Ohio State University and served in the Navy in World War II.

He covered beats in Virginia before getting the Maryland state political and legislative beat in 1959. In 1963, he was cited by the Maryland House of Delegates in a resolution praising his coverage of the General Assembly.

In the spring, summer and fall of that year, he was assigned to the race riots and bombings in Birmingham, Ala., and the assassination of Medgar Evers.

Before coming with The Star, he was assistant managing editor of the Alexandria Gazette. He and his wife and four children live at 6808 Cabin Road, Springfield, Va.

Barron, 34, grew up in Texas and was an honor student at the University of Missouri, where he received a bachelor's and a master's degree in journalism. He was a naval officer in the Korean war.

Barron recently accepted a position with the Washington staff of the Reader's Digest. He and his wife and two children live at 2406 Surrey Lane, Falls Church, Va.

Richard Fryklund of The Star won the Clapper award in 1962.

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WASHINGTON POST
AND TIMES HERALD
APR 18 1965

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Pulitzer Winner Heads Editors' Group

By Edward T. Folliard
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vermont C. Royster of the Wall Street Journal was elected president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors yesterday at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

He succeeds Miles H. Wolff of the Greensboro, N. C., Daily News.

Other new officers are Robert C. Notson of the Portland Oregonian, first vice president; Michael J. Ogden of the Providence Journal - Bulletin, second vice president; William P. Steven of the Houston Chronicle, secretary, and Alfred Friendly of The Washington Post, treasurer.

The new ASNE president's full name is Vermont Connecticut Royster. It may seem unusual, but it is not unprecedented; he was named for his grandfather.

Royster was a Washington correspondent of the Wall Street Journal before he became editor, and in 1953 he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for distinguished editorial writing.

The last business session of the ASNE convention was given over in part to a discussion of "Managing One's Self — An Editor's Most Important Job." Newbold Noyes of the Washington Star presided.

Cold War Shifts

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, told the editors that the cold war in Europe has lost its old meaning. The West, he said, is now persuaded that it cannot remove Red regimes in East Europe or unify Germany, and the Soviet Union no longer counts on Communist revolutions in the West.

But the status quo in Europe is far from satisfactory, Prof. Brzezinski said, and he suggested that the United States address a proposal to the European powers, including Russia, to join with America in formulating a joint all-Europe economic development plan.

He said the plan should cut across the present European partition, narrow existing disparities in European living standards and promote East-West trade and human contacts by the development of an all-European system of communications.

The Russian specialist said American financial help should be conditional on similar help by West Europe. He said that it should not be assumed that the Soviet Union would turn down the plan as it did the Marshall Plan, but that if she did it would weaken her control over her satellites.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler made his first speech as a Cabinet officer at the ASNE luncheon and won hearty applause. He said the coming reduction in excise taxes must be by a "prudent amount."

Award for Baker Case

The winners of the 21st annual Raymond Clapper Memorial Award were announced at the dinner, which brought the convention to a close last night.

They were John Barron and Paul B. Hope, who were chosen for their "comprehensive and deserving reporting" on the Bobby Baker case for the Washington Star. Barnet Nover of the Denver Post, secretary of the Standing Committee of Correspondents, presented them with a $1000 check that went with the award.

Hope, 40, joined the Star staff in 1955 after five years with the Alexandria Gazette. Barron, 34, went to the Star in 1957 after serving in the Navy. He recently joined the Reader's Digest staff.

Five other entries for the Clapper Award were given honorable mention. The reporters were Don Bonafede of the New York Herald Tribune, John Cramer of the Washington Daily News, Louis Kohlmeier of the Wall Street Journal, James McCartney and Charles Nicodemus of the Chicago Daily News, and David Wise of the New York Herald Tribune.

Many of the editors attended a breakfast sponsored by the Washington chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society, and were polled for their opinions on issues of the day.

Asked what they thought of President Johnson's news relations, 52 replied "fair," 30 said "poor" and two said "good." On domestic affairs, 55 rated the President good, 30 fair, and 10 poor. On foreign affairs, 41 said he was good, 30 fair, and 13 poor.

Fifty-two editors considered Red China's Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai the greatest threat to world peace, and seven attached that label to President Charles de Gaulle of France.

The ASNE voted to hold its 1966 convention in Montreal.

Associated Press

Vermont C. Royster, right, editor of the Wall Street Journal, was elected president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors yesterday at the Association's annual meeting in Washington. Robert C. Notson, left, of the Portland Oregonian was elected first vice president.

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WASHINGTON STAR
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Editors' Society Elects Royster To Presidency

Vermont C. Royster, editor of the Wall Street Journal, today was elected president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Named to serve with Royster were Robert Notson, executive editor of the Portland Oregonian, first vice president of the society; Michael J. Ogden, executive editor of the Providence (R.I.) Journal-Bulletin, second vice president; William P. Steven, editor of the Houston Chronicle, secretary, and Alfred Friendly, managing editor of the Washington Post, treasurer.

Yesterday, Louis B. Seltzer, veteran editor of the Cleveland Press, was defeated for re-election as a member of the ASNE's board of directors.

Seltzer was not available for comment on the results of the election, but it was understood that he has not been as active in the affairs of the society recently as some other members. He has served three 3-year terms as a member of the board.

There were no other major surprises in the elections, held as part of the society's three-day convention which ends here tonight.

Re-elected to three-year terms on the board were Royster, Friendly, Steven, and Vincent S. Jones of the Gannett Newspapers.

C. A. McKnight, of the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, was elected to a three-year term on the board, and Sylvan H. Meyer, of the Gainesville (Ga.) Times, was named to complete two years of an unexpired term. J. Edward Murray, of the Arizona Republic, was elected to fill one year of an unexpired term.

There were 14 candidates for seven positions to be filled this year on the 15-member board of directors.

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Carpenter Withholds No Fun; Cohen Files for Last Laugh

By Maxine Cheshire
Washington Post Staff Writer

The American Society of Newspaper Editors had Washington pretty well figured out—the angles and the curves—by the time they left the annual Women's National Press Club dinner in their honor here last night.

Figuratively speaking, the evening's entertainment added up to a sum total of tax figures, math figures, some quotable figures of speech, many notable figures in the headliner category and a few unforgettable figures of the 36-24-36 head-turning category.

Mrs. Cheshire

THERE WAS something on the program to interest everybody, with after-dinner speeches and spoofing. Internal Revenue Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen talked about "Tax and the Single Girl." U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel calculated "Calculus for the Masses." And the First Lady's Press Secretary, Elizabeth Carpenter looked at "Poverty and the Press."

Then this trio of talent was followed by a sexy sextet of some of the leggiest legmen—er, legwomen—ever to work on any newspaper.

LIZ CARPENTER addressed the ASNE as the American GREAT SOCIETY of Newspaper Editors. Unaccustomed as she is to publicly speaking many of the witticisms she has authored over the years as one of President Johnson's contributing "ghosts," she delivered some of the evening's most quotable moments:

- "There is some thought to opening another job corps installation—Camp Newhouse at Syracuse, N.Y. . . . for rehabilitating publishers who've been bought out" by publisher Samuel Newhouse.
- Poverty Director Sargent Shriver, she said, is the Administration's "riches to rags" man.
- Since reporters were admitted to a session of the National Security Council, there is only one thing left: "Open house at the CIA."
- Despite reporters' criticisms of George Reedy, she said, he is the "ideal" man to be the President's Press Secretary because "he has too much political experience to run for cover and too little to run for the Senate."
- "There are a lot of people who think we work too hard at the White House. But we have to—to get the job done before sunset. After all, we'd rather curse the darkness than light one candle."

Since the announced title of Liz's speech did not exactly seem to suggest the true content, she explained that she had considered several other alternatives. These included: "Death is Nature's Way of Telling Us to Slow Down," "How to Give Mouth-to-Mouth Resuscitation Without Becoming Emotionally Involved" and "What To Do In Case of Peace."

LIZ CARPENTER when she finished got a standing ovation. After a humorous beginning, she wound up

LIZ CARPENTER when she finished got a standing ovation. After a humorous beginning, she wound up her speech with a very touching tribute to the Great Society of which she is a member.

She told the editors that "the war on poverty is not going to be won in Washington but in a thousand local battles in your towns. It is not a story of statistics but of human beings," she said.

She quoted Emerson, "We think our civilization is near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cock-crowing and the morning star."

She concluded, "I readily confess an overwhelming pride that in the White House are a man and a woman who are willing to reach for that star."

All over the room, readily recognizable members of the Johnson Administration were the first to rise silently before they were joined by the rest of the audience.

THE TWO MEN, Cohen and Keppel, had spoken first.

Cohen got his biggest laugh with an ad lib. Since the date was April 15, he was greeted with loud boo's and laughing catcalls. Smiling, as he stepped to the podium, he told the crowd, "I'll have the last laugh!"

He called himself a member of the "world's second oldest profession," that of tax collecting.

After brief remarks, Cohen told his listeners "I'll be standing at the door and any late filers may see me as they leave."

When it came Keppel's time to speak, he addressed himself to Cohen and reminded the audience that "Mrs. Cohen used to work in my office to make money to educate the man who now takes my money."

THE EVENING was a double feature. After getting the word on the Great Society, the editors got more words set to music. A cast of newswomen vocalized on what life has been like in Washington since they made their bows into the Great Society. It has been anything but "Monotonous," according to Bonnie Angelo of Newhouse Publications, who sang:

"GREAT SOCIETY"
(to "Monotonous")

Each man has his special credo
It has something to do with his libido
FDR had his New Deal; then came Harry's Fair Deal
And now we have the commonweal
I'll tell you what I mean.

He met a rather amusing man on his way to Pakistan

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THEIR RANGE WAS SATIRE as they branded national affairs with lively comments at the annual dinner given last night by the Women's National Press Club for members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Left to right, with 10-gallon hats, are Bonnie Angelo, Helen Thomas, Patty Cavin, Nan Robertson and Gerry Van der Heuvel.

By Henry Rohland, Staff Photographer

Continued

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And that you know is how it all began
The Great Society
When Lyndon said, "Y'all come, y'r hear?"
Bashir shoved that camel in second gear
And landed at the ranch, while guess who cheered?
Yes, the Great Society.
For what it is worth throughout the earth
They take our cash 'n carry
And use the loot for TNT
To burn the library.

Tourists get their kicks from him
Republicans even mix with him
Senators do tricks for him
In the Great Society . . .

Life could not be scarier
But we know it's merrier
Than it would be in Si-ber-rier

The market never drops for him
J. Edgar calls the cops for him
Sarge Shriver pulls out all the stops for him
In the Great Society.

THINGS HAVE CHANGED, the chorus of reporters confided to their bosses. Once LBJ wooed their goodwill, but his attitude has chilled so much that they have decided: "Lyndon Doesn't Love Us Anymore."

It was sung to the tune of "Annie Doesn't Live Here Any More."

Lyndon doesn't love us any more
He's turned out all the lights and locked the door
He used to be so gallant when he danced us around
He took us through the White House where the News is always found
We really thought he adored us but we hear from underground
Lyndon doesn't love us any more.

Lyndon doesn't love us any more
Could it be our Prexy's mad and sore?
He will tell a tourist how things are in Viet-Nam
Even tell the Boy Scouts of a highly top secret plan
But when it comes to us he simply doesn't give a damn
Lyndon doesn't love us any more.

IN OTHER NUMBERS the women kidded the American Medical Association on Medicare, the Republicans, Mrs. Johnson's beautification program and even the Hubert H. Humphreys' hopes that people will let them halt house-hunting and stay in their own home-sweet-home.

"HOME SWEET HEAVEN"

Our house is modest, but nothing's lacking
Still I've a feeling that the ceiling might be cracking
But we're so comfy, in our chez Humphrey
It's our home sweet heaven.

We dine quite simply, no Mormon choirs
We just have stereo and merry open fires
We're never arty, 'tho sometimes tardy
In our home sweet heaven.

Hotels are dreary and moving's weary
And I would just as soon, yes, bust
As say I'm leary
Of making new friends and leaving true friends
On Coquelin Terrace, they're just the squarest
I'd miss the grass that needed mowing, and the sewing
And Hubert Humphrey doing a bit of crowing
I'd be homesick for my home sweet Heaven.

EVERYBODY, from datelines all over, turned up for the event.

Glimpsed at the early edition party—the pre-dinner cocktail gathering—were the Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk, the new Treasury Secretary and Mrs. Henry H. Fowler, Sen. and Mrs. Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii, the Austrian Ambassador and Mrs. Wilfried Platzer, U.S. Surgeon General and Mrs. Luther Terry, Sen. Frank Moss of Utah, and the Ambassador of Morocco and Mrs. Ali Bengelloun.

Still more were the Senate Majority Leader and Mrs. Mike Mansfield, Turkish Ambassador Turgut Menemencioglu, Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson and her husband, Oliver Peterson; Sen. Ross Bass of Tennessee, Nancy Kefauver, whose late husband was Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee; Presidential Assistant and Mrs. Jack Valenti, Mrs. Vance Hartke, wife of the Indiana Senator; Presidential Assistant and Mrs. Horace Busby Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Dale Miller and Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

SOME of those from the ASNE group were Richard Peters of the New York World Telegram, William Steven of the Houston Chronicle, John Cowles Jr. of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Hodding Carter of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, Vincent S. Jones of Gannett Newspapers, Richard H. Amberg of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Still more in the guest galaxy were the Attorney General and Mrs. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, the Secretary of Labor and Mrs. Willard Wirtz, Sen. and Mrs. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, Norman E. Isaacs of the Louisville (Ky.) Courier Journal and Times, Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR
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APR 16 1965

STAT

Editors set to vote

By the Associated Press

Washington

Fourteen editors were nominated Thursday for seven places on the board of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which has opened its annual convention here.

Five of the nominees are incumbent directors, including Vermont C. Royster, editor of the Wall Street Journal, who is expected to be elected president at the close of the convention.

The other incumbents are Alfred Friendly, managing editor of the Washington Post, Vincent S. Jones of the Gannett newspapers, Louis B. Seltzer of the Cleveland Press, and William P. Steven of the Houston Chronicle.

The other nominees are:

John W. Colt, Kansas City Star; Price Day, Baltimore Sun papers; Lindsay Hoben, Milwaukee Journal; Charles T. Lucey, Trenton Times; C. A. McKnight, Charlotte Observer; Sylvan H. Meyer, Gainesville (Ga.) Times; J. Edward Murray, Arizona Republic, Phoenix; Scott Newhall, San Francisco Chronicle; and Forrest W. Seymour, Worcester (Mass.) Telegram and Gazette.

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WASHINGTON STAR

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STAT

McNamara Hit On Press Policy

Editors' Group Raps 'Control' of News

By the Associated Press

A freedom of information committee charged today that Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and his information chief "confuse the Defense Department's public information policy with the public relations program of the Ford Motor Co."

The criticism was delivered by the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, in its annual report delivered to the opening session of the society's three-day convention at the Washington Hilton. McNamara is a former Ford executive.

"It has not been an encouraging year for freedom of information," said the committee headed by Creed C. Black, managing editor of the Chicago Daily News.

Memorandum Cited

Still on the books, the committee said, is a 1962 memorandum issued by McNamara and Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, the department's information chief, requiring that a monitor be present at all Pentagon interviews. The rule apparently is not being vigorously enforced now, the committee said.

"Meanwhile, however, their 'one-voice' philosophy has been extended from the halls of the Pentagon to some military installations in Viet Nam," the report went on.

The committee said it shares the objections voiced by Wes Gallagher, general manager of the Associated Press. Its report quoted Gallagher:

"Barring correspondents from free access to air bases and other military installations and providing an 'escort' for every correspondent is clearly aimed not at security matters but at controlling what American fighting men say.

"Such control exceeds anything done in the darkest days of World War II."

The editors were told that a recent incident illustrates "the extent to which the American people can be misled by a policy aimed at stifling dissent."

Sylvester Directive

One year ago, Black said, a Sylvester directive came to light ordering all three services to join in a "public affairs plan" to build up the controversial TFX fighter plane. He said Sylvester instructed the services to describe the TFX as meeting the fighter plane needs of the Air Force, the Marine Corps and the Navy's carrier force.

"But just this week it has developed, from heavily censored testimony before Congress, that the plane is so far above its predicted weight that Navy spokesmen have strongly expressed new doubts that it will ever meet their needs.

"Presumably, Mr. Sylvester's order to tell the public that everything is coming up roses remains in effect."

The committee reported that "the federal bureaucracy is still opposing" bills introduced by Sen. Edward V. Long, D-Mo., and Rep. John E. Moss, D-Calif., to guarantee greater access to information about federal agencies.

"Again we call on ASNE members to counter that opposition by interesting themselves—and their own senators and congressmen—in this effort to enact an open records law at the federal level," the report said.

Its signers, besides Black, were Robert P. Clark, managing editor of the Louisville (Ky.) Times; Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and Charles S. Rowe, editor of the Fredericksburg (Va.) Free Lance-Star.

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WASHINGTON POST
NEWS

SEP 29 1964

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'SERIOUS CONSIDERATION' FOR WARREN PROPOSAL

News Media Weigh Ethics Code

NEW YORK, Sept. 29 (UPI)—Miles H. Wolff, President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said yesterday the arren Commission's suggestion of a code of professional conduct for all news media deserves "serous consideration."

The Commission criticized news media for "general disorder" and lack of "self-discipline" in covering the assassination of President Kennedy and subsequent events.

REPORT DUE

Mr. Wolff, executive editor of the Greensboro, N. C., News, said an ASNE committee headed by Alfred Friendly, Managing Editor of the Washington Post, would make a preliminary report Thursday on a study begun last April on a proposed code of ethics.

"Notwithstanding this, I am asking Mr. Friendly to meet with representatives of other media at the earliest possible time to consider the Warren Report recommendation," Mr. Wolff said.

"I have suggested that the group include representatives of Sigma Delta Chi journalistic fraternity, the Radi-Television News Directors Association, and the National Association of Broadcasters, together with any press groups that would want to join in the deliberations."

POOLING PROPOSED

Mr. Friendly said the Warren Commission's remarks about press conduct and responsibility in Dallas "must, obviously, be weighed thoughtfully by everyone concerned with the function of news presentation in a Democratic society."

He noted his committee has proposed poling newsmen in certain circumstances "where bers of reporters and photographers could be disturbing," if other news media generally agree.

Gene Robb, President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, commenting on the Warren Commission suggestion, said:

"Newspapers and their organizations already are discussing improved criminal case procedures with bar and law enforcement groups.

ANPA will participate further in these undertakings. The paramount public interest that newspapers always must serve is to get and print the news, exactly what they did in the Oswald case.

"I am glad to find nothing in the Warren report criticizing them for this."

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26 April 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR:

At the Editors' Convention Robert C. Vance, publisher and editor of the NEW BRITAIN (CONN.) HERALD (circulation 78,000) told me that Congressman Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut had spoken to him of the excellent cooperation between his office and CIA regarding Downey who is a prisoner in Communist China. He said that Congressman Dodd told him of his high regard for you personally and that you had instructed CIA people to do everything possible for the missing man's widowed mother in New Britain. Vance said his paper respected Congressman Dodd's confidence re the prisoner's relation with CIA. He said that he is a Yale man; his son, killed in the war, was a Yale man; and the prisoner is a Yale man. When the prisoner is returned, effort will be made to get him a Congressional Medal of Honor. If this is done, it will give New Britain two Medal of Honor men: one, the prisoner, son of a poor widowed woman; the other the son of a vice president of the General Electric. "Both sides of the railroad tracks" will be represented in the little town if we get two Medals of Honor, he said. He is a strong supporter of Dodd.

STANLEY J. GROGAN

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24 April 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR:

Herewith is the Annual Report of the Freedom of Information Committee which the American Association of Newspaper Editors adopted. It is a 33-page document and does not mention CIA in any way.

With this report the editors who were here at the convention last weekend were furnished a report of the panel discussion of editors and others before a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations last November 7 (1955). The following quotations from statements by Scotty Reston and Joe Alsop may be of interest.

Statement of James Reston: ".....The news of the CIA and its operatives all over the world often confronts us with the most embarrassment that any reporter can be confronted with, the dilemma as to whether he is going to tell the truth or whether he is going to mislead the American people by putting out something put out by the Government which he knows not to be true.

"That whole area of the CIA, Mr. Chairman, I think, is a growing problem for the press, and I would think it would merit some attention by your committee."

Further Statement of James Reston: .....Mr. Moss (speaking): "There you get into the real effective blocking through the management of news, in addition to blocking the availability of the facts themselves. If you have those facts you can evaluate them."

Mr. Reston. "And the availability of the people, too, because that is another thing that happens. The tendency to keep the press away from the policymaker and channel all of that down through a given individual who is the spokesman."

Mr. Dawson. "Mr. Reston, do you not think that one of the difficulties is that the Congress has acted so seldomly on this matter and there is a lack of legislation, so that when there is a refusal, there is no way to get a determination by the courts as to whether or not there is a right to withhold the information. We have passed no legislation by which we could get to the courts for a determination of that."

Statement by Joseph Alsop, Jr.: "...The newspaperman who ventures to publish what he regards as a life-and-death fact of considerable national importance is ordered to be investigated. Now this investigation entails no personal inconvenience to the newspaperman at all, except the lingering doubt about whether he is having his wires tapped, but it does entail the utmost inconvenience for his friends and acquaintances and for any official he goes to in the pursuit of his legitimate function of trying to get the facts to furnish to the American public. And this has gone so far now that in many of the more critical agencies the task of getting the facts, and particularly the facts that are really important, has become for all newspapermen

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increasingly more difficult. And if it goes much further, in my opinion the facts won't be got at all.

"This business of investigating newspapermen is done in the sacred name of security.

".....Precisely these facts concerning the changes in the national situation are those which are mose highly classified. .....The vast majority of them actually concern the enemy; they concern his program in weapons development, in armament; they concern the preparations that may be made for action in the Formosa Strait. They concern the preparations that are going on today for actions in the Middle East. Many of them actually concern enemy activity, not American activity...."

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STANLEY J. GROGAN

Enclosure

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Annual Report of the Freedom of Information
Committee for 1955-56.
Submitted to the ASNE Board of Directors and
to President Kenneth MacDonald
on April 18, 1956

To the Members of the Board of The American Society of Newspaper Editors:

We present herewith the annual report of the Freedom of Information Committee.

The outstanding development of the year, of course, has been the work of the Subcommittee on Government Information of the House Committee on Government Operations. Many members of the Society have participated in the work of the committee directly and Dr. Harold Cross has been active constantly in behalf of the whole society in aiding committee staff, submitting his own eloquent testimony and counseling on the legislation involved. A fuller report on the Moss Committee, prepared by Dr. Cross, is being separately presented, but it is appropriate to say in this report that the committee, headed by Representative John Moss, has already made great gains for the people's right to know by:

(1) Furnishing a national forum on which it has been possible to present the case for freedom of information;

(2) Compiling for the first time in history an adequate analysis of the withholding policies of the agencies of the federal government;

(3) Disclosing information policies of which no one outside affected agencies hitherto was aware, through the hearings and proceedings of the committee.

(4) Divulging for the first time in any adequate manner the dangerous effects of secrecy upon national security;

(5) Developing the ground work for legislative changes that will, if adopted, improve greatly the legal right to know.

The ASNE FOI committee, as in the past, has been chiefly concerned with the withholding of information by the executive arm of the federal government.

This report, necessarily, concerns largely the instances in which the committee has sought to obtain information that was denied the public.

It therefore has a negative cast that may somewhat distort the real situation.

There have been many gains as well as some losses in the year. Some of these gains include:

(1) More frequent departmental press conferences than hitherto -- Cabinet officers held 90 press conferences in Washington from April 1, 1955 to March 31, 1956, with the following score for each department:

State Department (Dulles)	19
Labor Department (Mitchell)	19
Justice Department (Brownell)	5
Department of Agriculture (Benson)	9
Commerce Department (Weeks)	4
Treasury Department (Humphrey)	4
Post Office Department (Summerfield)	1

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Interior Department (McKay)	0
Department of Defense (Wilson)	20
Navy Department (Thomas)	2
Department of the Air Force (Talbot) (Quarles)	2
Department of the Army (Brucker)	2
Health, Education & Welfare (Folsom)	3

NOTE - These are press conferences held IN WASHINGTON.

Several Cabinet members claim they have held numerous press conferences in other cities they have visited. Secretary Benson's office says he has held several dozen press conferences during the year while on tour. Secretary Mitchell's office says he has held a dozen or so in other cities. Secretary Brownell's office reports three in New York. Secretary Humphrey reports press conferences in San Francisco and New York and an appearance on Meet the Press.

In addition to these Cabinet press conferences, Admiral Lewis Strauss, AEC chairman, had press conferences on July 5 and December 6; Harold Stassen, then Foreign Operations Administrator, held two in May and one in June. Richard DeMuth of the World Bank had one in April 1955.

(2) An unprecedented candor by the White House in the handling of the facts about the President's illness;

(3) Growing usefulness of the White House press conferences;

(4) An increasing awareness of the public's right to know in many federal agencies as a result of the Moss Committee questionnaire and other influences.

The American Newspaper Publishers Association, through the untiring work of Secretary Cranston Williams, has continued to call the attention of Senators and Representatives in Congress to deficiencies in proposed legislation. The ANPA has retained the services of the Bureau of National Affairs which reports periodically on all proposed legislation before Congress in which the provision for access to information seems inadequate.

Secretary Williams examines these reports and then addresses appropriate letters to the authors of the defective bills, urging them to make proper provision for public access to proceedings and records.

This rather costly and very time-consuming campaign has had some direct results. Its long-time effects may be of far greater importance. Over the years, this continuing ANPA insistence upon adequate provisions for access to information, surely will impress Congress with the importance of such amendments. Ultimately we may dare to hope that the standard clauses that ANPA is recommending will find their way into every bill involving any proceedings or records to which citizens should have access.

FOI activities in connection with the executive departments and agencies are summarized in the following paragraphs. This report is necessarily incomplete in that it cannot deal with the numberless informal conferences that many members of the committee have had with federal agencies. Many real contributions have had to go unmentioned. An account of some of the FOI effort follows:

Agriculture

The Secretary of Agriculture has held relatively regular press conferences while in Washington and has met with the press frequently while on trips to other parts of the country.

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The Department's response to complaints of news-withholding has been cooperative, generally, as it has been in the past.

Typical of Department action is the case of the Burley Tobacco Grower Program violators. On March 15, the Lexington (Ky.) Herald found that many growers had been fined for violating the program. The Kentucky Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee (ASC) declined to release the names of the violators. At the suggestion of James Pope, the ASNE FOI committee went to work on March 20, in support of the prior requests of Kentucky newspapers and those made by Cranston Williams of ANPA. R. L. Webster, of the Department's Office of Information, on March 21, advised the committee that the names would be released.

FOI committee would like to have the meetings of the Agricultural Advisory Board open to the public.

Atomic Energy Commission

In July, two members of the FOI committee participated in several conferences on the Impact of Secrecy on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. A series of discussions were held under the Chairmanship of Robert McKinney. Members of the panel included: Herbert Brucker, Edward Carey, Frank Horne, Robert S. Moss, F. Trowbridge Von Bauer, J. R. Wiggins.

Employees of the AEC, scientists, and private contractors were interviewed on the effects of secrecy on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The sense of these discussions was incorporated in the report of the Panel on the Impact of the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy of the Joint Committee, submitted by Chairman McKinney in February.

Statement of Views

At the invitation of Senator Clinton P. Anderson, J. R. Wiggins submitted the following statement of his personal views to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy:

> "Thank you very much for your invitation to make known a recommendation with reference to secrecy provisions of the Atomic Energy Act.
>
> "As the result of the recent discussions of the panel on the impact of the peaceful uses of atomic energy of the Joint Committee, I am persuaded that the time is at hand for a very serious re-examination of the secrecy provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954. These provisions, I believe, have had an adverse effect on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, on the teaching of science, on the quality of scientific text books, on the recruitment of scientific personnel, on the international exchange of scientific information, on the utilization of foreign scientists, on the availability of best brains in domestic science, and on our general security so far as that derives from the advanced state of American scientific inquiry.
>
> "These disadvantages, I believe, spring from basic philosophy of the act under which scientific information in the thermonuclear field is all 'born classified'. This precaution probably was inescapable and may have been justified in the initial phases of our experience with atomic energy.

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"To close all the areas of human knowledge in any field unless the information is released by government, is a policy which is characteristic of the arbitrary governments in world history and alien to the democratic belief that the people have a right to know.

"The release of all information in this area except that which government finds must be kept secret in the interests of security, would be a policy more consistent with the past and present handling of defense secrets, more compatible with our traditions and more conducive to our security."

Incident at Hanford

On November 25, the Chairman of the FOI committee wrote to Chairman Lewis Strauss of the AEC in reference to complaints of the Tri-City Herald of Pasco, Washington, about a "deliberate and obviously calculated suppression of news by the Hanford Works Public Information Office in regards to an apparent malfunction of an atomic reactor on November 1, 1955."

On January 18, Chairman Strauss sent a letter to the FOI committee, together with his reply to a complaint by the Tri-City Herald. Copies follow:

"November 25, 1955

Mr. Lewis L. Strauss
Chairman
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Admiral:

Mr. Donald A. Pugnetti, the Managing Editor of the Tri-City Herald, Pasco, Washington, has written me about the difficulties which his newspaper had in getting information about an incident at Hanford on November 1, 1955.

Mr. Pugnetti has sent me a copy of the letter which he has addressed to you.

If you have replied to his letter I would very much like to see your reply, or if there is any other information on this episode that explains the policy of the Atomic Energy Commission I would very much like to have it.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins, Chairman
Freedom of Information
Committee, A.S.N.E."

"United States
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D.C.

January 18, 1956

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

As requested in your letter of November 25, 1955, I am sending you a copy of my reply to Mr. Pugnetti, Managing Editor of the

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Tri-City Herald, Pasco, Washington, who complained about his difficulties in obtaining information about an accident at the Commission's Hanford plant.

The Commission's policy in handling news inquiries has been positively stated in an issuance of the office of the General Manager. I have attached a copy of the issuance, Chapter 3106 of the Atomic Energy Commission's Manual, to this letter for your information.

We regret that our Hanford Office did not follow the letter and spirit of this directive in handling the inquiry of November 2, 1955 from the Tri-City Herald reporter. I have been assured that Hanford will afford full cooperation in the future. The staff carefully examined Mr. Pugnetti's complaint and found that his reporter should have been given the information on the radiation contamination despite the way the reporter worded his inquiry. The staff also went over Mr. Pugnetti's complaint about past handling of inquiries, apparently based on occurrences in 1949 and 1951 and found that in one case he was justified in protesting the delay in obtaining information from the contractor.

We regret such instances because we recognize our obligation to report information to which the general public is entitled.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS STRAUSS
Chairman

Attachment:
AEC Manual Chapter 3106

Mr. J. R. Wiggins
Chairman, Freedom of Information
Committee
The American Society of Newspaper
Editors
Washington Post and Times Herald
Washington 5, D. C."

"United States
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D.C.

January 18, 1956

Dear Mr. Pugnetti:

This is in further reply to your letter of November 11, 1955 and to let you know that the Commission staff has looked into your complaint about the Information Office at the Hanford Operations Office.

I have been assured that the Hanford Information Office will be as cooperative as possible in handling news inquiries such as the one of November 2, 1955 about which you wrote me. So that you may better appreciate their position you should know that they receive frequently telephone calls about reports of accidents and explosions. Most of these originate with persons who have seen dust clouds, puffs of smoke or something else

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that would cause them to think an accident had occurred. Usually the reports are baseless.

On November 2, 1955, however, as you pointed out, the information offices of the contractor and the Hanford Operations Office were prepared to answer inquiries about the radiation contamination accident. The information should have been provided to your reporter despite the way he may have worded his inquiry. It appears that the incident resulted more from an error in judgment in not asking your reporter if he was referring to the previous day's occurrence rather than an attempt at "deliberate and obviously calculated suppression of news".

Your complaint that this was "merely one in a series of cases dating back to 1948 in which legitimate news has been suppressed" by the Hanford Operations Office also has been examined. Your letter does not go into detail. However, we are aware that in the period of 1949 through 1951 your newspaper apparently believes it was denied appropriate information on three occasions.

Our review of the instances in which your newspaper and its predecessor, the Pasco-Herald, have complained indicates that in one case -- that of an accident involving an Army truck and a bus -- that there is basis for your position. Certainly the story of that accident should have been made available as soon as possible. The other two cases have again been looked into by our staff. I am advised that it does not appear that in these instances there was any attempt made to suppress legitimate news.

There is attached for your information Chapter 3106 of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission Manual which formally states the Commission's policy on the handling of news inquiries.

We regret that a misunderstanding arose in the Hanford Information Office about the handling of your inquiry of November 2, 1955. You may be assured that we are as concerned as you are that our responsibility for public reporting is carried out faithfully for the benefit of the general public.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman

Attachment:
Manual Chapter 3106

Mr. Donald A. Pugnetti
Managing Editor
Tri-City Herald
P.O. Box 692
Pasco, Washington

CC: Mr. Wiggins
The American Society of Newspaper Editors"

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Defense Establishment

On March 29, 1955, the Department of Defense issued its Directive Number 5230.9, prescribing "a uniform policy and procedure for the review of manuscripts concerning military matters prepared by military personnel and civilian employees for publication."

It provided that all information to the public "shall be submitted to the Secretary of Defense through the Assistant Secretary of Defense or other designees for review and clearance not less than three days in advance of release."

It stated that review was not only for the purpose of security but for the purpose of determining whether release or publication "would constitute a constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department of Defense."

The FOI committee has criticized this directive for unduly limiting defense information and for setting up a clearance system for non-secrecy matters that has put a barrier between the Department of Defense officers and the public. It remains in effect.

On April 8, 1955, the FOI committee wrote to Deputy Secretary of Defense R. B. Anderson protesting the use of the word "Confidential" on matters of no security importance that were simply not intended for immediate release or publication.

On April 16, the Deputy Secretary issued the following memorandum:

> "My attention has been called to the use of different kinds of terms to label unclassified statements by Department of Defense and Military Department witnesses before Congressional committees where issuance of the statements is the prerogative of the committee. Some of these references have used the word 'Confidential' where only 'Hold for Release' is intended. In the future it is requested that a uniform reference, 'Not for publication until released' by the appropriate committee, be used in order to avoid confusion with any reference to 'Confidential', which is authorized for use only as a classification for security material."

On May 16, the FOI committee called the attention of Deputy Assistant R. Karl Honaman to a practice of at least one newspaper in printing in all stories from the Defense Establishment a warning box saying:

> "Wilson Order Noted
> "Under an order issued in March by Defense Secretary Wilson no release from his department may be made unless it serves a 'constructive' purpose of the department."

The box was cited as an evidence of the damage the order had done to public credibility for departmental information. The FOI letter said that the earlier order indicating that only self-serving matter would be printed had damaged public acceptance.

On June 2, Mr. Honaman wrote to the Chairman of the FOI committee. He said there was "not in Mr. Wilson's mind any thought that we should limit the availability of information to that which is self-serving."

Mr. Honaman's letter added:

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"The public are eager to be informed of the activities of the Defense Department and need to have this information in order to effectively play their part as citizens. There are, nevertheless, many cases where demands for information which take up the time of people with busy schedules do not truly meet the requirement of being useful or valuable, nor yet very interesting to the public. These are tests that should be met. Thus, I would substitute for self-serving, public-serving, and I am sure that this is part of the interpretation of constructive."

On June 10, a letter from the FOI committee to Mr. Honaman stated:

"The trouble with releasing only information that is 'constructive' or 'public serving' is the difference of opinion that often arises in construing the terms. An official inside the Defense Department is not likely to regard as constructive, information that discloses his own errors. Persons on the outside of the Department may very well regard these disclosures as constructive and public serving. The real difficulty is that even conscientious people, after a long experience in government, have a great deal of difficulty in distinguishing between their own interests and those of the government. They are pretty likely to think that anything which puts them in a bad light is not constructive. These judgments cannot be made objectively by persons involved in the decisions that are under study. They can only be made objectively by persons who are not involved -- by persons not in government. The most arbitrary government in the history of the world have frequently professed the desire to publish all 'constructive' information. In order to insure that the information released was constructive, the Nazis and the Fascists preferred the staged and ordered and planned use of propaganda devices and frowned upon any information obtained by other methods. In a democratic society there ought to be a continuous flow of information from the government to the people, and that information ought to include not only the facts which the government wishes released but some facts which citizens have obtained contrary to the wishes of government. Any other system makes the government the sole judge of what the people are to be told. This, I think you will agree, is an indefensible philosophy in a free society."

On June 17, the United Press released a story by Charles Corddry quoting Honaman as saying he believed that many requests for information did not meet the test of "being useful or valuable nor yet very interesting."

An FOI statement in reply said it was the citizens and not the government who should decide whether looked for information was "useful" or "interesting."

On June 24, Senator Carl T. Curtis wrote Assistant Secretary Robert Tripp Ross about the Honaman statement. Ross said that the "useful, or valuable or interesting" standard referred, not to questions of persons outside the Defense establishment, but to "interdepartmental preparation and coordination of public information material originated by the Department of Defense."

On June 28, Herbert Brucker and J. R. Wiggins of the ASNE FOI committee and Peyton Winfree of the APMEA FOI committee, met with Mr. Honaman and Mr. Ross at the Defense Establishment, to discuss the recent restrictions on information. At the luncheon the two officials emphasized that the directive was not intended to apply the "useful, valuable or interesting" standard to requests for informa-

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tion and said "constructive" was not intended to prec, ude adverse information. They discussed the possibility of language that might amend the order to make this clear, and invited suggestions.

In July it was discovered that field commands had been sent drafts of a proposed "check list" to be used in deciding whether to release or withhold non-classified information. Mr. Honaman also expressed the view that the press should cooperate by refraining voluntarily from the publication of information that might be helpful to the Russians even though not classified.

The FOI committee said that newspapers had consented in the past to "orderly, carefully defined, voluntary censorship in two wars", gave assurance they would continue to cooperate voluntarily in safeguarding classified information involving the country's security, but warned they would not "join in a conspiracy, with this or any other administration, to withhold from the American people non-classified information which citizens need in order to make sound judgments on national policy."

On July 1, after the Defense Establishment conference, the FOI committee wrote Honaman and recapitulated objections to the Defense Direction 5230.9. This letter stated:

"Our objections run presently to Section III and are not confined alone to objections to the word 'constructive'. It is our view that the first paragraph of this section imposes upon the whole Defense Establishment personnel a restriction on their communication with the public that must be humiliating to them and that is inappropriate, in a democratic society, where there ought to be the freest communication between the people and their public servants."

This letter further stated:

"It should be possible to rely upon the good judgment of at least top-ranking officials and general officers. It seems to me they might be permitted to make a few remarks to a luncheon group, for example, without having their utterances approved in advance by the Office of the Secretary. Apart from its direct effect upon communication, this restriction, it seems to us, inevitably will diminish the spontaneity and zeal in the public service that has normally prevailed in our military establishment.

"Paragraph 3 of Section III contains the particularly objectionable standard for clearance: 'constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department of Defense.' What is 'constructive'? The very use of the term suggests that there is a great deal of knowledge and information that is not constructive, and from our point of view the word ought to be stricken out entirely.

"In conformity with our discussion at luncheon, however, I have written a few paragraphs that suggest our particular objections to it, and if issued over the name of the Secretary might diminish some misapprehension that the word has occasioned. I attach this language.

"I think our luncheon conference helped to make our position a great deal clearer. I hope you will further amplify your declaration that you did not intend to apply the standards of 'interesting and useful' to information requested by citizens or the press, but only to information volunteered by the information agencies of the Defense Establishment. I am sure you will agree that the use of the word 'demand' in your letter, left the impression that you intended to place this standard on requests for information as well."

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On July 13, Mr. Honaman acknowledged this letter and said that "careful thought is being given to the suggestions you made regarding Directive Number 5230.9." He repeated the statement in the Ross letter to Senator Curtis that the "useful and interesting" standard did not apply to anything but interdepartmental and internal requests for information.

On July 14, the New York Times published a letter which General Matthew Ridgway had written to Secretary Wilson upon Ridgway's retirement as Chief of Staff of the Army. It then was disclosed that the retirement letter had been classified as "confidential". This was the subject of a letter to the President's counsel who is entrusted with supervising administration of Executive Order 10-501. No action resulted from the letter, which follows:

"July 21, 1955

Honorable Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Morgan:

When Executive Order 10501 was put into effect on November 5, 1953, the office of the General Counsel was assigned the task of generally supervising the execution of this order. Newspapers and others with any complaints to make about its administration were directed to refer these complaints to the office you now occupy.

On June 27th, the retiring Chief of Staff of the United States Army, General M. B. Ridgway, directed a letter to the Secretary of the Defense Establishment. The contents of this letter were printed in The New York Times of July 14th. On July 15th, Mr. C. H. Schooley of the Defense Establishment made the following statement to the press:

'Mr. Wilson has authorized me to say that he received a letter from General Ridgway, in the nature of a final report on his retirement as Army Chief of Staff. In order to permit opportunity for study and review, Mr. Wilson asked Secretary of the Army Stevens to appropriately and temporarily classify the letter. The Army subsequently advised him the leter had been classified CONFIDENTIAL with all copies accounted for. With open publication of the letter today, copies will be made available on request at the Defense News Room in the Pentagon.'

On Wednesday, July 17th, the following exchanges took place at Secretary Wilson's press conference:

'THE PRESS: How about Ridgway's strategic analysis, probability or possibility of the use or non-use of nuclear weapons by the Russians?

'SECY. WILSON: Well, I don't want to talk about that at all. In view of the sessions that are starting tomorrow morning it would be -- I am too far away to do any good and I am close enough that out of context I might add to the difficulties, and that is the last thing in the world I want to do. And that is the only reason, when I glanced through the letter, that I temporarily asked that General Ridgway's letter be classified. I thought the time was very poor to announce a position that anyone had with relation to the matter, correct or incorrect. I

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didn't think the timing was good. The President and Foster Dulles and the State Department people have sufficient problems over there without any of us adding to them in any way.'

'THE PRESS: Mr. Secretary, would you comment on General Ridgway's strategic analysis of the possibility of Russian use or non-use of atomic weapons in war?

'SECY. WILSON: I don't believe I should comment on that subject at this time. The reason I suggested to the Secretary of the Army that General Ridgway's letter be temporarily given a proper Confidential status was just on this point. The last thing I would want to do at this time would be to make any statement in regard to the matter that out of context could be misunderstood and add to the complications or difficulties of the present Big Four conference that is going to start tomorrow in Geneva. Incidentally, I am somewhat hopeful of some ultimate good coming from that conference, and the last thing in the world I would want to do would be say anything that in any way would detract from the opportunities of progress.'

The classification of the Ridgway letter in the CONFIDENTIAL category, according to the information released by Mr. Schooley and divulged by Secretary Wilson, was based upon the Secretary's opinion that 'the time was very poor to announce a position that anyone had with relation to the matter, correct or incorrect.'

In his second statement he indicated fear that the letter might be 'misunderstood.'

Whether or not these are sound policy considerations for not publishing or releasing the Ridgway letter is an issue that is not germane to the complaint that we now make. That complaint is that the Secretary of Defense utilized a classified designation for the purpose of secreting and withholding a document not appropriately given the Confidential classification under Executive Order 10501.

The definition of Confidential contained in Section 1, paragraph (c) is as follows:

> '(c) Confidential: Except as may be expressly provided by statute, the use of the classification Confidential shall be authorized, by appropriate authority, only for defense information or material the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.'

It is important to note that neither Mr. Schooley's statement or Secretary Wilson's statement contain any contention that the contents of the Ridgway letter were such that if disclosed it 'could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.' Neither of them seems to have entertained the thought that it could have been, or to have even affirmed that the classification resulted from a determination that the contents might be prejudicial. The sole grounds advanced for using this classification were policy grounds not provided for in any of the paragraphs of Executive Order 10501.

We are concerned not only with this particular incident, but we are also apprehensive that if the Secretary himself uses the classified categories for the purpose of withholding policy matters, this practice may be general in the Defense Establishment.

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I call your attention to the statement made at the White House when this order was promulgated, and I quote from it the following paragraph of the objects the President had in mind:

> 'By more clearly defining the official information which is subject to classification, and by making the requirements of the defense interests of the United States the test as to whether, and how, information may be classified under the order, the danger of misuse of the order to hamper freedom of information, so vital to preservation of our form of government, is minimized.'

You will note that the very purpose of the order was to make 'defense interests of the United States' the test of classification.

While the Ridgway letter has been released now, there has not yet been any acknowledgment anywhere that the powers granted in 10501 were improperly used. Until this is acknowledged there is no assurance that it will not continue to be the policy of the Defense Establishment to similarly use the classification categories on matters that do not meet the test of 'the defense interests of the United States.'

We would like very much to have your views and we hope that we may have some assurance that the Defense Establishment, in the future, will limit the employment of classified designations to those materials clearly within the definitions of Executive Order 10501.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins, Chairman"

On September 15, there was published in the Federal Register another Defense Establishment Directive (72. 1-111), advising defense contractors on security matters so that they might avoid the release of information "of possible value to a potential enemy".

The FOI committee protested this order in a statement on September 16, acting on the express request of James Pope, a member of the committee. This statement said:

> "This is a standard (possible use to a potential enemy) to which no people who mean to govern themselves ought to consent. All information is of some 'possible use' to an enemy. Literally followed, this rule would mean no information about vast defense expenditures absorbing most of the national budget, on the wise use of which national survival may depend. The Defense Establishment long has had the authority under Executive Order 10-501, to put into secret classifications material involving military security. These new rules apply to unclassified material which even under the sweeping provisions of 10-501, the people have a right to know about. Some of the rules amend earlier like rules. They are not thereby made more palatable. Some of them are said to be 'voluntary' for contractors. Managements dependent on government for vast contract awards are likely to 'voluntarily' follow Secretary Wilson's recommendations. It should be possible to protect our security without destroying our democracy. It is the sweat of American citizens that will 'earn the taxes' to pay for defense expenditures, if we may paraphrase Jefferson. They have a right to know how their money is being spent. These rules threaten that right."

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At the meeting of the ASNE Board in New Orleans on October 28, the Board instructed President Kenneth MacDonald to seek a meeting with the Secretary of Defense to discuss some of the difficulties over access to defense information. On November 10, President MacDonald sent the following letter to Secretary Wilson:

"November 10, 1955

The Honorable Charles E. Wilson
Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

For several months past, members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors have been concerned about the people's access to information in the Defense Department. This concern has been heightened by several official pronouncements by the Defense Establishment.

This Society, and members of the newspaper profession generally, recognize the necessity for secrecy where public disclosure would threaten the national military security.

In the past year, in the opinion of the officers of this organization, secrecy in the Defense Establishment has been extended beyond the area defined in the Executive Order 10-501 in such a manner as to prejudice the right of the American people to know about the military operations of their own government.

We are sure you will agree that a democratic government can be maintained only when its agencies are operated in such a manner that citizens can appraise intelligently the policies upon which the survival of the nation may depend. We think the trend toward unwarranted secrecy is exemplified in the Department of Defense Directive of March 29, 1955 -- No. 5230.9. Information officials, by this Directive, are instructed to clear and release material only if its release would 'constitute a constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department of Defense.'

Representatives of this organization and of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association, in conferences with officials in the Department, have attempted to obtain a definition of the word 'constructive' which would make it clear that it was not intended to prevent disclosure of the facts about fraud, corruption, or malfeasance of any kind. They have not been able to obtain any such amendment.

Another example of the kind of secrecy which we view with misgivings is the order of September 16, 1955, to defense contractors. This regulation has the stated purpose of preventing 'publication of that segment of information of possible value to a potential enemy.' To the extent that private contractors adhere to these recommendations, the area of secrecy is being extended not only in the government, but to include a sector of private industry as well, which it was never the intention of Executive Order 10-501 to cover.

All information is of some value to a country's enemies. The question involved is not its inherent value, but whether withholding it would harm the enemy or the American people more. The standard of the September 16 directive is so vague as to be without definition except in the minds and at the discretion of individual officials. It is a standard

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to which we think no democratically governed people ought to consent.

Our members also have been concerned about the application of Executive Order 10-501. Inasmuch as we do not have access to security files, it is not possible for us to know how much information that should have been made public has been concealed. Our anxiety has been aroused, however, by the fact that the June 27 letter of General M. B. Ridgway was classified as Confidential under Executive Order 10-501. The explanation of this classification -- that its release would be misunderstood -- causes us to wonder if other information that would merely be embarrassing or 'misunderstood' is being placed in classifications intended only for material that would prejudice the nation's military security.

The officers of this Society and two members of its Freedom of Information Committee would like very much to discuss these serious problems with you. We are aware of the requirements of national military security; we are also aware of the people's right to information about their own government. We think these requirements are not necessarily irreconcilable. We hope that you agree with us. We would like to discuss with you means through which we may protect both our safety and our freedom.

We are prepared to meet with you on reasonable notice at your convenience. Many of those we wish to be present will not be available until after a meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association being held at Colorado Springs, Colorado, on November 15-19. Any date subsequent to this probably could be arranged for most of our officers.

Sincerely yours,

KMacD:mp "

On December 9, the Assistant Secretary of Defense replied to the MacDonald letter in the following communication:

"ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Washington 25, D. C.

Legislative and Public Affairs December 9, 1955

Dear Mr. MacDonald:

Secretary Wilson has requested me to reply to your letter of November 10 wherein you indicated that some members of the American Association of Newspaper Editors have been concerned about the public information policy of the Department of Defense.

The right of the American people to know about our military activities, and the Defense Department's responsibility to keep the public informed about these activities without endangering our national security, are principles which form the very basis of our public information policy. In the answer to the Moss Subcommittee Questionnaire on this policy, the Defense Department stated:

> 'The fundamental approach of the Department of Defense in carrying out its day-to-day information activities is that it believes it vital to the survival of this country that there be a fully informed Congress and public; that it exercises every effort to make the maximum information in its possession available consistent with the national interests; and that it is continuously working to maintain and improve the means and methods requisite to the free and full flow of information.'

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In its day-to-day public information operations, the Defense Department has the responsibility of maintaining the proper balance between its obligation to keep the public informed and protecting the security of the nation. In meeting this responsibility, we are faced with the fact that, never in our history have we had an era quite like this. Always in the past this country was either at peace, with little or no worry about foreign or domestic enemies who might seek to learn our military secrets for the advantage of a hostile power, or the country was in a state of war with obvious danger to the national security. During a period of cold war such as we are now exposed to for the first time, I am certain you will agree that it is extremely important we exercise care in handling information which would be of great value to a potential enemy and might prejudice the defense interests of the United States or our international relations.

In your letter you state:

> 'In the past year, in the opinion of the officers of this organization, secrecy in the Defense Establishment has been extended beyond the area defined in the Executive Order 10501 in such a manner as to prejudice the right of the American people to know about the military operations of their own government.'

I assure you that 'in the past year' the Department of Defense has not promulgated any instructions which extended the security restrictions beyond the provisions of Executive Order 10501. In fact, since the cessation of Korean hostilities, every effort has been made to provide for a freer flow of defense information. The issuance of new directives and instructions by the Department of Defense has been for the purpose of bringing up to date existing instructions covering the public information area.

Your letter refers specifically to DOD Directive 5320.9 of March 29, 1955, and to the provision which states:

> 'Such review and clearance shall be related not only to a determination of whether release of the material would involve any technical or substantive violation of security but also to a determination of whether release or publication of the material would constitute a constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department of Defense.'

A reading of the directive of March 20 as a whole shows clearly that it was addressed to establishing procedures and guidelines 'for the review of manuscripts concerning military matters prepared by military personnel and civilian employees for publication.'

In supplying information in response to inquiries from the public information media and the public, it was not intended that the 'constructive contribution' clause apply, nor has it been applied when reviewing such information. As the directive indicates, this criterion was to be applied to manuscripts, speeches and certain news releases originated by Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps personnel. The strong historic pride which the members have in their respective Services, and their understandable efforts to promote, through the public information media, the best interests of their respective Services, are encouraged by the Department of Defense to the extent that these efforts 'constitute a constructive contribution to the primary mission of the Department of Defense'. In their zeal to promote the interests of their respective Service, members oftentimes prepare for release material containing statements which, although not intended to do so, reflect discredit upon a sister Service.

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The 'constructive contribution' clause was inserted in the directive primarily to emphasize to appropriate officials in the military services that all speeches, manuscripts and proposed news releases would be reviewed with a view to reducing to a minimum public statements by representatives of one Service which discredit or disparage a sister Service. This instruction does not imply that it was intended, nor was it to be construed in any manner, to cover up any wrong-doing; therefore, to amend this instruction in this respect is considered unnecessary.

Your letter states further,

> 'Our anxiety has been aroused, however, by the fact that the June 27 letter of General M. B. Ridgway was classified as CONFIDENTIAL under Executive Order 10501.'

General Ridgway's letter was an official report to the Secretary of Defense from the retiring Chief of Staff of the Army, expressing his views on the composition of the Army, its role in our defense structure, and its potential effect upon our international relations. With this in mind, Secretary Wilson determined that its release to the public just prior to the Geneva Conference of July 18, to 23, 1955, might have an adverse effect upon the President's efforts to establish a basis for world peace. At his news conference on Sunday, July 17, Secretary Wilson said:

> 'In view of the sessions (Geneva Conference) that are starting tomorrow morning it would be -- I am too far away to do any good and I am close enough that out of context I might add to the difficulties, and that is the last thing in the world I want to do. And that is the only reason, when I glanced through the letter, that I temporarily asked that General Ridgway's letter be classified. I thought the time was very poor to announce a position that anyone had with relation to the matter, correct or incorrect. I didn't think the timing was good. The President and Foster Dulles and the State Department people have sufficient problems over there (Geneva) without any of us adding to them in any way.'

Under Executive Order 10501, provision is made that, '... the use of the classification SECRET shall be authorized, by appropriate authority, only for defense information or material, the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Nation, such as by jeopardizing the international relations of the United States. ....' Provision is further made that, '.... the use of the classification CONFIDENTIAL shall be authorized by appropriate authority, only for defense information or material, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.' In requesting that the Army classify General Ridgway's letter as CONFIDENTIAL, Secretary Wilson was acting entirely within the spirit and the letter of Executive Order 10501.

With respect to another point you raised, your letter states:

> 'Another example of the kind of secrecy which we view with misgivings is the order of September 16, 1955, to defense contractors. This regulation has the stated purpose of preventing "publication of that segment of information of possible value to a potential enemy'. To the extent that private contractors adhere to these recommendations, the area of secrecy is being extended not only in the government, but to include a sector of private industry as well, which it was never the intention of Executive Order 10501 to cover.'

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The 'Release of Information' part of the instructions contained in the Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulation published in May 1955 sets forth criteria for the continuation of an information program in defense plants which is entirely voluntary and is designed to assist industry in safeguarding information of a strategic or technical nature which would be of great value to a potential enemy. The publication of this 'regulation' is not a case of secrecy 'being extended not only in the government, but to include a sector of private industry as well', but was a restatement of previously issued criteria covering this subject. Compliance with this 'regulation' is voluntary on the part of industry. The information involved, although of intelligence value to a potential enemy, is not within the physical control of the Government and has not been classified under Executive Order 10501.

Attached for your information are some pertinent pages from the Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulation issued January 15, 1953, which refer to the matter discussed above. Also enclosed is a copy of the Department of Defense answers to the questions of the Government Information Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee, which outlines in considerable detail the public information policies of the Department of Defense.

Secretary Wilson has asked me to advise you that he would be very pleased to have you, the other officers of the Society, and the two members of its Freedom of Information Committee, as his guests for luncheon in the Pentagon about the middle of January on a date mutually agreeable, if you are desirous of discussing further with him the public information policy of the Department of Defense. If you will let me know a date that is convenient for you and the others, I will try to confirm it promptly.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Robert Tripp Ross

Robert Tripp Ross

Mr. Kenneth MacDonald
President
The American Society of Newspaper Editors
The REGISTER AND TRIBUNE
Des Moines 4, Iowa "

On Tuesday, January 10, President MacDonald, Vice President Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Herbert Brucker, J. R. Wiggins and Walker Stone, met with Secretary Wilson, Assistant Secretary Ross, R. Karl Honaman and Herschel Schooley, and Philip K. Allen of the Defense Establishment, and discussed Defense Establishment information policies for three hours. No agreement on any proposed action was reached but views were exchanged on many of the Department's policies. The Secretary of Defense asked the group to reconvene at a later time for further discussion.

Summary

None of the controversial directives has been changed as a result of ASNE FOI protests although criticism has produced qualifying letters and statements

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referred to above. There have been no added directives imposing further restrictions, but there is no indication of fundamental change in the policies that produced defense-press differences of the past year.

Federal Communications Commission

On September 8, the Chairman of the FOI committee wrote the Office of Defense Mobilization protesting the plan of priority for transmission of messages over public communications systems in the event of a national emergency.

This protest was referred to the Federal Communications Commission which prepared the plan.

On September 27, FCC Chairman George C. McConnaughey answered these objections and said that "it appears POSSIBLE that the messages of news media may qualify for Priority 1, Priority 2, or Priority 3."

On October 7, the FCC chairman suggested a conference.

The conference was held at the FCC on November 22 with members of the FCC staff. Changes in the language of the order were objected to but more explicit interpretation by the Commissioner was promised.

On December 1, this was forthcoming in a letter from the Chairman stating: "This is to assure you that newspapers, press associations, radio and television broadcasting stations and other segments of the news disseminating industry are permitted under the precedence system, to request the appropriate priority classification for each telephone, TWX or telegraph message wherein the subject matter involved meets the criteria set forth in the precedence systems."

An amendment of the order expressly granting press priority in the order itself would be better.

Office of Defense Mobilization

The conduct of the national OPERATION ALERT led to an exchange of correspondence between the FOI committee and the Office of Defense Mobilization, of which Arthur S. Flemming is the Director.

These letters follow:

"AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
Freedom of Information Committee

July 25, 1955

Mr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director
Office of Defense Mobilization
Executive Office Building
17th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Flemming:

The provisions for the press in the recent alert, it seems to me, violated many fundamental principles of emergency censorship. First, and most serious, it disregarded the principle that citizens are entitled to know the areas of information in which the censorship operates, and the press is entitled to direction sufficiently explicit so as to assure uniform treatment, so far as possible.

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Instructions to the press were merely oral and private and at no time were there clear-cut and explicit directives defining the categories of information to be avoided.

I am sure you are well aware that in some areas detailed and very complete and explicit stories of activities and operations at rendezvous points were carried. Other newspapers avoided any reference at all to the details of the alert.

Our view, of course, is that insofar as is consistent with military security there should be no withholding of information at all. Where a clear case can be made for military security the instructions ought to be precise, definite and formal. They ought to be promulgated, moreover, sufficiently far in advance so that agencies of information and all the media have an opportunity to discuss them, debate them, familiarize themselves with them, and where they are unreasonable, appeal from them.

I hope we may have some assurance that the vague, obscure, indefinite provisions for the initial alert will not be repeated in any subsequent civilian defense drill of the kind.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins
Chairman

cc Mr. James C. Hagerty"

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Office of Defense Mobilization
Washington, 25, D. C.

Office of the Director August 8, 1955

Mr. J. R. Wiggins, Chairman
The American Society of Newspaper Editors
Washington Post and Times Herald
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

This is in reply to your letter of July 25 in which you make several observations regarding the relationship of the press to 'Operation Alert'.

We welcome comments and observations on the recent operation and have done considerable evaluating of the test within the Government. As you know, these exercises are held in order that we may discover our shortcomings and correct them.

Prior to the exercise, a meeting was held with representatives of all media to obtain their views and to discuss their requirements, including space and equipment. In future exercises I feel sure that it would be possible to develop written guidelines.

The newsmen who accompanied the President to several classified sites, as well as those located at emergency information headquarters, were free to write anything they desired regarding the exercise - and did so - with the proviso that the locations of emergency press headquarters and the relocations sites not be disclosed. I believe it was perfectly under-

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stood by the press that no security was attached to the temporary emergency information headquarters, but that its location should be withheld merely to simulate realism in the spirit of the exercise.

For your information, the permanent location of information headquarters will be determined only after consultation with all the media. On the other hand, relocation sites are classified. During an emergency it is expected that relocation sites will be well known within the United States but there is no reason, and I am sure you will agree, to alert a potential enemy now as to possible places of sabotage or additional strategic targets.

As we acquire a backlog of experience and uncover various defects in our plans, we hope to be better organized to assist the media. This will include opportunities of going to relocation sites during future government-wide exercises.

We feel that newsmen cooperated with us during 'Operation Alert' in an extremely effective manner.

Sincerely yours,

ARTHUR S. FLEMMING

Arthur S. Fleming
Director''

''September 6, 1955

Dear Mr. Flemming:

Your reply to my letter of July 25 reached my office while I was on vacation.

I hope that, prior to any future alert exercises, there may be more discussion of the restraints upon the press than preceded the last one. Much more is involved in these exercises than the mere mechanical facilities available to reporters who regularly cover the White House. I doubt that they did or that they would attempt to state the views of the press as a whole on the general censorship.

In these exercises two aspects of censorship obtained:

(1) Information of which the Government had sole possession was withheld from the newspapers.

(2) In addition, newspapers were asked not to print information of which they themselves had knowledge, such as the movement of government personnel on public highways, etc.

I feel quite sure that there was no general agreement on the part of the press and the radio that all of these restrictions were necessary, nor was there any general understanding of exac tly what the restrictions were.

In your fifth paragraph you acknowledge that the relocation sites will be well known within the country, but you seem to think some advantage is obtained by not saying anything about them. If the location of these sites is well known within the United States, I think we may be deceiving ourselves if we think the knowledge can be kept from reaching our enemies. Many newspapers disclosed these sites in well displayed front page stories not

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because they wilfully wished to compromise security but because they had no adequate understanding of what the Government wished.

This sort of confused effort at suppression with some newspapers publishing information and some withholding it contributes nothing to security and only results in confusing the public and impairing their confidence in media on which they have a right to depend for all information about their Government that can be released consistent with the Nation's security.

If these relocation sites can be kept absolutely secret, it would appear to be desirable. It seems to me foolish to expect that when they are known to hundreds of thousands or millions of people, that they will not be known by our enemies. And if they are already known by our enemies, it seems to me silly to maintain a pretense of secrecy. So far as some of these sites are concerned, it would be just as feasible, security-wise, to ask the newspapers not to divulge the permanent locations of Government departments on the theory that by so doing it might prevent potential enemies from knowing where they are.

Efforts to maintain such secrecy are on their face futile and ineffective and shake the confidence of the media in the good sense of the Government's requests to maintain secrecy. All this is so well known and has been so well elaborated in the reports of Byron Price, who is a consultant to your organization, that it ought not be necessary to advert to it. I hope that future operations will be influenced by the recommendations that Mr. Price made when he closed the Office of Censorship in World War II.

I am glad to have your assurance about published guidelines in future alerts but I wish it could be more positive and specific. I am also pleased to know that in future operations there will be opportunities of going to relocation sites -- access to which was refused in the initial alert.

While you may be gratified by the cooperation of the press, I feel qualified to state that very few newspapers were happy with your arrangements and that the people, as a result of them, had very little knowledge of how effectively the whole alert was conducted.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins

Mr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director
Office of Defense Mobilization
Washington 25, D. C.

Treasury

Sheldon F. Sackett of the Coos Bay (Oregon) Times sought help in obtaining from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the name of applicant for branch bank in North Bend, Oregon, on November 9, 1955. FOI committee, after several calls to different officials in Comptroller's office, succeeded in obtaining the name of the applicant.

In March 1955, the Comptroller of the Currency declined to release the name of an applicant for a branch bank charter in Washington, D. C., and on the request of the FOI committee, the name was released.

General Services Administration

On January 30, 1956, Vint Jennings, managing editor of the Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Mail, wrote the FOI committee that Frederick D. Ehle, General Services Administration employe in charge of the Federal Buildings and grounds in West

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Virginia, had refused to give photographers access to the buildings of the Federal Government without permission of GSA. The pictures involved had been requested by the Internal Revenue Department to publicize income tax return problems. Russell J. Hyde, GSA Regional Coordinator in Washington confirmed Mr. Ehle's position.

GSA pointed out that it was acting under Public Law No. 566 which says that "taking photographs for commercial or publication purposes within property is prohibited unless prior permission is obtained."

The House Subcommittee on Government Information was appealed to by FOI. Chairman John Moss wrote to Edmund F. Mansure, the then-Administrator of GSA. He protested the "negative" character of GSA regulation No. 10 which states: "Taking photographs for commercial or publication ourposes within property is prohibited unless prior permission is obtained."

On February 10, Samuel J. Archibald, Staff Director of the Moss Committee, sent the following letter to Mr. Jennings:

"Eighty-Fourth Congress

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Government Information Subcommittee
of the
Committee on Government Operations
1540 House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

February 10, 1956

Mr. Vint Jennings
Managing Editor
The Charleston Daily Mail
Charleston 30, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Jennings:

Russ Wiggins of the Washington Post and Times-Herald informed us of the refusal by the Federal Building custodian in Charleston to press photographers, even though the pictures were requested by the Internal Revenue Service.

The Subcommittee staff immediately contac ted top GSA officials here in Washington and the GSA is now drafting a policy statement to be given all building custodians. This statement will inform the custodians that they are to help photographers, not hinder them. This policy is in line with the GSA's answer to a questionnaire sent out by the House Government Information Subcommittee.

The GSA officials admitted their restrictive regulations do not match their policy on taking photographs in public buildings. They agreed, in fact, that building custodians should have no censorship authority over press photographers.

In addition, GSA has agreed to consider an amendment of its Regulation 10, covering photography. It was suggested the extremely restrictive regulation should be amended to reflect what GSA says is its positive policy to aid press photographers, not block their access to Government information.

As further developments occur, you will be informed.

Under separate cover, a copy of the Subcommittee's questionnaire is being mailed to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Samuel J. Archibald
Staff Director"

SJA:ab

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Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Secrecy in which some of the early meetings relating to the Salk vaccine was protested in a letter sent to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and subsequent meetings were opened to the press.

This letter of protest follows:

"April 25, 1955

Honorable Oveta Culp Hobby
Secretary
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Hobby:

The press associations and others have complained to me that the national polio conference held at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on Friday was closed to the press. It is difficult to imagine a subject in which there is greater public concern.

The people, it seems to me, have a right to know not only the results of such a conference, but the position taken by different persons attending it. It was possible to obtain coverage of a kind by interviewing individuals as they left the meeting. I do not know how accurate this coverage was. This is, however, a very dangerous way to cover a meeting devoted to the public business, and it is never possible to be sure that the account is accurate.

We dislike this sort of hearsay reporting of important public issues and would prefer to have reports of events and discussions observed by competent members of the press themselves.

The choice here is really not between secrecy and publicity, but is often between accuracy and inaccuracy. No instance occurs to us in which the public interest was served better by inaccurate than by accurate reports. The Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors very earnestly hopes that the session Wednesday will not be secretly conducted.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins
Chairman."

Securities and Exchange Commission

From September to January the FOI committee, by conference and correspondence, discussed with the SEC the proposed revisions of the proxy rules.

A long discussion on October 6, between the FOI chairman and J. Sinclair Armstrong, Chairman of SEC, and Orval L. Dubois, Secretary of SEC, helped clarify the issues.

The basic objection of the FOI committee was the proposed rule requiring prior clearance for all proxy-fight statements. This objection was summarized in a letter of October 12, which follows:

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"AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

October 12, 1955

Mr. J. Sinclair Armstrong
Chairman
Securities and Exchange Commission
425 Second Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Chairman Armstrong:

A careful study of the proposed amendments to the proxy rules, together with the discussion had with you personally, persuades us that these proposals can and should be modified so they will clearly conform to the letter and the spirit of the First Amendment.

On further examination of the considerations we talked about, I hope that you and your colleagues, in conformity with the inclination you voiced at our meeting, will see your way clear to make appropriate changes.

The rules, as we understand them from the printed proposals you have released and from your speeches interpreting the proposals, will require that all material issued by participants in a proxy fight must be filed 'in advance' of publication. Your speech of last February, for example, spoke of the necessity for filing all such material 'prior to its release'.

This requirement, with respect to the definitive proxy statement, we think not so much open to objection. This really is a matter of furnishing the Commission with the facts, a disclosure of information of the kind required by many government regulatory agencies.

Other material, subsequently issued, in our opinion, is in a different category. The Securities and Exchange Commission no doubt requires these subsequent publications for its files and for the purpose of enforcing the proxy rules and the law. Does it require them IN ADVANCE? Would it not satisfy your purposes to have such texts after delivery or release?

If the First Amendment means anything at all, it surely means that government cannot, in this country, subject utterance to prior restraint. Citizens have the right to write and speak without prior government scrutiny, being responsible for what they write or say and punishable for violations of the law. The libel laws provide punishments for libelous and scandalous publication; the rules of contempt provide penalties for the obstruction of justice; the rules of the Securities and Exchange Commission appropriately provide penalties for writing or saying things in a proxy fight that are contrary to law.

Prior restraint is another matter. This is not permitted under the plain meaning of the First Amendment. Near vs. Minnesota is the best Supreme Court opinion on just what prior restraint does mean.

The abuses that the Commission seeks to prevent are grave abuses. Unchecked they might corrupt the election of corporate officials dealing with enormous property rights of citizens. The elections of our public officials, I am sure you will agree, are not less important. Yet, in 166 years we have not felt it necessary to impose upon the utterance of political campaigners any prior restraint.

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Scrutiny of proxy speeches and advertisements and statements (in advance) is, in our opinion, unconstitutional. For the purposes of enforcing the rules of the Commission, we think it also unnecessary. We therefore urge you strongly to eliminate from your proposed rules a requirement that is unnecessary, unwise, and unconstitutional.

The proxy rules, we hope, can be modified to resemble more closely those required in solicitation subsequent to the registration of new securities, where not all material must clear IN ADVANCE of distribution if it is accompanied by the approved prospectus and if statements made are in conformity with the facts there set forth.

In both cases, individuals may wish to make certain that nothing they are about to say or publish will violate the law. That is their privilege. It is also their privilege, in our opinion, to publish or speak, subject to the penalties of the law for improper publication or utterance, without prior approval of any agency of government.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. Wiggins, Chairman
Freedom of Information Committee
A S N E "

Chairman Sinclair promised to consider these objections carefully.

On January 17, the SEC announced the adoption of amendments to the proxy rules providing that proxy fight material "may be, but is not required to be, filed with the Commission prior to its use."

Strategic Air Command

On August 22, Howard C. Cleavinger, managing editor of the Spokane Daily Chronicle, advised the FOI committee that Strategic Air Command had instituted a new policy under which dates of deployment of units for overseas bases would not, hereafter, be announced.

This matter was taken up with the Defense Establishment. On September 21, Marcel Monts, chief of the Air Force Desk, advised that the new policy had been instituted to "maintain security and to provide the Air Force personnel concerned with very necessary security training". Monts said that USAF headquarters supported the SAC position "because of the security requirement and the valuable security training for personnel this policy provides."

Notes of protest against the policy were sent to Gerald Morgan, the President's counsel, to Secretary Wilson, and to Secretary of the Air Force Donald Quarles. It was especially protested that "it is no more necessary to practice wartime security regulations in order to give Air Force officers experience in this area than it is to engage in actual wartime operations in order to train them for war."

The matter was referred to Robert Tripp Ross who wrote, on October 13, that security was the real reason for the new policy and that "training in security procedutes received by personnel is only a by-product and of secondary importance."

Telephone conferences with Secretary Quarles and personal conferences with Chief of Air Force Information, Brig. General Robert L. Scott, and SAC Information Chief Colonel Reade Tilley followed.

On November 29, Colonel Tilley advised that pursuant to FOI suggestions the initial regulations had been modified to some extent. He said general releases would

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be made locally in advance of the deployment of a unit stating that the unit would go in the near future, but not specifying date of departure.

Discussions of SAC policy with General Curtis LeMay were then arranged. On January 18, President Kenneth MacDonald and FOI Chairman Wiggins flew to SAC headquarters at Omaha to discuss SAC security problems with General LeMay. There was a good exchange of views and a better understanding of mutual problems was reached.

Veterans Administration

Policies of the Veterans Administration under which information about hospital patients can be withheld have been unsuccessfully protested.

Policies of the VA, as set forth in a letter from H. V. Higley, Administrator, are as follows:

"Under existing law (Veterans Reg. No. 11, Chapter 12, Title 38 USC) all files, records, reports and other documents pertaining to any claim, whether pending or adjudicated, are deemed confidential and privileged, and no disclosure thereof is authorized except as therein enumerated, except that the Administrator of Veterans Affairs may release information, statistics or reports to individuals or organizations when in his judgment such release would serve a useful purpose."

White House Conference on Education

On November 14, at the instance of the Minneapolis Tribune, the FOI committee wrote to the Committee for The White House Conference on Education and to Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to protest rules for the conduct of the conference.

It was the initial plan of the Conference to exclude the press from all three categories of group meetings following the general conference sessions.

Clint Pace, director of the conference, frankly discussed these plans with the FOI committee on November 16. On November 23, he advised that two of the three group sessions would be open to the press and only a final summary meeting of chairmen would be closed. This met most of the objections raised by the FOI committee and permitted a much more open reporting of the session than at first planned.

Access to Judicial Proceedings

The report of Dr. Harold Cross will cover court decisions of the year in more detail, but in this general report note ought to be taken of some major developments of the year, including:

(1) The decision of the Colorado Supreme Court, on February 27, 1956, following the long study by Justice O. Otto Moore, to permit judges to allow the use of cameras in the court room under circumstances in which the judges think there will be no interference with order and decorum.

A. T. Burch, associate editor of the Chicago Daily News, represented the ASNE FOI committee at the hearings before Judge Moore in Colorado Springs. Editor Burch presented arguments in behalf of the use of the camera in judicial proceedings.

(2) The decision of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court in the Leibowitz case, holding that citizens cannot compel the disclosure of a jury charge, under existing New York Statutes. Efforts to amend the statutes to make this an enforceable right of the citizen are under way as this report is being written.

A brief as intervenor was submitted by Dr. Harold Cross in behalf of the ASNE in the Leibowitz case.

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(3) The Westmoreland County case still is pending in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Under legal attack is the rule of the County Court prohibiting the taking of photographs, not only in the court room, but in the court house.

(4) In February 1956, Vic Sherow, editor of the Gallipolis Tribune, was cited for contempt by Juvenile Judge John W. Howell and fined $200 for printing the names of juveniles involved in a case before the court.

The case was immediately appealed. There is no juvenile court statute barring the public from juvenile court proceedings in Ohio.

Mr. Sherow has kept the committee informed and matter that might be useful to him has been furnished.

(5) On December 6, 1955, in the 54th Judicial District Court of McLennan County, photographers were permitted to take pictures of the murder trial of Harry L. Washburn.

Following the trial, members of the McLennan County Bar Association were sent questionnaires asking: "In your opinion did the following detract from the dignity of the court, distract the witnesses or jury, or otherwise disrupt the orderly procedure of the trial.

	Yes	No	Percent Yes Answers
Press Reporters	10	39	20.4
Still Photographers	9	37	19.5
Movie Photographers	10	35	22.2
Television	5	47	9.6
Spectators in Court	7	40	14.9

Asked what type of coverage they would be in favor of allowing in future trials, if handled in the same manner as the Washburn trial, the bar voted:

	Allow	Refuse	Percent Allow
Press Reporters	53	4	92.9
Still Photographers	43	13	76.7
Movie Photographers	37	17	68.5
Television	49	7	87.5

The Chairman of the FOI committee participated in two week-end meetings with members of the American Bar Association, NARTB and ANPA, at which access to judicial proceedings was discussed.

The meetings were arranged at the instance of the American Bar Association and were set up by Richard Tinkham, chairman of the ABA committee on information.

Dr. Harold Cross attended the second session, held at the Jefferson Hotel in Washington on Monday, January 30, 1956. Other participants were: Elisha Hanson (ANPA), Davidson Taylor (NARTB), and Judge Alexander Holtzoff.

Purpose of these conferences was merely to exchange views and not to make recommendations or adopt resolutions. There was a healthy exchange of opinions concerning Canon 35, Canon 20, and other matters at controversy between bar and press.

In August, the ASNE, the NARTB and the NPPA collaborated in a demonstration of the camera in court at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association. Walter

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Lister, the managing editor of the Philadelphia Bulletin, arranged the newspaper camera coverage. The demonstration was a pronounced success and the delegates seemed to be overwhelmingly persuaded that the camera can be used without interfering with order and decorum.

State and Local Cases

Most of the state and local cases involving Freedom of Information have been fully reported in the Bulletin.

The FOI committee and Dr. Harold Cross figured in some of the following cases in a consultant capacity and they are related here for that reason.

This is by no means a catalog of all the cases in which members have pushed successful fights for access to government information at state and local levels.

Acushnet, Mass.

On January 3, the FOI committee sent some background information and case histories to THE STANDARD TIMES of New Bedford, which made a fight to open the proceedings of Board of Selectmen of the Town of Acushnet.

California

The Editors Conference of the California Newspaper Publishers Association on June 26, adopted a resolution calling upon Governor Goodwin J. Knight to veto Assembly Bill 183 which would have set up state control of comic books. Governor Knight, in July, let the bill die by pocket veto "because all legal experts agree the measure is unconstitutional."

Wisconsin

Wisconsin faced the threat of a new criminal code under which cameras would have been barred from all court rooms. The photography ban was dropped from the code after protests by the Milwaukee Journal and other state newspapers.

The Register-Pajaronian of Watsonville, Cal.

This paper won out in a camera-smashing case that started on October 26, when two of its staff members found the District Attorney parked at the home of a gambler. The two men were arrested for vagrancy and a camera was smashed. The camera smasher was found guilty on four counts of felony, the district attorney resigned his office. Case was brought to ASNE FOI attention by Frank F. Orr, Register-Pajaronian editor. Advice was sent by the committee, by Harold Cross and by James Pope who had a camera smashing case a year ago.

The Topeka State Journal

and other Kansas newspapers won a long fight to compel public access to the birth registrations recorded in the office of local registrars in Kansas. First break came with Attorney General's ruling on January 11 that the public has a "direct interest" in the birth records. The Kansas State Board of Health subsequently directed that the local records be kept available to the public.

Miscellaneous

In addition to correspondence and conferences on FOI matters hitherto referred to, the Chairman of the FOI committee:

On April 25, represented ASNE at a meeting of the Federal Laws Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York.

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On May 9, spoke at National Newspaper Promotion Association in Chicago.

On May 11, conferred in Washington with officials of the American Civil Liberties Union.

On May 23, met with staff of the Moss Subcommittee.

On June 11, addressed regional meeting of American Bar Association at Cincinnati on access to judicial proceedings.

On June 13, conferred with officials of American Book Publishers Council on access to information.

On June 16, spoke at Gaithersburg, Md. on freedom of information.

On June 24, spoke to California Newspaper Publishers Association meeting, Stanford University.

On June 27, conferred with Congressman John Moss and Congressman Fascell on work of the Moss Subcommittee on Information.

On June 28, conferred with Secretary Honaman at the Pentagon.

On July 1, appeared on Reporter's Roundup radio show in discussion of freedom of information.

On July 20, conferred with the Moss Subcommittee staff.

On September 17, testified before Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights.

On September 21, conferred with Gerald Morgan at the White House.

On October 3, morning sessions of secrecy panel at Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.
Conferred in afternoon with Moss Subcommittee staff.

On October 13, worked with AEC panel on secrecy.

On October 15, spoke at the Cleveland City Club, Cleveland, Ohio, on "Free or Secret".

On November 7, attended all day meeting of Moss Subcommittee.

On November 8, debated on access to judicial proceedings at meeting of the District Bar Association.

On November 10, worked on AEC panel on secrecy.

On November 18, spoke on Freedom of Information at APMEA meeting at Colorado Springs.

On November 22, conferred with FCC staff on priorities for press messages.

On December 5, addressed American University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi on Freedom of Information.

On December 28, met with Moss Subcommittee staff.

On January 10, addressed Fredericksburg, Virginia, Chamber of Commerce on Freedom of Information.

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On January 15, debated with Congressman Moss, Abe Goff and Julius Kahn at Philadelphia Bulletin Forum in Philadelphia on Freedom of Information.

On January 30, attended joint meeting of the American Bar Association and ASNE at the Jefferson Hotel, Washington, D. C.

On February 4, spoke at Manassas, Virginia, on Freedom of Information.

On March 22, attended two-day FOI conference at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Many other members of the committee also were active on FOI missions, notably Herbert Brucker and A. T. Burch, who appeared for the committee on several occasions.

Copies of reports of the FOI committee were sent, on request, to Phillips Bradley, Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, for use in classes on American Government and Legislatures and Legislation.

Material was sent to Carroll Binder, on his request, for use in a discussion of Freedom of Information.

Advice and information was given Sheldon F. Sackett of the Coos Bay Times on fight for access to arrest information.

Information was given John Colburn, Richmond Times Dispatch, on dispute with Navy over withholding air crash information.

As part of the observance of National Newspaper Week in October, 1955, the following statement was released through the Associated Press for publication in issues of October 2, 1955:

A National Newspaper Week Statement for The Associated Press
by

J. R. Wiggins, Chairman
Freedom of Information Committee
American Society of Newspaper Editors
and
Executive Editor of The Washington Post
and Times Herald

* * * * * * *

The right of citizens to know and their right to govern themselves are, in practical effect, the same right. The newspapers' defense of this right is most appropriately made the theme of National Newspaper Week.

These rights are indistinguishable from each other because the political acts and judgments of citizens are the result of their information. The acts and judgments of those who are fully informed are their own acts. The acts and judgments of those who are only partly informed are, in reality, the acts and judgments of those who partly inform them.

History does not record a free government that was secret or a secret government that was free. So the press which defends the right to know, in a practical way is defending freedom and self-government.

Both are threatened in our generation. They have been threatened seriously since World War I. This threat has arisen because of:

(1) The menace of external danger through wars and near-wars that have compelled secrecy required by military security.

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(2) The growth of government through which the policies and actions of government have been moved farther away from intimate public scrutiny.

(3) The emigration of governmental powers from legislative and judicial agencies with long traditions of public conduct to administrative and independent agencies which have still to overcome governmental instincts and compulsions toward secrecy.

(4) A failure of faith in popular wisdom that has spread like an infection among government officials.

These threats are less the result of conspiracy by any one man, party, faction or group or administration than they are the result of the conspiracy of circumstance -- circumstance that has made our times difficult for democracy in many other ways. Because there are good reasons for and good explanations of some secrecy, the danger is that the people will consent to so much secrecy that democratic government will become unworkable. These dangers are presently most acute in the field of military information.

People who have the power to make decisions must be given information that will enable them to make the right political decisions. This information must be in the hands of the whole people; not just available to a select few or to a privileged elite whose word must be blindly accepted.

President Eisenhower acknowledged these requirements on November 6, 1953, when he issued Executive Order 10-501, to supersede Executive Order 10-290, early in his administration.

In a statement accompanying this order, the President said:

"By more clearly defining the official information which is subject to classification, and by making the requirements of the defense interests of the United States the test as to whether, and how, information may be classified under the order, the danger of misuse of the order to hamper freedom of information, so vital to preservation of our form of government, is minimized."

The new order provided that information and material might be marked "Secret", "Top Secret", or "Confidential", if its release would endanger military security. The right to use these designations was restricted to agencies that might have some reasonable occasion to employ them. The categories were narrowly defined. Officials were urged to avoid over-zealous classification.

The Defense Establishment has not been content with this authority. It has wished to withhold and to exercise control over material that can not be classified under this order.

In June, Defense Department officials expressed the hope that editors on their own would withhold publication of information that is not secret at all, but which in their judgment might prove helpful to an enemy. If editors took this request seriously, their readers would be deprived of a great deal of routine information which citizens need to have to conduct their business, pursue their normal lives and discharge their public duties. All information about the life of a country is of some possible use to an enemy; it is of overwhelming use to the citizens themselves and the minor risk of informing an enemy must be taken, if life is to go on in a reasonably normal way.

On September 15, the Federal Register disclosed Defense Establishment rules recommended for private firms having defense contracts. They too were urged to withhold many unclassified facts. "In such a manner", the newly published regulations stated, "publication of that segment of information of possible

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value to a potential enemy can be prevented". Information in private hands, as well as that in government hands, is thus to be held up to a standard to which no people who mean to govern themselves ought to consent.

General Robert Cutler, on retiring from the National Security Council, indicated that he too was in favor of restricting the publication of much ordinary information, not at all eligible for security classifications, including even such things as maps issued by the Commerce Department. (These, of course, are indispensable to many private interests.)

The Commerce Department set up an Office of Strategic Information which embarked on another effort to keep American publications from disclosing technical information which might be useful to an enemy -- even though not secret enough to be classified. The free circulation of such data, of course, is the foundation of American industrial know-how.

On June 27, when General Ridgway retired, he wrote to the Secretary of Defense a letter in which he expressed doubts and misgivings about national military policy, in the broadest terms. The letter, indispensable to Americans really trying to understand current military issues, was classified "Confidential" and only became public when it was released in violation of this restriction. The reasons publicly stated for so classifying it are not included in those which Executive Order 10-501 describes as appropriate reasons for this classification.

For the past several months the Strategic Air Command has been withholding information as to the departure and destination of units of that command dispatched to stations abroad. That much secrecy is required in the operations of this command is understandable. One of the official reasons given for this secrecy, however, is that it will permit personnel to practice security measures. Such secrecy affects persons in civilian life, upsets the normal operations of communities involved and is, in any case, extremely ineffective and probably a better way of training people to evade secrecy than of instructing them to observe it. Citizens come to have contempt for secrecy orders that are imposed as an "exercise".

Extreme secrecy similarly was invoked in the summer-time OPERATION ALERT. As a result, no citizen outside government has any informed estimate of the success or failure of this experiment in dispersal The secrecy requirements were so little known and so irregularly enforced as to bring into contempt the real requirements of secrecy, if, as and when the operation involved is not play-acting, but the real thing.

Newspapers have protested against this expanding circle of secrecy, extending more and more widely beyond the narrow limits to which the President's initial order of November 1953 sought to confine it. In doing so they have been waging a fight for the right of the people to know about government operations that take most of the citizens' tax money and upon which the nation's very survival may depend.

These are examples of how fear of external danger is expanding the area of secrecy. They illustrate the development of a climate of secrecy. These measures are explained and defended as steps resulting from the very real and legitimate fears of conscientious and responsible men. Their sincerity is unquestioned. However, one man's fears are not the proper measure of another man's rights. Secrecy must be confined to matters involving, plainly and incontrovertibly, considerations of military security. We must not sacrifice democracy in order to defend it. It is to be hoped that the Defense Establishment will return to the sound principles of the President's 1953 statement.

These are by no means the only instances of spreading secrecy in military and in other governmental matters. They are, however, symptomatic of a trend

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which it is to be hoped can yet be reversed. This trend is evident in state, local and national affairs.

Legislative departments are by no means immune to the itch for secrecy. Congressional committees meet entirely too often in secret sessions, in spite of the plain intent of the acts of Congress.

Courts occasionally deny public access to their proceedings, notwithstanding traditions of public trial that go back to Magna Charta.

The acts of government, at every level, demonstrate from time to time that everything that is good exists always on the "razor edge of danger". The right to know can survive this hazard only if the press struggles to rescue it and only if the struggle of the press is understood by the people in whose behalf it is made.

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AMERICAN SOCIETY
of
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

1956 CONVENTION

April 19, 20, 21

HOTEL STATLER, Washington, D. C.

KENNETH MacDONALD
President

JENKIN LLOYD JONES
Program Chairman

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 18

Registration desk opens 1 P.M. in mezzanine foyer

Reception 6 P.M., Presidential and Congressional Rooms
(Badge admits member and wife)

THURSDAY, APRIL 19

Opening Session, 9 A.M.

Convention opened by President MacDonald

Invocation: Dwight Marvin, Troy Record Newspapers

Reports of Officers and Committee Chairmen:
Secretary: George W. Healy, Jr.
Treasurer: J. R. Wiggins
Membership Chairman: Lee Hills
Nominations Chairman: Lloyd Felmly
Bulletin Chairman: Carl E. Lindstrom
Program Chairman: Jenkin Lloyd Jones
President: Kenneth MacDonald

How Can We Improve Our Political Coverage?
Roy A. Roberts, Kansas City Star, *presiding*
A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News
George Cornish, New York Herald Tribune
Gould Lincoln, Washington Star
Charles Lucey, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
(Polls open for election of directors)

Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Virginius Dabney, Second Vice-President, *presiding*

Address by the Hon. Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State

Afternoon Session, 2 P.M.

Is Congressional Investigation of the Press a Threat to Freedom?
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Vermont Royster, Wall Street Journal
Discussion from the floor.

The Press Looks at the Problem of Integration
Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor, *presiding*
Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
Harry M. Ayers, Anniston (Ala.) Star
John Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana Gazette and Daily News
Discussion from the floor

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20

Morning Session, 9 A.M.

What Is a Give-away?
Walter Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin, *presiding*
Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon
Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona

How Goes Freedom of Information?
J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post and Times Herald, Chairman of FOI Committee
Rep. John E. Moss of California
Harold L. Cross, Special ASNE Counsel on FOI.

Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, First Vice-President, *presiding*

Address: "The Changing Reader" by Dr. Grayson L. Kirk, President, Columbia University

Fashion Show Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

For ASNE wives and guests, in the Hotel Willard

Afternoon Session, 2 P.M.

(Polls close at 2:30 P.M.)

"Why Do We Do These Stupid Things?" by Louis Seltzer, Cleveland Press.

News Photography, Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers

Technical assistance for this session provided by National Press Photographers Association under the direction of Milton Freier, United Press Newspictures, Washington.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21

(Washington Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi is host to ASNE members; reception at 7:30 A.M., breakfast at 8 o'clock in National Press Club Ballroom)

Morning Session, 9:45 A.M.

Page One Color, by William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

A Critique of Newspaper Typography
Harry Lee Waddell, McGraw-Hill Publications

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Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Basil L. Walters, Chicago Daily News, *presiding*
Address: Hon. Adlai Stevenson

Saturday Evening

Reception for members and banquet guests in Federal and South American Rooms *(Time to be announced)*

Annual Banquet *(Time to be announced)*

Music by United States Marine Band Orchestra, Capt. Albert Shoepper, director; Warrant Officer D. L. Harpham, conductor

President Kenneth MacDonald, *presiding*

Presentation of Clapper Award

Address by President Dwight D. Eisenhower

ASNE OFFICERS, 1955-1956

President
KENNETH MACDONALD, Des Moines Register and Tribune

1st Vice-President
JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Tulsa Tribune

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CARL E. LINDSTROM, Hartford Times
WALTER LISTER, Philadelphia Bulletin
FELIX R. MCKNIGHT, Dallas Morning News
JAMES S. POPE, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times
WALKER STONE, Scripps-Howard Newspapers

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The American Society of Newspaper Editors

1956 CONVENTION REGISTRATION

Members are registered at the Hotel Statler except those living in Washington and those designated: (M) Mayflower; (SC) Sheraton Carlton; (W) Washington; (J) Jefferson; (SP) Sheraton Park; (A-N) Army and Navy Club; (CC) Cosmos Club; (MC) Metropolitan Club; (Pr) Private residence.

ALABAMA

Reese T. Amis, Huntsville Times
Grover C. Hall, Montgomery Advertiser
Richard F. Hudson Jr., Alabama Journal and Montgomery Advertiser
James E. Mills, Birmingham Post-Herald
McClellan Van der Veer, Birmingham News

ARIZONA

Frederic Marquardt, Arizona Republic
William R. Mathews, Arizona Daily Star
Harry Montgomery, Phoenix Republic & Gazette

ARKANSAS

Donald W. Reynolds, Southwest Times-Record

CALIFORNIA

Frank C. Clough, Speidel Newspapers
Lawrence Collins Jr., Long Beach Press-Telegram
Kenneth S. Conn, San Jose Mercury and News
James S. Copley, San Diego Union (M)
Frank R. Ford, San Francisco News
George Grimes, Oxnard Press-Courier
Howard H .Hays Jr., Riverside Press
L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times
Walter P. Jones, McClatchy Newspapers
Carroll W. Parcher, Glendale News-Press
Roy Pinkerton, Ventura Star-Free Press
Virgil M. Pinkley, Los Angeles Mirror-News (SC)
Richard F. Pourade, San Diego Union
A. M. Richards Jr., Richmond Independent
Charles A. Storke, Santa Barbara News-Press

COLORADO

Jack Foster, Rocky Mountain News
Frank S. Hoag, Jr., Pueblo Chieftain and Star-Journal
Robert Lucas, Denver Post

CONNECTICUT

Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
George E. Clapp, New London Day
Ward E. Duffy, Hartford Times
William J. Foote, Hartford Courant
Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Andrew H. Lyon, Bridgeport Post-Telegram
E. R. McCullough, Stamford Advocate
William J. Pape, Waterbury Republican-American
Blanche Smith, Meriden Record and Journal
Robert C. Vance, New Britain Herald
William Vosburgh, Waterbury Republican-American

DELAWARE

Samuel Caufman Jr., Wilmington Morning News
E. F. Cunningham, Wilmington Journal-Every Evening
Fendall Yerxa, Wilmington News-Journal Newspapers

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

John H. Cline, Washington Star
Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star
Roscoe Drummond, N. Y. Herald Tribune Bureau
Robert Estabrook, Washington Post & Times Herald
Alfred Friendly, Washington Post & Times Herald
Arthur Krock, New York Times Bureau
Walter Lippmann, New York Herald Tribune
B. M. McKelway, Washington Star
Eugene Meyer, Washington Post & Times Herald
John T. O'Rourke, Washington Daily News
Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post & Times Herald

FLORIDA

Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach Journal & News
Thomas W. Hagan, Miami Daily News
Tom C. Harris, St. Petersburg Times
V. M. Newton Jr., Tampa Tribune
John D. Pennekamp, Miami Herald
Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg Times (Pr)

GEORGIA

Robert W. Brown, Columbus Ledger
James Saxon Childers, Atlanta Journal
Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution
Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Times
Joe Parham, Macon News
Robert L. M. Parks, Augusta Chronicle
Bert Struby, Macon Telegraph
W. C. Tucker, Columbus Enquirer (W)

HAWAII

Riley H. Allen, Honolulu Star-Bulletin

ILLINOIS

Milburn P. Akers, Chicago Sun-Times (SC)
A. T. Burch, Chicago Daily News
V. Y. Dallman, Illinois State Register
Marshall Field Jr., Chicago Sun-Times
William M. Hart, Aurora Beacon-News
Robert E. Kennedy, Chicago Sun-Times
Kenneth E. Olson, Northwestern University
Leon Stolz, Chicago Tribune
Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers

INDIANA

John G. Ackelmire, Indianapolis News
Dale E. Belles Jr., Gary Post-Tribune
James R. Benham, Terre Haute Star
Drysdale Brannon, Marion Chronicle
Jameson G. Campaigne, Indianapolis Star
Scott B. Chambers, New Castle Courier-Times
James S. DeLaurier, Hammond Times
John F. Dille Jr., Elkhart Truth
Robert P. Early, Indianapolis Star
Herbert Heimlich, Lafayette Journal & Courier
R. H. Kirkpatrick, Evansville Courier and Press
Walter Leckrone, Indianapolis Times
Paul E. Neville, South Bend Tribune
Eugene S. Pulliam, Indianapolis News (SC)
Dow Richardson, Kokomo Tribune
Earl H. Richert, Evansville Press
Franklin D. Schurz, South Bend Tribune
James A. Stuart, Indianapolis Star
Bruce Temple, Bloomington Herald-Telephone

IOWA

Philip D. Adler, Davenport Times (M)
Harry Boyd, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register and Tribune
W. Earl Hall, Mason City Globe-Gazette
E. C. Hoyt, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register and Tribune
A. M. Piper, Council Bluffs Nonpareil
Lauren K. Soth, Des Moines Register and Tribune

KANSAS

Whitley Austin, Salina Journal
F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg Sun and Headlight
John P. Harris, Hutchinson News-Herald
Joseph W. Lee, Topeka State Journal
Marcellus M. Murdock, Wichita Eagle
Clyde M. Reed Jr., Parsons Sun
Dolph Simons, Lawrence Journal-World

KENTUCKY

Barry Bingham, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times
Russell Briney, Louisville Times
Norman E. Isaacs, Louisville Times
James S. Pope, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times
Carl A. Saunders, Kentucky Post
Tom Wallace, Louisville Times (CC)

LOUISIANA

George Chaplin, New Orleans Item
Carl Corbin, New Orleans States
George W. Healy Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune
Charles Manship Jr., Baton Rouge State Times and Morning Advocate
Harold P. McCall, New Orleans Times-Picayune

MAINE

Harold L. Cross, Skowhegan
Duncan H. Oliphant, Portland Press-Herald

MARYLAND

Newton Aiken, Baltimore Evening Sun (SC)
Elmer M. Jackson Jr., Annapolis Capital
Oscar L. Morris, Salisbury Times
Hamilton Owens, Baltimore Sun (Pr)

MASSACHUSETTS

Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor
David F. Connors, Lowell Sun (SC)
Charles E. Gallagher, Lynn Evening Item
John R. Herbert, Quincy Patriot Ledger
Victor O. Jones, Boston Globe
Francis P. Murphy, Worcester Telegram
Forrest Seymour, Worcester Telegram and Gazette
M. H. Williams, Worcester Telegram and Gazette
L. L. Winship, Boston Globe

MICHIGAN

Ralph H. Bastien, Booth Newspapers
Arthur P. Gallagher, Ann Arbor News
Michael A. Gorman, Flint Journal
JS Gray, Monroe Evening News
Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press
Royce Howes, Detroit Free Press
John S. Knight, Knight Newspapers
Glenn MacDonald, Bay City Times
C. D. McNamee, Muskegon Chronicle
George A. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie News
Otto C. Pressprich, Saginaw News
Harry V. Wade, Detroit News
J. K. Walsh, Kalamazoo Gazette
Lee M. Woodruff, Grand Rapids Press

MINNESOTA

Carroll Binder, Minneapolis Tribune
Ralph D. Casey, University of Minnesota
John Cowles, Minneapolis Star and Tribune
Wilbur Elston, Minneapolis Star and Tribune
V. E. Fairbanks, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press
Herbert Lewis, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press
William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star and Tribune

MISSISSIPPI

T. M. Hederman, Jackson Clarion-Ledger
Frederick Sullens, Jackson Daily News (M)

MISSOURI

Richard H. Amberg, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Aaron G. Benesch, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Henry Bradley, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Arthur Burrowes, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Raymond L. Crowley, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch (A-N)
Richard B. Fowler, Kansas City Star
Joseph Pulitzer Jr., St. Louis Post-Dispatch (M)
Roy A. Roberts, Kansas City Star
C. G. Wellington, Kansas City Star

NEBRASKA

Joe W. Seacrest, Lincoln Journal

NEVADA

Joseph F. McDonald, Nevada State Journal (SP)

NEW JERSEY

Fred W. Burgner, Trenton Times
Robert N. Caldwell, Bayonne Times
Robert C. Crane, Elizabeth Journal
Valentine Fallon, Elizabeth Journal
Eugene Farrell, Jersey Journal
Lloyd M. Felmly, Newark News
Stanley Fink, Atlantic City Press (M)
Edmund Goodrich, Trenton Trentonian
Philip Hochstein, Newark Star-Ledger
James Kerney Jr., Trenton Times
William McBride, Passaic Herald-News
John J. McDonnell, Perth Amboy News
John K. Quad, New Brunswick Home News
Allen W. Smith, Passaic Herald-News
Jane Swerch, Camden Courier-Post

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NEW MEXICO

Dan Burrows, Albuquerque Tribune
Robert McKinney, Santa Fe New Mexican (MC)
Homer P. Pickrell, Albuquerque Journal

NEW YORK

L. R. Blanchard, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
Robert U. Brown, Editor & Publisher
Benjamin H. Carroll, White Plains Reporter-Dispatch
Turner Catledge, New York Times (M)
Richard W. Clarke, New York News (M)
George Cornish, New York Herald Tribune
George Crandall, Elmira Star Gazette
A. Vernon Croop, Rochester Times-Union
J. Montgomery Curtis, American Press Institute (SC)
William O. Dapping, Auburn Citizen-Advertiser
Sam H. Day, New York Journal-American
Leonard G. Feldman, Buffalo Courier-Express
William H. Fitzpatrick, Wall Street Journal
J. Leonard Gorman, Syracuse Post-Standard
William H. Grimes, Wall Street Journal
Jack R. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers (SC)
Roy W. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers (SC)
John B. Johnson, Watertown Daily Times
Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers
Cyril B. King, Buffalo Courier-Express
A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News
Clarence T. Leighton, Oswego Palladium Times
Jack H. Lockhart, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Karl R. McElroy, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Lester Markel, New York Times
Dwight Marvin, Troy Record
Alicia Patterson, Long Island Newsday
Ben Reese, American Press Institute
Oxie Reichler, Yonkers Herald Statesman
Hugh Robertson, Westchester County Publishers
Vermont C. Royster, Wall Street Journal
Gerald Salisbury, Albany Knickerbocker News
Dorothy Schiff, New York Post (SC)
George R. Shoals, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
Fred W. Stein, Binghamton Press
Mason C. Taylor, Utica Press
Fritz Updike, Rome Sentinel
Robert L. Voorhees, Syracuse Post-Standard
James A. Wechsler, New York Post
W. J. Woods, Utica Observer-Dispatch (SC)

NORTH CAROLINA

Floyd F. Hendley, Greensboro Record
Josh L. Horne, Rocky Mount Telegram
Colvin T. Leonard, Greensboro Record
C. A. McKnight, Charlotte Observer
Holt McPherson, High Point Enterprise
Reed Sarratt, Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel
Robert E. Williams, Raleigh News and Observer (SC)
Miles H. Wolff, Greensboro Daily News

NORTH DAKOTA

H. D. Paulson, Fargo Forum

OHIO

Stanley P. Barnett, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Robert C. Barton, Lima News
George A. Benson, Toledo Times
Paul Block Jr., Toledo Blade (SC)
Michael Bradshaw, Toledo Blade (SC)
Wright Bryan, Cleveland Plain Dealer
James F. Carroll, Dayton Journal Herald
James Fain, Dayton Daily News
John G. Green, Portsmouth Times
Stanley E. Hart, Warren Tribune-Chronicle
Clayton G. Horn, Canton Repository
N. R. Howard, Cleveland News
James S. Jackson, Akron Beacon Journal
John E. Kennon, Cleveland News
Francis P. Locke, Dayton Daily News
William F. Maag, Youngstown Vindicator
Ben Maidenburg, Akron Beacon Journal
J. A. Meckstroth, Ohio State Journal
John Moore Jr., Dayton Journal Herald
John B. Mullaney, Cleveland News
Richard Peters, Cleveland Press
Philip W. Porter, Cleveland Plain Dealer
John D. Raridan, Brush-Moore Newspapers
James P. Rosemond, Cincinnati Times-Star
Joseph W. Sagmaster, Cincinnati Times-Star
Paul A. Schrader, Toledo Blade
Charles E. Scripps, Cincinnati Post
Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland Press
Norman Shaw, Cleveland Press
Robert H. Stopher, Akron Beacon Journal
Bert A. Teeters, Springfield News and Sun
Dick Thornburg, Cincinnati Post
Kenneth D. Tooill, Toledo Times
Don E. Weaver, Columbus Citizen
Dwight Young, Dayton Journal Herald

OKLAHOMA

Tams Bixby, Muskogee Phoenix and Times Democrat
E. Gaylord, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times (SC)
Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City North Star
N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa World (SC)
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa Tribune
Carl K. Stuart, Oklahoma City Oklahoman and Times

OREGON

Tom Humphrey, Oregon Journal
Frank Jenkins, Klamath Falls Herald and News
Robert C. Notson, Portland Oregonian
Arden X. Pangborn, Oregon Journal

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert J. Arthur, Scranton Tribune
Thomas Barber, Lancaster Sunday News (SC)
Robert S. Bates, Meadville Tribune
Andrew Bernhard, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
William Block, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
I. Z. Buckwalter, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
John H. Carter, Lancaster New Era (SC)
James R. Doran, Harrisburg Patriot-News
Melville F. Ferguson, Philadelphia Bulletin
W. W. Forster, Pittsburgh Press
Edward J. Gerrity, Scranton Times
Rebecca Gross, Lock Haven Express
G. A. Harshman, Sharon Herald
Frank N. Hawkins, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
John F. James, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
William S. Lampe, Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph
Walter B. Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin (M)
E. J. Lynett, Scranton Times
John McSweeney, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader News
John J. Mead Jr., Erie Daily Times
Joseph T. Murphy, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
Harrison H. Smith, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
J. Hale Steinman, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
John F. Steinman, Lancaster New Era (SC)
George D. Stuart, Tarentum Valley Daily News

RHODE ISLAND

Sevellon Brown 3rd, Providence Journal and Bulletin
Michael J. Ogden, Providence Journal and Bulletin

SOUTH CAROLINA

George A. Buchanan Jr., Columbia Record
Wayne Freeman, Greenville News
Robert M. Hitt Jr., Charleston Evening Post
Samuel L. Latimer Jr., Columbia State
Thomas R. Waring, Charleston News and Courier
Carl Weimer, Greenville News

SOUTH DAKOTA

Fred Christopherson, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
John A. Kennedy, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
Robert D. Lusk, Huron Daily Plainsman (SC)
Warren Morrell, Rapid City Journal
Henry J. Schmitt, Aberdeen American-News

TENNESSEE

Frank R. Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial Appeal
A. C. Dunkleberger, Nashville Banner
Coleman Harwell, Nashville Tennessean
George W. Kelly, Johnson City Press-Chronicle
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville News-Sentinel
Alfred D. Mynders, Chattanooga Times
Guy L. Smith, Knoxville Journal
James G. Stahlman, Nashville Banner (A-N)

TEXAS

Robert W. Akers, Beaumont Enterprise and Journal
George Carmack, Houston Press
Charles E. Green, Austin American Statesman
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal
Houston Harte, San Angelo Standard-Times
Oveta Culp Hobby, Houston Post
Rhea Howard, Wichita Falls Times and Record-News
Walter R. Humphrey, Fort Worth Press
Wesley S. Izzard, Amarillo News
Robert M. Jackson, Corpus Christi Caller-Times
Arthur Laro, Houston Post
John Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana Gazette and News
Frank W. Mayborn, Temple Daily Telegram (W)
Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News
Edward M. Pooley, El Paso Herald-Post
Harry Provence, Waco News-Tribune; Times-Herald (Pr)
Edgar Ray, San Antonio Express and News
Thomas H. Thompson, Amarillo Globe-Times
Mason Walsh, Dallas Times-Herald
M. E. Walter, Houston Chronicle

UTAH

Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune (SC)
J. F. Fitzpatrick, Salt Lake Tribune (SC)
Theron Liddle, Deseret News; Salt Lake Telegram (J)

VERMONT

John S. Hooper, Brattleboro Reformer

VIRGINIA

Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
John H. Colburn, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Robert Glass, Lynchburg News and Advance
C. H. Hamilton, Richmond News-Leader
Tom Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
William M. Harrison, Newport News Times-Herald
Ralph K. T. Larson, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Joseph A. Leslie Jr., Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
J. Curtis Lyons, Petersburg Progress-Index
Clarence Marshall, Newport News Daily Press
Barton W. Morris Jr., Roanoke Times
W. C. Stouffer, Roanoke World-News
Jack B. Thompson, Clifton Forge Review
Edward A. Wyatt, Petersburg Progress-Index

WASHINGTON

Harold Cassill, Spokane Spokesman Review and Chronicle
John McClelland Jr., Longview Daily News

WEST VIRGINIA

Raymond Brewster, Huntington Herald-Dispatch
Frank A. Knight, Charleston Gazette
H. R. Pinckard, Huntington Herald-Advertiser

WISCONSIN

R. L. Bangsberg, La Crosse Tribune
J. D. Ferguson, Milwaukee Journal
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
Roy L. Matson, Wisconsin State Journal
Victor I. Minahan, Jr., Appleton Post-Crescent
A. Matt Werner, Sheboygan Press (M)

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AMERICAN SOCIETY
of
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

1955 CONVENTION

April 20, 21, 22, 23

HOTEL STATLER, Washington, D.C.

JAMES S. POPE
President

TURNER CATLEDGE
Program Chairman

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20

Registration desk opens, 1 P.M., in mezzanine foyer

Reception, 6 P.M. *(Badge admits member and wife.)*

THURSDAY, APRIL 21

Opening Session, 9 A.M.

Invocation: Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate

Convention opened by President, James S. Pope

Reports of Officers and Committee Chairmen

Secretary: George W. Healy, Jr.
Treasurer: Virginius Dabney
Nominations Chairman: John M. McClelland, Jr.
Membership Chairman: Herbert Corn
Bulletin Chairman: Carl E. Lindstrom
Program Chairman: Turner Catledge

Address by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chairman, Fund for the Republic; formerly President, University of Chicago

Responses to Dr. Hutchins' address and questions from floor

Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh News and Observer, *presiding*
Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register and Tribune
J. Montgomery Curtis, American Press Institute

(Polls open for election of directors at close of session)

Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Kenneth MacDonald, First Vice President, *presiding*

Address by Harold E. Stassen, Special Assistant to the President on Disarmament Problems

Afternoon Session, 2 P.M.

Through the Iron Curtain: William Randolph Hearst, Jr.; with Frank Conniff, Assistant to Mr. Hearst

The Changing Pattern of Reporting in Washington

Roscoe Drummond, New York Herald Tribune, *presiding*
James Reston, The New York Times
Max Freedman, Manchester Guardian
Nat Finnegan, Buffalo Evening News

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SATURDAY, APRIL 23

Simultaneous Sessions, 9:45 A.M.

NEWS AND ADMINISTRATION

Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press and Miami Herald, *presiding*

Personnel — Recruiting and Training
- Warren Wheeler, Personnel Director, South Bend Tribune, discussion leader
- Ralph Casey, Director, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota

What's Happening to Comics?
- Walter Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin, discussion leader
- E. B. Thompson, King Features Syndicate
- Milton Caniff, artist
- Carl J. Nelson Publication Research Service

Where are We Going with Sports Pages?
- Don Maxwell, Chicago Tribune
- Robert Elliott, Miami Herald

EDITORIALS — OPINION AND POLICY

Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant, *presiding*

What's the Job, and How Are We Doing It?
- Rebecca Gross, Lock Haven Express
- Harold P. McCall, New Orleans Time-Picayune
- Reed Sarratt, Winston-Salem Journal & Sentinel

Who Sets Policy and How?
- Newspapers Should Express a Point of View
  - W. H. Grimes, The Wall Street Journal
- Newspapers Should be Independent
  - Sevellon Brown III, Providence Journal and Bulletin
- The Underpinning of Editorial Independence
  - Philip Graham, The Washington Post & Times-Herald
- Editorial Responsibility of Group Newspapers
  - Jack Foster, Rocky Mountain News

Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Second Vice President, *presiding*

Address by William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System

Saturday Evening

Reception for member and banquet guests, 6 o'clock

Banquet, 7 o'clock, in Presidential and Congressional Rooms
- President James S. Pope, *presiding*
- Presentation of Clapper Award
- Address by Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, Chariman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

(Discussion from floor following all panels and short talks)

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FRIDAY, APRIL 22

Morning Session, 9 A.M.

How is the South's Press Reporting Desegregation of Schools?
Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch, *presiding*
C. A. McKnight, Southern Education Reporting Service

How Must We Change to Progress?
William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, *presiding*

Readin' and Writin'
Charles Hamilton, Richmond News Leader

Reportorial String Savers
Carl Lindstrom, Hartford Times

Do We Really Need Color?
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal

Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

Turner Catledge, The New York Times, *presiding*

Address by George Meany,
President, American Federation of Labor

Fashion Show Luncheon, 12:30 P.M.

For ASNE wives and guests, in the Hotel Willard

Afternoon Session, 2 P.M.

(Polls close at 2:30 P. M.)

J. R. Wiggins, Freedom of Information Chairman, *presiding*

Judicial Proceedings
William H. Fitzpatrick, Wall Street Journal, moderator
Alexander F. Jones, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Edwin M. Otterbourg, Chairman, Committee on Fair Trial and Free Press, New York County Lawyers Association

Legislative Proceedings
Representative F. Edward Hebert of Louisiana, moderator
V. M. Newton, Jr., Tampa Tribune
William R. Mathews, Arizona Daily Star

Military Affairs
Byron Price, Consultant to Office of Defense Mobilization, moderator

Dr. Malcolm C. Henderson, Professor of Physics, Catholic University, former AEC official

R. Karl Honaman, Director, Office of Strategic Information, Department of Commerce

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NOTE: Saturday, 8 a.m., Washington Professional Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi is host to ASNE members at breakfast in honor of President Eisenhower.

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ALASKA

Robert B. Atwood, Anchorage Times

ALABAMA

Harry M. Ayers, Anniston Star
Grover C. Hall, Montgomery Advertiser
James E. Mills, Birmingham Post-Herald
McClellan Van der Veer, Birmingham News

ARIZONA

Frederic Marquardt, Arizona Republic
William R. Mathews, Arizona Daily Star
Harry Montgomery, Arizona Republic and Phoenix Gazette

ARKANSAS

Harry S. Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette
J. N. Heiskell, Arkansas Gazette

CALIFORNIA

Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times (M)
Frank C. Clough, Speidel Newspapers
Lawrence A. Collins Jr., Long Beach Press-Telegram
Kenneth S. Conn, San Jose Mercury and News
Frank R. Ford, San Francisco News
J. A. Guthrie, San Bernardino Sun-Telegram (M)
Howard H. Hays Jr., Riverside Press
L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times
Walter P. Jones, McClatchy Newspapers
Carroll W. Parcher, Glendale News-Press
Roy Pinkerton, Ventura Star-Free Press
Richard F. Pourade, San Diego Union
A. M. Richards Jr., Richmond Independent
Robert M. Speidel, Visalia Times-Delta
Eugene F. Williams, San Diego Tribune

COLORADO

Frank S. Hoag Jr., Pueblo Star-Journal and Chieftain
Robert W. Lucas, Denver Post
Jack Foster, Rocky Mountain News

CONNECTICUT

Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
George E. Clapp, New London Day
Ward E. Duffy, Hartford Times
William J. Foote, Hartford Courant
C. C. Hemenway, West Hartford
Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Andrew H. Lyon, Bridgeport Post-Telegram
E. R. McCullough, Stamford Advocate
William J. Pape, Waterbury Republican-American
Blanche Hixson Smith, Meriden Record & Journal
Robert C. Vance, New Britain Herald
William W. Vosburgh, Waterbury Republican-American

DELAWARE

S. H. Caufman Jr., Wilmington Morning News
E. F. Cunningham, Wilmington Journal-Every Evening
C. L. Reese Jr., Wilmington News-Journal (SC)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

John H. Cline, Washington Star (DC)
Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star (DC)
Roscoe Drummond, N. Y. Herald-Tribune (DC)
Alfred Friendly, Washington Post & Times Herald (DC)
Arthur Krock, N. Y. Times (DC)
David Lawrence, U. S. News & World Report (DC)
Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald-Tribune (DC)
B. M. McKelway, Washington Star (DC)
Eugene Meyer, Washington Post and Times Herald (DC)
John T. O'Rourke, Washington News (DC)
Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard Newspapers (DC)
J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post & Times Herald (DC)

FLORIDA

Arnold Burnett, Sarasota News (A)
Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach Journal and News
Thomas W. Hagan, Miami Daily News
Tom C. Harris, St. Petersburg Times
V. M. Newton Jr., Tampa Tribune
John D. Pennekamp, Miami Herald
Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg Times (DC)
Hoke S. Welch, Miami Daily News

GEORGIA

Robert W. Brown, Columbus Ledger
James S. Childers, Atlanta Journal
Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Times
Joe Parham, Macon News
Bert Struby, Macon Telegraph
John L. Sutlive, Savannah Evening Press
W. C. Tucker, Columbus Enquirer (W)

HAWAII

Riley Allen, Honolulu Star-Bulletin

ILLINOIS

Milburn P. Akers, Chicago Sun-Times
A. T. Burch, Chicago Daily News
V. Y. Dallman, Illinois State Register
Lee Ettelson, Chicago American
Marshall Field Jr., Chicago Sun-Times
Martin Gagie, Danville Commercial-News
Harold George, Peoria Star
Robert E. Kennedy, Chicago Sun-Times
Edward Lindsay, Lindsay-Schaub Newspapers
F. M. Lindsay, Champaign-Urbana Courier
C. Raymond Long, Elgin Courier-News (M)
John F. Lux, Joliet Herald-News (M)
William D. Maxwell, Chicago Tribune
Robert C. Schaub, Decatur Herald and Review
Leon Stolz, Chicago Tribune (SC)
H. Clay Tate, Bloomington Pantagraph
Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers

INDIANA

John G. Ackelmire, Indianapolis News
Jameson G. Campaigne, Indianapolis Star
Scott B. Chambers, New Castle Courier-Times
James S. DeLaurier, Hammond Times
John F. Dille Jr., Elkhart Truth
Robert P. Early, Indianapolis Star
Herbert Heimlich, Lafayette Journal and Courier
Walter Leckrone, Indianapolis Times
Paul Neville, South Bend Tribune
Eugene S. Pulliam Jr., Indianapolis News (SC)
Dow Richardson, Kokomo Tribune
Earl H. Richert, Evansville Press
James A. Stuart, Indianapolis Star

IOWA

Harry Boyd, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register and Tribune
W. Earl Hall, Mason City Globe-Gazette
E. C. Hoyt, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register and Tribune
A. M. Piper, Council Bluffs Nonpareil

KANSAS

Whitley Austin, Salina Journal
W. A. Bailey, Kansas City Kansan
F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg Sun and Headlight
John P. Harris, Hutchinson News-Herald
Joseph Lee, Topeka State Journal
Jim Reed, Topeka Daily Capital
Dolph Simons, Lawrence Journal-World
O. S. Stauffer, Topeka State Journal

KENTUCKY

Russell Briney, Louisville Times
Norman E. Isaacs, Louisville Times
James S. Pope, Courier-Journal & Louisville Times
Carl A. Saunders, Kentucky Post

LOUISIANA

Carl Corbin, New Orleans States
Charles A. Hazen, Shreveport Times
George Healy Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune
Harold P. McCall, New Orleans Times-Picayune
George W. Shannon, Shreveport Journal

MAINE

Harold L. Cross, Skowhegan
Duncan Oliphant, Portland Press-Herald

MARYLAND

Newton Aiken, Baltimore Evening Sun
Elmer Jackson Jr., Annapolis Evening Capital
Hamilton Owens, Baltimore Sunpapers

MASSACHUSETTS

Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor
David F. Connors, Lowell Sun (Sh)
Thomas F. Costello, Lowell Sun (Sh)
Charles E. Gallagher, Lynn Item
John R. Herbert, Quincy Patriot-Ledger
Lewis R. Hovey, Beverly Evening Times
Francis P. Murphy, Worcester Telegram
Forrest W. Seymour, Worcester Telegram & Gazette
M. H. Williams, Worcester Telegram & Gazette
L. L. Winship, Boston Globe

MICHIGAN

Ralph H. Bastien, Booth Newspapers
W. A. Butler, Holland Evening Sentinel
J. Evans Campbell, Owosso Argus Press
Conrad N. Church, Pontiac Daily Press
Harold A. Fitzgerald, Pontiac Daily Press
Michael A. Gorman, Flint Journal
JS Gray, Monroe Evening News
Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press
John S. Knight, Knight Newspapers
William S. Lampe, Detroit Times
Glenn MacDonald, Bay City Times
C. D. McNamee, Muskegon Chronicle
John C. Manning, Detroit Times
Lynn S. Miller, Royal Oak Tribune
George A. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie News
Otto C. Pressprich, Saginaw News
Carl M. Saunders, Jackson Citizen-Patriot
Harry V. Wade, Detroit News
J. K. Walsh, Kalamazoo Gazette

MINNESOTA

Carroll Binder, Minneapolis Tribune
Ralph D. Casey, University of Minnesota
John Cowles, Minneapolis Star & Tribune (SC)
Wilbur Elston, Minneapolis Star & Tribune
Herbert Lewis, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press
William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star & Tribune

MISSISSIPPI

Hodding Carter, Delta Democrat-Times (DC)
T. M. Hederman, Jackson Clarion-Ledger
Frederick Sullens, Jackson Daily News

MISSOURI

Aaron G. Benesch, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Henry D .Bradley, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Arthur Burrowes, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Louis LaCoss, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Joseph Pulitzer Jr., St. Louis Post-Dispatch (M)
Roy A. Roberts, Kansas City Star
C. G. Wellington, Kansas City Star
Robert M. White II, Mexico Ledger

NEBRASKA

Raymond McConnell Jr., Nebraska State Journal
Joe W. Seacrest, Lincoln Journal

NEVADA

Joseph F. McDonald, Nevada State Journal

NEW JERSEY

Fred W. Burgner, Trenton Times
Robert N. Caldwell, Bayonne Times
Robert C. Crane, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Valentine Fallon, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Eugene Farrell, Jersey Journal
Lloyd M. Felmly, Newark News
Stanley Fink, Atlantic City Press
Edmund Goodrich, Trenton Trentonian
Philip Hochstein, Newark Star-Ledger
James Kerney Jr., Trenton Times
John E. Kerney, Trenton Times
John J. McDonnell, Perth Amboy News
John K. Quad, New Brunswick Home News
Paul E. Smith, Plainfield Courier-News
Jane A. Stretch, Camden Courier-Post (DC)

NEW MEXICO

Dan Burrows, Albuquerque Tribune
Homer P. Pickrell, Aubuquerque Journal

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NEW YORK

Richard Amberg, Syracuse Post-Standard
L. R. Blanchard, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
Robert U. Brown, 'Editor & Publisher'
Benjamin Carroll, White Plains Reporter-Dispatch
Turner Catledge, New York Times
Richard W. Clarke, New York News
George A. Cornish, New York Herald-Tribune
George S. Crandall, Elmira Star-Gazette
A. Vernon Croop, Rochester Times-Union
Montgomery Curtis, American Press Institute
William O. Dapping, Auburn Citizen-Advertiser
Sam H. Day, New York Journal-American
William H. Fitzpatrick, Wall Street Journal
Charles A. S. Freeman, Newburgh News
Edward Gottlieb, Long Island Press
William H. Grimes, Wall Street Journal
William R. Hearst Jr., New York Journal-American
Jack R. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Roy W. Howard, N. Y. World Telegram and Sun
John B. Johnson, Watertown Daily Times
Alexander F. Jones, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers
Cyril B. King, Buffalo Courier-Express
A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News
Clarence Leighton, Oswego Palladium-Times
Jack Lockhart, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Lester Markel, New York Times
Paul Miller, Rochester Times-Union
Harold E. Moore, Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press (SC)
Alicia Patterson, Long Island Newsday
Ben Reese, American Press Institute
Oxie Reichler, Yonkers Herald Statesman
Vermont C. Royster, Wall Street Journal
Dorothy Schiff, New York Post (SC)
Thomas Schroth, Brooklyn Eagle
Fred W. Stein, Binghamton Press
E. S. Turner, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Fritz Updike, Rome Daily Sentinel
Robert Voorhees, Syracuse Post-Standard
James A. Wechsler, New York Post (SC)
George B. Williams, Geneva Times
W. J. Woods, Utica Observer-Dispatch (SC)

NORTH CAROLINA

Wallace Carroll, Winston-Salem Journal & Sentinel (DC)
Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh News and Observer
Henry A. Dennis, Henderson Dispatch
Floyd F. Hendley, Greensboro Record
Josh Horne, Rocky Mount Telegram
Ernest B. Hunter, Charlotte Observer
Colvin T. Leonard, Greensboro Record
Holt McPherson, High Point Enterprise
Ben F. Park, Raleigh Times
Reed Sarratt, Winston Salem Journal & Sentinel
Don Shoemaker, Asheville Citizen
Robert Williams, Raleigh News and Observer
Miles H. Wolff, Greensboro Daily News

NORTH DAKOTA

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John O. Hjelle, Bismarck Tribune
H. D. Paulson, Fargo Forum

OHIO

Stanley P. Barnett, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Robert C. Barton, Lima News
Paul Bellamy, Cleveland Plain Dealer
George A. Benson, Toledo Times
E. M. Boyd, Cincinnati Enquirer
Michael Bradshaw, Toledo Blade
Wright Bryan, Cleveland Plain Dealer
James F. Carroll, Dayton Journal Herald
James E. Fain, Dayton Daily News
John G. Green, Portsmouth Times
Stanley E. Hart, Warren Tribune-Chronicle
Clayton G. Horn, Canton Repository
N. R. Howard, Cleveland News
James Jackson, Akron Beacon Journal
John E. Kennon, Cleveland News
Herbert Koehl, Dayton Daily News
William F. Maag, Youngstown Vindicator
Ben Maidenburg, Akron Beacon Journal
J. A. Meckstroth, Ohio State Journal
John Moore Jr., Dayton Journal Herald
John B. Mullaney, Cleveland News
Grove Patterson, Toledo Blade
Richard Peters, Cleveland Press (DC)
Philip W. Porter, Cleveland Plain Dealer
John D. Raridan, Brush-Moore Newspapers
James P. Rosemond, Cincinnati Times-Star
Joseph Sagmaster, Cincinnati Times-Star
Paul A. Schrader, Toledo Blade
Charles E. Scripps, Cincinnati Post
Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland Press
Norman Shaw, Cleveland Press
George Smallsreed, Columbus Dispatch
Robert H. Stopher, Akron Beacon Journal
Dick Thornburg, Cincinnati Post
Kenneth Tooill, Toledo Times
Don E. Weaver, Columbus Citizen
Dwight Young, Dayton Journal Herald

OKLAHOMA

Tams Bixby Jr., Muskogee Phoenix & Times Democrat
E. K. Gaylord, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times
Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City
N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa World (SC)
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa Tribune
Carl K. Stuart, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times

OREGON

Tom Humphrey, Oregon Journal
Robert C. Notson, Portland Oregonian
Arden X. Pangborn, Oregon Journal
Charles A. Sprague, Oregon Statesman (HA)

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert J. Arthur, Scranton Tribune
Robert S. Bates, Meadville Tribune
Andrew Bernhard, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
William Block, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
I. Z. Buckwalter, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
John H. Carter, Lancaster New Era (SC)
James R. Doran, Harrisburg Patriot-News
Charles Dressler, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Melville Ferguson, Philadelphia Bulletin
W. W. Forster, Pittsburgh Press
Edward J. Gerrity, Scranton Times
Rebecca Gross, Lock Haven Express
Gerald A. Harshman, Sharon Herald
John F. James, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Earl E. Keyser, Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal (SC)
Robert Kirkpatrick, Bethlehem Globe-Times
Walter B. Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin
E. J. Lynett, Scranton Times
Samuel Miller, Allentown Chronicle
Joseph T. Murphy, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
W. D. Reimert, Allentown Morning Call
Harrison Smith, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
J. Hale Steinman, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
Hugh Wagnon, Chester Times

RHODE ISLAND

Sevellon Brown, Providence Journal & Bulletin
Sevellon Brown 3rd, Providence Journal & Bulletin
Michael J. Ogden, Providence Journal & Bulletin

SOUTH CAROLINA

George A. Buchanan, Columbia Record
Wayne Freeman, Greenville Piedmont
Robert M. Hitt Jr., Charleston Evening Post
S. L. Latimer Jr., Columbia State
Talbot Patrick, Rock Hill Evening Herald
Thomas Waring, Charleston News & Courier
Carl Weimer, Greenville News

SOUTH DAKOTA

Fred Christopherson, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
Warren Morrell, Rapid City Journal

TENNESSEE

Frank Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Alvand Dunkleberger, Nashville Banner
Coleman Harwell, Nashville Tennessean
Edward Meeman, Memphis Press-Scimitar
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville News-Sentinel
Charles Puckette, Chattanooga Times
Guy L. Smith, Knoxville Journal (SC)
James G. Stahlman, Nashville Banner

TEXAS

Robert Akers, Beaumont Enterprise & Journal
George Carmack, Houston Press
Charles E. Green, Austin American Statesman
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal
Houston Harte, San Angelo Standard-Times
W. J. Hooten, El Paso Times
Rhea Howard, Wichita Falls Times & Record-News
Walter Humphrey, Fort Worth Press
Wesley S. Izzard, Amarillo News
Arthur Laro, Houston Post
John Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana Gazette
Frank W. Mayborn, Temple Telegram (W)
Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News
Edward M. Pooley, El Paso Herald-Post
Edgar Wayne Ray, San Antonio Express & News
James R. Record, Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Mason Walsh, Dallas Times Herald
M. E. Walter, Houston Chronicle

UTAH

Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune
J. F. Fitzpatrick, Salt Lake Tribune
Theron C. Liddle, Deseret News & Salt Lake Telegram

VERMONT

Edward F. Crane, Burlington Free Press
John S. Hooper, Brattleboro Reformer

VIRGINIA

M. W. Armistead III, Roanoke Times & World News
Harry F. Byrd Jr., Winchester Star (Sh)
Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
John H. Colburn, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch
C. H. Hamilton, Richmond News-Leader
Tom Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
William M. Harrison, Newport News Times-Herald
Joseph A. Leslie Jr., Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Curtis J. Lyons, Petersburg Progress-Index
Clarence G. Marshall, Newport News Daily Press
W. C. Stouffer, Roanoke World News
Jack Thompson, Clifton Forge Review
Edward A. Wyatt, Petersburg Progress-Index

WASHINGTON

Harold Cassill, Spokane Spokesman-Review & Chronicle
Julius Gius, Bremerton Sun
John M. McClelland Jr., Longview Daily News (SC)
Russell McGrath, Seattle Times
Edward T. Stone, Seattle Post-Intelligencer

WEST VIRGINIA

Raymond Brewster, Huntington Herald-Dispatch (SC)
Frank A. Knight, Charleston Gazette
H. R. Pinckard, Huntington Herald-Advertiser

WISCONSIN

R. L. Bangsberg, LaCrosse Tribune
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
Roy L. Matson, Wisconsin State Journal
A. Matt Werner, Sheyboygan Press (M)

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ALASKA

Robert B. Atwood, Anchorage Times

ALABAMA

Harry M. Ayers, Anniston Star
Grover C. Hall, Montgomery Advertiser
James E. Mills, Birmingham Post-Herald
McClellan Van der Veer, Birmingham News

ARIZONA

Frederic Marquardt, Arizona Republic
William R. Mathews, Arizona Daily Star
Harry Montgomery, Arizona Republic and Phoenix Gazette

ARKANSAS

Harry S. Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette
J. N. Heiskell, Arkansas Gazette

CALIFORNIA

Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times (M)
Frank C. Clough, Speidel Newspapers
Lawrence A. Collins Jr., Long Beach Press-Telegram
Kenneth S. Conn, San Jose Mercury and News
Frank R. Ford, San Francisco News
J. A. Guthrie, San Bernardino Sun-Telegram (M)
Howard H. Hays Jr., Riverside Press
L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times
Walter P. Jones, McClatchy Newspapers
Carroll W. Parcher, Glendale News-Press
Roy Pinkerton, Ventura Star-Free Press
Richard F. Pourade, San Diego Union
A. M. Richards Jr., Richmond Independent
Robert M. Speidel, Visalia Times-Delta
Eugene F. Williams, San Diego Tribune

COLORADO

Frank S. Hoag Jr., Pueblo Star-Journal and Chieftain
Robert W. Lucas, Denver Post
Jack Foster, Rocky Mountain News

CONNECTICUT

Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
George E. Clapp, New London Day
Ward E. Duffy, Hartford Times
William J. Foote, Hartford Courant
C. C. Hemenway, West Hartford
Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Andrew H. Lyon, Bridgeport Post-Telegram
E. R. McCullough, Stamford Advocate
William J. Pape, Waterbury Republican-American
Blanche Hixson Smith, Meriden Record & Journal
Robert C. Vance, New Britain Herald
William W. Vosburgh, Waterbury Republican-American

DELAWARE

S. H. Caufman Jr., Wilmington Morning News
E. F. Cunningham, Wilmington Journal-Every Evening
C. L. Reese Jr., Wilmington News-Journal (SC)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

John H. Cline, Washington Star (DC)
Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star (DC)
Roscoe Drummond, N. Y. Herald-Tribune (DC)
Alfred Friendly, Washington Post & Times Herald (DC)
Arthur Krock, N. Y. Times (DC)
David Lawrence, U. S. News & World Report (DC)
Walter Lippmann, N. Y. Herald-Tribune (DC)
B. M. McKelway, Washington Star (DC)
Eugene Meyer, Washington Post and Times Herald (DC)
John T. O'Rourke, Washington News (DC)
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JS Gray, Monroe Evening News
Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press
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Glenn MacDonald, Bay City Times
C. D. McNamee, Muskegon Chronicle
John C. Manning, Detroit Times
Lynn S. Miller, Royal Oak Tribune
George A. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie News
Otto C. Pressprich, Saginaw News
Carl M. Saunders, Jackson Citizen-Patriot
Harry V. Wade, Detroit News
J. K. Walsh, Kalamazoo Gazette

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Wilbur Elston, Minneapolis Star & Tribune
Herbert Lewis, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press
William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star & Tribune

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Arthur Burrowes, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Louis LaCoss, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Joseph Pulitzer Jr., St. Louis Post-Dispatch (M)
Roy A. Roberts, Kansas City Star
C. G. Wellington, Kansas City Star
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Stanley Fink, Atlantic City Press
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John E. Kerney, Trenton Times
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John K. Quad, New Brunswick Home News
Paul E. Smith, Plainfield Courier-News
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A. Vernon Croop, Rochester Times-Union
Montgomery Curtis, American Press Institute
William O. Dapping, Auburn Citizen-Advertiser
Sam H. Day, New York Journal-American
William H. Fitzpatrick, Wall Street Journal
Charles A. S. Freeman, Newburgh News
Edward Gottlieb, Long Island Press
William H. Grimes, Wall Street Journal
William R. Hearst Jr., New York Journal-American
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Lester Markel, New York Times
Paul Miller, Rochester Times-Union
Harold E. Moore, Utica Observer-Dispatch & Press (SC)
Alicia Patterson, Long Island Newsday
Ben Reese, American Press Institute
Oxie Reichler, Yonkers Herald Statesman
Vermont C. Royster, Wall Street Journal
Dorothy Schiff, New York Post (SC)
Thomas Schroth, Brooklyn Eagle
Fred W. Stein, Binghamton Press
E. S. Turner, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Fritz Updike, Rome Daily Sentinel
Robert Voorhees, Syracuse Post-Standard
James A. Wechsler, New York Post (SC)
George B. Williams, Geneva Times
W. J. Woods, Utica Observer-Dispatch (SC)

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Floyd F. Hendley, Greensboro Record
Josh Horne, Rocky Mount Telegram
Ernest B. Hunter, Charlotte Observer
Colvin T. Leonard, Greensboro Record
Holt McPherson, High Point Enterprise
Ben F. Park, Raleigh Times
Reed Sarratt, Winston Salem Journal & Sentinel
Don Shoemaker, Asheville Citizen
Robert Williams, Raleigh News and Observer
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H. D. Paulson, Fargo Forum

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John G. Green, Portsmouth Times
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Clayton G. Horn, Canton Repository
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James Jackson, Akron Beacon Journal
John E. Kennon, Cleveland News
Herbert Koehl, Dayton Daily News
William F. Maag, Youngstown Vindicator
Ben Maidenburg, Akron Beacon Journal
J. A. Meckstroth, Ohio State Journal
John Moore Jr., Dayton Journal Herald
John B. Mullaney, Cleveland News
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John D. Raridan, Brush-Moore Newspapers
James P. Rosemond, Cincinnati Times-Star
Joseph Sagmaster, Cincinnati Times-Star
Paul A. Schrader, Toledo Blade
Charles E. Scripps, Cincinnati Post
Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland Press
Norman Shaw, Cleveland Press
George Smallsreed, Columbus Dispatch
Robert H. Stopher, Akron Beacon Journal
Dick Thornburg, Cincinnati Post
Kenneth Tooill, Toledo Times
Don E. Weaver, Columbus Citizen
Dwight Young, Dayton Journal Herald

OKLAHOMA

Tams Bixby Jr., Muskogee Phoenix & Times Democrat
E. K. Gaylord, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times
Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City
N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa World (SC)
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa Tribune
Carl K. Stuart, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times

OREGON

Tom Humphrey, Oregon Journal
Robert C. Notson, Portland Oregonian
Arden X. Pangborn, Oregon Journal
Charles A. Sprague, Oregon Statesman (HA)

PENNSYLVANIA

Robert J. Arthur, Scranton Tribune
Robert S. Bates, Meadville Tribune
Andrew Bernhard, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
William Block, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
I. Z. Buckwalter, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
John H. Carter, Lancaster New Era (SC)
James R. Doran, Harrisburg Patriot-News
Charles Dressler, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Melville Ferguson, Philadelphia Bulletin
W. W. Forster, Pittsburgh Press
Edward J. Gerrity, Scranton Times
Rebecca Gross, Lock Haven Express
Gerald A. Harshman, Sharon Herald
John F. James, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Earl E. Keyser, Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal (SC)
Robert Kirkpatrick, Bethlehem Globe-Times
Walter B. Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin
E. J. Lynett, Scranton Times
Samuel Miller, Allentown Chronicle
Joseph T. Murphy, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
W. D. Reimert, Allentown Morning Call
Harrison Smith, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News
J. Hale Steinman, Lancaster Newspapers (SC)
Hugh Wagnon, Chester Times

RHODE ISLAND

Sevellon Brown, Providence Journal & Bulletin
Sevellon Brown 3rd, Providence Journal & Bulletin
Michael J. Ogden, Providence Journal & Bulletin

SOUTH CAROLINA

George A. Buchanan, Columbia Record
Wayne Freeman, Greenville Piedmont
Robert M. Hitt Jr., Charleston Evening Post
S. L. Latimer Jr., Columbia State
Talbot Patrick, Rock Hill Evening Herald
Thomas Waring, Charleston News & Courier
Carl Weimer, Greenville News

SOUTH DAKOTA

Fred Christopherson, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
Warren Morrell, Rapid City Journal

TENNESSEE

Frank Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Alvand Dunkleberger, Nashville Banner
Coleman Harwell, Nashville Tennessean
Edward Meeman, Memphis Press-Scimitar
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville News-Sentinel
Charles Puckette, Chattanooga Times
Guy L. Smith, Knoxville Journal (SC)
James G. Stahlman, Nashville Banner

TEXAS

Robert Akers, Beaumont Enterprise & Journal
George Carmack, Houston Press
Charles E. Green, Austin American Statesman
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal
Houston Harte, San Angelo Standard-Times
W. J. Hooten, El Paso Times
Rhea Howard, Wichita Falls Times & Record-News
Walter Humphrey, Fort Worth Press
Wesley S. Izzard, Amarillo News
Arthur Laro, Houston Post
John Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana Gazette
Frank W. Mayborn, Temple Telegram (W)
Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News
Edward M. Pooley, El Paso Herald-Post
Edgar Wayne Ray, San Antonio Express & News
James R. Record, Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Mason Walsh, Dallas Times Herald
M. E. Walter, Houston Chronicle

UTAH

Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune
J. F. Fitzpatrick, Salt Lake Tribune
Theron C. Liddle, Deseret News & Salt Lake Telegram

VERMONT

Edward F. Crane, Burlington Free Press
John S. Hooper, Brattleboro Reformer

VIRGINIA

M. W. Armistead III, Roanoke Times & World News
Harry F. Byrd Jr., Winchester Star (Sh)
Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
John H. Colburn, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch
C. H. Hamilton, Richmond News-Leader
Tom Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
William M. Harrison, Newport News Times-Herald
Joseph A. Leslie Jr., Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Curtis J. Lyons, Petersburg Progress-Index
Clarence G. Marshall, Newport News Daily Press
W. C. Stouffer, Roanoke World News
Jack Thompson, Clifton Forge Review
Edward A. Wyatt, Petersburg Progress-Index

WASHINGTON

Harold Cassill, Spokane Spokesman-Review & Chronicle
Julius Gius, Bremerton Sun
John M. McClelland Jr., Longview Daily News (SC)
Russell McGrath, Seattle Times
Edward T. Stone, Seattle Post-Intelligencer

WEST VIRGINIA

Raymond Brewster, Huntington Herald-Dispatch (SC)
Frank A. Knight, Charleston Gazette
H. R. Pinckard, Huntington Herald-Advertiser

WISCONSIN

R. L. Bangsberg, LaCrosse Tribune
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
Roy L. Matson, Wisconsin State Journal
A. Matt Werner, Sheyboygan Press (M)

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Annual Report of the Freedom of Information
Committee for 1954-55.
Submitted to the ASNE Board of Directors and
to President James S. Pope
on April 20, 1955

The Freedom of Information Committee has had a busy year, with mixed results. Its report is a summary of its own major efforts and is not, in any wise, a survey of the work being done by other groups and by countless individuals to further the People's Right to Know.

The committee presents this summary in three major sections with four supplementary reports on individual projects by its subcommittees. Section I deals with access to legislative proceedings, Section II with access to judicial proceedings and Section III with access to legislative proceedings. A supplement by Harold Cross outlines the new legislation and the decisions of the courts since our last report. A supplement by Eugene S. Pulliam, Jr., Managing Editor of the Indianapolis News, presents a study of access to legislative committees of the several states. A supplement by William H. Fitzpatrick, Editor of the Wall Street Journal, presents a survey of photographic access to judicial proceedings. A fourth supplement contains the testimony of Chairman J. R. Wiggins, presented to the Senate Committee on Government Operations on March 18, 1955, covering the impact of secrecy on public information.

SECTION I

Access to Legislative Proceedings

The activity of the committee has been primarily concerned with access to meetings of the committees of Congress and with access to state legislative committee proceedings.

The difficulty of informing the public about the progress of legislation in congressional committees increased during the year; while the access to legislative committees, in the states, as indicated in the study of Mr. Pulliam attached, seemed to be in a more hopeful trend, with the exception of the separate situation in North Carolina. There, the Legislature extended and enlarged upon the right of legislative committees to close their proceedings.

Congressional committees, in 1954, closed 41 percent of their committee proceedings. They closed 34 percent in 1953. In the two-year period, according to the Congressional Quarterly, the following closed-meeting record has been made:

	1953	1954	1953-54
Senate	39%	39%	39%
House	28%	43%	35%
Joint	66%	58%	61%
Over-all	34%	41%	38%

Figures are not available on sessions held in 1955.

V. M. Newton, Jr., chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the Sigma Delta Chi, has been most active in urging senators and representatives to open these meetings. He has corresponded with most of the members of Congress and has urged hearings at which the need for public meetings could ;be argued.

This committee has continued to work for open meetings generally and in addition has been active in some particular cases that probably should be recorded in this report.

On May 10, 1954, the committee entered into correspondence with Senator Eugene D. Millikin, and the members of the Senate Finance Committee of the 83rd Congress, over the method of releasing information on the progress of the tax bill. For many years, it had been the custom of the committee staff to brief newspapers on changes agreed upon in each day's sessions The Chairman announced that this policy would be altered to one under which completed changes would be made known. The FOI Committee urged day to day

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discovery of action by the committee. Subsequently the Committee resumed this method of reporting its work. This is far short of the ideal situation under which the public might have access to the deliberations of the committee, but it proved more satisfactory than the committee's initial plan.

In the 84th Congress, there has been encouraging support for the principle of access to legislative proceedings from one member in each branch.

Representative Edward F.Hebert,(D-La), chairman of the Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee announced that his committee on Feb. 16 had voted to change its rules relating to "open and closed" meetings. Executive department witnesses, hereafter, must give 24-hour notice that scheduled appearances are to be closed in the interest of security. Otherwise, it is to be assumed that the testimony is to be given in open meetings. In several instances Chairman Hebert has persuaded witnesses to put on the record evidence they intended to submit off the record.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn), urged the Senate Rules Committee to hold hearing on the question of public or closed proceedings of Senate Committees. In a statement to Senator Theodore Francis Green (D-Rhode Island) Humphrey said:

> "I do not like the implications of 'closed door' proceedings in a democracy, and believe it prevents the American press from fulfilling its responsibility of keeping the public informed. It is unfair to criticize the American press for lack of responsibility, if we in turn try to make a game out of keeping information from the press. In times of real national peril, such as during World War II, the American press did a remarkable job of self-discipline in protection of national security, and I think the press can be counted upon to act responsibly if it is treated responsibly."

Senator Green felt that the issue might be left to the common sense of committee members and did not believe that an excessive number of committee proceedings were being closed.

Access to the proceedings of House Committees has been further restricted by a ruling of Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Texas) under which cameramen are no longer to be admitted to committee hearings. They are permitted to photograph witnesses before and after testimony but no pictures are allowed during sessions. An exchange of correspondence and a conference with the Speaker failed to alter his position. Other groups, including the White House Photographers Assn. and the National Press Photographers Association also protested the picture ban. The Speaker's objections to the camera would not be met, he indicated, even if photographers used modified equipment that did not interfere with the order and decorum of the hearings. Senate Committees, meanwhile, have generally permitted photographers to operate as heretofore.

The Committee would like to praise the work of the Congressional Quarterly which, for the first time, is placing in the hands of the press, careful tabulation of the number of open and closed meetings in each session of Congress. Its reliable figures indicate how seriously obstructive the closed committee meetings have become and over the years will provide the press and this society with the means of checking one Congress against another. The end of the 84th Congress, moreover, will furnish a comparison of the relative secrecy of Congress under Republican and Democratic rule.

Section II

Access to Judicial Proceedings

Your committee has endeavored in many ways to keep the process of justice public.

Efforts to surround pre-trial proceedings with secrecy were defeated in several jurisdictions.

In Georgia, the House of Representatives on Feb. 1, defeated the Groover

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bill under which pre-trial publication of the names of persons charged with sex crimes or drunken driving would have been prevented. The press of Georgia were chiefly responsible for the failure of the bill to obtain the constitutional majority of 103 votes required for passage. Its vote was 81 for and 71 against. The FOI committee was in frequent touch and correspondence with Georgia members and was prepared to aid in any way deemed most likely to be effective by the local FOI committee.

In Washington, D. C., efforts to amend an access-to-police arrests books measure so as to keep the names of juveniles secret was defeated. The Case bill, requiring public access of all arrest books, was passed on July 20. It was signed by the President who expressed the hope that the press would adhere to its general policy hitherto followed, of not publishing the names of juveniles arrested.

The Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia, to which the press never was admitted, opened its doors to reporters, under agreement not to use the names of juveniles. The Juvenile Court Advisory Committee of the District, on July 8, resolved to "re-examine" the policy of secrecy, following a presentation against secret juvenile court proceedings by J. R. Wiggins, chairman of the ASNE FOI committee. Subsequently, conferences between Juvenile Court Judge Edith Cockrell and editors of the Washington newspapers perfected the open-court plan now in effect. Interest in juvenile welfare problems has been enormously increased as the result of full reports of court proceedings in the Washington newspapers.

Alexander F. Jones, of the Syracuse Herald-Journal, has contributed notably during the year, to the efforts of the press to resist imposition of Canon 35 and Canon 20 on state courts. At the annual meeting of the American Bar Association in Chicago, last August, Mr. Jones voiced press opposition to secret proceedings and attacked bar efforts to secure them. He also has addressed several other groups including the New York State Bar and a Florida conference on access to the courts.

A conference of bench and bar to consider "mutual responsibilities in the conduct of court trials and the publicizing of court proceedings" was proposed to President James S. Pope, last December, by Lloyd Wright, president of the American Bar Association.

President Pope accepted the invitation. So did the ANPA and the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

The conference was held at the Statler Hotel in Washington on Saturday, April 2. Conference members included:

American Newspaper Publishers Association
Paul Miller, Gannett Newspapers, Rochester, New York
Jack R. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, New York

Chairman, Freedom of Information Committee
Edgar Kobak, New York, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters

American Society of Newspaper Editors
J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post and Times Herald, Washington, D. C.

American Bar Association
Honorable Wilber H. Brucker, General Counsel, Department of Defense, Washington, D. C.
Honorable Douglas L. Edmonds, Supreme Court of California, San Francisco, California
Don Hyndman, Director of Public Relations, American Bar Association, Chicago, Illinois
Richard P. Tinkham, Chairman, American Bar Association, Committee on Public Relations, Hammond, Indiana

Upon adjournment the conference issued the following statement:

"Representatives of national organizations of publishers, editors and broacasters met with representatives of the American Bar Association in Washington today at the Statler Hotel for a preliminary discussion of the

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reporting of court proceedings.

"Views were exchanged on Canon 35 of the Canons of Judicial Ethics of the American Bar Association, drafted in 1937 and since adopted as a rule of court procedure in 21 states. The canon precludes the use of cameras, broadcasting or television equipment in court rooms. The media organizations oppose this canon.

"The conference group was convened without any authority to act but solely for the purpose of obtaining a clarification of the respective positions of the bar and the media. A further exchange of views at a later date on the various aspects of the question was decided upon."

William Fitzpatrick, chairman of the FOI subcommittee on access to judicial proceedings, represented the society at a meeting in Harrisburg, to consider steps to over-turn the rule of the Westmoreland County Court against news photography.

A summary of the state-by-state situation with reference to Canon 35 has been prepared by Mr. Fitzpatrick and is presented as a separate supplement.

The FOI committee is of the opinion that newspaper opinion during the year, diverse as it is, has turned more and more to the view of the first newspaper committee on the subject which met with ABA members before Canon 35 was written. These newspaper spokesmen felt that individual judges, whose decisions are binding in matters of greater gravity, might be permitted to judge, under varying local conditions, when the presence of the camera is consistent with the order, decorum and dignity of the court, and the rights of litigants.

SECTION III

Access to Executive Departments

In discussing the access to executive agencies in the 1954 report this committee said:

"Neither this committee nor any other committee of which it has any knowledge now is engaged in any effort to correct the inadequacies of existing statutes, to assure satisfactory access clauses in new legislation, or to prevent new legislation that continues the process of stopping up the sources of information about the government. At the moment there is no agency or committee or group that is even reporting upon a slow legislative corrosion of the right to know, let alone an organization that is doing anything about it."

The Board of Directors, at its last April meeting authorized a preliminary study of the means of obtaining information, currently, on the adequacy or inadequacy of information provisions in new legislation. The Congressional Quarterly studied a plan under which it would furnish the ASNE with a continuing analysis of new bills as they affect freedom of information. CQ finally advised its inability to undertake the task. At the October meeting of the directors at Louisville, Kentucky, the FOI chairman was asked to study the problem further and to recommend a plan that the directors could act upon.

A plan subsequently was developed under which the Bureau of National Affairs, in Washington, agreed to make a weekly report during sessions of Congress, on new bills and regulations, including analysis of new measures, to show if they did or did not include satisfactory provisions for access to information.

After the first reports were made available, Cranston Williams of the ANPA and J. R. Wiggins for ASNE, conferred on means of following up on the information divulged. The ASNE, with no professional staff, was not in as good a position as ANPA to take the facts dug up by the Bureau of National Affairs and follow up with legislators to get amendments to bills found inadequate.

The ASNE Board, in February, approved the assumption by ANPA of the ASNE contract with the Bureau of National Affairs.

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Since then, ANPA has been energetically contacting congressmen and senators whose bills seem unsatisfactory so far as their provision for public access is concerned.

On April 6, in its Federal Laws Bulletin Number 21, the ANPA made its first report on its check of public information provisions in House and Senate bills. A copy of this report follows and is inserted here to give ASNE members a better notion of how valuable is the work on which ANPA now has embarked, through the original efforts of ASNE.

"FIRST REPORT ON ANPA CHECK OF 'PUBLIC INFORMATION' PROVISIONS IN SENATE AND HOUSE BILLS.

"'Public Information' amendments to pending legislation will be offered by a number of Congressmen as result of requests by ANPA.

"Check of House and Senate bills, pioneered by A.S.N.E. and taken over by ANPA, shows that many bills introduced so far have one thing in common: Absence of provisions to protect the public's 'right to know.'

"Bills checked affect:

"1. The public generally because bills call for expenditures of large sums of the public's money through agencies or commissions yet to be established, or Federal loans to states for various purposes.

"2. Newspapers, because heads of agencies, commissions or Boards proposed to be established could decide for themselves how much or how little they wanted the public to know. In some instances no provision is made for record keeping or for public inspection of records.

"What ANPA has been doing to-date is shown in the following report:

"Bill H. R. 178 by Rep. St. George (N. Y.). Referred to House Post Office Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: To establish Board of Postal Rates and Fees within Post Office Department to make recommendations to Postmaster General on changes in postal rates. Board would not be subject to Administrative Procedures Act. Public would be denied access to Board's deliberations, recommendations and orders.

"Rep. St. George promised to bring suggestion for 'public information' amendment to attention of House Post Office Committee when bill comes up for consideration.

"Bill H. R. 623 by Rep. Buckley (N. Y.). Referred to House Labor Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: To amend Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to establish $1.25 hourly minimum wage. Calls for creation of industry committees to investigate conditions in an industry, hear witnesses and receive evidence 'necessary to perform its duties.' Committees would further recommend 'the highest minimum hourly wage rates for the industry which it determines will not substantially curtail employment in the industry.' No provision that hearings of committees or their findings as to 'fair wages' will be public.

"Rep. Buckley plans to ask House Labor Committee to consider ANPA suggestion for 'freedom of information' provision when bill comes up for consideration. Also promised to request that all interested parties be heard when hearing is scheduled.

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"Bill H. R. 635 by Rep. Celler (N. Y.). Referred to House Ways and Means Committee.

"Purpose: Provides for unemployment insurance grants to states. Agency administering unemployment compensation laws of any state would be required to furnish Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare with information deemed necessary. In event a stated violated the Act, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare could, after notice, suspend payments to that state. Neither proceedings involving disputed state claims nor reports of states to Secretary are required to be made public.

"Rep. Celler now preparing 'public information' amendment. Promised to send ANPA amended version of bill.

"Bill H. R. 1791 by Rep. Fogarty (R.I.). Referred to House Labor Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Provides for Federal allotments to states in construction of elementary and secondary schools. State agencies would be required to make reports covering amounts received and disbursed. Commissioner of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, would be required to forward reports to Congress. No requirement that reports from states be made public.

"Rep. Fogarty said he would have no objection to including 'public information' amendment when Committee considers bill.

"Bills similar to H. R. 1791 by Rep. Fogarty (R.I.), described above, were introduced by:

"Rep. Chudoff (Pa.)--Bill H. R. 3411, referred to House Labor Committee. Rep. Chudoff said he plans to include 'public information' amendment.

"Rep. Young (Nev.)--Bill H. R. 3493, referred to House Labor Committee. Rep. Young favors 'public information' amendment to his bill.

"Bill H. R. 1817 by Rep. McCormack (Mass.). Referred to House Labor Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would authorize expenditure of Federal funds for assistance of state, municipal and other non-profit youth projects, approved by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Program would be administered by special division set up by Secretary. No provision in bill that any of the activities be subject to report or accounting.

"Rep. McCormack reports he is in favor of including 'public information' amendment and believes Committee would be favorable to same.

"Bill H.R. 1849 by Rep. Whitten (Miss.). Referred to House Ways and Means Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Directs Secretary of Agriculture to determine certain agricultural products as surplus, and to furnish President with lists of such commodities to be used in negotiation of trade agreements. No requirement in bill that lists be made publicly available.

"Rep. Whitten has introduced new bill H. R. 5145 which, at ANPA suggestion, includes provision that 'information shall be made available to the public.'

"Bill H. R. 1864 by Rep. Younger (Calif.). Referred to House Government Operations Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would create Department of Urbiculture and transfer

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functions of Housing and Finance Administration, Federal Housing Commission and Public Housing Commissioner to new Department. Home Loan Bank Board, Federal National Mortgage Association, and National Housing Council, also would be transferred to Urbiculture Department, and existing housing agencies would be abolished. Bill's aim is to provide an executive department for urban life corresponding to Department of Agriculture. No provision that reports from new proposed agency be made public.

"Rep. Younger agreeable to introduce 'public information' amendment when bill comes up for Committee consideration.

"Bill H. R. 2009 by Rep. Hays (Ark.). Referred to House Agriculture Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would authorize Secretary of Agriculture to conduct program to provide for centralized housing and facilities for Federal, state and local offices engaged in administering agricultural programs. Also provides that Secretary of Agriculture shall employ personnel and prescribe rules and regulations to administer the program. No provision in bill that local offices would report on their activities, or that such reports should be made public.

"Rep. Hays favors 'public information' amendment to bill, but said he would not want to initiate such an amendment.

"Bill H. R. 2096 by Rep. Bennett (Fla.). Referred to House Armed Services Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would establish in Department of Defense a U. S. Armed Forces Medical Academy to train selected persons for services in the armed forces. Authorizes Secretary of Defense to appoint Board for purpose of selecting a site, acquire land from other Governmental agencies, prepare plans, designs, construct, equip and organize the Academy. No provision for public reports on operations, or that report of Board selected to determine the site be made public.

"Rep. Bennett in favor of 'public information' amendment. Doubts hearings on bill will be held during this session of Congress.

"Bill R. H. 2127 by Rep. Fallon (Md.). Referred to House Public Works Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would revise existing Federal-aid highway laws. Provides for road-building program in cooperation with various states and Pan-American countries. Secretary of Commerce would be authorized to make rules and regulations, and make recommendations to Congress and State Highway Departments. States would be required to submit programs for approval of Secretary. No provision for report to Congress, or for information on proposed operations to be made public.

"Rep. Fallon said he would bring matter of 'public information' amendment up when bill comes up for Committee consideration.

"Bill H.R. 2376 by Rep. Barry (S.D.). Referred to House Agriculture Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Would authorize Secretary of Agriculture to compromise or cancel interest accrued on loans to farmers during period between 1931 and 1939 pursuant to passage of the Act of 1937 providing for loans for feed and seed. In case where debtor is unable to pay principal, Secretary of Agriculture may provide for a compromise or cancellation of interest. No provision in bill that accounting of cancelled debt be made public.

"Rep. Barry agreeable to including 'public information' amendment

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in bill when it comes up for Committee consideration.

"Bill H. R. 2612 by Rep. Lesinski (Mich.). Referred to House Labor Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Provides for Federal allotments to states in construction of elementary and secondary schools. Similar to Bill H.R. 1791 by Rep. Fogarty (R.I.)

"Rep. Lesinski states he can find no reason why a 'public information' provision be included in bill. He said he believes that since each state makes public such reports and since most reports to Congress are public documents, such information would be public. He agreed that perhaps 'the centralization of such information for public dissemination would be useful, but I believe that as this type of program develops, this type of procedure will naturally develop.'

"Bill H.R. 3000 by Rep. Sikes (Fla.). Referred to House Agriculture Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Provides for regulation of production, marketing and importation of tung oil. Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to investigate and report to President. No provision in bill to make reports public. Bill further authorizes Secretary of Agriculture to conduct surveys, investigations and research, but leaves it up to him to make public such information as he 'deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.'

"Rep. Sikes plans to introduce 'public information' amendment when bill is considered by Committee.

"Bill H. R. 4488 by Rep. Rogers (Colo.). Referred to House Interior Committee. No hearing scheduled.

"Purpose: Provides for development of Upper Colorado River Basin. Secretary of Interior is to undertake construction of dams and reclamation projects after certifying to Congress and President that benefits will exceed costs, accompanying such certifications with reports documenting economic justification. No provision in bill that reports be made available for public inspection.

"Rep. Rogers says he has no objection to inclusion of 'public information' provision in his bill.

"Other reports on various bills will follow from time to time.

"(For previous reference, see Federal Laws Bulletin No. 16, March 16, 1955.)"

Legal access to information, of course, is not the whole test of the public's right to know about the executive departments. Desirable as it is to obtain this legal right, as Dr. Harold Cross has pointed out, at present, communication of much executive department information, is strictly at the discretion of the executive agencies, and will be until the statutory position on which the ANPA is at work has been improved by years of patient effort.

Press Conference

The press conference is one of the most fruitful sources of information. It has become an unofficial and extra legal counterpart, in the American system, of the question period in the British system.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower has made the presidential press conference a most productive source of information. The admission of TV to the presidential conference has heightened public interest in the institution without diminishing the indispensability of the printed account.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson, has followed White House precedent.

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The policy of the executive departments in maintaining regular press conferences is indicated by the following survey of conferences held by different Cabinet members during the first three months of 1955. The FOI committee has been assured by many of the cabinet officers holding few meetings with the press that more conferences are to be held in the future. The results so far in 1955 have been disappointing in many cases.

Executive Department Press Conferences

	January	February	March	Total
State Dept.	18th	0	15th	2
Justice Dept.	0	11-15-17-25	3-17-31	7
Defense Establishment	0	15th	22nd	2
Agriculture Department	5th	14th	15th-29th	4
Treasury Department	14th	0	0	1
Labor Department	10th	0	21st	2
Interior Department	0	0	0	0
Post Office Department	0	0	0	0
Health, Education and Welfare	0	1-10	0	2

This table, of course, does not tell the whole story of the press relations of each department,nor does it disclose the total view of the public's access to the information of each department.

The Secretary of State has been absent from the city much of the time and has generally met the press when schedule permitted.

Except for the lapse in January, the Justice Department has been quite faithful in holding its regularly scheduled press conferences and has supplemented them with background briefings. (These and other interviews contribute to the public's knowledge of department business but they are not any substitute for the open question periods.)

Secretary Wilson's press conferences have been supplemented by those of many of his subordinates.

Secretary Benson has held many press conferences outside of Washington and has been quite regular in holding his press conferences.

Secretary Humphrey's press conferences have been supplemented by conferences and seminars with his subordinates.

Secretary Mitchell has promised to hold press conferences but has not been persuaded that they should be scheduled for regular periods.

Secretary McKay does not believe in the formal press conference and his view has been supported by his press secretary and he sustains his position by citing the support of newspapermen regularly assigned to the department. He sees reporters frequently and is accessible to them. These informal and personal meetings, of course, are not a substitute for the press conference as an institution and do not give the public the same chance to learn of departmental policy.

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield has indicated in frequent interviews his intention to hold press conferences on a regularly scheduled basis, but so far, has not done so, despite the many important policy matters with which the Department has been concerned in Congress.

Secretary Hobby held two press conferences in February but generally has not been available to the press for regular press conferences.

Public access to executive departments of the government, through the formal press conference, certainly has been, on the whole, far from adequate in the past year, and has been notably inadequate in the first quarter of 1955.

Reporters have complained to this committee that government officials in the levels below the cabinet ministers have become less communicative as the result of fears engendered by the Davies case, the increasing agitation against the release of technical information in the defense area and high level

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criticism of disclosures that have been published. The justice or injustice of this complaint cannot be established statistically. The case certainly varies greatly by departments.

How seriously many agencies of the government would like to curtail information was disclosed when General Robert Cutler retired from the National Security Council. He complained that air pictures of American cities were available; that maps of our harbors can be bought at the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Said General Cutler, in an interview in the Boston Globe:

> "You can go to the Coast and Geodetic Survey and get maps of all our harbors. You can't do that in Russia."

The dangers of this sort of secrecy are discussed at greater length in the statement to the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Suffice it to say here that most Americans are grateful for liberties not allowed to people in Russia, including the liberty to know things about their government, and the freedom to have maps and photographs of their cities. In fairness to General Cutler, it must be said that many others in the government share his apprehension about the public's possession of such information and material.

Probably the most disquieting development in this area has been the recent obliteration of the line between classified secret material not available to the public and unclassified, technical material never classified at all or officially declassified. The criticism of some recently released material has left officials, the press and the public, without any standard of release upon which they can rely to defend the disclosure of any technical information. Unless this attitude is clarified, it is bound to have a profound and paralyzing effect upon the flow of information to the American public.

If the flow of information, on technical material and in other areas, is to be diminished to that which involves no risk whatever, cut down to the facts which no potential enemy could ever make any possible use of, the volume will be so infinitely small that the American people will not have the foundation of truth upon which to judge their government. If the flow is sufficiently restricted to quiet the fears of those who would ban maps and pictures of civilian installations, citizens will have hardly enough information with which to conduct their private lives, let alone enough to discharge their public duties.

As long as present world tension continues, the risks involved in freedom will loom so large in the minds of many honest officials that they will threaten to eclipse a balanced view of the advantages of freedom.

In such a climate, and in such an atmosphere, freedom of information, and all other freedoms related to it, will continue to be in the greatest peril. Only the most strenuous exertions by those who understand the degree to which information is vital to our liberty will preserve it against those who think secrecy is vital to our safety.

J. R. Wiggins, Chairman
Paul Block
Herbert Brucker
Raymond Crowley
William H. Fitzpatrick
George W. Healy, Jr.
L. D. Hotchkiss
Joseph W. Lee
Eugene S. Pulliam, Jr.
William Tugman
Basil L. Walters

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THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW

ABOUT ACTIVITIES OF THEIR STATE LEGISLATURES

by Eugene S. Pulliam, Jr., Indianapolis News,
Chairman of Legislative Subcommittee of FOI

The people's right to know what is happening in their state legislature is in a pleasantly healthy state. Although legislative decisions in a few states are made in secret or executive sessions, the great majority are made in such a manner that the public has access to those deliberations. There is little legislation on the statute books or in legislative rules but the public is being informed by newspapermen who day in and day out insist that the public's business should be conducted in public.

A survey of the individual states by the ASNE Freedom of Information Committee was conducted during the winter of 1954-55. It asked the following questions:

(a) Are there any statutes governing the public's access to the meetings of standing or special committees? In the absence of statutory provisions, what is the custom and practice of the chairmen and members of special and legislative committees so far as public access to (1) hearings, (2) deliberations, (3) decisions?

(b) Has your state passed an antisecrecy law? If so, what are its general provisions and how has it worked out in practice?

(c) Are there any prospects for the passage of such legislation in the forthcoming session?

Following is a condensed summary of the situation in the various states as of early 1955:

ALABAMA

No response.

ARIZONA

Most committee meetings open. All make official reports and list member-voting. No antisecrecy law. -- Harry Montgomery, The Arizona Republic and Phoenix Gazette.

ARKANSAS

"We do not have a great problem of official secrecy on the state level." Open hearings on all proposed legislation that is controversial.

". . . on legislative matters it isn't too bad (secrecy) but on school district, improvement district, etc., it is pretty bad. Also too many of the new crop of reporters are awed by titles and allow themselves to be pushed around by bearers of same. This business is getting too damned gentlemanly."

State law provides no state board may bar the press from any official proceeding except when personnel matters are being considered. -- Harry S. Ashmore and Sam Harris, the Arkansas Gazette.

CALIFORNIA

Has an antisecrecy law without penal provisions and applicable only to local agencies which states, "The people insist on remaining informed so that they may retain control over the instruments they have created." All legislative hearings "generally speaking" are open to the public. "It is impossible for the public to keep up with the proceedings in this last minute rush but you will always find reporters present at these quickie meetings." -- Walter P. Jones and Richard Rodda, McClatchy Newspapers.

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COLORADO

No report.

CONNECTICUT

"There is no law governing the meetings of standing and special legislation committees. However, it is the general practice to hold one or more public hearings on each measure. Committee deliberations usually are executive sessions after which the cochairmen jointly announce the decisions -- either verbally or in writing."

Bill advocating access to public records deferred in 1953 General Assembly. -- Carl Lindstrom and Bob MacGregor, Hartford Times.

DELAWARE

"There is no general law guaranteeing open committee hearings. However, under special statutes the hearings of the Joint Budget Committee . . . are open to the press and public." Committee hearings are usually public but "the decisions, on the other hand, are generally reached in closed caucus. Party caucuses are also usually closed to the press."

There is no antisecrecy law. -- Charles L. Reese, Jr., The News-Journal Co., Wilmington.

FLORIDA

No state law concerning public access to legislative committee meetings. The Constitution specifically empowers the Senate as a whole to go into executive session excluding the public. Senate Rules Committee in private decides what bills shall go to the floor. 1953 House rules state, "All meetings of all committees shall be open to the public at all times, subject always to the power and authority of the chairman to maintain order and decorum."

An antisecrecy law passed the 1953 House, was buried in a Senate committee. It will be reintroduced this year. -- V. M. Newton, the Tampa Tribune.

GEORGIA

No report.

IDAHO

No report.

INDIANA

The press and public are admitted to committee meetings during testimony and general discussion. Executive committee sessions are frequent but action taken is almost always available from some committee member. The press is permitted on the floor of both houses at all times.

An antisecrecy law passed in 1953 provides: 1. The right of inspection of public records. 2. Public proceedings open to the public. 3. Fines up to $500 and up to 30 days in jail for violation. The law has not been tested in the courts. -- Edward Ziegner, The Indianapolis News.

IOWA

"The rules of both houses say that no person, other than committee members and a committee clerk shall be present in a committee room when a vote is taken. The rules say nothing about committee deliberations being in secret. But that is what happens. There are no statutes governing public access to general committee meetings. . . . Never do we get a roll call vote. . . . The sifting committees kill bills in complete secrecy. We are not told what the vote was or who voted which way. We have no antisecrecy law. . . I'm not so sure that I agree with the idea. . . in other words, secrecy is basically abhorrent to our way of operating in this country and there should be no need for specific legislation." -- Frank Eyerly and Mills, the Register and Tribune.

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KANSAS

The legislative council which recommends legislation to the legislature reported during 1954 following a survey: ". . . boards and commissions . . . all report the belief that all meetings in which matters of interest to the general public are discussed should be open meetings. . . . The committee does believe that it should be the general policy that all officials actions . . . should be taken at open meetings and that the general rule should be that meetings and hearings will be open to the public and the press except where the particular agency determines that the particular situation requires an executive session . . ."

There is no antisecrecy law. -- Oscar S. Stauffer, Stauffer Publications.

KENTUCKY

"Kentucky has no laws governing the public's access to meetings of standing and special committees of the General Assembly. The custom is for each committee to hold executive sessions for its hearings, deliberations and decisions. Occasionally, the committee will agree to hold a public hearing. But the deliberations and decisions that follow are made in secret. However, Courier-Journal newspapermen have been highly successful in obtaining reliable and reportable information from reliable sources within each committee."

Kentucky has not adopted any general antisecrecy law, and "there are no prospects, at present, that an antisecrecy law will be proposed in 1956."

"Any sort of secrecy really designed to cover up anything is always blown wide open. For that reason in actual practice we have very little trouble." -- James Pope and Hugh Morris, the Courier-Journal.

LOUISIANA

"All committee meetings are open to the public and reporters but committees reserve the right -- and sometimes exercise it on controversial measures -- to vote in secret. Since the reporters usually find out how members vote, the practice is not a common one. It is more customary . . . to deliberate in private and then take the vote in open session." -- George W. Healy, Jr., and B. L. Krebs, the Times Picayune.

MAINE

"In the absence of statutory provisions, hearings and meetings of legislative standing committees are open to the public, and anyone may voice his or her views.

"Deliberations and decisions of the committee are in private, or executive, sessions.

"Maine's most active special committee is the Legislative Research Committee . . . The committee, composed of seven House members and three from the Senate, frequently opens its hearings and meetings to the public and newsmen. There are occasions, however, when it conducts interviews behind closed doors. Newsmen have to pick up what information they can after the secret sessions.

"I do not know of any occasion when the Legislature has been asked to consider an antisecrecy law, and there is no move afoot at the current legislative session." -- Lorin L. Arnold, the Bangor Daily News.

MARYLAND

"We have no trouble with secrecy during the session of the General Assembly . . . Reporters can attend all committee meetings . . . The Legislature recently passed a law providing that no action taken by any agency of the state government, county commissioners, city council or governing boards of any subdivision can be legal unless taken in a public session. They can hold executive sessions to discuss certain matters if they see fit but no decision at such a session can be put into effect unless voted for at public meeting." -- Elmer M. Jackson, Jr., the Capital-Gazette Press.

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MASSACHUSETTS

". . . The custom is that every petition filed for consideration be given a public hearing . . . More and more "special" legislative committees (legislators and lay people chosen by the Governor) are getting away from public hearings and attendance is by invitation. Reports or recommendations . . . have to be given a public hearing when referred to a standing committee. No official action is taken in public. The public is given the opportunity to present its arguments but the committee makes its decisions in private."

No antisecrecy law. Several measures requiring open meetings of governmental units considered this session, then rejected. -- Laurence Winship and C. R. Owens, the Boston Globe.

MICHIGAN

"Most legislative committee meetings are open. There is no law governing this . . . All meetings are open to the press . . . Deliberations sometimes are open, sometimes not. Quite frequently decisions are made in closed meetings."

There are no antisecrecy laws in Michigan and no prospects for passage of any. -- Paul A. Martin, the State Journal.

MINNESOTA

"In the absence of any statutory provisions, the custom has been to keep most legislative hearings open to the public . . . Executive sessions are frequently called when decisions are being reached. Our legislative interim committee frequently causes us more trouble than the regular standing committees of the Legislature."

A 1941 law requires custodians of public records to make them accessible for use by the public. -- Wilbur Elston, the Minneapolis Star and the Minneapolis Tribune.

MISSISSIPPI

"Insofar as I know, the Mississippi press has not had any recent troubles in gaining access to sources of information. At our legislative sessions -- one now in progress -- reporters are permitted to attend committee sessions when they desire to do so. They walk in and out of hearings at will. None of the committees has stenographers and reporters must rely on their own resources . . ." -- Frederick Sullens, Jackson Daily News.

MISSOURI

"The general practice and custom is to hold open public hearings on proposed legislation . . . However, the public generally and the press are excluded from committee sessions at which time the members discuss pending measures and amendments to the bills. Secret sessions also are held when the committee members vote to kill bills or report them favorably.

"The new 1945 Missouri Constitution attempted to break down committee secrecy in part by requiring that a public record be made of committee votes on bills. The effort was not entirely successful. House committees have followed the clear intent of this constitutional provision but the State Senate has circumvented it." -- R. L. Crowley, St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

MONTANA

"We do not know of any statutes covering secrecy in Montana legislative hearings. Committee chairmen usually feel they may declare a meeting open or closed. . . Public hearings are held on most major bills . . . We seldom hear complaints about secrecy . . . Many controversial bills go to the floor without committee recommendation. That invites extended floor debate . . . Apparently prevailing custom satisfies most Montanans." -- E. A. Dye, the Independent Record.

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NEBRASKA

"This situation . . . is on the whole a very healthy one with one exception . . . The Legislature rules provide that each bill must be given a public hearing."

A section of the rules states that reporters shall be admitted to executive sessions but cannot disclose the actual vote of individual members.

Efforts have been made in past sessions to get this rule changed and we plan to keep trying. A bill to close juvenile court hearings to the press and to seal off access to juvenile court records has been killed. -- Raymond A. McConnell, Jr., Nebraska State Journal.

NEVADA

"I am happy to say that we have no boards, legislative committees or similar agencies holding closed sessions any more . . . There are no statutes on the subject, but an effort will be made at the 1955 Legislature session to obtain passage of an antisecrecy law . . . We believe the law can be enacted." -- Joseph F. McDonald, Reno Newspapers, Inc.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

"The general custom is to have meetings of all committees open to the public . . . The standing committees will hold executive sessions (closed) for the purpose of voting on a bill or resolution. They generally make their decision known immediately, but not the exact vote of the committee. This is frequently revealed, however, in floor discussion . . . New Hampshire has not passed an antisecrecy law and, as far as I can determine, none has been proposed . . . We haven't had too much trouble on this score, at least not in legislative proceedings." -- D. Frank O'Neil, Manchester Union Leader.

NEW JERSEY

No law. "The fate of major bills is determined largely by majority party conferences which are closed but usually information on action is available to the press. Public hearings are held from time to time by committees. Deliberations after the hearings are closed, following which decisions are announced . . . There have been complaints for years over the caucus system . . . We always have managed to find out what was going on behind closed doors. This does not make the system right, only livable." -- James Kerney, Jr., and George B. Schick, the Trenton Times.

NEW MEXICO

"In practice, committee hearings have generally been open to the press and public . . . However, deliberations are closed to press and public more often than not . . . Negative decisions in which bills are allowed to die in committee are never public and must be obtained through leaks, if at all.

"New Mexico has passed no antisecrecy law regarding the Legislature. I doubt if there is any chance for passage unless the state newspapers make a united demand. If so, I believe one would be passed." -- Robert McKinney, the New Mexican.

NEW YORK

"In the rules of the Assembly there is a provision requiring committee reports to include the names of all members who voted and how they voted, thus carrying the implication that standing committee meetings are closed to the public. The Senate rules do not require this listing. . . . But the rules of neither house specify whether meetings of standing or special legislative committee shall be open or closed.

"The practice on deliberations of both standing and special committees is that they are closed. It is often possible, of course, to get unofficial reports of what went on.

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"Decisions of standing committees consist entirely in whether they will pass or kill the bills before them. Their reports are available, listing who voted how in the Assembly but not in the Senate. But the sessions at which they decide are as closed as those at which they deliberate.

"Joint legislative committees submit annual reports in which they make public exactly what they want to . . .

"I'm not quite sure what an 'antisecrecy law' is but I'm sure New York hasn't got one . . . No bill has been introduced in the past four years . . . nor do I know of any prospect that such a bill will be introduced next year, much less passed." -- Turner Catledge and Warren Weaver, the New York Times.

NORTH CAROLINA

"The status of legislative secrecy in North Carolina is considerably muddled at the moment . . ."

(ASNE has taken an active part in the battle in North Carolina which culminated in a "secret sessions" law, repeal of the law and nullification of repeal. At this writing, committees may hold secret sessions but have not taken advantage of the permission. The Legislature still is in session and the matter is expected to be a campaign issue in 1956.) -- Robert E. Williams, the News and Observer.

NORTH DAKOTA

No report.

OHIO

"In the General Assembly, the Rules Committees of both houses, which really function as calendar committees, meet behind closed doors under an agreement with the Legislative Correspondents Association. This is done in the belief that the scheduling and selecting of legislation by the leadership is thus facilitated by the information surrounding the proceedings not suppressed. Members freely provide the essential facts . . . The press does not believe there is any effective suppression of information.

"On January 31, 1954, an act went into effect prohibiting closed meetings by any board or commission of any state agency or authority except the Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission when it is engaged in personal interviews with prisoners at penal institutions for the purposes of processing paroles, etc." -- Harold W. Carlisle, the Ohio State Journal.

OKLAHOMA

A 1951 statute provides among other things, "All argument in favor of or against the (legislative) measure shall be submitted to a committee in open session."

"By custom and practice, only a small percentage of legislative hearings are closed to the public. Executive meetings usually are scheduled when (a) Confirmation of executive appointments is under consideration. (b) Investigations of governmental operations are being conducted prior to the time when sufficient information has been secured to allow publication without injury to an innocent person. (c) Conference committees are resolving conflicts on major legislation. (d) Joint committees are preparing final appropriation bills. (e) Committees are preparing final reports and consider complete freedom of expression essential. (f) Committees are discussing major policy issues with high ranking officials of the executive brand of government."

Antisecrecy legislation has not been enacted or proposed although there is a general statute, providing access to public records. -- Carl K. Stuart and Hugh C. Hall, the Daily Oklahoman.

RHODE ISLAND

"A House rule requires committee chairmen, when requested and when time permits, to conduct public hearings on specific legislation. An identical Senate rule was knocked out in January, 1955 . . . There is no law governing public

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access to committee meetings. Committees discuss legislation and vote in secret. A House rule adopted two years ago requires committee clerks to keep a record of committee actions, these records to be public. The records are routine, usually late and clerks invariably fail to list the voting lineup. An identical Senate rule was knocked out in January, 1955.

"Rhode Island has no antisecrecy law . . . prospects are thin." -- Michael J. Ogden and David M. Cameron, the Providence Journal and the Evening Bulletin.

OREGON

"Really there are no barriers to legislative proceedings in Oregon. Reporters are admitted to all general sessions and to committee meetings, save for rarely called executive sessions. The latter are not disturbing because we always are able to get a full and accurate report when they are over. I am unable to find any antisecrecy law and none is being agitated at the present time." -- Charles A. Sprague, the Oregon Statesman.

PENNSYLVANIA

"Deliberations, including decisions of standing and special committees, are closed; hearings are open to the public and announced in advance. The state does not have an antisecrecy law and there appears at this point to be no prospect of such legislation.

"Things may be better in 1955 . . . Certain legislative deliberations heretofore were handled behind closed doors. Notable among these is the vote by which a committee pigeonholes a bill . . . the committee never made public what the vote was or which committee members voted for or against . . ." -- James Doran, the Harrisburg Patriot and the Evening News.

SOUTH CAROLINA

". . . All hearings are wide open and the House and Senate seldom meet behind closed doors. . . . Over the years we have had no complaint as to the practice of chairmen and members of special legislative committees making known what they are doing and allowing reporters to be present . . . We have found no effort or desire to withhold legitimate information from the public.

"This state has no antisecrecy law and there is no prospect or need for the passage of such legislation." -- S. L. Latimer, Jr., the State.

SOUTH DAKOTA

"By custom, committee hearings have been kept open in recent years. Occasionally committee members vote themselves into executive session for consideration of the committee's report on a bill . . . Protests by newsmen against executive sessions generally have been effective.

"Deliberations of the legislative Research Council (the interim study group) are guided by the policy of the executive board. In this case, newsmen won an important advance early in 1953" (when rules were changed to provde that a majority vote is required for an executive session.) "Newsmen would have liked a flat prohibition, but considered this was an important gain."

An antisecrecy law covering state boards and commissions was passed in 1953 which makes minutes available for public inspection. -- Fred Christopherson, the Daily Argus-Leader.

TENNESSEE

". . . Beginning with the 1949 Legislature, there has been an increasing tendency for all committee meetings (except those of the steering committee late in the session) to be kept open to the press, but not to the public . . . ordinarily this is for practical reasons rather than because of any desire for secrecy. By the time you get committee members and reporters into a committee room, there isn't even standing room for anyone else."

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During the 1955 session, an attempt to close Senate calendar committee meetings to the press was defeated by widespread newspaper criticism. A majority committee vote is now required to close sessions. In the House, committees close their sessions for votes after remaining open for debate.

There is no antisecrecy law, the matter has not been brought up in recent sessions and there are no prospects for one. -- Coleman Harwell and Charles Fontenay, the Nashville Tennessean.

UTAH

A freedom of information law, backed by the Utah Headliners Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, was signed by Governor Lee, March 4, 1955.

It provides that actions of public commissions, boards and councils, school boards and boards of control of state universities and colleges and other public agencies be taken openly and that their deliberations be conducted openly. Executive sessions may be held but ordinances, contracts, appointments and etc., cannot be finally approved at such sessions. A violation of the act "shall constitute and be punishable as a misdemeanor." -- Theron Liddle, Deseret News.

TEXAS

". . . In general the custom is for legislative committees to conduct public hearings and arrive at decisions in open meetings. There is a tendency on the part of some to hold public hearings and later theoretically arrive at a decision in public after having met informally in absence of the press and argued out the question themselves."

Texas has no antisecrecy law and no "indication of agitation for passage." -- Felix McKnight and Dawson Duncan, the Dallas Morning News.

VERMONT

"Most of the committee hearings are public and anybody who is interested is invited to attend. However, some chairmen are inclined to feel that actual deliberations should be held in private and votes taken without the presence of the press. Since it is impossible for the press bureau to have representatives present at all committee hearings anyhow, there has been no real argument over the issue, so long as decisions on bills were released to the press immediately after being reached.

"We have no antisecrecy law and there are no prospects for the passage of such legislation."

Article 13 of the Constitution of Vermont reads, "That the people have a right to freedom of speech and of writing and publishing their sentiments concerning the transactions of government, and therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained." -- Edward F. Crane, the Burlington Free Press.

VIRGINIA

"The practice most widely followed is for the committee to begin its meeting with the public present, to hear from any citizen who wants to speak on a pending bill and then go into closed session to deliberate and vote. Usually reporters are permitted to remain during the entire meetings, with the understanding that they will honor off-the-record remarks made during the closed portion. Some committees report how members voted; others simply report the vote.

"Virginia does not have a general antisecrecy law. (It does have a law requiring county boards of supervisors to hold open meetings and also various reference to certain records as being open to the public)." -- Virginius Dabney, the Times Dispatch.

WASHINGTON

". . . Hearings and deliberations are open but decisions are made in secret. The result of the meeting usually is given out by some member of the committee but almost always can be obtained in one way or another."

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A 1953 antisecrecy law (not applicable to the Legislature) provides for open meetings and notification to the public by some or all forms of mass communications. An attorney-general's opinion on the law quotes copiously from Harold Cross' The People's Right to Know. -- A. M. Glassberg, The Everett Daily Herald.

WEST VIRGINIA

No reply.

WISCONSIN

". . . The custom and practice is to hold public hearings at which the public appears to testify. After the hearings, the committees go into executive session at which it is decided whether the bill be introduced for passage, indefinite postponement or without recommendation. The public is not permitted at these executive sessions or deliberations but a record of the vote of each legislator is recorded on disposition of the bill and this is for public record."

There is no antisecrecy law and no prospect for passage of one. The Legislature two years ago restored secrecy to state income tax returns. -- William Evjue and Adric Revell, the Capital Times.

WYOMING

No reply.

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THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW ABOUT THEIR COURTS (CANON 35)

by William H. Fitzpatrick, The Wall Street Journal,
Chairman of Judicial Subcommittee of FOI

The purpose of this study was to determine, as far as was possible, in which states Supreme Court Rules based on Canon 35 of the American Bar Association's Code of Judicial Ethics were in force and whether any of the state courts or bar associations had gone even beyond the letter or intent of the ABA ban on pictures during trials.

The possibility that some courts and bar groups had made more restrictive the original ABA Canon was suggested by the Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, County Court rule banning photos within 40 feet of the courtroom and otherwise prohibiting the taking of pictures. This rule was challenged by Pennsylvania newspapers and the case finally reached the State Supreme Court where it was thrown out on the ground that the petition for a writ of prohibition was "not a justifiable controversy," since the rule had not been actually violated. The high court implied that the way to test the ban was to violate it. This two Pennsylvania newspapers, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and the Greensburg Tribune-Review, decided to do and the rule is now being tested in the courts. No final decision has been reached as of this writing but the newsmen in the controversy are not at all sanguine about winning.

Canon 35 of the American Bar Association's Code of Judicial Ethics was adopted September 30, 1937 and was amended September 15, 1952. The canon, as it now stands, reads as follows (the underlined words and paragraphs are the 1952 amendments):

IMPROPER PUBLICIZING OF COURT PROCEEDINGS

35. Proceedings in court should be conducted with fitting dignity and decorum. The taking of photographs in the court room, during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions, and the broadcasting <u>or televising</u> of court proceedings are calculated to detract from the essential dignity of the proceedings, <u>distract the witness in giving his testimony</u>, degrade the court, and create misconceptions with respect thereto in the mind of the public and should not be permitted.

<u>Provided that this restriction shall not apply to the broadcasting or televising, under the supervision of the court, of such portions of naturalization proceedings (other than the interrogation of applicants) as are designed and</u>

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carried out exclusively as a ceremony for the purpose of publicly demonstrating in an impressive manner the essential dignity and the serious nature of naturalization.

However, if many other courts have gone beyond Canon 35 in the states where it is applicable the reports received from editors do not so indicate. Indeed, the language of the Canon in the states is in almost every case identical with the ABA's Canon 35.

One instance of important differentiation, however, appears in the Canon as amended by the New Jersey Supreme Court. This rule bans not only the taking of photographs and the broadcasting of court proceedings by radio or television, it also bans "the making of sketches of the court room or of any person in it during sessions of the court or recesses between sessions."

The February Bulletin carried a great deal of information in the nation-wide survey on pre-trial news and courtroom picture-taking. That survey indicated that by and large judges in the different states were friendly and helpful except where the question of photos in their courts were concerned. Indeed, a few judges do allow pictures to be made. But the general rule seems to be that the higher the court the less chance of making photos. Police court judges in many states do not mind having photos made but only three editors reported that photos were allowed in higher state courts; perhaps the "dignity and decorum" Canon 35 attempts to assure is not so necessary in trials for peace disturbance. Why?

V. M. Newton, Jr., managing editor of the Tampa (Florida) Morning Tribune, reports that Canon 35 was adopted by the Supreme Court and "is most effective in Florida Circuit, Criminal and County Courts. I know of only one case in recent years where a picture was taken in one of these courts and printed in a newspaper." That occasion was when a county courthouse was dedicated and the criminal judge allowed a picture of "the shining new courthouse" to be made. But "our justices of the peace, with an eye to publicity and politics, do permit pictures in their courts."

Even in states where the Canons are not the rule they have a strong effect. In Kentucky, for example, the Rules of the Court of Appeals say that "the Court recognizes and accepts the principles embodied in the American Bar Association's Canon of Professional and Judicial Ethics" and the Court "regards these Canons as persuasive authority in all disciplinary proceedings against members of the Bar."

Charles L. Reese, Jr., Wilmington News and Journal, writes that Delaware's Supreme Court has no specific order against photos but that the policy is that no Justice will allow any taken during court sessions. "The lower courts, by general agreement, follow the same rules on this point as the Supreme Court" although the high court has no general administrative authority over lower courts.

And in Arkansas, though there is no specific ban, "as a practical matter the taking of pictures is decided by each individual judge. The custom in Arkansas is that no pictures be taken during a trial but all you can take during a recess is permissible."

In Ohio, Canon 35 was adopted a little more than a year ago -- January 24, 1954 -- by the Ohio Supreme Court. The photo ban there, however, "may be construed more as an admonition than a mandate of the court," and "has not as yet been involved in any litigation of record" Paul Block, Jr., reported.

In Connecticut, Chief Justice Ernest A. Inglis of the Supreme Court of Errors informed Herbert Brucker that Canon 35 "is binding on the Judges of the Suprerior Court and the Court of Common Pleas. It is not binding on the Judges of any other courts in the state but establishes a principle which they very naturally will follow voluntarily." Not all judges, however, follow the principle established by the Supreme Court of Errors. Last January City Court Judge Ahlberg allowed candid camera photos -- no flash bulbs -- to be made in a trial in Bridgeport of that city's Public Works Director on a charge of mismanagement.

From Oregon, Dean Sabine of the University of Oregon's journalism school reports that Rule 19 (identical to Canon 35) was adopted by the Circuit Judges Association of Oregon in mid-December, 1954. But the Judges Association and the

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Oregon Bar Association postponed adoption pending a meeting of a joint committee of judges, lawyers, newspapermen, and broadcasters. As of mid-March, 1955, the meeting had not yet taken place.

Idaho has adopted Canon 35 and it is applicable in state courts through adoption by the Idaho State Bar and approval of the Idaho Supreme Court. William F. Johnston, managing editor of the Lewiston Morning Tribune, reports that efforts are being made to have judges relax some of the rules through appeals to the local bar associations. Mr. Johnston, chairman of the Idaho-Utah APME Freedom of Information Committee, thinks that convincing lawyers will help convince the judges. As of March 15, however, he had been unsuccessful in trying to convince the Idaho Bar Association that an invitation to discuss Canon 35 ought to be issued.

In Tennessee, a gradual relaxation of restrictions against use of cameras is seen by James Elliott of the Nashville Banner; Tennessee has not adopted Canon 35, according to Chief Justice A. B. Neil. A survey made by Elliott reports that "nowhere was there evidence of an all-out effort on the part of a newspaper to rid itself of present restrictions. On the contrary, most editors indicated a desire that the dignity of the court be maintained and expressed the fear that the indiscriminate use of the flash-bulb might prove, in the long run, harmful rather than helpful."

Fred Christopherson, editor of the Daily Argus-Leader of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, reports his paper is following the same procedure of trying to convince lawyers that Canon 35, adopted by the South Dakota Bar Association and the Supreme Court and binding on all state courts, is too restrictive on photographers inasmuch as pictures can be made without detracting from the dignity of the proceedings or degrading the court. However, one judge of the circuit court which allowed photos during a murder trial "was mildly spanked" for infraction of the regulations by the Supreme Court.

In New York, Domestic Relations Court Justice Matthew J. Diserio was more than mildly spanked when on March 30 he ignored Canon 35 and the rules of the Appellate Division (which has administrative jurisdiction and disciplinary authority over lower courts) by permitting TV and news photographers to make pictures of nine juveniles adjudged delinquents for invading a schoolroom and attacking another juvenile. Justice Diserio was publicly berated for allowing the pictures on the ground that not to allow them would be to interfere with the press. The Presiding Justice of the Court of Domestic Relations, Justice Hill, said he "was shocked beyond expression" by the photos; but he proceeded then to express himself in unmistakable manner. This is the first time in the history of the court that this has happened. It is contrary to everything we believe in. I am not going to justify any justice who shows such poor judgment."

It is, of course, too early to assess the full results of Justice Diserio's action; but the Herald-Tribune noted that this was the first time that TV and news cameramen took pictures in a New York courtroom. An added controversial point aside from pictures in courtrooms was the disregard of the practice of never identifying juveniles in court cases -- a practice Herbert Brucker questioned quite soundly in an address last October 22 at the University of Maine when he pointed out that a young man named Whittaker had been executed that summer for murder of a young girl near Lubbock, Texas. Whittaker had been in much trouble as a juvenile but the judge before whom he and his fellows appeared refused to allow their names to be published. Mr. Brucker asked: "If this young man had been publicly identified and publicly punished at the time of his first criminal activities, might that have checked him then and there, and so might it perhaps have prevented a murder?" It may be doubted, however, whether any such position by Justice Diserio will convince his superiors in the judiciary to relax their rules.

Elsewhere newspapermen seem to have less difficulty.

Roy Matson of the Wisconsin State Journal at Madison reports that "we constantly take pictures in our court room during actual trials and in recesses at will and I do not recall instances here or elsewhere in the state where cameramen ever have been barred." Canon 35 was adopted by the voluntary Wisconsin State Bar Association but has not been adopted as a rule of the courts or by

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the Supreme Court. Mr. Matson says there is a statute, adopted in 1949, which forbids broadcasting of any trial or any portion thereof. Editors interested in learning how Wisconsin newsmen get away with this might pursue the question further.

V. E. Fairbanks, executive editor of the St. Paul Dispatch, says that the Minnesota Bar Association has taken no action on Canon 35, though it is to come up for consideration this June in St. Paul at the annual meeting. But Mr. Fairbanks says "thus far we have had no difficulty with state or Federal courts in getting pictures we wanted."

In Virginia, Rule 35, based on Canon 35, was adopted in 1938 and has not been modified or added to. But John Colburn, managing editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch says that "this Canon is not absolutely binding on all courts. The feeling has been that the courts should use discretion on each application for picture or broadcasting permission on its merits" and that "a number of courts in Virginia have permitted photographers to work in the courtroom, and there have been some tape-recorded broadcasts of court proceedings."

Just this year, the West Virginia Supreme Court adopted Canon 35, as amended in 1952 by the ABA, to ban TV as well as news photos and broadcasting by radio, Frank Knight of the Charleston Gazette reported. The action by the high court followed a request by the West Virginia State Bar for such a step.

Kenneth MacDonald of the Des Moines Register and Tribune reports that while the Iowa State Bar Association has adopted Canon 35 and no photographs are permitted during court sessions, "most judges make no objection to photographs in the courtroom during recesses."

Just as some judges differ, some editors see Canon 35 as less of a danger to freedom of the press, or freedom of information, than do other editors.

Harry Ashmore reported from Arkansas that there is "no evidence at hand that the application of Canon 35 in Arkansas has inhibited our court coverage in any way."

And J. S. Gray of the Monroe, Michigan, Evening News says that "there has been less controversy to alert either bar or press on these matters than in other states. My way of saying it would be that metropolitan papers in Michigan have been more discreet and less provocative in their behavior in and about court rooms than has been the case with some of their brethren elsewhere."

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Statement by J. R. Wiggins, Chairman,
Freedom of Information Committee,
American Society of Newspaper Editors;
Managing Editor, The Washington Post and Times Herald,
before the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee,
Friday, March 18, 1955

* * *

Two aspects of the present world situation distinguish this from any other period in which Americans have had to cope with the problem of secrecy.

The need for secrecy is greater than it ever has been. The power that is presently opposed to us is possessed of means of destruction more formidable than those ever held by an enemy. Its foreign policy is marked by a ruthlessness no great power in modern times has exhibited. Its utilization of espionage and infiltration has been more conspicuous, if not more successful. The science of war, moreover, in an age of total war, has become one to which all the enterprises of society are in one degree or another, related.

The dangers of secrecy, at the same time, have become more serious than ever before, and the need for knowledge is greater than ever before. On every earlier occasion when it has been necessary to cloak our military affairs in secrecy, there have been limits upon the area of secrecy easily and readily defined. The

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resort to secrecy has been for a limited time and the measures to enforce it have been diminished in their threat to our permanent habits of communication by the knowledge, in advance, that peace would put an end to these departures from democracy. The danger to our permanent institutions heretofore has been diminished, moreover, by a clear-cut distinction between the nation at war and the nation at peace. The comforts of this clarity and the reassurance of these limitations upon official secrecy we do not now have. Such measures of secrecy as we presently submit to, we accept, so far as we can see, for the indefinite future; when we adopt restrictions on disclosure now we enact them permanently. The crisis in which we have been plunged by the aggressive and imperialistic designs of the Soviet Union, is one the termination of which no man can foresee. It may last hundreds of years. Certainly none would be so optimistic as to suggest that it might be over in a matter of decades.

If the need for secrecy is greater, and it undoubtedly is, the dangers of secrecy therefore are also greater than ever before. Society may recover from temporary surrenders of rights and transient departures from principle. Freedoms given up for a month, or a year, or a few years, may be regained. Those relinquished for decades and generations may be resigned forever.

This realization ought to compel us to examine with the utmost care any proposal for the imposition of secrecy. If in order to defend our historic rights, we thoughtlessly submit to progressive restrictions upon those rights, we may discover a decade, a generation hence that we have scuttled the ship ourselves to keep it from being sunk by an enemy.

Each proposal for secrecy, therefore, needs to be examined with the utmost care. We must look carefully and thoroughly at the dangers of disclosure; we ought to look just as carefully and thoroughly at the dangers of secrecy. These dangers ought to be weighed against each other, whenever and wherever issues of secrecy and publicity arise.

With this dual nature of the problem in mind, let us look at the present means of enforcing secrecy and at the events out of which these policies emerged.

World War II Censorship was put into effect on December 7, 1941. J. Edgar Hoover was temporarily made coordinator of all news and communications censorship. Then on December 16, President Roosevelt made Byron Price, formerly executive news editor of the Associated Press, the Director of Censorship. The announcement creating this office said that:

(1) It was necessary to withhold some news at its source.

(2) It was necessary to set a watch upon the nation's borders so no information might reach the enemy.

(3) It was necessary to prohibit domestic publication of some types of information.

(4) The government was requesting the press and radio to abstain voluntarily from the dissemination of detailed information of certain kinds, such as reports of the movement of vessels and ships.

On December 19, the President formally created the Office of Censorship. The first Code of Wartime Practices for newspapers, magazines and periodicals, was issued on January 15, 1942, and wartime censorship was formally launched. The Code was revised each six months. It described kinds of news not to be published without appropriate authority, in 17 different clauses. Its enforcement was voluntary. The function of the office was simply to let the media know what information the government thought would be so helpful to the enemy that it ought not be printed. The whole operation was enormously successful. Few secrets were compromised. Probably none was disclosed deliberately. Perhaps, in some cases, details of war-time production and administration, denied to Americans as well as to the enemy, would have provoked healthy reactions by the public of which the government was deprived. Error, in some instances, might have been more speedily corrected, administrative energy now and then might have been greater, if the people had been informed more fully. It was, by and large, however, a censorship that was conducted under principles as consonant with the democratic process as secrecy can be made.

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We ought to profit, therefore, from the lessons of this experience, in any new application of secrecy.

These lessons and these principles were stated by Byron Price when he terminated censorship on August 15, 1945. He then said:

(1) Voluntary censorship must deal only with questions involving security.

(2) It must never base a request on any security consideration which may be questionable. The danger to security must be real, and it must be backed by a solid and reasonable explanation.

(3) It must avoid any interference whatever with editorial opinion.

(4) It must never be influenced by non-security considerations.

(5) It must make no requests which would put the press in the position of policing or withholding from publication the utterances of responsible public officials.

(6) It must make every effort to avoid multiple censorship and on no account must withhold from the American public any information which has been generally disseminated abroad.

(7) It must never undertake to vouch for the truth or accuracy of any news story.

(8) It must never undertake to regulate release dates or other matters of newspaper ethics.

(9) It must be absolutely impartial and consistent.

(10) It must operate openly, advising the public of every request made of the press.

After termination of the Office of Censorship, media thereafter were free to relate that which they knew or learned, subject to the control of information at the source,to the field censorship operating in combat theaters abroad, and to restraints of the Atomic Energy Act.

The government therefore retained formidable powers by which the public might be denied information about its military affairs. As the behavior of Soviet Russia caused more and more alarm and tension in world affairs, officials of government, from time to time, sought further restraints upon the free flow of information.

In the fall of 1947, the Security Advisory Board of the State Department-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee proposed a new system of classification under which they proposed to ban, among other things, "information that might cause serious administrative embarrassment." It included also "information which might cause unwarranted injury to an individual." This scheme was abandoned.

In March 1948, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal made a further effort to tighten up security information. He called a meeting of various media. He said that he saw the problem in two major aspects, involving:

"1. Remedial action within the military establishment in regard to the prevention of 'leaks,' the declassification of documents whose security no longer obtains, and the establishment of a unified policy among the various armed services for the prompt release of technical information which does not endanger national security.

"2. An assumption by the information media of their responsibility in voluntarily refraining from publishing information detrimental to our national security."

The Secretary proposed a "security advisory council" of six members, appointed from the media ranks, to advise the Secretary and an information advisory unit

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within the military establishment to answer inquiries on certain security subjects and offer guidance to the news media.

These plans were never put into effect.

Subsequently, then Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer proposed the establishment in the Department of Commerce to scrutinize technical information and to restrain the release of any such information that might be of aid to an enemy. This plan was not adopted. In 1951, however, restraints upon the export of technical data that have had serious consequences were imposed.

On September 25, 1951, President Harry Truman approved Executive Order 10-290, to tighten up security controls. This order authorized all the agencies of government to employ for the description of any matter involving the national security the designations Top Secret, Secret, Confidential and Restricted. It empowered heads of all these agencies to delegate classifying powers to subordinates.

The Order was opposed by the ASNE and the Associated Press Managing Editors Association for (1) Giving classifying authority to civilian agencies in no need of it; (2) For the vagueness of the definitions of the categories; (3) For the absence of any system by which classifying decisions might be reviewed; (4) For the lack of any agency to which appeal from these decisions might be taken.

On November 6, 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower announced the withdrawal of 10-290 and the substitution of 10-501. The new order deprived 28 federal agencies of classifying authority; limited its use in 17 other agencies; more clearly defined the security classifications; eliminated the "restricted" category altogether; made more definite provision for review and appeal.

It also stated:

"Throughout the lengthy consideration of this order it has been the purpose to attain in it the proper balance between the need to protect information important to the defense of the United States and the need for citizens of this democracy to know what their government is doing."

On November 5, 1954, the government again entered the field that Secretary Forrestal and Secretary Sawyer had previously explored. Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks, announced that at the direction of the President and on the recommendation of the National Security Council, he was setting up an Office of Strategic Information in the Dpartment of Commerce. This office, he said, would work with the business community "in voluntary efforts to prevent unclassified data from being made available to those foreign nations which might use such data in a manner harmful to the defense of the United States."

The head of the new agency, R. Karl Honaman, described the OSI as "a small fact-finding policy recommending group in the Department of Commerce," set up to "cooperate with the publishing world, industrial community and Federal agencies."

The governmental structure for restricting the flow of military information, at present, thus consists of: (1) General power of the executive departments to withhold at the source information about any restricted data; (2) The express authorization of secrecy for specified categories of information under the Classification Act; (3) The frequent secret conduct of congressional committees dealing with military authorizations and appropriations; (4) The Commerce Department control of the export of technical data; (5) The Office of Strategic Information; (6) The Atomic Energy Act; (7) The Espionage Act.

These constitute, altogether, a formidable array of governmental power, the effects of which upon the information of the American people ought to be under constant and anxious scrutiny. Involved here is the right of the people to know about those operations of their own government on which three-fourths of all their taxes are spent, in which three-fourths of all persons engaged by government are employed, in which the very lives of citizens may be engaged, and upon which the survival of our government -- and even the survival of the free world may depend.

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Let us look at each of these barriers to the free flow of military information to see how necessary and how dangerous they are. I will do this as briefly as possible:

1. The theory that the people have a right to know, and the theory that the Executive Branch has a right to withhold information, at its sole discretion, have dwelt together in our own government since its beginnings.

Lord Macauley has pointed out that "nothing could be more irrational than to give to the people power and to withhold from them the information without which power may be abused." Our government rests on the assumption that opinion is entitled to prevail and that the people have a right to the information on which that opinion rests.

At the same time, American presidents beginning with Washington have asserted the theory that there is certain information to which the executive alone is entitled to access, and that the executive is the judge of what is to be withheld and what is to be disclosed. American chief executives, at the same time, generally have held that the people are entitled to information. Washington felt that "concealment is, in a sense, a form of misrepresentation." Generally this has been the view of executives. The wide latitude allowed, however, makes the executive essentially the judge. This is a weakness in our system which the Swedish system has remedied by an express constitutional provision under which citizens are given the right of access to executive departments, with certain exceptions. Basically, however, tradition and custom in this country rest on the assumption that there is a right to know about the government, except where that right is reserved by express statute or by specific statement of exception by the executive.

2. Executive Order 10-501, despite its improvements over 10-290, still remains a formidable barrier to the free flow of information. It is difficult, if not impossible, for anyone not having access to classified information to say what information that ought to be disclosed has been withheld. Therefore, the challenge to cite examples of information improperly classified, is one that cannot, in the nature of things, be answered by persons who do not have access to the mountains of material stashed away under TOP SECRET, SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL descriptions.

The basic trouble with the system is that, as presently constituted, it has no device for assuring compliance with the exhortation not to over-classify. There are many legal and more informal penalties for failing to classify enough material; there are no real penalties for classifying too much. The penalties for disclosure are specific, immediate, direct and obvious. There are no penalties at all for excessive secretiveness. In these circumstances it seems almost inevitable that all personnel applying 10-501 will lean to caution's side.

It seems to us that the weakness of the classification order is its failure to provide: (1) Any penalties for excessive classification to match those imposed for failure to classify; (2) Any system of review by an impartial agency of classifications imposed for security reasons; (3) Any adequate system of appeal from classification decisions.

To be effective at all, the view of those who support the public's right to know must be made known and felt at the point of classification. Once any material or information is made secret, there is little likelihood that the press, or any other group of citizens, will discover the fact of this secrecy. The public may feel that it does not know all there is to know, but it can have no direct knowledge of what has been concealed. The challenge to cite abuses of the system therefore is an unfair challenge. The public knows only what has been released. It does not know what has not been released (or whether the material not released should have been released).

3. The secrecy of congressional hearings on military affairs is a difficult and troublesome matter. Citizens can hardly judge whether their representatives have arrived at right decisions when they are not privy to the deliberations in which these decisions have emerged. The necessity for some secrecy is not to be lightly dismissed. Yet, neither can we lightly dismiss the plea for information which Thomas Jefferson made when facts about the XYZ affair were being withheld. He said:

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"Your fellow citizens think they have a right to full information, in a case of such great concernment to them. It is their sweat which is to earn all the expenses of the war, and their blood which is to flow in expiation of the causes of it."

This philosophy, we think, ought to prevail more frequently when committees sit down to contemplate decisions of such awful consequence to the future of this country.

4. The Office of Strategic Information is only in process of being set up. Many details about it are yet unknown. Yet, it seems to us to hold these threats to our long-run interests:

(a) It adds to the already adopted categories of classified information a new category "strategic information," more illy and vaguely defined than any under previous classification orders.

(b) Its definition of strategic information so far divulged, is to vague that the limits of the operations of the office are virtually at its own discretion.

(c) The director of OSI has implied that certain types of information may be given to those who need it and withheld from others. This sort of discrimination, in our opinion, violates the first principles laid down by Byron Price. Moreover, it seems extremely dangerous to give to government the power to bestow upon individuals in competitive industry information to be withheld from others.

(d) The risks involved are no wise diminished by making the whole scheme voluntary. Censorship in World War I and World War II was voluntary. It was not less compulsory in a practical way. In the present climate of opinion, individual firms or publishers are not going to defy governmental requests for suppression of information. Law or no law, requests to suppress or withhold are going to be complied with and adhered to if they are made on the premise of national security requirements.

(e) Apparently requests are to be made for withholding in cases where, contrary to Byron Price's recommendations, the security requirement is at least questionable.

(f) Most objectionable is the fact that the system apparently intends to operate without clear cut published definitions of its requirements -- a first essential of democratic censorship as Byron Price defined it.

(g) A final point concerns the future of American industry. If there is one attribute that has made our industry the envy of the world it is its communications superiority. The slightest technical advance in any branch of industry, in the past, has been speedily communicated throughout industry with consequent savings to all and to the ultimate consumer. Arrest this process -- this impulsive, instantaneous, spontaneous communication, and you change profoundly the whole character of American production. Advances in the application of science to practical production ultimately, if such communication is discouraged, will be confined to the plants in which they originate. Industry will be less efficient. Production will be more expensive. Consumers will have neither the high quality nor the low prices that have come from the ready exchange of production data.

5. The Commerce Department's control of the export of technical data, operative since 1951, has raised certain very difficult questions which show us that secrecy's gains are always offset with some losses. Our scientists are not able to send abroad, in correspondence or in publications, details about a great array of technical developments. This seems, on the face of it, only a reasonably prudent precaution to deprive potential enemies of information that might be useful to them. However, science is not a one way street. Americans, in the past, not only have given to, but have received from the accumulated pool of world scientific knowledge. We cannot withhold from that reservoir without impoverishing, to a degree, our own science. Americans who seek to participate in gatherings of scientists abroad and present their findings to them are confronted with the necessity of ascertaining the destination of the information they convey. Sometimes they are not able to affirm that their papers will not

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be heard by citizens of enemy states. Whole new fields of science have been growing up -- such as electron microscopy. Expert knowledge in the field exists everywhere in the world. In ordinary times knowledge of these techniques would be freely exchanged to the advancement of scientific knowledge everywhere. We arrest this kind of free flow of knowledge at certain perils. We impoverish the world, thereby. We also impoverish ourselves. Our direct interest here sometimes is at war with our broader interest. It requires a subtle weighing of interests indeed to decide when our efforts at such secrecy hurt us more than they hurt an enemy. Unfortunately, the hurts to ourselves may be far removed in point of time and circumstance.

6. The Atomic Energy Act set up definitions of certain restricted data, publication of which involves the severest penalties; but even more importantly, it encouraged those in positions of administrative responsibility to withhold information at the source.

The devices for enforcing secrecy, regrettably, have not been wholly efficacious in depriving our enemies of information in this area. They have been effective in depriving the American people of a great deal of information essential to the development of sound national policy. The long deferment of the release of information on the fall out, for example, whatever good it achieved, undoubtedly has been attended by the virtual paralysis of the Civil Defense Administration. Frankly, I am not sufficiently informed to know whether the earlier possession of this data might have greatly altered national policy. I remain so ignorant of the real implications of radiation that I am not able to decide, on information I possess, whether any measures of passive defense are at all useful. I think millions of American equally ignorant. This, I think, dangerous in a democracy.

7. The Espionage Act, so far, has had very little direct and visible influence on the flow of information. Nevertheless, I think any over-all examination of the obstruction to the free flow of news ought to include a study of the provisions of this statute. Some of its terms constitute a permanent threat to the independence of the press and to the freedom of all media to gather and to distribute information.

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One of the difficulties involved in the discussion of secrecy arises from the specific, direct and immediate bad consequences of undue disclosure and the deferred, remote and subtle bad consequences of an excess of secrecy.

Any national commission or committee, such as that contemplated in the resolution now before this committee, in our opinion, ought to weigh soberly these aspects of secrecy:

(1) Secrecy is seldom as effective as its exponents imagine in withholding information from an enemy. As Dr. Lloyd Berkner has pointed out, in a democracy, it is like trying to hide an elephant under a paper cup. We tend to exaggerate what can be accomplished by secrecy, even if effective, and to distort the areas of information that we effectively control. With or without espionage, for example, our enemies probably would have come by the information on atomic energy which they now possess. At the most, more effective security might have imposed an 18 months delay, we are told.

(2) In order to handicap an enemy by secrecy, we have to handicap ourselves. Our own effective use of technical information depends upon its widest dissemination in this country. Such dissemination not only induces further improvement, and generates new refinements of basic knowledge; it puts into the heads and hands of persons who must use this knowledge the practical, widespread know-how essential to its practical military application.

(3) The whole climate of secrecy and security is alien to the instincts of the scientist and may discourage the enlistment in the national defense of men capable of making enormous contribution to our science and our security.

(4) Secrecy is alien to freedom and incompatible with freedom. We have progressed by giving information to the people and receiving back from them improvements and modifications of that information, in new and varied forms which

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their ingenuity has given it. Our system of government depends less upon infallibility in initial selection of our officials than in our success in improving officials once selected, by the impact of opinion, or removing them. Where citizens are deprived of the basis of fact on which they may voice opinion, we weaken the whole administrative apparatus of the country.

(5) Secrecy may withhold from the public an appreciation, an understanding and an acceptance of a situation. Ignorant of what is involved, they may refuse to support expenditures or to undertake difficult tasks required for national safety. It permits the citizen to dismiss, forget and shrug off the responsibilities of citizenship and to escape the hard choice of onerous alternative courses.

(6) Secrecy may deny an enemy of knowledge of our defense potential that, if known to him, would restrain his own aggression. An over-eager secrecy about our own defenses may encourage an enemy to believe us more vulnerable to attack than we really are.

To such considerations we need to give increasing thought. Secrecy, in itself, has no virtue except as it contributes to our security. Like every other device available for our protection, it has its price and at the risk of our free institutions, that price is too high.

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THE LAW AND THE RIGHT TO KNOW

by Harold L. Cross, ASNE Counsel

While marked by increasing public attention to the controversial phases of news coverage of court proceedings and courtroom photography, the past year has been the quietest since the A.S.N.E. freedom of information campaign began in legal developments in the states affecting the right of access to public records and proceedings. The year's experience demonstrates again the need for more and better law, expecially legislation, if A.S.N.E. principles are to prevail.

The most important single event of the year was adverse -- the ruling of New York's high court in the Jelke case that the right of public trial (of statutory, not constitutional, sanction in that state) is personal to the accused and may not be invoked by members of the public, including the press. (United Press Ass'ns et al. v. Valente, 308 N.Y., , N.E. 2d. ; 1954) The impact was softened somewhat by the recognition of the importance of press attendance to constitute a public trial in the same court's simultaneous ruling that Jelke's right to a public trial, which he had invoked, was violated by exclusion of public and press during presentation of the prosecution's case. (People v. Jelke, 308 N.Y. , N.E. 2d. ; 1954)

As might be expected as the natural result of this denial of a public right and remedy to challenge judicial secrecy, the decision was swiftly followed in Cleveland where a trial court, aided by the waiver of the accused's right to a public trial, ordered temporary exclusion of the press in a pander case. Challenge is pending. In Florida a court barred the press from the trial of a marriage separation action involving salacious testimony. This, being a civil, not criminal, proceeding, the ruling raised no constitutional questions and seems not to have been challenged. (Astor v. Astor, Dade County, Fla., March, 1955)

Public Records

In California traffic citation complaints on file in the traffic division of the municipal court were held "public" for some purposes at least. (People v. Thompson et al., Cal. App. 2d , 265 P. 2d 590; 1954) A Colorado court upheld the contention of the Grand Junction Sentinel that statutes, the purpose of which was to inform the public, required publication in full of monthly and semi-annual statements of county commissioners. (Walker v. Saunders et al., District Court, Mesa County, Colo., Blain, J., 1954) The state's press is advocating additional legislation. The Connecticut legislature rejected a press-supported public records bill with an assertion that existing laws are sufficient.

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Congress, in legislation highlighted by a specific, built-in enforcement provision, amended the District of Columbia Code on police records so as to require the keeping of an arrest book containing records which "shall be open to public inspection when not in actual use." This requirement, the Code now says, "shall be enforceable by mandatory injunction issued by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia." (D.C.Code, sections 4-134, 4-135, as amended.) This provision will be sought in future Federal legislation and deserves consideration in all public records and proceedings bills.

An Illinois court held that the statutory right of an accused to return of photographs, fingerprints or other records of identification upon acquittal or release without conviction is in the nature of a right of privacy -- an indication that these are non-public police records. (Maxwell v. O'Connor, 1 Ill. App. 2d 124, 117 N.E. 2d 326; 1953)

The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that a petitioner who has no specific interest in the subject matter independent of the rights of the public has a standing by reason of "citizenship" to maintain a petition for mandamus to enforce a public duty of interest to citizens generally. (This is contrary to the rule in some states, including New York as indicated in the Jelke case and Pennsylvania, wherein there is acute need for specific, built-in enforcement provisions.) A corporation, however, is not a "citizen" for this purpose. (Pilgrim Real Estate, Inc., v. Superintendent of Police of Boston, Mass. , 112 N.E. 2d 796; 1953)

Michigan's unusual practice of "suppression" of judicial records received attention in at least two cases. In one it was said that the court rule authorizing the practice serves the purpose of protecting "a litigant's privacy" in a proper case and that an order of suppression may be "supplemented" in the discretion of the trial judge upon "proper showing of necessity" therefor. (Tomlinson v. Tomlinson, 338 Mich. 274, 61 N.W. 2d 102; 1953) In the other case the court stopped this creeping paralysis of secrecy by ruling that "the moment the case comes up in open court it becomes public property, and the rights of freedom of the press and other things come into the picture." (City Coach Lines, Inc. v. Grand Rapids Motor Coach Co. et al., Cir. Ct., Kent Co., Mich., Searl, J., October 26, 1954) This was one of several instances in the year of judicial recognition of a right of access as inherent in press freedom. There were, however, instances of denial, including the Jelke case.

New Jersey, in two cases in which newspapers were not involved, indicated judicial unwillingness to inquire into the motives of citizen-applicants in statutory proceedings to investigate city affairs. (Tiene et al. v. Jersey City, 13 N.J. 478, 100 A. 2d 518; 1953; Eggers v. Kenney, 15 N.J. 107, 104, A. 2d 10; 1954)

New Mexico has joined many other states in opening relief rolls to public inspection with the customary ban on commercial or political use of names of recipients; but, in a strange -- and perhaps unconstitutional -- departure from her generally liberal policy toward newspapers, has declared it "unlawful for any newspaper to publish any such list of names in whole or in part for any purpose."

New York's high court ruled that a report by New York City's Commissioner of Investigation to the Mayor is not public for a taxpayer's inspection. In doing so, it dealt a heavy blow to section 894 of the City's Charter, one of the nation's finest laws heretofore liberally construed and discarded lower court judicial philosophy in line with A.S.N.E. ideals on the people's right to know. (Cherkis v. Impelletteri, N.Y. , N.E. 2d)

The Oklahoma Supreme Court, in a case where there was no newspaper litigant and the right of inspection was not involved, ruled that a record is not "public" at least for some purposes unless required by law to be kept and unless filed in such manner as to be subject to inspection by statute. Thus a record (state fire marshal's letter) kept by an officer in the course of his duties but not explicitly required was held not to be public. (Douvas v. Newcomb et al. Okla. , 267 P. 2d 600) This is another unhappy indication that precedent-minded courts are often less liberal to the people's right to know than are politically-minded legislators, many of whom have abolished this ancient definition of public records.

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The Utah Supreme Court, on the other hand, in a significantly favorable decision, wherein newspapers appeared as amici curiae, ruled that a record is public for inspection purposes if it is kept by a public officer as a convenient and appropriate mode of discharging the duties of his office whether or not required by express provision of law. The opinion abounds with support for principles for which A.S.N.E. contends -- and not only as to records -- minutes of a school board meeting -- but also as to public meetings. (Conover et al. v. Board of Education of Nebo School District et al., Utah , 267 P. 2d 768; 1954)

Public Meetings

This continues to be the field in which newspapers are most active as participants in legal developments.

Maryland and Utah have joined the states having legislation of general character (as distinguished from that of specific character applicable only to particularly designated public bodies or meetings) applicable to state bodies in addition to, or instead of, municipal bodies.

The Maryland statutes apply to all meetings of the legislative body in every municipal corporation, of all Boards of County Commissioners and County Councils and of the boards or commissions in control of any department, bureau or other agency of the Executive Department. Utah's new statute (An addition to an older one applicable to city boards) covers all meetings of legislative bodies of state or local agencies, including school boards and boards of control of state universities and colleges.

Each of these laws requires all such meetings to be open and public. Like most of the recent legislation on the subject, they expressly sanction "executive sessions" but bar the adoption thereat of ordinances, resolutions and the like. Utah also bars approval thereat of contracts and appointments. The effect of these provisions is justly the subject of debate and doubt and should be the subject of painstaking and suspicious scrutiny by newspapermen. Clearly they are not ideal; are they the best that may be had, better than nothing?

The Kansas legislature has killed two right-to-know bills. The press does not accept the setback as final.

The Florida legislature failed to pass a bill, but newspaper support of a law is being renewed at the current session in the presence of an announced Governor's program which includes requiring by law public meetings of all public bodies. A bill is proposed for enactment in Illinois.

Miscellaneous

State court finality has been reached in Ohio on a phase of courtroom photography. It was ruled that an order banning news photographs in courtroom and chambers during an arraignment was not an abuse of discretion or a violation of press freedom. (State v. Clifford et al. (Cleveland Press), Ohio , 118 N.E. 2d 853: 1954)

Several Federal court decisions, while not decisive on the still open question, add to the doubt that the "due process" clause of the 14th Amendment will be so applied as to make applicable to state courts the strict rules as to "public trial" under the 6th Amendment. (Boyden v. Webb et al., 208 F. 2d 201; Vanderwyde v. Denno, Warden, 113 F. Supp. 918)

Additional evidence of the impatience of Federal Court trial judges with the sweeping claims for secrecy of Government records was furnished in proceedings in Detroit wherein general counsel for the Securities & Exchange Commission was held in contempt. (Kinsey et al. v. Knapp et al., U.S.D.C., Eastern Dist. Mich., So. Div., Lederle, J., March, 1955) Production in evidence, not public inspection, was involved.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

F. Y. I. Copy has been furnished DD/I.

No reference to CIA

[redacted]

STANLEY [illegible]GAN

25 April 1955
(DATE)

(47)

FORM NO. 10.101 JAN 1952

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COL STANLEY GROGAN

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CANNOT LOCATE ASNE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION COMMITTEE REPORT HOPE JAMES BUTLER WAS HELPFUL IF NOT SUGGEST YOU CONTACT J RUSSELL WIGGINS WASHINGTON POST

LOUISE ROESCHER EDITOR AND PUBLISHER ASNE

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AMERICAN SOCIETY
of
NEWSPAPER EDITORS

1953 CONVENTION

April 16, 17, 18

HOTEL STATLER, Washington, D. C.

WRIGHT BRYAN
President

WALKER STONE
Program Chairman

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THURSDAY, APRIL 16

Opening Session, 10 A. M.

Invocation: The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of Washington Cathedral

Reports:

President: Wright Bryan, Atlanta Journal

Secretary: Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register and Tribune

Treasurer: Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch

Nominations: A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News

Resolutions: Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News

ACEJ: Edward Lindsay, Decatur Herald and Review

Memorial: Grove Patterson, Toledo Blade

International Press Institute: Lester Markel, New York Times

(Polls open for election of directors, at close of session)

Luncheon

Wright Bryan presiding

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Music by the United States Marine Band Orchestra, Warrant Officer Albert Schoepper, Assistant Leader, conducting)

(Members and guests must be seated by 12:10 P. M.)

Afternoon Session, 2 P. M.

Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard Newspapers, presiding

THE EISENHOWER TEAM

The Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson

The Postmaster General, Arthur E. Summerfield

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby

The Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay

FRIDAY, APRIL 17

Morning Session, 9 A. M.

THE EISENHOWER TEAM (continued)

The Secretary of Commerce, Sinclair Weeks

The Secretary of the Treasury, George M. Humphrey

The Assistant Secretary of Defense, John A. Hannah

The Under Secretary of Labor, Lloyd A. Mashburn

The Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, Jr.

OPEN DISCUSSION ON ANY SUBJECT ANY MEMBER WISHES TO PRESENT

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Luncheon, 1 P. M.

Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers, presiding

General James A. Van Fleet, USA, Retired
(Polls close, 2:30 P. M.)

Afternoon Session, 2:30 P. M.

THE LOYAL OPPOSITION

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate Minority Leader

Foreign Relations Committee: Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana

Armed Services Committee: Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Senator W. Stuart Symington of Missouri

Representative Sam Rayburn, House Minority Leader

Appropriations Committee: Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri, Representative Alfred D. Sieminski of New Jersey

Ways and Means Committee: Representative Jere Cooper of Tennessee, Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE MAN AND THE ARMY: Lieutenant General Anthony C. McAuliffe, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Administration

SATURDAY, APRIL 18

(Sigma Delta Chi Breakfast, 8 A. M., National Press Club)

Morning Session, 10 A. M.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

James S. Pope, Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, Chairman, Freedom of Information Committee

Dr. Harold L. Cross, Special ASNE Counsel and author of "The People's Right to Know"

Paul Block, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Atomic Information

THE JELKE CASE AND RELATED MATTERS

Don C. Shoemaker, Asheville Citizen
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal
Alicia Patterson, Newsday
Malcolm W. Bingay, Detroit Free Press

SHOULD NEWSPAPERS PUBLISH NAMES OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS?

Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Raymond A. McConnell, Jr., Nebraska State Journal

Luncheon, 1 P. M.

Gideon Seymour, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, Chairman, Membership Committee, presiding

Introduction of members

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Afternoon Session, 2:30 P. M.

WIZARDS OR WASTRELS—ARE WE HOLDING THE LINE ON NEWS AND EDITORIAL COSTS?

Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers, Chairman
Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register and Tribune
E. T. Stone, Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Charles A. Storke, Santa Barbara News-Press

MORE OPEN DISCUSSION

Resolutions

Report of Committee, Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News, Chairman

Discussion and Adoption

Evening Session

Reception for members and their guests, 7:00 P. M., in Federal and South American Rooms

Banquet: 8:00 P. M., in Presidential and Congressional Rooms

Wright Bryan, Atlanta Journal, presiding

Presentation of Clapper Award

Address: The Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles

(Music by United States Army Band, Captain Samuel Laboda, conducting)

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 1952 - 53

President

WRIGHT BRYAN.....Atlanta Journal

1st Vice-President

BASIL L. WALTERS.....Knight Newspapers

2nd Vice-President

JAMES S. POPE.....Louisville Courier-Journal & Times

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A

John G. Ackelmire, Indianapolis News
Carl W. Ackerman, Columbia University (C)
Walter S. Adams, Asheville Times
Philip D. Adler, Davenport Times (M)
Frank R. Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Newton Aiken, Baltimore Evening Sun
Milburn Akers, Chicago Sun-Times
Richard H. Amberg, Syracuse Post-Standard
Reese T. Amis, Huntsville Times
M. W. Armistead III, Roanoke Times-World News
Robert J. Arthur, Scranton Tribune
Harry Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette (HA)
Robert B. Atwood, Anchorage Daily Times
H. M. Ayers, Anniston Star

B

W. A. Bailey, Kansas City Kansan
R. L. Bangsberg, LaCross Tribune
Stanley P. Barnett, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Robert C. Barton, Lima News
Robert S. Bates, Meadville Tribune
Paul Bellamy, Cleveland Plain Dealer
James R. Benham, Terre Haute Star
George A. Benson, Toledo Times
Andrew Bernhard, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (C)
Thomas J. Berrigan, Niagara Falls Gazette
Carroll Binder, Minneapolis Tribune
Malcolm Bingay, Detroit Free Press
Tams Bixby Jr., Muskogee Phoenix Times-Democrat
Paul Block Jr., Toledo Blade (C)
William Block, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (C)
Warren S. Booth, Detroit News
Harry Boyd, Cedar Rapids Gazette
H. D. Bradley, St. Joseph News-Press
Michael Bradshaw, Toledo Blade (C)
Wallace A. Brennan, Dunkirk Observer
Raymond Brewster, Huntington Herald-Dispatch
Russell Briney, Louisville Times
Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg Headlight & Sun
Robert U. Brown, Editor & Publisher
Robert W. Brown, Columbus Ledger (W)
Sevellon Brown, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Sevellon Brown 3d, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
Wright Bryan, Atlanta Journal
G. A. Buchanan Jr., Columbia Record
I. Z. Buckwalter, Lancaster Newspapers (C)
A. T. Burch, Chicago Daily News
Fred W. Burgner, Trenton Times
Arnold Burnett, Peoria Journal
Arthur V. Burrowes, St. Joseph News-Press
Dan Burrows, Albuquerque Tribune
Sam Butz, Jacksonville Florida Times-Union
Ralph N. Byers, Ann Arbor News

C

Robert N. Caldwell, Bayonne Times
Jameson G. Campaigne, Indianapolis Star
Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor
Harold W. Carlisle, Ohio State Journal
B. H. Carroll, New Rochelle Reporter-Dispatch
James F. Carroll, Dayton Journal Herald
Hodding Carter, Delta Democrat-Times (DC)
John H. Carter, Lancaster New Era (C)
Ralph D. Casey, University of Minnesota
Harold E. Cassill, Spokesman Review & Chronicle
Samuel Caufman Jr., Wilmington Morning News
James F. Chambers Jr., Dallas Times Herald
Lenoir Chambers, Norfork Virginian-Pilot
Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times
Robert B. Choate, Boston Herald-Traveler
Fred Christopherson, Sioux Falls Argus Leader
Conrad N. Church, Pontiac Daily Press
George E. Clapp, New London Day
John H. Cline, Washington Star (DC)
Frank C. Clough, Speidel Newspapers
John H. Colburn, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Kenneth S. Conn, San Jose Mercury-News
Roger A. Connolly, New Haven Register
David F. Connors, Lowell Sun (SH)
Brainard Cooper, Chattanooga News Free Press
Carl Corbin, New Orleans States
Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star (DC)
George A. Cornish, New York Herald Tribune
Thomas Costello, Lowell Sun (SH)
John Cowles, Minneapolis Star & Tribune (C)
George S. Crandall, Elmira Star-Gazette
Robert C. Crane, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Vernon Croop, Rochester Times-Union
Raymond L. Crowley, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
E. F. Cunningham, Wilmington Journal-Every Evening

D

Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Herbert M. Davidson, Daytona Beach News-Journal
John F. Day, Louisville Courier-Journal
Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch (AN)
James R. Doran, Harrisburg Patriot-News
C. W. Dressler, Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Roscoe Drummond, Christian Science Monitor (DC)
Alvand C. Dunkelberger, Nashville Banner

E

Herbert Elliston, Washington Post (DC)
William T. Evjue, Madison Capital-Times
Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register & Tribune
[illegible]

F

V. E. Fairbanks, St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch
Valentine Fallon, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Eugene Farrell, Jersey Journal
Lloyd M. Felmly, Newark News
J. D. Ferguson, Milwaukee Journal
Melville F. Ferguson, Philadelphia Bulletin
Marshall Field Jr., Chicago Sun-Times
Stanley Fink, Atlantic City Press & Evening Union
Richard J. Finnegan, Chicago Sun-Times (L)
Harold A. Fitzgerald, Pontiac Daily Press
J. Fitzpatrick, Salt Lake Tribune
William H. Fitzpatrick, Wall Street Journal
William J. Foote, Hartford Courant
Frank R. Ford, San Francisco News
W. W. Forster, Pittsburgh Press
Jack Foster, Rocky Mountain News
Charles A. S. Freeman, Newburg News
Wayne Freeman, Greenville Piedmont
Thomas R. Furlong, Washington Times-Herald (DC)

G

Charles E. Gallagher, Lynn Daily Item
E. K. Gaylord, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times
E. J. Gerrity, Scranton Times
Rupert Gillett, Charlotte Observer
Robert Glass, Lynchburg News & Daily Advance
Edmund Goodrich, Trenton Trentonian
Michael A. Gorman, Flint Journal
Edward Gottlieb, Long Island Daily Press
JS Gray, Monroe Evening News
Charles Green, Austin American-Statesman
John G. Green, Portsmouth Times
George Grimes, Oxnard Press-Courier
William H. Grimes, Wall Street Journal
Carl D. Groat, Cincinnati Post
J. A. Guthrie, San Bernardino Sun Telegram (M)
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal

H

Thomas W. Hagan, Miami Daily News
Grover C. Hall Jr., Montgomery Advertiser (M)
Horace Hall, Dothan Eagle
W. Earl Hall, Mason City Globe-Gazette
Charles Hamilton, Richmond News-Leader
Thomas A. Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
John P. Harris, Hutchinson News-Herald
Tom C. Harris, St. Petersburg Times
Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City
G. A. Harshman, Sharon Herald
Stanley E. Hart, Warren Tribune-Chronicle
Houston Harte, San Angelo Standard-Times
Coleman A. Harwell, Nashville Tennessean
Frank Hawkins, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Charles A. Hazen, Shreveport Times
George W. Healy Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune
W. R. Hearst Jr., New York Journal-American (DC)
William H. Heath, Haverhill Gazette
T. M. Hederman Jr., Jackson Clarion-Ledger
J. N. Heiskell, Arkansas Gazette
Floyd F. Hendley, Greensboro Record
N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa World (C)
John R. Herbert, Quincy Patriot Ledger
Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press
R. M. Hitt Jr., Charleston Evening Post
Frank S. Hoag Jr., Pueblo Star-Journal & Chieftain
Overta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Philip Hochstein, Newark Star-Ledger (DuP)
John S. Hooper, Brattleboro Daily Reformer
W. J. Hooten, El Paso Times
Clayton G. Horn, Canton Repository
Josh L. Horne, Rock Mount Evening Telegram
L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times
Lewis R. Hovey, Beverly Evening Times
Jack R. Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
E. C. Hoyt, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Palmer Hoyt, Denver Post
Edward J. Hughes, Portchester Daily Item
Walter R. Humphrey, Fort Worth Press
E. B. Hunter, Charlotte Observer

I

Norman E. Isaacs, Louisville Times
Wesley S. Izzard, Amarillo Daily News

J

Elmer M. Jackson Jr., Annapolis Capital (DC)
James S. Jackson, Akron Beacon Journal
John F. James , Johnstown Tribune-Democrat
Frank Jenkins, Klamath Falls Herald & News
John B. Johnson, Watertown Daily Times
Robert W. Johnson, Wilkes Barre Record
Alexander F. Jones, Syracuse Herald-Journal
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa Tribune (DC)
Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers
Walter P. Jones, McClatchy Newspapers

K

H. W. Kendall, Greensboro Daily News
James Kerney Jr., Trenton Times
Earl E. Keyser, Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal (C)
Caleb J. King, Jacksonville Florida Times-Union
Charles A. King, Utica Daily Press
C. B. King, Buffalo Courier-Express (W)
A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News
R. H. Kirkpatrick, Bethlehem Globe-Times
Frank Knight, Charleston Gazette
John S. Knight, Knight Newspapers
Herbert Koehl, Dayton Daily News
Arthur Krock, New York Times (DC)

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L

Louis LaCoss, St. Louis Globe-Democrat
E. D. Lambright, Tampa Morning Tribune
Arthur Laro, Houston Post
S. L. Latimer Jr., Columbia State
David Lawrence, U. S. News & World Report (DC)
Clarence Leighton, Oswego Palladium-Times
Colvin T. Leonard, Greensboro Record
Joseph A. Leslie Jr., Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Charles J. Lewin, New Bedford Standard-Times
Edward Lindsay, Decatur Herald & Review
F. M. Lindsay, Decatur Herald & Review
Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Walter Lippmann, New York Herald Tribune (DC)
Walter Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin
Francis P. Locke, Dayton Daily News
Walter Locke, Dayton Daily News
Jack H. Lockhart, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
C. Raymond Long, Elgin Courier-News (M)
Robert W. Lucas, Denver Post
Robert D. Lusk, Huron Daily Plainsman (C)
John F. Lux, Joliet Herald-News (M)
Andrew H. Lyon, Bridgeport Post-Telegram
J. Curtis Lyons, Petersburg Progress-Index

M

William F. Maag Jr., Youngstown Vindicator
J. Q. Mahaffey, Texarkana Gazette & News
Ben Maidenburg, Akron Beacon Journal
C. P. Manship Jr., Baton Rouge Times-Advocate (M)
Lester Markel, New York Times
Santford Martin, Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel
Dwight Marvin, Troy Record
William R. Mathews, Arizona Daily Star
Roy L. Matson, Wisconson State Journal
Burrows Matthews, Buffalo Courier-Express
John Mead, Erie Times
J. A. Meckstroth, Ohio State Journal
Edward J. Meeman, Memphis Press-Scimitar
Charles Merz, New York Times
Eugene Meyer, Washington Post (DC)
Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Daily Times
A. L. Miler, Battle Creek Enquirer-News
Elmer Miller, New Rochelle Standard-Star
Loye W. Miller, Knoxville News-Sentinel
Paul Miller, Gannett Newspapers
James E. Mills, Birmingham Post-Herald
Harry Montgomery, Arizona Republic & Gazette
Harold E. Moore, Utica Observer-Dispatch
John S. Moore, Dayton Journal Herald
Warren Morrell, Rapid City Daily Journal
John B. Mullaney, Cleveland News
Francis P. Murphy, Worcester Telegram-Gazette
Joseph T. Murphy, Wilkes Barre Times-Leader-News
Alfred D. Mynders, Chattanooga Times

Mac - Mc

Wiliam M. McBride, Passaic Herald-News
H. P. McCall, New Orleans Times-Picayune
Dean R. McCollough, Philadelphia News
Raymond A. McConnell Jr., Nebraska State Journal
E. R. McCullough, Stamford Advocate
Glenn McDonald, Bay City Times
Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register & Tribune
John J. McDonnell, Perth Amboy Evening News
Ralph McGill, Atlanta Constitution
R. L. McGrath, Seattle Times
B. M. McKelway, Washington Star (DC)
Felix R. McKnight, Dallas Morning News
C. D. McNamee, Muskegon Chronicle
J. J. McSweeney, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader-News

N

Paul Neville, South Bend Tribune
V. M. Newton Jr., Tampa Tribune
Ralph Nicholson, Charlotte Observer
Everett Norlander, Chicago Daily News

O

John M. O'Connell Jr., Bangor Daily News (M)
Wallace Odell, Westchester County Newspapers
Duncan Oliphant, Portland Press-Herald
Kenneth Olson, Northwestern University (L)
John T. O'Rourke, Washington News (DC)
George A. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie News (DC)
Hamilton Owens, Baltimore Sunpapers

P

William J. Pape, Waterbury Republican & American
Carroll W. Parcher, Glendale News-Press
Joe Parham, Macon News
Ben F. Park, Raleigh Times
David Patten, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Alicia Patterson, Newsday
Grove Patterson, Toledo Blade
H. D. Paulson, Fargo Forum
John D. Pennekamp, Miami Herald
Richard D. Peters, Cleveland Press (DC)
H. P. Pickrell, Albuquerque Journal
Warren H. Pierce, St. Petersburg Times
H. R. Pinckard, Huntington Herald-Advertiser
Roy Pinkerton, Ventura Star-Free Press
Virgil M. Pinkley, Los Angeles Mirror (M)
A. M. Piper, Council Bluffs Nonpareil
E. M. Pooley, El Paso Herald-Post
James S. Pope, Louisville Courier-Journal & Times
Philip W. Porter, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Nelson Poynter, St. Petersburg Times (DC)
Otto C. Pressprich, Saginaw News
Harry Provence, Waco News-Tribune
Charles McD. Puckette, Chattanooga Times
Joseph Pulitzer, St. Louis Post-Dispatch (M)
Joseph Pulitzer Jr., St. Louis Post-Dispatch (M)
Eugene C. Pulliman, Indianapolis Star & News (C)
E. S. Pulliam, Indianapolis News (C)

Q

John K. Quad, New Brunswick Daily Home News

R

John D. Raridan, Canton Repository
E. Lansing Ray, St. Louis Globe Democrat
Clyde M. Reed Jr., Parsons Sun
Ben Reese, American Press Institute
Charles L. Reese Jr., Wilmington News-Journal (C)
Oxie Reichler, Yonkers Herald-Statesman
Whitelaw Reid, New York Herald Tribune
W. D. Reimert, Allentown Call-Chronicle
D. W. Reynolds, Fort Smith Southwest-Times Record
A. M. Richards Jr., Richmond Independent
Dow Richardson, Kokomo Tribune
Earl H. Richert, Evansville Press
Hugh Robertson, Westchester County Newspapers
James P. Rosemond, Cincinnati Times-Star
Vermont Royster, Wall Street Journal

S

Joseph W. Sagmaster, Cincinnati Times-Star
Reed Sarratt, Winston-Salem Journal & Sentinel
Carl A. Saunders, Kentucky Post
Carl M. Sanders, Jackson Citizen-Patriot
Dorothy Schiff, New York Post
Henry J. Schmitt, Aberdeen American-News
Paul A. Schrader, Toledo Blade
Thomas N. Schroth, Brooklyn Eagle
Don Scism, Evansville Courier
Charles E. Scripps, Cincinnati Post
Joe W. Seacrest, Lincoln Journal
Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland Press
Gideon Seymour, Minneapolis Star & Tribune
Norman Shaw, Cleveland Press
George R. Shoals, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
Don Shoemaker, Asheville Citizen
Dolph Simons, Lawrence Journal-World
H. P. Slane, Peoria Journal
G. A. Smallsreed Sr., Columbus Dispatch
Joseph F. Smiley, Tampa Daily Times
Blanche H. Smith, Meriden Record and Journal
Guy L. Smith, Knoxville Journal
Harrison Smith, Wilkes Barre Times-Leader-News
Paul E. Smith, Plainfield Courier-News
Paul Linwood Smith, Woonsocket Call
John Spencer, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
James G. Stahlman, Nashville Banner
O. S. Stauffer, Topeka State Journal
Fred W. Stein, Binghamton Press
J. Hale Steinman, Lancaster Intelligencer-Journal (C)
John F. Steinman, Lancaster New Era (C)
Donald J. Sterling, Portland, Oregon
William P. Steven, Minneapolis Star & Tribune
E. Robert Stevenson, Waterbury, Conn.
Leon Stolz, Chicago Tribune
Edward Stone, Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Walker Stone, Scripps-Howard Newspapers (DC)
Robert H. Stopher, Akron Beacon Journal
Charles A. Storke, Santa Barbara News-Press
W. C. Stouffer, Roanoke World-News
Bert Struby, Macon Telegraph
Carl K. Stuart, Oklahoma City Oklahoman & Times
James A. Stuart, Indianapolis Star
Frederick Sullens, Jackson Daily News
John Sutlive, Savannah Evening Press

T

Milton Tabor, Topeka Capital
Jack Tarver, Atlanta Journal & Constitution
E. B. Thompson, Philadelphia Inquirer
Jack B. Thompson, Chester Times
Kenneth Tooill, Toledo Times
William Tugman, Eugene Register-Guard
E. S. Turner, Syracuse Herald-Journal

U

Fritz S. Updike, Rome Sentinel

V

McClellan Van der Veer, Birmingham News
Wm. Vosburgh Jr., Waterbury Republican & American

W

Philip M. Wagner, Baltimore Sun
Hugh Wagnon, Chester Times
Tom Wallace, Louisville Times
J. K. Walsh, Kalamazoo Gazette
Mason Walsh, Dallas Times-Herald
M. E. Walter, Houston Chronicle
Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers
W. W. Ward, Beaumont Journal
T. R. Waring, Charleston News & Courier
Don E. Weaver, Columbus Citizen
James A. Wechsler, New York Post
Carl Weimer, Greenville News
Hoke S. Welch, Miami Daily News
J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post (DC)
George B. Williams, Geneva Times
M. H. Williams, Worcester Telegram-Gazette
Robert E. Williams, Raleigh News & Observer
Edwin B. Wilson, Brooklyn Eagle
L. L. Winship, Boston Globe
Miles H. Wolff, Greensboro Daily News
Lee M. Woodruff, Grand Rapids Press
William J. Woods, Utica Observer-Dispatch
John F. Wurz, Grand Rapids Herald
Edward A. Wyatt, Petersburg Progress-Index

Y

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F. ASNE

F
I

13 April 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR (PLANS):

Ken Giniger, general manager of Hawthorn Books, Incorporated, 70 Fifth Avenue, asked that I transmit to you and Mrs. Wisner his invitation for you both to attend the annual party which follows the dinner of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington on Saturday, April 18. Most of the publishers and editors in Washington for the convention are expected at the party. Captain Giniger would appreciate knowing whether you and your wife plan to attend so that he may notify the Post-Hall people and have your names placed on the entrance list. The invitation is attached hereto.

STANLEY J. GROGAN

Enclosure

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AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS 1952

Schedule for Annual Convention - - - April 17-18-19

Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C.

* * * * *

Thursday, April 17

Opening Session, 9:00 a.m.

9:00 - 9:05	Invocation	Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris Chaplain of the Senate Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.
9:05 - 9:20	Opening Remarks of the President	Alexander F. Jones, Executive Editor Syracuse Herald-Journal
9:20 - 9:30	Report of the Nominations Committee	Norman Shaw, Associate Editor Cleveland Press
9:30 - 9:45	Report of the Secretary	Kenneth MacDonald, Executive Editor The Des Moines Register-Tribune
9:45 - 9:50	Report of the Treasurer	Basil L. Walters, Executive Editor Knight Newspapers, Inc.
9:50 - 10:00	Honesty in Government Discussion	

Presiding . . . President Jones

10:00 - 10:20	Adrian W. De Wind, Counsel for the King Subcommittee of the House (Internal Revenue)
10:20 - 10:40	John J. Williams, United States Senator, Delaware (Rep.)
10:40 - 11:00	John B. Dunlap, Commissioner of Internal Revenue Bureau
11:00 - 11:20	Arnold Bauman, Counsel for the Neely Subcommittee of the Senate (District Crime)
11:20 - 11:45	Questions and Discussion

Luncheon, 12:00 p.m.

Presiding - - Hamilton Owens, Editor, Baltimore Sun

12:30 - 1:00	Newbold Morris, former Special Assistant to the Attorney General
1:00 - 1:30	Robert Ramspeck, Chairman, U. S. Civil Service Commission
1:30	Board buses for White House Tour at 16th St. Entrance
2:00 - 4:00	White House Tour (Members and wives)
4:00 - 4:20	Leave White House for Press Conference. Buses will be waiting to transport members only to National Museum Auditorium, 10th and Constitution Avenue. Buses will wait and return members to hotel.
4:30	Press Conference with President Truman. (The conference will be on the record. Editors will ask all questions. White House correspondents will be present to report the conference. Members only.)

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Thursday Evening Session, 8 p.m.

Panel Discussion

Subject: Are College Sports Over-Emphasized

Presiding . . Wright Bryan, Editor, Atlanta Journal

Visitor Panel

8:00 to 8:20 Everett Case, President, Colgate University

8:20 to 8:40 H. C. Byrd, President, University of Maryland

8:40 to 9:00 Question Period

Members Panel

Discussion Subject: Sports Coverage in the American Press

9:00 to 9:10 Presiding . . Tom A. Hanes, Editor, Norfolk Ledger Dispatch

9:10 to 9:25 What Price Hero Worship? - Art Guepe, University of Virginia football coach.

9:25 to 9:40 Is Sports Page Space Justified by Reader Interest? - Gordon Cobbledick, Sports Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer

9:40 to 9:55 Do Sports Pages Compromise Journalistic Integrity? - Ed Danford, Sports Editor, Atlanta Journal

9:55 to 10:10 Are Sports Writers Blameless in Sports Scandals? - Walter Lister, Managing Editor, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.

10:10 to 10:25 Discussion and Questions.

FRIDAY, April 18

8:00 Membership Breakfast

Presiding . . Coleman A. Harwell, Editor Nashville Tennessean

Introduction of New Members

Morning Session

Subject: Freedom of Information

Presiding . . President A. F. Jones

9:20 - 9:30 Opening Remarks - A. F. Jones

9:30 - 10:15 James S. Pope, Executive Editor, Louisville Courier Journal and Louisville Times

10:15 - 10:30 Dr. Harold Cross, special ASNE Counsel on Access to Information

10:30 - 11:00 Discussion of the Pope and Cross Reports

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11:00 - 11:30 Report of the Washington Committee

11:30 - 11:45 Report on United Nations Conventions on Freedom of Information - Erwin B. Canham, Editor, Christian Science Monitor

11:45 - 12:15 Report on the International Press Institute, Lester Markel, Sunday Editor, The New York Times

12:15 Report of the ACEJ Accrediting Committee Alfred H. Kirchhofer, Managing Editor Buffalo Evening News

Friday Luncheon Session, 1:00 p.m.

Presiding . . J. R. Wiggins, Managing Editor Washington Post

1:00 Clayton Fritchey, Director, Office of Public Information Defense Department

1:05 The Nation's Defenses - Hon. Robert A. Lovett, Secretary of Defense

POLLS CLOSE AT 2:30

Friday Afternoon Session

2:30 Presiding . . President A. F. Jones

2:35 Memorial Address . . Grove Patterson, Editor Toledo Blade

2:45 Afternoon Panel

Subject: Newspaper Responsibility for Honesty in Government.

"Every government justly rests under suspicion and only constant scrutiny can keep it decently honest." --John C. Calhoun

2:45 - 2:55 Louis B. Seltzer, Editor, Cleveland Press Chairman of the Panel

2:55 - 3:10 Lee Hills, Executive Editor, Detroit Free Press

3:10 - 3:25 Ben Reese, Co-Chairman, American Press Institute Advisory Board (former Managing Editor, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

3:25 - 3:40 V. M. Newton, Jr.. Managing Editor, Tampa Tribune

3:40 - 4:00 Discussion

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Friday Evening Session, 8:00 p.m.

Subject: The Military Situation

Presiding. . Gideon Seymour, Executive Editor
Minneapolis Tribune

8:00 The Military Situation in Europe, General Alfred M. Gruenther, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe.

8:30 The World Wide Strategic Situation
General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

9:00 The Air Situation - General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Chief of Staff, United States Air Force

9:20 The Naval Situation, Admiral William M. Fechteler Chief of Naval Operations

9:40 The Army in 1952 - General J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, United States Army

10:00 Discussion

Guests of the Society:
Major General Floyd L. Parks
Chief of Information, U. S. Army

Brig. General Sory Smith
Director of Public Relations
U. S. Air Force

Rear Admiral R. F. Hickey
Chief of Information, U. S. Navy

(This meeting is an informal background meeting. Attendance restricted to members. Matters discussed not classified. Editors may use for background. Nothing said is to be quoted or attributed to speakers.)

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SATURDAY, April 19

8:00 Sigma Delta Chi Breakfast
National Press Club Auditorium

Saturday Morning Session, 9:30 a.m.

Subject: How much can a free press get for free and still be free?

Presiding . . Michael A. Gorman

9:30 - 9:35 [illegible] Editor, Los Angeles Times
Chairman of the Panel

9:35 - 9:45 Fred W. Stein, Editor, Binghamton (N.Y.) Press

9:45 - 9:55 George W. Healy, Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune

9:55 - 10:05 Herbert F. Corn, Washington (D.C.) Evening Star

10:05 - 10:15 ~~Ralph D. Casey, Dean, School of Journalism, Univ. of Minn.~~ Stanley P. Barnett Cleveland Plain Dealer

10:15 - 10:45 Discussion

Panel Session

What Lessons Can We Learn From 1948 in Covering 1952 Elections?

10:45 - 11:00 Basil L. Walters, Executive Editor, Knight Newspapers, Inc.

11:00 - 11:15 James B. Reston, Reporter, The New York Times

11:15 - 12:00 Discussion

Saturday Luncheon Session, 12:30

Subject: American Foreign Policy

Presiding . . President A. F. Jones

1:00 Alexander Wiley, Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

1:30 Dean Acheson, Secretary of State

Panel Session, 2:30 p.m.

Subject: Impact of Television on News Reporting

Presiding . . W. S. Gilmore, Detroit News

2:30 - 2:35 George A. Cornish, Managing Editor, New York Herald Tribune
Chairman of the Panel

2:35 - 2:50 Davidson Taylor, General Production Executive of Television Network, National Broadcasting Company

2:50 - 3:05 ~~[illegible]~~ Ralph D. Casey, Dean, ~~[illegible]~~ School of Journalism, Univ. of Minn.

3:05 - 3:20 ~~[illegible]~~ Columbia Broadcasting System, Ted Koop

3:20 - 3:35 Discussion

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Resolutions

3:35 Report of Resolutions Committee

L. R. Blanchard, Chairman
Editor, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle

Saturday Evening

6:30 Cocktail Party

7:30 Annual Banquet

President's Address - Alexander F. Jones
Executive Editor
Syracuse Journal-Herald

Presentation of Clapper Award by President A. F. Jones

Address: Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz
Editor and Publisher
La Prensa

Music by United States Navy Orchestra under the direction of Chief Musician Bernard Rosenthal.

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AMERICAN SOCIETY *of* NEWSPAPER EDITORS

1952 CONVENTION

April 17, 18, 19

HOTEL STATLER, Washington, D. C.

ALEXANDER F. JONES
President

J. R. WIGGINS
Program Chairman

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THURSDAY, APRIL 17

Opening Session, 9 A. M.

Invocation: Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U. S. Senate

President's address: Alexander F. Jones, Syracuse Herald-Journal

Reports:

Secretary: Kenneth MacDonald, Des Moines Register and Tribune

Treasurer: Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers

Nominations Chairman: Norman Shaw, Cleveland Press

Discussion: Honesty in Government

Adrian W. DeWind, Counsel for King Subcommittee of the House (Internal Revenue)

Senator John J. Williams of Delaware

John B. Dunlap, Commissioner of Internal Revenue

Arnold Bauman, Counsel for Neely Subcommittee of the Senate (District Crime)

(Polls open, for election of directors, at close of session)

Luncheon, 12:00 Noon

Hamilton Owens, Baltimore Sunpapers, presiding

Addresses:

Newbold Morris, Former Special Assistant to the Attorney General

Robert Ramspeck, Chairman, U. S. Civil Service Commission

White House Tour and Press Conference

Members and wives board chartered buses at 1:30 P. M., at 16th Street entrance of Hotel Statler, for two-hour tour of White House. (No return transportation provided for ladies.)

Members *only* board buses at White House at 4 P. M., for conference with President Truman in National Museum auditorium, 10th and Constitution Avenue. Buses will return members to the Statler.

Badges admit to both events. Presidential conference will be on the record, editors asking questions, White House correspondents reporting conference *only*.

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Thursday Evening Session, 8 P. M.

Wright Bryan, Atlanta Journal, presiding

Are College Sports Over-emphasized?
President Everett Case, Colgate University
President H. C. Byrd, University of Maryland
Question Period

Panel: Sports Coverage in the American Press
Thomas A. Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch, chairman

What Price Hero Worship?
Art Guepe, University of Virginia Football Coach

Is Sports Page Space Justified by Reader Interest?
Gordon Cobbledick, Sports Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer

Do Sports Pages Compromise Journalistic Integrity?
Ed Danford, Sports Editor, Atlanta Journal

Are Sports Writers Blameless in Sports Scandals?
Walter Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin

Discussion and Questions

FRIDAY, APRIL 18

Membership Breakfast, 8 A. M.

Coleman Harwell, Nashville Tennessean, Chairman of Membership Committee presiding, assisted by Michael A. Gorman, Flint Journal, Chairman of Reception Committee

An informal meeting featuring oddities among newspapers and their editors with the spotlight on new members

Morning Session, 9:15 A. M.

Freedom of Information:
James S. Pope, Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, Chairman, Freedom of Information Committee
Dr. Harold L. Cross, Special ASNE Counsel on Access to Information
Discussion

United Nations Conventions on Freedom of Information:
Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor

International Press Institute: Lester Markel, New York Times

Report on Accreditation Program: A. H. Kirchhofer, Buffalo Evening News, President of American Council for Education in Journalism

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Saturday Evening Session

Reception for members and their guests, 6:30 P. M., in Federal and South American Rooms

Banquet, 7:30 P. M., in Presidential and Congressional Rooms

Opening Remarks: President Alexander F. Jones

Presentation of Clapper Award

Address: Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz, Editor and Publisher of La Prensa

(Music by U. S. Navy Orchestra, under the direction of Chief Musician Bernard Rosenthal)

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS, 1951-52

President

ALEXANDER F. JONES .....Syracuse Herald-Journal

First Vice-President

WRIGHT BRYAN .....Atlanta Journal

Second Vice-President

HAMILTON OWENS .....Baltimore Sunpapers

Secretary

KENNETH MACDONALD.....Des Moines Register & Tribune

Treasurer

BASIL L. WALTERS .....Knight Newspapers

STANLEY P. BARNETT, Cleveland Plain Dealer

ERWIN D. CANHAM, Christian Science Monitor

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Richmond Times-Dispatch

J. DONALD FERGUSON, Milwaukee Journal

JENKIN LLOYD JONES, Tulsa Tribune

WILLIAM R. MATHEWS, Arizona Daily Star

B. M. MCKELWAY, Washington Star

JAMES S. POPE, Louisville Courier-Journal

GIDEON SEYMOUR, Minneapolis Star and Tribune

[illegible] Herald

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Friday Luncheon, 1 P. M.

J. R. Wiggins, Washington Post, presiding

State of the Nation's Defenses:

Clayton Fritchey, Director, Office of Public Information, Defense Department

Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett

(Polls close, 2:30 P. M.)

Afternoon Session, 2:30 P. M.

Memorial Address: Grove Patterson, Toledo Blade

Panel: Newspaper Responsibility for Honesty in Government

"Every government justly rests under suspicion and only constant scrutiny can keep it decently honest."—John C. Calhoun

Louis B. Seltzer, Cleveland Press, chairman

Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press

Ben Reese, American Press Institute Advisory Board

V. M. Newton, Jr., Tampa Tribune

Questions and Discussion

Evening Session, 8 P. M.

Gideon Seymour, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, presiding

The Military Situation:

In Europe: General Alfred M. Gruenther, Chief of Staff, SHAPE

World Wide Strategy: General Omar Bradley, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Air: General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Chief of Staff, U. S. Air Force

Naval: Admiral William M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations

The Army in 1952: General J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, U. S. Army

Discussion

Guests: Major General Floyd L. Parks, Chief of Information, U. S. Army; Brig. General Sory Smith, Director of Public Relations, U. S. Air Force; and Rear Admiral R. F. Hickey, Chief of Information, U. S. Navy.

(For members only; informal meeting for background; nothing said is to be quoted or attributed to speakers)

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SATURDAY, APRIL 19

(Sigma Delta Chi Breakfast, 8 A. M., National Press Club)

Morning Session, 9:30 A. M.

Michael A. Gorman, Flint Journal, presiding

Panel: How Much Can a Free Press Get for Free and Still Be Free?
- L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times, chairman
- Fred W. Stein, Binghamton Press
- George W. Healy, Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune
- Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star
- Stanley P. Barnett, Cleveland Plain Dealer
- Discussion

What Lessons Can We Learn from 1948 in Covering 1952 Elections?
- Basil L. Walters, Knight Newspapers
- James B. Reston, New York Times
- Discussion

Luncheon, 12:30 P. M.

American Foreign Policy:
- Alexander Wiley, Ranking Member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- Secretary of State Dean Acheson

Afternoon Session, 2:30 P. M.

W. S. Gilmore, Detroit News, presiding

Panel: The Impact of Television on News Reporting
- George A. Cornish, New York Herald-Tribune, chairman
- Davidson Taylor, General Production Executive on TV Network, National Broadcasting Company
- Paul Jonas, Special Events Director, Mutual Broadcasting System
- Ted Koop, Washington Bureau, Columbia Broadcasting System
- Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
- Discussion

Resolutions:
- Report of Committee, L. R. Blanchard, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, Chairman
- Discussion and Adoption

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STAT

1952 ASNE CONVENTION REGISTRATION

(C) Carlton; (M) Mayflower; (WP) Wardman Park; (Sh) Shoreham; (R) Raleigh; (W) Washington; (L) Lee House; (Con) Congressional; (A-N) Army-Navy Club; (DC) Private homes; all others at Hotel Statler.

A

Walter S. Adams, Asheville Times
Philip D. Adler, Davenport Times
Joseph Agor, Shamokin News-Dispatch
Frank R. Ahlgren, Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Newton Aiken, Baltimore Evening Sun
Robert W. Akers, Beaumont Enterprise
Walter H. Annenberg, Philadelphia Inquirer
Richard H. Amberg, Syracuse Post-Standard
Robert J. Arthur, Scranton Tribune
Harry S. Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette (C)
Robert Atwood, Anchorage Times
Whitley Austin, Salina Journal

B

Frank S. Baker, Tacoma News Tribune
J. Thomas Barber, Lancaster Sunday News (C)
Stanley P. Barnett, Cleveland Plain Dealer
Robert C. Barton, Lima News
Robert S. Bates, Meadville Tribune
James R. Benham, Terre Haute Star
George Benson, Toledo Times
Andrew Bernhard, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
Thomas J. Berrigan, Niagara Falls Gazette
Carroll Binder, Minneapolis Tribune
Malcolm W. Bingay, Detroit Free Press
Barry Bingham, Louisville Courier-Journal & Times
Tams Bixby, Muskogee Phoenix & Times-Democrat
L. R. Blanchard, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
Paul Block, Jr., Toledo Blade (C)
William Block, Pitsburgh Post-Gazette
Warren S. Booth, Booth Newspapers
Harry Boyd, Cedar Rapids Gazette
Henry D. Bradley, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Michael Bradshaw, Toledo Blade (C)
Raymond Brewster, Huntington Herald-Dispatch
Russell Briney, Louisville Times
Frederick W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg Headlight & Sun
Robert U. Brown, Editor & Publisher
Sevellon Brown, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Sevellon Brown 3d, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Herbert Brucker, Hartford Courant
Wright Bryan, Atlanta Journal
G. A. Buchanan, Jr., Columbia Record
I. Z. Buckwalter, Lancaster Newspapers (C)
A. T. Burch, Chicago Daily News
Fred W. Burgner, Trenton Times Newspapers
Arnold Burnett, Peoria Journal
Arthur V. Burrowes, St. Joseph News-Press & Gazette
Dan Burrows, Albuquerque Tribune
Ralph N. Byers, Ann Arbor News

C

Robert N. Caldwell, Bayonne Times
Jameson G. Campaigne, Indianapolis Star
Erwin D. Canham, Christian Science Monitor
George Carmack, Houston Press
Benjamin H. Carroll, White Plains Reporter-Dispatch
James F. Carroll, Dayton Journal Herald
Hodding Carter, Greenville Delta Democrat-Times (DC)
John H. Carter, Lancaster New Era (C)
Ralph Casey, University of Minnesota (DC)
Harold E. Cassill, Spokane Chronicle
Samuel H. Caufman, Jr., Wilmington Morning News
James F. Chambers, Jr., Dallas Times-Herald
Lenoir Chambers, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot
Norman Chandler, Los Angeles Times
James E. Chappell, Birmingham News
Fred C. Christopherson, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
Conrad N. Church, Pontiac Daily Press
George E. Clapp, New London Day
Richard W. Clarke, New York News (M)
John H. Cline, Washington Star (DC)
Frank C. Clough, Speidel Newspapers
John H. Colburn, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Kenneth S. Conn, San Jose Mercury & News
Roger A. Connolly, New Haven Register
David F. Connors, Lowell Sun (Sh)
Herbert F. Corn, Washington Star (DC)
George A. Cornish, New York Herald Tribune (C)
Thomas E. Costello, Lowell Sun (Sh)
John Cowles, Minneapolis Star & Tribune (C)
George S. Crandall, Elmira Star-Gazette
Edward F. Crane, Burlington Free Press
Robert C. Crane, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Marvin Creager, Milwaukee Journal
A. Vernon Croop, Rochester Times-Union
R. L. Crowley, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
E. F. Cunningham, Wilmington Journal-Every Evening

D

Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch
Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh News & Observer
William O. Dapping, Auburn Citizen-Advertiser
Elrick B. Davis, Salt Lake City Deseret News
John F. Day, Louisville Courier-Journal
Arthur C. Deck, Salt Lake Tribune-Telegram
Edward J. Delaney, Fall River Herald News
Frank Dennis, Washington Post (DC)
Irving Dilliard, St. Louis Post-Dispatch (A-N)
James R. Doran, Harrisburg Patriot News
C. W. Dressler, Johnstown Tribune
Roscoe Drummond, Christian Science Monitor (DC)
Alvand Dunkelberger, Nashville Banner

E

Herbert Ell[illegible]

Frank Eyerly, Des Moines Register & Tribune
David W. Eyre, Oregon Journal

F

V. E. Fairbanks, St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press
Valentine Fallon, Elizabeth Daily Journal
Eugene Farrell, The Jersey Journal
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J. Donald Ferguson, Milwaukee Journal
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Richard J. Finnegan, Chicago Sun-Times (L)
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J. F. Fitzpatrick, Salt Lake Tribune-Telegram
William H. Fitzpatrick, New Orleans States
William J. Foote, Hartford Courant
Frank R. Ford, San Francisco News
Wilbur Forrest, Reid Foundation
Charles A. S. Freeman, Newburgh News
Wayne Freeman, Greenville Piedmont
Thomas R. Furlong, Washington Times Herald (DC)

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E. K. Gaylord, Oklahoma City Oklahoman
E. J. Gerrity, Scranton Times
Herman E. Gieske, Parkersburg News (Continental)
Rupert Gillett, Charlotte Observer
W. S. Gilmore, Detroit News (M)
Robert Glass, Lynchburg News-Daily Advance
Michael Gorman, Flint Journal
JS Gray, Monroe Evening News
Charles E. Green, Austin American-Statesman
John G. Green, Portsmouth Times
Albert O. H. Grier, Wilmington News-Journal
John H. Griffin, Boston Post
W. H. Grimes, Wall Street Journal
Carl D. Groat, Cincinnati Post
Rebecca F. Gross, Lock Haven Express
James A. Guthrie, San Bernardino Sun Telegram
Charles A. Guy, Lubbock Avalanche-Journal

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Thomas A. Hanes, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Sidney Harris, Ottawa Herald
Tom C. Harris, St. Petersburg Times
Walter M. Harrison, Oklahoma City
G. A. Harshman, Sharon Herald
Stanley E. Hart, Warren Tribune Chronicle
George W. Healy Jr., New Orleans Times-Picayune
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N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa World (C)
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Lee Hills, Detroit Free Press
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John S. Hooper, Brattleboro Daily Reformer
W. J. Hooten, El Paso Times
Clayton G. Horn, Canton Repository
Josh L. Horne, Rocky Mount Telegram
L. D. Hotchkiss, Los Angeles Times
Lewis R. Hovey, Beverly Evening Times
Jack Howard, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
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Walter R. Humphrey, Fort Worth Press
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Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa Tribune
Vincent S. Jones, Gannett Newspapers
Walter P. Jones, McClatchy Newspapers
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Frank A. Knight, Charleston Gazette
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E. D. Lambright, Tampa Tribune
S. L. Latimer, Columbia State
David Lawrence, U. S. News & World Report (DC)
A. M. Learned, Schenectady Union-Star
Joseph Lee, Topeka State Journal
Clarence Leighton, Oswego Palladium-Times
Colvin T. Leonard, Greensboro Record
Joseph A. Leslie Jr., Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch
Edward Lindsay, Decatur Herald & Review
Carl E. Lindstrom, Hartford Times
Walter Lister, Philadelphia Bulletin
Francis P. Locke, Dayton Daily News
Jack H. Lockhart, Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Wallace Lomoe, Milwaukee Journal
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J. A. Meckstroth, Ohio State Journal
Edward J. Meeman, Memphis Press-Scimitar
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John C. Merrill, Easton Express (W)
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Albert W. Miller, Battle Creek Enquirer & News
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James E. Mills, Birmingham Post-Herald
Clarence W. Moody, Hawk-Eye Gazette
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Harry Montgomery, Phoenix Republic & Gazette
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J. M. McClelland Jr., Longview Daily News
Dean R. McCollough, Philadelphia Daily News
Raymond A. McConnell, Jr., Nebraska State Journal
E. R. McCullough, Stamford Advocate
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John J. McDonnell, Perth Amboy Evening News
B. M. McKelway, Washington Star (DC)
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C. D. McNamee, Muskegon Chronicle
John J. McSweeney, Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader

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Kenneth E. Olson, Northwestern University (L)
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John T. O'Rourke, Washington Daily News (DC)
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Joe Parham, Macon News
Philip Parrish, Portland Oregonian
Talbot Patrick, Rock Hill Evening Herald
Alicia Patterson, Long Island Newsday (M)
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Richard D. Peters, Cleveland Press (DC)
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A. M. Piper, Council Bluffs Nonpareil
E. M. Pooley, El Paso Herald-Post
James S. Pope, Louisville Courier-Journal & Times
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A. Reed Sarratt Jr., Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel
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Bert Struby, Macon Telegraph
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Robert L. Voorhees, Syracuse Post-Standard
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M. E. Walter, Houston Chronicle
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J. Russell Wiggins, Washington Post (DC)
Henry A. Williams, Paterson Morning Call (R)
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