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TO: The Director
FROM: Mr. D. H. Ladd
SUBJECT: BEN BAGDIKIAN

DATE: May 19, 1951

PURPOSE:
To answer your inquiry "What do our files show on Ben Bagdikian?"

RESULT OF SEARCH:
A search of the Bureau indices did not disclose any reference to an individual with the name of Ben Bagdikian.

A search on variations of this name disclosed information concerning one Reverend Aram T. Bagdikian, Armenian-born Worcester, Massachusetts minister, who, according to the Worcester, Massachusetts "Gazette," December 29, 1944, wrote an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of Lend-Lease funds to Turkey. In this letter, Reverend Bagdikian asserted, "World War II will be followed by World War III, with more terrible destruction, if the Allies close their eyes at the peace table to the betrayals of the Turks." (100-7660-2676)

The files also contain information concerning a Bob Bagdigan of 745 South Solvay, Detroit, Michigan.

Bob Bagdigan was born in Turkey in 1892 or 1896 and in July, 1943, was working for the Army Air Force. He had previously resided at Whitinsville and Worcester, Massachusetts, where he had held odd jobs. He had also been employed from 1925 to 1935 and again in 1942, as a sweeper by the Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan. This individual's name appeared on a handwritten list headed "Names following on list borrowed from Nich. and Martin office Old Progressives." This list was furnished by Bureau Confidential Informant at Detroit, Michigan, on September 24, 1949, but the significance of the list was not explained. (96-0-40186; 100-365456-1, page 20)

ACTION:
None. Foregoing furnished for your information.

SE 18
RECORDED 6 JUN 2 1951
INDEXED 51
SIC, Boston

June 6, 1955

Treasurer, Inc.

F. L. CASSIDIAN
ADAMS

S. CALHOUN (ID#: 234698)

The Bureau is interested in identifying and obtaining background data concerning one Ben L. Tadždian who is the author of a series of articles released through the North American Newspaper Alliance which are currently appearing in the Washington, D.C., "Evening Star." Information available at the Bureau indicates that a person by the same name was a reporter with the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" and it is also noted that the current Providence telephone directory contains a listing for Tadždian at 312 Morris Avenue.

You are instructed to make a search of the indices of your office and to make a direct check of appropriate credit records for information concerning Tadždian. The results should be submitted to the Bureau captioned as above by June 9, 1955.

Follow-up for June 10, 1955

cc - Mr. Nichols

NOTE: See Jones to Nichols memo captioned "Ben H. Pa..." dated 6-3-55. GMP: meb.

GMP: meb

(6)
Bagdikian has written a series of 6 articles captioned "What Price Security" which appeared in the Washington Star May 29 through June 3, 1955. In order that a complete set may be placed in his file, the attached clippings are being designated to go into his file as an enclosure to this memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For record purposes only.

Enclosures (6) ENCL.
WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

One in 10 U. S. Adults Faces Loyalty Checks

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

On the morning of August 18, 1947, the first of 2 million Government employees began lining up to have their fingerprints taken. Thus began the loyalty-security program to protect the Federal Government from infiltration by hostile agents and unreliable citizens.

Since that day the system has never stopped growing.

Today, the 2 million have grown to more than 10 million. One in every 10 American adults must now be investigated for his loyalty, ideas, associations, relatives, and personal habits in order to keep his job. And if a bill now in Congress becomes law the number could be more than tripled.

This has been a new and sometimes wild experience for Americans. It was designed originally to eliminate Federal employees whose first allegiance might be to a foreign power. But it quickly became the focal point for some of the most bitter political combat in American history.

Yet the program has had some positive results.

It has eliminated some persons of questionable loyalty from government and defense plants. It has made it more difficult for known subversives to get in. It has ratted the arrogant plans of domestic Communists. And by precipitating decisions on national security it has cost the Com-

First of a series of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

munis. Party membership and support.

It has also established a system for protecting secrets. And it has stimulated some prudence in spreading defense information.

But the Nation plunged into this new experience with some trepidation. It has never been done before, and consequently, what protection loyalty-security programs have provided has come at unnecessarily high and sometimes disastrous cost. In places it has done profound damage to the very agencies it was supposed to protect.

Warnings have been given by men notably careful of their words. Dr. Vannevar Bush, who headed the country's wartime scientific effort, last year told a congressional committee that defense lagged a "year or two behind" because of security measures. Dr. James R. Killian, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said that present security procedures may be among the "most hazardous" threats to our military defense.

So far, such warnings have been largely ignored. A new thing in the United States, the security program continues to grow without study. Unlike normal protection against espionage and sabotage provided by agencies Continued on Page A-6, Column 1

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror

Date: 6-17-47
Loyalty Setup Mushrooms To Cover One in 10 Adults

Continued from First Page... 

Some officials have warned the FBI that it does not protect illegal activities or illegal acts. It screens all persons beforehand, in an attempt to eliminate anyone who might endanger some circumstances that might act in the future. Five major categories of persons come under the program: 

1. The 3 million members of the armed services. 
2. The 130,000 employees of the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors. 
3. The 500,000 men at dockside under the port security program. 
4. The 2.2 million employees of the Federal Government. 
5. Between 3 million and 5 million workers in defense plants. 

But since President Truman inaugurated the Government program in 1947, loyalty-security tests have steadily overflowed into non-Government life. The entertainment business, for example, has an unofficial, unannounced and usually denied system for "clearing" public personalities and workers on security grounds. The professions, notably teaching, have adopted security tests beyond basic allegiance. Even the manual trades have entered the field. 

In Indiana, a boxer must take an anti-Communist oath before he can climb into the ring. 

On a local government basis, some 500,000 employees of 14 states must be screened for loyalty-security as must thousands of municipal workers. 

This has brought into existence a small army of security police—investigators and administrators. 

Other Units Get in Act

The FBI and Civil Service Commission do most of the investigating of Federal employees. But eight other Federal agencies also do security investigations. To cover defense plants, the armed services, for example, maintain 164 regional offices with thousands of investigators watching 20,000 plants. But these clear only the 600,000 defense workers with top classification secret and top secret. The more than 3 million defense workers with lowest clearance are investigated by individual companies. This work is done by private detectives. 

The range of knowledge, skill and wisdom among security officers and investigators is enormous. It runs from a minority of responsible and sophisticated agents among the more carefully selected and trained men, to performances that can only be described as ignorant. 

As more and more persons have been added to those who must pass loyalty-security screening to hold their jobs, the number of grounds for excluding them has increased. 

In 1941 the FBI was given funds to investigate suspected subversives among applicants for government work, with warnings not to question personal beliefs. In 1942 the Civil Service Commission began screening out persons already in government employ. In 1946 government workers were made subject to having not only known acts of disloyalty but for a "reasonable suspicion.

Expansion in '51 and '53... 

In 1947, after startling revelations of successful Russian espionage, President Truman adopted the first extraordinary, government-wide program to eliminate subversives. In 1951 this was tightened to include those whose loyalty was doubted, a significant shift from suspicion of activity to a suspicion of personal behavior. 

In May, 1953, President Eisenhower greatly expanded the grounds for firing. As before, a man could be fired for loyalty reasons—Communist Party membership, subversion, espionage, or association with those doing it. But now he could be fired for security reasons—illegal loyalty, or the like, which could bring pressure on him, or if he had personal traits thought to make him insecure. 

During this period, the "trigger" for full investigations of personal files has been made more sensitive. One such provocation is the executive agency's name-check, a review of Government files in the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the military services and similar agencies. If any derogatory information of any kind is in such files, investigators visit the neighborhoods, schools, and places of work in the entire life of the subject. Of the 4 million Federal employees checked by national agency files during the first four years of the program, 20,000 were given full field investigations. 

Files Growing

The number of files in the national agency check is growing. Contemplated is the addition of all names mentioned in derogatory way during hearings held by Senator McCarthy, for example. Other planned additions are the files of local vigilante committees, like the Teneney Committee in California. 

Another "trigger" for full field investigations is the body of congressional acts requiring all employees of certain departments to be fully checked, whether or not any derogatory information is known. In fiscal 1952 alone there were an estimated 100,000 full field checks done by congressional order (at a cost of more than $200 each). 

The tests applied become more stringent. One is the Attorney General's list of subversive and subversive-front organizations. When it began in 1947 it had 92 blacklisted groups. Now it has 475. 

But plans for the greatest single expansion of loyalty-security investigations in American life are in Congress today. Officially, the bill is entitled the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." It applies to non-defense facilities. Although officials testified that they did not plan to use it that way, the bill would permit the executive branch to extend loyalty-security investigations to virtually every worker in private business in the United States. 

Tomorrow Incompetence... 

Incompetence plagues security programs. (Reprinted by North American Newspaper Alliance)
Real Danger of Red Plot Ignored in Loyalty Tests

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In late 1948, a radio chemist answered a Government plea that he leave his private research job and return to the stepped-up atomic energy program he had left three years before. As he planned to resume his Government job the security system said he was a security risk because his old college roommate is an open Communist.

Two full years later the chemist was finally cleared, after appeals and 24 months under an anguish cloud. The fact was his old college roommate all that time had the highest clearance and was at work in an Atomic Energy Commission secret laboratory. The security officers had made a mistake in naming the West Coast defense plant engineer was suspended as a security risk because he and his wife allegedly teamed to make street-corner Communist speeches in 1938. After a cumbersome appeal the engineer was able to perform the simple arithmetic omitted by security officers--in 1938 he was 28 years old, his wife 11 and they lived in different cities.

Men have been accused in security proceedings of:

Walking around their own houses without clothes.

Expressing an opinion that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.

Contributing to the United Jewish Appeal.

Being active in the Democratic Party.

Being "married" (while a lifetime bachelor) to a "Communist wife." It would be folly to expect no mistakes in a system that processes information on the lives of 10 million persons. But incompetence and waste have plagued the loyalty-security system from the start.

There are several reasons for this. It is a new experience in American life and runs counter to the tradition of privacy, free expression and wide association. But the compromise of this tradition, made to meet threats of infiltration, was seized by exploiters who used the program to serve their own ends. For one thing, they used it to prevent healthy, normal criticism, leaving loyalty-security programs perhaps the most vast government undertaking without such criticism.

And, in the exploitation, international Communist agents have almost been forgotten in the rush to use "anti-communism" as a

See SECURITY, Page A-5
This is not necessarily how the system works, but how those governed by it think it works. It is of the utmost significance that these Government employees believe that the security system has ulterior motives.

Political exploit in defense jobs—resulting in defense job rings—which would be dismissed by the FBI as inadequate or meaningless, many detectives at work on security are even less qualified, work for agencies without the good name of national credit groups.

Investigators Investigate

In fact, the security of investigators themselves has been questioned. Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has said that military officers and FBI agents have lifted official secret files to take with them to political jobs. When the Atomic Energy Commission and Department of Defense were asked if any security officers had ever been suspended or dismissed as security risks, they declined to answer.

Of course, the agent’s report is not the last word. Theoretically, it presents only facts. These are reviewed by a security officer and department head. The decisions of these men, in turn, are usually subject to appeal to a board. There is ample evidence that the best security investigators and officers are as subject to error and prejudice as any other human beings. Yet, failures to accept their findings at face value has often brought the charge of “softness on communism.” Worse, the frustrated officers have bypassed the system and slipped their unverified information to congressional friends who used it for political attacks.

As a result, the typical Washington department head has come to fear espionage less and dirty politics more. It has become common to drop a man as a security risk not because he constitutes a danger to the Nation but because congressional figures could use information in the case to embarrass the department.

Powerful political figures have used the myriad fragments of security data to imply that massive disloyalty exists throughout the Government in defense. How justified is this picture?
WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Supersecrecy Slows Advance of Science

By BEN H. BAGDIEKIAN

Today there is a physicist in a Government laboratory waiting to hear whether he is a "security risk" and therefore in danger of ending his professional career.

Six years ago he asked security officers whether his forthcoming marriage would affect his secret clearance. His fiancé had no security problem, but her parents were occasionally associated with persons thought to be pro-Communists. The physicist, who had planned never to see his in-laws after the wedding, asks. The security officers assured him the marriage would not jeopardize his status.

Five years later the physicist suddenly had his clearance revoked. The charge: His wife's parents are believed to be associated with alleged pro-Communists. The information against him was precisely that volunteered by himself and accepted by the Government. He has appealed at a cost to himself of about $1,000 and approximately $10,000 to the Government. He is still waiting for a decision.

Last year an aeronautical engineer who had worked for the Government for 14 years was suspended from his top secret project in Seattle, putting him out of a job and all but stopping the urgent project. The charge involved information he had given the Government in 1940, which had been investigated and cleared at least twice since then. After six months he was restored. The personal cost of appeal to him was $2,242.83, to the Government, six months' loss of time on an important defense project.

These are the kinds of cases that today are causing America's best young scientists to fear Government work. In 1953 a poll of science Ph.D.'s graduating from research universities showed them equally divided on where they would like to work, one-third each in Government, industry and universities. In 1954, after the investigation of Fort Monmouth and the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, a poll of Ph.D.'s showed that 63 per cent who wanted to work for the Government had dropped to 8 per cent. The chief reason given: security.

In fact, about half of all the new Ph.D.'s said they would prefer a lower salary to going through the present uncertainties of security practices.

The Nation cannot afford to discourage young scientists. At a time when its requirements for trained men were rising sharply, bachelor degrees in science have been dropping, 20 per cent in 1950-51, another 20 per cent the next year.

In four years all bachelor degrees in science and engineering have dropped from 80,000 to 40,000.

During this same period, Russia has been expelling the scholar and scientist and encouraging its best brains to go into research. In a few years, Russia will be graduating 80,000 engineers a year. Last year the United States graduated 19,000. And experts say it would be fatal to underestimate the growing quality of Russian engineers.

It is figures like these which led Dr. John N. Munn, dean of the Columbia University School of Engineering to say, "We have almost lost the battle for scientific manpower."

Similarly, the Government as a whole cannot afford to encourage public contempt of highly trained, studious men, or "eggheads." The Federal establishment would collapse without them. Twenty per cent of all Federal employees are of professional rank, most of them with graduate degrees. Another 37 per cent are of top industrial skill. But while more than half are of top-grade talent, only 1 per cent of Government workers get $5,000 or more. The legal limit for Civil Service is $14,500 a year. It is precisely in these badly needed skills that the Government cannot compete with private industry in attracting talent.

Secrets Hit

Another factor in discouraging Government research is supersecrecy. It hampers not only the individual scientist, but at times the Government itself.

Recently, the Department of Defense completed a "secret" project. All that can be said of it is that it cost somewhere between $10,000 and $100,000 and took a number of senior scientists about a year to complete.

Unaware of the "secret" project, some non-Government scientists in a university did exactly the same work and published...
friend because in his own project he has no need to know details of his friend's work at Los Alamos.

Security measures, as typified in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, also impede scientific progress which in the past had been aided by friendly foreign scientists. Since enactment of the law about half of all foreign scientists applying have been forbidden to visit the United States. Some have contributed much to this country. Dr. Marcus Oliphant of England, for example, gave information in his own project he has no need to know details of his friend's work at Los Alamos.

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WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

BY BEN-H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John Pungent Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national-spectacle over internal security.

But his case may end the security system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

Program Exploited.

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today: the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with loyalty.

Even in loyalty cases, no determination of legal guilt is involved. In 1949, for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied.

The Japanese internment, the anti-communist witch-hunts, the loyalty oath, all part of this program of fear and harassment.

Loyalty hearing by Dr. Peters, under oath and present, ought to be heard by anyone interested in how far the facts are being distorted to serve a particular purpose.

The case of Dr. Peters was argued before the Supreme Court in June of 1963, and in June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

May 18 System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For this the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet, high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Someone I do not feel too amiably inclined toward, who makes treason preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, referred to security risks in this manner: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or persuasion."

The term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government officials, but their bosses. It has become difficult to handle security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the door, common sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer.

Doomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1948, and soon became a key man designing a badly needed jet overhaul building. He was impressed by his supervisors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he said he earned $6,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned $4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised nowhere near 1,000 men.

He was asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such puffing was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engine was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered fired as a security risk.

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald Tribune
N. Y. Mirror

Date: June 1, 1955
Not a Risk

After a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers, but no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a “security risk” ban. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quoqset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than $4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenital, weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Jornia Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year’s Nobel Prize winner. He is “controversial.” The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as “bourgeois.”

In this country, Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which released when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling appealed to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grants. Secretary Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is “substantial information bearing on loyalty.”

Such a policy, though, has been considered a device to protect agencies from political attacks, rather than against subversion. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the government grant for research on sickle cell anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency, but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Wright, president of Brown University, has said:

“If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly because of things which he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a higher and it may be a fatal penalty.”

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Released by North American)
Diplomacy by Panic Muzzles Our Envoys

By BEN H. BAGDURIAN

One of Hitler's major mistakes was to misjudge America's unity and warmaking potential—a mistake encouraged by his foreign service agents, who were afraid to tell their government what they saw with their own eyes.

A major source of Russia's neurotic attitude toward the free world appears to be her insistence that what exists in other countries is nonexistent if it disagrees with Moscow policy.

Today some of this fatal process has begun to weaken American diplomacy.

An American Foreign Service officer admits privately that even though he is supposed to be his Government's eyes and ears near the Iron Curtain, he is afraid to gain the confidence of sources close to the Communists for fear this might be used against him in some future security proceedings.

A career officer says he will no longer recommend anything contrary to the dominant policy at home, even if what he sees indicates the opposite.

Policemen Take Over

Louis J. Hall, until last August a member of the State Department policy planning staff, has said:

"The Secretary of State has, in a few instances, at least, been given dangerous advice—that he would not have been given if these pressures had not existed. . . . Security officers read the memoranda and make their own judgment, . . . By these indirect methods the policemen have gained some control over American foreign policy, a field in which they have no competence."

Political police officers in the State Department open personal secret files of top diplomats to read memoranda. It is the belief of career officers that the security officers are looking for "dangerous thoughts." True or not, the experts whose opinions are asked on serious problems believe it to be true.

Security officers also review all policy advice sent from foreign missions, a fact well known to men in the field. Speaking from personal experience one highly placed official said:

"It is amusing in a grim sort of way to see a good man describing a development with precision and skill and then finish with a recommendation that it is contrary to all the facts he has just reported."

No Mischief Allowed

Another common practice which has demoralized State Department personnel is the minute investigation into sex lives of men whose jobs are wanted. Few families now want their early escapades to become a matter of public debate. In this way many top diplomats have been dropped.

The sincerity of some of these investigations was under doubt. Suspicion of all the Department's Security Chief, R. W. Scott McLeod, told an audience, "Sometimes it is extremely difficult to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the Republican Party."

Curious standards have been used in judging highly specialized work. John Carter Vincent and John Paton Davies, Jr., two of the country's top diplomatic experts on China, were dismissed after being accused of showing "poor judgment" in opinions they had been asked for on Chinese affairs. The board members who decided the judgment had been poor had no experience in Chinese affairs.

The sincerity of charges has been suspect on other grounds. Oliver Edmund Chubb, another expert on China dropped by the department, was once charged by security officers of having made a "slightly pink" report from Shanghai in 1938. The report was in the official files, apparently, the security officers had not bothered to look.
Post Office in Act

Now the United States Post Office has decided it will not deliver the major Russian newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, to individuals in the United States, cutting off from individual students of Russia their major source of day-to-day news of what is going on inside the Kremlin and Soviet Union at large.

At the same time, foreign experts on Russia have trouble coming to this country to tell what they know. Within the last two years a planned international conference on Soviet affairs was canceled when it was realized that most of the foreign experts would have trouble getting visas under the Walter-Watt Immigration Act, precisely because they were experts on Russia.

Dr. George Fischer, author and analyst of Russian affairs, had planned a course on Russian history at Brandeis University. He needed a Russian book by an 18th century author, copies of which were available only in Moscow. Customs held the books up six months. The course had to be canceled.

Referring to barriers by customs and the Post Office (which have offered scholars the opportunity to get their materials by registering as Soviet agents), Mr. Fischer says, "I'll just leave the field of Russian study. And I think most other men in my position will, too."

It has even been suggested that Communist themselves can take advantage of security measures to make the Government hurt itself. Because the program so often has seemed to act thoughtlessly, moved by partisan politics, scarecism, puritanism and anti-intellectualism, it has been easier to eliminate men of loyalty and skill. Two-thirds of the top experts in the two most critical fields of American diplomacy against Russia—China and Germany—have been knocked out of the use of security.

George F. Kennan, principal architect of the cold war and America's foremost expert on the international Communist conspiracy, has said:

"As things stand today, I can see no reason why malicious people should have any particular difficulty in rendering unavailing for service to this country almost any person whom they select for this treatment. All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumors and gossip and demands for investigation."

(North-American Newspaper Alliance)
WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

It Has Become a Hoax, Cruel and Dangerous

BY BEN H. BAGDIANIAN

It is almost fashionable today to say that something is wrong with the machinery of internal security. But the basic problem is not the machine itself. It is its design, or, rather, the lack of it.

No official body has ever bothered to determine precisely what the machine is supposed to do and where it is supposed to stop.

To be sure, there is a general impression that the machine is supposed to protect tactical secrets and that it should keep foreign agents and unsuitable citizens from sensitive jobs.

But for several years panic over security has permitted the machine to wander over the national scene at the command of anyone with ambition to grab the controls, turning out results willy-nilly and threatening to become a kind of haphazard law of the land.

In the resulting confusion, Government itself has been hurt, producing demoralization at precisely the time defense most depended on high morale.

But the effects have gone far beyond official agencies. Protection of secrets is a necessary but only secondary consideration in the world today. True national security must begin with a reservoir of talented, well-trained minds devoted to individual freedom. Without such a reservoir, a community only in insignificant plans, mediocre machines, and obsolescent secrets will ever need protection.

Because security has become involved in party politics, there would seem much to recommend a high-level, non-partisan commission. It members might represent competence in foreign relations, science, jurisprudence, espionage, and civil liberties, among other things. Only then could the Government make intelligent basic changes.

Problems continue to exist outside official procedure. For one thing, millions have fallen under the myth of "100 per cent security."

Dangerous Myth

This myth is the basis for proposals in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which presupposes that America has more to gain from isolation. The myth also presupposes that the Government can guarantee perfect protection against disloyalty anywhere in the United States. The Government certainly should protect itself. But bitter experience shows that no government can buy perfect protection. Even more bitter experience shows that only a police state is designed to attempt such futile protection and that the attempt in modern times has always led to disaster.

Consequently, it has been said that the most profitable and effective internal security system is one that covers a well-defined, small area. This would seem important for philosophical reasons and practical ones, as well. There are not enough wise and knowledgeable security officers to watch everyone everywhere. The wider the coverage the more incompetence and the weaker the protection. Today the United States is drifting rapidly toward a general and diffuse security of doubtful effectiveness. The ideal of large numbers of men indicted—the policeman's dream—has tended to replace the ideal of many good men at work—the requisite for a successful modern democracy.

Improving the quality of se-

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: JUN 3 1955
Security officers, defining their functions more carefully, and providing once again the superior appeal boards which would settle security differences between departments, all would help to resole some practical problems. Others remain...

Perpetual jeopardy has plagued security from the start. It stems chiefly from politics, which chooses its victims beforehand, then brings charges and presses them until they stick, regardless of how many times a man has disproved them. One suggestion has been a period during which a man's case cannot be reopened unless substantial new information against him is found.

Permitting a man to face his accusers would clarify many cases at once. The argument against it is that it would force the Government to reveal undercover agents who supply damaging facts. This is true in some cases but probably only in the minority. Many unjustified and costly cases have been brought on the basis of the sworn testimony of persons whose untruthfulness or false evidence would be established at once. If they were placed in the light of day, anyone familiar with police work knows what a prosecutor sifts his evidence if he knows he has to produce witnesses and the temptations if he does not.

Unevaluated Data

Use of unevaluated information might, except in rare cases, be banned. To suspend a man on the basis of an undocumented rumor can be unjust to him but also harmful to the Government for it he is doing. Disciplined judgment of evidence is the best protection for both the individual and the Government.

Some measures might well be taken against public use of approved security information. If Government investigators demand the right to collect vast quantities of information about its citizens, it would seem both common sense and common decency to take more than token steps to prevent the disclosure of gossip and loose recollection.

Too Cumbrous

A general return to personal attention to individual cases, instead of formal, cumbersome bureaucracy would do much to make security more effective. It would also provide a better detection of clever subterfuges (almost none of whom would be stopped by the political screening of formal security).

There is no justification for complacency about the security of the United States today. Neither is there justification for abandoning values that for 179 years have demonstrated to the world that a free and confident society is stronger than the toughest police state on earth.

No loyal person would argue with the official objectives of the security program. It would be one of the tragedies of history if the United States were to fall under control of the totalitarian Communist conspiracy. But it would be one of the ironies of history if the country unwittingly backed into a similar condition in the belief it was avoiding it. 

(Released by the NARA)
TO: Mr. Nichols
FROM: H. A. Jones
SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

DATE: June 3, 1955

This is to advise you of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual who is the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program released by North American Newspaper Alliance currently appearing in the "Washington Star."

Search of Bureau indices has been made with negative results. Search of Bureau Library reveals reference to a Ben H. Bagdikian mentioned on pages 50-52 of the January 11, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine. This individual is described as a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" who wrote the story concerning "Facts Forum" which is financed by H. L. Hunt the Texas oil man. Additionally, a person by the same name is listed as the author of the article "Rhode Island's Salty Doctor" in the June, 1953, issue of "Coronet" magazine and also the article "What Happened to the Girl Scouts?" in the May, 1955, issue of "Atlantic Monthly." The latter magazines are not in the Library. The "Time" magazine is attached.

A search of the indices of the Washington Field Office revealed no identifiable information.

Indices of the New York Office were negative but a credit bureau report from New York City reflects that a credit bureau in August, 1949, received an inquiry from Providence, Rhode Island, concerning Ben H. Bagdikian whose wife's name was Elizabeth. It was noted they had a charge account with Sachs Fifth Avenue in New York City in 1946.

Lou Gratz, Industrial Relations Manager, Time, Inc., was contacted by the New York Office and advised that Bagdikian is a reporter and since 1951 has been associated with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper in Providence, Rhode Island. This individual is a free lance writer and does "on the spot" reporting for "Time." He was runner-up for the Heywood Brown Award for his outstanding articles on "Facts Forum" in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin." Latest information available to Gratz was that Bagdikian was with the Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Providence "Journal."

The current Providence telephone directory contains the listing Ben H. Bagdikian, 312 Morris Avenue.

Enclosures (2)
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 3, 1955

It is believed advisable that we have the Boston Office check their indices and conduct a discreet check of credit records at Providence for additional background information.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be sent instructing the Boston Office to check their indices and records of the credit bureau for information concerning Bagdikian.
Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nicholas
FROM : M. A. Jones
SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

DATE: June 16, 1955

SYNOPSIS:

You will recall Bagdikian is author of series of articles which appeared in Washington Evening Star re loyalty program. Information developed at Bureau indicated Bagdikian reporter for Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper and Boston instructed June 6, 1955, to check indices and credit records re Bagdikian. SAC, Boston under dates of June 8 and 10, 1955, advised indices that office contained no references identifiable with Bagdikian. Credit Bureau records identified Bagdikian as reporter and feature writer with Providence "Journal-Bulletin" and had been employed since February, 1947. Credit record favorable, character and habits reportedly good. Immigration and Naturalization records indicate Bagdikian born in Turkey and entered U.S. in 1920. Father identified as Aram Toros Bagdikian, a clergyman, also born in Turkey. In December, 1954, Aram Baghdeghan was a presiding official at a celebration sponsored by the Armenian National Council of America (ANCA) at Worcester, Massachusetts. The "Hairenik Weekly," published by a reportedly anti-Communist association, on December 9, 1954, compared Reverend Aram T. Bagdikian with Reverend Hewlett-Johnson, "Red Dean of Canterbury." The reverend reportedly ended a speech with: "Long live November 22! Long live the Soviet Union." Reverend A. T. Bagdikian of Worcester, Massachusetts, on mailing list of "Lraper" newspaper in 1952 and in 1954 wrote an article entitled "Why Is the 'Lraper' a Valuable Paper." "Lraper" is official organ of Armenian Progressive League of America which has been cited under Executive Order 10450. Aram Bagdikian, a Worcester, Massachusetts, minister, in 1944 wrote open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of lend-lease funds to Turkey.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Attachment

RECORDED-35

6-2-9;71;17-6
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols  

June 16, 1955

BACKGROUND:

You will recall in my memorandum of June 3, 1955, you were advised of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual, the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. Information developed indicated Bagdikian was a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal-Bulletin." Bureau letter to Boston, June 6, 1955, instructed that office to search its indices and to make a discreet check of credit records for information concerning Bagdikian.

DETAILS:

SAC, Boston under date of June 8, 1955, advised that the indices of that office contained no identifiable references to Ben H. Bagdikian.

Records of the Providence Credit Bureau disclosed a report of March 20, 1952, identifying Bagdikian as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper. The report indicated he had started employment about February 15, 1947, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable, and his character and habits recorded as good. These records also indicated that Bagdikian was born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Immigration and Naturalization Service records at Boston indicate Ben Haig Bagdikian was born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey; entered the United States at New York, June, 1920; and subsequently obtained derivative citizenship through his father, Aram, who was naturalized March 29, 1926.

The Boston Office enclosed a reprint of the series of articles concerning the loyalty program written by Bagdikian entitled "What Price Security?" These articles appeared in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" during March and April, 1955. This reprint is attached.

INFORMATION RE ARAM TOROS BAGDIKIAN, FATHER:

The SAC, Boston under date of June 10, 1955, advised that the files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at Boston indicated that Aram Toros Bagdikian was born August,
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols  

June 16, 1955

1882, at Marash, Turkey, and arrived in the United States in June, 1920. Identified among his children was a son, Ben, born January 30, 1920. Bagdikian was residing in Stoneham, Massachusetts, and his occupation was listed as a clergyman.

A search of the indices of the Boston Office revealed the following information which may be identical with Aram T. Bagdikian. A confidential informant made available information during November and December, 1954, which disclosed that the Armenian National Council of America (ANCA) sponsored the 34th anniversary celebration of the Sovietization of Armenia in the Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island, area at Worcester, Massachusetts, on December 12, 1954. The honorary presiding officials at this ANCA affair were Aram Baghdeqian and Dr. Sumpad Pachanian.

An article in the December 9, 1954, issue of "Hairenik Weekly," published by an allegedly anti-Communist association, concerning this 34th anniversary celebration at Boston, Massachusetts, November 28, 1954, was sarcastic and critical concerning this affair and stated: "The next speaker, a Reverend (Minister) Aram T. Bagdikyan, was compared by the chairman to the Rev. Hewlett Johnson, the extraordinary 'Red Dean of Canterbury.'"

The article continued: "In a long winded prepared speech... Bagdikyan reviewed the boring details of his life... He ended by shouting 'Long live November 29! Long live the Soviet Union.'"

On December 2, 1952, a mailing list of the publication "Lraper," the official organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America, was made available to an Agent of the New York Office. This group has been cited under Executive Order 10450. One of the names on the mailing list was "Bagdigan, A. T. (Rev.), 28 Walworth St., Worcester 2, Mass., Comp. Dec. 1-41."


On January 28, 1954, a reliable informant of the Miami Office furnished a list of names maintained as dedicated to all Marxist theories and mails pro-Russian literature...
Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 16, 1955

to various individuals. One of the names on this mailing list was "Rev. Aram Bagdikian, 28 Walworth St., Worcester, Mass."

Additionally, the Worcester, Massachusetts, "Gazette" for December 29, 1944, reflects that Aram T. Bagdikian, a Worcester minister, wrote an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting allotment of lend-lease funds to Turkey. In this letter Reverend Bagdikian asserted: "World War II will be followed by World War III, with more terrible destruction, if the Allies close their eyes at the peace table to the betrayals of the Turks."

(100-7680-2676)
TO:    DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM:  SAC, BOSTON
SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
        MISCELLANEOUS
        RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55.

The indices of the Boston Division contain no identifiable references to the above individual.

The records of the Providence Credit Bureau, 40 Fountain Street, Providence, Rhode Island, disclose a report as of March 20, 1952 identifying BAGDIKIAN as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper. It indicated he had entered employment about 2/15/47, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable and his character and habits were recorded as good.

Providence directories identify BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, wife ELIZABETH S. residence 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island. The above credit bureau records also indicated that BAGDIKIAN had been born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Boston, Massachusetts indicate BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN born 1/30/20 at Marash (Cilicia) Turkey, entered the United States at New York 6/1/20, approximately 2 months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, ARAM, naturalized 3/29/26. The INS file contains no additional background data other than a request by BAGDIKIAN for a derivative citizenship certificate and an indication he was associated with the Air Force during World War II. It was not possible to obtain any data with regard to ARAM BAGDIKIAN at INS, inasmuch as his file was not immediately available and because of the desire to present this matter to the Bureau by 6/9/55.

There is enclosed herewith reprint of a series of articles entitled, "What Price Security," by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN in the nature of reprints from the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper during March and April, 1955, individual copies of which have been previously provided the Bureau.

COPY DESTROYED

No additional inquiry will be made in this matter pending further Bureau instructions.

Enc.
TO: Director, FBI
FROM: SAC, Boston
SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
         MISCELLANEOUS RESEARCH
         (CRIME RECORDS)

DATE: June 10, 1955


For the completion of the Bureau records, the files of Immigration
and Naturalization Service at Boston, Massachusetts were checked
on June 9, 1955 and identified ARAM T. BAGDIKIAN, then residing at 59 Elm
Street, Stoneham, Massachusetts, occupation a clergyman, as a
petitioner for naturalization, having been born August 15, 1882 at
Marash Cecicia, Turkey, and having arrived at the United States at the
Port of Brooklyn, New York, June 2, 1920. He identified among his
children a son, BEN, born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey, who is
believed identical with the individual referred to above.

ARAM T. BAGDIKIAN was naturalized in the United States District
Court, Boston, Massachusetts, under Certificate No. 2307196, on
March 29, 1926.

The indices of the Boston Division contain the following
references, which may be possibly identical with ARAM T.
BAGDIKIAN:

Boston report of 1/11/55 by SA
C. H. KOKOLAKIS entitled:
ARMENIAN PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
IS-R & AR-IS ACT OF 1950

Following are excerpts from the above report:

"T-8 made available information during November and December,
1954, which disclosed that the ANCA (Amenian National Council
of America) sponsored the 31th anniversary celebration of the
Sovietization of Armenia in the Massachusetts and Providence,
Rhode Island at the following places: ............................

"On December 12, 1954, at 2:00 p.m. at the Rio Restaurant,
main ballroom, 40 Thomas Street, Worcester, Massachusetts,
sponsored by the Worcester Branch of the ANCA.
"T-8 stated that the honorary presiding officials at the Worcester ANCA affair were ARAM BAGHDJEGIAN and Dr. SUMPA D. PACHANIAN, Chairman was D. SIMONIAN.......

An article appeared in the December 9, 1954 issue of the "Hairenik Weekly" (published by an association allegedly anti-Communistic) concerning the 34th anniversary celebration of the Sovietization of Armenia held at Boston, Massachusetts, November 28, 1954. The newspaper article was sarcastic and critical concerning the above affair and read in part:

"The next speaker, a Reverend (Minister) ARAM T. BAGDIKIAN, was compared by the chairman to the Rev. HEWLETT JOHNSON, the extraordinary 'Red Dean of Canterbury! who 'recently confounded American questioners so badly that they first mounted a mule, and then tried to get off that mule.' BAGDIKIAN's comparison with HEWLETT JOHNSON seemed a happy comparison.

"In a long winded prepared speech ('I didn't think I would be allowed to speak freely here today, so I wrote down my speech') BAGDIKIAN reviewed the boring details of his life that had made a 'patriot' of him. November 29 is etched in golden letters among all the great dates of history. Armenia is free and progressive. It is as free and as progressive as in the days of Tigranes the Great (this was more than 1954 years back--Ed. RW). November 29 is a miracle, a ray of sunlight. Armenia has a great future. Armenia will soon extend from Mt. Ararat to Cilicia. We are American citizens; we love America. Rebuilt Armenia has filled the people with a new spirit.' He ended by shouting: 'Long live November 29! Long live the Soviet Union.'"

T-8 is ___________ who gave the information regarding the 34th anniversary celebration mentioned previously to Special Agent CHRISTOPHER H. KOKOLAKIS on October 12, 1954.

Boston memorandum of SA/ NR-4/1/54,
REED W. JENSEN, 8/7/53, entitled
LRAPE
IS-R & AR ______________________

This memorandum reads in part as follows:

"By New York letter to the Bureau dated July 16, 1953, with carbon copy to Boston (100-17020), this office was provided photostats of the mailing list of the publication 'Lrape.' This publication is self-described as the official organ of the Armenian Progressive League of America, which group has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450."

- 2 -
"This mailing list was made available to SA PHILIP H. SHERIDAN of the New York Office on December 2, 1952 by Office of Postal Inspector, General Post Office, New York City."

One of the names on the mailing list was as follows:


New York report of SA JAMES H. KAVANAGH, 3/30/55, entitled "LRAPER"

Under caption of report "Literary Contributions to 'Lraper'," there is set forth an analysis of the July 10, 1954 edition of the paper. Columns 3 to 5 of page 2 contain an article "Why is the 'Lraper' a Valuable Paper" by "ARAM T. BAGDIGIAN, Worcester, Massachusetts."

Miami letter to Boston, 3/5/54 titled SM-C

This memorandum reads in part as follows:

"On January 28, 1954, of known reliability, furnished to SA G. RANDALL McGOUGH a list of names maintained as This list is being maintained in the Miami Division in file

One of the names listed as "Rev. ARAM BAGDIKIAN, 28 Walworth St., Worcester, Mass."

According to the above Miami letter, is "completely dedicated to all Marxian theories, philosophy and teachings (per and mails pro-Russian literature to various individuals."

- 3 -
Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BOSTON (94-487)

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBuulet 6/6/55 and Boslets 6/8 and 6/10/55.

There is enclosed herewith photostatic copy of article relating to above individual in connection with foreign study grant.

TFM: maw
Enc.

RECORDED 12/6/55 94-717-8

30 1955

EX-125

62-94717

6451
Journal-Bulletin Reporter
Gets Foreign Study Grant

Ben H. Bagdikian, a Journal-Bulletin reporter since 1947, has been named by the Reid Foundation as one of six recipients of $5,000 grants for study abroad during 1955.

Another of the grants went to Mary Packwood, 27, of The Binghampton (N.Y.) Press, who was society editor of The Providence Journal from October, 1950, to August, 1951.

The Reid Foundation, founded by the late Ogden Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, makes annual study awards to newspaper men and women of proved ability in editorial work, with at least five years experience on United States dailies.

Bagdikian, who expects to go abroad next April with his wife and two sons, will study reporting techniques in several West European capitals. He hopes to determine the adequacy of coverage given to political and other stories by the predominantly political party press of those capitals.

Bagdikian, 35, graduated from Clark University in Worcester in 1941, worked one year for the Springfield Morning Union, and then went into the Air Force, in which he served more than three years as a navigator. After his discharge, he spent a year doing magazine and free lance work in New York.

While on the Journal-Bulletin staff, Bagdikian has won a special Peabody award for his series on "Pitchmen of the Press," and a Heywood Broun award for a series on Facts Forum.

The four other Reid grants went to Ralph G. Craib, 30, of The Oakland (Calif.) Tribune; Bob Eddy, 38, of The St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch; John W. Haigh, 37, of The Yakima (Wash.) Republic, and Eleanor R. Prech, 39, of The Cleveland (Ohio) Press.

Providence, R.I. Bulletin
11-18-55
Award Given
To Newsmen

NEW YORK, April 19 (AP).—
Newspapermen in Providence,
R. I., and Washington, D. C.,
yesterday won $500 awards each
from the Sidney Hillman Foun-
dation for their reporting on
labor matters.

They are Hovsep Bagdikian, col-
umnlist and special writer for the
Providence Journal and Bulletin,
and Murry Marder, reported for
the Washington Post and Times
Herald.

Mr. Bagdikian received his
award for a series of articles
analyzing Government, security
programs and spotlighting de-
fects in them. Mr. Marder was
honored for day-to-day articles
on various aspects of civil
liberties.

Others receiving $500 awards
were:

Reubin Levin, editor of Labor,
weekly publication of railroad
unions in Washington, for a num-
ber of articles on Federal regu-
larity agencies and civil liber-
ties.

John Lord O'Brian, lawyer, for
his book, "National Security and
Individual Freedom," published
by the Harvard University Press,
Dr. Robert Engler, professor of
political science at Sarah Law-
rence College, for a series of ar-
ticles in the New Republic Maga-
azine on oil and politics.

Presentation ceremonies were
held in the Waldorf-Astoria Ho-
tel. The Hillman Foundation was
created in 1947 to keep alive the
late labor leader's ideas on labor-
management, civil liberties and
other matters.

Wash. Post and Times Herald
Wash. News
Wash. Star
N. Y. Herald
Tribune
N. Y. Mirror
N. Y. Daily News
Daily Worker
The Worker
New Leader

Date 4-19-56

10 MAY 7 - 1956
Office Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: M. A. Jones

DATE: June 23, 1959

SUBJECT: "THE NEWSMAGAZINES" by Ben H. Bagdikian
Reprinted from "The Providence Journal-Bulletin"
October 5-17, 1958

SYNOPSIS:


The author analyzes and compares the "Big Three" among news magazines reaching nearly 10,000,000 persons each week, which he designates as "Time," Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report." Stating that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests, he adds that the general bias of the three magazines is all on the same side of the American political arena.

"U.S. News & World Report," the author states, comes the nearest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity and records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition while pursuing with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to the editor's heart.

"Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, however, one feature which detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. The author feels it is the least biased of the three.

"Time," the magazine with the largest circulation and the best equipped and staffed, is treated the least kindly by the author. He points out the known inaccuracies in fact, but says the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. "Time," he says, is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism and sets out various examples.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ULG: Hn (6)
Jones to DeLoach

PURPOSE:

You requested a review of the captioned reprint furnished you by Mr. James E. Fain, Dayton Daily News, Dayton, Ohio.

"THE NEWSMAGAZINES"

This is a reprint of a series of 12 articles on newsmagazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer. The author states that "Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters--perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women--have arranged before their eyes a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines." Designating the "Big Three" as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report," the author states that each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Mr. Bagdikian then proceeds to analyze these three magazines as to circulation, content, bias and accuracy, at the same time comparing the three on each issue. In 1957, the net paid weekly circulation of "Newsweek" was 1,119,000, but it was being approached rapidly by "U.S. News & World Report" which has tripled its circulation in eight years and in 1958 was reported to be over 1,000,000. "Time" has twice that circulation.

The author states that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests. The general bias of the three magazines, says the author, is all on the same side of the American political arena. "U.S. News & World Report" has a net impact that agrees with its editor's ultra-conservative political and social opinions. Its technique of printing large quantities of primary documents in public affairs, however, means that opposing points of view see the light of day, even though overbalanced by material agreeing with the editor. "Newsweek" appears to fluctuate between orthodox business-and-trade interests and straight news; but, its apparent lack of unity makes it less dogmatic. "Time" is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism. When "Time's" dominant political interest is not threatened, however, it takes independent lines on civil liberties and other nonpolitical matters.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Mr. Bagdikian states that it may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, "U.S. News & World Report," has been growing the fastest in recent years. "If one characterized the treatment by 'U.S. News & World Report' of integration--and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees," says Bagdikian,
Jones to DeLoach

"one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his (the Editor's) heart."

NEWSWEEK

Of "Newsweek," Mr. Bagdikian says that one feature that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. According to the author, "Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality as do "Time" and "U.S. News & World Report." He adds that the magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than "Times."

TIME

Mr. Bagdikian treats "Time" the least kindly of the three. He states that "Time" has the most effective network of information gatherers in the United States, in terms of intensive coverage of particular subjects; on occasions its work is distinguished, showing by contrast the superficial coverage of other magazines and of many newspapers; "Time" frequently answers in its stories the simple human questions that the hardboiled types of journalism ignore; "Time" can develop the possibilities of a news event more imaginatively than almost any other news organization in the world; and the magazine's writing and editing is bright, sometimes brilliant. "But," he asks, "is it The Truth?"

The author remarks that the elusiveness of Truth in terms of contemporary men and current policies must have worried the editors of "Time" occasionally, but if so, they have spared the reader this human doubt. Each week the world is created absolute and dogmatic, the good guys on one side, the bad guys on the other, with "Time" holding the only scorecard. He points out, however, that when the reader checks back he discovers that the simple world of one year develops messy complications the next, or that the good guy of October may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time change.

He states that while "Time" has been known to be inaccurate in its facts, the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. He adds that the bias does not usually keep important facts out of "Time," but sympathetic facts are presented with dignity and joy; unsympathetic facts are presented with ridicule and contempt. As examples, Bagdikian pointed out that "Time's" reporting of appearances of both Eisenhower and Stevenson at a farmer's gathering in October, 1956, titled the Eisenhower story "Ike's Promise," while the Stevenson story was titled "Adlai's Pitch." Bagdikian further states
Jones to DeLoach

that "Time's" treatment of the campaign in 1956 was so consistently biased that it would be reasonable to label it campaign literature. While Eisenhower regularly "dwelt" on subjects or stated them, Stevenson "cried."

CONCLUSION

The problem of the American newsmagazine, according to the author, is that it presents a subtly loaded political story or a dramatically oversimplified one to an audience conditioned to having outright political argument labeled. The problem is compounded by the fact that the newsmagazines go largely to middle-class readers who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.
The Newsmagazines

By Ben H. Bagdilian

Reprinted from

The Providence Journal-Bulletin

Oct. 5-17, 1956
This series of 12 articles on newsmagazines, a new phenomenon in this generation, was done by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer, who wrote "Pitchmen of the Press," a prize-winning study of four American columnists and commentators in 1950. In 1956 he was awarded an Ogden Reid Foundation Fellowship for a study of the press in England, France and Italy.
Each Week The World Neatly Reconstructed

Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters—perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women—have arranged themselves into what is strictly a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines:


Each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Time’s subtitle is: “The Weekly Newsmagazine.”

Newsweek’s name is augmented by its motto: “A Well-Informed Public is America’s Greatest Security.”

And the corresponding title of U.S. News & World Report, to find agreement with the sound “The Complete News Magazine.”

The 10,000,000 copies of Newsweek that are picked up at newstands and delivered by mailmen go into homes as long as read chiefly for what they have to report of the news of the world.

But their function is not the same as newspapers. The 80,000,000 copies of daily newspapers that circulate every day among Americans record as quickly as possible the facts of events that come flying through the air minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour, and day-by-day.

The magazines look back at the end of the week, pick up the random blocks where they lie, rearrange them into a framework, add their own backdrops, backgrounds, outlines, and sound effects.

How accurate is this weekly re-creation? How close to real life does it look a year afterward, five years afterward? How often are the facts placed where they fit? How often are they left alone when, for the moment, they don’t seem to fit anywhere? How often are the blocks of real events reshaped to build a scene that is contradictory to the public eye or more satisfying to a publicist’s taste than the scenery of real life?

For whom is this weekly world prepared?

A Time magazine advertisement once said:

“All are leading educators, presidents of business corporations, members of Congress, the top men in practically every field of endeavor are Time’s favorite magazine-readers.”

Newsweek, Newsweek, Inc., a survey found 31.5 per cent of Newsweek readers are administrative and executive executives.

“Many business men read the newsmagazines. Yet, it is a cliche among many professional men that Time and Newsweek are reading materials primarily meant to keep the reader informed about and then involve him. This is a criticism made of many other popular publications, but few interpret events with such dogmatic clarity as the newsmagazines.

But there is even some evidence that not all ‘top men’ favor the newsmagazines.

Five years ago, some 700 scientists were polled by Marie Beaulé of the University of Maryland to determine what publications they found congenial. Top response was The...
U.S. News, Fast-Rising Giant

"On the last page of the fastest-rising newsmagazine in America one finds in small print: 'This page presents the opinions of the Editor.'

A study of six months of David Lawrence's U.S. News & World Report shows that these opinions run to the need to expel Russia from the United Nations and attack it militarily, the "illegality" (this quotation marks) of the Supreme Court decision on racial integration, the dangers of "New Deal experimentalism," the "dicta-
ship of big unions, the "immorality" of stopping H-bomb tests, and the general frustration of the Kremlin and leading Supreme Court justices.

On this same page is printed another sentence:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

Are they?

The newspaper editor, in a recent poll, referred to Lawrence's reactionary views. Yet the survey of all editorial page editors by David Donley of the Dept. of Journalism, University of Wisconsin, resulted in easy first place in usefulness for Lawrence's magazine. Time was a poor second, Newsweek third.

This kind of recognition must be a source of deep satisfaction to the 69-year-old editor. The son of poor immigrants, he worked his way through Princeton as an Associated Press campus reporter, developed a close relationship with college president Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson went to the White House, this relationship made Lawrence a leading political reporter.

It is, perhaps, typical of Lawrence that he sacrificed this valuable professional contact and personal friendship in reporting because he thought it important news that Wilson had suffered a stroke that impaired his abilities.

Lawrence became a financial reporter, started a syndicate, and in 1925 began a radio news daily report of government decisions and announcements called "U.S. News." At the same time, he wrote an increasingly controversial daily column for 234 daily papers. While a former employer, Drew Pearson, and friends Walter Lipsmann and Joseph Apgar were commenting more or less sympathetically on the New Deal in the 30s, Lawrence became known as one of the most conservative commentators in the trade.

By 1940 Lawrence had considerably wealth and put much of it into the new "U.S. News," governmental and present magazine. What happened afterward may be depressing to some who admire impersonal news presentation. "U.S. News" had no visible heir. Ten years ago he married it to "World Report" and a long, unspoken, future began to be evident in none. It became successful from that time on,

The circulation was 50,000. In 1931, went to 925,000 in 1957, is thought to be over 1,000,000 today. This is about the same as Newsweek, half as much as Time. It is believed that U.S. News World Report could make two or three times its present profits if it did not pour so much into news space. But its growth certainly is related to this generous allocation of space to the reader. Lawrence's 60 percent interest is held in trust, will go on his death to the employees who already own 40 percent.

Among the features of this growing giant are:

Lengthy tape-recorded interviews with important news sources, printed verbatim in...
These all include many presentations, plainly contrary to the opinions of David Lawrence himself.

In terms of quantity of reporting, U.S. News & World Report ranks second of its two major competitors. In 1957 it averaged 60 pages a week of news, double Time and Newsweek. In the first six months of 1958 it printed 219 pages on business, outlook, world news, foreign policy, and domestic (Time: 127; Newsweek: 136); 103 pages on education (Time and Newsweek each 34 pages); 113 pages on science and space (Newsweek: 74; Time: 46). Total new pages so far this year average 69 pages a week for U.S. News & World Report.

The News--With a Heavy Weight

A study at the University of Syracuse School of Journalism of the 1956 political campaign showed that Time printed 34,000 words of campaign news, Newsweek some 14,000, and U.S. News & World Report, 150,000 words. Scoring for bias, the survey found Time's words were 75 per cent biased toward the Republicans, Newsweek's 28 per cent toward the Republicans. U.S. News & World Report only one per cent toward the Republicans, rest neutral.

But this study evidently looked only for editorially inserted words of bias. U.S. News & World Report deals heavily in exact reproduction of the words of others. The Syracuse survey did not measure a pertinent factor: how balanced and fair was the selection of persons whose words were accurately reported? And in what editorial surroundings were these words placed?

A study of this year's U.S. News & World Report shows that it uses sources who are individually legitimate and interesting focal points of news and opinion. But it also shows that taken together they do not form a balanced picture of informed opinion.

In the first six months of this year, for example, there were verbatim interviews with 27 representatives of large corporations. There were almost none from labor or the opposite wing of domestic economics. On auto workers' demands there were 110 texts from heads of the car manufacturing corporations, none from the union. On steel, there were 11 texts from Harlow Curtice, head of General Motors; Roger M. Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel; and Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the American Iron & Steel Institute, but none from the opposite side.

Where the magazine searched out unusual sources, they tended to be on the side of the editor's opinions. For example, on March 21 the magazine reprinted as news the circular of the First National City Bank of New York Its message was that Germany is more prosperous than England because Germany has a free-enterprise economy and England a semi-socialist one. No presentation was made of the obvious additional or even contrary factors in understanding the two economies. Politically, the personalities and space are biased toward the Lawrence view. Of speech texts from 12 politicians, 11 are conservatives or conservative moderates. (Styles Bridges, Harry Byrd, Lyndon Johnson, John Stennis) and only one (Hubert Humphrey) from the other side of the civilizational spectrum. The only one.

On Jan. 21 a series of texts on the coming political campaign formed a Republican-versus-Democratic debate by way of speeches selected by the editors. The three Republicans (President Eisenhower, Nixon and Sherman Adams) started off with three and three-tenths pages; the three Democrats (Sam Rayburn, Humphrey, and Dean Acheson) were at the end with seven-tenths of one page, or only 18 per cent of the total space for that feature. Typically in the magazine there is hard news, there is give-and-take, and, typically, there are legitimate individual sources accurately reproduced who add up to a solid net profit in space and emphasis for the Lawrence opinions.

This is not to say that anti-Lawrence opinions are excluded. In actual wording, there are probably more in U.S. News & World Report than in Time, Newsweek, or, indeed, in the liberal New Rep.
The theme: COMMUNISTS FORCING SHOWDOWN is over another piece of text that does not support it:

"On the spot, in South America, the answers come quickly from leaders, from the people.

"Are South Americans going Red? No.

"What bothers them then? U.S. neglect, the U.S. recession, U.S. trade barriers.


"Result? Angry neighbors."

Thus, two distinct lines appear in U.S. News & World Report: 1. Accurate reprints of interviews and public statements, plus first-hand reports by the magazine's own correspondents, many of them unbiased reporting:

2. A selection process of the reprints and interviews which heavily weights them in quantity, number and presentation on the side of Lawrence's personal convictions and an embellishment of the first-hand reports which carry out the Editor's themes in headlines, introductions and other presentations even when these embellishments are contrary to the reports themselves.

Many years ago, Delbert Clark said:

"In some ways Lawrence is the most skillful of all the Washington columnists: he has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements of opinion."

Clark was talking of Lawrence's personal column, but a study of U.S. News & World Report leads one to much the same conclusion. It also causes doubt as to the validity of the claim:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

The Nigerian war, General Massu maintained that the flow of rebel arms from neighboring Tunisia must be halted. Some of these arms have been supplied by Communist sources.

A boxed display thrust into the midst of the Kleiman report announced: "TRENDS OF CONFLICT: Rebel attacks have been increasing, recently, as Communist arms flowed in from neighboring Tunisia.

Even in the standing feature, "Business Around the World," the theme was "supported" by... "Busy as their firebreaks and their brickfields, the Communists still have time to poke around the trouble spots of the business world.

Fifteen lines later it added that Communist bloc nations may not be aiming primarily at weakening Western markets so much as getting rid of their own surplus problems.

The bristling nationalism of Lawrence appears in a dramatic display on Page 43 entitled, "When U.S. Is Insulted Now and 44 Years Ago." It noted that 44 years ago when Mexico arrested seven American sailors and then refused to apologize or to raise the U.S. flag and give it a 21-gun salute, American soldiers invaded Mexico and occupied Vera Cruz for seven months. The display then reported that by contrast when the Vice President was shot on by mobs, American soldiers were sent only to nearby countries, not right into Venezuela.

The magazine repeated the theme again on Sept. 5, 1955, in an article on the murder by Iraq mobs of three Americans. It printed a two-thirds-of-a-page display recalling 19th century American enforcement of payments by other countries, with the title: "In the Past: When Americans Have Been Killed Or Attacked Abroad."

The theme commercialized....
No. 3

U.S. News and Its Wound

In the June 13, 1952, issue of the magazine U.S. News & World Report, the editors of this fastest-growing American newsmagazine inserted a special display that took two-thirds of a page.

A tinted inspirational photograph of the United States Supreme Court building plainly showed the text:

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

The display celebrated the court’s declaration that President Truman’s seizure of the steel industry during a labor dispute was unconstitutional. In undisguised admiration of the court, the display said that no dictatorship is possible in the United States because the court is a "Barrier to Dictatorship," and even in order for tyrants to reign

"... the Supreme Court must be challenged... or its dictum defied."


A study of the magazine in 1958 makes the 1952 display hard to believe. In issue after issue the Supreme Court and its justices are attacked, articles are published implying that it is dominated by "left-wing" law clerks, the Editor refers to its pronouncements as "illegal" and the results as "law" (his quotation marks); and features headlines such as: COURT IS GIVING COMFORT TO COMMUNISTS, and says Chief Justice Earl Warren shows "indifference to human suffering."

What happened to change the court—in the eyes of U.S. News & World Report—from a dictator’s "barrier" in 1952 to a Communist "comfort" in 1958? And to change the Editor, who in 1958 wrote a book, "Nine Honest Men" in fervent praise of the United States Supreme Court?

A study of the magazine leads one to the conclusion that it was the single act of the 1954 decision declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

The impression is that this decision caused a profound trauma and that, the magazine picks at the wound every week.

Not one week passed in the first six months of 1958 without a reference to racial integration. The references were sometimes straight news, sometimes highly pertinent opinions accurately recorded, but often a reaching out by the editors for material—accurately reproduced—which in its net impact carried out the feeling against the Supreme Court decision.

The usual reference in headlines and stories was not to "integration," but the more emotional term, "racial mixing."

"... President Eisenhower sent troops to force the mixing of the races" (Oct. 27, 1957); "to force racial mixing in schools in 1958" (Jan. 3, 1958); "to force racial mixing" (Jan. 10, 1958); and so on during the year.

The high incidence of integration news is by no means poor news judgment. Many would agree that Negro-white relations are the major domestic problem in the United States in our time. Exposure of news, opinion and study fills a real need. Advocacy of one side or the other is in the tradition of free discussion. But the quiet loading of "news" presentation is not.

It is "quiet" in U.S. News & World Report because it is largely by use of the words of others and because it is by means of the weight of space and emphasis, rather than outright opposition, as is done quite appropriately in the Editor's page.

Recently on his editorial page, David Lawrence expressed his personal view of reality in the South when he wrote:

"something the South understands and wishes the North could understand, too—that racial bitterness between whites and Negroes has never been characteristic of the South—David Lawrence, Editor."

Reaching Out for Segregation

As in political and economic items, there are large quantities of anti-Lawrence views published. In the past—though not in the first six months of 1958—there have been long interviews with integrationist leaders, long textual excerpts from Negro sources.

In addition, the argument can be made that the most dramatic news has been made by the segregationists and the most vocal arguments made by the South.

Despite these factors, there is evidence that U.S. News & World Report reaches out for segregationist views. And in absolute measure, the magazine tells the reader more of the segregationist view than of the integrationist.

Providence Journal-Bulletin
Barrier to Dictatorship?

Senate Report: Court Is Giving ‘Comfort’ to Communists


In the first six months of 1958, the equivalent of 8 pages of news reports on critical court material appeared in the New York Times. At least one item was new every week. More than 75 per cent of these items treated integration critically, often showing it to be a failure or an easing threat.

Thirteen per cent was neutral in tone or impact.

Several reports approving tone examples in an interview with the commandant of the U.S. Marshals; the magazine asked if racial integration is a problem; the magazine published a straightforward manner the reply that it had worked well.

Race relations are least observable in the most unlikely places. On Jan. 3 the magazine reported that in Uganda schools are to start racial mixing. Two weeks later, "Racial Problem a New Headache for Red Chinese." The week after, an item on violence in Kansas City schools with the quick reference of the troubled scene centered at Central Junior High School, which is 60 per cent Negro.

On April 4, Worldgram, From the Pulpit of the World, "Moscow - Beirut - Paris - Tokyo - Singapore." Here's the Red Strategy for U.S. - "Talk peace, whip up the pent-up energy of any peace drive, stir up Negroes to fight segregation." In the same issue, another item on Washington, D.C., where "officials estimate that one-fourth of Washington's Negro children are illiterate." A couple of weeks later a sympathetic account of the election of Prime Minister Strijdom, "Mr. Afrikaner - Lion of the Transvaal," in South Africa where there is "strictly enforced racial segregation," and a few weeks later another item on Union of South Africa, "Where Racial Barriers Keep Going Higher - South Africa is now turning to more and more segregation as the answer to its racial problems," quoting only pro-Strijdom sources.

While a reasonable reader would not dispute any one item in integration, the tone and direction of the pattern of coverage is almost obsessively anti-integrationist. Friends of David Lawrence say this is out of character with him, though he is a longtime resident of Washington and Virginia. He has printed material against "group prejudice." Yet, the
magazine's treatment of the issue, while ever excluding integrationist views, completely is overwhelmingly against the Supreme Court decision.

Two-thirds of the Oct. 4, 1957, issue was devoted to the Little Rock crisis, with almost every department of the magazine suffused with integration. The confidential-secretary page, "Washington Whispers," is filled with such items as: "Earl Warren . . . who sided the Supreme Court on order . . . Mr. Eisenhower . . . has acted upon his own without consulting his cabinet. Newsman in Little Rock noted that the town was swarming, with FBI agents who were reported to have the advance guards of agents who will move into the South to police the new civil rights law.

The step-by-step formal chronology of events leading to the crisis, presented as a calendar has 66 per cent of its three pages devoted to direct and indirect quotations of Gov. Orval Faubus.

A five-page layout, "Politics: Leaders and Editors Size Up Little Rock Crisis," is 80 per cent against integration, moves, with 30 per cent of the total devoted to Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia. The opinion of a southern governor, supporting President Eisenhower, is not quoted.

Two full pages quote a bitter integrationist and are entitled: "How James F. Byrnes Sizest Up Integration Troubles." There is no contrary view presented.

An example of the far-reaching enterprise of the magazine to find texts to support its view is the full page in the same issue quoting an editorial "from an English Roman Catholic newspaper questioning whether the Roman Catholic Church should resist integration in schools as "morally wrong and sinful." It is entitled "A Catholic View on Segregation" (although the overwhelming official Catholic view has been against segregation).

Of all editorial and news material in that issue, 77 per cent was essentially anti-integrationist in tone, substance or presentation, 19 per cent was neutral, and 4 per cent was pro-integration. The 4 per cent was the text of the President's television address to the nation.

While segregationists did make news that week, so did those supporting the Supreme Court and integration. The magazine did not publish the text of the federal judge's injunction against violence in Little Rock, nor the President's proclamation before he ordered in troops; nor the speech of the federal Army commander to the high school students; nor the words of J. Edgar Hoover, who said Governor Faubus was lying; nor the text of a statement by the Rev. Billy Graham, a Southerner, condemning the violence and favoring integration, even though U.S. News & World Report had devoted a cover story to Billy Graham the week before.

Thus, if one characterized the treatment by U.S. News & World Report of integration—and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees—one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his heart.

No. 4

U.S. News & Crystal Ball

Don't never prophesy—on the way you know.

This is a grandfather's advice to James Russell Lowell and a commendation in ordinary news reporting.

sounding is a weakness to which journalistic flesh is prone, and so fervent an apostle as David Lawrence in his U.S. News & World Report is guilty of this minor transgression.

The magazine, more than any other, Big Three magazine, is devoted to heavy portions of full texts, verbatim interviews and serious news. But here and there in the pantries of its growing mansion it sips at the wine of prophecy.

This is, perhaps, a natural weakness for a magazine that started as a financial report. The financial newsletters that proliferate from Washington and New York indicate that businessmen have a special appetite for forecasts printed in imitation typewriter type, giving the impression that the editor has just received a tip so hot he sat right down, typed it out and ran it to the mailbox.

Thus, a number of pages in U.S. News & World Report are tinted—pages filled with imitation typewriter type and filled with a potpourri of news flashes, general background conditions, and forecasts. They are called such names as "Tomorrow, Newsgram," and "Washington Whispers," and "Trend of Business." U.S. News & World Report is said to have been the first to introduce the colored-page, imitation-typewriting to regular magazines.

Has it been a noteworthy contribution to public information?

The magazine's general business forecasts have a good reputation among businessmen, and in 1957 it had the satisfaction of having predicted quite accurately the current recession. (Although, like many a prophet, it began to get nervous when the time

Providence Journal-Bulletin
Newsgram

A tax cut now appears to be as certain as anything can be in this world. The plan, it is true, is in the hands of Congress, but the mood is not to cut taxes. The tax cut would be welcome, but it is not certain that Congress will pass it. Personal exemption seems sure to go to $700 from $500.


Three-and-a-half months later U.S. N & W R has this to say about taxes.

coming and began to hedge: Jan 3, 1958: "There was a growing opinion that the drop would prove as sharp as it was severe, with the trend starting to level off early in the new year.

But when it moves out of the business arena into the political and diplomatic world, the magazine's crystal ball begins to cloud. Early in 1957 it devoted its cover article to "What is Coming in Ike's Second Term."

Among other things it assured the reader, "... American influence and power will be felt throughout the non-Communist world... Communism in this period is more likely to decline than to grow in its appeal and influence... It is entirely possible that, at the end of the year, Eisenhower administration will be without a real rival in all the world in point of military and political and industrial power... In this period, too, American power and influence is to push into the Middle East... Money from U.S. taxpayers and a warning that the United States will fight... are counted on to bring stability to countries of that area and to stop the Soviet Union from overt moves... A broad measure of prosperity is probable during the second term... Unemployment is not expected to become a major problem... Any point in the four years ahead... Jobs will be quite plentiful..."

The second term is not over yet and seems likely to be a period of further growth and prosperity. However, it is important to note that this forecast is based on the assumption that the United States will continue to have a strong economy and that it will be able to maintain its position as the world's leading economic power.

On Dec. 27, 1957 "Washington Post" reported: "Christian Hertler, under secretary of state, is reported by his friends to be unhappy over the fact that he does not play a larger role in policy making..." One week later, "Washington Post" reported: "Christian Hertler, under secretary of state, has no intention of giving up the State Department post he holds, despite reports to the contrary indicating dissatisfaction with his job..."

For the benefit of any misinformed readers, U.S. News & World Report said May 30: "It turns out that the Central Intelligence Agency knew about the Communist plans in South America to embarrass Vice President Nixon... The misinformed reader could conceivably have got the idea from U.S. News & World Report the week before when it said: "Washington Whispers..."

This country's Central Intelligence Agency, counted upon to know in advance what is to happen in foreign
Newsweek ... Reads the Papers

On Page 21 of the April 21, 1958, Newsweek magazine, the Editor-in-Chief in a message to readers said:

"Somewhere, at every moment of every day, the men and women of NEWSWEEK are at work on ideas of many kinds ... in a hut in the jungles of Cuba or Indonesia, a literary salon in Europe, at the White House in Washington, or a machine shop in Ypsilanti."

There are, indeed, Newsweek correspondents who travel to sources of news all over the world, but the Editor-in-Chief may have slighted a key man: the intrepid editor who each workday takes the elevator to his office in the Newsweek Building at 152 West 42nd Street in New York and fearlessly reads The New York Times.

The correspondents in Cuba, Paris, and Ypsilanti produce the first-rate articles in Newsweek, but the editor reading The New York Times produces more than all the others combined.

The use of so sturdy a source of news as The New York Times is admirable, but Newsweek, as does its uptown senior rival, Time, tends to present this same information not so much as fallible words from identifiable human sources as The Revealed Truth recorded in Holy Writ.

Both Time and Newsweek have human beings covering news, many of them competent. Time, has, 53 full-time correspondents listed in 15 American cities outside New York, and 32 in 15 foreign cities. Newsweek has 29 in six American cities outside New York, and 11 in seven foreign cities. Both maintain additional "stringers," local reporters, usually newspapermen, who are available to cover specifically on a fee basis. And both maintain large staffs in their New York headquarters to compile, write and edit the stories.

Yet, David Cort, who worked on Time magazine from 1932 to 1946, says that 75 per cent of the material in Time came directly from The New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune. Staff members at Newsweek say the percentage there is at least as high as at Time.

Newsweek is the middle magazine of the three, at least for the moment. Its net paid "weekly circulation" in 1957 was 1,119,000. But it was being approached rapidly by U.S. News & World Report, which has tripled its circulation in eight years and this year is reported to be over 1,000,000. Time has twice that circulation.

Newsweek has struck many of its readers as being the middle magazine in another way. To some it has appeared to be an imitation of both its rivals.

There are signs in recent years that it has copied features of its competitor, U.S. News & World Report: verbatim interviews, graphic display of economic and social data, and possibly a more conservative political slant.

At the same time, Newsweek has had the reputation in the trade of being a kind of downtown edition of Time magazine. It has used the same basic cover color, red. Its format is almost the same. The departments into which the magazine is divided have only minor variations from Time. And its picture captions and the style of its text writing have followed the creations of Time, usually without much skill.

Some of the similarities
An Imitation, With Tired Words

Newsweek has appeared to imitate these styles. But where Time used imaginative, precise words, Newsweek tended to use flat and tired ones. Where Time confidently issued the news like Moses Revealing the Divine Word inscribed on his tablet in the Median Avenue dialect, Newsweek's Moses often seems to carry a curbstone instead of a tablet and the message comes out in the Administration Street.

This is the significance of the magazine's using conventional sources for news. In Newsweek, for example, the facts can come from The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Associated Press, United Press International, and Reuters, but often the reader sees it as absolute truth spiced up with a few 2nd Street adjectives. On June 9, Newsweek wrote:

"On Memorial Day at Indianapolis, hard-bitten mechanics tuned up the powerful, low-hung cars and 33 tact drivers roared..."

Or else routine news and publicity releases find themselves draped in the metaphors that burden bad news-

paper copy, freshman themes and other transgressions on the English language:

"Esther's company is International Swimming Pool Corp. which, like all others, is splashing its way to new records. This year... a gurgling $10 million more..."

Or in the August 11 issue a brewery official explained a transaction, or as Newsweek put it, "quently blew the mystifying truth off the glass.

Another feature of Newsweek that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. It is constantly telling the reader what a splendid job Newsweek is doing presenting the news, perhaps on the newsmagazine theory that readers have trouble judging the facts for themselves.

It is not unusual for the editors of Newsweek to use 10 per cent of space in an important international story telling the reader about Newsweek. History could conceivably look back with awe at the American offer to ban nuclear bomb tests. But if it looks back to Newsweek it will find that on September 1 the magazine used the first 30 per cent of its lead page on the story to tell the reader that Newsweek had said this was going to happen.

On the other hand, Newsweek's approach to the news is far more conventional and thus more readily judged by the reader than is Time's. The magazine often produces first-rate special articles on large themes. And it is unique among its rivals in regularly printing reports under the signatures of real, identifiable human beings.

U.S. News & World Report, except for some of its foreign reports, usually ascribes even eye-witness stories to its "Board of Editors." Time is a collective effort, and unlike even the Bible, offers the reader no clue as to who wrote stories that express highly individual value judgments.

Newsweek and Time both have back-of-the-book departments reporting and commenting on special fields in American arts, sciences and entertainment that provide material usually overlooked in the daily press. While there is evidence that News-

Provided: Journal-Bulletin
NewswEEK: Not So Single-Minded

Newsweek does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, as do Time and U.S. News & World Report.

The leading figure of Newsweek is Malcolm Muir, Editor-in-Chief since 1937, who has been in publishing all his life, with heavy emphasis on business and sales. He had been an accountant of McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., where he was influential in the creation of several trade publications and of the now highly successful magazine, Business Week. His strength was said to be salesmanship. Speeches and papers before which he was known in publishing circles were, "Breaking Down Sales Resistance in Industrial Selling," "Shadows of State Socialism," and "National Danger of the Thirty-Hour Week." In 1937 Vincent Astor and Averell Harriman headed Weekly Publications, Inc., which had been printing a magazine called News-Week since 1933. They brought Muir to head the enterprise (Astor became chairman of the board and still is; Harriman became a director, no longer so). Muir took out the hyphen and upper case "W" in the title and edited the formula of news commentary and special reports. During the war and immediately afterward the magazine produced some notable special articles. But the elder Muir has always remained interest-ed primarily in the fiscal and managerial strength of the publication. He is a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and other prominent business organizations.

Executive Editor of the magazine is his son, Malcolm Muir Jr., who spent the early years of his career with the United Press and with newspapers.

Thus, Newsweek appears to many to reflect the economic and political conservatism of its chief. At the same time Newsweek shows hesitancy in plunging completely into personal dogma in the news, which some ascribe to the conventional news discipline learned earlier by the executive editor.

The magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this, too, seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than Time.

Nevertheless, Newsweek seems compelled to duplicate Time's air of knowing it all. Yet, the holy wars of Time and self-congratulations of Newsweek arise for the most part from the same human world of news as the imperfect daily press.

Taking one issue of Newsweek at random, June 16, one finds that the main news section, National Affairs, carries information which is 53 per cent identical with news in The New York Times for the days during which Newsweek was being compiled. There is a heavy concentration in the magazine of Times items from the days—Wednesday, Thursday, Friday—in which Newsweek is selecting its major stories.

In that issue of Newsweek there is one story in which the order of facts and a stretch of language is identical with The New York Times, although this conceivably could be coincidence.

In addition, the interpretation that Newsweek puts on news events, particularly foreign events, appears to follow closely The New York Times editorials of that week.

One can speculate on the hungry eye of the editor who reads the Times. On Page 33 of the June 16 issue of Newsweek there is a story entitled: DISASTER. Toil of the Wreckers. It blends three separate news items into a single theme. Two are of tornadoes striking Wisconsin (the facts in Newsweek match exactly those in an Associated Press dispatch), and of a grasshopper plague in the Southwest (the facts for which match those in the New York Times report). A third item was far-fetched for the DISASTER theme, reporting that volunteers for hurricane watchers had started their seasonal duties. One may speculate that the Newsweek editor saw the grasshopper story on Page 21 of The New York Times of June 7 and just below it, by chance on the same page, a routine story on the hurricanes watchers (with facts that match exactly those that appeared in Newsweek).

A reasonable reader could hardly argue with the use by Newsweek and Time of reliable, conventional sources of news, like The New York Times and the Associated Press. But one might question the air of superior knowledge, the self-promotion and the dogmatic judgments of news displayed by the magazines without providing the reader with some sign of the source. Unlike the newspaper and wire service sources of much of the magazines' facts, Newsweek and Time leave the reader with a set of opinions and almost no room to judge the meaning of news for himself. They provide little clue as to whose opinion he is reading.
The Dogma of Omniscience

A recent issue of Newsweek magazine declared:

"Lifting the Curtain, East Berlin—Red China... is calling now for an early trial of Imre Nagy, Premier of short-lived free Hungary..."

The date on Newsweek was June 23 1958. The execution of Nagy had been announced on front pages everywhere six days earlier, on June 17.

Did the editors of Newsweek see on Tuesday, the 17th, the news of the death of a man they reported alive six days later?

Undoubtedly they did, and no doubt with consider the chagrin. For on the Tuesday that Tass, the Russian news agency, announced the execution of Nagy, the Newsweek editors were on their Monday-Tuesday "weekend." They had sent the magazine to the press Sunday night with the "news" of the demand for Nagy's trial; Tass announced Nagy's death on Tuesday; the magazine first hit the newsstands on Wednesday—and the date on it was the following Monday. The news inside is eight days older than the date on the magazine.

I like most magazines, Newsweek puts an advanced date on the magazine for understandable commercial reasons. It is easier to appear up-to-date by changing the calendar; and when a prospective buyer looks at the magazine he is less apt to think that it is "last week's issue."

All the Big Three news magazines have an eight-day gap between the date they send news to press and the date on the magazine, and all of them have a five-day gap between the day they appear and the date on the cover. It is no major sin. It is of interest chiefly because it is part of the news magazine mystique that makes it necessary to know everything, or to appear to know everything, and to give the reader the feeling that he is privileged to peer with the editors into the future, or at least into the secrets of the past and the inner soul of the present.

Many of the correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight are competent men highly regarded within the trade. And on more than one occasion they have dug out newer, better and more important news than the daily newspapers.

But in their daily operations the editors of the magazine ignore the dreary rules of conventional news reporting, whereby the reader is supposed to be told where the news comes from. This is a discipline on reporters, preventing mere rumors, planted items and reporters' wishes and opinions from being presented as facts. And it provides the reader with some basis for judging the seriousness, significance and reliability of the news.

All news organizations from time to time use material with only a vague source specified: "a high official" or "diplomatic sources." These are sometimes first-hand official statements of importance given on condition that the correspondent not give the source, for diplomatic reasons. Or else in the judgment of the correspondent a story is basically sound and important to print, even though no individual will let his name back it up (in which case the reputation of the correspondent gives some weight). But these are special cases in most news organizations, and the whole weight of professional practice is to tell the reader both the news and where it came from.

Just the News, or Wishes, Too?

Unhampered by such rules, the newsmagazine editor can write news that is more readable, and legitimately so. Few persons, for example, would argue with the scrupulousness and usefulness of The New York Times's Review of the Week. But the lack of restraint in the news magazines often permits the news to look more titillating and more authoritative than the facts warrant, giving the reader little hint as to when the news stops and the editorial titillating begins, or when the facts end and editorial dogma takes over.

In the June 23, 1958, Newsweek, for example, one reads:

"... the extreme rightists not only are largely uncontrolled in Algeria but are rapidly gaining strength in France itself."

The same week in Time one reads of the same rightists:

"Abandoned by their idols and outflanked by the Army—which has quietly taken over almost all key posts in the Algerian civil administration—the diehards had little choice but to make what amounted to a humiliating confession of defeat."

In Newsweek: "rapidly gaining strength."

In Time: "a humiliating confession of defeat."

When Secretary of State Dulles appeared before a hostile Senate committee, News-
week reported Feb. 4, 1957: "... Dulles flushed deeply, then went pale. He stopped his restless doodling and his pencil fell from his fingers."

Time, the same week: "Dulles scribbled heavily at his doodle pad, his face beet-red."

Newsweek concluded: "John Foster Dulles had reached a crisis in his relations with Congress."

Time concluded: "Fulbright and his Senate friends were plucking political fiddle strings."


Time the same week said: "They liked him for his strong, vigorous manner of speech."

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report said: "Dwight D. Eisenhower found himself deep in the bewildering wonderland of big-time politics... so far as neutral observers could tell, the Eisenhower side seemed to be losing as many skirmishes as it was winning."

Time at about the same time on Eisenhower: "Now, like him because he turned out to be an amazingly good campaigner... for his quiet control..."

In the June 13, 1958 U.S. News & World Report: "Why are six Soviet fishing boats stationed constantly off the East Coast of Canada...? That riddle has puzzled U.S. and Canadian officials for some months."

In Newsweek, dated three days later: "Pentagon Pipeline, Navy Headquarters - Top officials here insist there is no indication that those Soviet fishing boats are 'a ruse to camouflage a military mission.' As for recent press reports that the fishing boats are not a ruse, a well-informed officer says: 'Things must have been quiet over the holidays.'"

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report had an answer to its riddle: It said: "Western intelligence officials' report that 'why sub periscope were seen in U.S. waters' is a 'red herring.' The Navy has responded strongly to the charge that the periscopes were a ruse."

Time, the same week, explained why President Eisenhower lost his temper and responded angrily to a reporter: Quoting 'intimates of the President,' Newsweek said: "Far from getting him down, they said, the press conference blowup was an indication that Mr. Eisenhower felt genuinely confident about the Administration's ability to handle problems facing the nation..."

A normally skeptical reader might ask more documentation for the claim that a man loses his temper because he feels so good. And a reader of the news magazines might be excused if occasionally he becomes skeptical when the glib, authoritative, rootless conclusions change from week to week, and from magazine to magazine.

The important point is not that interpretations and conclusions differ. Honest, reasonable men often differ in their view of the same scene. In the handling of news this ordinarily acts as a discipline: there is an obligation to let the reader know what is documented fact, what is rumor, what is wishful thinking, and what is personal opinion. In the news magazines, particularly Newsweek and Time, little distinction is made. The operating rule is that the world must be presented as clear, black-and-white, and interpreted with positive authority.

Above all, it must also be highly readable. As the publisher of Newsweek reported of a survey in his weekly column on Nov. 7, 1955: "... Articles in Newsweek are more readable than those in other news and business magazines... In another phase of the testing, it was found that the Newsweek test article was more thoroughly comprehended than articles from the other magazines..." "That is," the Publisher added, apparently uncertain that he had been thoroughly comprehended, "the reader retained more of what he read in Newsweek."
No. 7

Newsweek: Periscope's Progress

In Newsweek of May 3, 1954 the Publisher told his readers in a column entitled "Periscope Progress":

"The Periscope, the first feature of its kind to appear in any publication, was first carried in Newsweek in 1937. It stands out for its accuracy. The Periscope's outstanding reputation is the result of the combined efforts of a well-integrated editorial group and a large corps of strategically placed confidential correspondents. It is closely read throughout the world and its influence is considerable."

Since prophecy seems to be a compulsion that newsmagazines find hard to resist, it is rewarding to study Newsweek's, particularly in the issue reporting "remarkable accuracy." In that May 3, 1954, Periscope section, for example, one finds:

"The Inside Story, The White House-—The Inner Circle is predicting the appointment of ex-Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., now U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., will replace Sherman Adams as Ike's White House chief of staff."

Four years later this "inside story" had failed to receive the outside world. Ultimately, Sherman Adams did resign, some 1,500 days later, but was not replaced by Mr. Lodge.

The efficiency of the "well-integrated editorial group" can be seen in another Periscope item that same week:

"Military Straws, Tokyo-—Look for Brig. Gen. Don Zimmerman of the Far East Air Forces . . . to head up the faculty at the new Air Force Academy."

The editorial group could look in the future for this, or it could have looked behind 10 days to the April 23 New York Times, which carried an official announcement of General Zimmerman's appointment as dean of the faculty of the Air Force Academy.

The same Periscope column said:

"Behind the Curtain, Oslo-—It's becoming more and more clear here that Franz Josef Land, in the Arctic Sea, is the most likely jumping-off place for any Russian airborne attack against the U.S."

The item neglected to specify behind which curtain the strategically placed confidential correspondent found Oslo, Norway.

Of all the Periscope forecasts and inside tips on national and international affairs of the "remarkable . . . accuracy" issue of May 3, 1954, 22 per cent were too vague or were impossible to judge or check and therefore useless to the reader (such as the Franz Josef Land item). Ten per cent were printed elsewhere first.

Eighteen per cent were correct. (This included items like the one saying President Eisenhower would spend two months in Denver "this summer." The general rumor which had been printed elsewhere first, and the President spent two months there, but the item was counted correct.)

Twenty-nine per cent proved wrong.

In addition to world affairs, the Newsweek Periscope rises from the depths and looks at the sunlit world of Music, Movies, etc. The May 3 issue had three items on "Periscope TV Radio" which one was wrong, one was partly wrong (and the remainder obvious), and the third had been printed elsewhere first and was based on a publicity release.

The issue also "Periscoped" music: of three items, two were wrong, one partly wrong.

In Periscoping movies, of four items, one was totally wrong, one mostly wrong, one was from a Hollywood release, and the fourth was partly right.

These are the results from one issue, selected at the urging of the Publisher. If one takes a broader sample—the first three months of 1957—the percentage of success and usefulness is not much different.

Of the main Periscope section during this period, 17 per cent was accurate and apparently printed first in Newsweek.

Some 46 per cent consisted of items so obvious or so vague or so beyond confirmation that they were useless to the reader. An example is the March 18 item: "You can look for the coming investigation of the AFL-CIO Bakers Union to be even more lurid than the Teamsters hearings." It is perfectly accurate that the reader could look for this, if he chose. If he didn't look he might have trouble deciding that the bakers' operations were more ghastly yellow than the Teamsters'. But this item was counted in the too-vague-or-impossible-to-check category rather than wrong, as later Teamster disclosures might justify.

Ten per cent of the items had been printed elsewhere first, one of them two months earlier.

Twenty-seven per cent were wrong.

Some wrong items: "Democratic Chairman Paul Butler has finally and definitely tipped intimates he plans to resign in May." Eighteen months later this final and definite tip had failed to materialize.

Another was the prediction that David Beck, the teamster official, would stay in Europe, a forecast printed in the Newsweek dated the day
after. Boel returned to the United States.
On Feb. 11, 1957, Periscope and Dixie Lites, Shadows, Budapest. Don't be surprised.
State Security Minister
Maurice Meunich succeeds Janos Kadar as Pre-

ducer of Hungary shortly.
Readers were not surprised:
Meunich didn't succeed Kadar; Kadar is still in office at
this writing, nineteen months later.
On March 18, 1957 another
Periscope said:
"The Revolutionary Wire, New
York City. Private advice of
the highest quarters
crecached NEWSWEEK on the
of the Bermuda conference
that British Foreign
Secretary Selwyn Lloyd will
be out soon.

No. 8

Time Magazine and The Truth

Henry Luce, co-founder, editor-in-chief and largest
single stockholder of Time magazine, once told a school
of journalism:
"The owner-editor cannot
honourably evade his personal
influence on every aspect of truth that he
published paper." But, the problem of Truth in
the news is an old one. In
the process of struggling with it, "Time magazine has, at
least, solved the problem of
reality. It is the biggest,
brightest and most powerful
of the Big Three newsmagazines. It has a paid circulation of 2,153,000. It is the
founder of the publishing empire of Time, Inc.: Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated,
Time International, Life International, Life on
Property, House & Home, Architectural Forum and a complex of paper mills and radio-
tv stations.

For millions of middle-class Americans it is the interpr.
er of national and world af-
airs. Thousands of foreign-
rans get their major impres-
sion of the United States from it. The United States
Information Agency last year
distributed 1,900,000 copies
in 56 foreign countries
as part of the American
propaganda effort.

Not only is this magazine the most read, well-read, and
most influential of all
magazines. But, it is also the
most critical of all.

The editor of "Time" magazine, Henry Luce, has a
philosophy of his own:
"I believe in the power of example."

"I believe in the power of example."

Examples Given
For example, was it the
Truth, when Time reported
Dwight Eisenhower's appearance
at the start of his 1952
campaign in Abilene in the
June 16, 1952, issue:
"They saw Ike, and they
liked him. He turned out to be an amazing
man."

"I think he's a great man."

"I think he's a great man."

Or was it the Truth when,
after the campaign was over,
Time in its issue of Nov. 3, 1952, described that same
week in Abilene:
"At first the echoes were
not strong. Ike ... as a
political candidate ... did not
quite "come across" ..."

"But he was his old self on TV ..."

Time, during the 1952 cam-
paign:
"... Stevenson tore into
this straw man ... the Demo-
cratic candidate made a care-
ful pitch ... In the same
speech, Stevenson got a
reference to aid to India,
which is getting to be the
stock Democratic way of
changing the subject on
China.

Time, four years later:
"... Stevenson of 1952, a
man meticulously concerned
with facts.

Time, before Adlai Stev-
enson became a presidential
candidate:

Providence Journal-Bulletin
Illinois has a good governor now: Adlai Ewing Stevenson. In his three years Stevenson has... Sent state police out to stop commercial gambling downtown. Lapped 1,300 political hangers-on off the state payroll... he didn't think State's Attorney John Boyle of Chicago was a good candidate. Stevenson has largely kept hands off law enforcement in Cook County, on the theory that local authorities are better staffed to handle it. But he didn't like the way Boyle had done the job... promptly dumped Boyle if Lincoln Steffens was right, corruption is the norm in Chicago's political life. But now like Adlai Stevenson have dedicated themselves to a more hopeful and dynamic proposition: that the U.S. is not a static pattern but an experiment, among other things, in good government.

Time, after Stevenson become a presidential candidate, eight days before election day...

"Stevenson... has him...stated his record as governor to support his argument that he can deal with corruption. He tells his audience the story a man who said of his predecessor as governor that he had been elected eight years of magnificent Republican rascality. He never so much as stopped the flow of the Cook County Democratic organization, the most corrupt and powerful of existing big-city machines..."

At Geneva

Time Aug. 1, 1955, on President Eisenhower's accomplishment at Geneva:

"If Geneva was to be remembered by the spirit as all the previous summits failed it should be, then quite a bit was achieved... the chances of a war started by the Russians is diminishing..."

Time, May 19, 1958, quoting the Nixon approvingly: "S-steven... Time's thesis a great achievement should not be choked..."

"From former (1919-53) U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson came two forceful, well-argued statements on U.S. foreign policy... The 1955 Geneva Conference, said Dean Acheson, "was not merely a failure: it was a fiasco, and a positive harm..."

"The changeability of Truth... in the pages of Time was noted in 1955 by a Harvard student, Milton S. Gwirtzman, who listed in the Harvard Crimson some Time truths which seemed to change with political administration...

Time, March 10, 1952, on the income tax under a Democratic administration:

"This week once again, the American taxpayer... was working over his income tax return. He did not do the job happily... The blow in full and crushing measure, now lands each March 15 on the chin of a fellow named John Q."

Three Years Later

Time, April 18, 1955, on the income tax during a Republican administration:

"... 60 million Americans have by this week, signed their 1953 income tax forms... They did this, wonderful to tell, without riots or protest... It has become more and more unfashionable to criticize the same tax level..."

Time, Aug. 12, 1948, on the character of George E. Allen under a Democratic administration:

"Last week... the President (Cryman) eased his own corner's chair, George E. Allen, into the Board of Directors of Reconstruction Finance Corporation... And on June 28, 1946; "George is all the more remarkable because to the naked eye, he is a clown..."

Time, Dec. 14, 1951, on the character of George F. Allen under a Republican administration:

"Last week... the President (Eisenhower) chatted quietly with... golfing companion George E. Allen, Washington lawyer and friend of Presidents..."
Time: 'They Depend on Its Accuracy'

Time magazine once claimed that the top men in their fields of work in America voted their favorite magazine: "They depend on its accuracy.

Some surveys show that this may be less than accurate, since many top men say they do not have confidence in Time's accuracy.

Yet 'accuracy' is not always easy to judge in journalism. In a simple event it seems so elementary as the direct names of people in an incident. But in a worldwide economic phenomenon it may be a matter of judgment, knowledge and the integrity of the reporter.

The dominant role in American journalism is objectivity, or the reporting of facts with a minimum of the reporter's own opinions about them. This, too, has difficulties. As Time once said in its Press Section, in a piece entitled "The Truth of Objectivity:

"Objectivity is not the mere trenchant journalistic ditches, into which the news story should always be kept from the facts speaking for themselves: "Thoughtful newspapermen know that the facts alone seem can, and ought to, speak clearly only when they are told in proper order and perspective — and then interpreted by honest judgment."

"The question is does the reporter control all the facts so he can draw a picture based on the facts? Or does he have a preconceived idea and collect only the facts that fit his concept?"

There is abundant evidence that in its News and Foreign News sections Time's mind is made up before the events happen. But ordinarily, its departments in the back of the magazine — Art, Books, Cinema, Education, Fashion, Music, Press, Religion, TV & Radio, Science, Sports, Theater — score high in imagination and taste.

In these departments Time's inherent talent seems to operate without the distorting lens that focuses on politics and Asia policy.

In American politics and foreign news, Time's reporting appears to be governed by an iron rule: when the facts do not fit the mold of Time's wishes, the reporting can be superb; when they do not fit the mold, Time's reporting can be so distorted as to raise serious questions about responsibility in mass communications.

It was interesting, then, on March 17, 1954, to see the conclusions-first-or-facts-first problem appear in the back of the magazine, in the Press Section. Here, in a piece entitled "Silver-Lining the Slump?" Time concluded that in general American newspapers were suppressing news of the recession, or as it said: "Newspapers from Seattle to Savannah were doing their level best to build their way through one of the nation's biggest — and most hatched — running stories: the recession."

Was this true?

It is certainly possible.

What evidence did Time present?

It did not report that for months, businessmen, economists and politicians had been complaining that the daily press was sensationalizing the slump and therefore deepening it. Time itself has called such reports "gloom-sayers."

Time, reporting, clouds also found silver linings, as on Nov. 11, 1957: "Fundamentally, the U.S. was still most productive and prosperous than any nation in history. The economy was — and would continue to be — a husky and growing thing."

"The situation in the nation's economic picture is not the statistical drop but the mood. Despite the recent drops, the U.S. economy still has a long way to go before it approaches the slump of 1953-54 — which economists now refer to as the "gloved plated" recession."

"THE PROFIT SQUEEZE: It Is More Apparent Than Real."

"Anticipation of recession was stronger than the realization..."

To support its conclusion, that daily newspapers were suppressing news of the recession, Time offered the reader 14 specific items of evidence.

No. 1 was its lead sentence: "DECLINE HERE? DON'T BELIEVE IT: headlined the Fort Worth Star-Telegram on Page One last week. This was a correct quotation of the headline and it was a story on the gray side, listing aircraft and defense contracts in effect locally. Time did not report that the same newspaper was regularly running even bigger headlines on Page One, like the eight-column, 72-point banner:"

"TEXAS OIL ALLOWABLE SLASHED TO ALL-TIME LOW and the five-column, 72-point: 5,200,000 JOBLESS."

While Time praised a few papers for running financial columnist Sylvia Porter, who, it said, reported the slump realistically. In the words that the Fort Worth Star-Telegram carries Sylvia Porter.

"Item No. 2 "Though more than 50,000 workers are out of jobs in Georgia's four largest cities, the Atlanta Journal has zealously kept the state's slump off the front page, and until last week, even banned the word recession from the paper."

This appears to be inaccurate. The Atlanta Journal earlier sent its own reporters through the state and they ran on Page One their stories telling of a serious depression in agriculture, Georgia's major activity. The term, "cur-

Providence Journal-Bulletin
rent "business recession" is
found on Page One months
before the Time story.

Item No. 3. "In Los An-
geles, where layoffs have
turned nearly 6 per cent of the
work force, Hearst's Herald
& Express whooped: ROSY
L.A. ECONOMY SEEN." That
paper has been looking
for a silver lining, such as
the story quoted (which also
had as a part of its headline
the factual matter "Multi-
Million Projects to Boost
Business.") If the Herald &
Express "whooped" with the
story, it "whooped" on Page
Eight. Other recession and
unemployment stories had
appeared on more prominent
pages.

Item No. 4. "Scrnaps-Howard.
Memphis Press-Scimitar
last week ran a glowing
take-out of expansion plans for
a local Firestone Tire & Rub-
ber Co. plant—without men-
tioning that 2,860 of its
3,900 employees have been
laid off. This appears to be
very inaccurate. The paper
ran a story, "laying" or
reporting about Firestone
expansion that week. A state-
ment by a company official
on the plan ran six
inches. The Herald &
Express ran six inches.
No mention was made by the
Firestone company of the
2,860 employees laid off. An
official of the paper said:
"No mention was made of
2,860 employees laid off."

Item No. 5. "In Atlanta,
the Southern Suppier sup-
pressed the news of a layoff of
2,900 Lockheed Aircraft
workers last fall until it could report
that the factory had found
other jobs for them." The
Lockheed company announced
the layoffs Aug. 15. The At-
lanta Constitution, morning
of the Constitution-Jour-
nal combination, ran the story
on Page One the morning of
Aug. 15. The Journal ran it
with a three-column headline
on an inside page that after-
noon. Its story on the fac-
tory finding other jobs for
workers ran four months later
when the company an-
ounced it.

A check of the 14 items of
evidence of suppression shows
almost the same pattern
throughout. In one case it
reported the opposite of what
an editor, noted for his integ-
ity, says he told the Time
reporter. In a display of
headlines clipped from news-
papers, which Time presented
as "HOPEFUL HEADLINES:
"We don't want to scare
advertisers," it used headlines
that accurately summarized
speeches and public state-
mements; in one case the
headline quoted was sarcas-
tic, stressing by irony that times
are bad; in others it showed
small, inside-page headlines
while ignoring Page One 90-
point headlines in the same
paper saying, "SLUMP-
WORSE."

In another case it took part
of a headline display and did
not reproduce the main por-
tion, which gave the total an
opposite impact. In another
it reproduced a Page Two
headline over a report of a
national story: to cut this
out must have been neces-
sary to pass the scissors a
quarter of an inch from an
other 36-point headline on a
report of a speech reading:
"GOP IS GETTING SLUMP
IT PLANNED."

Thus, of the 14 "facts" Time
presented to the reader to
support its conclusion, one
was correct; two were appar-
ently wrong (based on what
men later say they said,
pointing they could conceiv-
ablely have said something
else in private earlier); six were
so unrepresentative as to give
an essentially false impres-
sion; and five were demon-
strably false.

It is possible American
daily newspapers did play
down the recession, but it has
not been proved by Time in
any evidence it gave the
reader.

One month after Time's
story, its competitor, News-
week, reported: "HOW U.S.
NEWSPAPERS ARE COV-
ERING THE RECESSION
". Wire-service logs showed
that, in quantity of copy and
the play it was getting, the
recession was easily the big-
igest story of the spring sea-
son. Syndicated writers,
shuttled in and out of hard-
hit industrial centers . . .
Most newsman agreed it was
their duty to report the story
as they found it, whether the
news was good or bad.

This, too, could be unrep-
resentative, since the maga-
azine drew its own conclusions
from its own collection of
facts.

It gives added signifi-
cance to the Time statement:
"the facts . . . speak
clearly only when they are
told in proper order and per-
spective and thus interpre-
ted—by an honest journalist."

No. 10

Time, Tone and Tainted Words

VIRTUALLY: Time has been
known to be inaccurate in its
facts. This is not the key to
the report.

The key is NOT what Time
says, but how it says it. It
is not the hard news reported
by it in The New York Times,
the New York Herald Trib-
une, the Associated Press,
United Press International,
and its own staff in the field.

The key is how it is writ-
ten in the high reaches of the
editorial offices, Rockefeller
Center, New York.

Noel Busch, cousin of the
late Briton Hadden, the man
who co-founded Time maga-
zine in 1923 with Henry R.
Luce, says of his experience
on the magazine that Time
regards as ideal that:
"Writers should not wit-
ness the events they write
about."

It is the writer away from
the scene,passing the story back and forth among the editors, who gave to the Time story the impact it will have on the reader. When it comes to domestic policy and foreign affairs, that impact often seems to be unrelated to the facts. The hard core of known events can be immersed in an impenetrable fog of emotional judgment. The reader can lay down a story with a point of view and not know precisely how he got it.

If one isolates the facts from the tone words added by Time's editors, the pattern appears. It is typical of Time's political reporting that the political world is generally divided into the forces of evil and the forces of virtue. If a political figure is a devil—in Time's rendition—he helps an elderly lady across the street just to impress the neighbors. If he is a political angel—floating in Time's heaven—his hand at the aged elbow is evidence of innate kindness.

In 1951, the secretary of state, Dean Acheson, was a Time devil, an outstanding culprit of the Truman-Acheson Gang. While Time was not alone in characterizing Acheson as a menace, it was perhaps the most simplistic and effective organ in destroying public confidence in Acheson. It did this not so much with rational argument and facts, as with the tone words added in Rockefeller Center. Such words from its cover story on Acheson on Jan. 8, 1951 include:

'...This week...: he expanded his gloomy note... What people thought of Dean Goodriches ranged from the proposition that he was a fellow traveler, or a wool-brained sewer of 'seeds of jackassery' or an abysmally uncomprehending man, or an appeaser or a warmonger who was taking the U.S. into a world war to the warm if not so audible defense that he was a great secretary of state, a brilliant executor of the best of all possible foreign programs—tall, elegant and unruffled... either rode to work in a department limousine, or walked with little Justice Felix Frankfurter... In his fifth floor office in... Foggy Bottom he tried not to listen to the criticism... with his blue, slightly haggard eyes he studied his foreign policy. It was not a very encouraging story... to what extent was Acheson to blame... Acheson's involvement... Acheson therefore inherited some of the policies and problems which he had helped create... was well on the way to becoming an immediate disaster... one of the major decisions and disastrous phases that have doomed... to plague him... The one reason to provide Acheson's State Department with an alibi for its share in China's tragic disaster... State Department, by its acts and by its failures to act... had bribed... thrown China's door open to Russia... Acheson's State Department continued hopefully to stroke the fur of the Red leader... most notable survivor among the architects of the 'China mistake' is Secretary Acheson... The case against Dean Acheson... He policy has disastrously failed in Asia. The misreading of the Red Chinese... he must take full responsibility... the old animus against Chiang Kaishek... On the record, U.S. policy in Europe is in a crucial state of hesitation... Acheson and the Administration... could not get around the fact of Western Europe's anguished resignation... Acheson had been invariably punctilious and polite... in the end... he had too frequently let himself be pulled down to the level of his hem-hawing, tip-toeing fellow consorts... The question was whether a different secretary of state might have done more... He posited... he could not cope with the intellectual arrogance... a highly civilized man, an intellectual snob... No blood, no sweat, no tears ever smudged the neat laundring... of Acheson's sentences, or the mannersims of his theories... the U.S. people... not quite tuned in on him... Has Dean Acheson become... a national danger?'

Under An Avalanche—The Facts

In its Jan. 8, 1955 issue, Time did a cover story on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Like Acheson, Dulles had become a matter of bitter dispute in the United States. The tone words and phrases from that story: Dulles looked squarely at the man... his press... Dulles skill and force in action... Dulles' patient year of work and travel... Dulles both drew upon and nourished U.S. confidence... his emphasis of U.S. interests had a wholesome effect in stimulating the national pride of other Western nations... he played the year's most effective role... he was nimble in disentangling himself from his errors... after long and careful negotiation... Dulles... played goalkeeper in the free world's two major set-backs... Dulles has said quite pointedly... A smaller man than Dulles might have insisted... he had a brilliant career... he applied Christian principles to historic realities... sounded a bit of diplomacy... He has explained... he has demonstrated... Dulles' restraint was deliberate... his highly practical analysis... Dulles analyzed... was all the more forceful because Dulles' line had already been proved right.
At that kind of diplomatic opinion-molding, John Foster Dulles is a master... He recognizes the importance works hard... tries again, tirelessly... gained new confidence... remarkable for its sweep and clarity... goes tirelessly about that business... displays a tremendous capacity for concentration and work... depth of the concentration...

Dulles is providing direction to cleared the ground... stop epidemics of near... Dulles disregarded the cries of these...

These words, into which are inserted matters of fact, penetrate the reader's emotions, ahead of the facts.

They are in the main, opinions and characterizations by Time's editors.

Both Acheson and Dulles were centers of bitter controversy at home, and Dulles abroad. It would be unrealistic to be extreme to expect any laws to make a mathematically or emotionally precise division pro-and-con. And in commentary one is dealing with opinion and judgment.

It is interesting that of about 630 lines on Acheson in the Time story, about 74 per cent is directly negative and critical; in the 670 lines on Dulles, only 1 per cent.

What is, perhaps, more important is that in dealing with facts which Time itself accepts, the impact on the reader is emotionally manipulated. One way is by immured and subtle reference. Time did not repeat directly the common anti-Acheson phrase of the time recalling that Acheson had said he would not turn his back on Alger Hiss. But it used the phrase obliquely twice in the story: "Although he might have preferred to turn his back on the East..." and "And on which he had turned back."

A major method of loading the story is to mention the positive arguments for a deal and follow with material urging it out. Thus, of the 640 lines on Acheson, 23 are devoted to the major achievements which Time attributed to Acheson's regime, which on reflection, appear considerable: Lend-lease, UNRHA, World Bank, Export-Import Bank, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO. But although it took 17 words to describe that "Acheson presided over the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty creating (on paper) a collective defense system," it then took 22 words immediately afterward to say, "The idea had not been his; it had originated in a resolution presented by Sen. Arthur Vandenberg," approved by a Republican Senate."

Again, where it mentioned his "new anti-Russian policy," it followed by saying that it fell short of the need.

In the case of Dulles, some 96 per cent is devoted to approving and positive declarations. Curiously, it made some damming statements — but these consisted of 14 lines inserted after the first 430 lines followed by 210 lines of more praise, then 12 lines of criticism, and a final punctuation of high approval. The two small negative insertions might strike a reader as somewhat underemphasized: "Despite these attempts... the free world came to... year's end with a net loss and a troubled outlook in Asia."

And "After two years in office, the Eisenhower Administration has failed to plug the yawning gap in foreign policy."

"Time did not exclude unpleasant fact completely. In the case of a man it condemned, Acheson, it buried 62 lines of his considerable achievements in an avalanche — 477 lines — of emotionally loaded words that stultified the image. In the case of a man it approved of, Dulles it buried 26 lines of grave and fundamental criticism, in an avalanche, 617 lines, of words that gloved with heroic praise."

Underneath it all, the reader could extract the basic facts if he worked at it. But the basic facts could conceivably come in a form which does the Time reader — a citizen who votes — no good.

If, on the other hand, one grants that Time has a right to its opinions, one may judge how the opinions hold up.

In the Dulles profile, Time's opinion was:

"Regionally, 1954's greatest area of success for American diplomacy and the man who runs it was the Middle East. There, a number of old problems were solved by new approaches... the status of the Suez Canal area was settled more firmly than ever before... the settlement was skillfully facilitated by the U.S. State Department."

According to some observers, Suez resulted in one of the gravest disasters for the West and for American diplomacy in this decade, and Hungary brought a disillusionment with America's "liberation" policy. Yet during this period, Time, on Dec. 13, 1956, told the reader that things were never better for the United States position abroad:

"The world's gaze and the world's hopes were directed toward Washington as rarely before... In time of crisis and threat of World War III President Eisenhower had cast U.S. policy in a rule to reflect the U.S.'s basic character..."

Walter Lippmann that same week said... the initiative and the power are not in our hands, and we found ourselves doing what we did not want to do..."

James Reston, chief of The New York Times Washington bureau, said that the general feeling in Washington was that "the Soviet Union and Egypt have scored a tremendous victory."

Obviously, Time disagreed with both. The magazine said Reston "reported nonsensically."

Lester, Editor-in-Chief Henry R. Luce of Time wrote to Reston apologizing. Mr. Luce wrote that Reston was not nonsensical, he was only wrong.
'Ike's Promise' vs. 'Adlai's Pitch'

A symbolic word for the discriminating reader of Time magazine is "cry." In the normal vocabulary it is a verb meaning to make a loud call, to utter lamentations, to weep. 

But in the special lexicon of Time style it means: A Fool is Shouting Hysterical Nonsense. For in Time villains "cry," the heroes "soothingly state." There are other words the student of Time learns. The modern Republican President of the United States when irritated "snaps" back an answer. "Snip" means that the question has been in bad taste or stupid, and the President is showing manly spirit.

But a New Deal-Fair Deal Democratic President "snarls" or "spouts" or "spouts." The outstanding characteristic of the political reporting of Time magazine is that with telling the reader why, the magazine surrounds personalities with an emotional aura, sometimes with adjectives, sometimes with verbs, sometimes with figures of speech.

Stylistically, the result is the most dramatic, crisp and evocative language in the news professions. But politically it is a vapor of bias that seeps into the text, clouding facts and bypassing the normal critical judgment of the reader. It is a highly artistic technique, but a study of Time's behavior in recent political campaigns shows that it is used as a partisan political weapon.

A study of the magazine during the 1932 and 1936 Presidential campaigns leaves the impression that Time magazine was the most effective propaganda printed for the benefit of the Republican National Committee.

The basis appeared in the balance of speeches, in the selection of facts, and in the use of pictures and illustration. But the chief weapon was the emotional pre-judgment with which it surrounded the news.

A reader cannot argue long over a strictly personal selection of adjectives by a writer. But if these selections fall into a clear political pattern, the reader has a right to know it.

In the Sept. 1, 1932 issue, under "REPUBLICANS, The Rediscovery," a story about Dwight Eisenhower—leaving out the news core—began: "A great American soldier disclosed political greatness . . . . rediscovered his courage as a policy for a nation. Out of his own wide experience with the fateful issues of the 20th century. Dwight D. Eisenhower phrased a definition of the peril besetting the U.S. . . . a definition so compelling . . . . it displayed . . . . his credentials as a candidate for President . . . . a good speech, in both the moral and political sense . . . . For calculated with . . . . arithmetic . . . . turned to the kind of shrewd analysis . . . . which the U.S. seldom hears from its officials . . . ."

In the same issue, under "DEMOCRATS, Away From It All," a story about Adlai Stevenson—leaving out the news core—began:

"Candidate Adlai Stevenson climbed into his state-owned, two-engined Beechcraft last week and flew out to the Wisconsin woods . . . . hours landing . . . . a little hearted castings . . . . Evenings he lolled in the bear-skinned living room before a fieldstone fireplace big enough to take 7-foot logs . . . . which were hauled automatically from the basement at the touch of a button . . . . he did little work . . . ."

On Oct. 10, 1936, Time reported the appearance of both Stevenson and Eisenhower at a farmer's gathering:

"Here, on rolling land near Newton, Iowa, some 8,000 American farmers and townsmen, their wives, kids and relatives assembled . . . . giving their attention to their honorary chairman—President Dwight Eisenhower—honored to intellectual sharpness . . . . dwelt on a theme . . . . his own inner peace . . . ."

"From the same giant platform . . . . Adlai Stevenson made a major bid for the farm vote at Newton . . . . Stevenson promised the farmers everything but the moon on behalf of the Democrats . . . . From the past, Stevenson dragged out a familiar Democratic tactic: He contended Adlai, in an astonishing defense of . . . ."

The title of the Eisenhower story was: 'Ike's Promise.' The title of the Stevenson story was: 'Adlai's Pitch.' This relatively subtle technique does not mean that Time neglected the blunt instrument of loaded pictures. In the 13 issues covering the 1932 campaign, Time printed 21 photographs of Eisenhower, all of them showing him in a favorable light—Bernie, or friendly, or earnest. Stevensons' face in these issues appeared only 13 times, the two largest facial shots from photographs taken 30 years before, and 40 per cent of the total showed Stevenson in unflattering poses eating, drinking, or grimacing.

Eisenhower's picture appeared on Page One of National Affairs in Time three times; on Page Two four times during the campaign period. Stevenson's never appeared on Page One of National Affairs.

Time carefully preserved the image of Eisenhower in the 1936 campaign, although in the Democratic past it had shown marked reverence for political sacred cows. In 1936 it dealt heavily in cartoons. In the 13 pre-

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Providence Journal-Bulletin
Corsets, Fog and Golliwogs

Time’s severest distortions are in the area of national politics and China policy. Here, Time’s reporting is biased almost beyond use, in many instances. Both appear to be matters of deep conviction on the part of its editor-in-chief, Henry L. Luce. He is involved more deeply in the present administration than any other American publisher. And as the son of missionaries in China, where Luce grew up, it is said that the editor-in-chief retains the devotion of Christianizing China and insists on unblushing support of Christian China, Kuhn.

The bias does not usually impede important facts out of the magazine. But sympathetic facts are presented with honesty and joy, unsympathetic ones with ridicule and contempt. One imagines, for example, that when Time’s editors in their 1982 Republican candidates there are 500 words raised in “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” But when it describes the Fair Deal Democrats, the editors are making Bronx cheers.

Describing the visiting dignitaries at the 1982 Republican convention, Time said: “And there was former President Herbert Hoover… the old gentleman smiled a cautious smile… Time had whitened his hair… and softened the lines of his face. For 20 years he had suffered with dignity and without complaint an auto da of criticism such as few men have ever endured…” But this was his night among friends.

Describing the visiting dignitaries at the 1982 Democratic convention: “Hefty, hearty India Edwards… a woman with an eye on the vice presidency… tramped to the speaker’s stand splendidly costumed… fogged up some fast talking lines… Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose new frizzy hairdo made her look like a genial golliwog…”

One need not be unkind to Mr. Hoover nor emotional about Mrs. Roosevelt to note that Time had whitened Herbert Hoover’s hair, but only made Mrs. Roosevelt’s look like a golliwog.

The difference in the descriptions of these two persons in Time is unimportant. What is important is that the corset-golliwog content of Democratic stories was always high during the campaigns and practically absent in Republican stories, and the “suffered with dignity” content was high in Republican stories, absent in Democratic.

Time, one suspects, has political bifocal glasses, that its editors look downward at the corsets of Democrats and upward at The Higher Things in Life among the Republicans.

More need of be pro-Democratic or anti-Republican to question the ethics of such political reporting in a publication that tells the reader he is getting news in “Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine.”

Friends Have Souls, Enemies Messy Details

Time pursues its political enemies and boosts its friends by another technique. If facts are damaging to friends, it mentions the facts briefly and then rebuts them at length or dismisses them with editorial contempt. If they are damaging to enemies, Time dwells on them at length, may even base its entire reportage on them and accepts them as proved conclusions.

When, for example, the 1982 Republican convention compromised the civil rights issue, Time reported, “… one of the convention’s youngest and prettiest delegates was the central figure in a struggle over civil rights. Mrs. Mildred Younger, a 31-year-old Los Angeles housewife, presided over the civil rights subcommittee with an intelligent, calm hand. The subcommittee was bitterly divided. As a result, it came out with a plank that each side could construe as it wished.”

A short time later the Democrats did the same thing: “To satisfy two men with such divergent views on civil rights as Russell and Harris, it was a real triumph in fence-straddling for Stevenson.”

Pretty, Mrs. Younger presided with an intelligent hand; Stevenson fence-straddled.

Often during the campaign, Time did not trust the Republicans to make their own arguments, but provided the reader with its own. When television viewers saw that the Republican delegates at the convention paid no attention whatever to the plat-
form, Time volunteered: "The delegate's inattention was not necessarily evidence that they did not care what was in the platform. They knew that the resolutions committee . . ."

Another technique is to concentrate on the mechanics or the messy details of an enemy operation, but to dwell on the spiritual side of a friend. When Sen. John Sparkman was nominated Democratic vice presidential candidate in 1952:

"John Jackson Sparkman, who had just been nominated for Vice President of the United States, stopped grinning, fished a cough drop out of his mouth and slipped it through a crack in the platform floor. 'There,' commented an unsympathetic observer bitterly, 'is a man who has every quality a Democratic candidate for Veep needs: he's from the South. This comment contained considerable truth . . . Sparkman, in fact, is so resolute a compromiser that it takes a political micrometer to tell how he stands.

But apparently Time had no unsympathetic observers at the Republican convention: "The meeting quickly settled on California's Richard Nixon. No deal was involved. Nixon was a logical choice . . ." Its description of Sparkman during the campaign was minimal but repeated many criticisms made by others. Its treatment of Nixon did not, although Nixon had been bitterly criticized by many Americans: "... the most up-to-date attraction at the Illinois State Fair last week was a good-looking, dark-haired young man with a manner both aggressive and modest, and a personality to delight any political Barker. He seemed to have everything—a fine TV manner, an attractive family, a good war record, deep sincerity and religious faith. He was Richard Milhous (pronounced mill house) Nixon, Republican nominee for Vice President . . ."

Time tended to take Republican statements at face value, and where the Republicans failed to say things, Time volunteered them; if the Republicans said embarrassing things, Time explained them away. Yet what Democrats said usually was logically, or cynically, and then rebutted. During the 1956 campaign, for example:

"One day last week Stevenson . . . was disturbed, he said, that the Republicans might be trying to fell off Eisenhowe' r and a 'docile, complacent, carefree people all happily chanting, 'Peace, Prosperity and Progress—ain't it wonderful!' Candidate Stevenson obviously felt he had a point . . ." Time then went on to explain on its own—in a report of Democratic campaign activities: "The U.S. has learned to live with its crises with equanimity . . . if there seems to be little interest in it as an election-year issue, it is only because the search is constant and the U.S. is always new."

Time's treatment of domestic politics is dramatic political polemics and it is certainly identifiable as free political opinion. But it is not reliable political reporting by any non-partisan standards.

An analysis of its behavior during the 1952 and 1956 political campaigns casts serious doubts on its own early prospectus: "There will be no editorial page in Time.

"No article will be written to prove any special case."
Newsmagazines: A Service and a Threat

The newsmagazines—Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report—constitute one of the most encouraging phenomena in American political development and one of the most discouraging in American mass communications.

The spectacular growth of the magazines undoubtedly reflects a greater public interest in world affairs and an increasing desire to understand what the news means.

In 1937 Time had 129,000,000 circulation; Newsweek, 948,000; and U.S. News, 948,000. Thus began in 1937, Newsweek in 1933, and U.S. News & World Report in two stages, 1940 and 1948.

In 1937 Time's not paid circulation was 65,000,000; Newsweek's, 278,000; News-Week, 278,000. Since then the American population had increased 30 per cent since 1937, but the combined newsmagazine circulation had gone up more than 500 per cent.

All news media became more popular during this time, including newspapers, for a number of reasons: The Great Depression and the New Deal brought politics closer to the life of the average man, so did World War II and the constant postwar threat of World War III. During this same period, literacy, educational levels and income increased steadily.

Thus, while only eight newsmagazines were sold for every 1,000 Americans in 1937, 25 were sold in 1957. This three-fold increase in the per capita reading of news interpretation should encourage anyone anxious for a democratic people to keep informed and maintain understanding of what is happening in the world.

But at the same time, the magazines have presented national and world events as "news" by new, special techniques ranging from dramatic oversimplification to full-fledged partisan propaganda.

Each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests.
Sometimes this has permitted
good, clear narration of
events. But over the years it
has been a narration that has
to fit a mold.

The general bias of the
three magazines is all on the
same side of the American
cultural-debate. U.S. News &
World Report has a net
impact that agrees with its
editor's ultra-conservative politi
cal and social opinions. News-
week appears to fluctuate be
 tween orthodox business-and
trade interests and straight
news. And Time is religiously
committed to Modern Repub-
clicanism.

The generalizations have to
be conditioned. When Time's
editorial interest is not threat
tened, it takes inde
pendent lines on civil liberties and other no-political mat
ters. Newsweek's apparent
lack of unity makes it less
analytical. And the technique
of U.S. News & World Report
of mixing large quantities of
primary documents in public
affairs means that opposing
points of view are the light of
day, even though overbal
anced by material agreeing with
the main line.

This same kind of problem
affects American newspapers
in another way. In their
stated commitments and their
endorsements of candidates,
the majority of American
daily newspapers are pro-
Republican.

The difference lies in the
operating traditions of newspa
pers that call for strict
separation of news and opin
ion. This tradition has been
strong and overwhelming dur
ing the last generation. It
holds that news will be pre
sented without comment by
the reporter or the editor,
and without a political slant.
Where political bias is ex
pressed, it should be on the
editorial page or in signed
columns whose authors can
be judged by name and reputa
 tion.

Certainly, this tradition is
not upheld all the time on
all papers. Some biased
stories are printed in all
newspapers from time to
time because reporters and
editors are human and vary
in their competence and dis
cipline. And a few newspa
pers consistently have
biased news because their
proprietors reject the tradi
tion.

But on the whole, American
newspapers have produced an
audience used to generally ob
jective stories on politics and
social affairs. This is aug
mented by the heavy use of
the relatively unpolitical wire
services --- Associated Press,
United Press International,
and Reuters. The rule of ob
jectivity is followed so rig
idly on so many newspapers
that many serious students of
mass communications think
the newspapers overdo it.

Proper Function, Tricky Technique

The problem of the Ameri
can newsmagazine is that it
presents a subtly loaded pol
itical story or a dramatically
meant article in such a way as
to influence conditioned to
having outright political argu
ments labeled. The problem is
compounded by the fact that
the newsmagazines go largely
to middle-class readers who
probably do not have a high
interest in literary analysis
and political sophistication.

The weekly is a solid insti
tution in England. But the
weeklies in England are pre
sent as analysis, not
straight news; they cover the
entire political spectrum from
extreme left to extreme right,
and appeal to the highly edu
cated reader who is in the habit
of reading critically, and they
are, on the whole, written as
rational analysis.

The bias of the American
newsmagazines is not stated.
They all imply they are news.
Henry R. Luce, of Time, in
sists personally that his mag
azine does have a point of
view and tells the reader
what the Truth is, but he
continues to call the publica
tion, "The Weekly News
magazine." And the point of view
is generally not presented in
rational analysis but by the
emotional coloring of per
sonalities and events. In a
subtle, indirect manner an
audience traditionally unpre
pared for such manipulation.

It may be encouraging to
some that the newsmagazine
closest to the "fair" tradition
of objectivity, U.S. News & World Report, has
been growing the fastest in
recent years. Its predecessor,
United States News, had 10
per cent of the Big Three
circulation in 1947 but had
22 per cent in 1957. And
Time, which is the most load
ed of all, had 70 per cent of
the circulation 20 years ago
and only 51 per cent last
year.

But the total combined cir
duction has risen so fast that
it still includes absolute
gains of a large magnitude
for all the magazines. The
newsmagazines had 945,000
circulation 20 years ago, have
4,200,000 now. The numbers
who read each issue are still
the same. The magazines
have multiple attractions for
the whole family, they are
printed on attractive, durable
paper, and they are engagingly
illustrated.

Some of the peculiarities of
the newsmagazines have only
passing importance. The
compulsion to prophesy in
U.S. News & World Report
and in Newsweek, for ex
ample, builds up the illusion
of an overly simple world to
which each magazine has the
only key. Time avoids
formal forecasting of events,
possibly because its commer
cial inheritance includes the
old Literary Digest. Time
bought the Digest after the
Digest had destroyed its rep
utation in 1925 with a wide
ly ballyhooed "scientific"
prediction that Alfred Lan
don would defeat Franklin

Providence Journal-Bulletin
For example, during the 1952 and '56 presidential campaigns, Time magazine probably was read by most of its subscribers as a source of news on American politics. Most of the subscribers had grown in the tradition of separation of news and opinion in their daily newspapers. Few of them had any analytical experience with the literary presentation of news. But what they read in Time during these critical months was campaign literature of an extremely skilful, almost artistic, nature which manipulated emotions under the implication that it was providing "news."

The retelling of the news at the end of the week and its interpretation (from a particular point of view both are legitimate and useful) to the average reader has had no previous experience against which he has little defense.

Consequently, the news-magazines contribute both a problem in normal development of American politics and in the dissemination of news and interpretation of world events.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach
FROM: D. C. Morrell

DATE: 5-23-61

SUBJECT: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT FOR 
THE PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, 
"JOURNAL-BULLETIN"

Captioned individual prepared a feature article concerning the Director's 37th Anniversary and, throughout the entire item, made a number of snide comments relative to the FBI and to Mr. Hoover. The Director has noted: "See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing lists and gets no cooperation. H."

He also described Bagdikian's article as "utter bunk." Bagdikian is not on any of the Bureau's mailing lists.

Buffies indicate that Bagdikian was born on 1-30-20 in Marash, Turkey. He entered the United States at New York City on 6-1-20, when he was approximately two months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram, who was naturalized 3-29-26. Bagdikian was employed by the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" about 2-15-47, having come to Rhode Island from Monroe, Louisiana.

Bagdikian previously wrote a series of six articles captioned, "What Price Security," which appeared in the "Washington Star" May 29 through June 3, 1955. These were critical of several phases of the loyalty investigations of Government employees.

The Bureau has experienced considerable difficulty in the past with the "Journal-Bulletin." In June, 1949, it editorially criticized the FBI's investigative procedures and called for an investigation of the Bureau by an independent commission. The particular target was the use of confidential informants, and the paper stated that the use of such individuals could destroy the country. The news stories following the editorial attack said that the FBI was almost immune to the traditional process of checks and balances; that in relations with the Attorney General, the Director was the master and not the servant; that in espionage and subversive investigations the FBI was incompetent; and other vicious statements of the same nature were made.

1 - Mr. DeLoach - enclosure
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - enclosure

HHA:mb
(5) Jun 16 1961
Jun 14 1961

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17 Jun 13 1961
D. C. Morrell to DeLoach

RE: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN

In 1957, Mr. John C. A. Watkins became the publisher of "The Providence Journal" and relations with the newspaper have improved since that time. Mr. Watkins was given a special tour of the Bureau on 4-25-57. In September, 1959, the FBI cooperated with a reporter from the paper in preparing an article on bank robberies. Upon completion of the article, the Director forwarded a letter to the reporter, Mr. Lawrence M. Howard, in appreciation. Mr. Watkins has been cooperative with the Bureau and his paper published an editorial concerning Mr. Hoover's 37th Anniversary. He was thanked for this on 5-15-61.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.
A Charmed Life: J. Edgar Hoover

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Washington — Today is the 37th bureaucratic anniversary of Washington's most durable agency chief, J. Edgar Hoover, and comes at a time when his trade, cops and robbers plus cloak and dagger, is under public fire.

But Mr. Hoover is not likely to suffer, since his career represents one of the most charmed and continuous bureaucratic lives in official Washington.

Furthermore, he has the comforting experience of watching his chief rival in American Intelligence operations, Allen W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, get roasted in public and checked on in private as a result of the CIA's role in the recent Cuban invasion failure.

Some have speculated that Mr. Hoover might even succeed Mr. Dulles as head of CIA, chief of the Bureau of Investigation, but this is highly unlikely. But even so, J. Edgar Hoover become a household phrase, and although he has almost single-handedly raised the status of detective to one of Chief Hero in America society, it is not likely that he or his agency will benefit substantially from any changes in the structure of CIA.

Mr. Hoover, now 66, first went to work for the government as a messenger in the Library of Congress, studied law at night at George Washington University and then became a file clerk in the Department of Justice. In 1919 he became a special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for the mass deportation of aliens, an episode Mr. Hoover is said to look back on unhappily.

By the early 1920s gross corruption in government, including the Department of Justice, called for a clean sweep. A new attorney general, Harlan F. Stone, asked John Edgar Hoover, then 29, to become acting director of the Department's

Continued on Page 19, Col. 3

See that Bagdikian
in red on outlining
read and make a
sure

REC 64

17 Jun 1961

Gil

Continued From Page One

Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover exacted the promise, "No politics, no outside influence." Then he took the job.

From a sleepy agency spending most of its time investigating anti-trust suits and interstate prostitution, the organization, renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935, has become today an organization with an almost sacred status in the country, a $125,000,000 annual budget and 6,000 special agents throughout the country. It checks on everything from radical politics to stolen Navy bulldozers.

There is little doubt that some of this growth would have occurred because of world conditions, but there also is little doubt that it has happened the way it did because of the continuous leadership of Mr. Hoover. He has done it with the use of firm discipline (agents are careful how they dress, have their desk drawers inspected, without warning to make sure all is in order), a careful detachment from partisan politics, the introduction of scientific techniques and one of the most proficient public relations operations in the American government.

Grew With the War

The biggest enlargement of the F.B.I. came with World War II. In 1939, President Roosevelt directed the F.B.I. to coordinate all matters relating to espionage and sabotage. This caused a ten-times increase in F.B.I. manpower. It also started a rivalry between intelligence services that exists to this day.

President Roosevelt's directive expanded F.B.I. jurisdiction to include Western Europe. With the start of the war, President Roosevelt created another Intelligence operation, the Office of Strategic Services, for the purpose of secret activity, as opposed to "just the collection of information. Head of the O.S.S. was Gen. William Donovan.

General Donovan had been an assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice when Mr. Hoover was rising in the bureaucracy and it was no secret that he and Mr. Hoover were not the best of friends. But it
unlikely that this was the basic source of F.B.I.-O.S.S. hostility. It is more likely that rival secret police organizations hate each other fiercely because they operate in private and do not have to be held accountable for their relations.

There were areas where the F.B.I. and O.S.S. overlapped in function and at times they spoiled each other's operations against suspected enemy agents. This is not unknown among other intelligence agencies.

Postwar Realignment
As the war's end approached, it became plain that some permanent worldwide intelligence system would be needed in the postwar period. Late in 1944, President Roosevelt asked General Donovan to draw up plans for such an agency.

What General Donovan proposed was essentially the Central Intelligence Agency, which would collect and direct intelligence activity outside the United States, work then being conducted by half a dozen separate and often rival groups, including at least one each from the three armed services, the F.B.I., the State Department, Treasury, private concerns and others. General Donovan's top secret report was famous for yet another reason: It was the basis for one of the biggest leaks of wartime secrets.

General Donovan issued four copies. One went to President Roosevelt, one to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one to the O.S.S. and one to J. Edgar Hoover. General Donovan, expecting some bureaucratic infighting, put each of the four reports in slightly different language, although their substance was the same.

On Feb. 9, 1945, the Chicago Tribune, an anti-Roosevelt newspaper, published the secret report, calling it a plan of the New Deal "to pry into the lives of citizens at home." O.S.S. men insist that the language of the Chicago Tribune story was from the J. Edgar Hoover copy of the report.

F.B.I. Operations Shrink
The C.I.A. was created in 1947 and forced the F.B.I. to retire from most of its foreign operations. The F.B.I. and C.I.A. have quietly waivered on each other ever since.

Thus, one can imagine that J. Edgar Hoover, beginning his 38th year as chief of his agency, looks with some interest at his chief rival, Mr. Dulles, being buffeted in his 8th year. Mr. Dulles, 68, had planned to re-
July 20, 1967

BY LIAISON

Mrs. Mildred Stegall
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Stegall:

Reference is made to your name check request concerning Norman A. Cherniss, Editor, "Press-Enterprise," Riverside, California, and Ben R. Bagdikian.

Mr. Norman A. Cherniss, who was born on July 16, 1933, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI, and our files reveal no derogatory information concerning him.

In December, 1963, information was received indicating that Mr. Cherniss resided at 2433 Ortega Street, Riverside, California, and his marital status was described as "single." Information available to the FBI reveals that Mr. Cherniss has been associated with the "Press-Enterprise" since at least 1950.

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with Mr. Cherniss based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Mr. Ben Raig Bagdikian, a contributing writer of "The Saturday Evening Post," magazine, who was born on January 30, 1920, in Marash, Turkey, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal that Mr. Bagdikian, who entered the United States at New York City in June, 1930, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian, wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1933, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning Government employees.

1 - Mr. DeLoach (sent direct)
1 - Mr. Rosen (sent direct)
1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct)

Delivered to Mildred Stegall on 5-24-67.

MAIL ROOM / TELETYPE UNIT
Mrs. Mildred Stogall

In 1952 information was received indicating that the Reverend A. T. Sagdikian, Worcester, Massachusetts, was on the mailing list of the "Leper" newspaper, which has been described as the official publication of the Armenian Progressive League of America, an organization designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of Ben H. Bagdikian. These fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,
February 26, 1964

Dear [Name],

Your letter of February 19th, with enclosures, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service to you, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust you will understand the reasons for this policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Louisville - Enclosures (3)

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Ben Haig Bagdikian is well known in Bufiles as a writer who has criticized the FBI in the past. He has made snide remarks relative to Mr. Hoover and some of his work has been described as "utter bunk." 62-94717

DTP:med (4)
Feb. 19, 1964

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Chief of the F. B. I.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On Dec. 21, 1963 I addressed a letter to our Governor Edward T. Breathitt of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and again on Jan 23, 1964, copies of which I am enclosing and to this date have had no reply.

Certainly I know it is the Governor's privilege to ignore my letters, however it is not my intention to overlook a rumor that suggests Communists are at work in Kentucky and to add insult to injury feeding our people.

Is this in fact a rumor or is there some truth to it.

As an American I would like to know and as a native Kentuckian I should know.

Respectfully yours,

EX-114

REC-53 62-94717-11

FEB 28 1964

ENCLOSURE
Dec. 21, 1963

Hon. Edward T. Breathitt,
Governor of the Commonwealth of Ky.,
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Gov. Breathitt:-

Congratulations on your recent victory, and may you have a very successful administration.

I was very much concerned and somewhat taken back after reading an article, The Invisible Americans, by Ben H. Bagdikian in the Saturday Evening Post Dec. 21-28 issue and I would like to quote from the article the part that disturbs me. Quote:- There are persistent rumors that Communists are running food and propaganda into the starving populations of Kentucky and West Virginia. It would be ironic if they should undermine a proud peoples faith in the future, and in the midst of a country that has a strong tradition for helping the unfortunate. End Quote.

Rumors are vicious and can be very damaging and I take that attitude about the rumor in Mr. Bagdikian's article. However, I feel it your duty to take immediate action to have this rumor checked out and tell the citizens of Kentucky and the United States the rumor was in fact untrue. God forbid the reverse.

If there is anything an ordinary citizen can do in a matter such as this, I am available in any capacity.

Respectfully yours,

Hon. Edward T. Breathitt,
Governor, Commonwealth of Ky.
Frankfort, Ky.

Dear Gov. Breathitt:-

On Dec. 21, 1963 I wrote you concerning an article "The Invisible Americans" by Ben H. Bagdikian in the Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 21-28 issue, in which he stated, quote: "There are persistent rumors that Communists are running food and propaganda into the starving population of Kentucky." End quote.

To date my letter has not been acknowledged.

I would certainly appreciate hearing your feelings concerning these rumors.

It is my intention to pursue this matter until I get a satisfactory answer from someone in authority who would know whether or not this statement by Bagdikian is rumor of truth.

Respectfully yours,
BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN  
Born: January 30, 1920  
Marash, Turkey

No investigation pertinent to your inquiry has been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned individual. The files of this Bureau, however, reveal the following information which may relate to the subject of your name check request.

Ben R. Bagdikian wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1955, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning government employees. The files reveal that Bagdikian entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian.

In 1952, information was received indicating that the Reverend A.T. Bagdikian, Worcester, Massachusetts, was on the mailing list of the "Lraper" newspaper, which has been described as the official publication of the Armenian Progressive League of America, an organization designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(62-94717)

Original and 1 - NACC - DISCO  
Request Received - 9/11/67

WLP:wdd  (4)

NOTE: Above data taken from letter to White House, 7/20/67, in answer to name checks on Bagdikian and another individual.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency, it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>File Number</th>
<th>Serial</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC - 94717</td>
<td>10.50m 4/4/61</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC - 59717</td>
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<td>N0 - 30950-A</td>
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Other notes:
- 11/3/91
- 10/30/85
- 12/12/87
- 12/12/89
- 12/7/90
- 12/13/91
- 12/14/91
March 28, 1975

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Sir:

As provided for under the Freedom of Information Act, I hereby request all material in my FBI file and any other material pertaining to me in FBI files.

I reside as indicated above, at 4410 Albemarle St.NW, Washington, D.C. 20016, and my Social Security number is 014-16-0205.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Ben H. Bagdikian  
02-94717-12x  
REC 8 62-115530-430  
6 APR 16 1975
Dear Mr. [Name],

Your letter addressed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation was received on [date]. To ascertain whether we do or do not have information identifiable with you in our records, it would be helpful if you would furnish your date and place of birth, Social Security number, and any additional data which you may wish to include that would assist in conducting an accurate search of our central records. Also, please indicate your contact name and address.

I must advise you, however, that furnishing background data will not, in itself, assure that you will receive the information you desire, as we are guided by the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act in disclosing the contents of our records.

If you desire a search of our Identification Division records, please comply with the instructions set forth in Attorney General Order 556-73, a copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

1 - Office of Attorney General - Enclosure

1 - File 02-19520 (FO-17788)

Mail Room

APR 30 1976 cm
Type of References Requested:
- Regular Request (Analytical Search)
- All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
- Subversive References Only
- Nonsubversive References Only
- Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:
- Restricted to Locality of
- Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
- Buildup
- Variations

Subject
Ben H. Bagdikian

Birthdate & Place

Address

Localities

Read Date 4-1-75
Searcher
a/7

FILE NUMBER
SERIAL

I 62 - 94717
I 62 - 20750 - A
I NY Times doc 6-6-63
I 97 - 3235 - 32
I NY 1-30-65 page 2 C B7E
I paper quires
I Edels & Pollackson 11-1-64
I DOC 2-11-65
I 141 - 0 - A
I Providence Journal 3-28-65
I 140 - 0 - A
I 141 - 0 - 16192
I 157 - 8428 - 437
I 161 - 5218 - 5
August 4, 1975

Mr. Don H. Bagdikian
4410 Albemarle Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated June 25, 1975.

Please be advised a search of our central files, based on the information you provided, has revealed a number of references under names similar to your own. Processing of these records to determine whether or not they are identical with you is proceeding, but as a result of the heavy volume of Freedom of Information Act requests which the FBI continues to receive, additional time is needed for completion.

Your cooperation in this matter has been appreciated. You may be assured that every effort is being made to complete the processing of the above material as soon as possible. You will be advised of our progress within 30 working days.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

MAILED 7

AUG 4 1975
-FBI

1 - The Deputy Attorney General
Attention: Susan M. Hauser

NOTE: Correspondent is subject of Bufile 62-94717 and his name appears in case files pertaining to other subjects.
June 25, 1975

Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian
4410 Albermarle Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated May 6th.

Please be advised that your request is being processed; however, because of the unprecedented interest generated by the amendments to the Freedom of Information Act, as was indicated in my previous letter, our workload has increased tremendously, necessitating some delay in our response to requests for information.

Be assured that we will make every effort to complete the processing of your request as soon as possible and you will be advised within thirty working days of our progress.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General
Attention: Susan M. Hauser

NOTE: Bufiles indicate correspondent is subject of 62-94717 and his name appears in numerous files on other subjects. He is well known in Bufiles as a writer who has criticized the FBI in the past.

GPO 954-546
May 5, 1975

Mr. Bogdican:

This is to acknowledge your recently received Freedom of Information Act request.

Due to the increased interest generated by the amendments to the Freedom of Information Act, it is necessary to advise you that an extension of time is needed to process your request.

You may be assured that every feasible effort will be made to comply with your request within working days and you will be advised of the results as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
   Attention:

1 - Bulletin 82-115930 (FOI-REF-110)

cer: rcl (5)
April 18, 1975

Clarence M. Kelley
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley:

In reply to your April 15 letter informing me of the Bureau's need for additional information in order to meet my request for my file contents under the Freedom of Information Act, as amended, I append the following:

My name: Ben Haig Bagdikian
Born: January 30, 1920
Place of birth: Marash, Turkey
Social Security No.: 014-16-0205
Employment: Self-employed writer and researcher, lecturer; and Research Fellow, The American University

Sincerely,

Ben H. Bagdikian
Date: October 22, 1975

To: Chief of Freedom of Information Act Unit
   Criminal Division
   United States Department of Justice
   6100 Federal Triangle Building
   Washington, D.C.

From: Clarence H. Kelley, Director

Subject: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA)
   REQUEST OF [REDACTED]

Enclosed for your information are a copy of the above FOIA request and a copy of a document originating with the Department of Justice which is being referred to your office for such action as may be appropriate. The requester will be notified of this referral, and it is requested you correspond directly with him regarding this document.

Enclosures (2)

1. The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
   Attention: [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

Stamped on original 62-74717-14

EX-116
Mr. Ben H. Bagdikian  
4410 Albemarle Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

This is in response to your request to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, for all material in your FBI file and any other material pertaining to you in FBI files.

Although the Criminal Division has no file on you, a single document originated within the Department of Justice, in which you are mentioned only briefly, has been referred to us by the FBI for our review. That portion of the document referring to you, while exempt from disclosure, is being released as a matter of administrative discretion.

Access to the remaining portions of the document is hereby denied, as it is exempt from public disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act, specifically, exemptions (5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency; (6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy; (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such records would (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) disclose the identity of a confidential source and, in the case of a record compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, confidential information furnished only by the confidential source.

REG. 78  42-77  15 MAR 4 1976

cc: FBI/FOI  
Attn:  
EX-116  
MAR 1 1976  
FOIA  
59 b6 b7c
You may appeal this denial within thirty days by writing to the Attorney General (Attention: Freedom of Information Appeals Unit) Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530. Both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal." Thereafter, judicial review will be available either in the district in which you reside or have a place of business, or in the District of Columbia.

Sincerely,

KEVIN T. MARONEY
Deputy Assistant Attorney General
TO: Mr. WANNALL
FROM: Mr. McDermott
SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST
RE: Ben Haig Bagdikian

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (x) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with [Blank], Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770.

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the Intelligence Division(s) review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted.

(x) 2. That the Intelligence Division:

(x)a. Review the classification of serial(s) see attached list to insure documents should remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

(x)b. Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. WANNALL Attention: Mr. [Blank] REC 78
1 - [Blank] Attention: [Blank] [Blank]
2 - Mr. Bassett Attention: Mr. [Blank] [Blank]
BEN HÄIG BAGDIKIAN

Serials classified-

157-8428-437
ADDENDUM: Intelligence Division RDH:med 12/11/75

The following serials were reviewed, and the following changes were made concerning their classification:

[Redacted] pages 112 through 119 (Los Angeles report dated 7/9/71, entitled "Daniel Ellsberg, Espionage - X") have been marked unclassified even though the report in which they are contained is marked "Secret." This does not necessitate any notification to the field.

[Redacted] (New York report dated 5/29/58, entitled "Milton Ellerin, Internal Security - Israel") should remain "Secret" and each paragraph of the file copy has been marked either unclassified or "Secret." Those paragraphs marked "Secret" in this 11-page report are classified "Secret, XGDS 2, Indefinite" as they contain information from sensitive sources whose identities could be disclosed through unauthorized disclosure of this information. No notification to the field is necessary.

157-8428-437 (Cincinnati LHM dated 3/20/68, entitled "Washington Spring Project") should remain classified "Confidential, XGDS 2, Indefinite," as it contains information from confidential source whose identity could be disclosed through unauthorized disclosure of this information. However, paragraph one of this LHM is the only paragraph which warrants classification. The rest of the paragraphs in the document are unclassified. This does not require notice to the field.

The following documents, in excised form, were reviewed, and it is felt that the excisions are warranted and no additional excisions, as performed by the FOIA Unit, are necessary:

Boston letter to the Bureau 7/24/59 entitled "George Lincoln Rockwell, Registration Act - United Arab Republic";


New York LHM to the Bureau 10/12/71 entitled "Daniel Ellsberg, Espionage - X," page 1;
New York airtel to the Bureau 10/12/71 entitled "Mc Lek - SIO";

Boston letter to the Bureau 3/25/60 entitled "Unsub; aka 'The Patriot,' Racial Matters," page 1 and 2;

Memphis report dated 5/3/60 entitled "Unknown Subject; aka 'The Patriot,' Racial Matters," pages 1, 2 and 3.

Cincinnati LHM dated 3/20/68 entitled "Washington Spring Project."

Agent time - 2 hours per 1/9/76.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. MOORE

FROM: Mr. McDermott

DATE: 12/8/75

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST

RE: Ben Haig Bagdikian

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (x) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770.

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the External Affairs Division(s) review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted.

( ) 2. That the Intelligence Division:

(a) Review the classification of serial(s) to insure documents should remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

(b) Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. MOORE
Attention: Mr. 

1 - Mr. 
Attention: Mr. 

59 MAR 1 6197

SEE ADDENDUM PAGE
ADDENDUM, External Affairs Division; 12/12/75, WEW: bab

The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Request concerning Ben Haig Bagdikian, which is being handled under the Privacy Act, was reviewed by this Division.

Serial 62-115530-430, Bagdikian's letter to the Director dated 3/28/75, shows Mr. Farrington's name in the lower right-hand corner. This should probably be deleted.

A second serial, letter to the White House dated 7/20/67, which is from Bufile 62-94717, has the name of the person it is addressed to deleted; however, her name is shown in the salutation. This should also probably be deleted.

Forty-five minutes Agent's time was expended.
Memorandum

TO: Mr. CLEVELAND

DATE: 12/8/75

FROM: Mr. McDermott

SUBJECT: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) REQUEST
RE: Ben Haig Bagdikian

Attached is a copy of the FOIA request and pertinent files and/or excised documents which appear subject to disclosure.

Addendum should include total Agent time expended in the review.

Please make every effort to insure that this memorandum, with its attached documents, is returned to the FOIA Section within (x) working days.

Questions on this matter should be discussed with [signature], Room 5442 JEH, extension 5770.

RECOMMENDATION(S): (only items checked apply)

(x) 1. That the Special Investigative Division(s) review the excised document(s) to insure sufficient deletions have been made. Please explain briefly the reason for any additional deletions requested. If the materials proposed for disclosure are from a classified serial, insure that all portions which justified the classification have been deleted.

( ) 2. That the Intelligence Division:

( )a. Review the classification of serial(s) to insure documents should remain classified, indicating on the file copies which paragraphs are classified; which paragraphs, if any, are unclassified; and those which have been declassified in their entirety. Addendum should note any newly declassified serials.

( )b. Review the balance of the file to determine if currently unclassified serials warrant classification. Newly classified serials should also have indicated on the file copies the classified and unclassified paragraphs. Addendum should note any newly classified serials.

1 - Mr. CLEVELAND
Attention: Mr. 

1 - Mr. 
Attention: Mr.

SEE PAGE 82 FOR ADDENDUM OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION.
ADDENDUM OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION WCE:mem 12-9-75.

A review of serial 140-0-16192 concerning requester, Ben Haig Bagdikian, indicates no comments by Special Investigative Division are necessary.

Agent time utilized in this review was 15 minutes.

[Signature]

[Signature]
February 25, 1976

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian
4410 Albemarle Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Bagdikian:

Reference is made to my letter dated December 23, 1975. This will also acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 29th, containing your notarized signature and your check in the amount of $8.50.

Your request for information concerning yourself has been considered in light of the provisions of both the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552) and the Privacy Act of 1974 (Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a). It has been determined by the Attorney General that requests by individuals seeking information about themselves are governed by the Privacy Act. In addition, as a matter of administrative discretion, any documents which are found to be exempt from disclosure under the Privacy Act will also be processed under the provisions of the FOIA. Through these procedures you receive the greatest degree of access authorized by both laws.

Enclosed are copies of documents from our files. Exclusions have been made from these documents, and other documents have been withheld in their entirety in order to withhold materials which are exempt from disclosure by the following subsections of Title 5, United States Code, Section 552:

- The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
  Attention: [Redacted]

- SAC, Washington Field (FOIPA info)

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE.
(b) (5) inter-agency or intra-agency documents which are not available through discovery proceedings during litigation; or documents whose disclosure would have an inhibitive effect upon the development of policy and administrative direction; or which represent the work product of an attorney-client relationship;

(b) (7) investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, the disclosure of which would:

(C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of the personal privacy of another person;

(D) reveal the identity of an individual who has furnished information to the FBI under confidential circumstances or reveal information furnished only by such a person and not apparently known to the public or otherwise accessible to the FBI by overt means.

A portion of the documents from our files have been processed in accordance with Title 5, United States Code, Section 552a (Privacy Act of 1974), and the material withheld was that exempted by the following subsection of this statute:

(5) (2) material compiled during civil investigations for law enforcement purposes and which would reveal the identity of an individual who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence.
Mr. Don Naig Bagdikian

You have thirty days from receipt of this letter to appeal in writing to the Deputy Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530, (Attention: Privacy Appeal - Denial of Access).

For your information, one document originating with the Department of Justice has been referred to that Department for their direct response to you.

Additionally, during the interim of receipt of your check, files containing information pertaining to you which had been unavailable, were located. Therefore, additional pages are included with the enclosed documents for an overall total of 93 pages. In order to preclude any further delay in connection with your request, you are not being charged for the additional eight pages included herewith.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosures (22)

NOTE: Requester, a reporter and writer who has criticized the Bureau in the past, is subject of Bufile 62-94717, a miscellaneous research file, which was processed under Privacy Act rules. The remaining incidental records were processed under the FOIA. The material originally proposed for release totaled 85 pages. During the period between solicitation of the $8.50 duplication charge and receipt of requester's check, additional material totaling 8 pages were determined to be disclosable. The duplication fee of eighty cents is being waived as a matter of administrative discretion. On 10/13/75, [INS], agreed by telephone to the release of information originating with INS which is located in 62-94717-5,6. 22 documents totaling 93 pages are now being released.
December 29, 1975

Clarence M. Kelley
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley:

Thanks for your December 23 letter informing me of the availability of FBI documents pertaining to me.

As you suggested, I am enclosing a check for $8.50 and a copy of my notarized signature.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Ben H. Bagdikian

Enc: Check for $8.50
Notarized signature
Copy Kelley letter of 12/23/75
December 30, 1975

I, MARIE LYTLE, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, do hereby certify that Ben H. Bagdikian of 4410 Albemarle Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., appeared before me in my District of Columbia, showed proper identification and before me placed his signature on the following line.

[Signature]

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

[Signature]

MARIE LYTLE
Notary Public
4670 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.

Date: December 30, 1975

42-94717-19

ENCLOSED