

booster; presumably the program can go into effect as soon as the Atlas booster has been fired often enough for us to be sure of its reliability. This may take some time; perhaps as many as a hundred firings will be necessary.

In the meantime it is rather surprising that all of our eggs are in one basket, and that only one technical approach to the manned capsule is being taken. It would be wiser if there were duplication or even triplication in our approach to a manned satellite. The capsule itself represents only a small part of the total cost of the program, and a competitive effort might give us a better

chance of achieving ultimate success. We should remember the importance of the Jupiter rocket as a backup to the Vanguard satellite program.

From a purely psychological point of view and for prestige purposes, it is essential for us to make sure we can put a man into orbit at the earliest possible date irrespective of when the Russians succeed in their efforts. But since it is unlikely that we shall be first, it behooves us to make it clear to everyone that putting a man in space has nothing to do with the "control of space," whatever that means. Probably man's real function in space is simply to explore the universe he lives in. «»

ing campaign for the local convalescent home was also given chill treatment.

In the fall of 1956, the town's leading citizens, who were then supporting a library bond issue, were startled to learn from the *News* that they were backing "a program [which] moves all of us closer and closer to socialism, communism, collectivism or whatever you want to call it." In this instance, however, the outraged leaders rallied their fellow citizens to the cause—ninety-two per cent of the eligible voters cast ballots—and passed the bond issue by the largest majority in the town's history.

A number of advertisers also became annoyed with the *News* during the early months of Hoiles's ownership when the width of the paper was increased from eight to nine columns. This action, according to a number of local merchants, increased the space rate without legally breaching existing contracts.

By the spring of 1957, when the *News* ran into serious labor troubles, public support for the paper was at low ebb. Hoiles's ten other papers were and are completely open-shop, but when he bought the *News*, he had to assume the contracts its previous owners had made with the American Newspaper Guild and the typographical unions. The Guild contract expired in February, 1957, and in May negotiations broke down and a strike was called. The printers refused to cross the picket line. Hoiles sent in reporters from his other papers and imported strike-breakers to run the presses, but circulation of the *News* dropped nearly forty per cent and advertising linage shrank drastically.

Mr. Current's Revolt

At this point Wayne G. Current, a former *News* advertising salesman who had resigned when Hoiles's new publisher, E. Robert McDowell, had cut commission rates, decided that Lima was ready for another newspaper. Two local businessmen, Sam Kamin and James Howenstine, owners of Neon Products, Inc., put up \$100,000 and agreed to become co-publishers. The striking *News* employees joined in the fund raising, and another \$206,000 in stock was sold to some eleven hundred resi-

One Paper Too Many In Lima, Ohio

JAMES A. MAXWELL

"EVERY NOW AND THEN, I get a queer, ghostly feeling while reading the editorial page of the *News*," a resident of Lima, Ohio, remarked recently. "It suddenly seems that Hoiles is arguing not with me but with my great-grandparents."

Raymond C. Hoiles, who added the Lima *News* to his chain of Freedom Newspapers in February, 1956, is indeed a man of extraordinary opinions. From time to time in his papers' editorials and in his own column, "Better Jobs," Hoiles denounces such contemporary phenomena as the United Nations, farm subsidies, Social Security, and minimum-wage laws, but he usually prefers to do battle over issues that most Americans consider long since resolved. Among his favorite, if somewhat ancient, targets are the public-school system ("There is nothing wrong with education that can't be cured by putting it on a private, competitive, voluntary basis"), child-labor laws ("Give him a pick and shovel and let him get started"), taxes ("If it is morally wrong to eat a fellow man so the tribe can be fed, is it not also wrong to rob a fellow man so that the tribe can share his wealth?"), state medical boards

("... every individual has a right to hire a blacksmith to cut out his appendix if he so desires and the state should not interfere"), and compulsory education ("A house of prostitution is voluntary, a grade school is not). Hoiles is especially bitter about the last. He feels that compulsory education may have forced literacy upon such "collectivist Republicans" as Robert A. Taft and Herbert Hoover.

NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, the Hoiles credo came as something of a shock to the people of Lima three years ago when the *News* became the eleventh daily in the Freedom Newspapers' chain. The *News* had been the only paper in the town for a quarter of a century, and it had traditionally followed a middle-of-the-road Republican line politically and a civic-minded policy in local matters. These moderate attitudes changed abruptly under the new management. Soon after the paper had changed hands, the *News* played an important part in defeating proposals to fluoridate the city's water and to establish a municipally owned parking area to relieve center-of-town traffic congestion. A fund-rais-

dents of the town. A former woolen mill, some distance from the center of the city, became the offices and plant of the new paper, and the editorial, mechanical, and business departments were manned almost exclusively by former members of the *News* staff. The new paper was named the *Lima Citizen*. Its editorial position is just about the same as that of the pre-Hoiles *News*.

Before publication of the first issue on July 1, 1957, the *Citizen* had 22,000 paid subscribers and an impressive volume of advertising contracts. At the end of three months of operation, the Audit Bureau of Circulations' report showed that the *Citizen's* daily sales were about 24,000, while the *News* had dropped from pre-Hoiles figures of 35,000 to about 15,000. Both papers enjoyed somewhat larger circulation on Sunday. According to a recent ABC report, as of September 30, 1958, the *News* has gained about three thousand readers, mostly in the rural areas, and the *Citizen's* circulation has stayed about the same.

The *Citizen* has also maintained a substantial lead in advertising, although its rates are about one-third higher than those of the *News*. Last year the *Citizen's* margin over its rival was more than forty-five per cent, despite the fact that the *News* publishes a satellite weekly, the *Shopper*, which is mailed free to 50,000 homes and which carries ads at the bargain rate of twenty-five cents per inch if they have previously appeared in the *News*.

The competition has been expensive for both papers. Wayne Current, manager of the *Citizen*, says that his paper lost \$110,000 during its first year of operation (July 1, 1957, to July 1, 1958) but that losses were cut to \$5,000 for the last six months of 1958. The financial picture is actually somewhat darker than these figures indicate. Each employee agreed when joining the staff to permit ten dollars a week to be withheld from his salary, to be paid if and when the paper becomes affluent. This additional debt is now more than \$100,000.

Robert McDowell, publisher of the *News*, refused to give any statistics on the losses of his paper, but he conceded that they have been much greater than the *Citizen's*. In

addition to having a lesser income from advertising, the *News* is constantly engaged in expensive devices to build circulation, and the *Shopper* is published at a heavy loss.

The Waiting Game

The population of Lima is 56,000, and about the same number of people live in the rest of Allen county. Given today's publication costs, there simply aren't enough potential readers in the area to support two daily newspapers. Which will survive? An odds-maker would probably select the *News*. Hoiles's ten other papers are reportedly making money and are therefore in a position to give financial transfusions to the *News*. Furthermore, Hoiles, an octogenarian who somewhat resembles the cartoon figure Rollin Kirby used to depict Prohibition, has a personal fortune estimated at some \$30 million. The only question is how long he will be willing to take losses which, some guess, must be close to \$750,000 a year.

The *Citizen*, on the other hand, has meager financial assets but is quite close to breaking even. A few percentage points increase in revenue or decrease in operating costs would put the paper in the black. If that stage were reached, the *Citizen*, which is under no pressure from stockholders for dividends, could simply outwait its opponent.

In recent months the *News* has been considerably more circumspect



in expressing its viewpoint than before its monopoly was challenged. Hoiles's own column, "Better Jobs," has ceased to be a regular feature in the paper. "We expected the *News* to clobber us last November when we had a bond issue for a new municipal airport on the ballot," one of the supporters of the proposal told me. "But the paper didn't say anything one way or the other on the issue and they even published our releases. A year before they would have called everyone behind

the measure a Red and thrown every story we gave them in the waste basket. Incidentally, the bond issue passed by a big margin."

"This is an extremely conservative town," said Lima's Democratic mayor, Clyde Welty, "and our council, which is made up of six Republicans and two Democrats, watches every dollar we appropriate with an eagle eye. Also, bond issues and tax levies are tough to pass here. But in the early days when Hoiles took over the *News*, you'd have thought we started the furnace with money from the treasury."

W. Robert McDowell, publisher of the *News*, admits the paper is less militant than before, but he insists that competition from the *Citizen* has had nothing to do with moderating the editorial position. "We had a chip on our shoulder when we first arrived," he said. "We were strangers in town and the local people resented us. Naturally, we fought back. But things are better now. People are learning that we don't have horns."

I asked McDowell how he thought the *News-Citizen* fight would end. "We're here to stay," he said. "Sure we're losing money, but so is the *Citizen* and we're in a position to outlast them. We have money behind us; they don't. Also the Freedom Newspapers is an open-shop outfit and we're open-shop here in Lima. That makes us more mobile than the *Citizen*, which is unionized from top to bottom."

SOME newspapermen outside Lima believe the dilemma will be solved by a third party's buying both papers. Several offers of purchase have already been made to the *Citizen*, but the management has rejected them. "We'll win this fight," Wayne Current of the *Citizen* said, "if we do a good job of reacquainting the people with Hoiles's views. Now that the *News* has toned down so much, a lot of readers forget how things were before we started and how they'd be again if we went out of business."

"I don't know how this battle will end," one member of the *Citizen* staff said, "but at least Hoiles is learning that it costs money to try to drag a town back to the nineteenth century."

Twenty-five Colonels

And the Three Evils

HALDORE HANSON

A PILLAR of black oily smoke rose above the center of the city, indicating that another slum was being sterilized. Fires like this have been frequent since General Ne Win began remaking the life of Burma last October 29. Slum clearance was not a responsibility of our American economic advisory group in the prime minister's office, of which I was a member. And in any case we were leaving, for the new régime had dismissed all foreign advisers. But the fire on this particular day was so close to the city's largest pagoda, the Shwe Dagon, that I told my office driver to go past the fire on our way to lunch.

The Shwe Dagon sits atop a hill several hundred feet high, and the pagoda itself rises another 460 feet like an inverted funnel, covered with gold. It is the hub of a city of 800,000, and one of the religious landmarks of the world. This pagoda, before Burma gained independence in 1948, was surrounded by three hundred acres of tropical greenery—toddy palms, bananas, and papaya—for the use of the monks. But when the Communist insurrection broke out that year, refugees streamed out of the rice fields of the Irrawaddy Valley and into Rangoon. More than 200,000 people built shacks and hutments in public parks, alleyways, and religious grounds, including three thousand families who settled on the grounds of the great pagoda. They were squatters, but the benign Buddhist government of Prime Minister U Nu let them stay.

The squalor they brought was not remedied during the next ten years. Garbage accumulated in the streets, and the "cleanest city in Asia," as Rangoon was known in British days, became one of the filthiest. As soon as he was named prime minister, Army Commander Ne Win ordered some twenty-five thousand families

—about 125,000 people—to tear down their homes and move. The government staked out ten square miles of new suburbs outside Rangoon. Every family received a free plot of sixty feet by forty. Army bulldozers roughed out the streets. The National Housing Board, with an army officer as its executive, drilled the water wells. Commuter bus lines were organized from the new suburbs to the city, and a new circular railway twenty-five miles long was built around the city in 150 days. Strictly on schedule, two thousand families have been moving to the suburbs each week, and the migration continues. As fast as slums are evacuated, the fire department sprays the previous residential areas with oil and sets it afire.

Entering U Wisara Road on the way to lunch that day, we found our passage blocked by a line of five hundred army trucks engaged in the moving operation. To the right of the road, flames were blackening the evacuated slum area at the foot of pagoda hill. To the left, another two thousand families had already started tearing down their homes in an area equal to six city blocks. Men climbing on housetops removed thatch roofing, salvaged basha siding, bundled up bamboo poles, and carried the materials to the waiting army trucks. Women cooked lunch over charcoal braziers in the street. Crows sat in a row on exposed ridgepoles. It was an eerie sight. Burma, better known as a land of pretty girls in sheer blouses and easygoing men who wear skirts, had not seen such energy and rapid change in its modern history.

SLUM CLEARANCE is not the only change in Rangoon. One of the most colorful sights known to tourists was the bathing of women at the public water tap. The army banned this practice as "unsanitary." The army also prohibited pony carts as

a traffic hazard and set a ten-dollar fine for men who urinate in public.

The mayor of Rangoon, who issues these pronouncements, is Colonel Tun Sein, a regular army man who until six months ago was fighting Communists in the jungle. Now he is one of twenty-five colonels who run Burma. Other army colonels in uniform manage the Burma railroads and steamship lines, the telecommunications, the state industries, the customs service, the government rice-trading monopoly, the housing board, and even the labor department. In most activities they are doing an efficient job. But their performance must be judged against some knowledge of the preceding government, and why the army was called in so suddenly last fall.

The Kindliness of U Nu

When Britain granted independence to eighteen million Burmese in 1948, it transferred power to the leading nationalist party, known as the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). Since then the history of Burma has been largely the story of a one-party government losing momentum and growing soft and corrupt on the job, while its Buddhist scripture-quoting leader, U Nu, went on captivating the population. This government achieved much that was good in the fields of agrarian reform and education. But other parts of the record are less praiseworthy. The prime minister held charitable views on how to stop Communist rebels, and his kindliness toward his adversaries softened every army drive for law and order. This was the government's greatest inadequacy. The ruling party also had a poorly defined concept of Fabian socialism under which private business was harassed, semi-official trading monopolies were given to political friends (this was called Burmanization), and some sixty million dollars was invested in state industries—jute, cotton, steel, cement, pharmaceuticals, sugar—that were run at a loss by slack political appointees.

In April, 1958, a quarrel over leadership caused the AFPFL to split into two factions, roughly of equal strength. Names and details are unimportant here. The essential fact, so army intelligence revealed