
NIEMAN REPORTS

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MURRAY SEEGER points to the bridge — electronic technology — that is turning the world into a global village.

RICHARD CLURMAN pronounces judgment — tempered with advice — on the practices and responsibilities of the media.

MARK HOWARD tells of two Niemans whose journey to the 50th Anniversary Celebration is a study in trial and courage.

GILBERT STEWART, JR. interweaves his experiences in war time Washington with episodes from a book by Brinkley.

WILLIAM STEIF interviews Paraguayan journalists and finds the optimism of hope for a free press corroded.

E. BARTLETT BARNES lauds the uniqueness of Right-to-Know legislation in Connecticut.

A Report on the Three Seminars
Held During the Fiftieth Anniversary
of the Nieman Foundation

The Press and Public Opinion

Bill Kovach

Curator of the Nieman Foundation

September 23 is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Walter Lippmann whose house the Nieman Foundation occupies and whose values we celebrate.

His was a clear forceful voice and it came along just as modern democracy was forcing the American press into a new position of responsibility and power. Mass communications were creating a national press. A press thrust into the role of mediator between leader and led. The phenomenon was first recognized and examined by Lippmann in his book, *Public Opinion*, in 1922. Since then an entire industry has developed to understand, measure, and manipulate public opinion. But for forty years the press left the field generally to Madison Avenue and the world of advertising and marketing. Now, as the values of marketing and advertising move more forcefully into the news rooms, public opinion shoulders aside real events to lay claim to the top of the news reports.

The first steps of the American press into systematic opinion reporting were a measured response to the changing nature of political campaigns. It came when reporters covering the 1960 campaign realized they had missed the new wrinkle in John Kennedy's campaign: Lou Harris had married public opinion polling to the daily decision making process of the campaign. It was an important innovation, perhaps a deciding factor.

Reporting public opinion in political campaigns now became the touchstone of informed reporting. It did not take political managers long

to hear opportunity when it knocked. Selective release of poll data allowed political managers not only to manage their candidates, but the press and the public perception of the campaign as well.

Throughout the late 60's and early 70's editors and reporters searched for ways to regain control of the flow of political information. Though wary of the nature of the information produced, few considered kicking the habit. The favored solution, when it came, was to develop an in-house polling capability. Once the capability came into the house, the technique producing the information became more familiar and the urge to sample opinion irresistible. Public opinion came to be seen as news. Journalists trained to seek out fact increasingly failed to make a distinction between fact and opinion. The result is that ephemeral opinion begins to substitute for fact in the diet of information provided by the press.

Examples abound. Recently a major newspaper conducted a poll of opinion in Israel. Some 700,000 Arabs who live in Israel were not included because they were too suspicious to answer questions. They became irrelevant to the process and thus to the report. Virtually every poll is similarly vulnerable. In some cases it is those who do not own telephones or choose to screen their calls who become irrelevant to the process. In another example, a major regional newspaper published a poll about women's attitudes toward abortion. The following day a reader pointed out that the newspaper had reported

a poll by the same firm of the same population on the same subject a month before and found an exactly opposite result. They did so for the simple reason that opinion polls, like the things they measure, are inherently unstable. Change the wording of a poll, you change the opinion. Change the order of questions in a poll, you change the opinion. Change the time of day you conduct the poll, you change the opinion. Pollsters are aware of these shortcomings and they can allow for them. They can because they know they are dealing with ephemeral material. They do not confuse it with fact.

Journalists are moving deeper and deeper into a current which is subject to violent changes of direction and are in danger of losing their footing on the solid ground of objective, demonstrable, fact. We crowd fact out of the limited space and time of the news report to put in its place something less useful, perhaps even misleading. For public opinion is not a public position. It is ill-formed. It is not thought out. It is subject to change with each change in information available.

News organizations are moving onto the same ground as political institutions which mold public opinion and seek to direct it. There is a danger which even the most thoughtful journalists seem not to recognize. Such a powerful tool for shaping public opinion in the hands of journalists accustomed to handling fact is like a scalpel in the hands of a child, it is capable of great damage. It leads fact-seekers into that babble of grasping and con-

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The Book Review Section is missing from this issue. It will be included in the Winter issue of Nieman Reports.

A Report on the Three Seminars Held During the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Nieman Foundation

Because of space limitations and the vagaries of the mechanics tape-recording the sessions, a condensed and edited account of the May 6-7 seminars are reported here. The question and answer segments have been omitted.

Seminar participants were introduced by John Seigenthaler, NF '59, Editorial Director of USA Today, and Board Chairman and Publisher of The Tennessean.

Seminar I/Superpowers,
Saturday, May 6, 9:00-10:30 AM

Ellen Goodman, NF'74, Moderator.
Associate Editor of *The Boston Globe*, and author of the Pulitzer Prize winning column, "At Large."

Marshall Goldman, Panelist.
Associate Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, and Professor of Economics at Wellesley College.

Graham Allison, Panelist.
Dean of Harvard's JFK School of Government and the Don K. Price Professor of Politics.

Dmitri Simes, Panelist.
Executive Director of the Soviet and East European Research Program at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins. He is with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C.

Ellen Goodman: This morning we are talking about superpowers — the phrase which came out of the post-war era, and in fact the entire ex-

pression "superpower" was named after the hydrogen bomb, known at the time as the superbomb, and was tied into the nuclear age, and indeed to the Cold War. This morning, then, we are going to talk about the "Post-Cold War" era.

Some of the most decorated Cold Warriors are now telling us that that war is over, and our panelists this morning are going to inform on, one, is the war over? Or are those bulletins from the front premature? Has the peace treaty been signed? Has it been signed by the Soviets? Has it been signed by the Americans? And what is to be the nature of our post-war — post-cold war — relations? Here to discuss that with us is Professor Goldman.

Marshall Goldman: If you begin to look at this whole area of international superpower relations we get caught up in the day-to-day events and don't take a long-run look. For me, it is difficult to appreciate how different the world has become from what it was five years ago. And I think that in large part it is due very much to Mikhail Gorbachev. It's also due to Ronald Reagan. Two very unlikely players. And in a sense, that has challenged our conventional wisdom. What do I mean by that? Can you imagine two unlikely players like

Gorbachev and Reagan, two unlikely people who could reach an agreement as they did, polar opposites in almost every way, from their hair to their wives and, most importantly, to their political philosophy?

I think it's fair to say that the world is a much safer place now than it would have been if the peaceniks had had their way, than if we didn't have somebody like Ronald Reagan who could make the agreements that he did. I think it is fair also to say that if Mondale had been elected president, not Reagan, we probably wouldn't be as far along as we are, even though, of course, Gorbachev is in a position to make deals, I don't think he would have been forced to make as far-reaching deals. But what is going on inside the Soviet Union?

That's the thing that I would like to specialize on, and it is probably the most interesting thing in the world today. In the early stages, everybody was doubtful whether or not Gorbachev was really sincere in what he was trying to do. Was this just a game, was it an attempt to lull us, to disarm us? I think now that more or less everyone has come along to recognize that these are really real changes. Their withdrawal from Afghanistan, human rights, the whole question of glasnost and nationality protests and demonstrations. Some of this is done

for show in the West, but most of it is not. Most of it is done simply because Gorbachev feels the only way he can bring about his economic reforms is to make these other changes as well.

I may end up being an economic determinist, but it seems to me that the whole emphasis on disarmament, the whole emphasis on cutting back military activities, is designed so Gorbachev can transfer resources to the civilian sector. That's absolutely important for him; the demobilization of a half million troops. Can you imagine an American president announcing that we in the United States will unilaterally demobilize a half million troops, what kind of protest would there be? Without any *quid pro quo* from the Russians — Gorbachev did that, and it seems to me that he did that primarily because he is focussing on his domestic concerns, although obviously he does hope that it will increase pressure on the outside world as well.

But in doing that, just as it would stir up hostility in the United States, so it stirred up hostility inside the Soviet Union. There are those who are quite upset that Gorbachev has now opened the doors to inspection . . . now we have people stationed with free access to Soviet factories. But just two weeks ago, we had a Soviet official complaining: Why must we have a discussion about the kind of army we should have, about whether it should be defensive or offensive? It would be better to treat our army with more care and strengthen its authority, the authority of its personnel and officer corps, of those who have fulfilled their internationalist duty, why are we demobilizing these people? One cannot agree with those who offer to open up the borders, to declassify all the military secrets. There are those who are clearly very upset by this, by all of this that is going on.

Well, what about it, is Gorbachev here to stay? It seems to me that our Secretary of Defense was not entirely wrong. There are indeed good reasons

to believe that Gorbachev is having trouble. Why? Well, he's got economic problems. The economy is in serious shape. The rate of growth is dropping, and indeed in some cases it has become negative. The standard of living since Gorbachev has taken over has actually declined. There is a budget deficit of eleven percent. In the United States, that would be equivalent to a five hundred billion dollar deficit. There is inflation as a consequence of that. Ten percent inflation. And it's growing. The growth probably by the end of this year may be closer to fifteen percent. And in that environment there is hoarding.

Gorbachev is probably the best thing that has happened to the Soviet Union since the revolution. Certainly from our point of view, and certainly from the Soviet point of view. But to succeed, his international achievements are really only a side show. What really counts is what he does at home. And if life does not improve for the Soviet consumer, there will be these pressures, some of which are reflected here, others that are there. People protesting if they can't get goods at the store, if the lines get longer, if the rationing is endemic, then it's not going to last. And it seems to be that indeed unless Gorba-

Graham Allison: I think there is the widest set of windows of opportunity in the whole post-war era, for an American administration to advance U.S. interests, and . . . the cause of peace. But to do that would take some imagination and some courage . . .

So there are shortages of goods; so there is rationing. And indeed, in some cases the food situation, as some of Gorbachev's advisors say, is worse than it has been since 1947. And on top of everything else, it looks like the weather has been too good this winter, and that means that the winter wheat crop did not have the snow protection it should have had, and that helps explain why the Russians are buying more wheat costing them more money, suggesting that the food situation is not going to improve. And something that has not been reported in the press — the most recent figures for the first quarter of 1989 show that oil production has dropped three percent. That's the biggest drop that oil production has had in the Soviet Union. And that is significant indeed, there could be some very serious problems there.

chev can turn that around, then he is in difficulty and he will not last.

Graham Allison: Essentially, I have three points. First is that we have in the current developments, the extraordinary circumstance in which a one-eyed man who is leading the people being commented on by the genuinely blind. Folks like us and folks like you. It's therefore not surprising that most of the reflections you hear are reflections of what people thought before, rather than what is actually happening on the scene and in the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Secondly, while it may take two to tango, it takes only superpower to change a relationship. So the administration's questioning and timidity is really only forfeiting to the Soviet Union the initiative in setting the

terms and the timing on which this relationship changes.

Thirdly, I think there is the widest window of opportunity, indeed, the widest set of windows of opportunity in the whole post-war era, for an American administration to advance U.S. interests, and indeed the cause of peace. But to do that would take some imagination and some courage... Now, what should the U.S. government be doing?

I wrote a piece which filtered its way into the campaign and was a *Foreign Affairs* piece called "Testing Gorbachev". And if you listen to most of the rhetoric today the administration has finally gotten to the point of testing Gorbachev. That was a very good strategy for about a year ago. The key idea in the testing of Gorbachev is to, first, keep our mind on the ball: that is our objective; secondly, listen and look carefully at what Gorbachev is saying and doing for clues about things that he might be willing to do; and then third, make him offers he can't refuse, in the form of proposals that, if he believes what he says, he'll have to do, and if he doesn't, he'll be exposed as not believing what he says.

I think the current circumstances provide an opportunity for the administration to be actively engaging the Soviet Union in setting the terms and conditions on which to settle the Cold War, and integrate the Soviet Union into the political and economic order that the West has established.

What would such a program for active engagement involve? Three things: We should be making virtues of necessities, so when we are cutting defense budgets, or when the navy is eliminating three forms of short-range nuclear weapons, we should be doing that in terms that satisfy the Soviets, and give them something. Secondly, structuring deals that offer them carrots as well as sticks. In the case of Jackson-Vanik, when they reach the level of immigration we desire, we should repeal it. Or at least set it aside for a year. Third and finally, we should be structuring deals with

the Soviet Union, much bolder deals, that start from our interests, ask what they might be willing to do if we were willing to do something substantial, and the most interesting deal on the table involves some combination of Nicaragua and Afghanistan. It has been on the table for more than a year, I believe. If we were prepared to do something helpful for them in Afghanistan, where I believe our interests are now secondary, since they've withdrawn, I believe they would do something substantial in an area that is of primary interest to us, namely Nicaragua.

Dmitri Simes: Let me make three points very briefly. First, in my view, changes which are taking place today in the Soviet Union, as Marshall Goldman said, are profound and probably by now irreversible. I also think that many of those changes are not contingent on Gorbachev's staying in power, or staying in power but, let's say, changing his mind, beginning to feel that things are going out of control, and it's time to back-peddle. Even if Gorbachev decided to do something like that, I think that it would be too late. I want to remind you that it was that great dynamo of Soviet politics, Konstantin Chernenko, who back in 1977, said that the Soviet economic system was not working. I want to remind you that this was Leonid Brezhnev, who in 1981, at the November party plenum, called for perestroika. That was Leonid Brezhnev's term. And then Konstantin Chernenko again, speaking in April, 1982, saying that the Soviet Union was in a crisis situation.

I'm not suggesting that Gorbachev did not make an enormous difference. He did. His predecessors did not have the power of personality, courage, imagination, charisma, to make the system work, to try these very bold, very risky changes. But the realization that something went wrong, and something had to be changed profoundly in the Soviet Union, this realization predates Gorbachev. And by now, so much in terms of previous

Soviet political and economic mechanisms, beliefs were shattered. I don't see how they can go back. I really think that we are dealing with a very serious change. I don't know whether it will last forever...

My second point, consequently, is that the Cold War is over. By that I do not mean that the period of hostilities is over, that we are moving to some kind of harmonious arrangement with the Soviet Union. But the Cold War was more than balance of power, equilibrium, more than hostility, more than maneuvering against each other's interests. It was a system which both superpowers subordinate all their other foreign policy interests to the straitjacket of superpower... Nothing else was sufficiently important for policy makers, either in Moscow or in Washington, to go out from this other narrow tunnel vision. Well, it seems to me that now we'll be able to do better than that.

I think that the Soviets are prepared to abandon the Cold War. The United States is prepared to abandon the Cold War. And if you want figures, the United States, since Gorbachev came to power, reduced the defense budget unilaterally by eleven percent. The Soviet Union, according to Gorbachev's own admission, was building their defenses every year. He admitted that much at the last plenum. So in terms of who was cutting, there was no question, the United States, for America's own unilateral reasons, of course, was doing much more than Gorbachev to stop this preoccupation with East-West Cold War priorities.

That brings me to my final point. I think that our debate about the end of the Cold War is highly misleading. One school of thought is saying that we should not rock the boat. But alliances require enemies. Alliances require intense feelings against each other. Without these feelings, alliances cannot sustain. If you will not rock the boat, you will sink the boat. It doesn't make much sense. What another school of thought suggests is that we should not miss the

boat. That somehow we should test Gorbachev, respond to his agenda.

Quite frankly, I don't understand what we are talking about. It seems to me that Gorbachev, as a determined, proud and intelligent Soviet leader, has an agenda of his own. I think that he obviously wants to keep the Soviet Union as a superpower . . . Why should we adjust to their agenda? There are certain areas where they can deliver. There are other areas, like global environment, or Third World debt, where the Soviet Union is increasingly relevant. So it seems to me that it is the time for the United States to start building a new boat. It is a profound change in the international system, whether we like it or not, and if we don't try to shape it, it will be shaped without us — and sometimes against us.

Seminar II/Ethics,

Saturday, May 6, 11-12:30 PM

Robert Maynard, NF'66, Moderator, is Editor and President of *The Tribune* in Oakland, California. He is a nationally syndicated columnist with Universal Press Syndicate, and commentator and essayist for "This Week with David Brinkley" and the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour."

Sissela Bok, Panelist.

Professor Bok is an Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, Brandeis University. She has taught a course, Moral Choice and Personal Responsibility, at Harvard and has also taught courses on ethical issues in public careers and the medical profession. She is the author of a number of books, including *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life*.

Harvey Cox, Panelist.

Dr. Cox is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Divinity at the Harvard Divinity School. He has been consultant to Roman Catholic Bishops of Latin America, and is co-Founder and Board Member of *Nuevo Instituto de Central America*, in Esteli, Nicaragua. He has written, among

other books, *The Secular City*, *Turning East*, and *Religion in the Secular City*.

Michael Sandel, Panelist.

Professor Sandel is Professor of Government in Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences where he teaches political philosophy. His publications include *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* and *Liberalism and Its Critics*. He is writing a book on the public philosophy of liberal democracy in America.

case of President Nixon, was a triumph of justice in the workability of our system as we so often said, turned out to be a view not shared by many in Europe and particularly in France.

We were besieged in the two weeks we were there by journalists and political figures, and others, who once they learned that I was associated with *The Washington Post*, they were quick to tell me that we were naive and that our moral naivete had caused

Sissela Bok: . . . every inquisition, every witch hunt, every fit of puritanism, always is carried on in the name of morality and the highest moral principles, so I think the first response has to be one of suspicion, but after that we have to step back and say, all right, what would it be like if our society didn't care about ethics at all. Would that be any better?

Robert Maynard: We will try to cover three main subjects, with many sub-subjects within it . . . The moral duties of leaders to their societies is one subject we will begin with. We will progress to the question of the moral duties of institutions to their societies. And finally we will explore some moral expectations in the modern age.

The issue of ethics and public life has become enormously more complicated. Perhaps I was able to get a feel for the complication in 1974, after President Nixon resigned. I had been the ombudsman of *The Washington Post* during much of the Watergate period, and then an editorial writer toward the end and afterward. And after the president resigned, my wife and I took a little vacation and went to Paris. There we were astonished to discover that the notion that what had happened in the

us to sack, as they put it, the best president we had had in the post war era. And the question of what are our expectations of our leaders has become ever more complicated since. There have been other cases on what is appropriate to expect of our public leaders with respect to their personal morals.

We've had since then, the famous case of Gary Hart and monkey business, John Tower and the question of whether he should have been permitted to be secretary of defense after he took the pledge. So to the question, are we morally naive? Which is where we begin, and our first commentator on that will be Professor Bok.

Sissela Bok: I don't think we are as morally naive as the French may have thought at the time and they may not think so anymore, but it certainly is true, that their first response

is the right one. Whenever leaders talk about ethics, it's time to worry. Because talk about ethics very often is, in fact, a smoke screen. It very often involves something very narrow and it may allow leaders not to do things that they ought to do for many larger moral points of view, such as care about the homeless in their society, or their foreign policy, or violations of human rights abroad.

If talk of ethics does that, it's obviously very dangerous, and the French have reason to know because every inquisition, every witch hunt, every fit of puritanism always is carried on in the name of morality and the highest moral principles, so I think the first response has to be one of suspicion, but after that we immediately have to step back and say, all right, what would it be like if our society didn't care about ethics at all? Would that be any better? And obviously, that's even worse because if a society became so numb as to stop worrying altogether about ethics, then it would leave itself open for every form of exploitation, and the same kinds of witch hunts that the French have suffered through. So I think that when we do ask about ethics, we have to do justice to that initial suspicion. Is this some form of whitewash? Is it a kind of smoke screen? Who is being targeted here? Are the people who talk about ethics also talking about their own ethics? Or just the ethics of the opposition?

Are we defining ethics so narrowly that we leave out most of the important questions for the country? Or are we defining it so intrusively that we get into peoples private lives in a way that we shouldn't? And if we do that, then I think we could answer the French and say, no, we're not being naive, and it was very important to worry about Watergate.

Robert Maynard: Mr. Cox, would you advance along with your answer, the question of whether there is such a thing as ethical diversity in a heterogeneous society.

Harvey Cox: We have a curious custom in this country of getting people on a minor offense whom we're after for something very major. Al Capone, I think, was sent up for tax evasion and we're now about to fine Oliver North for creating a fictional chronology and perhaps accepting a fence around his house, when there are other substantive issues that might have come into the discussion. I think there are historical reasons for this in American society which have a little bit to do with our ethical and moral diversity given the fact that we're a religiously and ethnically diverse country and the residual impact or influence that a certain kind of Protestant sectarianism has on the way we think about ethics. We tend to look at the private or personal character of a man or woman who is standing for public office and make very large generalizations.

Remember that Jimmy Carter, who in a sense succeeded Richard Nixon after the French had expressed their skepticism, told us very little about what he was going to as president except — I will never lie to you. Now you would certainly hope that minimally we would want a president that wouldn't lie to us. I would think that many of us would like to know a lot more about a candidate's standing for public office, on a lot of other issues. But I think we are historically limited by this particular tradition which is evolving, and I'd like to say a good word for the kind of effort the Roman Catholic bishops have made in the last 10 years, to try to bring a particular moral tradition to bear on more public and complex issues, like the economy and like the issue of nuclear weapons.

Now I know that when the bishops issued their statements, many people said, "why are they talking about these subjects that have nothing to do with religion? Why don't they stick with transubstantiation and not deal with nuclear weapons?" But what the bishops were saying is that the issue of the economy, the issue of nuclear weapons, are moral issues, and they

were saying here is our discernment of what the moral issues are. They invited further debate on these subjects, from other people with diverse moral traditions . . . but I certainly agree with the fact that they moved in the right direction.

Robert Maynard: Professor Sandel is it possible to have a sense of community in a country which draws its moral and ethical lessons from so many different sources?

Michael Sandel: I think it's impossible to have a country without a sense of community, and yet it's very difficult to be able to work out just how much moral community there can be, given the diversity of this country. Back in the 60's, Alexander Bickel, the constitutional expert, was asked what's wrong with morality in America today? And his answer was, it threatens to engulf us. He thought there was too much of it, too much moralizing . . . the papers are full of stories about ethics.

Why hasn't the moral character of the country been elevated by this? I think for something like Bickel's reason, there's too much ethics and at the same time, too little ethics. Suddenly we're so obsessed with the private moral character of public officials . . . that it's partly a distraction, but it's also a symptom. And it's a symptom of the way we conduct our public life these days. It's a symptom of the fact that we've lost the ability to have a political discourse and at the same time, a moral discourse that argues about large issues of governments from a moral point of view. So we focus instead on what we're given on the nightly news, namely the personalities — on the private peccadillos of those personalities.

It's true, there is a point where the private moral life of public officials should make a difference. The question is just where does that point come.

Robert Maynard: The question for the panel is whether in some ways

government, rather than protecting its citizens, may create risks, not just for the citizens, but for the environment. And we will begin this round with Professor Cox.

Harvey Cox: I agree entirely here with Michael Sandel, that we are looking for a language in which to discuss corporate, systematic ethical issues, in a civil way in which there is a kind of consensus underneath of what the relevant values are, and that's hard to find. It's hard to find in a country which is as diverse as ours. For many people their understandings of right and wrong come out of particular religious traditions, and we have so many different ones. And yet I also agree with Michael that there is an enormous yearning for this.

It gets misdirected at times, or unduly narrowed into the scrutiny of the peccadillo, nonetheless it's there. I think the big issue has to do with the corporate ethos. The fact that people who have not developed the kinds of skills, and the moral discernment that we'd like to see, find themselves in various kinds of corporations, either working for newspapers, or working for law firms, or working for manufacturing, or working for universities in which there is an internal ethos that may leave a lot to be desired from a moral point of view. And our relative incapacity to bring moral judgments or moral guidance to bear on corporate entities leaves them afloat and they tend to decide and to make choices with reference to what is done in this particular kind of setting. You have to remember that moral choices almost never present themselves as moral choices. They don't announce themselves that way. They come to us as investment alternatives, as clinical options, as policy priorities, and underneath that, however, there is very frequently, almost always a moral dimension which has to be uncovered. What we're trying to do is to help people to uncover what that dimension is.

Robert Maynard: I want to turn to Professor Bok and ask about television because that is the medium that has the most profound impact on shaping our thought in this age, . . . Is television an educator or an enemy of the process of becoming a more moral society?

Sissela Bok: With respect to this question of whether we have a language in which to talk, television obviously could play an extraordinary role. I agree that we are looking for a language in which to discuss these issues, and I agree also with Michael that we don't yet know quite how to talk, I think that is because we have so very little trust in the leaders who are doing most of the talking, and this comes back to what happens in election campaigns. Because we have so little trust in what they say they might do when they win, we're driven to ask much more about tiny signs that we get about their character because if we get some glimmerings from there, we can also understand a little more what they think about the facts and what their intentions are.

Now when it comes to television, obviously that could be an extraordinary medium for conducting this kind of debate. I think that the feeling is very often that it is not. We are not getting the kind of debate we should have. On the other hand, sometimes we do and we get it from unlikely corners. For example we're seeing on our television screens Chinese students debating about democracy, having the kind of debate that would be very helpful in most countries. So television has all the opportunities, but as of now, it is usually not helping in conducting this kind of discussion.

Robert Maynard: The next issue has to do with the moral expectations in a modern age. We have different expectations of behavior and performance based upon our perspective. Where do we begin to thread together a core of moral values?

Michael Sandel: I think that religious communities are one important source and I think that we should shrink less from allowing religions to be a part of political discourse. I also think that social movements, trade unions, and local communities have been sources for moral and political discourse of a larger kind. Look back at the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement legislated morality, it was informed by moral and religious convictions, it was cultivated in churches in the South in regional communities. And so I think that we should resist our tendency to shrink from introducing substantive moral and religious discourse in political life.

Robert Maynard: There has been an attempt to make a couple of institutions as morally antiseptic so that we don't want a file of one set of beliefs or another. The courts have tended to reinforce it. As a result there is not only no infusing of a sense or moral purpose in our public institutions, but it's avoided. What do we do about that?

Harvey Cox: There's a certain kind of hesitancy or reluctance on the part of many people to introduce issues which they think will be so laden with emotion, that it will somehow unravel the rather tender fabric of our society. I think one has to be very judicious here, that if we don't find ways to introduce substantive discussions of public issues from the perspective of philosophical and religious traditions, we're left with trivialization. So what we have to do is to learn how to hear each other, to listen to each other.

Let me give an illustration. We had a conference here a few years ago on religion and political campaigns. We had another one more recently in which we had representatives from the Moral Majority, from the Catholic bishops, from the National Council of Churches, from various Jewish organizations, and there was a certain kind of fear where all these people

gathered that they'd start throwing the crockery at each other before the conference was over. It was scheduled to go for three days. These are people who really don't normally meet each other in civil discourse, who have very strong views about morality and politics.

There was someone there from the Rainbow Coalition, somebody from the National Jewish Committee. Well, in three days they were sitting in work groups, helping to compose various kinds of papers. We had created precisely an environment in which people, for at least a few days, could talk with each other, be heard, respond, and begin to weave exactly the kind of civil consensus that might then become applicable on the larger scale. I think that's a sign of hope.

Robert Maynard: It seems to me all of you implicitly place a burden on this audience and this issue of communication and these larger issues fall upon the shoulders of the press to some extent. Is the press letting down the nation in these matters? Are we doing our best?

Harvey Cox: Given the way the American political system has evolved, especially in the last couple of decades, the press has become a major factor, especially after the reforms in the Democratic party nomination procedures. The press plays a critical role for the rest of us. I was beginning to feel toward the end of the last presidential campaign, both the primaries and the campaign that followed, that we were not being helped by the press as much as the press could help us. I thought there was a kind of loss of nerve, or at least a loss of energy.

So there are reasons which I would like to find out about which have, it seems to me, put constraints and limitations on what the press is able to do to help us to look behind all the junk and garbage that comes out daily. And I ask that question not as a rhetorical question but to discover something about the ethos or the con-

text within which people make decisions. What poses the constraints? How do they think about issues? How can that ethos be in some ways changed?

I think the press is letting us down. I think the press is not helping us to be an informed and active citizenry, which the forefathers said we had to be. We're becoming an inactive and ignorant citizenry. And part of it has to do with the way campaigns are planned and projected and presented to us, and the inability of the press to help us see through it.

Seminar III/Economics, Sunday, May 7, 9:30-11:00 AM

Hodding Carter III, NF'66, Moderator. President of MainStreet, a television company in Washington, D.C. He is the author of two books and has contributed to other publications. He is a participant on "This Week with David Brinkley" and is commentator for *The Christian Science Monitor's* news show, "World Monitor." Since 1980, he has been op-ed columnist for *The Wall Street Journal*.

Lester Thurow, Panelist. Dean of MIT's School of Management and Gordon Y. Billard Professor of Economics and Management. From 1981-84 he published a column in *Newsweek* while he was a contributing editor for that magazine. He is the author and co-author of a number of books, and writes frequently for *The New York Times*.

John Kenneth Galbraith, Panelist. Paul M. Warburg Professor of Economics Emeritus at Harvard University. He is a former editor of *Fortune* magazine, and has held offices in the State Department and elsewhere. He is the author of many books; his two most recent books are *Economics in Perspective*, and *Capitalism, Communism and Coexistence*, this last he co-authored with Stanislav Menshikov for simultaneous publication in the U.S. and USSR.

Benjamin Friedman, Panelist.

Professor of Economics at Harvard University. Professor Friedman conducts a seminar on monetary and fiscal policy. He is a director of the Private Export Funding Corporation, and an associate director of the *Journal of Monetary Economics*. His most recent book, among the several that he has written, is *Day of Reckoning: The Consequences of American Economic Policy Under Reagan and After*.

Hodding Carter: This morning we are fortunate in having three people here who can give us micro, macro, and the whole ball of wax and will, in opening remarks, deal with their particular concerns, interests, and observations.

Benjamin Friedman: I thought I would talk about the current circumstance of the U.S. economy: where we are, what the threats are, and where we are headed. Unemployment is at a 15-year low; inflation is threatening, but not yet high; add the two together and we have a superior economic performance to anything that we have seen in the United States for a long time. Yet, the public clearly is aware and makes itself known through a variety of ways that things are not as good as they seem.

And in the United States economy today, despite record low inflation for the last period and also record low unemployment for the last period, once again, things are not as they seem. I believe that this is not a genuine prosperity, it is, instead, the illusion of prosperity, and it is an illusion maintained, in the first instance, on borrowed money, and therefore, on borrowed time.

The heart of the problem is that the Federal Government's borrowing to finance the excess of its spending over its revenues, has systematically absorbed throughout the 1980's, roughly three-fourths of all that American businesses and American families together have saved and that, there-

fore, is saving that has not been available to invest in business plants and machinery and equipment. It's saving that has not been available to invest in new homes for a growing population and it is saving that has not been available either to invest abroad in earning assets, from which we would receive interest and dividends in the future, or even to prevent us from borrowing from abroad.

average American worker's wage is rising less rapidly than inflation. People were earning more in 1983, the first year of this expansion, than they are earning today in 1983 dollars. . . .

We have also pursued a policy that has led us to borrow massively from abroad. I think that most people are aware that the United States, when we were a developing country, financed much of our initial industrialization

Benjamin Friedman: In the US economy today, despite record low inflation for the last period and record low unemployment . . . things are not as they seem. . . . this is not a genuine prosperity, it is the illusion of prosperity maintained on borrowed money, therefore, on borrowed time.

Now, as a result of this absorption of three-fourths of our saving into the vacuum cleaner represented by the U.S. Treasury, we have, therefore, maintained not a higher rate of investment in the United States during the 1980's, but a lower rate. When Mr. Reagan took office, I thought he said many of the right things about how we needed to invest more in order to promote productivity. Instead, in the 1980's, we've had a lower investment rate than we had in the fifties or the sixties or the seventies. As a result, it's not surprising that we've had a disappointing rate of productivity growth throughout the 1980's, and therefore, it's not surprising either that real wages in the United States have stagnated. . . . During the presidential election campaign in the fall, we repeatedly heard that this is now the longest running business expansion in U.S. peacetime history. And that's right.

But what nobody had the wit to point out, is that this is also the first business expansion in fifty years in the United States in which the

by borrowing from abroad. That's natural. That's what any developing country does. But I wonder how many people are aware that today, despite our advanced state of development, we are now borrowing from abroad on a scale, even compared to the size of our economy, that dwarfs what we did in the very peak period of our borrowing from abroad in the 19th century.

What are we buying in exchange for all of this debt that we're incurring abroad? Most of what we're getting are merely cameras, watches, computers, and VCRs. Now, what are the implications of all this? One implication is that we are eroding, over the long pull, the material basis for much of our society as we know it. Can we really believe that the openness of opportunity, the social mobility, the emphasis on forward progress, that all of us have grown up to think is the natural distinguishing feature of American society, will really last after incomes have stagnated in this country, and that people grow up thinking they will live, not better, but at best, as well as their parents, instead of hav-

ing, as we have for two hundred years, a standard of living that doubles once a generation?

And on the international scene, can we really think that the United States, which has until, very recently, been the world's largest creditor country supplying our investment capital abroad, and enjoying the unique role in world affairs, not just economically, but politically, diplomatically, culturally, and socially, enjoying that role which has always gone with being the world's leading lending country? Can we really believe that that is going to persist now that we are not a lending country at all, but a borrowing country, and indeed, the world's largest borrowing country? My answer to both questions would be unambiguously, no. The policy course on which we have been embarked during the 1980's has eroded and is continuing to erode the material basis for both our societal arrangements domestically and also our international position and, I think, we will be the sorrier for it if we don't change that policy course sooner rather than later.

John Galbraith: We have in the United States a significant group of people who are variously called affluent or rich, who had a strong feeling of neglect under previous administrations, and in these last years, I think it's been one of the less advertised policies of the administration to do something for that group of people, and with a certain amount of cooperation from the press, that has been accomplished. In the tradition of the American democracy, it is not possible ever to say you are openly doing something for the rich. You must have, as David Stockman said, a cover story. And what we have had is a series of cover stories which, on the whole, have covered up policy that has not been without achievement on its own terms.

The most significant first step was the massive reduction in taxes on the upper income brackets, justified by the so-called Laffer Curve, which

held, you will all recall, that the less you taxed, the more money you'll get. This was done originally, it is said, on a piece of kleenex and many people think the paper should have been put to a better purpose. This was one step. The next was the discovery that income government programs, on the whole, were damaging to the morale of the poor. And in consequence, we had the curtailing, and in some cases, the reduction of expenditure on housing, education, and other welfare expenditure. The argument is that we must not throw money at any problem with the possible exception of defense. The broad theory combining those two things — the doctrine that the rich were not working because they had too little money and the poor were not working because they had too much. Thirdly, this gets into the more subtle technical side of economics; subtlety which I share with my colleagues here this morning, that in relation to the large problems that Professor Friedman has mentioned, one should move in macro-economics for a reliance on fiscal policy with the inevitability of some movement in taxes, to heavy reliance on monetary policy with a use of interest rates, high real interest rates as the weapon, particularly against inflation, and the regime we've had these last years, as I say, of very high real interest rates.

The subtle social effect here is not, I think, as accepted as I would wish. We regard monetary policy in much of our discussion as socially neutral. Actually, this reliance on high interest rates is extraordinarily nice for people that have money to lend. And on the whole people that have money to lend and who get those high interest rates, have more money than people who borrow or do not have money to lend. This is a proposition which will require some thought, but if pursued, comes out on a par with the great proposition of the late Calvin Coolidge who said, that when many people are out of work, unemployment results. As I say, this has been a broad current of policy in these last

years, and I don't think one can seriously doubt its success. In the Reagan years, the share of income going to people in the upper ten percent of the income bracket, has increased by eleven percent. And the share going to the bottom five percent has diminished by six percent. One cannot doubt that given the objectives, given the program, it has had the result which those associated with it really sought. I would like to congratulate the press for the way in which it has adhered to the old American principle, that legislation on behalf of the affluent does require a cover story and that cover story has been accepted and protected.

Lester Thurow: At Harvard, economists can just naturally hold up their heads, but at MIT, they always get hit with a question. Is economics really a science? And I used to have to give a very complicated answer to that question, but not too long ago, I was rescued by the Space Administration. When the Challenger crashed and they had to do a lot of experiments before they could put the Discovery up, they announced that they were replacing all of the rats in their experiments with economists. And that there were three reasons for replacing rats with economists: the first reason was that there were now more economists and they were cheaper; the second reason was you sometimes get emotionally attached to the rats; and the third reason was, there's some things that rats just won't do.

We are basically at the end of the post-World War II worldwide economy. December 31st, 1992, will be the official death of the post-World War II economy because that will be the integration of the Common Market and at that point the United States will become the second largest economy in the world. We in America will be playing triple-A economic ball and the major leagues will be in Europe, and that makes it a very different world. In the post-World War II period, we basically had a world economy centered around the United States,

and in 1945, the day the war ended, we were probably seventy-five percent of the world GNP. Now, that was peculiar because nobody was planting crops, but even in the 1950's, when the rest of the world had gotten back to 1939 levels of production, we were still fifty percent of the world GNP. Today, we're something like twenty-two or twenty-three and as I said, in 1993, we will cease being the world's largest economy.

I think this kind of relates to your great power discussion of yesterday because if you go back and think about great historic military rivalries, what were the things that made those people in the military rivals? Well, the answer is that they were economic rivals. They wanted the same gold mines or the same colonies, the same things that they believed made you rich. Now, the peculiarity of the post-World War II period is that we and the Soviet Union have no economic rivalries whatsoever. Our economic rivals are Germany and Japan, which, of course, are our military allies. And it's important to understand that that is a very unstable relationship. And in some sense, it required the great Russian bear to keep it going. And if the great Russian bear disappears as a military threat, then I don't think you can imagine keeping this whole system going, simply because the economy will become much different. Now, if you look at Europe in 1992, there are 320 million people inside the Common Market. They'll have the per capita standard of living about equal to that of the United States. The Common Market's really bigger because they're going to find some way for Switzerland, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries to be part of it. East Germany really is part of it, though we don't officially count it because it can export freely to West Germany and from there to the rest of Europe. So you're talking about a Common Market with something on the order of 400 million people in it, a very powerful economic leader that we're going to have to cope with. And

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Towards a Global Village — Bridging Cultural and Professional Values

Murray Seeger

The revived courage of news reporters in certain countries calls for cheering.

This talk was given at an International Conference of the Malaysian Association for American Studies, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in late June. The subject was "US Media: Impact on the Contemporary World."

When I was a young reporter, a common joke in the office was to accuse an editor of suffering from "Afghanistanism." Those of us who thought local news was the most important part of the daily report resented editors who were fascinated with events occurring over the horizon. Printing stories about countries they had never seen and were unlikely to see and events they barely understood was a common way for some editors to avoid making difficult decisions.

But those days are gone. Afghanistan, specifically and figuratively, is now Page One News.

Murray Seeger, Nieman Fellow '62, reported from East and West Europe for the Los Angeles Times from 1972 to 1981. Since October 1987 he has been senior editorial consultant for The Straits Times of Singapore.



Straits Times Press

And that is not just because that mountainous, remote land became a symbol of failure for the Soviet Union. The change is driven by modern technology that transmits daily reports of such events to the international audience within minutes after they have occurred. American television anchor persons now know the proper pronunciation of Kabul; they can locate Jalalabad and Herat.

worth his limited news space that day.

In the last few weeks, we have had an even more graphic demonstration of the shrinking of the world through the miracle of modern electronic technology. Beijing, the forbidden city, was thrown open for a few breathtaking weeks for the world audience to witness the historic meeting of the communist world's leaders and the ensuing public demonstrations and brutal repression

Beijing, the forbidden city, has been thrown open for a few breathtaking weeks for the world audience to witness the historic meeting of the communist world's leaders and the ensuing public demonstrations and brutal repression that followed. . . . the young students held up signs printed in English as well as Chinese. They knew they were sending a message around the world.

They have learned because graphic pictures of fighting in Afghanistan, or Namibia or Sri Lanka, are available, screaming to be used. And if television uses the pictures, the newspapers and magazines are likely to use stories and pictures, even if their editors suspect that the story is not

that followed. As they battled for freedom and democratic rights, the young Beijing students held up signs printed in English, as well as Chinese. They knew they were sending a message around the world, and not just to Shanghai or Hunan Province.

This phenomenon accelerated the

development of the Global Village, that semantic concept envisaged by Marshall McLuhan nearly 30 years ago. An American or a German or a Japanese or an Australian can sit in his living room, open a can of beer, and watch another army of far-off freedom fighters do battle with their enemies. This shrinking of the world through electronic communications brings to center stage McLuhan's other best-known formulation, that with television, "the medium is the message." These two ideas that once baffled students are now becoming part of our daily lives because of the growth of these two phenomena: a recognizable scheme of common journalistic practices that has leaped across political borders in a fashion that few of us could have imagined 10 years ago; and the construction of giant, multinational corporations engaged in all forms of modern communications.

goal of building the nation.

I started writing when television news was simply radio news performed in front of a camera. In those days a news conference could be an opportunity to gather information from a true source, not an organized show business performance. We wrote our stories convinced that we were presenting information that our readers did not know—that we were the first to inform them. We in the newspaper business were in a quasi-public utility, something short of the water and electric systems, but nearly as important as the telephone company.

When I became a foreign correspondent 17 years ago, I found that the community of so-called "western" journalists was a small minority in the trade. In Moscow, my first assignment, there was a small handful of correspondents who saw their responsibility in the same light as the Americans. But, even among the

dents were accepted as colleagues of a special nature; they would tell us what they could NOT write and we would tell them what we DID write.

The Soviet government in those days gave a handful of press briefings where trained seals from Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia would compete to ask questions such as: "What are the factors in the continued growth and prosperity in the Soviet economy?" The questions took five minutes to read and the answers 45 minutes to complete. The official spokesmen offered tidbits of information as rewards to seemingly cooperative correspondents. Less cooperative journalists were blackballed, denounced and punished in other ways. Occasionally, in a social occasion, a Soviet journalist might drop a vague hint that was an honest gem of information. In those days, the *Moscow News* was a propaganda sheet published for foreign tourists and *Ogonyok* was a poorly-printed magazine hardly worth reading. Mikhail Gorbachev was an unknown, minor provincial politician.

Television was making its first efforts to cover Moscow in the early 1970's. A correspondent had to ask the Novosti press agency for a camera crew and explain the nature of the story. If the agency, an arm of the Secret Police (KGB), did not like the story, a crew would not be assigned or would be delayed so that the concept faded away. If the story developed in a negative way, the Soviet crew put its camera out of focus so that the film was unusable. The correspondent would not know this until he got an angry message from his editor in New York.

Compare that with today's Moscow. Some of the most graphic reporting of the disaster that struck the Soviet armed forces in Afghanistan has appeared in the Soviet press. *Ogonyok* and *Moscow News* are now essential reading. Press conferences are frequent events, sometimes telecast live to the US and other foreign audiences. We have seen a high-ranking member of the Politburo publicly accused of

An American or a German or a Japanese or an Australian can sit in his livingroom, open a can of beer, and watch another army of far-off freedom fighters do battle with their enemies.

The three traditional, generalized models of journalism are breaking down. There was the privately-owned, relatively independent model of the US, Western Europe, and Japan. There was the state-or-party-owned media of the communist and totalitarian world that was dedicated exclusively to carrying out the incumbent regime's ideological program. And there was a developing world model in which the media might be owned by private individuals, the government, ruling party, or the military. These organs had the trappings of true news organs while they pragmatically supported the party in power, suppressing criticism and dissent for the higher

Americans, there were differences of opinion on how we should go about our work in the boring days of Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny, and Gromyko. Of course, they are only boring in retrospect; there was plenty of excitement as Andrei Sakharov took over leadership of the human rights movement; Alexander Solzhenitsyn was expelled; the Jewish emigration movement hit its peak, and Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger tried to give detente practical meaning.

I remember working comfortably with individual British, Scandinavian, French, German and Italian journalists. The Yugoslav correspon-

corruption by a regional prosecutor. And the Politburo member accused the prosecutor of using television to advance his political career! US television crews recently followed city police in Moscow and Leningrad as they dealt with major crimes, the kind of crimes that Soviet propagandists formerly claimed had faded away along with other vestiges of bourgeois capitalism.

In watching the changes in Moscow, the results of glasnost, it is fair to ask, where did these bold new Soviet journalists come from? Was there an underground school of journalism teaching the essentials of reporting news in contrast to propaganda? What happened to those so-called journalists who for decades filled the pages of the official media with lies and fabrications? Is there a retirement home for those who told us of the unending achievements of the Soviet economy and for those who denounced western writers who suggested things were less than perfect in the self-proclaimed workers' paradise? Are the poison pen artists on leave temporarily, ready to come back to their old jobs as soon as the political wheels turn in their direction?

It is even more fascinating that Mr. Gorbachev was adopted as a hero in China and Eastern Europe. He has been able to reverse the trends of public opinion polls in Western Europe and America as well, without speaking a word of English, French or German. To Chinese students, he is a representative of reform. These students were joined by journalists and workers making common cause for greater democracy; one of their

demands was a free press. For about three heady days, they achieved their aim, and terrified the ruling gerontocracy. Now, Beijing has taken on the atmosphere of East Berlin, where the communist bosses restrict news from Moscow just as they try to block information from West Germany.

Certainly, the content of Mr. Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost are important, especially to the critics of orthodox Marxist-Leninism. But the Kremlin leader's message has been exaggerated and elevated by the medium, by the image delivered by television cameras—the strong, smiling face, the suits that fit, and the hat that is contemporary; the mixing with crowds; the good-looking, well-dressed wife. The words, if there are any, do not matter.

The changes in how journalists work in Moscow are only one example of a widening trend. Who developed the Recruit scandal that has brought down the government of Japan? The press working with public prosecutors, a tandem that every American newspaperman is familiar with. Could the newspapers get the stories without the help of the prosecutors? Could the prosecutors charge the leading politicians and big businessmen without the support of the newspapers? Probably not.

Along the western rim of the Pacific we see the press of Taiwan and South Korea becoming bolder, shaking off the strong arms of the ruling parties. In Taipei, the opposition now gets coverage and even the far-flung family of the founder, Chiang Kai Shek, is a target for the press. The Philippine press may be the freest, and perhaps

Now Beijing has taken on the atmosphere of East Berlin, where the communist bosses restrict news from Moscow just as they try to block information from West Germany.

least responsible, in the region since Mr. Marcos was deposed. In Thailand, newspapers still run the risk of being shut down for offending the government or the military, but every day it appears less likely to happen. Both the Thai and English language press play a growing role in making the government accountable to the Thai people. The press of India has long held the title of the best in the developing world. In China itself, an early part of the reform program included bringing in US professors to teach journalism while professional American journalists have worked to improve the output of the official news agency Hsinhua.

The Asian exceptions to this movement are Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia that cling ever more firmly to the developing country model for a guided press. Malaysian journalists, including several trained in the US, have been chastened after three newspapers, including the leading opposition daily, were shut down for six months and a television director jailed by the government in 1987. Indonesia says it not ready yet for an independent press and warns both native and foreign reporters on the nature of their reports. In Singapore, the local media is tightly regulated by the government that must approve the appointment of editors. Three leading American-owned, Asian-based publi-

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I have concentrated on the print media because even in today's world of electronic miracles, the printed word is still the gemstone of information. The high-flying satellites and micro-wave towers have taken over the business of transmitting information in the form of pictures, but the content — the printed word — is still the key to journalism.

cations—*Far East Economic Review*, *Asian Wall Street Journal* and *Asia Week*—are limited in circulation, and six major western organizations* have withdrawn their correspondents in 18 months. Where else in today's world of international travel and trade can a visitor be subject to search and seizure for carrying a contraband *Wall Street Journal*?

I have concentrated on the print media because even in today's world of electronic miracles, the printed word is still the gemstone of information. The high-flying satellites and micro-wave towers have taken over the business of transmitting information in the form of pictures, but the content—the printed word—is still the key to journalism. Between electronic news and printed news, a fascinating synergy has developed. The television people cannot live without the printed media; the omnipresence of video has changed the way we write.

I remember the scene just over a decade ago when a group of South Moluccan young men seized a Dutch train, and a school. The three big US television networks, the BBC, and

Dutch TV were covering the story 24 hours a day. After two weeks, one of two *New York Times* reporters on the scene telephoned home for permission to return to London. He was told to stay—that the story was still on the nightly television news and they must give it maximum coverage. I suspect the television news editors who read *The New York Times* each morning said to their camera crews: "It must be important, *The Times* has two men there—send more tape!" We writers cannot assume we are the primary deliverers of information any more. We must now explain as well as report.

Television delivers a visual impact that elevates modest values and reduces more important values. Thus, what a person wears on camera is more important than what he or she says; . . .

Between the transmission of those pictures from the Netherlands in the 1970's to the viewing of pictures from Afghanistan in the 1980's, the Global Village grew modestly. Now, as we enter the last decade of this century, this concept is accelerating rapidly. The technology on the drawing boards a decade ago is now circling us in the stratosphere. Western Europe is

about to be joined by commercial television beams reflected from satellites, as they have been in the US for several years. The technology has advanced to the point where a home receiver is small enough to be carried in an attache case. It will be reduced even smaller in size and the price trimmed as the market grows for these devices. The European governments that resisted this electronic border crossing are now trying to use and control it; they understand there is no point trying to fight it.

In Asia, the development is less imminent, but it is coming. The Japanese have been operating a broadcast satellite for years and among their eager viewers are the people of Taiwan. The Taipei government has a law against owning big dish receivers capable of capturing the Japanese signal, but the law is hardly enforced. How long can the other countries of Asia keep out these stateless signals? As economic growth continues to raise incomes, the demand for access to the wider assortment of television programming will grow.

There is little doubt that a large proportion of that new programming will originate in the US—this is one continuously successful, American

mass production export item. In 1988, US filmmakers for the first time earned more money selling abroad than in the domestic market. No other country can match the US for the volume of programming material; no other country has such a backlog of material that can be recycled endlessly as the television audience of the Global

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*The bureaus of Business Week, US News & World Report, The Economist and The Financial Times were closed by their editors. Correspondents for The Asian Wall Street Journal and the Far East Economic Review were removed by the Singapore government and correspondents for those publications are barred from the country for work or social visits.

Afterthoughts

Richard M. Clurman

Journalists roles have changed — so must their practices.

The following excerpt is from Richard M. Clurman's book, Beyond Malice: The media's years of reckoning. Published by permission of Transaction Publishers. Mr. Clurman's book is protected by copyright. All requests for any additional use must be referred to the publishers located at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

The public will not accept shoddy journalism for long. We have no guarantee the First Amendment will be with us forever. We in journalism hold it sacred, but a huge segment of the public is not even aware of what it is. The press does not have a divine right to exist. We must deserve our place in society and carry it out responsibly. Only then will the public feel that the press is indeed a credible, honorable institution worthy of full support.

—Robert P. Clarke,
outgoing President of
the American Society of
Newspaper Editors, 1986

Ending the tension between the press on one hand and the public and the government on the other is not only impossible but undesirable. The hypertension of the 80's, however, was dangerous to democratic health. It was brought on more by media abuse and growth than by actual government or public infringement on press freedom.

The American constitutional system, called by some our "civic religion," is based on tension, not on enforced accord. Its intent is to pro-

duce orderly change, not disruptive confrontation. The system is purposefully untidy, not oppressively efficient. All three branches of our government are supposed to oppose and check each other. Congress, the president and the courts will always be in disagreement. So will the news media, which are not a fourth branch of government but a fourth power center, intentionally placed outside the laws that govern the other three but not outside the force of public opinion. The four, pulsating in intended dissonance, are the heartbeat of the American governing system.

satisfied with the press, nor the press content with the government. They will always battle each other. American democracy was created that way. The press is supposed to curb the power, even the pretense and secrecy, of the government. The government was given no such powers over the press. Only the public, by its ballot, has indirect power over both.

Much as the government and the press complain about the other, neither succeeds in overwhelming the other. Nixon, the media's most powerfully active enemy in modern times, failed. In open and legal ways, the Reagan government, has tried to

No single administration in American history has ever been satisfied with the press, nor the press content with the government. They will always battle each other.

By the mid-80's, the news media, omnipresent and technologically transformed, were being challenged and confronted on all sides. They were finding it harder simply to hunker down unresponsively in their legally protected fortresses or to fire back aggressively after a direct hit. Behind their own walls, their sensitivity level was rising even without the help of staff psychiatrists or evangelists of ethics and morality.

No single administration in American history has ever been

restrict the flow of information available to the press. It has threatened criminal prosecution for violation of security laws. It blamed the press for its worst troubles. But it barks more than it bites. Even Warren Burger, the conservative chief justice of the United States for seventeen years, who expressed a deep distaste for the news media in his speeches, maintained a record of protecting press freedoms under law in his decisions.

I do not believe that the American

news media will come under tighter government control or even seriously damaging judicial restraint as a result of government or public pressure or changes in the Supreme Court. In the spring of 1986, the Court ruled in a decision written by conservative Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, that on matters of public concern "there will always be instances when the fact-finding process will be unable to resolve conclusively whether the speech is true or false. Where the scales are in such an uncertain balance, we believe that the Constitution requires us to tip them in favor of protecting true speech."

In early 1987, almost as if to underscore that point, the full U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., overturned the panel decision of its own judges in the case of *Mobil's* former president, *Tavoulareas v. the Washington Post*. In its decision, the court found the *Post* story—although not faultless—"substantially true." More important, the 7-1 majority opinion said: "An adversarial stance is fully consistent with professional investigative reporting." *Tavoulareas'* lawyers had argued that in office memos, notes and conversations, the *Post* was clearly out to get the Mobil boss. But the court thought that irrelevant: "Nothing in law or common sense supports saddling a libel defendant with civil liability for a defamatory implication nowhere to be found in that published article itself."

Then in February of 1988 came the most resounding affirmation of all. In hearing the appeal on the *Hustler-Falwell* case for "emotional damages" inflicted on the preacher by a parody in the sleazy magazine, the court—now considered conservative—*unanimously* overruled the award. Speaking for the entire court, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist strongly reaffirmed the Sullivan press protections in "vehement, caustic and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks" even when that "speech is patently offensive and is intended to inflict emotional injury." Rehnquist,

who had been considered "soft" on press protections, said for the court that the decision "reflects our considered judgment that such a standard is necessary to give adequate 'breathing space' to the freedoms protected by the First Amendment."

No matter what hostility the press had experienced from the public, judges and the government in the climate of the mid-80's, the tradition of American press freedom ran deep. The opposition to formal restrictions or even legal accountability remained strong. The courts were resolute in protecting the press.

The press and its advocates have proved equal to the task of combating government efforts to rein it in. The courts and the judges have ultimately always seen to that. If the courts have been valiant, the Oliver Wendell Holmes dictum must also be remembered: "In shaping and reshaping rules of law judges are moved less by logic than by experience, by such things as the 'felt necessities of the time' and 'intuitions of public policy.'" The real brake on attempts to curb the press cannot be left entirely to history and the courts. The news media require support from the public, which has too much reason to be fed up with real examples of media arrogance, excesses and abuses.

Public support can be counted on only if journalists themselves and their bosses recognize that as much as their role has changed, so must many of their practices. They cannot proclaim policies and values in the public interest that are at odds with

their own behavior and performance. They need to understand that beyond malice in its constitutional meaning are patterns of media behavior that are unacceptable. They cannot produce an information product as if it were any other profit-oriented commodity. If others are to be prevented from restraining them, they must temper their new and growing modern power with more awareness, self-restraint and initiative in the interests of the public.

After setting aside more complex philosophical nuances. I have long thought that the two most important goals for people who have acquired privileged positions are to try to be both strong and kind at the same time. (A sense of humor helps too.)

As a standard, the two are inseparable. To be strong without kindness is to be bullying. To be kind without strength is to be ineffective, possibly wimpish. (To be without humor—including about yourself—is less damaging, leaving you only stuffy and grim.) Perfection in achieving both goals is unattainable. Trying to reach them—in work and in life—is not. As good a compass as I believe that is for individual behavior, it is not a bad one either for journalists at work.

For the news media, there need to be some subdivisions under "strong," like enterprising, unintimidated and accurate; and under "kind," like fair, reasonable, careful and compassionate. And these can only be objectives, not the means of achieving them. There is another crucial dif-

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Public support can be counted on only if journalists themselves and their bosses recognize that as much as their role has changed, so must many of their practices. They cannot proclaim policies and values in the public interest that are at odds with their own behavior and performance.

Freedom of the Press Is Not Just a Slogan

Mark Howard

He was "detained" for two years — beaten, tortured, told he would be killed — before he was released.

This story, written by Mark Howard, a Newsday Viewpoint editor, appeared in the June 1, 1989 edition of that newspaper. He and his wife, Valerie Hyman, Nieman Fellow '87 were guests at the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Nieman Foundation.

During Ms. Hyman's Nieman Year, Mr. Howard attended Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and earned a masters degree.

WHEN YOU picked up your *Newsday* this morning, you didn't have to climb over rubble or dodge artillery shells. When I go home from work from *Newsday* tonight, I won't have to worry about police knocking on my door and throwing me in jail for something I've said or written.

Journalists in America are fond of pointing out things like this, but occasionally the things we take for granted stand out in very stark relief.

I had occasion recently to attend the 50th anniversary celebration of the Nieman Foundation, which provides one-year sabbaticals at Harvard to journalists—both American and foreign—who have distinguished themselves at their work. My wife, Valerie Hyman, was a Nieman Fellow in 1986-87.

There were two people there whose presence made the notion of "freedom of the press" very real, and who made the posturing that sometimes accompanies our domestic discussion of

Maha Samara, a Lebanese reporter in Beirut, had to cross Syrian lines. She stood in line for 36 hours at the American Embassy in Damascus to get a visa. Zwelakhe Sisulu, a South African editor, was allowed to attend only because of pressure from the U.S. State Department and Howard Simons. His government placed restrictions on Sisulu which he refused to accept; they were finally lifted, but his wife was forbidden to accompany him.

that freedom seem very empty.

Maha Samara, a Nieman Fellow in 1986-1987, is Lebanese. She works for a newspaper called *An Nahar*, which Ronald Reagan referred to as "some rag in Beirut" after it broke the first of the Iran-contra stories. Samara has seen her country disintegrate in the past 15 years. She does not go out at night, for there is virtually nowhere left to go, and it is dangerous to leave her apartment. She lives in a world where her 3-year-old niece clings fearfully to her grandmother's leg when there are loud noises and suggests that the family have breakfast in an interior hallway of the apartment "because the shells won't fall there."

Samara's publication has two offices — one in Christian East Beirut, one in Moslem West Beirut. Her editor cannot come to the office in West Beirut because he might be abducted or killed for his perceived political bias. American journalists joke about

wishing their own editors in such a situation.

To get to the Nieman celebration, Samara had to cross Syrian lines with a passport of dubious integrity (there is no longer a governmental entity in Lebanon to issue passports). Her departure was delayed because of shelling. She stood in line for 36 hours at the American embassy in Damascus to get a visa.

Samara speaks with passion about what has been lost in Lebanon and with hope about what she believes can again be. But she wonders how long she can continue living and working in what is left of Beirut.

Zwelakhe Sisulu was a Nieman Fellow in 1984-85. He is a black South African, and started a newspaper, *The New Nation*, in the fall after his Nieman year. The newspaper did not reflect the views of the government. One night, he said, masked men with

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The Way it was in Wartime Washington

Gilbert Stewart, Jr.

A switch in jobs is the open sesame to a new world for a young reporter.

David Brinkley's book — *Washington Goes to War* — has, for me, an apt subtitle — *The Extraordinary Story of the Transformation of a City and a Nation* — for a couple of reasons. First, "I was there," a young reporter on his first regular reporting job. Also, in this period I went through a personal transformation that was more fitting for Washington's exciting world of news.

I grew up in a small town in North Dakota, went to the University of North Dakota and was graduated in 1933 with a major in journalism. This was the middle of *THE* Depression when jobs, any job, could not be found.

My first work was running a typewriter in the office of a coal mine. But as the alphabet agencies came

along I got a job with what became the WPA — the Works Progress Administration. I audited travel vouchers.

Later, I met a man from the Washington office who audited the auditors. I asked him for a transfer to Washington, and to my surprise, he arranged it. It changed my life.

I still audited travel vouchers. One day I walked into the office of the United Press and nervously asked Lyle Wilson for a job. He gave me one, paying \$22.50 a week. That was in 1937.

Brinkley begins his book in 1939, four years after I got there. He leaves out, for the most part, the first Roosevelt administration and even

... I walked into the office of the United Press and nervously asked Lyle Wilson for a job. He gave me one paying \$22.50 a week. ... but I could live on it. That was in 1937.

In a few days I was riding a pullman to Washington at government expense. In the club car the man next to me was Carmen Lombardo, brother of Guy, the famous band leader. Heady stuff! Guy himself had actually FLOWN ahead of the band to attend the opening game of the baseball season. This was April, the year 1935.

Washington was wonderful. I lived in a rooming house — nobody I knew could afford apartments in those days — and walked to work past the Russian Embassy. Breakfast at the S&W cafeteria. My workplace was on New York Avenue, two blocks from the White House. In fact, when I wanted to get a haircut, I walked through the White House gate and under the portico to get to a barber on F street. But

the dramatic events of the "first hundred days." This was the period in 1933 when a new Congress enacted some of the New Deal's most important laws, including the creation of TVA.

Brinkley's opening words describe the city: "Washington in the summer of 1939 gleamed white and green in the sun as if Rome had sent its leftover marble columns, arches, plinths, architraves and friezes among the trees. ... The temples of government looked out on broad avenues named for places, for a document and for an aspiration achieved with blood — Pennsylvania, Delaware, Constitution and Independence — and on passing streams of Chevrolets, Nashes, Fords, DeSotos, LaSalles, Chryslers and

Gilbert Stewart, Jr., Nieman Fellow '47, has been a reporter in Washington, D.C., for the United Press, The Wall Street Journal, and Newsweek magazine.



From 1947 to 1953 he was press advisor to the State Department's Mission to the United Nations, serving in New York, Paris, and Geneva. Later, he was appointed assistant director of information for the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville.



President Harry S. Truman on one of his famous walks followed by reporters plying him with questions and trying to keep up with his stride. For tourists on Pennsylvania Avenue he was the "favored" sight.

Grahams. At midday, government employees hurried down Pennsylvania to a Childs' restaurant for the blue plate luncheon special of pot roast, mashed potatoes and string beans, served in compartmented platters. Forty cents and no substitutions.

"Out Massachusetts Avenue and in the Kalorama neighborhood lived the Washingtonians called Cave Dwellers, the earliest residents of the city, mostly rich... The city of Washington — THEIR city (their ancestors had OWNED it, you know) — had been taken over by a lot of pompous, ill-dressed, argumentative New

Dealers, some of whom didn't even shave every day..." The *Saturday Evening Post*, valiantly trying to present the America of William McKinley, concluded irritably that the effect of the "invasion of the capital by hordes of New Dealers had been to destroy, for the first time in the history of Washington, the incomparably delightful relationship between official and social life. The two are now separate." Brinkley explained that these old timers were called Cave Dwellers because few people in the city ever saw them.

"The New Deal newcomers"

Brinkley goes on, "with good reason, did not regard themselves as socialites. They were... social workers, farm economists, liberal lawyers, union organizers, all of them political chiropractors eager to get their thumbs on the national spine, to snap it and crack it until the blood again flowed outward to the extremities of American life, returning it to health and prosperity. Who gave a damn about these rich socialites? Their day was over."

But the cloud hanging over all the work of the New Deal, and the socialites as well, was the work of

Hitler. His Nazi organization took over the government of Germany in 1939. In 1940 he invaded Austria and in the same year won the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia in the notorious Munich agreement with England's Chamberlain and France's Daladier. The same year he took over all of Czechoslovakia and invaded Poland. Denmark and Norway had fallen, and France had surrendered.

The American people were strongly against participation in these European events at this stage. A Roper poll revealed that 67 percent thought we should remain neutral. Brinkley describes the meeting of Roosevelt with Secretary of State Cordell Hull in 1937 with Hull declaring that Germany was "hell-bent on war" and suggesting to the President that international cooperation with the allies seemed to be the only reasonable way to meet the danger. The President followed up by delivering a stinging speech in Chicago, the home of Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, whose hatred of Roosevelt was "venomous and unyielding," Brinkley's words.

"It seems to be unfortunately true," Roosevelt said, "that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease."

The quarantine speech, Brinkley notes, produced a reaction "even angrier than he feared" and "it was many months before Roosevelt again dared to mention the threat of war."

"Beyond the White House gates, the city slumbered — largely unaware of and uninterested in war and peace and diplomacy, living at the slow pace and with the encrusted traditions that reminded most visitors of a placid Southern town more than of a major world capital," Brinkley writes.

He spends some time going over race relations of the period, beginning with the great black opera singer, Marian Anderson. When Howard

In 1939, when Howard University, a leading black university, proposed that Marian Anderson give a concert in Constitution Hall, the auditorium of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the DAR said "no" — they explained that they were merely following local custom.

University, a leading black university, proposed in 1939 that she stage a concert in Constitution Hall, the auditorium of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the DAR said "No." They explained that they were merely following local custom.

The University arranged for the concert to be held at the Lincoln Memorial. Seventy-five thousand people thronged the Mall, many with recognized names from the government and the entertainment field. But, as Brinkley points out, "the concert was . . . a momentary diversion . . . not jarring enough to provoke any real change in the nature of things."

The year 1939 was a fateful year. Brinkley recalls that at 3 a.m. on the morning of September 2 the telephone rang beside the President's bed. It was Ambassador Bullitt calling from Paris. "Mr. President," he said, "the German army has crossed the border of Poland."

Now began what Brinkley calls the "bitter days" for Roosevelt. The isolationists were numerous and vocal. "What did we get out of the first world war," they asked, "but death, debt and George M. Cohan?" There were those whom Brinkley called "the beer hall fascists who, not always secretly, admired Hitler. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers "nearly choked on his hatred of Roosevelt."

Others "felt that Roosevelt had an appetite for dictatorship and that in the strains of a war with Hitler might become one." When Roosevelt proposed aid for Britain, Senator Taft remarked, "The president confuses the defense of Britain with the defense of the

United States." Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana called Roosevelt a "warmonger." Congress did pass a draft law in 1940, but when its renewal came up in 1941 it survived by only a single vote, 203 to 202, in the House of Representatives.

Brinkley notes that one of the casualties of the invasion of Poland was the end of the President's diplomatic receptions. My late wife and I were able to attend one of the last. The engraved invitation arrived at our apartment by White House limousine. My wife got out one of her long dresses and I rented a top hat, white tie and tails, and we joined the dignified crowd. A navy officer read off our names as we approached the President and Mrs. Roosevelt in the receiving line. Then we mingled with the ambassadors and cabinet members and senators. We were not personal friends of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. We were invited because they included every member of the White House Correspondents Association of which I was a member. And I was a member only because the United Press took out memberships for all its correspondents.

It was in late 1940 that the President made the decision to side openly with Great Britain against Hitler. Britain had been buying arms from us on a cash and carry basis but could no longer do so. Roosevelt proposed the lend-lease legislation under which the United States would furnish assistance to be paid for later. It was approved by Congress, even though Senator Taft argued, "Lending arms is like lending chewing gum. You don't

want it back."

Brinkley writes: "Roosevelt had done slyly what he was not able to do openly — decided that a German defeat and occupation of Britain would be an historic disaster for both the British and the Americans, that it could not be allowed to happen, and to prevent it the United States had to help the British survive. Roosevelt had decided to push the United States — sideways — into the war."

The lend-lease program now began to have its effect on the American economy and Brinkley explains what Roosevelt endured in this expanding period. Demand came from abroad, first from the British, then the Russians. It included not only war materials but civilian needs that these countries could not produce themselves. The United States army still had horse cavalry, and a Texas commander had just ordered 20,000 more horses. Much of the army's ammunition was left over from World War I. "So it was," Brinkley writes, "that with Hitler overrunning Europe and the Japanese expanding aggressively in Asia, Washington had no plan to mobilize war production, no plan to manage the economy, prices, materials, rationing, no plan to prepare the country for war."

One of Roosevelt's first moves was the creation of the Office of Production Management with William Knudsen, former president of General Motors, and Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as co-chairmen. Then there was the War Resources Board, soon abolished. Brinkley goes at length into what he calls the "bureaucratic shark tank" of war administration, none doing as well as expected. A Missouri Senator named Harry Truman came to the fore about this time. As the head of a committee to investigate waste and corruption, he became famous, Brinkley says, "for running one of the straightest, cleanest, least political investigations Congress had ever seen."

There were other major events in this period. One was the famous battle

over the Supreme Court. Brinkley treats it lightly but I will tell a little more, because I was there.

The President sought to enlarge the Court from nine to 15 members. The old court had declared unconstitutional a number of New Deal measures and FDR, criticizing what he called "the nine old men," wanted to appoint more liberal justices. The issue created national debate and the legislation requested never was adopted. It highlighted the issue of constitutional interpretation, however, and subsided only after one of the older justices retired. Now the public waited for Roosevelt's first nomination to the court.

I was a member of the UP staff covering the Senate at that time and we realized that the first knowledge of the appointment could occur when the Senate received a communication from the President. One day at noon as the Senate was about to convene I sat in the press gallery with Joe Alex Morris, Sr., the United Press chief Senate correspondent. Suddenly he pointed to the door opposite us and said, "Pete, there's the White House messenger. Go get him and see what he has." I hurried to the back door of the chamber and got there as the messenger was leaving. I stopped him and asked if he could show me a copy of the President's message. He opened his brief case and showed me a copy. It was a nomination for Justice of the Supreme Court but no name was given. I learned later that the President, in his desire for secrecy, had kept the name even from his secretary and written the name of the appointee in his own hand — but only on the original copy.

So I knew the big story was breaking but I didn't know the nominee. I raced to a room behind the Senate chamber where a reporter could ask a page to request an interview with a Senator. I asked for Les Biffle, secretary of the Senate majority. He came out shortly, and told me the nominee was Senator Hugo Black of Alabama. With that I hurried to the nearest telephone, dialed the office

and yelled "FLASH" to the operator. But nothing happened. She was supposed to switch me directly to the news desk. I waited. I saw the AP chief correspondent Nate Robinson [NF '45] hurry by me and pick up another phone. I knew I had the story that would make top headlines across the nation — and ahead of my opposition. But my office would not answer.

I hung up, called the office again, talked to the desk and learned that they already had the story. Joe Alex Morris had leaned over the balcony and looked down on the vice president's desk. When the messenger's packet was opened, he was able to read from that distance Hugo Black's name. I had been scooped by my own boss.

On another occasion I was a summer substitute covering the Navy department. The offices in those days were in what were called temporary buildings on Constitution Avenue. They weren't air conditioned and at lunch time I strolled to the Department of Interior's new building nearby which was cool. After lunch I checked with the UP desk. I was told to hurry back to the Navy. A major story was breaking. I rushed into that hot little office and asked, "What's the story?"

"The Squalus is down," the secretary said.

"What's the Squalus?" I asked.

"It's a submarine."

"What do you mean, 'it's down,'?" I asked.

"It's sunk," she answered.

The Squalus had gone down off Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with the entire crew aboard. I flashed the story, with no interruptions this time.

While the army and navy in peacetime had let their equipment and technology deteriorate, as Brinkley says, in this case they had not. They had devised, but never used, a bell-shaped conveyance which would hold several men. It could be lowered over a crippled submarine, then attached to the conning tower. Air pressure would keep out the sea, the conning tower opened, and the crew brought to the surface a few at

a time. It worked and the crew was saved.

On another occasion, I was subbing again at the Navy. Without warning, without a press conference or explanation, that department gave us a short press release. Again, I ran for the phone and called, "FLASH! Navy announces Atlantic fleet is being transferred to the Pacific." It was many months before Pearl Harbor but the Japanese had been aggressively pressing their military movements in Asia. This was a clear signal to that country that the United States was preparing to face up to their fleet in the Pacific.

those days was the lack of any effective government. "A sleepy Southern city accustomed to drowsing among the magnolias and slapping at mosquitoes," as Brinkley describes it, was growing at the rate of more than 50,000 people a year. *Newsweek* magazine called it the "Murder Capital of the U.S." The government consisted of three district commissioners with little power to govern. The real power lay with committees of Congress, one each in the House and Senate.

The chairman of the Senate District Committee was Senator

A description of Washington, D.C.: "A sleepy Southern city accustomed to drowsing among the magnolia and slapping at mosquitoes" until the city started growing by 50,000 people a year. *Newsweek* called it the "Murder Capital of the U.S."

Brinkley covers the construction of the Pentagon — the huge building across the Potomac in Virginia which eventually housed our military and naval offices. He quotes Senator Everett Dirksen (father of Mrs. Howard Baker, incidentally) as complaining that you could take a taxi to the existing temporary buildings on Constitution Avenue for twenty cents but it would take sixty cents to get to the Pentagon. After it was built at a cost of \$87,000,000, Brinkley says the Pentagon became "a staple of bureaucratic humor."

"One woman was said to have told a guard that she was in labor and needed help in getting to a maternity hospital. He said, 'Madam, you should not have come in here in that condition.'

"When I came in here," she answered. "I wasn't."

Part of Washington's problem in

Theodore Gilmore Bilbo of Mississippi. Brinkley calls him, "one of the nation's most outspoken racists." He quotes Bilbo as saying that "there are so many niggers it's like a black cloud all around you." He introduced legislation to deport all blacks to Africa.

It was a period when blacks were not employed in the federal government nor in private defense industry. They were simply excluded. Several black leaders decided to change these attitudes. One was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He demanded a fair employment practices commission with power to investigate discrimination in government agencies and in companies working under government contracts. Unless he got it he would bring 100,000 blacks in a protest march on Washington.

"Roosevelt was aghast," Brinkley reports. "He tried everything he could

think of to talk Randolph out of what he considered a rash and dangerous plan . . . Randolph was undeterred. Blacks were already serving in the armed services, he argued, and they had earned the right to jobs in war plants as well . . . Roosevelt was in a quandary. (He) feared 'it would make the country look bad in wartime.' Randolph refused to yield, and Roosevelt finally had to make a choice: a march or a commission. He chose the commission." Joseph L. Raub, Jr., was told to draft an executive order in a few hours. He coined a phrase "that was to become one of the most powerful and familiar in American life: 'No discrimination on grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin.'" Randolph cancelled the march.

"So it was," says Brinkley, "that a small, provincial town prepared itself for the greatest war in history. Crowded, confused and stubborn, mired in its own customs and prejudices, relying on slipshod, haphazard improvisations, Washington struggled to transform itself into the capital of the free world."

We all remember where we were and what we were doing when we first heard of Pearl Harbor. My family had just returned to our Arlington, Virginia, apartment from Sunday dinner at a Howard Johnson's not far away. We heard the news on radio and I called the office to see if they needed my help. They didn't.

Later, I took the roll call of the House on the declaration of war against Japan. I heard the high-pitched voice of Jeannette Rankin, representative from Montana, cast the only "no" vote. She had also voted against the declaration of war against Germany in 1917.

Brinkley injects at this point, a discussion of President Roosevelt's illness. "Most Americans were unaware that Franklin Roosevelt had no use of his legs. To stand, he needed to wear heavy metal braces. To walk he clung to a railing or to someone's arm."

It was interesting to see how the president camouflaged his difficulty

when making a speech. I have watched him from the press gallery — that is, from behind him, a vantage point his audience did not have. The president read from a prepared text in a loose-leaf notebook. His audience saw a speaker who made no gestures except with his head and his smile because he used his right hand to steady himself at the lectern then with his left he could follow his text with his forefinger. This enabled him to raise his line of vision frequently to look at his audience, then return to his text without missing a word. He was very adroit at it.

In a discussion of the frustrations

of dollar-a-year men working in government — Brinkley says that "The nastiest and most tireless practitioner of both patronage and revenge was Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee. For nearly ten years he had carried on an abusive, vindictive campaign against David Lilienthal, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, whose offices were in McKellar's state. Lilienthal's crime was that he refused to hire McKellar's relatives. Already, one of McKellar's two brothers was the Memphis postmaster and the other worked for the Senate Post Office Committee, but the senator could never get enough.

Year after year, in speech after speech, he had forced the Senate to listen to his long, ugly attacks. In one, he accused Lilienthal of 'denying Christians the right to practice their religion.' His basis for this was the belief — wrong — that Lilienthal had refused to allow a Bible salesman to sell on TVA property."

Brinkley does some lovely writing in describing Washington's social scene during the war and Roosevelt's hatred of it. "... because America was the only major nation whose capital was far removed from the battlefields, wartime Washington . . . was socially the most aggressive and most tireless



In 1939 — a time fast approaching the war years — President Franklin D. Roosevelt visited Mount Vernon and addressed an audience on foreign and domestic affairs. As usual, he held spectators enthralled.

city in the western world," he writes. "European visitors studied the scene and proclaimed that Washington actually was a court, but while Louis XIV had entertained his courtiers at Versailles, the Roosevelts had withdrawn from the race and left the courtiers to entertain each other."

Brinkley credits Roosevelt for inventing the news conference "by accepting direct questions." But these conferences were vastly different from those seen on television today. All were held in the oval room of the White House. When he was in Washington the President held two each week, as I recall, one on Tuesday morning about 10:30 so the news would break for afternoon papers, the other on late Thursday afternoon for morning papers. Reporters would first gather in the general waiting room of the White House office building, then rush — pushing and shoving — into the oval room. The regular reporters for the wire services — AP, UP and INS — had chairs around the President's desk to take notes but the rest of us stood, and the room was cramped. I say "us" because I did attend a couple of these conferences and even asked a question at one of them, but I was scared to death. The President, of course, sat at his desk, usually with Steve Early, his press secretary, nearby, sometimes a cabinet member or two, sometimes a visiting guest. His demeanor was very informal. Brinkley quotes him as responding on one occasion, "There's no news on that today." Again, he might suggest talking to a cabinet member.

These conferences would usually last only fifteen or twenty minutes but they would end in a rush. The wire service reporters would break for their telephones on a run and dictate their stories from their hurried notes. One rule, applied to protect the President from misquotation, was that *quotation marks could not be used around the words of the President*. It required a cool head and a clear mind on the part of the reporters.

Brinkley says that "most of the White House reporters liked him, and

Roosevelt liked most of them, but the press as an institution, a power center, and particularly its publishers, he seemed to detest." Of particular note was Col. Robert R. McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune*. Brinkley cites one *Tribune* article reporting that "Moscow has ordered the Reds in the United States to back Roosevelt."

The general press was aware of the *Tribune's* bias. I recall a story that went the rounds among correspondents at the United Nations in New York years later. A *Tribune* reporter who had covered the Senate was transferred to New York when the United Nations was established there. The story went that Col. McCormack called the reporter to his office prior to the transfer and said, "I have learned that the Russians are out to destroy the United Nations — and I want you to beat them to it!"

In his discussion of the press, Brinkley describes the rise of radio as a news medium. News via radio was given by Edward R. Murrow, John MacVane, Elmer Davis, Lowell Thomas and H.V. Kaltenborn. Also, in this period the American Newspaper Guild forced up the salaries of the reporters. My own experience will be revealing. I was hired by the United Press at \$22.50 a week. I joined the Guild. When pay negotiations started my salary was raised to \$25 a week and we were to get yearly raises of five dollars a week. When I was making \$30 and due for a raise to \$35, I went to the boss and told him if he could make it \$40 a week, I could get married. He did and I did.

Brinkley describes some of the legislators of that day:

"Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, Paducah, Kentucky: Born in a log cabin just twelve years after the Civil War, the son of an impoverished farmer. His teachers discovered he had a speaking voice that could awaken sleeping hogs in the next county, a valuable political asset in a day before microphones and amplifiers."

"Representative Sam Rayburn, Democrat. Bonham, Texas: In

February 1944, General Marshall and Henry Stimson asked to see Rayburn privately, even secretly, in his office. Rayburn called in two other congressional leaders to hear a frightening story: Albert Einstein and others had convinced the President it was possible to build a military weapon of an entirely new type, a weapon of such power one bomb would wipe out a city. The Germans, Stimson said, also were working on it and there was a race between Nazi scientists and American scientists to complete this new and frightful thing. Until then they had financed the work by moving military appropriations from one account to another, but now they needed new money — \$1.6 billion. Stimson said, 'If Hitler's government perfects it before we do, we could lose the war overnight.' When they offered details on the bomb project, Rayburn said, 'I don't want to know. If I don't know a secret I can't leak it out.' Nothing more was said. The congressional leaders agreed to find the money."

"Senator Robert Alphonso Taft, Republican, Cincinnati, Ohio: No one ever doubted his intelligence, but there were reservations about his chilly and remote personality and considerable amazement that he ever got elected at all . . . He was all classic 1930's Midwestern Republicanism — smaller government, lower taxes, isolationism, dislike of the unions, hatred of the New Deal and Roosevelt. He voted against extending the draft in 1941, against lend-lease explaining, 'An invasion of the United States by the German army is as fantastic as would be an invasion of Germany by the American army.'"

Brinkley also discusses some of the important social problems of wartime Washington. Housing was scarce for everyone but especially so for blacks. For example, "Two hundred black families were displaced from buildings that once stood on the site of the Pentagon. When Arlington National Cemetery was expanded in 1943, several hundred more families were forced to move. In Washington itself, black homes were demolished . . . to

make way for 'government buildings, highways, schools and recreation facilities.'" Brinkley sums it up starkly: "Washington remained in 1943 what it had always been — a city coldly divided by race and, it seemed, determined to stay that way."

He recalls that for most of their lives government agencies had refused to hire women. When Congress voted to allow women in federal jobs, a "vicious antifeminist campaign" took place. They were paid far less than men.

Brinkley describes the President's health in the 1944 campaign. The facts were, he says, that the President was "in desperately poor health. He had gallstones, and was on a low-fat diet that caused him to lose weight and to look shrunken and drawn. That, however, was far from the worst. A cardiologist in the Navy Medical Corps had given the President a thorough physical in March 1944. He discovered that Roosevelt had a badly enlarged heart, that he was suffering from hypertension and hypertensive heart disease, that he was experiencing cardiac failure in the left ventricle and that he had contracted acute bronchitis . . . It is probably not too much to say that he was already dying.

"But Roosevelt himself seemed unconcerned. He showed no interest in the examination, never asked (the doctor) for the results and submitted passively to some, but never all, of the regimen the doctor prescribed for him."

He again ran for president in 1944; campaigned and won handily.

He went to Yalta in 1945 to meet with Churchill and Stalin to demand unconditional surrender of the axis foes and form what became the United Nations. When he came home he reported in person to a joint session of Congress. For the first time, the president chose to speak from his wheel chair in the well of the House chamber and he told Congress that he was doing it that way simply because it was easier not to have ten pounds of steel wrapped around his legs.

Brinkley was there, and I was there also. The occasion was memorable.

Brinkley sums it all up with: "His speech was meant to do what Woodrow Wilson had failed to do: persuade Congress to support an international organization he hoped would prevent war in the future . . . The applause in Congress was substantial and prolonged. All the members, including even his most relentless critics, joined a long, profuse, shouting-and-whistling ovation . . . What they were applauding was not the speech itself but its substance. Here was an issue that seemed far removed from the ordinary cheap maneuvering for political advantage. Here was a speech marking a great moment in American history: the imminent victory of the Allies and a plan that would, if it worked, save their grandchildren from ever again having to endure what they had endured . . .

come to the White House immediately and quietly. "Eleanor Roosevelt was waiting." Brinkley writes, "quiet and controlled. She put her hand on his shoulder and said, 'Harry, the President is dead.'"

Truman, who had been all but ignored by the President during his short period as Vice President, took over as President. Within weeks Hitler had committed suicide and the European Axis had collapsed. In August the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima. A few days later, on August 14, Japan surrendered and the war was over.

Brinkley says, "In the first months of peace, it came to be clear that the war had awakened Washington from its long afternoon nap and turned into a busy, growing city. With the piles of money it was now spending, government expanded rapidly into areas where it had never ventured before, and soon business and industry, from auto-

". . . the war had awakened Washington from its long afternoon nap . . . government expanded rapidly where it had never ventured before, and soon business and industry . . . discovered that they absolutely had to have their own offices . . . in Washington."

"It seemed the applause would never end. As Roosevelt was wheeled out, those near him saw tears in his eyes. He was home, the victorious leader of a victorious nation. For a moment, partisanship was forgotten. He was a hero."

That was March 1, 1945. A month later he went to Warm Springs, Georgia, for a rest. On April 12, Vice President Harry Truman, was having a drink of bourbon with Sam Rayburn in the privacy of his now famous "board of education" at the Capitol when Steve Early, Roosevelt's press secretary, sent word that he must

mobile makers to grinders of cattle feed, discovered that they absolutely had to have their own offices and representatives in Washington . . .

"The city had come out of the war as the capital of the only major country in the world on the winning side, or any side, to survive without a scratch. But those looking for a return to the quiet, easy Washington life they had known in peacetime would not find it . . ."

Brinkley describes faithfully a capsule of time that needed retelling. □

The Shackled Press in Paraguay

William Steif

Jail — torture — expulsion — are ways dictators cope with truth

William Steif, Nieman Fellow '53, lives in St. Croix and writes a weekly column for the Virgin Islands Daily News. His piece on the press in Guyana appeared in the Winter 1988 issue of Nieman Reports.

Last March 23, five years to the day that this California-sized nation's largest newspaper was shut down by General Alfredo Stroessner, that newspaper again came off the presses—and immediately regained its place as Paraguay's leading daily.

Paraguayans rejoice in the republishing of that newspaper — *ABC Color* — but they do not forget that it was under General Stroessner's dictatorship that 2,000 journalists were jailed and 25 publications closed. And although democracy has now somewhat more of a foothold in that country, freedom of the press continues to remain a tenuous thing.

Aldo Zucolillo, *ABC Color*'s founder and publisher, recalled the day of his shutdown vividly as he talked in the little conference room next to his office in the newspaper's downtown plant.

Zucolillo, a tall, grey-haired man, said, "Stroessner's government wouldn't face criticism or investigation. It got worse and worse in this country, as always happens in dictatorships until the final collapse.

"The last straw, in March, 1984, was when we ran an interview with an opposition leader. It was, we thought, completely innocent. The policeman who came to get me read the interview and said 'but I don't see anything here.' Yet there was a red line around

the interview. The police took me to jail. I was there for eight days and while I was there they shut the paper."

Stroessner at that time had been dictator in this land-locked country of four million people for 30 years. He was to last almost five years more, until early last February 3 when General Andres Rodriguez, at 64, a decade younger than Stroessner, unhorsed Stroessner in a coup and sent him into Brazilian exile.

planned, too, and he alerted his staff to be on hand at 5 a.m.—"eight policemen showed up with handbags," which Zucolillo is sure contained evidence that was to be planted. "Three of my men accompanied each policeman, so they couldn't plant anything."

Two nights later two government men were seen climbing the building wall. "After that, we had to put guards on the place all the time."

"They sent a guy to search my home looking for Communist pamphlets or books, subversive materials. They even searched the cookbooks in the kitchen."

Zucolillo's *ABC Color* had Paraguay's biggest circulation, 80,000, when it was closed, far more than the other two morning papers and the afternoon paper. In fact "we used more newsprint than all the rest of Paraguay's newspapers combined."

After *ABC Color* was closed and Zucolillo was released from jail, he was put under house arrest. "They sent a guy to search my home looking for Communist pamphlets or books, subversive materials. They even searched the cookbooks in the kitchen."

That worried him, because often Stroessner's police would "find" subversive materials which they'd planted. He was tipped off that a search of the newspaper plant was

Zucolillo is from a wealthy Paraguayan family and started *ABC Color* in 1967, combining the names of Madrid's big daily, *ABC*, and Uruguay's daily *Bien Publico* (Public Welfare) *Color*. His paper quickly surpassed *Hoy* (Today), a morning daily, and the afternoon *Ultima Hora* (Last Hour) to become the top newspaper in this city of about a million people. A second morning daily, *Diario Noticias* (Daily News), "closed because of economic problems," he says, "but then restarted with Stroessner's patronage."

With Stroessner's downfall, Zucolillo brought in a new computer system, hired new staff, and last March 23 sold 80,000 papers. He said he could have sold 120,000 if he had

"Dictators are all the same, all dirty people. The biggest problem Stroessner's government faced was that it provided no justice, people had no trust in it . . . We were the justice and we published every morning."

had the press capacity.

"Dictators are all the same, all dirty people. The biggest problem Stroessner's government faced was that it provided no justice, the people had no trust in it. People came to *ABC Color* to make their claims, to explain their problems. We were the justice and we published every morning."

When Stroessner shut down the paper — 1,500 employees all over the country were put out of work, he explained.

"There's no way we can have a dictatorship any more. Democratic ways are growing in this part of the world. The worst crimes here under Stroessner were being a Communist or a homosexual. His government accused me of both at one time or another. But now we have genuine freedom of the press, where genuine leaders appear."

Zucolillo is optimistic and the euphoria of the dictator's overthrow has made him more so.

But there was an irony on the day that *ABC Color* once again appeared on Paraguay's newsstands.

March 23 also was the day that Alejandro Mella Latorre, 39, was expelled from Paraguay and sent back to his native Chile.

Latorre had been out of jail since February 17, freed by a judge a fortnight after Rodriguez's coup.

His first 42 days of freedom in Paraguay ended Oct. 30, 1980, when Stroessner's police arrested and charged him with taking photos of the assassination of exiled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio

Somoza in Asuncion. Latorre, a short, slim, mustached man, was in various Paraguayan prisons for more than eight years. He shows the scars on his hands and arms, evidence of torture. "They broke all my fingers."

Latorre grew up near a Kennecott-owned Chilean copper mine, where Americans worked. He was told by the *Yanquis* that if he could get himself to Canton, Ohio, he could have a scholarship at McKinley High School there—and somehow he got himself to Canton. He wanted to become a journalist and became one, working for UPI and free-lancing in Nicaragua from December, 1977, to June 29, 1979. He returned to Chile, and on Sept. 15, 1980, came to Asuncion "as a staff writer for *La Tribuna*," a periodical. "Forty-two days later I was arrested."

"My problem is that I was in Nicaragua during the civil war" In 1984, after an Americas Watch delegation visited Asuncion, Latorre "went to trial charged with taking pictures at the Somoza killing, even though I wasn't there. The Stroessner prosecutors had to drop the charges and then charged me with being 'an inac-

tive participant' in the killing. I was never active politically."

"That couldn't stand so I was then charged with being 'an accomplice.' There was no evidence I'd helped the killers get out of the country. I didn't know them. Finally, I was sentenced to six years in prison and later charged with taking part in two 1986 riots at the national penitentiary. That's when I was transferred to isolation in a police station."

As soon as Latorre was freed last February, he was hired by Humberto Rubin to be in charge of international news for Radio Nanduti. But that did not keep the new, "democratic" Rodriguez regime from throwing Latorre out of Paraguay, on grounds that he was a convicted felon.

Radio Nanduti was another target of the Stroessner regime. Rubin started the station in 1962 and his writer-producer daughter, Mariana, 26, says "we were the first station in Paraguay and perhaps in South America to have an 'open' microphone—much wrongdoing became public through radio"

She said her father "was held at police stations for hours at a time" under Stroessner "for no reason." The station at different times was closed for 16 or 30-day periods "and the Stroessner government ordered my father not to use the microphone."

Finally, the station was "heavily bugged" and interference was used—"the same technique the Soviets used on Radio Free Europe, only these were guys from the right. And our advertisers were pressured."

continued to page 43

. . . the station was "heavily bugged" and interference was used—"the same techniques the Soviets used on Radio Free Europe, only these were guys from the right. And our advertisers were pressured."

Connecticut and Its Right-to-Know Laws

E. Bartlett Barnes

An advocacy group of journalists in the 1950's pioneered for FOI legislation.

Freedom of Information in Connecticut is alive and well. This state has open public records, open public meetings laws, and an independent commission to administer and enforce them. This makes Connecticut unique in the United States, and perhaps in the world.

But this happy state of Right-to-Know affairs did not come easily or quickly. Journalists in Connecticut have worked long and hard over the past four decades to have these laws enacted, then strengthened and improved.

It started with a small number of editors who were instrumental in getting the state's first modest Right-to-Know laws on the books in the early 1950's. They formed an advocacy group composed of publishers and editors from both daily and weekly newspapers and their counterparts from the broadcast industry. This group labored for 20 years before the early small gains could be translated into landmark FOI legislation in 1975.

E. Bartlett Barnes, publisher emeritus of the Bristol Press, has recently completed a four-year term as a commissioner on Connecticut's five-person Freedom of Information Commission.



It started with a small number of editors who were instrumental in getting the state's first modest Right-to-Know laws on the books in the early 1950's.

Watergate had much to do with setting the stage for this milestone legislation. The public was fed up with secrecy in government. Legislators were ready and willing to accede to the moves for more open and accountable government. But it was the efforts of these early pioneers that ultimately won the day.

The Early Years

We have the late Steve Collins, long-time editor of *The News-Times* in Danbury, to thank for keeping a record of the trials and tribulations from the very beginning of our FOI efforts. When he retired four years ago, he left with his associates a review of FOI developments in Connecticut from 1950-1985. Ed Frede, presently editor of the newspaper, made this available to us.

Collins was editorial director at *The News-Times* when he became involved in the cause of FOI in 1950. He and other members of the State Associated Press were jarred into action by what became known at the "Torrington School Board Case."

Waterbury newspapers had been

denied access to minutes of the Torrington School Board. They sued through one of their editors, who was a Torrington resident. The court decided that as a resident and voter, he had no right to the minutes. But as a newspaperman he did have a right to inspect them.

Thus the court did not recognize the public's Right-to-Know, although it gave special status to reporters. This was rather upsetting to journalists at the time.

It was then decided that a committee of the AP state circuit would seek specific legislation on the public's right of access to meetings and records of public agencies. Collins was on that committee. Other pioneers in the Right-to-Know efforts were Bice Clemow, long-time editor of the *West Hartford News*; Carter H. White, *Meriden Record-Journal* publisher; Gene Martin, editor and J. Warren Upson, counsel, *Waterbury Republican-American*.

This committee had drafted a couple of simple measures to be introduced to the state General Assembly when it convened in 1951.

The bills were referred to the Judiciary Committee, but they never got out. In legislative terminology, the bills were "boxed."

Collins reported that for the next 18 years, FOI measures were referred to the Judiciary Committee, "composed almost entirely of lawyers, not generally sympathetic to reporters and even less to the public's right to observe public business." In Connecticut, as in other states, lawyers have never been in the lead to promote FOI.

When the 1953 FOI effort had the same unfortunate result in the state legislature, Collins decided that the small committee of editors was not strong enough to carry on the fight. So with daily and weekly newspaper and radio and television station support, the Connecticut Council on Freedom of Information was formed in 1955.

CCFOI kept up the fight and in 1957, with Abraham Ribicoff as Governor, both an open public records law (public act 428) and an open public meetings law (public act 468) were passed. While CCFOI members knew there were many loopholes in the law, there was at least something worthwhile on the books.

The council then went to work to strengthen the law. It was a continuing agenda year after year, with no particular success. The year 1969, however, was significant because with a legislative reorganization, FOI matters were now referred to a new committee on Government Administration and Policy instead of the lawyer-dominated Judiciary Committee.

In addition to trying to improve existing law, CCFOI members acted as watchdogs. In the early 1970's, with Tom Meskill as Governor, the council had to work particularly hard to save the modest gains already achieved.

The Ella Grasso Years

The 1974 campaign for Governor was most important to FOI in Connecticut. Both nominees for Governor were committed to the public's Right-to-Know. Ella Grasso, the Democratic

nominee, had been a friend to FOI during her 12 years as Secretary of the State and her four years in Congress. Steve Collins and other CCFOI members took it on themselves to educate Robert Steele, the Republican nominee, to the importance of improving FOI law.

There were several debates between the candidates during the 1974 campaign. As the debates moved around the state, Collins and others contrived to have a panelist or someone in the audience raise FOI questions. In that way, both candidates were repeatedly on the record.

I recall a meeting of the Connecticut Daily Newspaper Association in October 1974 at which Ella Grasso was the speaker. Steve Collins asked her if elected, how would she strengthen the FOI laws. She responded by pledging to establish an FOI commission.

resulted in improvements and clarifications to the law throughout Ella Grasso's term in office, and throughout that of her successor, Bill O'Neill. Among these improvements was an increase in the commission from three members to five with the proviso that no more than three can be from the same political party. The council's vigilance was also required to prevent passage of bills that would have weakened the FOI Act.

The Commission — Who Uses it?

A few facts and figures give an indication of the impact of Connecticut's FOI Commission. Since 1975 some 3,700 complaints have been filed with the commission claiming violations of the FOI Act. Better than 2,200 of these complaints went to hearing. This past year alone, the record was over 500 cases filed with some 300 hearings held.

The public thinks FOI laws primarily benefit the press. Journalists insist that it is the public's Right-to-Know they are advocating.

Grasso won the governorship by a big margin and wasted little time keeping her promise. In March 1975, she proposed a bill that would significantly broaden the state law covering access to government meetings and records. The bill also would create a three-member commission to decide complaints under the new law.

It was obvious that the public — and the state legislature — were ready for the improved FOI Act. With a vigorous lobbying effort by CCFOI, the bill passed the House of Representatives 137 to zero and a week later the Senate gave its endorsement 36 to zero. As one of the senators put it, "[t]his bill will stand up with any FOI law in the country."

Continuing efforts by CCFOI

The general public may say FOI laws primarily benefit the press — that is why journalists have worked so hard to have these laws enacted. Journalists, on the other hand, insist that it is the *public's* Right-to-Know they are advocating.

Whichever perception is correct, the record reveals that the public has taken advantage of the state's open public records and meetings laws. In fact, the great bulk of complaints, better than 85 percent, have been filed by non-media individuals and organizations. Only 14-15 percent have been filed by the press.

As Robert H. Estabrook, editor-publisher *emeritus* of *The Lakeville Journal* and before that correspondent and editor with *The Washington Post*, put it:

"All too often, access to information about government is presented as a right of the press, rather than a right of the citizen. But in Connecticut, more than 80 percent of the complaints before the Commission are brought by individuals who believe they have been denied their rights under the law, rather than by newspapers or broadcasters. From the standpoint of a small town editor-publisher, the mere knowledge that the FOI Act is on the books with a public body empowered to police it, has been a great boost to open government at the local level."

How the Commission Operates

Mitchell Pearlman, the Commission's executive director and general counsel, explains that the commission operates in five general areas: administrative adjudication; litigation; public education; legislation; and administration.

have to be heard and decided by the commission. But it uses an informal hearing format so that it is unnecessary for complainants to hire lawyers.

The Commission's litigation function is primarily directed toward defending its decisions when appealed to court.

Less than 20 percent of the cases decided by the Commission are appealed. Thus, while each individual case is important, litigation plays a relatively minor role in decision-making. And although we win some and lose some, so far the courts have sustained the majority of Commission decisions.

The Commission puts a very high priority on its public education role. It conducts annual educational workshops for members of public agencies and other groups. The CCFOI has co-sponsored these workshops with editors and publishers assisting in the

periodically to plan legislation strategy.

Targets for the 1989 session include a bill providing for disclosure of autopsy reports, opening the books of privately incorporated foundations, and rewriting the FOI Act from "legalese" into plain English.

The final area is administration. The commission is a state agency and must administer itself accordingly. There is an executive director, who also serves as general counsel, six authorized staff attorneys, and seven authorized support staff.

Of the five commission members, at least two usually are journalists. Presently, Deane Avery, retired editor and co-publisher of *The Day* in New London, and I bring a news background to the Commission.

Some Cases, Some Comments

When the state's chief prosecutor refused to release the job performance evaluation of the Waterbury prosecutor, the *Journal Inquirer* in Manchester and its editor filed a complaint with the Commission. The newspaper asked that office to order disclosure of the evaluation which was said to be critical of the local prosecutor. The state Attorney General's office argued that the release of the evaluation would invade the local state's attorney's privacy. Following two hearings on the case, the commission ordered the chairman of the State Criminal Justice Commission to release the papers. The case is now on appeal.

In New Britain, a police officer had resigned a week before he was to meet with the city's Board of Police Commissioners to discuss an internal investigation into his on-duty conduct. Police said the investigation could have led to criminal charges. Instead of the discussion the police commissioners accepted the officer's resignation. Both *The Herald* in New Britain and *The Hartford Courant* had asked that the internal investigation report be released. The police board refused, so the newspapers filed complaints with the FOI Commission. The Com-

In the past two years since this ombudsman program has been in effect, better than one-third of the complaints have been settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

Administrative adjudication consists of resolving complaints filed with the Commission alleging violation of FOI rights. It is the largest single operational area with over 500 complaints filed annually. On receiving a complaint, the matter is scheduled for a hearing. At the same time, it is referred to a staff attorney, who acts as an ombudsman to settle the case "out of court," as it were, in advance of the scheduled hearing date.

In the two years since this ombudsman program has been in effect, better than one-third of the complaints have been settled to the satisfaction of all parties. The remainder of the cases

planning and participating in the programs.

Other means of educating the public are through responses to phone calls and written inquiries. Staff members answer thousands of such inquiries in a year.

Another function, and an area of special concern, is legislation. Commission attorneys monitor proposed legislation to check its consistency with FOI laws. Commissioners also suggest legislation, and both commissioners and staff lobby the legislature.

In this role, state journalists through CCFOI and CDNA provide an important assist to the commission. A joint committee meets

mission ruled that the investigation be made public.

A case that has received widespread publicity was that by an animal rights activist against the Connecticut Humane Society. A representative of Friends of Animals sought to have the Humane Society board meetings open and the Society held accountable. The Society claimed it was not a public agency; it was funded by contributions from the public, not the state.

Noting this, the *Bristol Press*, in an editorial captioned "Time to shake up a humane society," wrote "State sanction has helped the society to become the leading animal protection group in the state. In return, state government is entitled to expect the society to do its job aggressively."

Media Commentary

From these few examples, one can see the FOI Commission rulings do

of the Board of Selectmen were present, so legally it was a meeting of the board that should have been open. We brought a case before the FOI Commission and won our point."

Back in May 1987, Kevin Donovan, assistant city editor of the *Greenwich Time*, wrote a letter to the Greenwich police chief requesting a copy of an unsolved murder investigation prepared by a New York city police expert. "The report would appear to be a public record under the state FOI Act," Donovan wrote. The Greenwich police chief refused the request. Donovan then brought the case before the FOI Commission. After several delays, the case was heard and the commission ordered the chief to give Donovan and the *Greenwich Time* a copy of the report.

In a questionnaire state editors commented on the value of the FOI Commission and its system for resolving Right-to-Know disputes. Their responses are interesting.

Bob Boone of the *Journal Inquirer*: "As a force for more open government in Connecticut, the FOI Commission has been useful both as a symbol and in a practical way. . . . The Commission's impact results [primarily] . . . from the savvy, dedication and energy of individual commissioners and the Commission's staff, particularly its executive director, Mitchell W. Pearlman. . . . The amount of business it does is quite

Targets for the 1989 session — bills that would: provide the disclosure of autopsy reports, opening the books of privately incorporated foundations, rewriting the FOI Act from "legalese" into plain English.

Following two lengthy hearings, the commission ruled that in part the Humane Society was a public agency, and in those areas, the Society should comply with the FOI Act. The commission suggested that "if the Humane Society finds it is not practical to separate its activities that are subject to the FOI Act from those which are not, it would be in the public interest to conduct all its business in accordance with the Act." The Humane Society has appealed.

Subsequently, publicity given to the finding of four dead Arabian horses in a Thomaston barn has raised quite a furor over the handling of animal abuse complaints by the Society. "Humane Society's Role Questioned After Deaths [of the horses]" was the headline to a news story in *The Hartford Courant*. "Animal Activists say venerable agency protecting endowment, not dogs and cats," read a headline in the *Journal Inquirer*. This was from the first of a three-part article entitled "Is The Humane Society Losing Its Soul?"

But the Humane Society remains adamant about its private status.

get more than passing attention from state journalists, especially when there is a local or regional interest in the case.

Editor Ed Frede of *The News-Times* in Danbury commented: "What I like about our [FOI] law is that there is a means to pursue a matter. . . . Such is not the case in New York [where we also publish] short of bringing action in the court." (*The News-Times* is an Ottaway newspaper).

A comment on the FOI Commission: . . . "useful both as a symbol and in a practical way . . . The amount of business it does is quite remarkable — and shows no sign of going away."

Bob Estabrook recounts an experience when the town's first selectman (i.e., mayor) excluded a reporter from a meeting of citizens to discuss plans for a new town hall. "Others members

remarkable — and shows no sign of going away."

Carter White, former publisher of the *Meriden Record Journal* and one

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Anniversary Seminars

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it makes our military policies not make sense because those policies were set up in the 1950's when Europe was poor and there was a real Russian threat.

Europe is rich; it's richer than the Soviet Union in terms of people; it has many more people than the Soviet Union. What is the purpose of having 500,000 troops in Europe from the American side? Well, the economics that was the basic reason for sending them there in the first place is gone and so, I think, what you now see is people scrambling to find a reason to have those troops there, given that the economic reasons have disappeared.

Another symbol would be Japan and the FSX, which, if you think about it, is a comedy of economics. The Japanese wanted to go off and build a fighter plane by themselves with no American involvement whatsoever. At that point, we said no because this is the Japanese trying to sneak into the civilian aircraft industry by the back door — we insist that they do it with us. So we force the Japanese to sign a contract to build their military airplanes with us, and then after they signed a contract, we said, no, we don't want to give them any of this secret technology on civilian aircraft — it was a comedy of errors. But what we in the United States haven't yet learned, is, if the Japanese want to get into the civilian aircraft industry, there is nothing the United States can do to stop them. It's up to Japan to decide whether it does or doesn't want to build civilian aircraft. And the whole idea that we have some way of manipulating that decision by either building or not building a fighter plane with them is crazy.

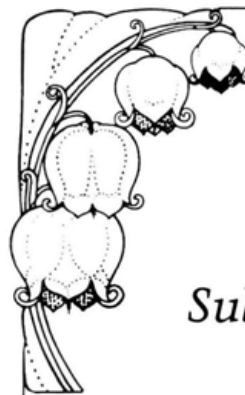
You can see it if you look at the air-bus in Europe. Europeans are building the air-bus. The Europeans have put

\$12 billion worth of government money into the air-bus and have not yet made any money, but if Europe wants to have a civilian aircraft industry, Europe is wealthy enough to afford it, and the same thing's true in Japan. Now, if you look at the economy on a worldwide basis, we're shifting from the post-World War II period, which I would call a niche economy or win-win. In the period after World War II, everybody was a winner because the United States was very large; we imported five percent of the GNP; and we had a very high standard of living compared to everybody else. And so if you looked at the products we imported, they were low-wage products by our terms and high-wage products by the terms of everybody else. And so when they came into the United States, they weren't threatening because they were in industries we were phasing out anyway. We call that the product cycle, and from the point of view of the rest of the world these industries were going to make them rich. And so everybody won.

It was also true that American exports weren't competitive with the rest of the world. We exported farm products they couldn't grow, raw materials they didn't have, and I'll remind you in the 1950's, we were the biggest exporters of oil in the world, not Saudi Arabia. And we exported unique manufactured products they couldn't build. The problem is by the time you get to 1990's, it's head-to-head competition. Go to Germany, Japan, the United States, and ask them to give you a list of what other industries those countries need to have a world class standard of living, and they'll all give you exactly the same list. And the best example of that, of course, is high-definition TV. If we were in the post-World War II period, we would all sit down like

gentlemen and gentlewomen, and we would agree on the technical standards for high-definition TV, and then we would say, may the best company manufacture it. That's exactly what we're not going to do in high-definition TV. The Europeans are going to design standards that are going to be impossible for the Americans or the Japanese to manufacture. We, in America, are going to design standards that will be deliberately impossible for the Japanese or the Europeans to manufacture, and the Japanese just want world standards because with world standards, they think they're going to win, and that's precisely why everybody else doesn't want world standards because we believe they're right. And they would win if you had world standards.

That kind of jockeying for economic position is something that's going to continue to be part of this economy that we're all going to live in after 1992. I'm not a Marxist in the sense that I believe that economic substructure determines the political superstructure, but I certainly think that there's a big influence and I think what you're going to see is a very different economic substructure in the 1990's, and it's going to lead to lots of changes at the political and military level. □



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Right-to-Know Laws

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of the more fiesty FOI supporters for some three decades in several roles — including chairman of CCFOI and legislative chairman of that group and CDNA, notes, “[w]e have called on the Commission many times and Mitchell Pearlman in particular for advice or to get general information. We have always gotten prompt service and accurate information.”

A surprise response came from Bob Brown, editorial page editor of the *Bristol Press*. In his comment, he raised the question of motive for a complaint to the FOI Commission. “Are some motives more worthy than others,” he wrote. After all, bad guys with questionable motives, as well as good guys with the best of motives, have a right to use the Commission, Brown pointed out. In referring to a case out of Bristol, Brown wrote:

Connecticut editors love to talk about the value of the state’s Freedom of Information Act in allowing people to learn about the government that serves them. . . . I also know that life isn’t always simple. We’ve all seen tough cases — situations in which most of our fellow citizens would say secrecy best serves the public interest. . . . If the Commission considered the motives of those who appear before it, troubling questions would be raised. . . . The law assumes that open government should be the norm in a democracy. . . . So [a bad guy cannot] . . . be denied access. But honesty should compel us to acknowledge how much . . . fellow citizens might resent this . . .

One final episode — one in which the commission itself was put to the test in abiding by its own rules.

A former Wallingford Town Council chairman had long been a critic of the state FOI Commission. He claimed that open government rules established by the Commission were impractical

and fostered governmental gridlock by encouraging citizens to seek all kinds of information from state and municipal agencies.

So in a “sauce for the goose” mode, as the *Meriden Record-Journal* commented, the former chairman drove up to the FOI offices in Hartford unannounced. There, he demanded on-the-spot access to all records and files of cases kept by the Commission. The Commission’s acting clerk, Catherine Lynch, promptly showed him the files, explained how to use them, and gave him access to the copy machine to make as many free copies as he’d like.

Morgan McGinley, *The Day’s* editorial page editor, and current chairman of CCFOI, perhaps best summarized the essence of FOI this way:

“There is a healthy spirit in Connecticut that the public’s watchdog, the media, often gets plenty of watchdog help from Connecticut residents who have no particular axe to grind. They do not like, nor do they accept, the arrogance of public officials shutting them out of meetings and closing them off from information that ought to be on the public record.

“The good work done by the state Freedom of Information Commission

“There is a healthy spirit in Connecticut that the public’s watchdog, the media, often gets plenty of watchdog help from . . . residents who have no particular axe to grind. . . .”

“I just wanted to put the FOI Commission up to the same yardstick they hold us to, and see if they live up to their own rules,” the former chairman said. But as the *New Haven Register* wrote in an editorial a few months ago, the Wallingford politician “ate humble pie.” The *Meriden Record-Journal*, however, placed the matter in proper perspective when it editorialized:

“We hope the experiment convinced town officials that the best way to meet requests for information, even requests that appear to them as harassment, is with prompt courtesy and efficiency. This isn’t just to keep in compliance with the law; it may also be good strategy.”

and the Connecticut Council on Freedom of Information has helped to mobilize the public generally on right-to-know issues. The work demonstrates that a conscientious public and a diligent press can affect the quality and integrity of the service they get from public officials.” □



Afterthoughts

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ference between personal and media value. The media, especially with their overwhelming television clout, are muscular just by their very presence, more powerful than any single person or group. Even without flexing their muscles, they can have a controlling effect on lives, events and institutions, large and small.

Very often the news media implant the earliest and even the most lasting impressions. Reporting an arrest, arraignment or indictment can be an early public conviction of a presumed crime no matter that the person is theoretically innocent until proven guilty. The news media have become the judges not of last but of first resort. As judges, the reason they are so often resented is that they are not accepted as good or as fair enough to justify the power they have. Unlike judges in court, their standards of judgment are *ad hoc* and unknown. They are, unelected, unregulated, bound only by the intentionally permissive laws of libel. They are, in a familiar phrase, accountable only to themselves.

It is a big responsibility. Neither

... I have long thought that the two most important goals for people who have acquired privileged positions are to try to be both strong and kind at the same time. (A sense of humor helps too.)

they nor their public are satisfied with how they exercise it. Those who have always had power or privilege can become so accustomed to it that they fail to recognize it. They often casually accept it, to the point of denying they have special standing among the millions who do not. As hard as this is to imagine today, the rising, thoughtful and now presiding or retiring journalists of my generation did not sense we had the power that others—from press agents to presidents—obviously thought we did. With all our self-assurance, we felt less important than others considered us to be.

There are no junior or senior journalists in print or television who can be unaware of what effect their work has on the lives and governance of others.

Fifteen or twenty years ago, I heard some of the key gatekeepers of the U.S. press honestly say, "What is all this talk about our power? We don't feel it." Perhaps it was better that in either ignorance or arrogance we felt that way. The cover of *Life* magazine could make or break a career, but that was not in the minds of those who picked it. President Kennedy thought the lead editorializing story in *Time* could have a critical effect on "swing opinion" in the United States. Those who wrote and edited it never assigned it any such grand importance. The managing editor of the *New York Times* once objected to a group of his peers that although he certainly understood the importance and high velocity of news, "We just put it in the

paper where it belongs. The only power I can exercise is over wedding announcements and obituaries." It was an incredible shortsightedness but it was authentic.

The world and the news media have radically changed since those days. Now the power is unmistakably present. There are no junior or senior journalists in print or television who can be unaware of what effect their work has on the lives and governance of others. Not that they sit around bragging about it or glorying in the power and seeking even more. But with the new media environment that has developed in the past twenty years, today journalists cannot avoid awareness of their enhanced power.

There is an analogy in another field of created power: the apocalyptic force of nuclear energy. *Everyone* agrees on at least one aspect of that complex

subject. There is only one way to handle the power of nuclear energy and bombs—very, very carefully. The change from the old-fashioned, preelectronic press to the modern news media has no such ultimate bang. But their effect on day-to-day living is even greater. And like nuclear power, the only way for the press to handle its new power is more carefully than it does now. Much more carefully. □

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This is the last excerpt from Mr. Clurman's book. Other excerpts were previously published in issues of *Nieman Reports*.

Toward a Global Village

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Village grows and grows. But the new technology will bring more than old cowboy movies and re-runs of "I Love Lucy" and "Dallas." It will bring in the news as prepared and distributed in the western mode by the big companies now formed to take advantage of the new international market. Cable News Network (CNN) is already seen worldwide and the forming of new communications conglomerates are on the way.

During the 1970's, Russian television films showed the seamy side of America — the unemployed. But Moscow viewers were impressed with what they saw: the well-dressed inhabitants, the cars, the restaurants!

The total impact of this approaching revolution cannot be fully anticipated, but it can be suggested. The satellites disseminate a different set of life styles than the new audiences are accustomed to. If Europeans are worried about the influences of the usual boring, shallow programs that dominate US television, what will Asians think? When the Russians made some television films in the US during the 1970's, they attempted to show the seamy side of America; how the country was filled with

unemployed, miserable people. But the Moscow viewers we talked to were impressed with how well-dressed were the Americans they saw on screen, and how many cars were on the streets, and how good the restaurants looked.

The message that the television audience receives is not always the message that politicians and intellectuals expect. Television delivers a visual impact that elevates modest values and reduces more important values. Thus, what a person wears on camera is more important than what he or she says; the total impression of a brief image is more important than the specific elements in that same picture. Still, the viewer believes he or she is getting a true picture of the event or individual shown on the screen. The viewer draws conclusions, and sometimes makes decisions, based on a television image, an image that is reinforced by repetitious presentations.

Writers are often disbelieved when the attempt to contradict what might be a false or distorted image; the picture is worth ten thousand words, the medium is the message. Anyone who has appeared on television has experienced the phenomenon: "I saw you on television; you looked good!" But the friend will be unable to repeat what you said, but is likely to remember the color of your tie.

As this new age sweeps over us, the merchants of the media have control of the technology and the hardware.

But they can supply only portions of the content. The names Murdoch and Turner are familiar world-wide. Time, Incorporated, and Warner Brothers are in the field, along with NBC and General Electric; Pearson, Maxwell, Bertelsman, Hachette, Paramount; all names to conjure with. Still, in this spectacular era, the old, familiar originators of news—the AP, the UPI, AFP and Reuters, and the big international newspapers—will be the chief sources of most of the information that the new technology will deliver.

The Global Village will expand and an international standard of news will grow. But the government agencies are out of the race. The efforts at a new information order, third world news exchanges, and the giants, TASS and Hsinhua, have failed to meet the competition. There are no viable alternatives on the horizon to the mainstream news producers that follow a basic, accepted international standard for accuracy.

As one who has now lived in five different countries and traveled in dozens more, I rebel at the swamp of sameness that is flooding the world. McDonald's in Malaysia, Gucci in Indonesia, Col. Sanders in Singapore, and Benetton in Thailand is not necessarily progress. But I do believe the world will be a better place in which to live as newspeople communicate on a recognizable, common international standard. We as journalists, regardless of language and nationality, can share the common goal: to pursue a comparable version of the truth. We cannot expect to attain the truth, but we can mutually strive for the truth that, as Hannah Arendt put it, is the ground we stand on and the sky that stretches above. □

I rebel at the swamp of sameness that is flooding the world. Gucci in Indonesia, and Benetton in Thailand is not necessarily progress.

NIEMAN NOTES

Bard of Avon to the Rescue

There comes a time when only by quoting Shakespeare is the English language adequate to the occasion. That time has come. The occasion was the 50th Birthday Celebration of the Nieman Foundation and the reunion of Nieman Fellows.

It was a time when some Niemans crossed the Atlantic and some crossed the Pacific to be here. It was a time when Niemans from the South and Niemans from the Far West gathered in Cambridge to meet Spring again in New England — when Niemans from all over took pleasure in the Lippmann House flower garden gracing the front lawn — bulbs and seeds planted and nurtured by Carol, Elizabeth, Kettee, and Kim. It was a time when the joy of a very special reunion was tempered by the melancholy reminder that a three-day meeting ends in three days.

How kind of Shakespeare to assist with *his* own words the inadequacy of *our* own — how so right that the gems of his polished phrases give even more meaning to the meeting of Nieman Fellows. We are indebted to the Bard for foreseeing such events as these:

* * *

When the thinning ranks of the earliest classes of Niemans meet the Nieman Fellows of the '70's and '80's — "*O! call back yesterday, bid time return.*"

When a traveling foreign correspondent Nieman pounds the shoulders of a Fellow Classmate, swears faithfully to more frequent meetings and jots down home and office phone numbers — "*I'll note you in my book of memory.*"

When the Nieman reporter from *The Washington Post* clasps the hand



in fervent greeting of *The New York Times* Nieman — "*My near'st and dearest enemy.*"

When a syndicated Nieman Fellow columnist corners a respectful audience and relates his scoops — "*Let me tell the world.*"

When Niemans meet in a huddle in the Seminar Room to relive their stories from Afghanistan, Central America, the Middle East, and now look forward (?) to more placid assignments — "*The cankers of a calm world and a long peace.*"

When two Niemans covering politics vie with their stories about politicians — "*She speaks, yet she say nothing*" and "*That unlettered small-knowing soul.*"

When, and again, the promises to meet to go sailing, fishing, bird-watching — anything, as long as the meeting takes place, as long as the friendship endures — "*A calendar, a calendar! look in the almanack; find out moonshine.*"

When the mingling of voices, the greetings, the profound sayings, and the flippancy of quips to lighten feeling moments — "*I never heard so musical a discord, such sweet thunder.*"

And Shakespear's oft-quoted phrase closes the 50th Birthday Celebration of the Nieman Foundation — "*Good night, good night! parting is such sweet sorrow, That I shall say good night till it be morrow.*"



It is the custom of the Soviet Moiseyev Dance Group to end their performance in our country with a rousing American square dance. The audience claps to the beat of Soviet feet — and it brings down the house!

However, when the Group appeared in Boston this past winter, after the square dance the Soviet musicians encored with a one-line-long song; music by Gilbert and Sullivan, but the words — the words were as American as, well, apple pie? The audience belted out that one-line over and over again, and clamoured for more. On both sides of the footlights it was glasnost carried to its zenith.

But where did the one line come from? It called for research, so we dug and delved and came up with:

1) The words were composed by a young naval reserve officer during the Spanish-American War.

2) A note in the United States Copyright Office states that Theodora Morse wrote the words in 1904.

3) The first printing of the song with title and words intact was in 1908. It was published as a march.

Take your pick. We bring it up only because at the Birthday reunion a Nieman Fellow '89 turned to a Nieman Fellow '59 and said with a happy smile, "Hail, Hail, The Gang's All Here." □

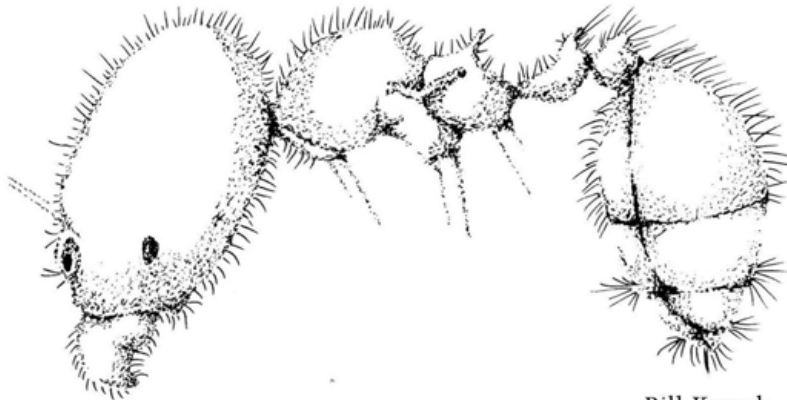
As We Began, So We End — A Memory

It is fitting that this memory of an event close with further Shakespearean words — a eulogy by Antony on the death of Brutus. It may be read as a poignant reference to Howard Simons.

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that nature
might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'

At the end of an office lunch, Howard toasted his staff. Now it was our turn to return the encomium. We had barely lifted our glasses and our voices when — a mock-groan from Howard heard o'er the Yard, and then — I can hear him now — "Enough! Back to work!"

Pheidole simonsi Wilson



Bill Kovach
after E. O. Wilson

Howard Simons and his love of nature have been memorialized in a most unusual way. Dr. E. O. Wilson, Frank B. Baird Professor of Science and Curator in Entomology in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard, has named a previously unidentified ant in Costa Rica after Howard. Professor Wilson spoke at many of Howard's seminars on biodiversity and environmental concerns and had planned to associate Howard on one of his future research projects.

—1939—

FRANK SNOWDEN HOPKINS sends Nieman Notes an interesting account of why he chose to study Byzantine history during his Nieman Year at Harvard. He had no idea of the mild concern engendered by that choice until he read Jerome Aumante's [NF'68] piece in the Spring 1989 issue — the Fiftieth Anniversary issue — of *Nieman Reports*. He cites his gratitude to James Conant for approving that course; Archibald MacLeish, the first Nieman Curator, was not too enthusiastic, he may have considered it too esoteric a subject.

In his letter, Mr. Hopkins says: "My Nieman colleagues were puzzled by my odd behavior and subjected me to a certain amount of good-natured ribbing. . . . I responded to the ribbing that I had my own reasons for finding Byzantine history interesting . . . it was more relevant to our own times than they realized."

His interest in Byzantine history was sparked at an early age by reading H.G. Wells. Later, he read other authors who wrote on that period — including Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee. At Harvard, Prof. Robert Blake, "a lumbering giant of a man, and an enthusiastic scholar," taught that subject, adding even more fuel to Mr. Hopkins interest.

Before World War II, Frank Hopkins was a reporter on the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, and then on the *Sun* in Baltimore. There, finding his mornings free, he enrolled in history courses at "Johns Hopkins University . . . founded by my Quaker ancestors."

During the war, he "organized and conducted training programs for thousands of shipyard workers. After the war I went to work for the State Department, helping to plan and develop the postwar US Foreign Service. After 23 years of that I went into the World Future Society and have helped to build its membership to nearly 30,000."

Mr. Hopkins termed his Harvard experience "a great one at a formative period of my life. I have drawn on memories of it many times in later stages of my career."

—1942—

A story in the Portland newspaper, *The Oregonian*, describes ED MILLER's plan for a covered bridge in the Washington Park Zoo for the zoo's railroad. Mr. Miller, a long-time railroad buff, is the retired managing editor of *The Oregonian*. He

suggested the bridge as "a sound addition to the railroad and one strictly in keeping with the historical traditions of Oregon."

He was one of a trio who coordinated the planning and development of the Washington Park & Zoo Railroad. Since its inception in mid-1958, the railroad has carried more than 7 million passengers; it was the first of its kind for zoos, and now it is the last railroad in the United States that actually carries mail for the U.S. Postal Service. There is a mail box on the zoo grounds and a mail slot on the train. Letters carry a zoo cancellation stamp. It is a four-mile ride from the zoo through a heavily forested area to the park, and then back again to the zoo. The letters, of course, end up in the U.S. Post Office and then on to their final destination.

Mr. Miller said there were only 49 covered bridges in the state and only one is in the metropolitan area of Portland. He explained that there already are plans and preliminary blueprints for a zoo railroad bridge and trestle.

"But some of us railroad nuts who conceived, begged and borrowed for the railroad itself, just ran out of gas about that time, and so the covered bridge idea never did get off the ground."

Mr. Miller, who recently celebrated his 86th birthday, said "it may be just a pipe dream, but we think it's worth a try."

—1960—

VEETIKAD V. ESWAREN has been appointed chief of the New Delhi news bureau of *Navasakthi*, a leading Tamil daily in Madras, India. His address is C/II-75 Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, IIO Oil. Mr. Eswaran was formerly chief of the New Delhi bureau of *Rajasthan Patrika*, a widely circulated English-Hindi newspaper in Rajasthan. He had also been parliamentary/ political correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* in New Delhi.

—1968—

H. BRANDT AYERS has been awarded a senior fellowship at the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University. Mr. Ayers is editor and publisher of the *Anniston Star* in Alabama.

—1974—

NICHOLAS DANILOFF is still another journalist who has turned to teaching. He

is a visiting professor of journalism at Northeastern University in Boston. LaRue W. Gilleland, School of Journalism director, said Mr. Danilooff will teach graduate and undergraduate courses, including journalism history, media ethics, and reporting. He will also develop new international studies for the School of Journalism and the College of Arts and Sciences.

During the past school year, Mr. Danilooff was a fellow at the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center for Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard. He was also a fellow at Harvard's Russian Research Center; during the present school year, he will continue as a fellow at that Center.

His book, *Two Lives, One Russia*, was recently published. The book describes his 1986 incarceration in Moscow on a trumped-up charge of spying; it further details the role of his great-great grandfather in the 1825 military revolt against Nicholas I, and his subsequent arrest and exile to Siberia. Mr. Danilooff also is author of a book on the Russian space program titled *The Kremlin and the Cosmos*.

PATRICIA O'BRIEN has been appointed Baltimore *Sun* Distinguished Lecturer at the University of Maryland College of Journalism. During the academic year 1988-89 she was a fellow at the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University in New York, where she studied politics and the Washington media.

Ms. O'Brien will teach a course on "The Future of Journalism" during the Fall 1989 Semester at the University of Maryland's College Park campus.

The *Sun* Lectureship, endowed by a grant from the A.S. Abell Foundation of Baltimore, was established in 1987. JOHN HERBERS, NF '61 former *New York Times* national correspondent, was the first to hold the lectureship. The second *Sun* lecturer was RICHARD HARWOOD, NF '56, ombudsman of *The Washington Post*.

Ms. O'Brien, who was presidential campaign press secretary for Michael Dukakis, has been a Washington political correspondent for Knight-Ridder newspapers, a reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and has also worked for radio and television programs.

—1977—

In the late Spring KATHRYN JOHNSON received an Outstanding

Alumna Award for Distinguished Career from the Awards Committee of the Agnes Scott Alumnae Association. Ms. Johnson was given the award at the annual meeting of the Alumnae Association at Agnes Scott College. The College is celebrating its Centennial Year.

A letter from the president of Ms. Johnson's Alma Mater — Ruth Schmidt — said: "Your distinguished career in journalism and the outstanding testimonials by those who know your work make us at Agnes Scott very, very proud of you."

Ms. Johnson is writing anchor news for CNN in Atlanta. She had been the Southeast bureau chief for *U.S. News & World Report*. During President Carter's administration she covered the White House and the Capital for that magazine.

In introducing Ms. Johnson to the audience at the Awards Ceremony, a friend, Barbara Hull, pointed out that "Of all the significant stories she has reported, those of the civil rights struggle of the 60's perhaps mean the most to her, for she covered it from its inception, when Martin Luther King, Jr. was an unknown minister through the whole of his tumultuous career. . . . Nothing speaks more eloquently than the respect accorded to her by her peers and those whose stories she has covered."

A letter, written by Joe Galloway, senior editor at *U.S. News & World Report*, in tribute to Ms. Johnson, was also quoted. The opening paragraph said: "Kathryn Johnson is one of the finest shoe-leather reporters ever to walk a beat. Over the years she has built a truly impressive network of people who admire her honesty and her principled behavior and trust her for her consummate professionalism."

—1978—

A letter from KENNETH FREED of the *Los Angeles Times* tells of a move that has involved him in both a change of climate and of pace. He says:

"I have just completed the first of a three-year assignment in San Salvador and somewhat to my surprise, enjoying it. After more than four pleasant . . . years in Canada I find the return to the dust, the bad roads, the general tumult of the Third World and even the possibility of danger interesting and a hell of a lot of fun. It doesn't hurt that the story is of relatively high profile and of some importance. Besides El

Salvador I cover Guatemala and Panama, where I was forced to spend May 7th instead of at the reunion."

Mr. Freed ends his letter with the hope that "whatever tinpot dictator" he may be covering, the story will not interfere with his attending the next Nieman Foundation reunion.

—1979—

A recent letter from MARGARET (PEGGY) ENGEL, executive director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation, that was published in the Letters to the Editor column of the June 10, 1989 issue of *Editor & Publisher* deserves space in Nieman Notes. The letter follows:

I have just returned from the 50th anniversary of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, a spectacular celebration organized by Howard Simons, the Nieman curator.

More than 350 journalists from across the world gathered in gratitude for having been given nine months to grow intellectually. Speaker after speaker told how much the Nieman fellowship added to their professional capabilities.

Yet I am struck, in my capacity as director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation fellowships, by how reluctant many editors remain about fellowships.

Too many fellows are considered selfish or not a team player if they attempt to improve themselves or their work. The testimonials were further proof that outside benefactors, such as foundations, are enriching the field of journalism. Particularly because there is so little employee training and education going on in newsrooms, the support of enlightened managers is crucial. As 50 years of Nieman classes have shown, the benefits to journalism are real.

Margaret Engel

MICHAEL MCDOWELL sends news of the NF's '79 long distance travelers to the Birthday Celebration and the itinerary of that Class during their stay in Cambridge. He says:

"SABAM SIAGIAN, now the editor of *The Jakarta Post*, came the longest distance, from his native Indonesia; JOHN MOJAPLO, now with the cultural sec-

tion of the U.S. Embassy in South Africa, travelled from Pretoria; THOMAS DILLEN, documentary film-maker from Sweden, flew in from Stockholm; MICHAEL MCDOWELL, flew in from Canadian Broadcasting's Washington bureau; two others took the Washington shuttle: MARGARET ENGEL, executive director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation and PEGGY SIMPSON, Washington correspondent for *Ms. magazine*; and KATHERINE HARTING TRAVERS of the University of Maryland drove from that state's Eastern Shore to stay with Boston University School of Communications professor NANCY DAY. All grouped together for a photo-op with their [then] Nieman Curator, Jim Thomson. They tailored a Nieman seminar for themselves — spending an afternoon at M.I.T.'s innovative Media Lab. We had a wonderful three days in Cambridge."

—1985—

A letter from EDWIN CHEN with news about himself and two Nieman Fellow classmates — JOEL KAPLAN and PHILIP HILTS — says:

Here are a few tidbits on members of the Nieman Class of 1985:

Joel Kaplan has received a contract (from Warner) to write a true-crime book, with two other *Chicago Tribune* colleagues.

I also have received a contract (New American Library) to write a second book — a true-crime book as well!

In addition, I am transferring from the Metro staff in Los Angeles to the national staff, to cover science in the *L.A. Times* Washington Bureau. In that job, I will be competing head-on with another Nieman classmate — Phil Hiltz, who this summer left *The Washington Post* to cover science for *The New York Times* Washington Bureau.

This news deserves a follow-up. We hope to be kept further informed about Fellows, books, and moves for insertion in a later issue.

—1987—

VALERIE HYMAN has joined the Poynter Institute as director of the Pro-

gram for Broadcast Journalists. She reports the job keeps her hopping between the Institute in St. Petersburg, Florida, her office in her Long Island home (affectionately referred to as "Poynter North"), and conventions and conferences across the country, where she is promoting the new program. As a fulltime member of the Institute faculty, Ms. Hyman already is teaching in 1989 seminars attended primarily by print journalists.

Ms. Hyman is creating and organizing six intensive, week-long seminars for broadcast journalists in 1990, covering newsroom management ethics, graphics and reporting. She will make presentations in each seminar, but most of the teaching will be done by visiting faculty: broadcast professionals who leave their jobs for a week to share ideas and insight with colleagues from across the country.

"This is the first program of its kind for broadcast journalists and we're receiving an overwhelmingly positive response to its announcement," said Ms. Hyman. She added, "Although I sometimes miss reporting, I'm thrilled at the prospect of helping to influence broadcast news for the better."

IRA ROSEN has joined the ABC news network as senior producer for "Primetime Live," which premiered this past August. Diane Sawyer and Sam Donaldson are co-anchors for the program. Mr. Rosen had previously been with CBS as a producer for "60 Minutes."

—1989—

BILL KOVACH, Curator of the Nieman Foundation, and formerly executive editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was one of five editors on that newspaper who was cited for an award — the Worth Bingham Prize — for a series of stories in the *Constitution* on banking in Atlanta and its relation to the poor of that city. Mr. Kovach had initiated and developed the idea for the series. The Worth Bingham Prize is named for the eldest son of the Bingham of Louisville who died in 1966.

Mr. Kovach also recently addressed a conference commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Summer and the three civil rights workers — James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman. He spoke about the underclass and the failure of newspapers to do more than just recruit minorities. He pointed

out that the continued and proliferating problems of the underclass might be ameliorated if more stories suggesting change were printed. He considered that "Management is not reinvesting enough revenues into news coverage."

JOHN SEIGENTHALER, Nieman Fellow '59, also spoke at the conference. Mr. Seigenthaler is publisher of the *Nashville Tennessean* and editorial director of *USA Today*. He deplored the failure of the media to seriously cover the civil rights movement until the Montgomery bus boycott and the sending of Federal troops to desegregate schools. He pointed out that after these events the media "began to do so."

An announcement headed Joyous Nieman Notes from Remote Regions of the Catskills comes from PETER RICHMOND and Melissa Davis announcing the birth of their daughter Hillary born "at 7:21 a.m. on 7/21 (Cosmic!) She weighted in at 5 pounds, 15½ ounces, with a shock of light brown hair..."

An anonymous source [perhaps the father?] said that Hillary was "A cross between Nastassia Kinski and Julie Christie." The letter ends with: "Mother and child are home and doing fine. Max is happy and likes to carry his sister around. The father is delirious, as you can probably tell."

Peter Richmond has been named environmentalist writer for *The Miami Herald*. He was formerly the national sports reporter for that newspaper.

Nieman Fellows on the Move

ROBERT GILLETTE, NF'76, is now

deputy director of Radio Free Europe in Munich, West Germany. He had been a staff writer in the Washington Bureau of the *Los Angeles Times*.

DOUG MARLETTE, NF'81, Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist has left the *Atlanta Constitution*, and is now with the *Long Island Newsday* and *New York Newsday*. His cartoons and his comic strip "Kudzu" is syndicated through Creators Syndicate.

CHARLES SHERMAN, NF'83, has switched career and location. He was news editor of the *International Herald Tribune* in Paris; he is now teaching journalism at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, and he is also an editor of the school's newspaper, *The Columbia Missourian*.

BERNARD EDINGER, NF'85, a correspondent for Reuters, has moved from Tel Aviv to Reuters headquarters in London.

DOUG CUMMING, NF'87, has left *The Journal* in Providence, Rhode Island, for Atlanta, Georgia. He is senior editor for features at *Southpoint* a regional monthly magazine published by Time Inc. The first copy of the magazine will be issued in October. Atlanta is home to Doug Cumming — he grew up in that city and terms it the Metropolitan South.

SABINE ROLLBERG, NF'87, is now based in Paris, France, as correspondent there for the broadcasting station, *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (WDR). Previously, she had been a special correspondent for the cultural and science department of WDR, stationed in Cologne, West Germany.

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Journalists in Paraguay

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The last time Humberto Rubin was arrested was in December, 1985. "By that time," his daughter recalled, "the interference was so strong all you could hear was music, no words. Most staff members were forbidden to use the mike."

In 1986 Paraguay's National Communications Corporation, a government agency, ordered Radio Nanduti closed for 90 days, during which military forces ransacked the station. On Jan. 14, 1987, Rubin shut down the station on his own volition for 90 days, and when he prepared to reopen, Stroessner's officials issued a decree saying that any station that was closed would have to remain shut.

The day after Rodriguez's coup, Radio Nanduti went back on the air for 18 hours.

Benjamin Fernandez, 29, director of Asuncion's Radio Caritas, pointed out that more than 2,000 journalists were jailed during Stroessner's 35-year dictatorship.

"It was very difficult to be a journalist, 25 publications of various kinds were shut down, there was persecution and tight censorship and

you had to apply much self-censorship to survive."

Radio Caritas is a 52-year-old outlet that was started by the Franciscan Order and was purchased in early 1986 by Asuncion Archbishop Ismael Rolon, head of Paraguay's Episcopal Conference.

"After Radio Nanduti," explained Fernandez, "Radio Caritas was the only station that gave the news. We were strongly harassed. Last December 10, in fact, five of our journalists were put in prison for five days—they were accused of broadcasting articles associated with communism. At the same time, the government power company reduced us from 10 kilowatts to one kilowatt."

"We have never enjoyed freedom of the press in Paraguay. How should we use the media here? People are very uncertain about the future."

"But I know we need to create an understanding of how important freedom of expression is."

There is hope, but a democracy encompassing freedom of the press remains fragile in Paraguay. □

The Press and Public Opinion

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flicting special interests which can make daily life such a confusing and even threatening place. Journalists should, instead, take care to use the tools of statistical sampling and computer analysis to serve the real interests of the reader—more compelling reports filled with more sound, objective information. That is the role Walter Lippmann saw for the press as reported by Ronald Steel in *Walter Lippman and the American Century*:

"This shift in the locus of sovereignty placed a 'premium upon the manufacture of what is called consent,'" he wrote. "If sovereignty had shifted from the legislature to public opinion, then clearly the public had to be assured of accurate, reliable information."

The kind of information through which opinion can become thoughtful position for informed and enlightened citizen action. □

Not Just a Slogan

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guns came to his house and took him to a field, where they forced him to kneel; they didn't kill him, but several days later the government shut down his newspaper, arrested him and put him in "detention."

He was "detained" for two years — beaten, tortured, told he would be killed — before he was released last December. Under pressure from the U.S. Department of State and Howard Simons, the curator of the Nieman program, the South African government agreed to let Sisulu come to the United States for the Nieman celebration. He was to be given a visa that restricted his activity and speech, but he refused to accept it. Under more pressure, the South African government removed the restriction, but did not allow his wife to accompany him.

Sisulu's entire Nieman class met him at the airport. When they arrived at the banquet, the assembly—more than 1,000 people—stood and applauded for nearly five minutes.

As he told of his two years in jail, Sisulu eloquently reminded 50 years' worth of Nieman Fellows that they had a solemn duty as "purveyors of truth."

It may be hard to keep that lofty a standard flying on a daily basis as I struggle with a word or a rule of punctuation. But I will not forget seeing Sisulu the day after the banquet, jogging in sweatpants through the streets of Cambridge. He jogged a few steps, slowed, then jogged a little more, looking around a little uncertainly. Perhaps he was wary of the Boston drivers, or just tired.

But it occurred to me that he simply may have been unused to moving and breathing freely. I remember thinking that I did not want ever to jog so hesitantly. □

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