
NIEMAN REPORTS

VOL. XLIV, NO. 5 WINTER 2, 1990

SPECIAL EDITION

THE EMERGING PRESS IN EASTERN EUROPE

What's Best Way to Finance New Newspapers
and Keep Them Independent?

How Train Reporters, Editors and Circulation
and Advertising Executives?

What About State Secrets, Libel and Privacy?

Where Will Modern Technology Come From?

Can State Monopolies on Distribution Be Broken?

What Is Television's Role?

A Full Report of the East-West Conference in Prague
With a Followup on What's Happened Since

Update

Bill Kovach

150 American Editors Volunteer to Go to Europe to Help European Journalists Meet in Bratislava

One of the American participants in the East-West Journalists Conference to which this special edition of Nieman Report is devoted, described the first days of the conference as "being present at the creation."

Like all the other journalists from the United States he was infected with the sense of excitement and hope and promise which radiated from the faces and rang in the voices of the journalists from the newly emerging free presses of Europe and the Soviet Union who were also helping in the birth of democratic governments.

But as the discussions continued through the week an undercurrent of anxiety and confusion began to emerge. By the time the conference ended on

July 5, the first rush of freedom had subsided and a sobering sense of the enormous job which faced those emerging societies was becoming apparent. Problems such as the collapse of discredited Marxist journalism training programs, lack of capital, newsprint and equipment, were briefly but forcefully sketched.

These concerns raised at the conference became the focus of more extensive surveys. At the conclusion of the conference, Everette Dennis remained in Europe and toured the region for several weeks and in October produced a report containing country-by-country assessments of press developments and needs which has been published as a Gannett Foundation Report. Dana Bullen and his World Press Freedom

Committee published a similar survey of the needs, challenges and doable projects in the region. Both the Gannett Center and the World Press Freedom Committee as well as Tom Winship's Center for Foreign Journalists are serving as clearing houses for information and facilitating contact between American individuals and institutions looking for ways to assist emerging press organizations.

An encouraging short-term result of the conference was the followup conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, at which East and Central European journalists and colleagues from two Soviet Republics began discussions of common problems and prospects. A report of that conference is also included

continued on page 81

List of Conference Participants

BABA, IVAN, Editor-in-Chief, *Datum*, Hungary.
BRADLEE, BENJAMIN C., Executive Editor, *The Washington Post*, United States.
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MARLETTE, DOUG, Editorial Cartoonist, *New York Newsday*, United States.
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OSBORNE, BURL, President and Editor, *The Dallas Morning News*, United States.
PAJAS, PETER, Charter 77 Foundation, Czechoslovakia.
PEARLSTINE, NORM, Managing Editor and Vice President, *The Wall Street Journal*, United States.
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RUMIL, JIRI, Editor-in-Chief, *Lidove noviny*, Czechoslovakia.

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SULZBERGER, ARTHUR JR., Deputy Publisher, *The New York Times*, United States.
TAFROV, STEFAN, Foreign Editor, *Demokratia*, Bulgaria.
VANOCUR, SANDER, Senior Correspondent, ABC News, United States.
VINOCUR, JOHN, Executive Editor, *International Herald Tribune*, United States.
VOINA, VLADIMIR, Editor, *USA Magazine*, USSR.
WEIS, JAROSLAV, Editor, *Lidove noviny*, Czechoslovakia.
WEIS, JURGEN, Chief Editor, *Wir in Leipzig*, Germany.
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WROBLEWSKI, ANDRZEJ KRZYSZTOF, Editor, *Gazeta Bankowa Weekly*, Poland.
ZIAK, MILOS, Correspondent, *Kulturny Zivot*, Czechoslovakia.

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How It All Began

*Bill Kovach, Nieman Foundation; Peter Pajas, Charter 77 Foundation,
and Tom Winship, Center for Foreign Journalists*

Kovach Urges Idea Swap

I know that I speak not only for myself and the co-chairman of this conference, Tom Winship, but for all of our colleagues from the United States as well when I say it is an honor and a privilege to be meeting with you here today. For the past year we have watched from a distance as you and other writers and journalists led the way in a historic affirmation of a great human right — the right to freely give voice to your own visions and ideas. We watched with respect, excitement and admiration, often mixed with envy, that you, not we, were taking the risks, pressing the issues, doing for yourselves and your fellow citizens what others in our past had done for us: Shaping words to teach truth and establishing a legacy of freedom for future generations.

Editor's Note

This special edition of Nieman Reports is devoted entirely to the East-West Journalism Conference held in Prague July 2-6, 1990 and to a follow-up article on its results.

The text is based on a transcript prepared by a Czechoslovak transcribing agency. Much of the text is word for word as recorded and transcribed. However, because of audio problems, language difficulties and translation uncertainties, these excerpts may not always fully express the speakers' meanings. In a few cases, such as that of Daniel Butora, correspondent of the Bratislava *Echo*, and Jiri Kanturek, Director of Czechoslovak Television, speeches were not translated. Sometimes speakers from the floor did not use the microphones or did not identify themselves. The recording of the discussion after the controversial speech by Michael Zantovsky, President Vaclav Havel's press secretary, was barely audible, but the question and answer session was reconstructed based on extensive notes.

Despite these troubles, Nieman Reports is confident that the excerpts accurately reflect the conference proceedings.

We all feel a special grace in the location of this conference here in Prague. As other writers have observed, future historians will have to look in the editorial offices of the Czech and Slovak newspapers and cultural periodicals for the beginnings of the Prague Spring of 1968 and the Velvet Revolution of 1989.

Historians must look there and in the Solidarity press in Poland, the samizdat [underground] press in East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania and even the Soviet Union.

The purpose of this conference is a simple one. We are here to learn from each other. In a more formal way it is what journalists do the world over when they meet — we compare notes and swap ideas. It grew out of some chance conversations I had with German journalists in Berlin last December, shortly after the Berlin Wall cracked apart. In an evening of conversation in East Berlin we peppered each other with questions. How do you get access to government documents? How do you balance your obligations to society? How do you attack constructively? Each question stimulated a dozen more. Clearly, journalists of East and Central Europe and the Soviet Union and Journalists from the United States needed to get together — to compare notes, swap ideas, to learn from one another.

That is why we are here.

Pajas's Goal: Aid Democracy

I welcome you in the name of the Charter 77 Foundation, which, from its beginning in 1977, has been supporting the people in Czechoslovakia who could influence the politics, ethics and morals of this country by written words in samizdat publications, in the books

published in exile and clandestinely distributed.

One of the goals of Charter 77 from the very beginning of its functioning in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava has been to support the creation of truly independent mass media — mostly journals, publishing houses and editorial boards — by providing them with computers and software for desktop publishing and office maintenance, as well as with other technical equipment. With this, as well as with direct financial support, many small and larger groups have started to develop into a kernel. We would like to be the truly economically and politically independent mass media enterprises in this country.

We would like to be helpful in creating real democracy in this country.

Winship Names Supporters

Before we get underway, I particularly want to salute the people who have made this possible. The names are Colin Campbell of the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation; Jane Wales and Fritz Mosher of the Carnegie Foundation; Wade Greene of the Rockefeller Family and Associates; Wendy and Bill Luers of Charter 77; George Soros of the Soros Foundation. They were people who, just without blinking an eye, almost in a day, pulled together and provided the financing that made this possible.

We should also tip our hat to Lana Bian from our Foreign Journalists Center who has knocked herself silly working night and day. Paul Hemp has come in also to help us. He has been doing great work for a lot of you people who came in from the airport at funny hours. □

Fair and Aggressive Reporting

David Halberstam, Author; Natalya Gevorkyan, Moscow News; Milos Ziak, Kulturny Zivot, and Daniel Butora, Echo

Halberstam Warns of Co-optation

I thought I would begin, since we're talking about journalistic technique, with a few caveats. First is that this is a very good American group, but it is also very unrepresentative. It is an élite of an élite. It is selected from an American press corps which is largely content to accept conventional versions of events from official sources, both in small towns and in large cities that see the world as those who are press spokesmen would have it seen.

A small footnote to that. A few years ago we had a reunion of 25 years of covering events in the South. It was held at Oxford, Mississippi, to review the events of Old Miss and the integration thereof. And it was a marvelous time for many of us. Covering the South in racial change had been a high note of the American press. And the one small note was that those of us who were there represented at best 10 percent of the American press corps in the South at that time. Most of them [the newspapers] were content to accept and pass on segregationist myths.

The second caveat — we're going to talk about the techniques of journalism and of investigative reporting and other things — is: there are no rules. It is all instinct and feel. You learn it not from college, not from books, but because of something inside of you, shared colleagues. It's interesting. The small paper in Tennessee that I worked for has four of us here today on this panel. I think we all, to some degree, taught each other.

And finally, perhaps the most important caveat, is: sometimes very good journalism isn't enough, that you can go out and do the right thing in the right way and try and tell the truth, and

the society because of its own dynamic of history or past or insecurity will not accept that truth, will not listen. To have truly good journalism, you have to have people to write it and people willing to listen to it. And that doesn't always happen, but it doesn't lessen the responsibility for being a witness.

I think the pleasure, the glory of the profession is that you can be a player, an intimate part of a political system, intensely involved. You can have a social conscience, and most marvelously of all, you don't have to be popular, you're not running for anything. You don't get re-elected. You don't need 51 percent of the vote. And I think that is, in fact, one of the very best parts of our profession — the ability to do what you do without needing a larger approval; the approval only of your colleagues.

One small additional caveat about techniques. For some reason, I think perhaps because of the nature of television, there is a new vision of good adversarial or investigative journalism that demands a kind of aggressiveness, of a television journalist smashing a camera right into the face of a would-be source and asking a question that seems to come out of the Inquisition. Part of that, of course, is that almost no television journalists in our country do any investigative journalism of their own. They pick up from print. But secondly, it is a misleading idea, an image of the kind of toughness of mind, of the real toughness it takes to be a good, hard-working and assertive reporter.

Let me tell you one story. When I was a young reporter in Vietnam there was a briefing held there every day by

the American military, 5:00. In the vernacular, it was known as the "five o'clock follies." And the poor American officer, usually a captain or major would have to stand up and pass on unverified reports of American and Vietnamese victories that had taken place each day — all pointless, all puff. It was a room in which the truth was never spoken. Most of the good reporters that I knew never went to the "five o'clock follies."

But there was one reporter for a New York tabloid — I will not mention names here today — a young man who had never heard a shot fired in anger, who had never been anywhere near the fighting and he went to the follies every day and there he brutalized the poor majors and the captains. He lashed at them. He was the most relentless interrogator imagined. Flesh was peeled off bodies, catching them, inevitably, in lies, in misstatements. An eminent British journalist passing through Saigon came, watched him and wrote, "This young man was the conscience of a nation."

What the eminent British journalist did not see was the story which he filed every day, which was the straight Westmoreland story. "Five hundred American B-59s today flew over North Vietnam dropping 40,000 tons of ordnance, destroying 21 bridges and two bicycle factories. American sources said it was one of the most successful raids of the war." Some conscience!

There were good reporters in Vietnam. They learned to work the terrain to find sources who would confide, to whom they gave their trust and were rewarded in turn with the trust of their sources. They knew where to go and find people, where to find them, and they knew the best question of all to

ask: Who else should I see? Who should I see next? Keep going. One more, one more story.

Being a reporter is an instinct. From reading a bureaucracy, sensing where the weaknesses are, who is frustrated, who is a victim, who is likely to talk. "Look for the unhappy ones," James Reston of *The New York Times* once said, having picked up all the secret documents at the Dumbarton Oaks conference in 1946 — and picking them up, naturally, from the Chinese Nationalists who were being cut out of the action.

There are always stories in every conflict of power. Different forces conflict. Some win, some lose and the unhappy ones — the winners and the losers in different ways can be great sources.

The great ability of a reporter is not just getting information; it's the ability to calibrate, to find out who you can trust. When you're with a new source, one of the things you can do is talk to him or her about things you already know as a means of calibrating information. In a way it's a great ongoing poker game and the higher you get in the matrix of the government, the fact that the more people you've seen before you actually interview somebody high means that you play more and more cards at the top level.

The weaknesses of journalism in a society like ours seem to me not, in the old Marxist stereotype, of advertisers dictating to editors what should and should not be printed. I think that's a mistake. I think it comes from social co-optation, from the desire to be pals, to get along, from the baseball writer or the soccer team writer who covers the soccer team every day and knows the players and begins to think that his loyalty is to the players, not to his readers. And I think you see that very much in a city like Washington. There is an inevitable sort of social co-optation. And a small footnote is: the more powerful the paper you represent, the more likely they are to want to be your pal and to co-opt you and bring you in, to explain that you're really after the same thing and they're just doing it a little differently.

And there are probably some rules here: If you're going to eat with a source, you should probably eat lunch instead of dinner. And if you're going to each lunch, it's probably a good idea to do it without spouses. Because if you start getting into doing it at night and with spouses, you're no longer reporter and source, you're friends and then the person who is in government deals more cards than you do. Your loyalties, it seems to me, are always to yourself, to your paper, to your colleagues, not necessarily to the people you cover.

It is a seemingly glamorous profession which is, in truth, not very glamorous. The best reporting comes from people who don't hang around the office, but are outside every day seeing two or three people, working the back corridors, not showing up at fancy restaurants with their major sources. It is about, finally, it seems to me, the most precious thing, being part of the complicated conscience of a free society and knowing that a government, even a good government, is not the sole conscience and the keeper of the conscience of that country.

Gevorkyan Hits Soviet Secrecy

I cover law, crime, corruption, mafia, the work of KGB, general prosecutor of the court, and so on. And maybe I will be speaking about the problems that Western journalists never had or just cannot imagine that they could have.

The truth is that since perestroika, they — the military justice system, the Supreme Court and KGB, prosecution organizations, and so on, — do have their public relations people, which means that getting the information should have become easier. But the fact is that, though they have press conferences every week, once a week, they give the journalists only the information they want to give, which doesn't mean that it is objective. It doesn't mean that they say everything that even we know that happens. And that's why it's quite possible to go to these press conferences and get the official information. Maybe because of all the

years of lying in the Soviet Union, most of my journalist friends were just taking it for granted [that] they gave information. But we very rarely use only this information. The fact is that we do not believe that all the information they give is frank.

I'll give you an example. There was an uprising in the prison in the center of Moscow. It was absolutely impossible to get into the prison to talk to the prisoners. While they are under investigation it is prohibited under law to talk to them before they go to court. So the only way out was to go to the warden and to talk to him. He represented the case from his point of view and I published it.

After that, defense lawyers told me the prisoners were very angry with me and said that what happened behind the walls of the prison was absolutely different. That was a good lesson for me. In the last issue of *Moscow News*, I published an article about the uprising — in two very big prisons in the Soviet Union — and I began by speaking to the prisoners. I said that I will never write another story without speaking to the prisoners.

The difference between the first and the second report is two years. Two years ago, I couldn't make them let me in and speak to the people. Now it is quite possible and it depends on the wardens, but still it is possible.

The other problem is that, contrary to Western journalists who are covering, for example, the courts and who have a lot of information from telexes and some official sources, we have none at all. This means that, for example, in order to cover the case, involving the son-in-law of Brezhnev — the hearings went on for four months and a half in the court — you had to go every day to the court and stay there all day long. It's absolutely impossible because there are only 15 people on the working staff of *The Moscow News* and you must cover other stories. You know, it's just impossible to understand what's going on in the court if you are not there. And it's impossible to be in 15 courts at the same time. I think that the best way to get information is to

have good friends everywhere. Private contacts give much more information than any press conference. So it's necessary to have friends everywhere and that enables you to cover the events and to be more informed. These are the friends that you must believe. If you do, then you can use the information they give you and just check it out with the other people whom you can believe.

The other thing which is very interesting is that we have a lot of informal organizations at the moment. They are public, informal organizations. And they are helping journalists a lot. For example, it was the so-called Sergei Kuznetsov case, which was covered by all the Western press. The boy was a political prisoner in Sverdlovsk. He was demonstrating against the party bosses there, put in prison and starved for a very long time.

I asked officials to give me the documents of the case. I applied to all of them, to the court, to the prosecutors. I couldn't get any information. Then the informals came to me with a file with all the documents on the process which they got through fax or — I don't know — maybe they went to Sverdlovsk, from his lawyer. And we managed to write the story and I managed to ask an independent lawyer to comment on the documents. And the boy was freed in a month and I think that in this case the newspaper really helped a lot.

Another problem is that most of the departments I deal with prefer to have their own journalists, which means that they are buying them not by money, but by giving them information. It means that they have their own journalists who are the first to get any information, who have enough time to cover the problem and the event, but they are doing it in honor. I mean that they will never be critical of the organization which gives them this information. So they are very convenient for this organization. And that is interesting.

For example, when I was writing something positive about the Supreme Court, the general prosecutor's office

suggested that I get the materials on the Daniel and Sinyavsky case. You can't get them; they never give them to anybody. The only case for that was that the general prosecutor on the Daniel and Sinyavsky process was the man who is now working in the Supreme Court.

So I think you must confront all of them or you must serve some of these organizations. For the journalists who do not support, who do not work, for any of these departments, it is very difficult to get any information and to get the documents which are most interesting and most necessary.

I was writing a lot of articles about dissidents. I never managed to see the files from the KGB. They have given nothing, absolutely no photographs, no documents, nothing which happened in the trials. Even when I was writing about Gregorenko, who has written everything in his book, almost none of the Russians knew about the General. I applied to the military bureaucracy and to the KGB to give me the materials and they said no. I can write, but I cannot see the documents. It's not enough for me, the journalist. The problem is still there.

The last problem is that there is still information called "absolutely secret." It was not until two weeks ago that they provided figures about prisoners in the camps and prisons of the Soviet Union. There are more than 700,000 at the moment. But the information about the number of people working in the KGB is absolutely secret. None of us knows it. Budget, secret; the property of the party, secret. Everything concerning the death penalty — that's interesting. We do not know how many death penalty prosecutions we have a year. You cannot get this information anywhere. We even don't know what the procedure is for the death penalty in the Soviet Union. We never get such information.

I will tell you one story to explain how we work in the Soviet Union and what problems we have. This was printed in *The Moscow News*. It's about a KGB General who spoke frankly. American journalists published the

story and we published it after the general appeared publically and told his story. A lot of these things which I wrote were confirmed by him. But after that, *Pravda* published an article saying that he was a betrayer and an awful man, that he liked drinking. To show that very few things have changed as far as the KGB, for example, is concerned, after I came to Prague, he was stripped of rank, all the medals and everything. He doesn't have any pension now. So that is the story and I have no time to say in detail how I covered it. But it was a story that I needed three weeks to publish although it was a sensation and then it was a killed sensation after all.

So still we have some problems, but it's interesting to work now.

Ziak Worry: Nationalism

We want to open our paper to all opinions, all the news that is emerging — everything that would be of interest to the reader. We are interviewing people coming from the United States and one question we are asking them is, "How do you see Slovakia?" because that is the point the people have been missing. We can't see ourselves from abroad, from outside. You know that things are different from outside than from inside.

We are extremely thankful to people coming from abroad if they want to give their opinion and have it published in our papers. They are professors, scholars, writers, and so forth.

At present we are facing major problems in the political context of Slovakia, that is nationalism, and closely related to that, at least in Slovakia, is the Jewish question generally known as the tragedy of the Slovak Jews. We are trying to publish those facts from history and we would like to continue in this tradition. Let's see if we succeed. □

Translation of Butora's remarks and subsequent proceedings of the panel were inaudible on the recording tape.

Havel's Admonition

Czech President Emphasizes Free Press Responsibility and Warns That Breaking Law on Secrets Must Be Punished

You are — as I have heard — the representatives of the most significant world newspapers and I would like to ask you to pass your experience as quickly as possible on to our press, which is only learning to be free. That means that our press understands the concept of freedom of expression only as a kind of private detective's job, a detective who is searching for sensations, and — from time to time — forgetting — (certainly not all the press) that freedom is only one side of the coin, where the other side is represented by responsibility. It is quite natural. There is no wonder about it. It is impossible to know immediately what is the proper way after forty years of bondage.

Yet, I am obliged to say — not like most other presidents who are grouching against the press all the time — I am obliged to add at once that all that I am saying concerns only some specific magazines or specific journalists, not all of them.

Unfortunately I myself have very little time to read newspapers, but reading them belongs to my most pleasant moments. And I am terribly enjoying reading our free press. And I am enjoying it even if there is something written against me there.

My speech will not be long as I have just come to address you, to wish you success in your discussions, to thank you for coming and — as the journalists are known to be inquisitive — I am prepared to answer, say, two or three questions. Then I must hurry back to "rule".

Q.— President Havel, I would like to ask how different you see the Czech press now and the Eastern European press from the concept of the American press. Do you think the idea is to try to provide information for the

readers or do you think that the idea is still to give opinion?

A.— I believe that the role of the press is, of course, both to inform a reader and to express the views, the views of journalists. And as far as I know, one of the most striking differences between our press and the Western press is that the majority of big and influential Western newspapers are totally independent, their views are close to this or that party or political group or government or, on the contrary, close to the opposition but, in fact, they are independent of these. We have inherited from the totalitarian system the principle of the party press. Though we already have independent newspapers as well — the best known out of which is *Lidové noviny* (*People's Newspapers*) — nevertheless the majority of main dailies belong to specific parties and they are, right now, fighting and trying to balance the degree of freedom and independence against the degree of dependence on

coin — freedom and responsibility?

A.— Well, it could be developed for a long time. An essay could be written on it. I would mention only random examples. For instance, I think that the freedom for a journalist means that whatever he/she finds out can be published. But the responsibility should mean that he/she will verify the news before it is published. OK? And that was only such a trivial example. I could develop it more and more, but at the moment there is hardly any time for extensive contemplations.

Q.— Under the old regime, a frequent complaint about the Western press was its commercialism. Do you see the necessity of financing newspapers, particularly with money from foreign sources, as being a threat to the functioning of the free press in Czechoslovakia?

A.— It seems to me it is the question of working out such contracts so that those who invest some basic capital or those who give some money

"Certain state secrets will always exist, of course, and he who breaks the law must be punished." Vaclav Havel, President of Czechoslovakia

the parties that publish them. The most striking example is *Svobodné Slovo* (*Free Word*), which even went on strike to protest against the fact that the party publishing it was interfering too much.

Q.— Can you continue a little bit your thought about the two faces of the

were not — at the same time — of too much influence on the content of the newspapers. So that it were not a mere parallel to the situation I have already talked about. A parallel to the heritage we can observe in our country. So that the tension between a political party and its press was only changed into the

tension between millionaires and journalists. OK? [Laughter]

Q.— President Havel, I am from Romania. I would like to ask you a very specific question. There is always a tension implied in the concept of freedom of information. Would you allow a journalist to be punished under the provision of responsibility if he finds out a secret that would enable the public to react to interests that are viewed by the state as major interests, but are resented by the public as being contrary to the interests of the majority of the people?

A.— I think that there are, say, two

kinds of secrets. One is the secret derived from the law. There are certain things (now the laws will be changed, of course) under the previous regime whatever [was] was a secret. A new system must be worked out, but certain state secrets will always exist, of course, and he who breaks the law must be punished, because he will commit a crime. And then there is another kind of secret, the disclosure of which is not penalized and prosecuted, but it is the sphere just for journalists, where they can — possibly — apply their responsibility and do not publish the things that are not kept

secret by the state, but that have no — their publishing has no — other sense but to cause a sensation. OK? Besides, the sensation is no good for anything at all and it can only lead to quick sell-out of the particular issue of the particular newspaper. OK? Naturally this kind of disclosure of secrets cannot be penalized.

KOVACH— Mr. President, on behalf of a lot of your readers in the United States, I would like to say that we hope the pressures of politics and policy don't mean we've lost you as a writer for long. Thank you very much. □

A Free Press in a Free Society

Benjamin Bradlee of The Washington Post Points Out Conflicting Roles of Journalism and Government

Were you in any way tempted to do so, please do *not* be awed by our achievements or our credentials; we are all very conscious of the fact that we were handed freedom at the start of our careers, as casually as we were given pencils and notebooks. We began with all the advantages you have fought so bravely to achieve. Where there have been limitations put on our freedoms — and there have been — those limitations pale in comparison to the absence of freedoms that you have endured and overcome. We pray that you become as lucky as each of us has been and that you can look forward from now on only to these same, peripheral limitations.

We have come to Prague primarily to listen, and to learn, and to convince you of your own importance in our lives. Last year on the front page of *The Washington Post* there were more by-lined stories from behind the old Iron Curtain than there were from the Congress of the United States, 15 blocks from our office.

All of us are reluctant to offer you any

advice. We are not sure how relevant our own experiences might be to yours, and in some cases, our experiences are plainly not relevant: for instance in the role of journalists in public life. We were taught early to stay off the stage, stay in the audience where we can best watch with dispassion. Right now a journalist is President of Poland and that fundamental principle of ours seems curiously irrelevant here.

Perhaps you would be interested in what one American journalist-editor with almost 45 years experience would worry about if he suddenly found himself plying his trade right now in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.

During World War II, I served on a destroyer in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific Ocean for almost four years. One of my jobs was as the damage control officer . . . the person charged with handling and limiting unexpected damage incurred in action and accident. In that job, one is charged with thinking about trouble and how to handle trouble before it handles you. I've often

thought that ability to control damage is one of the essential skills of an editor.

In that spirit, these are some of the things I would worry about if I were newly free as an editor/journalist in your countries.

First, I would worry about owners. Good editors are made in the first instance by good owners. Said another way, an editor can be no better than an owner wants him to be. Among my colleagues I am known as one who has been specially blessed by good owners. I define them this way: people who have an all-consuming commitment to excellence, to fairness, to independence; people who are beholden to no outsiders; people who learn whom to trust and then trust them. For you all, state ownership has been uniform. That has meant party ownership, and anything like that is anathema to us in the West. Even if ownership could be transferred to one of the ideal owners I described, how could state control of the means of distribution be overcome, how could state control of newsprint and ink supplies be overcome? *State control of*

all those enterprises that in our society are advertisers? I don't have those answers.

Second, I would worry about reporters. If good editors are made by good owners in the first instance, good editors are made by good reporters in the second and third instance. If I were you, I would worry about what's available out there for reporters, in a world where no reporters have been trained to work in a free press for generations. I would be worried about the skills learned in a totalitarian system. I would be worried about the transferability of those skills.

In thinking about how any of us might be of help to you all, it is this area of reporter-training that most appeals to me.

In our society American newspapers eventually got their independence from a democratic marketplace which we call today the consumer society. That society produces advertising revenues that liberate us from government, or party or group subsidies that pay for our liberty. I note with great interest that Victor Linnik, the *sauve* New York correspondent of *Pravda*, who lives in a luxury apartment in New York, has begun to solicit advertising on Madison Avenue from American companies — \$50,000 a page for an audience of 8 million. I'm glad I don't have to earn my living that way. Can circulation revenues alone do the job here? I don't have those answers either.

There are plainly going to be some joint ventures, involving Western investors and East European entrepreneurs. Murdock and Maxwell have already surfaced. So have Playboy and Business Week. I don't know how these joint ventures will work, but my sense of damage control tells me this will be a troublesome area. How will Murdock's and Maxwell's need for hard currency affect their commitment to excellence, fairness and independence? Again, I don't know the answers.

Next, I would worry about the quality of the relationship that will emerge between you, the newly free press, and your newly democratic governments. In democracies that rela-

tionship is supposed to be an uneasy one, of creative friction, where the press is eternally vigilant, and the government is strong and confident enough to tolerate dissent. Vigilance by the press is easier to achieve, I have found, than tolerance of the press by a government overwhelmed by problems.

Our great President and political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, once said: "... were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." But I have found it useful to remember that under siege he also said, "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. That man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehood and error."

The role of the press in a free society is to find out the truth and print it. The policy of any government in a free society is to propagate that part of the truth which puts it in the most favorable light. Two totally different goals. And so I would worry about what will happen when your goals, as editors of a newly free press, collide with their goals, as leaders of newly free government.

One of the things that will happen, as surely as the sun will rise, is that someone will lie: your governments will lie to you. Sometimes unknowingly, but more often on purpose.

Please never forget that the truth emerges. Sometimes it takes a long time to emerge, sometimes eight years. But it does emerge, and we must help that process.

In December 1963, the new American President, Lyndon Johnson, sent his Secretary of Defense on a special trip to Vietnam — to find out what in hell was going on some 10,000 miles away. Now that he was President instead of Vice-President, he wanted to get his own information. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara flew to Saigon, and spent three days talking to

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all the generals, touring the various battle zones. On his way back he gave a press conference at Tonsonhut Airport, and reported that he was greatly encouraged. Progress was noteworthy. South Vietnamese forces were taking an ever-greater role; Vietcong casualties were increasing. When he landed at Andrews Air Force Base the next day, he gave another press conference to say much the same thing: things were looking up. And then he took a helicopter to the White House lawn to report to Johnson personally, and the world heard nothing more about the Secretary's visit or his report to President Johnson.

Until the Pentagon Papers were published by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

Buried in these documents, which so few people actually read, was the substance of what McNamara in fact reported to the President: things were going to hell in a handbasket; Vietcong reinforcements were outpacing Vietcong casualties. More American troops were going to be needed, not less. All in all, a complete repudiation of everything he had said in his two press conferences.

I tell you this at some length, so that you may think what might have happened had the truth emerged in 1963 instead of 1971, and so that you may remember that this particular bit on disinformation was inflicted on a free press in a flourishing democracy. □

The Editor's Role

John Vinocur, International Herald Tribune; Ivan Baba, Datum; Shelby Coffey, Los Angeles Times, and Jaroslav Weis, Lidove noviny

Vinocur Offers A Final Test

[In] *The International Herald Tribune* information and opinion are separated and [some people] feel they have confidence in the autonomy and authority of its news columns. When I talk to people elsewhere, they say, "You are bland, you are uniform, you are anti-intellectual." I don't find the brightness, I don't find the wit, I don't find the political engagement and maturity that I find in many journals of opinion — perhaps on one level *The Guardian* or *The Frankfurter Allgemeine*, which is a conservative newspaper, as much left as *The Guardian* is, or *Le Monde*. I don't put them down in any way because when it comes to the final test — Do they publish stories? — publish well — that means prominently — stories that go against their editorial policy, that make everybody in the front office or in the editor's office unhappy because the world isn't turning out the way they want. The answer is yes, they do.

The end of the Soviet occupation in Eastern Europe may read in *The Guardian* as "Cold War Over"; it may read in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* as "Soviet Empire Collapses," but they're putting out stories that cover the same news. I would worry about an overly strong embrace in East Germany of the opinion choice when all one reads are polemics, partisanship and even incantation, the line that's difficult to hold. I suppose it's easiest for us to say, "This is editorial, you're putting yourself into the story. Tell someone what happened." But how would we deal in American journalistic institutions if the issue were a return to tyranny that none of us could handle? We've handled declarations of wars, we've handled violations of legality, but nothing on the scale, I

think, in American life in the past 200 years of diseases of the kind that you may have to battle with.

When you're choosing as editors, there are 20 different small things. We hide, we duck back from sticking ourselves into stories. If you're picking up the British press, it often begins with, "I watched as the bombs fell on Beirut," or "That idiot so-and-so, he's at it again." You'll have to choose the tone that fits life in your country, the tone that you feel most comfortable with.

A little thing again. Do you credit wire service stories? When you have a report out of the Soviet Union, do you put down at the bottom that it comes from AP and Reuters and maybe three other news agencies? Many of the European papers I admire don't and they're not telling the truth to their readers about the origin or not giving them sufficient information about them.

On the other hand, U.S. newspapers organize stories perhaps in a very stilted way. We always start out with what Senator Brown or Smith or Taylor said, and our stories don't allow the flexibility or the imagination that you may feel you have in your minds.

In any case, I ask only that there be respect for information. I ask only that there is some compromise out there that will lead to people being able to pick up a newspaper or listen to a radio station and assume that they have been reasonably well informed and that if there is any suspension of belief, there is another newspaper or another radio station they can switch to which will verify or confirm the information they've heard.

Baba Cautions On Data Misuse

A book on the internal life of the

Hungarian army under the colonels of the last two or three years caused a scandal in Hungary. It was attacked by even existing leading political figures of the Army. There are many similar documents which can be misused.

You know, there is, for example, a question of a new Hungarian National Army, similar to that in Czechoslovakia and Poland. The leaders of this Army, the majors and even the higher generals, they cooperated somehow, more or less, with the KGB, because that was in their profession as well. What to do with these people now? One faction inside the Army or the police wants to attack another one. It's quite possible to publish such a document from one side and it's nothing but a misuse of the documents because such a dossier exists for each member of the Army. And that's why I have said that we have to be very cautious in the case of publication of these things.

One of the basic features of Communist journalism was the monopoly of information. All of the information was concentrated in one circle and it was decided by them what kind of information had to be spread. One of the basic roles of the new free press is to inform people as much as possible and to spread as much information as possible about the Russian Army, an environmental disaster, indebtedness, and so on and so on and so on. That's the role of the new press, on one hand.

But on the other, this news can be misused as well. There is, for example, the question of unemployment in all these countries. Unemployment is a new phenomenon. Why? Because until now, unemployment was behind the gates of the enterprise. Now unemployment has appeared, or is just appearing, in the street. These figures can be

misused by different press organs, saying that, until now, there was no unemployment in these countries and then came the new governments and they are causing — they are making mistakes, and they are causing unemployment. So it's not so simple just to publish unemployment data; it has to be explained as well, so that the two phenomena have to be used together and in parallel in this transitional period.

Discussion

Q.— So what? What's the damage if you only publish the document that you have about unemployment? Who is hurt by that information?

BABA— I think that those ministers, for example, of the government are hurt, who may be just the victims of this situation and who are not the persons who caused this, and because there is a delicate balance. I mentioned to you that there is a decrease of living standards and the demography can play a very important role in these societies.

For example, there were strikes in Poland — the miners — the rail worker strikes, for example, and a similar phenomenon can appear in Hungary as well. At least 30, 35 heavy industry enterprises will be closed in the next three, four months and this factor causes terrible tension in the society. This tension has to be interpreted somehow by the press, I think. It's not enough to say that in one region, there are 100,000 metallurgical workers or miners.

Q.— To what extent are readers in America protected from the slander or abuse that can occur with over-zealous reporting? Even though it may be corrected tomorrow or the next day, the damage is already done.

COFFEY— Readers have recourse to legal matters. They can go to court and, increasingly, they are going to court and are frequently winning judgments with the juries, though many of those judgments, in fact most of them, are overturned once they are appealed. The recourse also is given in letters to the editor. It is sometimes given in a

redoing of an article, if that is merited. I think a strong paper, if it feels it's made a mistake, will take another look at a situation. A lot of times, the subjects who are most unhappy are not necessarily ones who merit that second look. They are the ones who merited the first look and the conclusions that came in the first place. That does not mean libel and slander, about which there are specific legal definitions, but it might mean a piece that caused them some concern.

Q.— Can you think of any major American public figure over the last 20, 25 years who has really been gratuitously and unfairly maligned in the press?

VANOCUR— [Senator Barry] Goldwater is someone who was not accurately —

Q.— He didn't become President because of the media?

A.— Not that, but an innocent remark of [Presidential aspirant George] Romney that he had been brainwashed by Vietnam was painted as some terrible sin, when, in fact, it was accurate, and in fact, half of the damn country had been brainwashed, including many newspaper people.

SULZBERGER— Well, I think an example would be Martin Luther King. A lot of blacks in the United States who would feel that, earlier on, more so than now, their reputation was injured by a racist press. You might point to some, again, minority situations existing today where that could be going on, arguably.

KOVACH— I think one of the answers to that question is that there are specific protections that work in specific cases, but if it's a mindset, if it's failure to understand changes in society like the civil rights movement and the rights of blacks in society or a question of whether or not the left liberal political thinker in America was un-American or not, those mindsets can lead the American press to mislead the public and abuse public and semi-public figures on a fairly regular basis and when the correction occurs, it's usually some time after the fact.

If I could just extend what Ivan was

saying just a little bit. The notion of withholding unemployment figures. The people who are unemployed know they are unemployed. Their sense of what's happening to them and their system, they know. And if the voices they look to to tell them what's going — the press — withholds that information, it only raises questions about what else you're withholding. It seems to me it's a larger problem not to use the information than it is to try to report it in context, in which it's explained that this is to be expected from the changes occurring rather than withholding the information. Don't you agree?

BABA— Yes, exactly.

WROBLEWSKI— *I can't help feeling a certain disillusionment with both this morning's and this afternoon's session, because we have been offered as examples very high-protein fodder — generals of KGB, the Vietnam War — very juicy issues and unquestionably worthy to be reported. And then we had [only limited discussion of] how it should be reported and how to diminish errors, and so forth. Not that I naively expected to get some hints, some helps in my editorial job, but I think what is the most difficult and the most worthy effort is to identify news before it become obvious, to see maybe not so much in dailies as in weeklies or in editorials.*

Let me use the example, which Ivan put on the table — unemployment. Unemployment is so acute a problem in Hungary and Poland that everybody can write about it. Why not catch that a month, two months or three months ago? Let me give an example which may be a little egocentric. I now try to focus on whether the government, which openly claimed to be the offspring of a labor union like ours, can function having that labor union as the parent and as the opponent at the same time, before it becomes a hot issue, before Mazowiecki and Walesa will have a duel, and one will kill the other or they both, mutually will kill each other.

WEIS— I think that [we are] in a situation where we really do not have any real count of the unemployed. We

count not more than 10,000, besides others between jobs. But we are certainly facing unemployment of hundreds of thousands. That's what we are trying to say in our newspaper. We are trying to publish commentaries or opinions just to teach people that unemployment isn't a monster brought by terrible Western capitalism, but it's a kind of labor force market. That is how we are trying to catch it. I don't know what else we may do better.

COFFEY— Just a couple of thoughts on that. One is that you can induce a kind of future-oriented journalism by pressing reporters who are expert in their areas to try to analyze — where does this particular trend go three months out, six months out, a year out? And write analytical pieces based on that — analytical as different from opinion.

However, I think that there is a considerable difficulty with newspapers' basic nature being crisis-oriented, and, in fact, people are often crisis-oriented, and you could look at stories — I remember some that were done in the mid-Seventies on the energy crisis and then very little attention was paid, and suddenly, in '79, there was another energy crisis. There is a frequent problem with stories that are done that look ahead, and it's as if you tossed a stone down a well. You can go back and wave them at people three or four years later when the crisis that was predicted came up, but it just simply did not grab their attention and there's not an enormous amount that can be done about that sometimes, except you have to keep doing those kinds of stories.

KOVACH— I don't know the extent to which there is cooperation among the journalists from the new publications and the emerging publications in these countries, but it would seem to me that each country is at a different level of development, and with the right kind of sharing of information, you could use each other as listening posts to what's next, what's the next step of development, say, in banking or in employment/unemployment or that you could provide internal information that would strengthen each of your

newspapers in each country in that sense.

Q— You are now facing the possibility of writing about whole areas which were totally unavailable or just didn't exist for journalistic coverage before. I mean, one being the coverage of a real parliament that has real competition inside it; another being the coverage of military and intelligence affairs which was totally off-limits; and another being the coverage of an economy which is not simply a command administrative economy, all of which involve knowledge of areas which reporters don't necessarily have and involve a kind of coverage which nobody has ever done, at least of a certain age group.

What I'm wondering is how you plan to cover those kind of things, how you think about it, whether you are thinking about what you should be covering in those areas or whether you are simply so overwhelmed in terms of staff and all the other problems you have to face that you can just about barely cover what is thrown at you in those areas, and how you think that kind of coverage will develop in the future.

WEIS— It's a question which we are just now trying to solve. You know, the newspaper was built very quickly in December and we already know that we built it with a staff which is not, in all cases, the best one. There's the first thing. The second thing, we were covering all these important issues which you mentioned already before, but we covered with a collaboration of external writers. Once again, the special position of our newspaper — it was a kind of honor for every intellectual, every specialist in the field, to write, comment on certain problems to our newspaper. So we hadn't trouble with that before.

The other thing is that we have to build new departments and try to learn by doing it. We do it with many mistakes. One day when the Slovak National Council was elected, we simply omitted it. It shouldn't have happened and it if happened in any other newspaper or publication, the

man who was there would be sacked. Well, we didn't sack him, but —

WINSHIP— You wanted to. [Laughter.]

WEIS— Well, I must admit we are still making quite a lot of mistakes. On the other hand, the rest of the newspaper is so interesting and the opinions we express so important that — well, the people forgive us that.

BABA— I think that the situation of the Hungarian press is completely different from that of Czechoslovakia. There were some topics which were taboos; for example, the Russian troops, the security. But the economy was not, in general, so that there were different figures and quite good analyses published in Hungary.

I think that the Hungarian parliament became interesting last year. Now after the elections, its proceedings are directly broadcast by the second channel of TV. So the daily press can't cover it in the traditional way, even though the news of yesterday was horrible. How to cover the parliamentary session is a question of commentaries and there are good journalists who are able to comment because it was not a secret even in the last year and nothing special in it.

There are no experts on security, military but I hope that in a few months we shall find them as well.

Q— My question is to both Mr. Vinocur and Mr. Coffey. Would you gentlemen sign a petition for your bosses' resignation? That's not a non-democratic curiosity. We have that very situation in Bulgaria. A group of TV journalists insists on their boss's resignation and their boss is the TV boss of Bulgarian National TV.

COFFEY— Since my boss is here, I will say definitively no. [Laughter.] But I would say it even if he weren't here, because word would probably get back. But I think your question is based on the premise of a boss who really did not deserve to be in his position, and I think that would be quite a different matter. In America, you can vote with your feet. You can leave if you're in a bad situation and don't like your boss.

Q.— You don't find that action democratic?

COFFEY— I didn't say I didn't find it democratic. I think it might well be based on that situation, but I'd have to know more about that situation. I've never been in that.

VINOCUR— You did great, Shelby. [Laughter]

KOVACH— The structure of our press institutions is not democratic. There's nothing democratic — you don't vote on anything, you take orders. It's not a democratic society inside an American newspaper or television station.

Q.— The question to Jaroslav. I would like to understand, when you were samizdat, you did have enemies in the government circles. Now you do have friends there. Which is easier? To have friends or enemies? [Laughter.]

WEIS— Well, I think that it was, of course, much easier to have enemies.

Q.— Yes, but —

WEIS— Let's better say it this way: While from the point of view of simply criticizing and being completely free of everything without any sense of responsibility or any self-censorship in a positive way, of course, it was much easier if you are just in opposition.

When we started to be published officially, one of the first things we made was a small card on which one of our cartoonists drew a picture with two figures. One was symbol of self-censorship, the other a symbol of a journalist, saying "Good-bye, self-censorship. I will miss you sometimes."

At the end of the election campaign I said, "Well, I act and I do something once again under some kind of self-censorship which I suppose to be positive self-censorship which you may call — or I call it for myself — responsibility. But as a matter of fact, it is a kind of self-censorship."

The best position is not to have either enemies or friends in the government, but the position is to be just independent under a government which is good enough —

Q.— — not to be criticized.

WEIS— No, which is good enough and to which you don't have any close

relations.

Q.— May I ask one question of the American colleagues? I would like to know, did it every happen to you to withhold publication because of political reasons? If yes, can you give me an example?

COFFEY— No, I can't think of a single instance.

VINOCUR— I've been in a situation where people in greater authority than myself believed that news I felt should be published prominently, decided that it was not as important as I thought it was because I was insufficiently experienced or could not see all the reasonance of a story within a community. The answer to your question is no, but I have experienced circumstances where other people's political judgment saw things perhaps that I was incapable of seeing or oblivious to or wasn't interested in seeing.

SULZBERGER— I don't know what she means by political, but there are certainly cases I think all of us in this room are aware of where we have not printed information we have known and were prepared to print, but have not done so for security reasons. Now if you call that political, the answer would be yes.

A.— The classic example was [Tad Szulc's] story which *The New York Times* had which showed that there would be an invasion of Cuba called the Bay of Pigs. And the White House knew that and asked Scotty Reston to talk to the publisher of *The Times*. At the time, this was in 1961, the stories were killed — and [President] Kennedy later regretted asking that the stories be killed, and said it would have been a much better thing if they had been printed.

KOVACH— But the story was printed in a truncated form so that it wasn't as clear there was going to be an invasion. Those are national security questions, which tend to be easier to justify that you're saving a human life by not publishing. But straight political material like the Gary Hart thing [on a Presidential candidate's relationship with women] or some of the information some newspapers had about Jesse

Jackson and his personal life became an issue and a number of newspapers decided not to publish some of the information they had because it might be irresponsible — they had two or three sources for it — it might be considered racist, but in fact, yes, did not publish some information they had in a political campaign.

I think a number of American newspapers have done that in a number of campaigns. It almost always comes in a question where it's a matter of taste, a matter of invasion of privacy, personal behavior, that sort of thing most of the time.

Someone said our concept of the free press is you're free to be irresponsible sometimes. I've worked for newspapers that support a party or a candidate and your assignment as a reporter is to make everything they do look as good as you can without outright lies, you know, dress them up a little bit. And anything the other side did, make it look as bad as you can, without an outright lie. I mean, that happens, with small —

A.— I would suggest that there are reporters all over the country in America, every day, whose editors do not publish information mainly because the establishment in my community or some power in my community calls up and says, "This is not the time to report that story. It's going to be an economic disadvantage in the community. It's going to cause a labor problem in the town. So you lose some economic development or it is simply a bad time because we have visitors in town and we'll look bad." I think that happens in the American press every day.

KOVACH— But if another paper finds out about it, they'll write a story about it, if they can.

Q.— There are two very, very important issues here. This is one that Natalya raised and the problem of authority. In an American organization, the editor has the only authority. He could decide on any implication of publishing a news story or news. It is not fear of authority. There are authorities in our area that might

jeopardize, for instance, the position of that magazine, of that newspaper or the personal position of — [inaudible] — or of the editor. But something that our colleague from Bulgaria also raised is very important — the problem or authority inside the organization. Because with us, it's matter of perception — I always insist on that because it's very important. He raised a fundamental question. With us, we don't have independent organization. Everything was provided by the state and the government. Every authority is perceived, even inside the organizations and into the society as being a mandate from the government, from the state, and then the employees always feel the tendency and in a revolutionary situation, they think that they have the right to ask the boss to leave. It's a kind of revolutionary situation that is really inside the organizations, too.

That comes out — it's the outcome of a situation where everything was provided by the state. Please do consider this question and do answer please because in the States or in a free society do you have an independent organization — the boss has the right to leave or the dissident in the organization — dissident not within the political sense — has the right to leave and to found his own organization, which doesn't exist with us. That question is very important. It's a matter of professional authority. We have no professional authority. —

KOVACH— You can't leave?

Q.— Even, you know, the best of our dissidents are immediately questioned, they are under heavy fire because everything in our area now seems to be provided by the state. That is something very, very important and very nuanced and we don't have standards, professional standards.

You know really it's very, very important the professional standard. We didn't have it for so many decades. In America, you have either authority based on capital — you own the newspaper, you are the publisher of this and nobody questions your authority. Or it's a mandate given by someone that has the authority. We don't have it in

our area. It's really unbelievably difficult to enforce or to implement professional standards. Then everything that is questionable doesn't put your position into question, because it's a matter of taste, of judgment. It our area, it would cost you moral and professional prestige.

VANOCUR— It's important to understand that our standards that you say we have are constantly being questioned by us, are constantly being modified and reexamined. But in the question that was raised a moment ago about, do you say something that might be construed as a breach of national security, would you do it? In the summer of '65 — this relates to what John was saying about information and opinion — my opinion based on one day in a place [in Vietnam] called Cam Ranh Bay, the second largest port after Sydney in Asia, was that this was not a place where America was going to land 50,000 troops in a frenzied buildup, but more like a quarter of a million.

So when I returned, I wanted to call the President of the United States a liar. I couldn't do that. One, I was sure I was right, but who was going to back me up? And secondly, was it in good taste to call the President of the United States a liar at that time or at any time? So there are no absolute answers. You may think, you may envy what you think is our almost absolute [freedom]. We don't have it at all.

HALBERSTAM— A classic example of the evolution of professional standards that has really been going on constantly is the fact that in the McCarthy period from 1950 to 1954, the main American national papers allowed McCarthy to get away with things that they simply wouldn't do today. And they would impose journalism's judgment — [inaudible] — they now would have the right to restraint, which they didn't feel they had then, and, therefore, because he was a senator and made these charges they played the charges day upon day on the front pages, knowing that they were fallacious. They would be much tougher-minded today. And that's a fairly dramatic change over

last 30 years.

SEIGENTHALER— One quick followup to that. The civil rights movement produced in a regional way the same conditions. Most of the papers in the South blacked out what much of the movement was doing even when it was in their own city on their own city square, and that reunion David spoke about in Mississippi last year was a gathering, primarily, of people in the national press who came in and put the spotlight on it and made continuation of that impossible.

KOVACH— And those standards are always in the process of questioning the evolution. The paper I began with in East Tennessee did just that. The publisher made an arrangement with the Chamber of Commerce not to report on the freedom riders. And when I found out, I quit and went to work for the paper John worked for, and we covered the civil rights movement.

VINOCUR— You have a current example in Europe of that, right now. And this goes to the business of the press of opinion or the press of information. It is extremely difficult to read a West German newspaper and read anything that would suggest that negotiations between Germany and the Soviet Union on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany are in a very difficult sticky phase. The line in the country is, "All is for the better and all will be resolved." That's the line of Mr. Genscher and the line of Mr. Kohl. We've been publishing stories in our newspaper saying that things are considerably more difficult and even edgy in some respects.

But you have a situation in a democratic country with a strong press in which — I wouldn't dare call it a conspiracy of silence, but there is a political view that dominates a significant part of the press and you are reading news that in a sense resembles your situation in the South when they couldn't see the demonstration on the corner.

Q.— I just want to switch to the pressures that are exerted by advertisers and not so much I think for the printed press. Maybe the people from the U.S.

want to comment on this, but also I'm interested in advertising in papers now in Eastern Europe. I speak for Hungary and Czechoslovakia. How must support, financial support is given by advertisers and whether they see this as a threat that they will somehow influence the content of the newspapers?

WEIS— Certainly from what I know we still need more advertising and we are not in any danger that any advertiser would buy us. [Laughter].

For example, we are planning enlargement of the newspaper to 24 pages, which is quite unusual in this country where a normal paper in a big day is about eight pages, and in the Saturday edition, 16 pages. We hope that we will get at least four of these 24 pages just for advertising. So I hope we will be lucky to get so much advertising, because if we want to stay independent — politically independent — and not be supported by any political side, we must get money from advertising — from selling of the newspaper and from advertising. The situation in Czechoslovakia won't be such that, in my opinion, there would be the danger of being bought by large advertisers.

BABA— The question of advertising in the case of these papers is somehow a vicious circle, because the advertising business is good in the case of bigger state-owned papers. Why? Because advertisers invest much easier in a paper which publishes 200,000, 300,000 copies. That's why these papers are becoming richer and richer. On the other hand, there are these small papers, like ours, for example, which publishes 25,000, 35,000 copies. We need the advertisers, but they don't use our paper, because we are very small. There is no danger in case of small papers like *Datum* or *Lidove noviny* that they will be bought by advertisers.

VANOCUR— The one example of advertiser restraint that reached me — the most outstanding example of attempted restraint — came from the Kennedy administration on NBC on putting on the air a program called "The Tunnel," that not only won the

documentary for the year in '62, but the best program of the year. The sponsor, Gulf Oil Corporation, was the strongest supporter of the executive producer of that program to make sure that it did go on the air. In my experience, man and boy, the greatest restraint on expression comes not from outside forces, but from ourselves.

FANNING— I would like to just chime in. In the United States, the same kind of thing happens to small newspapers. I edited and published a small newspaper in Alaska for 18 years and there I was actually told by one of the top bankers in town that, because of the environmental reporting that our newspaper did, where we reported on the dangers of the oil pipeline that was being built in Alaska, that, for 10 years, this banker refused any loans to any business that advertised in our paper. Now that's advertiser pressure on a small paper because we were barely, barely alive. And I think it hits small papers like that to a much greater degree than the large organizations that are represented here.

KOVACH— *And you did not let up on your environmental reporting.*

FANNING— No, we did not.

KOVACH— *And the opposition paper is now owned by a man financed by the oil companies to buy the opposition paper which is the weakest paper.*

HALBERSTAM— I think the advertiser pressure is there. It's always there. Advertisers would like to see a newspaper that reflects point of views that would help their businesses. I think Kay's point was a good one. I think on larger papers, again, like the ones that are represented here, but others, too, I think the newspapers' response to advertiser pressure is mostly to resist it. And one of the reasons they can do that is because most American newspapers are regional newspapers and not national newspapers and most of them are dominant in their own areas and they make a lot of money and they can afford to resist it and one advertiser can't knock them out of business.

SULZBERGER— If I can run on that, one of the more interesting facts that we all face, sooner or later, is the

opposite of this issue, which is how far do you go to meet an advertiser's needs — not will you keep an advertiser who wants you to change your news coverage away, because I think every newspaper here will do that — but how far do you go the other way to meet the advertising needs, and there is always a balance and a tension between the news side of a newspaper and the business side of a newspaper on that.

Early on in the history of many of our newspapers, we turned away advertising because we felt it might pollute the nature of the news product we were trying to create. Those days aren't on us anymore, but that had to happen and you had to learn to turn away monies or revenues because —

WROBLEWSKI— *Like what? What kind of advertisers?*

SULZBERGER— Well, I can only speak for the history of *The New York Times* — at least I can speak for them best — but I know that early on when we were a failing newspaper, our then-publisher turned away municipal advertising from the City of New York, because he feared that if he had it, they could use it as leverage against the news content. So that's an issue that often arises. Sometimes advertisers want you to do special things for them, that you say, "I will not do. I'm going to turn that money away, because that would then pollute —"

WEIS— *People have turned the money away before they asked you to do that?*

SULZBERGER— Well, there are always rules and regulations, if that's what you mean. I mean, there are always rules on what kind of advertising you will accept and how you will accept it. But sometimes they want something special, something unusual. Often you can provide that, often you cannot and that's always a battle between the news and business sides, because the business side wants the money and the news side has to maintain the integrity of the columns.

HORVAT— *I would like to ask you about the role of the editor when covering Eastern Europe. It would be very easy to quote some misunderstanding*

or misinterpretation about where I live on earth. Just by reading the American press, I would be a little bit lost or surprised, because sometimes I find my home in Central Europe, the next time I find I live in Eastern Europe or in a post-communist society, and so on. These are only trifles, I know. But when it comes to broader analysis, they should know that this is not a conglomerate of countries, there are separate countries. So my question is: Do you have any specific editorial policy when publishing an article on my side of the world, let's put it this way?

VINOCUR— At the risk of giving you an unsatisfactory answer, I think the rule of thumb of our case is putting out a newspaper that's essentially not read by Americans, read by people who live in Europe. What we write about Eastern Europe has to be at a level of sophistication so those people who are of unusually high income and of usually strong education will not in any way be offended, let down, talked down to or otherwise disappointed in terms of quality by what we do. So that's the only watchword.

COFFEY— In our case, our paper is almost exclusively read by Californians, Southern Californians, and so we probably do concentrate when possible on running a map, a locator map, more often than *The Herald Tribune* would. We do try, through our foreign coverage as we see it, to give the Southern California readers a window on the world. So they will often be — there might be some mid-level or lower-level breaking news stories that we would not be as interested in, whereas a story which explained the life of a Hungarian family that had emigrated during the Communist regime and was returning might be written as a lengthy narrative for what we call our "Column One," because we would think that our readers, even if not as familiar with Hungary or the rest of your part of the world, would understand the human story involved there.

We recently started a new section called World Report, which comes out once a week and is aimed at explaining

in different ways through forms called documentaries or through a look at the media of other countries or taking a regional view and pan-Central Europe view, if that would be proper jargon for you, of particular problems, such as how do societies adjust which have had secret police in authority for a number of years and what are differences, the comparisons and contrasts among the countries. And each of those, we're trying to aim at someone who may not be as familiar and so we use those sorts of aids.

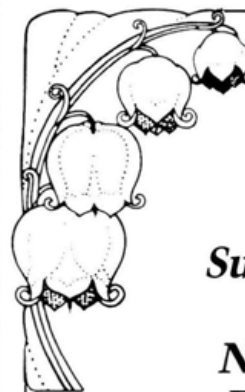
VOINA— *My question continues the question which was just answered about whether there are certain political principles concerning coverage of life in the Soviet Union. Spending a year in the United States as a Nieman Fellow, I discovered that the coverage of Soviet life is too rosy, I would say, in general terms. There are beautiful reporters and beautiful reports and interesting ideas expressed in opinion pages, but the general picture is very far from reality. And when I tried to express my critical ideas about Lithuania, for example, about some other sides of the Soviet life, my articles were not published. Some were published, but maybe six or seven or eight were not published. In one I called Vladimir Posner a liar; it was not published. In another, I was critical about a statement comparing Lithuania with Texas. "We Americans would never let Texas go. Why should Russians let Lithuania go?" [Laughter.] "And these people do not know what they do. And this small nation is biting the hand, the protruded hand, of Mr. Gorbachev," et cetera, et cetera.*

Well, I got crazy. I wrote a letter. It was not published, you know. So my question is, is there a kind of self-censorship? Maybe my accusation is too strong — or observation — but I feel that there are some political principles that — well, I understand that it's very good when, well, my leader is supported by the American press. That's true. But that shouldn't interfere with a truthful showing of how life is in my country.

COFFEY— I don't know the specific

articles or to whom you submitted them. I think I would say that I've seen a fair number of articles which have been in one way or another pessimistic about Mr. Gorbachev's chances and probably more in the last five or six months, though I would guess that American public opinion polls would show more support among the American people for his perestroika program.

I think I would have to see the actual articles, but I would doubt that there's any self-censorship as a general rule in the American press about things that would be critical of the current scene in the Soviet Union. I do think there is one other factor that sometimes is hard. And that is most papers, if they have a correspondent or two, they're there in Moscow and, as our Moscow correspondent put it, he is constantly covering the changes that are going on in the capital at a much increased rate compared to five or six years ago. Therefore, you have less of the Western press getting out into the country where I gather conditions are more difficult. And I think it's not a reflection of any concerted plan, but a reflection of what I spoke of earlier of the kind of crisis orientation that newspapers have. With the lengthy political crisis in Moscow, you're just going to get a lot of coverage that concentrates there. □



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(See page 26)

Business of Print Journalism

Arthur Sulzberger Jr, *The New York Times*; Jan Peter, *Die Andere Zeitung*;
David Laventhol, *The Los Angeles Times*, and Ofelia Vassileva
Hadjikoleva, *Svoboden Narod*

Sulzberger Urges Stress on Quality

We heard yesterday that the editor-in-chief of, I think it was, *Lidove noviny*, had resigned to accept political office. That statement really made clear for me the fundamental difference between American and European journalists. In the United States journalists who move on to politics are considered to have taken a step down, and certainly they have given up a lot of power.

Even Ivan Baba told us yesterday that the question of information is closely related to the question of finance. We have a saying in the U.S. — "Freedom of the press depends on who owns the press." As I have listened to our Central and East European colleagues so far, heard your needs and your desires, the distance you have come, the distance you have yet to go, I fully understand that making money is far less important to you than affecting the political process. This is perhaps as it should be.

But your long-term survival in this new world of ours demands thinking beyond getting a press up and getting papers out. To survive, to grow, to provide quality and meet the needs of your readers, you must eventually make money.

This is a week for sharing secrets. And when it comes to the business of newspapering, there's one secret that overrides all others. It's a dirty little secret that you should all know and remember, but you must promise in this room — promise never to share it with anybody outside of our business. Here it is: The newspaper business is simple. It's very, very simple. The key ingredient is words. We all have words.

Most times we have too many words. From a business point of view, there will never be a word shortage.

The manufacturing process for all the gloss of computer-driven machinery is undemanding and remarkably forgiving. Unlike real modern businesses, in the world of newspaper production, you can make a lot of mistakes and still sell what you've got. Circulation can be made complicated, but in the end, at its hardest it comes down to somebody throwing a newspaper at somebody else's front door. Once all that's under control, you sell the results to advertisers. You're in business.

It's what those people on Wall Street used to call a "no-brainer." You just don't have to think very much about it.

Now there's one catch. It isn't very easy to make money doing this. A lot of newspapers in the United States have performed these creative and manufacturing and distribution jobs just fine and gone out of business anyway. Some newspapers did them superbly, especially on the creative side, and still folded. *The New York Herald Tribune*, I think, is a good example of that.

So let me ask you, our European colleagues, to take a look around at your American colleagues here. Ask yourself what it is that we all have in common. Why is it that *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal* and all the others are here?

First, for the most part, we are monopolies, especially in our core home market, whether that's defined geographically or demographically.

The second reason is quality.

Gathered here are representatives of the best newspapers in America — those newspapers better known for the quality of the journalism they produce than for the amount of money that they make. These newspapers survived that 50-year period in the United States where the number of newspapers in a major city shrunk from a dozen or more to one or two. And the reason they survived, the reason they are near monopolies is a long-term commitment to quality.

As I was thinking about what I was going to tell you today, I became more and more convinced that there is very little that we in the United States do today that is particularly applicable to your situation and the situation you face. Your needs are extraordinary. Some of you need new phone systems. Some of you need new phone systems nationwide. Some need newsprint. Some need computers. Some need production systems. Some need distribution systems. Some need financial systems.

These are issues that we in the United States simply do not face anymore. But we did, once, and it was the lessons of newspapers represented here, the lessons that we learned 100 years ago, that established the guiding philosophies that led in turn to our business success. And to understand what it is that we have become, it is imperative to understand how we developed.

I'll go back to the key word — quality. In 1896, *The New York Times* got a new owner who recommitted the paper to delivering straight news as fast as anyone or faster. Now *The Times's* journalistic philosophy was already established. Indeed, during the early 1890s,

the journalism alone had saved the newspaper from being dissolved. But he reinforced that crucial journalistic voice with a business strategy — one that *The Times* has followed successfully ever since. It's a strategy of market places, and I commend it to you. It means creating parts of the paper that bring together the news and advertising on a given subject to meet the total needs of the reader.

American newspapers make money in essentially one way. They print advertising. It's my understanding that West European newspapers are driven by their circulation, not by their advertising. In the end, each of you is going to have to decide who is going to pay. Is the reader going to pay or is the advertiser going to pay?

Now the *Times's* new publisher in 1896, Adolph Ochs, made that decision right away. He cut the price of the newspaper from three cents to one cent. Then one month after purchasing *The Times*, he introduced a magazine supplement inserted into the Sunday paper. Now it's the leading newspaper magazine in the nation.

One month after that, *The Times* unveiled a book review section. Today, *The New York Times* book review section is the standard in the industry.

Both the magazine and the book review sections represented major gambles. They added costs to the newspaper long before they added revenue, but they helped turn a failing newspaper into a successful one by meeting clear reader needs. *The New York Times* has had a lot of ups and downs since then. We're in a down right now, though nothing close to what we've seen in the past. And every time we've emerged from a downturn, it has been by adding to the paper, by spending more money to create more quality and by having the courage to reinvest, by creating new marketplaces, such as the travel section, the real estate section, the business section. I can't stress to you enough how often we've had to learn this lesson nor how successful it has been every time.

In no way do I mean to stand here and suggest that we were alone in this.

Other American newspapers did much the same thing by reinvesting in new sections, new ideas, new plant, new equipment.

Of course, it's an easier formula to follow today than it used to be, but it wasn't easy in 1896 and it won't be easy for you. The money is hard to find. Harder than that is to hold fast to journalistic principles that will allow you to succeed long term while your competitors are making more money in the short term by doing things that will inevitably result in their demise.

All advertising is not created equal. At *The Times*, we have three major categories of advertising — national, retail and classified — with dozens of subcategories. Each has its own rate. In total, there are roughly 125 different ad rates at *The New York Times*.

I know this all sounds complicated, especially for such a simple business, but the lesson to draw from all of this is pricing flexibility. By being creative, one can meet the needs of most advertisers. Remember, though, that price can't drive your business. As long as your prices are competitive, price isn't what newspapers sell. At least it's not what our advertising department sells. You know what they sell? They sell quality. They sell a readership that is brought to *The Times* by the quality of its journalism. They sell the relationship that *The Times* has established with its readers over decades — a relationship of trust that we try to reinforce every day.

My point in giving you this is to suggest the importance of your role as businessmen. The crucial business relationship of trust is one that you as journalists must build. Your advertising manager can't do it. Your financial manager can't do it. That's your job. Think of it as quality control.

That's why cheap, shoddy journalism won't succeed. At *The New York Times*, and indeed at the other newspapers represented here, the most important businessman is the editor. Yesterday, John Vinocur asked you only to have respect for information. May I ask you to have respect for your readers? As David Halberstam said,

they should have your loyalty.

Peter Stresses Leipzig Local News

Within the process of peaceful revolution last Autumn there were mushrooming in almost all bigger cities of the German Democratic Republic newly founded independent newspapers, more than 20 all over the country. Now — not 50 years later, only half a year later — we are the only newspaper still existing.

What are the reasons for this mass extermination of independent G.D.R. newspapers? The main reason is the inability to understand that we have to work now under conditions of business and not still in the revolution. Let me explain it in a shorter way.

First, all of these newspapers had been linked with the former opposition underground press and came to public with the first big opposition movement and New Forum movement. Mostly, these newspapers were unable to move away from those political platforms to real timely newspapers. They published only one political view, only one kind of information and facts, and became more and more boring.

Secondly, most editors of these newspapers had a long history in the opposition movement, and, at a special moment, they also got a high reputation. But time is changing fast in the G.D.R. A German philosopher a long time ago said, 'Der Revolution frisst ihre Kinder.' That means in English, 'Revolution is guzzling its children.' In the G.D.R., that reputation in former times wasn't high enough any longer to sell newspapers.

Third, revolutionaries are very theoretical enthusiasts, and German revolutionaries are very theoretical enthusiasts. That means especially that they rejected the opportunities of advertising from West German enterprises in early January and February of this year because they wanted to be independent from all things. They realized too late that even independent editors have to eat and have to pay their rent. But now it is much more compli-

cated to get advertising from West German enterprises, because their own well-known newspapers now circulate throughout the whole country.

I wanted to note these short and incomplete facts to help you understand that all the problems the new independent press is faced with in our countries have their roots in the background and the history of these movements. I think it is a sociological problem, as well as a technical or a financial. The most important sentence in this context I heard yesterday spoken by President Vaclav Havel. It is a simple sentence: "It is not easy to learn freedom overnight." In former times, we could write what we wanted to. The underground papers existed only because we were against the government. Now we have to learn professional journalism within the shortest time in European history, and in the G.D.R., twice as fast as in other countries.

Frankly speaking, we have to fight as independent G.D.R. newspapers now on two fronts. One front is competition with the well-organized and well-experienced West German press. We have to know that in Leipzig, for instance, we are now the only newspaper not sold to West German press companies. This situation is similar in the whole country. The other front is the old and totally inefficient system of distribution. For instance, almost a half of our subscribers don't get our newspaper punctually every week. The mail is unable to guarantee delivery to subscribers. The official newsstands are unable to transport and sell the papers punctually. Some of our hardest experience in the last month was that you can produce the best newspaper, [but] if you can't distribute it, all your content is pointless.

When I look at my list and see the words "cost management," I see the next problem. In former times, cost management meant especially self-exploitation of all employees working for the newspaper. On the other hand, often dozens of people worked for a newspaper with a print run of a thousand copies. But now our editors, secre-

taries and journalists have to live from their wages, so we must freeze the number of employed people on a low level. So far, these kinds of things we have had to learn very fast.

The newspaper I am the editor-in-chief of is called "The Other Newspaper" — *Die Andere Zeitung*. It wants to survive this first and most complicated year of its life with two basic principles. The first one is easy and comes from the U.S.: All business is local. So we see our only chance to win in the competition with the big Western weeklies in and around Leipzig is to be the newspaper with the best information and content of our city, because we know the city the best. The second principle is our wish to learn from and maybe to work together with non-German newspapers and journalists. That wish is founded in our hope to offer new and interesting views to our readers in Germany.

Laventhol Says Start Small

One of the speakers said yesterday, do we have to become business people? I think the answer to that is that someone has to be the business person, although not necessarily the journalists. What is clear in a free-market economy is that somebody has to provide the money to pay the salaries of the journalists, the printing and distribution costs, and the newsprint costs. Somebody has to pay, and it will be expensive.

Who will pay? These are decisions you're going to have to make, but if you let the government continue to pay, you give the government control over what you do. Financial independence from the government means journalistic independence, although not necessarily a total end to government interference. Virtually no American newspaper receives money from the government, but as you heard yesterday, the government on occasion still attempts to restrict us. But they don't control our printing presses or our newsprint or what goes into our paper. So who will pay if you no longer have government

subsidies? The way that has worked best in the United States is for the consumer to pay directly through prices charged for the paper and indirectly through advertising of goods and services that people who read the paper decide to buy.

In addition to operating funds, as those of you have started up newspapers know, there are ongoing costs, there are start-up costs, working capital, equipment investments. How are you going to finance those? Are you going to meet those by finding an individual with substantial funds to be an owner or by raising money in financial markets or by ventures with foreign investors or by leasing or using existing equipment? All these have been tried in Europe so far. I can't answer what the best way is for any individual paper, but I think you're facing questions of control as well as questions of money.

As Ben Bradlee said yesterday, which I totally agree with, perhaps the most important fact in keeping a newspaper independent is the owner, an owner who understands and supports the journalists' role, particularly when there are pressures to suppress or distort. Papers in this room have been fortunate to have owners who believe in what we're doing, who believe that newspapers are in business to publish, not to suppress. That isn't always so. Some owners have their own agendas, and they're not necessarily journalism. They could be politics or simply wanting to make a lot of money.

You might be trading government interference for some other kind of interference, so make sure you know your owner, or maybe you can raise money from passive investors and you can own your own printing press.

Whatever you do, it is probably best, as some of you are doing, to start small and build your circulation and advertising base. There was a wonderful and courageous story told yesterday of the newspaper distributing 10,000 copies printed on a Xerox machine, or series of Xerox machines. That's too small for most publications, but there are low-cost desk-top publishing systems available now. There are small presses

that can be purchased. There's a used press market.

I'd say start small because newspaper costs multiply rapidly, particularly on the manufacturing side. To give you an extreme example, *The Los Angeles Times* is currently spending \$405 million to replace and improve its presses. Daily newspaper startups in the United States are very rare, and they succeed even more rarely. On the other hand, launches of newspapers that come out once a week have been quite successful, and of course, perhaps some have been more successful over here, particularly in various parts of Europe.

A surprisingly small percentage of operating costs of most American daily newspapers are for journalists' salaries and expenses. Typically, that figure is 10 to 15 percent, usually higher on smaller papers with less overhead and fewer manufacturing costs. Newsprint is usually about 20 to 30 percent of costs. Probably you are eventually going to buy newsprint on the free market, and probably, almost certainly, it's going to cost more than you're now paying, even as other subsidized costs are rising as your economy converts to the free market.

All of this suggests there is a business to be run, and you need business people to run it. The way most of our newspapers work, there's usually a chief executive who is the publisher with responsibility for both news and business. The chief executive is responsible to the owners, or may be the owner, or, rarely, is even the editor. Except for that person, strict separation is maintained between news and business. The business people cannot dictate to the newsroom. The independence of the editor is protected. That does create a tension because the business side is out to make money while the news side may sometimes, in following journalistic pursuits, cause the paper to suffer economically.

The business people, in addition to managing costs and operating plants, are there to bring the money through advertising and circulation revenues. And that is certainly one of the biggest

challenges you face as you move into a free-market economy. There is no magic formula here in my opinion, but there is a basic equation that guides most newspapers that are dependent on advertising, and I think you saw a version of it from *The Times*. And as Arthur [Sulzberger] said, it does seem simple. It works like this: You start with the journalism, the news content. If it's important and interesting enough, people will buy the paper. If enough people buy it, it'll attract advertising. If it attracts enough advertising, it'll provide a return to the owners and the ability to invest back into the journalism to make it even a better paper with more readers, more advertisers, and so on. That's the simple formula.

It does work less successfully in highly competitive markets where there are many newspapers trying to get the same amount of advertising.

Most papers are local, not national, and so most advertising falls into two categories: the retail ads, which primarily tell about and sell availability and price of consumer products sold in the stores; and classified ads, primarily offering goods and services to and from individuals, including jobs, cars and housing. Some even include features like personals about people looking for companionship. There's also what we call general advertising, which is usually focused on image, rather than on specific product sales. Classified has been particularly successful with smaller newspapers. Since it is usually just a few lines, it is cheaper to purchase and also can be composed more easily on a desk top PC, for example.

You're obviously going to face the question of how much advertising you can get and whether it'll be enough to support your enterprise. It's highly unlikely that a lot of it is going to come soon. As was noted, it took *The New York Times* many, many years to achieve that point.

In some ways, some of the real geniuses of the newspaper business are those who have figured out how to price their newspapers in the right way to bring in enough money to do what you need to do and, at the same time,

not to charge too much so that people won't be able to read it. I think this is particularly true on a mass circulation newspaper.

Are there pressures to maintain [advertising] revenues? The answer, of course, is, sure, there are a lot of pressures. No advertiser wants to see news that is bad for business. Some will object to the point of not advertising. We had one a couple of weeks ago, an airline that said it would never advertise again in one of our sections because the ad ran the same day as a story about terrorism in the air. We worked it all out, but it's an example of why the division between news and business is so essential. The editor makes a journalistic decision, and the editor prevails. And the separation makes that possible.

Most advertisers are more subtle. And certainly there are many examples of cooperation between advertising and editorial where the content of the editorial part of the paper is not at issue. And there are many sections of the newspapers that provide environments attractive to advertisers, like travel sections, food sections, and business sections.

In addition to the advertiser pressures, there are consumer pressures. At one newspaper or another, I've been boycotted by many, many groups — our papers have. People didn't like our abortion coverage or our racial coverage, what we wrote about a specific community, how we covered real estate. And, of course, individuals cancel their paper all the time in their own form of boycott. When incidents like this happen, you know the price of journalism. And it is certainly easier to withstand the pressure if you are large and successful, although many others do, and there are many heroic stories of small papers in the United States whose franchises have been totally threatened who have held the line.

None of this, however, is anything like the kind of pressure our Eastern Europeans who are here today, and so many others here in Eastern Europe, have been facing. It does suggest that the free-market economy can

sometimes complicate rather than simplify democracy. But to paraphrase Winston Churchill, we still prefer it to any other system.

Hadjikoleva Seeks Excellence

I'm going to say only a few words, because maybe there is some mistake; I understand nothing about business. [Laughter]

Maybe I'm here because I'm the only party paper, *Svoboden Narod*, the paper of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party. It appeared in February as a weekly edition, and now we are a daily with a circulation of 100,000. And on Friday in 16 pages, the weekly one.

Up until now, it appears that we are quite profitable, and we thoroughly depend on our circulation. It is not enough of a readership, maybe. Maybe we can sell about 200,000 or 250,000 or 300,000 papers. We are distributed by the state.

We live in security, in sureness. We face the market economy, the free-market economy, and maybe in three or four months the price of the paper will go up and up, maybe twice. We shall be satisfied if it will be twice. Maybe three, four, or five times. Then we are not sure how we shall manage.

I do understand that the time of the party newspaper has passed. We try to give a very large view of our political life. I think that we shall survive in the future only by improving quality.

I really understand nothing in business. [Laughter] But I do understand that it's very important. I do understand, and that's why the first member of our staff, after me — I'm editor-in-chief — was our manager to run all our problems. So, nothing but understanding.

Discussion

WINSHIP— *I'm going to ask the first question. I want to know honestly how much control your party has over what you put in your newspaper.*

HADJIKOLEVA— Up until now, I haven't had any problems with my

party. And we have party control, but it's not strong. We just have one and the same line, one and the same view on the problems, one and the same view on Bulgarian development. We express the party line on Bulgarian development in the elections and so on. But it is not a matter of control; it is a matter of general understanding between them and us. So up until now, we haven't had any problems with control. We haven't had any cases of "publish this, don't publish that," up until now.

So there is a good understanding between us. I do hope our relations will continue this way. The leadership of the party understands that the journalists, the newspaper, must have independence to a very big extent. They understand that our profession is quite different from theirs, and they trust us, I think. Up until now, we are satisfied. We are satisfied with our independence.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party is quite a new party. It is an old one, but it was revived last November. Maybe the party itself is not very well organized yet, and they give much freedom to all of us and to the party members in the country. Maybe one day when it organizes better, maybe things will differ somehow.

WINSHIP— *Can you visualize maybe a year from now being independent from the party, from an organizational point of view, a financial point of view?*

HADJIKOLEVA— We are independent in a financial point of view now. And we even give some money to the party, being financially independent and being profitable. Maybe in the future, we shall have some rules for our relationship. We haven't them now, but we don't feel any pressure from the party now. And we are glad to be so, and we hope that this will continue in a little bit more organized way.

Q— *Having just been in Moscow for two and a half months at a Soviet paper, I talked to a lot of Soviet editors about the idea of serving readers. Almost universally I was told that the interest now is in political education in a way, in instruction rather than in*

service. The idea of sections or of information that would be of specific use to readers, like on consumer problems, which in the Soviet Union heaven knows there are many, or other areas, is not what they're thinking about now. I'm curious to ask the Eastern European editors, both on the panel and anyone in the audience who would want to comment on it, whether you think that the times are not suitable to the kind of reader service sections or coverage that Arthur [Sulzberger] was talking about, whether you think that that might be more appropriate or whether you're thinking about it now.

PETER— Well, I think it is one of the things we have to learn now, because in the past, as I said, we published only political information or political views, political opinions and so on. But the people now want to get also from an opposition newspaper, also from a well-known newspaper, much more service information. In our newspaper, for 10 weeks, we have had the only high-level cultural calendar in Leipzig and vicinity, because this is a service to our readers. Times are changing, and now it becomes more normal that people want to read service information. At our newspaper, we want to produce in September twice as many pages. Now we produce 16; then 32. And we want to produce much more service information. We also think that we can maybe produce a special section about cultural programs, about shopping, and so on. If you've got a cultural program for the whole city, a lot of people want to advertise only in this calendar. So I think it will become much more important in the future and now.

LUCZYWO— I'm from Poland, from *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily. In Poland, definitely the time of the overwhelming interest in politics is over. I'd say it was over a year ago. Last February, our readers were mostly people interested in politics, and the percentage of women reading our newspaper dropped by 50 percent. That means that we gave people too much politics, and we still do, although this is not good for our

sales and our advertising, our income.

Why do we do that? It's one of our biggest problems, and we don't exactly know what to do about it. We do that because we are such a small newspaper. We don't have money to develop it. And it might be more difficult to do than it was in the case of *The New York Times* 100 years ago just because in Poland the structure of cost is such that over half of the cost is newsprint. The subsidies were taken out from newsprint half a year ago, and prices went up about 10 times.

That is why to increase the size of the newspaper is much more difficult than it might have been in the United States. Also, the economy of the States in the late 19th century was a booming economy, while ours is the economy in a very deep crisis. And the price of the newspaper and also the financial possibilities of the advertisers are not that big. The balance might be slightly more difficult to find, although everyone thinks that his situation is the harder, the toughest, which it's usually not.

Anyway, to answer your question, I think that the time of politics will be over, or is over, and if it will be over, it will be over much sooner than many editors might fear.

BABA—Just a few words about services. These services have existed in the Hungarian press for decades. Just one element is new. That is information about the stock market and about those new sides of the economic life which appeared just in the last month in the Hungarian market. That's a labor force market and stock market, which is going to be published in the daily press in Hungary.

VINOCUR—*A question for Mr. Peter. Your situation is very different in East Germany than in the other Central and Eastern European countries because there's an internal competitor, West German-based newspapers that will come and possibly eat your lunch and you too. How are you going to get the money to compete against the Springers and the other big, very rich, very powerful, very experienced German publishers? Are you talking to*

West German investors? Are you talking to investors outside Germany? Do you have cash yourself? Or how are you going to survive is really my question?

PETER—If I could get a simple answer to this question, I think maybe I wouldn't be here. I would be in Leipzig collecting my money. [Laughter.] I think that one reason I am here is to get some contacts, maybe some links. Well, we know that we cannot survive if we don't find any investors anywhere.

For myself, I would like to find these investors outside of Germany, because if you find investors in the big publishing companies or big press companies in West Germany, and you make mistakes, these publishing or press companies only want to buy you. They bring their own journalists with them. They bring their own technique. They bring their own philosophy. And we can't do what we want to do anymore.

I think our main problem is to find someone who wants to support such a project in the area of the former G.D.R. and another kind of German newspaper. I think such a philosophy and such a way of journalism as ours is unusual in West Germany. And I think it may be possible that a satirical newspaper of the G.D.R. may also be successful in West Germany. We have some several hundred subscribers in West Germany, but we have no distribution system.

I think we have to find such investors outside Germany, and maybe we have to find a lot of opportunity for professional training for our very young journalists. I am 21 years old, and all of our journalists are so young. We have to learn professional journalism very, very, very fast, and we have to learn how we can provide the money. I think that's the main problem. The same question you asked me, I ask myself every day.

WROBLEWSKI—On survival, my paper *Gazeta Bankowa*, is the first in Poland, probably the first in Central or Eastern Europe or however you define the post-Communist region, which has become a Polish-West European joint venture, which is another solution.

Just last Thursday, we signed the

contract. That's an escape from the prevailing pressure of paper cost, newsprint cost, distribution cost, which leaves our wages as little as that cafeteria income — [laughter] — in *The New York Times*.

After some months of acquaintance with Jean-Louis Servan-Schreiber, the president of L'Expansion Group, I asked him, "Why are you entering the pool?" He said to me, "Europe has expanded, and we want to be there as well on the Western side of the border of the Iron Curtain. And another reason, that five or ten years down the road, it will be a regular market, and we hope to make money." Now, the injection of optimism is more important for us than an injection of money.

FANNING—*I'd like to ask Jan and Ofelia and perhaps any of the other European journalists here whether their newspapers are moving in the direction of separating editorial and opinion from news even though it's taken an evolution of perhaps 100 years in the United States to get to the point where most American newspapers do that. But I'd like to ask them how they treat that, whether there is a clear separation in their mind between the opinion section and the news section, and if not now, whether you're evolving toward that.*

HADJIKOLEVA—Up until now, we haven't separated the opinion part of the paper and news. We are trying to do this, but we haven't succeeded yet. We do understand that we must separate them in some way, but we haven't managed yet. I think that we

"Now, the injection of optimism is more important for us than an injection of money." Andrzej Wroblewski, *Gazeta Bankowa*, Warsaw

shall develop in this direction, and maybe, in several months, maybe things will differ. But up until now it was quite impossible to do this in the very dynamic political life connected with our election. Now, the elections are over, and we go to another development of the paper.

PETER— I think our first principle in creating this newspaper was to try this separation, because for 40 years on the G.D.R. press landscape, you found no hard news. Always opinion, and even if there was some news, it was linked with the opinion of the government and linked with the opinion of the party. You always found commentaries. You found no information about the West, for instance, without commentary. We wanted at first to separate it. We have one page with our opinion, with the opinion of the newspaper, with the opinion of commentators, and we have two pages with only news.

We want to separate it very, very much but a lot of our readers don't understand the separation. For instance, we ran an interview with a leader of a prohibited right-wing party because we saw that it was very important to know that this party still existed in Leipzig. We did the interview without any commentary, only this interview. And the people said, "Why do you not comment in this interview? Why do you not add your opinion to that?" That's our main problem. For over 40 years all articles were only with opinions. Now readers have to know that they have to read only news and they have to read it their way. That's complicated for us in the newspaper, and for the readers, too. We have to learn it, and the readers have to learn it, too.

HADJIKOLEVA— It is a very big problem. We must develop ourselves, and we must develop our audience.

LAVENTHOL— I think *The New York Times* model, which is certainly a good one, and many other papers do it, but I think there's another way of doing that. We, at our papers, tend to have the editor have responsibility for the editorial pages as a way to ensure that the editorial pages kind of stay in the

"I think that we shall survive in the future only by improving quality."

Ofelia Vassileva
Hadjikoleva, Svoboden
Narod, Sofia

same paper with the news side, and not to influence the opinions, but simply so that they're more in synchronization with each other and not sort of always doing something completely different.

WEIS— May I add something about — well, about the distinction between the opinion page and the information side of the newspaper as we do it on *Lidove noviny* or as in the situation in Czechoslovakia. I think it's a bit similar to what Mr. Peter said, but generally we are trying to divide it as in the American or Western press. For us it is important to have at least three places which just express the opinion — that of the government on the first page, then we have a special part which is called "Opinion," which is supposed to be the most important for us, and then so-called "Last Word." But still there is a special page of commentaries on foreign affairs as well, which is quite well done.

But still we feel that our information side is a bit of commentary. Our journalists still aren't used to writing without it, just this straightforward news. The second thing is that we are very dependent on the Czech News Agency, which is all the time producing — as a kind of heritage of the last years — commentary news. So what we, for example, would need is to have other sources and other agencies. But we can't afford it. It's not easy for us to buy Reuters or AP or something like that. We must try to negotiate to get it somehow — well, just free of charge. I don't know if we will be able to get it, but that would help us,

because certainly the way you do it, is the best way.

HALBERSTAM— I listened to Arthur Sulzberger's speech this morning and I thought it was probably one of the most important speeches given, particularly for those new, fledgling newspapers who are trying to chart their own course. And what struck me is that, as a reporter, what Arthur was saying was, if you do the right thing in the right way, people will know. That is particularly true in terms of being a beacon to young reporters. You're only going to be as good a newspaper as the reporters you hire. Believe me, in any country young reporters are going to know which newspapers in effect cheat on their decision-making and in fact don't protect their reporters, don't back them up, don't give them enough space or whatever. And, therefore, those papers that do are going to be, as they are magnets in our country, they're going to be magnets in any country, to keep replenishing and bringing in reporters. And therefore, involuntarily and almost unconsciously you get a tradition.

The second thing I wanted to say was what some of you said this morning, that you didn't think *The Times*, with its might and majesty, really had that much meaning to you because you were so new. But there's a very interesting decision that *The New York Times* made during World War II, when in fact newsprint was terribly limited and there was not a great deal to go around. *The Times* and *The Tribune* were given a limited amount of newsprint each day. The *New York Herald Tribune*, which was then a very good paper — set out to maximize profit during those war years. *The Times* minimized profit, used as much space as it could for reporting, for more reporting on the war. And therefore, when the war was over, *The Times* held a lead over *The Tribune* it had never had before, and it went on to become the dominant paper. And *The Tribune* eventually, out of that change, went into extinction. □

Jail for Telling Secrets?

Michael Zantovsky, President Havel's Press Secretary, Supports Prosecution For Printing Informers' Names, But Apologizes Later

I really didn't have the time to take notes or write what I'm going to say now, so I am going to say something.

I know roughly what I should say: I should say that it's great that this conference is taking place in Prague, it's great that we have freedom of press, and I should also say how important freedom of press is. I happen to think that all of these things are true, but I think they would make for a rather boring speech. So I'm going to speak about something more exciting — like sending journalists to jail, etc.

I was inspired to think about this by the remarks that my current boss made yesterday at this conference about freedom and responsibility. And I noticed that the remarks didn't go down all that well with some of you — though remarks my boss made were simply an extrapolation of things he's been saying for 20 years on every occasion he has: that freedom is very much a desirable thing, but it has to be accompanied by a sense of individual responsibility in each of us, whatever we are doing.

You will all agree with me that freedom of expression in general and freedom of the press in particular is a very essential thing and one of the best safeguards of the welfare of a democratic society. You may not agree with me when I say that it is also a sacred cow, largely of the press's own making, that it has nurtured for years to build a protective wall around itself.

Everybody has experienced what contribution the free press has made at times, especially at times of crisis, to preserving democracy, to preserving freedom. But everybody has also experienced how much damage it can cause, because journalists wield some very, very powerful tools and these tools can hurt when they are misused or not

used right.

This discussion usually ends up in somebody saying that the benefits of a free press offset its risks or its dangers. And it is so, but we have to still think about dangers.

I'd like to mention three cases in point that recently happened to me or occurred to me. And I more or less know what two of them mean. I don't know what the third one means. But altogether they seem to me to mean something about freedom and about individual responsibility.

The first case, the most recent case, is very simple. There's a journalist in this country who wrote last week in a paper that in the six months Havel has been in the office we in the castle, in the office, drank away more money than the previous government had done in 10 years. Well, it caused us to work very hard because we weren't quite sure. And so we had to check and go through the invoices 10 years back and found out we were quite modest about our drinking and we actually drank much more soft drinks than hard liquor or wine, unlike the previous government — so we're going to sue the bastard.

And there are two ways we can do this. We could start criminal proceedings against him because this happens to be a felony, this kind of libel. But we're not going to do that. We're going to start civil proceedings against him and he will be sentenced to apologize in print in public on the same spot in the paper that the article was published. Unfortunately there are no material fines or damages that he could have to pay us under the law in this country so he will get off with just the apology.

But this is a simple case. There is a much more serious and complicated

case that's just a hypothetical case and that my colleague from the G.D.R. is probably familiar with in his own country. And it's something that got us thinking about sending journalists to jail.

There is a list somewhere of 140,000 names of people who were in the past informers or collaborators for the secret police. And of course there are pressures from the public that the list be published. There are journalists trying to get hold of the list in order to publish it. And of course it would be a major scoop.

Well, we thought about it and decided that anyone who publishes this list will go to jail. Not because most of those people were not guilty — at least of dishonesty and some were probably guilty of crimes — but some of them were victims as much as perpetrators of wrongdoing. And many of them or most of them had — have — families and children and we just happen to think that the damage caused by the publication of such a list would justify sending someone to jail.

Well, the third case I don't know much about although I was directly involved in it. And it's a very interesting case because it has something to do with what happened in this country over the past six months and how it all started.

The revolution, as some call it — we are sort of uneasy about calling it revolution, but many people call you that — started, as you know, with a big student demonstration on the 17th of November. This demonstration was violently attacked by the riot squads, the antiterrorist commandoes and many secret police.

In the evening of the day after we got away from the demonstration, I got a

phone call from a colleague of mine, a friend of mine, now the head of the Czechoslovak News Agency, Petr Uhl, who told me that one of the students was killed by the police in the attack. I keep on me [phone numbers] of the Voice of America, one of the two stations. And I asked him if he was sure and he said he had an eyewitness and that the eyewitness is completely reliable and that he is 100 percent certain that a student was dead.

I went and filed and in about 20 minutes it came out on the wire that the student was dead and in another half an hour it was broadcast on the V.O.A.

This incident probably as much as anything else caused a huge demonstration on November 20, on Monday — about 200,000 people — that started the whole thing and got the ball rolling. Now the government, of course, went absolutely wild and went to great lengths to deny that anything like that took place. But after 40 years of this no one believed it. And that was the end of the government.

Now it turned out in the end that the story was not true. There was no student killed and actually it turned out that there was a secret policeman who lay down on the ground and let himself be covered and pretended that he was killed. And the reasons why this happened, why this very intricate provocation (or ruse) was played are still not quite clear although we can already assume much about it.

But in any case the story was not true. Petr Uhl went to jail and I didn't sleep at home for two or three days and Petr was released only after the revolution was over.

Now technically, he should still be in jail. He published and I published — and he was sent to jail — information which was not true and was very inflammatory and which actually could cause a lot of damage. And it all went well (and I'm here to talk to all of you).

But it could have — there are alternative scenarios — I mean it could have ended up like in Romania. In that case, we would both be very much responsible [for the outcome].

So, what I'm trying to say is that . . . individual responsibility is in the mind of the beholder. There are some clear-cut cases that . . . government should not meddle in this, but every journalist, every writing journalist, should think about it and [behave on his own part].

Discussion

Zantovsky's remarks touched off a lively question and answer session led mostly by American journalists who challenged his defense of government secrets against "irresponsible" journalists. Although the recording of the session was inadequate the following reconstruction reflects the substance of the important questions and Zantovsky's answers. It was put together from extensive notes taken by George Rodrigue (NF '90) and David Halberstam.

Q.— Under what law would journalists be prosecuted?

A.— The 140,000 names are classified under the Official Secrets Act.

Q.— Would they be prosecuted even if one of the names, or a few of the names were published?

A.— I assume that all of them would be protected. I assume that a prosecutor would have to prosecute anyone, whether it involved one name or five. If it was someone in the government, someone high up, then judges might find mitigating circumstances.

Q.— Doesn't your possession of a secret list put you in the position for political blackmail?

A.— About 100 candidates for the recent elections dropped off their

parties' lists within 48 hours of the elections. They agreed to be dropped off the list. There was no explanation given. But a candidate for the People's Party, the main opposition party, refused to drop out even though the government issued a statement saying he was on the list.

Q.— A similar list in East Germany was published and nothing happened; no apartments were set on fire, no one was hanged.

A.— Well, we can't be sure that is what will happen here.

Q.— But possession of such a secret list gives you control over who can run, in effect.

A.— It might have worked that way but it didn't. It was not the government's decision. The Minister of the Interior privately notified party leaders of people identified on the list and it was up to the parties and the candidates to react accordingly.

Q.— And you trust them?

A.— Well, no. It was up to them and nearly all of them wanted off the list — did not want to run after they learned the list existed and their names were on it.

Q.— Why keep the Official Secrets Act?

A.— I am sorry but my impression is that all governments have some mechanism to protect secrets.

Q.— The list does not impress me as a secret worth sacrificing freedom of the press for.

A.— Well, what if a homosexual was being blackmailed into cooperating with the secret police and he never did anything really to hurt anyone — only

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pretended to cooperate? Being on the list would not in that case be evidence of a crime for which he should be punished.

Q.— You have yet to show any irresponsibility by the press sufficient to support your concerns.

A.— And you have yet to see any prosecutions. Others have been doing this [governing] for 200 years. We are new to the game. You can print anything in the papers but there has got to be some legal process for dealing with these cases.

Q.— How can you reassure the public that you are not using the list for political blackmail?

A.— Well, an old Czech saying is that, "What has been said can never be destroyed, and even less what has been written." This list, I am afraid, is indestructible. I just wonder if it is fair to absolve journalists from responsibility. A doctor who commits malpractice can go to jail, and journalists can cause much more harm than any malpracticing doctor.

Q.— But you have reserved to yourselves the right to publish this list?

A.— We do not reserve the right to

publish. We have denied ourselves that right. The moral atmosphere of the country, as President Havel says, has been contaminated. It is not a question of good groups and bad groups. Everyone is guilty to some extent. So we are treating it as a moral issue. We do not intend to burn any books. We do not intend to ban any articles. But we think that we have to think about situations that might arise when we have to ban an article or prosecute a journalist, just so that we can know what we are doing.

Q.— Why not publish the list and get it behind you?

A.— What we fear is that it could lead to a witch hunt. And we have had enough of these.

Zantovsky Apologizes

Later, Zantovsky submitted his resignation, but President Havel rejected it. In a public apology, Zantovsky was quoted by Editor & Publisher in its September 22 edition as saying:

"At the seminar I spoke for myself and I spoke provocatively in order to trigger off a discussion. I said, though with a great deal of exaggeration, that

a journalist should be put in prison for revealing a state security."

"In retrospect, this pronouncement is at variance with my conscience and I cannot support it," Zantovsky declared.

"I am deeply convinced of the necessity of a free press as one of the best guarantees of democracy," he said, adding: "I am also convinced of the need for the journalist's responsibility to his own conscience, public opinion, and, if need be, to the laws of his own country."

E. & P. also quoted Zantovsky as saying:

"I believe that there is information which should not be published. I do not believe, however, that in this country a journalist should ever again be imprisoned for publishing the truth."

President Havel, while praising Zantovsky for "openly and, publicly and honestly," admitting his mistakes, said that "in my opinion those mistakes were not as great as he believes. I do know something about the background and context of his statements and about the extent to which they have been misinterpreted and to which the specific context was not understood." □

Business of Television

Janos Horvat, Hungarian Television; Sander Vanocur, ABC-TV; Edward M. Fouhy, Concord Communications, and Jiri Kanturek, Czechoslovak Televis

Horvat Notes Spectrum Mess

Telecommunication and broadcasting should be taken into account, because in Eastern Europe they are both in very bad shape. The party state wanted to minimize private communication, and that's why we have the worst telecomm infrastructure. Nobody wanted anybody to be able to talk. So when we speak about development and business, we speak about telecomm and broadcasting, and I

think that in telecomm it is much easier to get a return on any investment. In broadcasting, it is going to be a lot more difficult, and the whole problem of nonconvertibility and the currency exchange is going to have to be addressed to turn the countries into market economies. In the same way, the ability to bring in diverse radio and television outlets is still going to come down to economics.

The most advertising that is being broadcast in Eastern Europe right now is roughly 40 minutes a day. So the economic viability for radio and televi-

sion in the standard commercial system is very, very embryonic. What's more, in the television field, and the radio field as well, Eastern Europe is a spectrum mess. We, in Hungary, have certain sprouts of commercial and private radio and television, but because of not having a coherent media law, a moratorium has been introduced for licensing.

In the ex-socialist countries, there were regulations almost for everything. Your right to move from one city to the other was regulated. You were entitled to own a two-room apartment, not a

three-room apartment, and so on. Central regulation was the name of the game even in private life. But in the press or in the field of broadcasting, we hardly ever had any regulation. This was the realm of authoritarian orders to be carried out. If you have just one TV station, why should you regulate the air waves? During a conversation with Federal Communications Commission members, we had to understand that regulation is part of democracy, because it is compulsory for everybody.

Don't believe that I am trying to talk you out of coming to Hungary or Central Europe and I am trying to talk you out of business. Remember, broadcasting income in '89 totalled \$20 billion in Western Europe. Sooner or later, you should add 10 more billion for Eastern Europe as well. But it's a long process and first, you have to know the rules. Since there are no rules, you have to help to create them. Second, state radio and state television are and will be part of the business for a long time, because here in Europe, they are part of the communications system. Three, commercial broadcasting is desperately needed for two reasons: because state television and broadcasting needs competition; and, second, because the market economy needs commercial TV, for it is part of the market itself and also helps to boost the market.

There is a myth surrounding the market economy and commercial broadcasting in our countries. People believe that this is a gold mine. We, with a few friends of mine, in the PTT and in television and the Parliament, we are working on the media legislation, and we are trying to make an overall media law, or just a draft proposal. When I left Hungary just two days ago, there were 102 applications for commercial radio and television stations. "Station" means "network." So 102 applications. And among these, 15 applications for national TV networks, for the whole nation.

A year ago in Hungarian television, we made a calculation. To create and run a 12-hour-a-day TV network in

Hungary, which is more or less the size and shape of Indiana, would cost roughly 3 billion Hungarian forints — that is to say \$40 million-\$45 million dollars. This is just one network. The whole amount of money spent on advertising in the past year was 7 billion forints, roughly 100 million U.S. dollars. This includes everything — press, radio, and television. In the forthcoming years, the money spent on advertising won't grow considerably, so all the newcomers will try to have a bite from the same cake. Since one-third of it is eaten up by our state television, the remaining money could feed no more than two or three

stations, and in the beginning they will lose money.

That's why I am pretty sure that it will be the great moguls of television who succeed in Hungary and survive: Rupert Murdoch, Robert Maxwell, and Silvio Berlusconi. They already have their offices in Budapest, and they are, of course, among the applicants. And all these giants come up with a package deal. Not only TV stations, but newspapers, department stores, even road construction is promised. So we have to be very cautious about legislation. We want to regulate cross-ownership, foreign ownership. We want to defend our national culture.

Vanocur Vexed by TV Cutbacks

Television news in the United States is now experiencing difficulty because it is a business that has achieved maturity and decline in just one generation. It has taken television news just 40 years to face the decline and uncertain future that it took the U.S. steel industry more than 100 years to attain and the U.S. automobile industry just under 100 years.

I define a mature business, though there may be learned economists who would disagree, as a business that has achieved a certain ability to produce a product that a decreasing number of customers wish to buy. For someone of my age, this is something of a paradox, for we in television news now have the ability to do things unimagined 40 years ago. But much to our amazement and much to our sorrow, we seem to be losing viewers, not gaining them. We are very much like an overbred dog who has learned amazing tricks which fewer and fewer people seem to wish us to perform.

This is not entirely confined to network news programs. Entertainment programs are losing audience share. There are several reasons why this may be so. One reason may be that the decline and putative fall of television network news programs approximates the end not just of the Cold War, but also the 40-odd years that paralleled it, which has brought us change — political,

technological, medical, and sociological — of enormous significance. It's been a dramatic 40 years, full of vivid events that lent themselves to television's unique ability to transmit dramatic impressions of events which often cannot be equaled by words in newspapers and magazines.

Now, 40 years of being virtual eyewitness to epic crisis is an enormous burden on the collective national psyche, especially if you have a television business that has become increasingly able to bring all these crises quite literally into a nation's homes. Perhaps our audience is suffering terminal crisis ennui.

That brings me to my second tentative reason why we may be losing our audience exactly at the moment in history when we have gained the ability to bring that audience world events with relatively astonishing swiftness and ease. This may be the result of our tendency in television, perhaps not intentional, to reduce all events to equal significance simply because we are able to cover them with equal ease and skill. We in the business of television news now have the technological ability — no doubt it will increase in the coming years — to be almost everywhere almost at once.

Because of this ability, I fear we have endangered our capacity of selectivity or of editing. Since we can be almost

everywhere almost at once, we have courted the risk, indeed perhaps we have embraced it, that we may really be nowhere simply because all events we cover have become equal in value and importance. And if we make everything significant because we're there reporting virtually everything, then perhaps nothing is significant. If that is true, then what has resulted, I fear, is a severe case of electronic overload, particularly in the coverage of foreign news. This was not always the case.

Now, we in television do not say so explicitly, but implicit in what we put on television screens is the idea that what we are reporting, what we are showing our viewers, is truth on cue. I doubt that in fact that is really what we do. I doubt that journalists, print or electronic, can ever do that with total success.

I've come to wonder in recent years, as we in television news are losing, not gaining, viewers, if the problem results from the light we are trying to cast on the events of the world being more of a blinding one than it is one of illumination, that instead of bringing one episode, then another out of darkness into vision, we have tended to bring them all out at once, front and center.

Surely we have done this with the best of intentions, but in the process, I wonder if we have prevented ourselves and our viewers from achieving any depth of focus as to what is going on in this world by overwhelming them with a torrent of visual impressions that places a premium on pictures at the expense of explanation.

Technology has overwhelmed the most important and critical ingredient of all journalism, which is the editing function. Until we in television can reassert the supremacy of the editorial function over the function of technology, I suspect we at the network level will continue to see a continuation of the loss of our audience.

Is there a simple way to get that audience back? Possibly. But we will be doing it in the face of increasing competition from Cable News Network and from local stations, network-affiliated or independent, which usually

show all the pictures to the audiences before we can go on the air in the early evening, and they do so with virtually the same pictures. But two things must happen. The networks will have to spend more money, not less money, to entice back to the screens an audience that has left us or is in the process of leaving, plus the audience, mostly young, that never was there in the first place. And secondly, the networks will have to restore the editorial function, if not to supremacy, then to a parity with technology.

"Technology has overwhelmed the most important and critical ingredient of all journalism, which is the editing function."

**Sander Vanocur,
ABC-TV, Washington**

I find it ironic that a moment in history when the world is filled with so many fascinating and, in most instances, hopeful stories and we in television have the technology to cover those stories rather easily, news divisions of networks are under pressure from higher echelons in the networks to find ways to do all this less expensively.

I would spend more money, not less, on news coverage, especially overseas, where the bulk of compelling stories are now being generated. I would do so for a simple reason: to entice back the viewers we have been losing and perhaps generate a demand for news by a generation, the young, that we've had difficulty in reaching.

But if we think in terms of expansion, rather than contraction, of television news coverage, I repeat that we must take special care not to continue to perpetuate the present electronic

overload which makes few, if any, distinctions between that which is important and that which is not, an overload that I believe has lost us a part of our former audience. This cannot be accomplished without raising the editing function to parity or supremacy over technology. And by that I mean, those who manage network news divisions will virtually have to reinvent the wheel when it comes to how television news gathers news and how it reports it and perhaps even when it presents it.

I fear right now there seems to be a greater emphasis on the presentation of the news than on the gathering of the news. The editing function should not unduly depend on what outside consultants say their research shows as to what the audience wants or doesn't want. Rather, it should depend on putting out the best and most interesting product possible, taking advantage of technological advances, but not being overwhelmed by them, and above all, by remembering it's not necessarily true that in all cases a picture is worth a thousand words. A case in point: What is now going on in Eastern Europe is just as interesting, though not as dramatic as the events of the past year; it just takes a different, more patient approach because the pictures available are not so compelling.

Now, will what I have suggested actually come about? I doubt it. The reverse is now the case in the United States. There's a greater devotion to the bottom line than at any time I can remember in the 35 years I've worked in television news. And the money that is being saved in cutbacks is, in many instances, being spent on rather enormous salaries of prominently publicized individuals on the theory that no news on television could be accepted as reality unless it's authenticated by the presence of these individuals. It is American television's own unique contribution to the cult of personality.

No Kanturek Text

The address by Jiri Kanturek, director of Czechoslovak Televisi, was not translated.

Fouhy Suggests Radio News

Now, television viewing is far and away still, despite what Sandy said, the most popular leisure-time activity in the United States. The TV set is on more than seven hours a day, 49 hours a week, more in the winter, less in the summer. About 60 percent of the adult population of the United States is watching prime-time television on an average night. That's about 99 million people. When asked recently what they did with their leisure time the day before they were contacted by a pollster, 81 percent of those who were questioned said they had watched television news, 70 percent said they had watched a TV entertainment program, and 67 percent said they had listened to news on the radio. By comparison, about 75 percent said they had read a newspaper.

The surveys also find that people think television news is generally good, and they're pleased with the system of news judgment employed by networks and stations — that is to say, leaving the selection of news items to news professionals, rather than having the government or somebody else pick the news.

For many years, viewing the evening news on network television was a ritual in most American homes, particularly during this endless series of crises that we've been in since the Berlin Airlift that Sandy referred to. It is still, to some degree, a ritual. They're viewed in about 37 million of the 92 million TV homes each night. And they generally do quite a good job of bringing to a very large and very diverse nation of 240 million people with many ethnic divisions, many national divisions spread across four time zones, an idea or an impression of what has happened in their world each day.

Their content is roughly 40 percent foreign news. Frankly, much of it is what I call the "three Fs" — fires, floods, and famines. But that's more proportionately than all but the very finest newspapers offer to their readers. And thanks to recent economies and satellite transmission, pictures of the major events of the day from nearly

anywhere in the world may now be broadcast on the same day they occur.

The figures relating to spending on news are somewhat difficult to obtain, but I think it's fair to say that ABC and CBS each spend about \$300 million a year on their news programs — NBC quite a bit less because they have fewer programs. CBS says that it makes a profit on the news, and ABC says so too. CNN, the major cable news network, spends \$166 million a year gathering news, and it's recently become profitable after years of losses. NBC doesn't say so, but they probably lose money on their news programs, because both their morning and evening programs lag in popularity, and they devote the fewest number of hours a week to news broadcasts, so they have the fewest number of advertising minutes to sell.

Of course ours is a large and wealthy country, and yours, obviously, are much smaller with economies that are terribly strained. Therefore, your goal, it seems to me, would be to produce news programs that people will want to watch in large numbers without your being driven bankrupt by the high cost of news gathering. Advertisers will follow if the viewers are there, if our experience is any guide, and they will provide the revenue base that's necessary to give your journalists job security, and perhaps, although it seems to be extraordinarily hard for journalists to achieve this, perhaps they'll even have job satisfaction.

It seems to me that the first thing that is necessary to achieving the goal that I mentioned is to establish credibility. That will be difficult after the moral bankruptcy of so many state television news broadcasts over the past four decades. But there are signs that that is already being achieved. A report, for example, in the professional journal, *Broadcasting*, last week quotes the chief editor of East German Television as saying that he's now reaching about 60 percent of his potential audience. That's about six million viewers every night, up from about one million viewers under the old system of

propaganda broadcasts.

Credibility is won, of course, only by hard work, by reporting that's accurate, that's responsible — not once, not every other Thursday, but every single day. It's achieved by editors and reporters who are fair-minded, professional, and eager to seek out the facts wherever they may find them, as well as to cover the viewpoints of not only the powerful few, but the many who are powerless.

I have two recommendations as you look at your future and the daunting costs of TV news coverage.

The first is to consider buying news-gathering equipment, principally edit systems and cameras, that are not what we in the West call "broadcast quality." Professional quality cameras sell for \$50,000, so it simply makes no sense for you to spend your scarce hard currency on this equipment when the so-called amateur formats are becoming increasing high quality. Here I'm thinking about things like S-VHS. Panasonic will sell you an edit system for that format for \$7,000. These can be bought and maintained for a tenth of the cost of professional systems. Some private broadcasters in Eastern Europe, like Echo TV in Poland, have pioneered the use of low-cost amateur equipment.

Furthermore, this low-cost equipment produces a picture that, even though it may not look all that great to a trained engineer peering at it on a vectorscope, is looked at as excellent by the viewers at home, and they're the ones who count. Very few can tell the difference. In the United States at the moment, a hit show in prime time is based entirely on amateur videos that are shot by people at home. With time and increased advertiser support, you should be able to graduate to the so-called industrial-grade equipment. At the moment, that's the fastest-selling segment of the broadcast equipment market, so my guess is that it will be the subject of intense research and development efforts, and they will surely result in better quality and lower costs in the near future.

Graphics generated by computers have been, until recently, extremely

expensive, almost prohibitive even for the rich networks. But here, too, equipment has come on the market from manufacturers like Apple running software packages with names — I love the names — MacroMind Director, Accelerator, and Video Works. These systems create extremely high-quality graphics. And graphics are an extremely effective way to help your viewers understand stories, particularly stories about abstractions that television has so much trouble with — abstractions like economics that are such an important part of the daily news of an evolving national market economy.

My second recommendation is to urge you to think seriously about radio news as an alternative to highly capital-intensive television news. Diversity is the essence of the American system of journalism. There are 7,000 radio stations, 1,600 television stations, four over-the-air networks, 57 national cable networks, including three that broadcast news 24 hours a day. There are over 1,700 daily newspapers and, as I said, 11,000 magazines.

Radio can supply this sort of diversity for you and for your country at a fraction of the startup costs of television. Radio is already a credible news medium in your country after years of broadcasts from short-wave stations like the BBC, Deutsche Welle, and the Voice of America. Radio news doesn't require elaborate news-gathering equipment. Cheap, but reliable tape recorders are really all that's necessary. And radio receivers are cheap and plentiful. In fact, I've seen figures that indicate that about 98 percent of the homes in Czechoslovakia have FM radios. And programming for radio is very cheap. Music from disks or tape is available for a tiny fraction of the license costs of television broadcasts.

American radio broadcasters are already seeking — actively seeking — affiliates in the East. In fact, several have already made affiliation agreements with stations here in Central and Eastern Europe. And radio equipment is cheap. About \$20,000 buys everything you need, including the transmitter, everything you need to get

on the air. Perhaps those of you who are in the newspaper business will consider either financing a radio station, seeking joint venture partners to do so, or selling to existing radio broadcasters news programs that you develop based on the material you gather for your publications. Presented well and written to the standards of good journalism, such programs could become very effective sales tools for your own publications.

Furthermore, used wisely and fairly, radio gives a voice to people and institutions that might be left out of a national television broadcasting system; the ethnic and national groups or region can afford to put their voices on the air for very little. And by doing so, they become participants in the marketplace of ideas. If they're too shrill, they'll fail because their audience will reject them. If fairness and accuracy in their news broadcasts are lacking, they'll be rejected as propagandists, and they'll fail in the marketplace. But by including them in the dialogue that is essential to the proper functioning of a democratic society, you'll give them a stake in the successful functioning of that society.

Discussion

Q.— What are going to be the limitations on the freedom of journalists within a state television system? And who is going to be stipulating — or who is going to be making those controls? The state? The director of television? Some kind of parliamentary control commission? Or something else?

HORVAT—I said "state" television and not "government" television. Government television would be completely different. It would be owned by the government, ruled by the government, supervised by the government, and probably censored by the government. When I say the "state" television, it means that this TV station, network, would belong to the nation.

Now, who will be above? That's the question. Who will rule? In Hungary, what we are trying to do is to set up a parliamentary commission of 18

members. They supposedly would control the activity of the Hungarian radio, Hungarian television, and news agencies — control in the sense that every six months they have the right to organize a hearing for the president of radio and the television, but don't have the right to intervene in a program and won't have the right to ask to see a program before it is shown. This is the point.

The question is, who will be the president of Hungarian television and radio? Right now, what they want to do first is set up this commission; second, to appoint a guy who is not a member of any of the parties in the Parliament, so we can have an allegedly neutral TV president who may keep distance from this side and that side as well. This is one of the solutions.

I myself don't believe that this is the solution, because sooner or later he will be criticized because of any fault in the TV news or of any of the programs. He will be criticized and somebody will say that, "Ah, you are a member of that party or a secret member of the other party." So, in my judgment, it would be better to have the president from this party and the vice president from the other party, which is the normal setup in Italy, which is the normal setup in Austria and other places.

As for the 18-member commission, six would come from parties in Parliament; six would come from independent organizations like the Academy of Sciences, Association of Hungarian Journalists, and so on; and three would come from television, elected by us working in television; and three from radio.

It's always a problem when we speak about state television that those coming from the States or those living in the States don't understand. Why do we need state television? Do we need it at all? I cannot answer this question, but the situation is that it started like this here in Europe. So it is around. Maybe it will disappear one day. The situation in the United States is totally different. They started their TV stations as private enterprises.

And when they speak about state television, just take the case of Britain. They have a highly respected state television, the BBC, which is also state-owned, not government-owned. Or in the case of France, right now they have only one state channel, but when there is a change of government, the president is fired right away. So it is the situation here in Europe. It's just the situation which will probably continue and will go on. Because if state television would disappear, it would mean that newscasts would disappear right away, because commercial stations are not yet prepared for this.

VANOCUR— One must be very careful to use the BBC as an example of all that's best in state television. It behaved disgracefully during the appeasement period, kept Churchill off the air. And as a young reporter there in the early 1950s when commercial TV wanted to gain entry, it fought viciously to maintain its monopoly of power. I accept what you say. It is the function in Eastern Europe for state television, but there also is a case to be made: Don't use it, when others get their feet on the ground, as a way to keep them out. A better model, though not the best in the world, but a better model, would be NHK in Japan, which is very, very much — and the charter dictates it — that it should be in conformity with the national culture, which means it's rather tame like a lot of the newspapers. But it still is a model, I think, that is better than the BBC for state television.

SQUIRES— *This question is directed to the American representatives in the interest of the broadcast press getting the same kind of scrutiny that the printed press has gotten already this week. Could you, both of you, address yourselves to the question of whether the business imperatives of broadcast television — the quest for ratings, the relationship between viewing audience and advertising dollar — what impact that has had, you think, on the quality and the shape of television news?*

FOUHY— I think Sandy's whole speech was about that. I think when you have a market force, a business

that is subject to market forces, as we do, there is an inevitable leveling. And I think that it is a shame. I attribute it more to the passing of a generation of altruistic owners than anything else. But the market forces which had always been in play in American television news was exacerbated, I feel, when, because of deregulation, the industry was put into a play, as in the parlance of Wall Street, and it was picked up by owners who have no sense of mission for the news. And, therefore, the news has been reduced to a — almost a lowest common denominator.

KOVACH— *I wish, Sandy, you and Ed would talk a little bit about manipulation. Television is free in America, but the political coverage is subject to sophisticated and very serious manipulation by political forces, mainly the government in power in an election year. Among the first Americans to appear in the political scene in this part of the world were the people who created the possibility of manipulating television. So it might be a good idea to talk about how free television can wind up sounding very much like government-owned television.*

VANOCUR— My former colleague, Robert MacNeil, wrote a book many years ago called "The People Machine," about television news. He had a wonderful phrase that said, "Television news tends to act as a cheering section for the side that's already won." Television, you must remember, started out as a derivative of radio.

What you have to think about in terms of television that's resulted from radio is not a medium of entertainment, not as a medium of information, though these may be byproducts, but a medium in our system of segments of time divided by commercials. If you understand that, you will understand the basic reinforcing nature of American television and how politicians and advertisers use it to perpetuate these conserving qualities that they wish to gain from either politically or commercially.

Television, in terms of politics, really is supposed to have started with John F. Kennedy, but he was highly suspicious

of the medium. And in fact, we remember John F. Kennedy, I think, as our first television president because of the debate with Richard Nixon in Chicago, the first one. But in fact we remember him mostly by still photographs that froze that presidency in time.

Indeed, in the early '60s, I would say we dictated the behavior of politicians more than they dictated the behavior of us. And this was especially true in the conventions of the '60s — '60, '64, and '68. It was finally Richard Nixon in 1972, and all of his white-collar brownshirts, who figured out a way to control us. And the process has been going that way ever since.

I don't think we have figured it out yet, and I don't think we have gotten not the upper hand, but anywhere near equality. We are still whipsawed, I think, by political figures, and I don't see any early end to it, because I think that in television you tend to go along with the prevailing wind. It's not an onerous burden. There are ways to get around it. But you do — to completely drive into the ground this nautical metaphor — you do sail into the wind

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Sander Vanocur,
ABC-TV, Washington

when you try it.

FOUHY— I'm going to take a contrary view on probably what most people would say about politics and television. I think what's wrong with politics and television is that political commercials are sold in the marketplace just the way that any other commercial product is available. I think the fact that we have a lack of regulation is a problem. I think the news programs are okay in their coverage of politics, and I think the forum programs are excellent in their coverage of politics. I would — I don't know how you could get much better than "MacNeil-Lehrer" was in the campaign year of '88. I think they were excellent. But they've got an hour, which is what the network news programs should be in an election year. But I think what's wrong is selling time to candidates. That's wrong. That's got to stop, and that's at the root of so many of the political — or the financial — problems that are now having this terribly pernicious effect on our

just amazing to me that there was so little sense of any obligation or duty beyond duty to the bottom line in that crucial election.

HORVAT— Just one short remark. We in Hungary, during the campaign and the elections, we ended up with 52 parties and all getting their prime-time television.

KOVACH— Fifty-two?

HORVAT— Fifty-two, yeah.

FOUHY— That's a great way to kill anybody's interest in politics.

HORVAT— Yes. That's what has happened.

FOUHY— No wonder they like to watch soccer.

DENNIS— My question is for Mr. Vanocur. In light of what is a fairly negative, analysis of the decline of television news, are there any lessons in that decline that would be useful in Eastern Europe, whether it's ownership considerations or the kind of people?

VANOCUR— I didn't mean it to be negative, though I can understand why

it is believed, and I can't gainsay it, because though never a star, but sometimes a demi-star, I think you have to get people who appear before the cameras in whom the public reposes some trust. You can talk about them as a symbol of some sort, a totem.

Now, what I was trying to say in my presentation, and offering it as — not advice, maybe a guideline — is that you can overwhelm your viewers with daring-do of technology and that what you have to do, and you have to do this very carefully, is to make sure that it's not just the picture and the picture has to have clarification, and that you must never abandon the whole basis of journalism, which is the editing function. I have a colleague, who shall go nameless, at another network who said soon we can get anywhere in the world, and he said, "Our slogan will be: 'We are the world; we are wired,'" therefore implying that you can present anything in the world.

But if you don't have an editing function, then what you have is all too commonly displayed on local television now, where you have many of these people — I call them "Sony Sherpas" — who drag around this very light equipment and stick microphones up people's nostrils and pretend this is news. This is dangerous, and though it's done in a lesser degree in terms of technology on world events, it is done to a certain degree that you think, if just you're there, that's enough. And that, I think, after a while, will turn people off in your part of the world, because it is mere spectacle without meaning.

PEARLSTINE— I wonder if I could just pick up on a point that Ed was talking about. And listening to Sandy's comments about the extraordinary cost of television news production and also the extraordinary cost-cutting efforts, as someone who's spent all of his life in print, I'm still somewhat overwhelmed by American television's ability to spend money. I think in trying to set up a television station, one question to ask yourself is: what is an appropriate level of spending and how can that money best be used?

FOUHY— You're right, Norm. The

"We ended up with 52 parties and all getting their prime-time television." Janos Horvat, Hungarian Television, Budapest. "No wonder they like to watch soccer." Edward M. Fouhy, Concord Communications, Washington.

politics. And that, we might remind ourselves, was brought about by the reformers after Watergate.

The other point that I wanted to make is I was amused when Jiri said that each of the 22 parties gets four hours of time. I produced the presidential debates in 1988, and I can tell you that to get the four and a half hours for both political parties that those debates demanded was a very near thing. We almost didn't get that time. And the reason? The networks were broadcasting the Olympics, and they were broadcasting baseball, and they were broadcasting the playoffs. And it was

it's perceived as negative. I simply was trying to say what it has become. I was simply trying to suggest, not as someone who wishes it as it once was, to suggest that technology is supreme now and that technology can be not only the ultimate sovereignty, which I believe it to be in this world, it can be the ultimate tyrant as well.

I think the people in it are awfully good. There is a tendency for domination by what Ed calls "Vid Kids" — kids brought up on video — that if they do not practice functional illiteracy, they know it in the biblical sense. [Laughter] But that is a fact. As for the star system,

"It will be the great moguls of television who succeed in Hungary and survive: Rupert Murdoch, Robert Maxwell and Silvio Berlusconi." Janos Horvat, Hungarian Television, Budapest

current slogan of NBC News, if you've seen those heroic pictures of Tom Brokaw in the airports, is "whatever it takes." So I guess the — [laughter] — rubberband is totally off the bankroll at General Electric these days.

It takes five people to cover a television news story in a foreign country. That's all it takes. When I was news director of CBS in '81, the cost of moving that five-person crew on any foreign story was \$25,000. It must be much more now. So that's why you get up to \$300 million very, very fast.

VANOCUR— Again, this brings in the editorial function. I don't know why the television networks have elevated the coverage of the presidency into a holy ritual. When the Cuban Missile Crisis was resolved on a Sunday — Saturday night it broke — we didn't have one single live camera down there, though we had the capability. It wasn't easy, but we had the capability.

I think one of the things that has contributed to the idea of — and the practice of — the imperial presidency is the necessity that is felt on the part of the networks to cover it, and I'm not talking about going out with the president on a trip where he might be shot at. We have plenty of evidence that that is a requirement of a network to cover, because it's happened. But I'm talking about the day-in and day-out necessity to cover the White House.

You don't have to cover it. You could save money. You could spend it on

covering these fascinating events that are going on in Eastern Europe now, which are rather hard and intractable to get at in comparison to the events of last year. So there's plenty of ways to save money if you exercise the editing function more stringently.

Q.— In Poland, you've had the economic debate, even the political debate, and you've had television do saturation coverage of the civic committees. But I'm curious, when you get into more layoffs, more recessions, the kind of economic crunch that most people say is, you know, still ahead for most of these countries in the next year and a half, how do you — are you going to have "talking heads" like Mr. Wroblewski be, you know, a smart person who can direct a discussion and also talk English, which is a rare attribute? Are you going to be able to spend the money and dramatize cases of farmers who can't sell milk or surplus on there? When you have fragile governments that are likely to be affected by all these overwhelmingly economic negative consequences — how do you do that on television?

HORVAT— What happened in Czechoslovakia happened not just overnight, but from November until the end of the year. In Hungary it was a long, long process which started almost two years ago. And the problem of the "talking heads" was a problem already in early '89. I started Channel Two in Hungarian Television, and on the 2nd of January we started the program which is more or less the "Nightline" on ABC, a late-night, open-end program which was quite unique in Hungary, and we didn't even publish the names of the participants. They just came to the studio, which was again a new phenomenon in Hungary. It was sensational for four or five months. But then it was over. It was over as sensational, but unfortunately it is still on. And we have so many "talking heads" in Hungarian Television that sometimes I believe that I am working for Hungarian Radio. It's also a lack of money. It's easy to spend money on five guys who come to your studio to discuss problems. □

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The International Economy

Andrzej Wroblewski, Gazeta Bankowa; Aurel-Drăgos Munteanu, Romanian Ambassador to the United Nations, and Norm Pearlstine, The Wall Street Journal

Wroblewski Sees Pain in Poland

I take for granted that we know what the world economy looks like. I would rather focus on how it looks to our readers and what is our journalists' responsibility. I think not only in my country, but in all countries represented here, except for possibly one small country, the United States, for years, our readers were persuaded by us to be suspended on soft shock absorbers, independent of world crises and ups and downs, that we are taken care of — which was apparently the notion in political life as well. "Don't think too much. Someone elected or imposed on you takes care of your economic, political, cultural, other needs."

In the meantime, the gap between East and West was growing and I think that, in spite of what many Westerners believe, our citizens basically knew that America and Western Europe were going ahead, that the standard of life was much higher and nobody took too seriously compulsory lies of our propaganda, about how many unemployed there are, how poor they are, in the West and so forth.

But my idea is that what shocked the consciousness of our readers as far as the economy were the newly industrialized countries which proved that there is a way — a fast lane ahead — and it is definitely not our lane.

So I think that the gap between the skills in our societies, which were pretty high, and the results of our work, which was and is still pretty low, was the main source of the revolution in consciousness and, consequently, in political and economic systems of our society. This gap — here, I am, I think, in agreement with Marxist theory — that controversies are the engine of development and, in my mind, that

was the controversy which made us move forward to that great breakthrough of last and this year.

But also the economy has become the main challenge for new governments in our countries. Suffice to say, yesterday we took a short walk and we saw people in Czechoslovakia — in this rich, wealthy, well-functioning Czechoslovakia — lining up for food, because Monday, the first serious food price rise is going to be implemented. Every nation has to swallow not just one, but rather several bitter pills of economic reforms. From that perspective, it seems that the most important, the most difficult, tasks are not behind, but ahead, for these societies and economic journalists of these countries.

For many years there was the joke about building socialism. Now, as you will very soon see, it may be instead the joke about building capitalism. The joke goes like this:

The young guy comes to the director of a circus and offers him a trick. "I will jump head-down every night from the top of the tent to the center of the arena without any safety net." "How much would it cost?" "Say, 1,000 zlotys a night." "Could you possibly show me how it looks?" And he climbs up, jumps down and says, "Rather 1,500. I didn't know it pained so much." [Laughter]

So we are now discovering how much it pains to build capitalism with a free market, with no safety net, with no central planning, with no regulated prices, with no subsidies, and so forth.

My paper is very conservative in outlook and in contents. So before I say how we manage information, let me say how we manage that pain.

The question which we continuously

ask ourselves in our staff — and also in other papers, I believe — is, should we remain cool, conservative, providing hard facts only or should we try to encourage our readers to go uphill by saying something that in American culture would probably sound, like "You can make it, baby?" I believe that some people in every post-Communist country believe that Americans, Japanese, Germans are 10-feet tall, they can do what we cannot. Now I believe that it is not against the rules of journalism if we try to persuade our readers that, "No, those nations are not taller. Of course, we are in a worse position, we may be the underdog —, but with the right organization, the right system, right incentives, we can make it, too." Therefore, in our information policy, we are providing hard facts and figures, especially figures — are what we love in *Gazeta Bankowa*. But in our editorial policy, we try to encourage the people to say that we are not anthropologically worse than other nations and that with the right system, we can also have a good country.

Not only are we doing that, but I believe that in other nations, economic journalists should contribute to create stock and securities markets and, consequently, the creation of the middle class, which is virtually non-existent, except for professionals, in our societies, which is also a stabilizing factor in political life. I think it is a banality, yet I dare to say it, that the societies which have numerous and strong middle classes are less prone to demagogues, to fascist or Communist attempts, to cut corners and to, consequently, make society suffer.

Now to close, a few words on information procurement. We receive Reuters. Not that we subscribe, but through the banks, which are subscribers, we can use their data on the

currency and securities markets. We also don't hesitate to reprint from some media and, in my case, I am fortunate that the American Embassy in Warsaw provides us with not only *Newsweek* and *Time*, which is a standard kit, but also *Fortune*, *Business Week*, and *Forbes* and some other material as well. But mostly we use our own reporters and I am glad to say that we do not — basically, we do not — meet any obstacles from governmental or private institutions as far as information procurement.

But the main message which I think we owe to our readers — and this is what makes us take the position in political arguments — is the slogan which reads something like, "There is no more than 100 percent." I believe that in times of confusion, where you don't know what is left, what is right, what is conservative, what is progressive, the hard line dividing reasonable people from irreparable romantics is that conservatives know that there is no more than 100 percent. Romantics believe that they can offer not only a good word, but also money — and whatever comes after the money — for everybody. To invest more and to spend more. To grant privileges to the farmers and the workers, and certainly also to the bureaucrats and intelligentsia. To spend more on foreign trade and to increase domestic consumption.

This is what puts us in political disputes in our country and I believe the same is or will be taking place in all other countries in turmoil. This opens broad opportunities for demagogues and someone has to remind the people that there is no more than 100 percent.

Munteanu Calls for Ideals

I am not much of an economist. I will take the perspective of a journalist. Never mind my current position as a diplomat, I will speak the truth. The governments in the free world went along quite well with the Communist regimes. At times it was even fashionable to meet with the so-called

"mavericks" of the Eastern countries. Sometimes this reveals a subconscious guilt. What they were not able to do in their respective countries, they well admired with the others. Politicians' nature never changes. Mistrust of any government and of their hunger for power should be our line of conduct.

The topic under discussion today is the impact of global economic changes on the media and newspaper activities. Indeed, unexpected transformations, great upheavals occurred in recent years. The Communist regimes collapsed and a united Europe emerges. The Iron Curtain proved to be a paper one. The so-called "world order of the law," the assumed superstitions of the two or three socioeconomic worlds on earth, each pursuing some very egoistic interest, is crumbling. The genuine aspirations of the nations redefine the political map of the world on the basis of geography, of culture and historic rights. Eastern Europe slowly loses its political connotations, becoming what it really was supposed to be — a half of the old continent that originated the very notions of freedom and democracy.

On this continent, we also produced what is labeled "capitalism," which I prefer to call a free market economy. In America you made the most of it. Let us go back to the basic explanation of your success. It is the framework of a society that enhances the energies of the individual and of the nation. It is a constitution and clear-cut concepts of freedom and democracy. It is not pragmatism that rules societies, it is not inference by inductive reasoning, as Lenin believed, but ideas deducted from a basic law.

The most idealistic societies create the most successful and energetic economies. Pursuit of happiness: Isn't that the most idealistic phrase ever concocted in human history?

One of the most narrow and stupid assumptions about the American society is its practicality. Yes, people are very practical in America. But the driving force behind everything is that strong belief in basic ideal values — freedom, public morality, truth, veracity, pursuit of happiness. Pragmatism is a means. It stresses only the will of

people, ultimately, to reach its goal — neither the reason for an action nor, per se, an aim of it. Here, we touch one of the major difficulties of journalism.

Yesterday we were told that quality is the secret of a success story with *The New York Times*. By the way, nothing is more abstract and ideal than quality in a newspaper. Still, the word was used by a very aggressive businessman. Quality, whatever it means, has a basic prerequisite. That is, understanding the realities you deal with. For instance, you speak about economy. The Communists always used another terminology. They rather preferred political economy. The emphasis was on the political side of it, on the decision taken at the top. Whatever good intentions are proclaimed now, we have to understand that we deal here with people that are still prisoners of that captive mind. Any attempt at reducing the capability of the ruling parties of a country to control the market will start a roar — chaos and unrest, dark forces of the individual. This is why they speak about efficiency and not about profit and interest. They think that the problem is one of management and not the very fabric of the society.

So to win a market and to make a profit, as such, is a strange notion for them, for whole peoples here. You have to fit into a scheme, a plan decided somewhere above for the entire society. Only petty matters are really in that perspective — small services, et cetera, like horses in Ceaucescu's Romania. They were preserved only in areas where you couldn't enter on trucks, otherwise the four wheels were in favor. Even more, interest, for instance. For the captive mind, interest and profit mean something shameful, never to be pursued. [Tell] a man you intend to collect interest and he will try to cheat you. He will immediately think that you want to exploit him or his country.

By the way, you can say competition and he thinks, of a jungle, capitalist jungle, that's it. You speak about pluralistic societies, about separation of powers and the instant reaction to it is, "We don't follow the American example. It doesn't fit us." Why don't you

answer that? These we were not ashamed to take from Montesquieu, from the European tradition.

Another point: you cannot speak about competition without advertising. You mentioned the notion yesterday in the context of gaining financial independence of our journalistic organizations. Let us now deal with it in the context of economy as such. You will notice that nobody really understands what it means in any of the newly emerging democracies. We never needed it. In a planned economy, it is useless. The art and the efficiency of it — promoting a product on a market — is unknown here. It is an attribute of the consuming societies with plenty of products of the same sort. Don't wonder that it is not understood here.

There are a few more things that I perceive as essential for a journalist to understand in the changing economies of the world. What does "the underdeveloped world" really mean? Would you really consider India an underdeveloped country? A country with nuclear capability and a great scientific and technological potential, with large human and natural resources, able to equip a modern and powerful army? Again, it depends on where you put the accent.

What is an underdeveloped country? Maybe one that ignores human rights more than one that has economic difficulties. The resentment of some of the nonaligned countries today and the implications of their attitude towards changes in Eastern Europe are clear enough. Some went to the extent of telling me that the Communist regimes made the world stable enough and money flowed from Western countries to the developing world. The transition we are undergoing now makes them worry and a lot of political and economic activity is underway to assess the problem.

So it goes with German unification, with changes in the economic equation in Europe, seemingly producing an economic giant in five to 10 years from now. These are big challenges for a journalist. We'll have to approach them carefully. As I implied, there is no

united Europe and even more, a unified world with a split mind. As you need the same kind of watches to tell time, you need the same clear-cut concepts and perception of the world. Otherwise, we'll fail. And don't be mistaken. We have to start with building up a

Pearlstone Tip: Personalize News

Perhaps I could begin with a story. In 1973, I was asked by the then-managing editor of *The Wall Street Journal* to go to Tokyo for the paper. At that point we did not have a foreign editor but we were one of the two largest newspapers in America. Over the next three years, I wrote a series of letters to the editor, saying that if I had an office and an assistant and some language study, I could probably double my productivity. In the three years I was in Tokyo, he never answered those letters, despite the fact that they become increasingly hostile. Finally, back on a home leave, I said to him, "Why haven't you ever answered any of my letters? I could have doubled my productivity if you would have given me these tools." He looked at me and said, "What would I do with double your productivity?" [Laughter]

The interesting thing is that we now find ourselves in 1990 in a situation where, with our combined edition in Tokyo, we now have a staff of about seven reporters and our affiliated wire services have another dozen and our constant problem is that we can't afford to put any more people there and we can't really get enough out of that group to satisfy the need for international coverage.

That suggests, I think, that we are not alone in seeing some tremendous changes over the last couple of decades and that the level of interdependence of economies is one that makes it important for even the newest of publications with a full agenda of domestic issues, to care about, to think very seriously about the implications of economies beyond your own borders in determining what kind of information to provide to your readers.

You talked some about what a market

social framework as you did in America. That will pay off well. The economy and financial success story followed with you.

I hope that we will not have to wait 100 years as you did. Anyway, we need your help, as somehow you need ours.

economy is, and I know some of you have looked to the United States as a model. I think that there are a few things to think about when looking at so-called "market economies." One is that in its purest sense, a market economy means an economy that focuses on competition and is devoid of regulation. We have found in the United States over the years that, while that may be an ideal, it's not one that any of us really want to live with. And one of the reasons that our largest bureau in the United States today is in Washington is because we have come to the conclusion that we need a lot of regulation, even with an economy that we call a market economy, and that issues such as a safety net for the least fortunate people is going to be necessary even in a market economy because, for all the winners that we like to focus on, there are also a lot of losers. And a society that tries to take care of its people while promoting a capitalist system finds that compromises are made at all times.

Secondly, in the whole area of international economics, the notion of interdependence cannot be overstressed. There are many ways that one can look at the American economy and think about overabundance, about misappropriation or misallocation of resources. But probably one of the best examples of that which will have the most impact on developing countries or developing economies around the world is the whole allocation of capital. We now live in a world where information and money have become increasingly the same thing and where the ability of a foreign exchange trader in Singapore to tap into a market in London in an instant and shift hundreds of millions of dollars can have

very direct impact on national economies.

The fact that the United States has gone from the largest creditor nation to the largest debtor nation in the last decade has very direct implications for the cost of money for any developing society. The fact that Japanese or West German bankers will find that the rate of return they can get in New York is directly competitive with rates of return elsewhere and that there's really no need to keep money within one's borders will have very strong implications for you in trying to set your own economic policies and trying to attract capital from outside your own borders.

It also will create some very serious questions for you. I think in this area of competition, as you set about determining and as your readers start thinking about what will be the economic course that you want to follow, it will not be enough to just see, say, a model in the United States or in Western Europe, but to take a look at countries such as Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore. There are some significant differences. These countries, for one thing, first had economic development and only now are following it with a kind of political liberalization — some places more liberal than others. I'll get to Singapore in a minute. But beyond that, there is very much a question for countries with capital to invest about where to put that money and the kind of competition in hourly wage rates, in foreign investment laws, and so forth, will be directly relevant to you and will be the kinds of information that I think you will have to provide to your readers.

The question of how to cover the international economy is really a very difficult one. As I indicated earlier, we now have what we think are substantial resources in Japan. We've got three bureaus in Germany and yet we find ourselves unable to really get a very good grasp of what is going on outside our own borders. And beyond that, that kind of isolationism that my managing editor when I was in Tokyo correctly saw in our audience, still very much exists, and my guess is that for many

of you, even as you know much more about foreign exchange or your citizens do than, say, most Americans do, there are a lot of issues about international economics that are not something that your readers will naturally gravitate to.

I think that certainly the international wire services provide some kind of opportunities for you and some kind of information, whether it's a Reuter or an AP/Dow Jones, the focus is on economy. I think anything that you can do to try to get comparative information, particularly from other developing nations, is going to be very useful in telling your readers and your government planners about how to go from being poor to being rich. In many ways, as I say, the Korean model might be one that literate nations in Eastern Europe might look to more than the United States when trying to figure out where there should be economic liberalization, where trade barriers must be kept up to assure employment, and so forth.

I would also think that, if I were going to focus on one country outside my own, sitting where you are, I would focus on Germany. That's not to denigrate the importance of the United States or the role that it can play in the international economy; it remains the largest economy and, in many ways, the most important. But I think that over the next 20 years what Germany does with its economy and what relations it develops with Eastern and Middle Europe will really determine a lot about the economic growth and development in this area of the world.

It is very curious, but if you look 20 years out to the year 2010, I think that, from an economic point of view, the vision of the globe will look a lot more like 1910 or even like the 1930s than it will like the postwar period. The Japanese have already largely fulfilled the goals of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in colonizing much of Southeast Asia. It is my guess over the next 20 years, that having first united Germany, that the German economy will go through a second economic miracle that will be even greater than that that Adenauer presided over and that the consequence of

that for Eastern and Middle Europe will be profound.

It was quite striking to me that on September 1, 1939, 50 years to the day that Hitler marched into Poland, George Bush was asked about the prospects for American development in Eastern Europe and largely suggested that the German banks should take care of the problem. And while it struck me as somewhat bizarre in terms of the timing, I think that Bush was absolutely right in recognizing where the strongest interests are and also recognizing where the most money is going to be over the next couple decades.

Dealing with Germany is going to be a very difficult situation. East Germany is going through it right now. The latest figures I have seen have suggested that unemployment is now up at about 150,000, from 100,000 as recently as four or five months ago. And yet, I think that East Germany will be the most rapidly absorbed and that a united Germany will really come about in the next few years. The German Bundesbank has indicated that East Germany can be economically assimilated without much threat to increased inflation and if the Bundesbank is saying that, then I think those of us who normally find them the most conservative people on earth, have some reason to believe that they know what they're talking about.

Beyond that, a very real question will be whether there is enough capital to go around and whether the instincts will be to allocate that capital from Germany into East Europe or whether it will be to more resource-rich areas elsewhere in the world.

Finally, just a couple minutes on how to cover an economic story, recognizing that readers' eyes quite often glaze over whenever you start throwing around figures about per capita income or inventory buildup. And one is to personalize stories as much as possible, that even while dealing with macroeconomic issues, to try to find a micro story that one can tell.

I think a model or a story that has been happening overseas if I were sit-

ting here — and one that I know some of your publications have gotten into — is that of the Bata shoe company, where — I don't know all of the facts of it, but as told to me by Mr. Bata, he left Czechoslovakia about 40 years ago, leaving all of his shoe factories intact and went to Canada to rebuild his empire, which now includes shoe factories around the world, the largest shoe company in the world. And he returned to Prague this year, after a 40-year absence and there is now going on a fair amount of negotiation about whether he will return to Prague and, if so, under what circumstances, to try to revive the shoe industry here. And what he told me, I think, were a number of issues, all of which would be the kind of thing that could certainly lead to coverage that brings international economics to your readers.

He said his basic issues are: First of all, he left the factories behind when he went to Canada and he would like to retake them without repurchasing them since they were nationalized at that time. Needless to say, the government has a difficult time with that because it could open up a Pandora's box of similar people trying to do the same thing. And besides the nationalization was completed.

Secondly, he finds that the primary export market for Czech shoes is the Soviet Union, but that's all under COMECON rules that are changing, and if the Soviets are going to not be exchanging oil for shoes but, instead, will be selling oil on global markets, then they're also going to be buying shoes on global markets. And while the work force is a very good one in many cases, the same people that he left behind in 1949 when he left, so is the equipment identical to what he left behind. And in the meantime, he's been able to open factories in Malaysia, in Singapore and elsewhere that give him a kind of worldwide capability so he really doesn't need to develop an additional supply of shoes. Nonetheless, my guess is that he will negotiate something with the government and come back here. But I think, if I were sitting here, this would be a

story that I would really be trying to cover very heavily because it really would be a way of trying to bring these broad ideas about the international economy down to earth for readers.

Finally, I would just mention that while it is normally issues of politics that lead to strife and to adverse government reactions to coverage in the press, we have found many examples, particularly in emerging economies, where economic news can be as profoundly disturbing to governments as political news. The suggestion that Hungarian media might be very nervous about unemployment issues is not very surprising to me. As some of you know, *The Wall Street Journal* has been banned in Singapore for the last few years and we are unable to circulate our paper there. The article that finally convinced the Singaporeans to throw us out — and there were certainly others beforehand — was one in which we suggested that a group of enterprises that the government wanted to privatize — public enterprises that they want to take private — were probably overpriced and not worth what the government was asking for. And that so infuriated Lee Kwan Yew that he put in motion a series of actions that lead to our final banishment from Singapore.

So I think you should be prepared to recognize that, while politics will often get you in trouble with the government, coverage of economics and international economics can as well.

Discussion

Q.— At the risk of appearing unhappy, let me ask a question of Andrzej. It's on foreign ownership of news media. At what point will the foreign ownership of your news media result in backlash, either an unhappiness by readers and viewers or an unhappiness by your government or an unhappiness by yourselves?

WROBLEWSKI— Well, as it was said yesterday or the day before yesterday, you have the choice of either state subsidies or other resources. And I can speak here for Poland, but I guess it is

or will be very soon the same in other countries. If the government does not subsidize your media, you have to allow them to survive in other ways. And because of market prices going so high and society not becoming richer but poorer — less and less willing to pay fortunes for media — you have to allow foreign capital in. Now it may, of course, enter so heavily, that it may endanger the sense of sovereignty of the people. But I can't look so far into the future as to see that danger.

MUNTEANU— I'll be very happy to have enough foreign ownership of newspapers in my country, not only on the economic perspective, but also on the standards of journalism. A publisher from abroad would have professional standards implemented — and I don't speak about Rupert Murdoch, there are so many other organizations. I'm not quite sure that he will come to Romania anyway. He won't take his risks there, but I strongly suppose that some other publishers will do it.

Anyway, we need it — we badly need it in Romania, as you heard from our Slovak colleague. You know, people in our countries now tend to forget what the newspaper really means, that it means news, covering the country. They only spread opinions. On every aspect, it's such a blur that they create. A foreign publisher would add that aspect which is very, very important for the progress of democracy.

A.— Just a followup to this, because in Hungary the situation is somehow different — different in the sense that I think we are quite a bit ahead of the rest of the post-Communist societies. So just a few numbers. There is one daily bought by the Maxwell Group — bought in the sense of 40 percent of that newspaper. The market share is 7.3. And another with 9.6 percent market share, which I think, Murdoch bought 49 percent of. As for the combined market share of regional daily papers acquired by the Axel Springer Company, it's an interesting phenomenon because there are 21 regional dailies in Hungary, and seven of them were bought by Axel Springer practically for nothing. They just took it over

because there was a loophole in the legislation so they could. The party had no ownership any longer, there was no owner. So he just took over the staff and the public publishing company. The market share is 25.3 percent in the regional press. And finally, market shares of companies with foreign capital investment in the segment of weeklies, fortnightlies and other periodicals, 22.7 percent on the national level.

Just one more thing about the cultural impact. I am neither defending nor attacking this fact, I'm just giving some figures. But the main areas where the presence of the foreign investments is very significant is erotic, pornographic press products; and second, feature films; third, syndicated comics; fourth, lifestyle magazines; and there is a very, very simple, but important element, quality papers on contemporary sciences, like *Scientific American*, for example.

So that's all. But it's a long story how they were acquired, what sort of penetration they are supposed to carry out. I don't know whether it is good or not, but we don't have enough money, so we do need the money and that's what Andrzej said.

Q.—Doesn't it seem that the West Germans are the biggest foreign investors, certainly in East Germany? The Leipzig editor told us yesterday that the three daily newspapers in Leipzig have been taken over by West Germans. And that just interested me. I mean, I hadn't known that.

Q.—Is that foreign?

Q.—And how foreign is that?

PETER—Well, I think this problem of selling newspapers in G.D.R. is not only in Leipzig. I think that now about maybe 80 percent of all newspapers published in G.D.R., by former G.D.R. press companies, have been sold to West German press companies. That means also that the biggest publishing house in G.D.R., in Berlin, the Berliner Verlag, was sold to Maxwell for, I think, 100 million DM. And this was the former publishing house of the Communist Party and now the Communist Party has sold it to Maxwell, costing it

money, of course. Alone, in this publishing house are about 100 newspapers, magazines and so on.

Another thing. You said that Germany will become in the next 20 years the most interesting and the most powerful economic region or area in Europe or in this kind of Europe. At the moment, there is a problem because West Germany wants to sell in East Germany a lot of products that don't sell in West Germany. But they don't want to invest in our factories, they don't want to invest in new structures in our country. And I think that's a problem. You have to know that a lot of ministries now in the G.D.R. are going to West Germany and asking, "Oh, please. Could you invest in our country?" and they say, "We don't need to invest there."

What do you say about unemployment? Officially, the government of the G.D.R. now says that we have to expect between three or four million unemployed in the next years. Within a population of 60 million, that's about 20 percent unemployed. I think there will be some problems with a united Germany, not only economic prosperity. I think that's what I want to say.

SULZBERGER—I hate to keep coming back to this, but it strikes me that this Maxwell and Murdoch issue raises some questions that we haven't really addressed yet. I don't know where to take the issue of international chain ownership. We haven't really discussed in the United States the difference between chain journalism — journalism in which many newspapers are owned by the same company — and journalism, more or less, by independent newspapers. While *The Washington Post* owns a few smaller papers, it's an independent paper. While *The New York Times* owns some other papers, and Dow Jones owns others, *The Wall Street Journal* is considered an independent paper. I wonder whether or not what we're seeing here is the birth of international chains in Europe, of newspapers run by the Murdoch and Maxwell organizations and what effect that will have on the independent voices of Hungarian

newspapers and Czech newspapers or whatever?

VANOCUR—Question: If Murdoch or Maxwell — and I believe Murdoch has greater interest in satellite television than Maxwell — wishes to buy television stations in countries in Eastern Europe, will he have to then become a Hungarian or a Pole, as he became an American, to own American TV stations?

Secondly, on the question of Maxwell, Maxwell is a Czech — escaped from Czechoslovakia, fought valiantly with the British forces. He started a European paper. I notice a lot of editorials in that paper, *The European*, about Czechoslovakia. He is a member of the Labor Party, makes no bones about it. He's going to push, I believe a labor point of view.

Add all these things together and then go forward from what Arthur has brought up. Are countries here going to raise sovereignty barriers, for probably their own legitimate and quite reasonable reasons, against this kind of penetration?

LUCZYWO—Murdoch and Maxwell visited Poland. They don't want to come to Poland right now because it's too unstable and it does not look as if profits were close. My fear is that if they want to come, they will, and there will be some kind of fight between some independent papers, including those independent papers that take foreign investment, because, of course, I agree with Andrzej that, at some point, if you publish a newspaper in Poland, you have to take some foreign investment. But this does not mean that you lose your independence. But if you are taken over by Maxwell or Murdoch or someone like Springer, you are bound to lose your independence. That's obvious to me. But if they want to come, they will.

The Polish laws are careful, very unclear now, but careful, and most people realize the danger. But still, if they will, they will, and we know this. We are trying to do something about this, but we know it will be some kind of a battle in which we might be on the losing side. In Poland, there is still not

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MARTELLE'S Prague SKETCHBOOK JULY 4 1990

ENTERING THE CITY IN THE AFTERGLOW OF THEIR REVOLUTION IS LIKE STEPPING INTO A TIME WARP — SOME CROSS BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA, 1789 AND WOODSTOCK, 1969...

THE MAGNIFICENT MEDIEVAL CHARLES BRIDGE IS FILLED WITH FLEDGLING FREE MARKETEERS PEDDLING THEIR WARES AND FREEZE-DRIED HIPPIES PLAYING GUITARS & PHONETICALLY REPLICATING ENGLISH ROCK OLDIES...



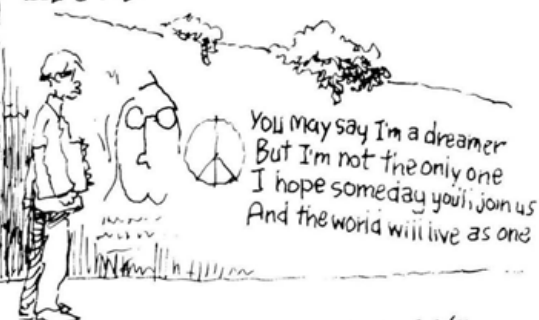
WENCESLAS SQUARE

FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN PRESIDENT-PLAYWRIGHT VACLAV HAVEL'S PORTRAIT HAS REPLACED LENIN'S IN SHOP AND CAFE WINDOWS



...WHERE THE TANKS ROLLED IN OVER PRAGUE SPRING IN '68, WHERE THE MARTYRS WHO FELL ARE REMEMBERED, AND WHERE FREEDOM ERUPTED AGAIN LAST NOVEMBER TODAY BRISTLES WITH TOURISTS AND A SENSE OF HOPE AND ANTICIPATION...

LENNONISM LIVES

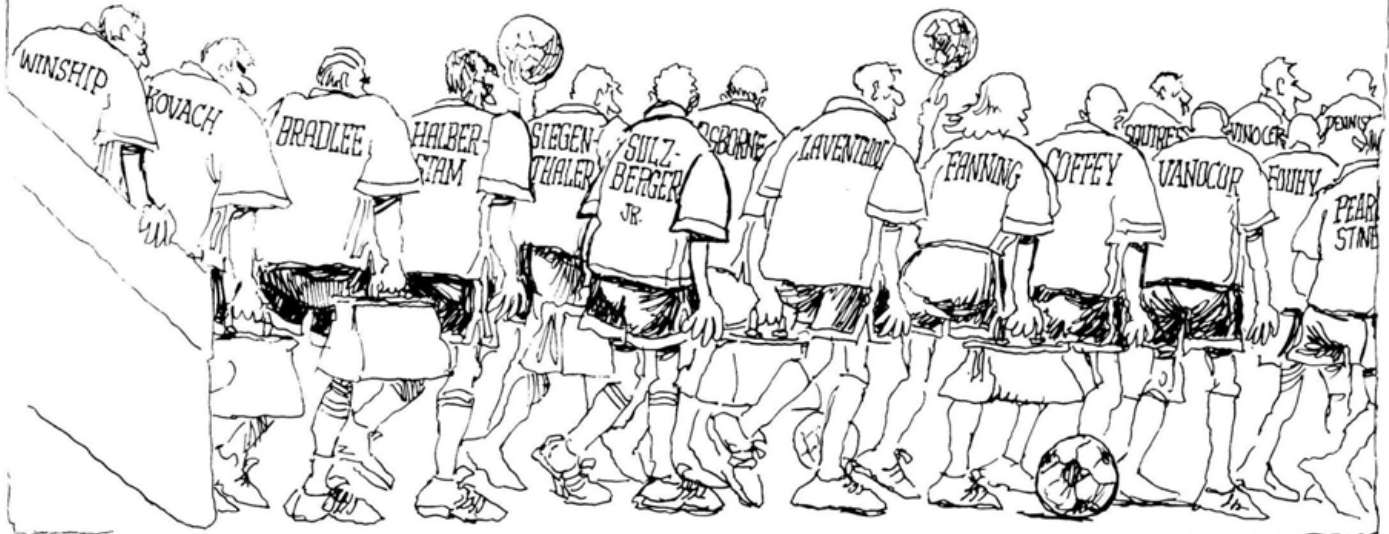


THE POLICE USED TO PAINT OVER THE FORMER BEATLE'S LYRICS GRACING THE LIBERATED LENNON WALL NEAR THE FOOT OF THE CHARLES BRIDGE...

IN PRAGUE FOR THE FIRST EAST-WEST JOURNALISM CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE NIEMAN FOUNDATION AND THE CENTER FOR FOREIGN JOURNALISTS WE DESCENDED ON THE CITY TO SHMOOZE AND MUSE ON DEFROSTING PRESS FREEDOM AFTER FORTY YEARS ON TOTALITARIAN ICE...



THE WEST ALL-STARS ARRIVED JET-LAGGED BUT PSYCHED FOR THEIR WORLD CUP DEBUT...



WE WERE PUT UP IN THE ELEGANTLY APPOINTED HOTEL PRAHA, UNTIL VERY RECENTLY PRAGUE HEADQUARTERS FOR VISITING PARTY HONCHOS...



WE QUICKLY LOWERED OUR EXPECTATIONS FOR WESTERN-STYLE AMENITIES...

ROOM SERVICE!



THE CZECHS' HIGH-CHOLESTEROL LOW-TASTE DIET...

MENU

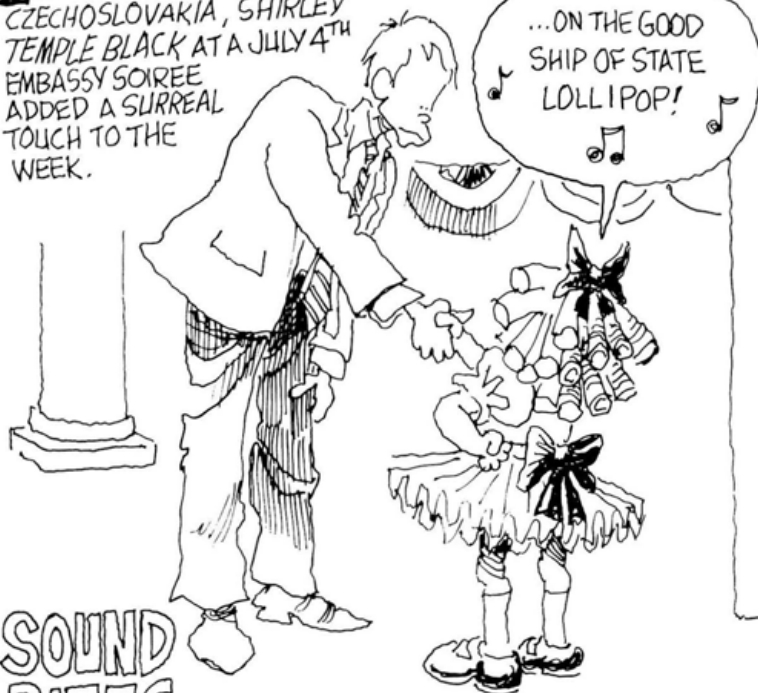
- EGGS
- PORK
- EGGS
- SALAMI
- EGGS
- DUMPLINGS
- EGGS
- EGGS

...AND THE NICOTINE HABITS OF 95% OF THE POPULATION



...SUGGESTED THAT PERSONAL HEALTH HAD NOT BEEN ONE OF THE PRIORITIES IN THE WORKERS' PARADISE

MEEETING U.S. AMBASSADOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK AT A JULY 4TH EMBASSY SOIREE ADDED A SURREAL TOUCH TO THE WEEK.



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IVAN BABA
DATUM—BUDAPEST

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JAROSLAV WEISS
LIDOVE NOVINY—PRAGUE

"A GOVERNMENT—EVEN A GOOD GOVERNMENT—IS NOT THE SOLE KEEPER OF THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION!"



DAVID HALBERSTAM
U.S.

"NO ONE WANTS TO LISTEN—THEY WANT TO BE HEARD—BECAUSE THEY HAVEN'T BEEN HEARD IN TWENTY YEARS!"



MILOS ZIAK
SLOVAK WEEKLY

"I NEVER SMOKED UNTIL MY COUNTRY HAD A REVOLUTION!"

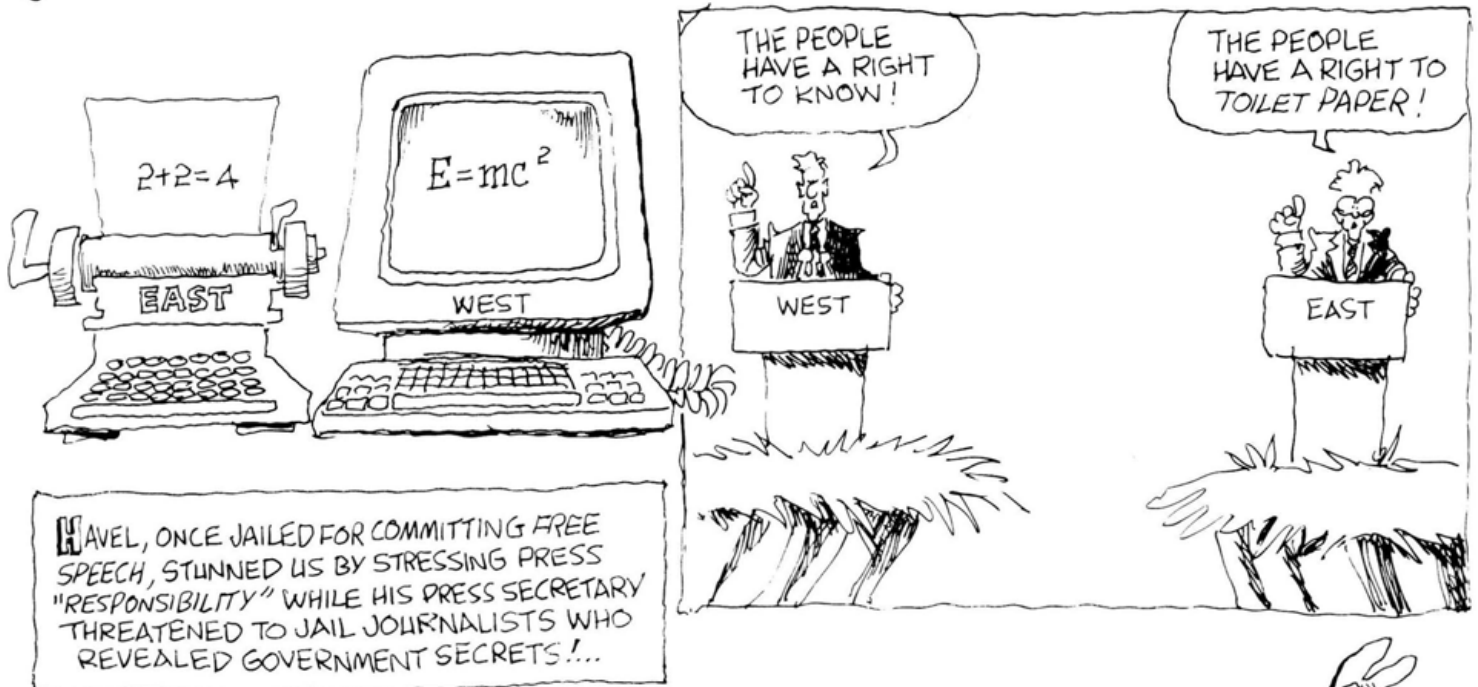


AUREL-DRAGOS MUNTEANU
ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR
TO THE U.N.

We Americans came away from Prague humbled by our Eastern counterparts' struggles... our sense of the fragility of Press Freedom sharpened... and with a renewed awareness that the struggle for a free flow of information and ideas—East or West—is never over.



OVERCOMING THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO PRESS TRADITIONS SEEMED DAUNTING...



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a tabloid of Western format. There is a market for a tabloid of the kind you know *The Sun* or *The New York Post*. There is a market for it. There are, I would say, millions of people who would like to read it. And someone who comes to Poland and does it this way — we were considering doing something like *The Daily Mail* just to grab some of the market. So if they do, they do.

About Germany, you asked. With Germans, it's also a funny thing. And Germans, they were very confused about it, because Poles are, obviously, the most, I'm sorry to say, the most anti-German nation. In Poland, that's obvious, there is a lot of prejudice. And I cannot imagine the German tycoons, if they wanted it, coming into Poland and taking over. This would be, I would say, unacceptable, but Maxwell and Murdoch? Yes. Why not?

SEIGENTHALER— I'm probably not the only person here who sold into chains, but I'm one of those who was. And I think this is a question for those of us in America as well as those in Europe. Anybody who thinks that a foreign interest can purchase a building that houses a network and that it never crosses the mind of that interest to purchase the network itself, I think has to be naive. It's only a question of time, I think, before what Lord Thompson has done with little or no controversy is going to be done by the foreign interests in our country, and that is going to be surrounded by controversy. And I think the fact that we are all on that big board and are subject, therefore, to hostile takeovers, is something that Norm [Pearlstine] probably could address far better than I. But the issue is there.

PEARLSTINE— Well, it takes us a bit away from the reality of current Eastern Europe, but certainly there are a number of issues that have led to both the development of chains and to the kinds of policies that they've imposed in the United States and I do think that implicit with ownership comes some desire for control and, at some point, a desire for repatriating profits.

Again, I recognize that in many ways, the countries where we have representatives at this conference, from, Eastern and Middle Europe, are far advanced over the developing countries of Asia in terms of political and press freedom issues. But nonetheless, throughout those developing countries, the very issues that Arthur [Sulzberger] has been suggesting have all come up in one way or another where, at some point, it is viewed as an intrusion by a foreigner in the workings of the domestic economy or domestic politics through the press and there has been a hostile reaction to it.

If, for example, a Western or German paper got hold of that list of 144,000 collaborators and printed it, it would be very interesting to know what that reaction would be.

HALBERSTAM— I think this question of the foreign ownership, particularly with predators like Murdoch and Maxwell who have no appreciable standards of journalism is really at the heart of a conference like this. I mean, what we are talking about is fledgling democracy and the inalienable right of new countries, democracies, to make their own mistakes and what you really do, if you get Murdoch and Maxwell, is you get *their* mistakes. And that is very different from the ability of these countries to stumble forward in an embryonic way to their own identification. It is a terrible thing and there is no free lunch out there.

Q.— What is their alternative, David?

HALBERSTAM— Well, I think their alternative is smaller, additional sourcing from some firms outside that have better track records, that are not quite so predatory to take — I mean, I think what Andrzej is doing with his, which is taking a smaller amount of money from people who are the Servan-Schreiber people and maybe even a little bit of *Wall Street Journal* money in there, I don't know — a smaller amount from people who have more reputable credentials who are not as predatory. I mean, we all come to this with track records. We are not, any of us, born today. And we do know who

"While politics will often get you in trouble with government, coverage of economics and international economics can as well."
Norm Pearlstine, The Wall Street Journal

Murdoch is and there are ways that people can protect themselves, and it's in the amount that they take and whom they take it from.

SULZBERGER— It strikes me that the issue isn't Murdoch and Maxwell. Who are we to judge them any more than who is a government to judge us? The issue is, it is no better, it strikes me for *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*, with its journalistic track record, to impose its standard of journalism on a society that has to make, as David accurately put it, these mistakes as they grow, that the issue isn't the quality of the journalism practiced by the outside voice, the issue is the concept of an outside voice, regardless of the quality of the journalism.

And perhaps there is an answer to be had by, not necessarily tying the money coming in or, in fact — let me rephrase that — disengaging the editorial, the right of an owner to have editorial decision-making with the financing. And I'm sure Norm could be much more thoughtful about this than I am. But it strikes me that there must be ways for governments to protect the growth of their internal voices by allowing financing without control. I don't know if that's possible.

PEARLSTINE— I think what is happening right now — and it was interesting to me listening to what are the major sellers in Hungary, beginning with pornography and sort of going up or down the scale, depending on where you put Westerns, and so forth, is that

you've got two things happening very quickly. One is through a revolution in technology and particularly in areas of television, ideas just move very quickly and if Maxwell doesn't bring *The Daily Mail* to Poland, then it will be indigenous or somebody's going to find that market and exploit it and there's a huge demand for it, regardless of the source of ownership.

And the second is, I think, consistent with this notion of being democratic institutions is that you're going to have a whole lot of ideas and areas where you're just not going to be able to sort of pass those kinds of rules.

MUNTEANU— I remember that I had Rupert Murdoch in my office in Bucharest negotiating with me about the ownership of a TV station right after the shooting stopped in Bucharest, the day after. I mean, Bucharest was still in turmoil. The streets were still unsecure and Rupert Murdoch was there, flying his own plane, landing at the airport, asking me to host him and negotiating thoroughly with me to buy a TV station in Bucharest. He was interested in buying just everything.

VANOCUR— *We all glorify the idea of the globalization of the world economy, except when it comes to us. I didn't like the idea of CBS selling its record division to Sony. I don't like the fact that Sony bought Columbia Pictures. But the fact is, can we glorify the dropping of barriers to trade and build a Berlin Wall about press and television?*

HALBERSTAM— Well, I think it's very important in our own country that we have very strict rules. I mean, we now have a Citizen Murdoch, an American citizen, because, for instance, in television, which is in the heartblood of the circulatory system, we don't let foreigners come in and dominate. And I think that is a relatively good rule. And I think that these countries — yes, Norman is right that there will be a tabloid in Warsaw one day. It may be better or worse than the Murdochian or Maxwellian tabloid. But at least let it be a Polish tabloid of Polish mistakes. I think that when you get men like that, you get the worst

common denominator. But more than that, with something that is a real political agenda, I mean, they bring something beyond that is tricky and that countries, terribly vulnerable right now, have a right to defend against. I think that we are little different because we're part of the political fabric, we're not just part of the economic fabric and, therefore, there is the capacity to influence greatly and involuntarily the politics of otherwise sovereign states.

which we started the discussion from, but not to Germany, 1990, to Germany, 1932. The nation had plenty of unemployed, with uncertainty about the future, with disorientation, was very much prone to nationalistic demagoguery which, eventually, was taken over by Hitler. I am afraid that if foreign investment, especially in the media, goes too far in our countries, our disoriented societies may be prone to nationalistic demagoguery — Poland for Poles, Hungary for Hungarians, or

"Quality has a basic prerequisite. That is, understanding the realities you deal with."

Aurel-Drăgăș Munteanu, Romanian Ambassador to U.N.

As for Maxwell and Murdoch, I'm reminded of the great A.J. Liebling story about Henry Luce and the worst of the Luce years. He said that Luce was like all the shoe store owners, except that all the other shoe store owners stocked all different kinds of sizes and shapes of shoes, but Mr. Luce sold only shoes that fit himself.

Q.— *Norm, maybe you can answer this question. I don't know the answer. When Europe gets united in 1992 and probably extends it to the East eventually, are there rules in the formation of this Economic Community, which is the largest consumer market in the world, that absolutely prohibit restrictions on the flow of capital, including the ownership of television?*

PEARLSTINE— Not within Europe at this point. And, in fact, the whole argument of Time and Warner for why they had to have a merger, become a \$14-billion company instead of an \$8-billion and \$6 billion company, was that that was the only way to compete with Bertelsmann and with Murdoch and with Maxwell.

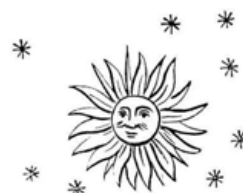
WROBLEWSKI— Two short remarks. One reference to Germany,

whatever as well.

My second remark, referenced not to Germany, but to this conference. All too late, we had the chance to meet here, we East European journalists, and I believe that however limited, there may be some use of this conference in some sense that we will, as soon as possible, meet again, that we'll compare our media loss and that we will try to work out something like a common negotiating position, because not only government, but also unions of journalists, have something to say and if you are not completely united, but consolidated, we may expect a little better deal or a little limitation on foreign investment in the media.

So thank you additionally for this conference because it may help us to restrain this foreign investment.

WINSHIP— The warning has been sounded. □



Political Reporting and the Politics Of Change

*James Squires, Ex-Editor, The Chicago Tribune; Roumen Danov, Otechestovo;
Vladimir Voina, USA Magazine, and John Seigenthaler,
The Nashville Tennessean and USA Today*

Squires Links Profits And Editorials

The importance of this discussion, at least from my standpoint, is that I have spent my entire life in a press that has a split personality. The change in the way the American press worked really came about toward the middle of this century and why the change occurred and the timing of the change in relationship to what was going on in the political landscape, I think, offers a pretty good case study of the kind of problems that you all have now and will face for the next decade or so.

Our change in this role of the press, the backing away from being a labeled participant — it would be nice if I could tell you that that was done mainly because we all suddenly decided that in the interest of objectivity and a better system and a more clearly defined role, we'd all decide to do that. Unfortunately, that's not the case. I think that change was based primarily on an economic reality that is tied to the system that you are about to adopt or that you look at as the ideal one in which to operate as an institution. The pressure on institutions of the press to attract the largest possible audience, to meet the business imperative of capitalism and to survive in a free market has had a great deal to do with the change in the relationship of the press to the political system. And you have to consider it along with other changes. For example, the decline of the parties began to occur about the same time that the press began to back away and became a less labeled, active

player in the system.

The press I grew up in and the one that I have seen struggle with the civil rights story is a press that had this split personality. On one hand, there was this need to appear objective and impartial in order to attract and hold a large audience, which, ultimately, is the only guarantee of true independence. And on the other, there has always been in the minds of publishers and editors and reporters — people in this room, particularly — this compelling obligation to play, to tell the truth, to distinguish right from wrong as often and as confidently as possible, to make choices and to take sides. And wherever we have done that in our history, whenever that occurs, whenever the news-gathering organization stands up to be counted in the interest of an educated electorate, it invariably must come down in the camp of one political force or one movement or another and, therefore, risks damaging the most valuable asset of the institution, which is its credibility.

You cannot oppose a black politician in the city of Chicago with *The Chicago Tribune* and not be accused of being a racist and not lose your credibility. The same thing is true with the various other ethnic groups and political movements. Once you declare your opposition to them, then you have lost, or at least with that group and that potential audience, the kind of credibility and reach that is critical to many press organizations in economic survival.

The fact is that when the great civil

rights story came along in America, the press, at least the newspaper part of the press — and that was certainly the dominant element in the fifties and sixties — was not in strong financial condition. Newspapers were among the most technologically retarded of industries. Profits were not high, labor costs were. And so many newspapers met the civil rights story from a point of weakness. And frankly, many of them did not face up to the test very well.

With a few notable exceptions, Southern newspapers, particularly, failed miserably. They either opposed integration altogether or they came to it only after it became the law of the land. And the burden of distinguishing right from wrong, pointing the finger, telling the story, standing up and being counted fell to a handful of national institutions — press institutions, many of whom were not dependent on local advertising for their survival, and to a certain degree, to the newest player on the American press scene — television news. I don't think there's anybody who would argue now that in those days television news was calling all its own shots.

I think that television news was following the lead of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The L.A. Times*, the two national news magazines, and a few brave, very brave, editors in the South in covering the civil rights story. But I think history is going to show us that it was the visual image that television finally conveyed to America of the most shameful injustice in America that ultimately

crystallized this issue before our country and forced political reaction to it.

In my own experience, it was the first time that I saw the press having to struggle with that dilemma between what is just and right and what is good for business. For many publishers and editors, supporting integration in the South meant advertising and reader boycotts and worse, for many of them, complete alienation within their own community. And I think that the pressure exerted by that story on those particular newspapers at that time in our history is not unlike the kind of pressure you see exerted on various institutions today from the kind of ethnic and political and racial conflict that we're talking about. Certainly, the papers that went out of business in America in the 1960s and 70s were primarily newspapers that found themselves unable to handle the trauma of change taking place on the political landscape of the cities. They were unable to match up their editorial policies with an audience that advertisers were willing to reach.

As the political landscape changed, they became fatalities in what basically was an economic class struggle over who would wield political power inside American cities — be that the entrenched white ethnics who basically had the political power in the cities or the new brown and black immigrants who were arriving in ever-increasing numbers.

Basically, that microcosm of the fifties and sixties that we saw in that one story, the civil rights struggle, I think has been replayed many, many times in the eighties and is going on today as newspapers struggle for relevance and for a place in the economic system and in the political system. And it's changing as we talk today.

I wanted to deal specifically with two examples from the eighties which I think clearly show the continuation of the dilemma and illustrate how it affects the American press response to it and the overall American press role in the political system today. One involves *The Chicago Tribune*, which was born as an abolitionist newspaper.

It came out of the race issue in America. It fought slavery, it recruited Abraham Lincoln. It helped build the underground railroad that brought the slaves to the North. It was, during the Civil War, as close to being the voice of the Union as the Union had.

One hundred years later, with a dramatically different audience, different managers, different economic concerns, *The Chicago Tribune* opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and lost perhaps forever all its credibility and attractiveness to black residents of the city of Chicago, which make up more than a third of the city's population. In 1983, when a black man sought the office of mayor of Chicago and, for the first time in history, had a reasonable chance to win, *The Chicago Tribune*, of which I was editor at the time, supported the black candidate, much to the disappointment and the anger of much of the white establishment, which had long been the newspaper's constituency. And when that candidate won, the white power structure, the white political forces tried in every way they could muster to make him a failure as mayor of the city, to make it impossible for him to accomplish anything and to take the city down the tubes. *The Tribune* supported the new black mayor in a very strong fashion, much, again, to their disappointment and chagrin.

Despite this, *The Tribune* could never overcome the previous opposition to the Civil Rights Bill and its general neglect of that particular segment of its audience. Even though we were constantly supporting Mayor Washington in his battles with the white political establishment, Mayor Washington constantly accused *The Tribune* of racism and blamed *The Tribune*, along with other white media in the city, for problems and inability to effect meaningful reform, which was being blocked by the white political establishments.

The interesting sidelight to this is that I think it was because *The Tribune* was financially powerful and had a very broad base of advertising and was clearly superior editorially to its

competitors in Chicago, it was because of that that it was able to take that stand in the first place. The newspaper survived the reader boycotts and it survived advertising unhappiness and it became during the last half of the decade one of the strongest newspapers in the country, financially, and highly respected and highly profitable.

But as its editor, I can tell you that, had our primary audience been the white ethnic communities inside the city of Chicago instead of the higher income, white collar, more upper class suburban Chicagoans, *The Chicago Tribune* would probably have made a different decision on backing the black mayor. I'm not sure that I could have convinced *The Chicago Tribune* to endorse a black candidate for mayor of Chicago if we had had *The Sun-Times* circulation base and basically been dependent on the ethnic support of inner city white Chicago.

Without getting specific in personalities, when these institutions have to make this decision, the forces within are always in conflict over what they do and, in this case, it was an easy decision for *The Chicago Tribune* to try to redress previous wrongs and do the right thing and stand up and support a black candidate — a very important step in the political evolution of the city. But it was easy for us because it did not mean economic life or death. And what I'm saying is that, had it meant a serious threat to our economic well-being, we might not have made the right decision.

During the same period that *The Tribune* was weathering this storm successfully in Chicago, another important American newspaper, *The Miami Herald*, found its franchise in that city seriously threatened by declining readership and declining advertising support among the city's largest and fast-growing population segment, the Cubans. The Cuban population in Miami disagreed vehemently with *The Miami Herald's* editorial policies, particularly editorial stands involving Communism and Fidel Castro and Cuba.

The Herald's foreign policy, which has been its tradition, was conciliatory

and tolerant and somewhat liberal. The Cuban community is militaristic, intolerant and quite conservative. Rather than change its editorial policy, *The Miami Herald* decided that it would put out a special newspaper for the Cuban community. So you have a big, strong, powerful, financially well-off media company trying to accommodate needs of an audience. And the way of doing that was to give this Spanish-speaking population its own newspaper, *El Nuevo Herald*.

But what kind of editorial policy would that newspaper have? That was a key question. Would it have an editorial policy that appeased the Cuban interests there or would it have to be, since it was part of *The Miami Herald*, the same kind of editorial policy? And faced with that question, the marketing concerns and the economic interests clearly held sway over all other considerations. The new Spanish language *El Nuevo Herald* decided to have no editorial voice at all. Instead, it turns its pages over to the leaders of this community for them to say what they want to say day-in and day-out.

Now in both instances, I think the important factor here is that the degree of financial strength, both of *The Chicago Tribune* to do the right thing and for *The Miami Herald* to make the choice that it did, seemed to me to be the determining factors in whether the paper did right or wrong.

Now I'm not trying to hold *The Tribune* up as any example of doing the right thing and *The Miami Herald* as an example of doing the wrong thing, because it was far easier for us to do what we did than it was for *The Herald* to try to stuff the liberal editorial policy down the throats of the Cubans and choke itself to death at the same time.

But those are the kinds of factors that come to play on this relationship between the press and the political system, when you get a democracy and a free press that is as far along in evolution as ours is. Obviously, the best kind of press and the most desirable one is one that can stand up and be counted and still survive financially. A closed

newspaper can tell no truth. So the primary goal comes in staying open. I don't think, though, that at this point in our system that mere financial survival is enough anymore in these days of publicly help corporation ownership. And it's seldom the path chosen by capitalism's professional business managers today. As the role of the press in the political process has changed, so has the amount of influence of our economic structure on editorial decisions regarding content and editorial positioning.

Now you heard a wonderful explanation of the newspaper business here from Arthur Sulzberger Jr., who told you that quality and serving the reader and the customer were the decisive and overriding factors at *The New York Times*, and he told you the truth. And there are many other representatives of organizations here today who can honestly make that same statement. I think what it falls to me to say, as someone no longer representing any of these businesses, is that I don't think that that is the norm of American press anymore. I am afraid that, while we have — our most dominant and admired and influential institutions are that way and have a tremendous influence on how the press operates in America today, I think that — and the commitment to those principles is strong and deep — I think that, for the overwhelming number of owners of press and institutions and news-gathering organizations in America, the overriding concern today is to make a big profit.

So a free press in a democracy in which we all must justifiably rejoice, is never really truly free. Like the system it serves, it can approach the ideal, and always there will be restraints. And in the case of the American press, the very economic system which guarantees the independence from government and special interests, assures that the press, in effect, becomes a special interest of its own and predictably must live with the inherent restrictions in that role.

So there's no advice to be offered on

how an emerging free press in Europe should deal with that. I don't think that's our role, it's certainly not mine personally to tell others where to place their feet on this moral high wire. Instead, I would just offer the reconstructed words of Martin Luther King, a man of uncommon dedication and achievement in the cause of true justice — words uttered in a most controversial speech during the 1960s under circumstances which, I think, are reflective of all we've been talking about.

During the height of the civil rights struggle when even powerful figures inside the government of the United States were trying to destroy Martin Luther King's movement, if not him personally, Dr. King spoke at an anniversary luncheon at the Highlander Folk School in the South. This was regarded at the time to be a training school for Communists and it became a tremendous burden for Martin Luther King to carry during this critical time in American history. Taylor Branch, who did a wonderful history of the civil rights movement, reconstructed that speech, which I believe had been lost, and told us recently exactly what Dr. King said in that speech. And I quote, "I believe that places like Highlander are vital for the future of the country. Men in America hate each other because they fear each other. They fear each other because they don't know each other. They don't know each other because they can't communicate with each other. And they can't communicate with each other because they are separated from one another."

My belief about the free press in a democracy is that the democracy cannot keep approaching the ideal without the free press. And that alone seems to me to raise the cause of communication and the cause of journalism above the status of any political party, any political movement, any individual or, for that matter, any economic system or any business. And it provides the parameters within which to approach and practice that craft in America, in Europe or anywhere people want to be free.

Danov Concerned About Ethnic Party

Colleagues, I realize that it's silly to title one's speech, although I have got a title to mine. It is, "Being Pregnant." I think that that semi-virginal statement could be applied, to a certain extent, to nearly all Bulgarian political, social, cultural and economic life.

Just two weeks ago, we had the great chance to have our first free elections, after 45 years of Communist dictatorship. Perhaps you all know the results. I would like just to mention some points. In our Constituent Assembly, the former Communist Party will have 214 seats. The opposition, the Union of the Democratic Forces, will have 144. And the third political force, a Society for Rights and Freedoms, will have 24.

The first two political forces are quite clear to you all. The third one is not clear even to most of the Bulgarians. This is an organization formed on an ethnic basis. All its members are ethnic Turks and, as you can guess, all the MPs who will represent that third political force are also Turks as well, with one exception.

Later we'll come back to that question, but now let me tell you something about the results. The first elections — well, one shouldn't say that the results of the first free election in Bulgaria is the second Communist victory in Europe, after the Romanian. The Bulgarian practice now is just the opposite. One could not say that the results of the election is a defeat for the opposition. Such a statement will be wrong, as wrong as if I cry out that you, the Americans, have developed a great democratic society because [some] write with the left hand.

We assume the results of the elections as quite good for the opposition. And we find resemblance between Communist victory and the victory of the Russians at Borodino. Just a short comment: Why is that so, and to be more factual, why do we think it's so?

Bulgaria is not a country like Hungary and Czechoslovakia or Poland. We haven't suffered a Russian aggression. We don't know what martial law is. We

haven't heard anything about former opposition movements, with one exception. And secondly, we now have a strong opposition group in Parliament, while the Communists will have a weak government with their 53 percent.

But I would like to stick to the theme. So what difficulties and what surprises do we face when covering the campaign? Reading the theme again, I see words like, "how coverage is balanced" and "how preference is expressed." My experience as a stringer and correspondent for the B.B.C. has given me lessons that objective information is something like a girl walking along the street while you are sitting at the table and drinking your morning coffee. You can see her face, but also you could have a glimpse at her back as well.

The Bulgarian practice now is just the opposite. You walk along the information street and you look at the girls standing stiff with their backs to the walls. You see heavy makeup, lipstick, tutti frutti of cheap jewelry. These are our girls; that is our information.

So what is in front of us? First, very soon we are going to face something like a market economy with something like state regulations. We were involved in a quarrel with the former Communists, and especially with the Communist press, defending the free market economy without any state regulations — not because we are against any regulations of the kind Norm [Pearlstone] said just some hours ago. We are against the Red state's regulations, with its centralization, with its still-living nomenklatura [high-level bureaucracy] members.

Secondly, we are going to face the third political force, which can grow into a strong, disciplined party on an ethnic basis. You all know the crisis. The last topic is a perfect example how we are forced by the political circumstances, to balance, to express our preference in a Western style — with hints, secret showing of muscles and not taking a position. I don't want to blame my Bulgarian colleagues because

the word now, the secret word now in Bulgaria which opens the door is not quality, as Mr. Sulzberger told us yesterday. The secret word is opposition. I don't want to blame any of our Bulgarian colleagues. We are now in an embryonic political state and you either have a position or you do not have it.

The best example is the situation with one of our political forces, the Agrarian Party. That party tried to have a neutral position in our elections. Now it's out of political life — not a single place in the elections held on the majoritarian principle. And you can imagine — you can guess that some decades ago, that Agrarian Party was the strongest one in Bulgaria — now, without a single seat in the Parliament.

No one of us could be blamed for having an opposition and not trying to strike a balance when reflecting the political events. We are not having a big mouth like the Czechs or like the Hungarians. We should eat it piece by piece. And in a way I feel a little happier, because if we get the list with the names of the secret policemen in Bulgaria, we are going to print it immediately.

Well, the last word I want to say is that we have a baby now — a democratic baby — in Bulgaria and no one of you should expect that that baby should be capable of making love. We should wait, we should rely on evolution.

Voina Suggests Study Abroad

Like some who spoke before me, I would like to begin with a couple of very personal remarks.

The year of 1968, the Prague Spring, was the highest point in my life. My heroes were heroes of this country and the crushing of this spring was my personal tragedy. Yesterday with my colleague from *Ogonyok*, we visited the place when a young Czechoslovak student, Jan Palach, burned himself on the central square. And that was maybe one of the most emotional moments

of my life and I vowed never to cross the borders of this country until it was liberated. I'm so happy to be here after the first free elections in a liberated country and addressing some of the best journalists in the world.

Well, speaking about political reporting, political life, I should tell that, up till now, in my country, like in other countries of our region, we didn't know what that meant — political reporting — because we didn't have politics, just as we didn't have economic life. You cannot call this centralized system of planning, producing and distributing military equipment, raw materials and sometimes, to a smaller extent, consumer goods and services, to be economic life. It's not economic life and we didn't have political life. We didn't have parties. You cannot call one dominating party a party, because it's practically a dominating structure and nothing more. You cannot have one party because if you have only one party, that's not a party. You should have at least two or more.

These ideas are still not very clear to many of my countrymen, though there are great changes going on. Now we have real political life because we have different political forces — even within the still all-powerful Communist Party. We didn't have free parliaments, free elections, only voting. We didn't have free play of different forces on political scene. We have no notion of minorities and their interests and the very word "interest" was misinterpreted, never used in the correct way.

We didn't have real consensus, only wishful thinking about this consensus. We couldn't see any attempt to find a unifying line, taking into consideration interests of many sides or parties in real life. So we didn't have political reporting. We only were producing stories about the recent decisions of the Communist Party and government bodies, with favorable comments about different V.I.P.s, et cetera. No criticism was allowed, with some very rare exceptions when some figure would be doomed to oblivion or destruction. So journalists were allowed to participate in this destruction.

Working for nearly 20 years in *USA Magazine*, I participated in covering political battles, but where? In the United States. We would follow each four years these political battles — just giving the greatest attention to all major campaigns in the states, on all stages; giving background information on the most important political candidates; explaining what that meant, primaries; the results of primaries in Maine and different states; explaining traditional approaches to politics, about political mores, about factors influencing successes of candidates.

We published books like those written by Theodore White, and some other important material. We were doing, I think, not a bad job, at least explaining the political system of the United States, which might be not sufficient, not perfect, but still is the best example for us on how political life can be run and how it can look in practice.

Well, sometimes our authors took sides too greatly, but still, during the last campaign, our editor-in-chief wanted to speak with the author of a story about Jesse Jackson. He said, "I understand that you are so much taken by Jesse Jackson, you like him. That's natural when you're writing about something, you like it or him. But do you really think that Jesse Jackson may be a success in the United States?" "No," the author had to admit. "So, if no, why are you creating the impression that this candidate has any serious chance?" So we were trying to be balanced and to explain political life at least in another country.

I think it's very important for our journalists, especially those covering political battles in my country, to study democracy in the outer world. I think it's high time to introduce many programs for such studies. I participated in creation of one of these programs with some people from Los Angeles, from a public organization called Foundation for American Communications. I have several examples of this program and I would be eager to show these ideas to those who might be interested.

As a model, I naturally used the Nieman Foundation, which is a very

good crossroads for journalists from different political cultures, plus some other ideas. I think this program should not be the only one; there should be many more. But in any case, it's very important to invite as many journalists — young journalists, middle-aged journalists — from the emerging free press in this region and to show them and to give them a chance to work in internships for maybe half a year to know the language better. Because my idea is that foreign-affairs reporters should not be invited first of all, but those who are covering the domestic political scene, domestic economic life, domestic legislation, just to give them a wider perspective, another perspective, and to equip them with very important information about life in the outer world.

I think that another attempt to enlarge our vision should be made. It might take a form of an international news agency, maybe the very first European agency that would comprise journalists from West European, East European countries, the U.S.S.R. — a kind of AP for Europe, just a cooperative venture with participation of major newspapers, magazines, which would rotate journalists from different political cultures. This agency would provide political information on some specific angle, European angle — trying to find what is in common, what is uniting Europeans. In this way, maybe we can better oppose some attempts by people like Murdoch to buy the press of some of our countries.

I just want to say that European countries are introducing some protectionist measures against the domination of Hollywood, say. I think it's the right thing because film making in smaller countries is really weak and should be protected. I think that information media just in these countries should also be somehow protected, though there should be a free market of ideas and publications. And I think that maybe magazines like *Time* or some other magazines, should be produced in the Russian language and also influence public opinion in my country.

Still, I think that special measures, at the same time, should be taken in

order to support a free press. Many questions are asked concerning this idea, which is disputable, I understand. For example, which language and should it be one language or several languages? The Lithuanians might say, "Why not make a Lithuanian version of all news broadcasts by or transmitted by this agency?" Still, I think that something should be done in order to unite us journalists from our region to produce better understanding. Maybe we should create a kind of regional international union of journalists just by bringing together new journalists unions as an opposing force to the corrupted journalists unions, like in my country, and organizing more and more conferences of this kind and just coming together like our enemies are doing. Now why wouldn't we do the same, but on another basis, in our own interests?

As for ethnic relations, which is a very important point in this discussion, well, during the Armenian-Azerbaijani crisis, there was no fair reporting on this matter. It was all biased, one-sided. When sometimes central newspapers in the U.S.S.R. tried to be neutral, it provoked an even worse effect because both parties would get indignant and, for some time, would forget about their inner feud and would both accuse the central government and the central press of exploitation. This stand just provoked more anger and another conflict.

We don't have a tradition of inviting both parties and giving them equal treatment, equal right to speak out. Neither television nor newspapers could do that. And that was and is a very disastrous way to treat ethnic conflicts. We don't have a political tradition of trying to find some resolution of conflict just by cooling both parties, mediating their differences, trying to show them that, aside from positions, they have something higher, which is [common] interest. When you compare these interests, you can find common ground. Common ground was never found in these conflicts and is still not found. The Lithuanian cause was reported by some of our best, brave and bold editions in another way, while the

conservative press is treating this conflict in an old-fashioned way.

I think that we have much to learn from Americans because, just by my very personal experience, I can tell that in American society, just to speak out in a bad way about some minority group, about some other race, is just a shame; it's something which cannot be tolerated. Nobody would laugh at your joke. Faces would become just stony and you would not be accepted as a normal member of society if you would make such remarks. We have

Seigenthaler's Caveats on Privacy

Those of us who live in the society that in some ways has been held up as ideal are aware of our shortcomings. Much of what I'll say today will address some of those shortcomings because it would be a mistake, I think, for those of you who are from Central and Eastern Europe to assume that ours is a model that can or should be copied.

Arthur Schlesinger said accurately, and only slightly in jest, that in our country the separation between press and government, between news media and government, is real and that it is not a practice for the journalist to take the step down to work in government. I am one journalist who took that step down and who, for a period of 13 months, worked inside the federal government, was part of the political structure. I was in our Justice Department. I was the administrative assistant to the Attorney General of the United States in 1961 and early 1962.

I'm reminded of that because these last two days we have heard a bright, attractive, intellectual president of a progressive, sensitive reform government, with a bright, attractive, intelligent press secretary, speak to us and we have heard that press secretary speak to us. And I am reminded of it because my time in government, under a bright, attractive, intellectual president of a progressive and sensitive government, as rewarding as it was, convinced me — convinces me — that there is a universal characteristic in all of government that argues that press respon-

not yet created a climate of intolerance to ethnic jokes, to ethnic hatred, to open expression of racists, anti-Semitic or anti-anti — many antis in the Soviet Union. I think that in our countries, maybe nearly every country has some specific problems dealing with ethnic conflicts. We are all not saints and we have to teach our public to be tolerant, to like other nations, other people, to be just and to give it fair treatment. I think we cannot go further without accepting these principles.

sibility and reporting on politics and government is for those in politics and government to define. And beyond that, there is a sort of siege mentality that takes hold above the bureaucratic level of government — at the political level, at the policy and decision-making level — an attitude of us versus them, a sort of "they-are-out-to-get-us" syndrome.

President Havel's press secretary said to us yesterday in words that echo from my own days in government more than a quarter century ago — he said, quote, "There are things we read all the time that make us angry, that make us mad." Almost daily, during my days in government, I heard that said and I can assure you that it has been said by those in government throughout that history, from the time of our own revolution that reformed our government — that revolution that gave us this tradition and legacy of an ideal of a free press.

I begin with that, because, while our press life in the area of political coverage may be viewed by some in Europe as something close to ideal, indeed, for many of us it is less than that. For many of us, freedom of the press in our country, is not won, is not secure. It is, instead, always in the process of being won, always in the process of being made secure. The struggle that was initiated in our revolution goes on today and certainly the institution of the press, the media, is free, but that freedom is far from ideal.

As we heard at lunch yesterday, a reporter, within the last two months,

was sentenced to jail in Texas for refusing to answer the questions of a court. A jury in Pennsylvania last month did award \$34 million to a former public official because a paper criticized the handling of that public official's duties. If there are those of you who believe libel laws are an absolute antidote to irresponsibility in journalism, let those of us who have experienced trials and have been threatened by judgments and have paid the cost of litigation assure that it is no such antidote.

Gary Hart, as many of you know, in the last presidential campaign, after his relationships with three women had been exposed by two U.S. newspapers and after those stories had been spread by the rest of the media all across the country, said this: "This is not what the Founding Fathers had in mind 200 years ago." I mention it not to raise the issue here about the propriety of probing the private lives of politicians. There may be some of you from this side of the Atlantic who would frown upon that sort of coverage — what we did in this last campaign with regard to the private life of Gary Hart; the private life of the Reverend Pat Robertson, who in the press was reported to have had premarital sex with his wife of many years, the mother of his children; what we said about the academic records of Senator Biden, Vice President Quayle; what we said about the smoking habits of Albert Gore and Bruce Babbitt.

Those stories were all part of the political coverage of that campaign and you may view it from afar and disagree with some of it or all of it. Some of us

may disagree among ourselves, those of us who are Americans, about some of it or all of it. The fact of the matter is that Gary Hart was simply wrong historically.

The makers of our Revolution who worked to establish our government did give us a Constitution that initially did not call for freedom of expression. In those first seven articles there was no provision for free speech, for free press, for the right to petition the government for redress. There was no provision for freedom of assembly. And two of the 13 states refused to ratify that Constitution, and eight others, in ratifying, passed resolutions urging that our first Congress immediately amend that Constitution to provide for those and other basic individual rights.

And 200 years ago last year, our first Congress gave us a Bill of Rights that included those liberties.

The early press in our country and how it functioned and how it developed may offer you no guidance — it was so long ago. But it's fair to say that it was then an imperfect press, far more imperfect than it is now and our press is imperfect. There was within the cabinet of George Washington, our first president, a bitter conflict between two cabinet officers, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. And Hamilton and his financial supporters — and this goes to the heart, I suppose, of how the media was originally financed after our revolution — Hamilton and his father-in-law and others went out and employed an editor named John Fenno, and set him up in business with private funding. And he had as part of his editorial and news policy in every edition of his weekly gazette an attack on Thomas Jefferson and Jeffersonian principles.

Jefferson took it for a while and then he and James Madison hired Philip Freneau, the poet of the Revolution, and set him up in business, but their financial resources were not quite adequate. And so Jefferson put Freneau on the payroll of the State Department as a translator to subsidize him. He later lied, Jefferson did, to George Washington about having done that.

What sort of press was it? If you read it, you will find, that it was political, partisan. Polemics were everywhere to be found. It was a press filled with gossip, with scandal, with rumor, with inaccurate news, and it was a bought press. After President Adams, the press moved rapidly into close affiliations with parties and that press was supported by parties. Andrew Jackson hired, by providing government printing patronage, two separate editors and shared that patronage with them and they spoke with the voice of Old Hickory.

Among those editors who were jailed during the two years that the Sedition Act was in force, were those who were confined for calling President Adams, quote, "a man of ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation and selfish avarice." Another was jailed for criticizing military policy and another for criticizing the Sedition Act and the Congress that had passed it. Public reaction to that law was strong and in the 1800 election, the voters threw the rascals out.

Then the press began to look more carefully at the private lives of public figures. There was a story written by the pro-Jefferson press about a sexual relationship between Alexander Hamilton and a woman named Maria Reynolds who was married. It was asserted falsely by that press that Hamilton had used the funds of the Treasury Department to support the relationship and to bribe her husband into silence. He himself was married, his wife pregnant, and in upstate New York with their four children while that relationship went on. Hamilton, after the word was spread by the Jeffersonian press all across our country, answered in the press friendly to him and newspapers friendly to him reported, "Yes, his crime was having a relationship with the wife of another man," but he asserted accurately that he had not spent Treasury funds to support that relationship.

The same journalists who wrote that, turned then on Thomas Jefferson and wrote — and the Hamiltonian press picked up and spread it all across this country — that Jefferson had a

"A closed newspaper can tell no truth. So the primary goal comes in staying open." James Squires, former editor, The Chicago Tribune

relationship with a slave mistress named Sally Hemings, that she had borne several children by him, that one of them — the oldest — was called Thomas and bore, quote, "a striking resemblance to the President himself."

The idea that in this election we crossed a new frontier invading the privacy of public figures simply is not historically true. In the 19th century we had moved substantially away from that for periods. There was no reporting on the relationship between Warren G. Harding and Nan Britten nor FDR and Lucy Mercer nor the friendship, if that's what it was, of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Kay Summersby during his campaign or the relationship between John F. Kennedy and Judith Exner nor the relationship between Lyndon Johnson and Alice Marsh. All of those affairs have come to light through historians, not journalists. But it is accurate to say that many of us in the press would assert that, had the press known it and if the press knew it, had it known or cared to publish it, that the right to do so was always there.

The point of all this, I think, is that over 200 years our press has gradually evolved, that it has known ebbs and flows of interest in political personalities. It is today, in my judgment, a different press than ever before, and I think Jim Squires has accurately reflected that transition. We have evolved into a press today that understands, I think, that its coverage of government and politicians, while sometimes flawed, sometimes in error, often manipulated by the politicians themselves, is more committed to serving as an independent, nonpartisan monitor of political institutions — more committed to fact-finding about government institutions and those who run them, more dedicated to a search for elusive truth than at any time before in our history.

It is also the news media that sometimes fails to adequately cope with the devices of politicians who seek to evade issues, to obscure facts, to hide dishonesty and corruption, to obstruct the media in its search for

truth. It is a press that you have heard holds itself out to be a tribune of the people. And while sometimes that is true, it must be said that, more often than not, that is the case without the will of the people. For in fact, our politicians and many in our public, in times of our adversarial conflicts with politicians, do not align themselves with us, they do not trust our reporting on political issues — many of them, sometimes most of them — on such issues as defense spending, the peace dividend, abortion, gun control, flag burning, education as well as the private lives of public figures.

They see us, too often, as unfair, as arrogant, as obsessive, too assertive, too intrusive, too abusive of politicians and government. Some of us see ourselves as having an unsigned contract with the public that makes us their tribune, as having our contract with our readers that they have not signed and which they may not wish to have enforced and we execute it nonetheless. We do so out of conviction that is rooted in the theory that was expressed best, I think, by John Milton in *Areopagitica* when he said, "Let truth and falsehood grapple. When in such a contest was truth ever put to the worse?" — and rooted as well in the words of James Madison, that member of Congress who stood on the floor 201 years ago and forced his colleagues to provide the outline of a bill of rights — Madison who said, "Nothing could be more irrational than to give people power and to withhold from them information without which power is abused. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce and a tragedy."

There have been times throughout our history when our press has participated in the farce and the tragedy. We have emerged, I think, today as a model for ourselves. And we wish that, as you go forward, you understand that this ideal that many of us at times hold out is really one that is less than ideal, and it is a mistake to assume — for anyone to assume — that our people are our politicians, except for a moment that our publication of political affairs is

always in the public interest or in the interest of a free press.

Discussion

KOVACH— Thank you, John. I think it's pretty clear from that recitation that we can indeed hold ourselves out as a model to our European friends. In our history, we're a model for just about anything you want to do. [Laughter]

VANOCUR— *I would like to ask our colleagues from the Soviet Union and Bulgaria if a distinction is made in reporting in their countries on the differences between reporting on government and reporting on the political process. I ask that, understanding the political process is newly emerging, but I ask it also because it came up two days ago. How do you discover news before it becomes news? Because it's been my experience, man and boy, that when issues get to government, government catches up to ratify decisions that have already been made by the political and sociological process. Do you distinguish between covering political process and covering government?*

"Well, the last word I want to say is that we have a baby now — a democratic baby — in Bulgaria and no one of you should expect that that baby should be capable of making love,"

Roumen Danov,
Otechestvo, Sofia

VOINA— Well, I mentioned that in previous times, covering the government was just reproducing the government point of view. Now *Izvestia* is treating government decisions in absolutely another way — just with criti-

cism and just disputing every idea which seems is worthy of criticism by the media. Well, this is a new time for government agencies to act. So practically every agency created a kind of press service, which is a new invention. We have this practical idea of public relations, though people dealing with the press are not described in this way. But practically we have public relations and press conferences, which is very good, say, when dealing with the KGB or Ministry for Internal Affairs, because at least some information can be obtained by journalists. I mean official information, which was not released to the press at all in previous times.

"European countries are introducing some protectionist measures against the domination of Hollywood, say. I think it's the right thing because film making in smaller countries is really weak and should be protected." Vladimir Voina, USA Magazine, Moscow

But the practice of covering politics, in most cases, is still reflective, it's secondary, not creating an issue before it becomes an issue. Though I should say that in many cases, the press provoked some new questions.

For example *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, by publishing results of a roundtable discussion among scientists, raised the question of [it] being absolutely unnecessary for young people — young students of colleges and universities — to spend years in Army service. The first publication of *Literaturnaya*

Gazeta was taken very critically by the Army, by some political forces. There were rude and harsh attacks on this newspaper. But little by little, this idea became more and more known to the public and there were more and more criticism of the practice. And it ended with some special decree that now gives students an opportunity to be released from Army service. In many other cases, newspapers are creating political issues.

DANOV— The situation in Bulgaria is a little bit different. At one hand, we have a government which is Communist in a sense — they call themselves now Socialists. They went to bed one night as Communists, but in the morning they were already Socialists. [Laughter] And on the other hand, we have a shadow cabinet. And between those two poles is our information system, our propaganda — theirs and ours. By "ours," I mean the opposition one. We induce them to take decisions, even governmental decisions, when informing the society about their mistakes and about our measures in one or another region of life.

I will go back to the question with the Turkish organization. It was absolutely a blow in the back to the opposition because the government — you know, in Bulgaria, government, parliament, court — are one thing. It's the Party — with a capital letter. When the court arranged the papers for legitimization of that Society for Rights and Freedoms on a Turkish base, it was induced by the government. Now we have a political organization in the Parliament on an ethnic basis and no one in the Bulgarian press, in the Bulgarian media, dares to abuse the government for making a mistake. It wasn't a mistake, it was a blow against the opposition, because the membership of that society was the former membership of the opposition. Now they are split out of the opposition. And they wanted to split the opposition — I mean the Socialists, the Socialist Party.

But after all, instead of all that reaction, no one in Bulgaria dares to say the truth, that it was a Communist plot

against the opposition. Why is that so? Why is that paradox so?

GEVORKYAN— There are new problems. Some things are easier now in covering the Parliament, for example, and some things are more difficult. For example, after the Presidential Council was formed, we should have decided the problems with the journalists accredited to the Presidential Council. So we thought that we should apply for accreditation and he will, after all, choose. But nothing of that sort happened. The press man for the president told us that they will choose, the president will choose, the newspapers and the people who will cover the work of the Presidential Council, which means that the progressive newspapers — I don't know it exactly — but maybe just out of this list of people. That's the problem.

The easier thing, which is now really easy, is that half of the deputies of the Parliament — a tremendous amount of them — were the authors of [opposition] newspapers and the magazines, which means that they just call up from time to time and say, "Try to get tomorrow to the Parliament session. It will be something interesting." Or they come to the newspaper and say, "I would like to publish in the newspaper what was under the discussion on the law of press," and they do publish it now. So that is another source of information — the contacts between the people.

WINSHIP— In the United States recently, there was a major First Amendment attack that hasn't received much attention from the press in the colleges and universities that have been adopting standards for speech. There's been a strange silence in the American press on this issue. There have been news stories covering it and there have been very few taking part in the fray at this point. I wonder if there are any comments on why there's this peculiar silence.

SEIGENTHALER— Well, I think you're right about it. Not only has there been some silence, there has, in fact been some editorial comment that is anti-free speech that supports the

decision to regulate. And I think it's a shocking phenomenon and really a sad thing.

SQUIRES— I think that goes right to one of the key questions of ownership — the disparity in press reaction among formal, privately owned press institutions which John is talking about. I mean, some people do not support free speech as it applies to high school newspapers or college newspapers and it may go back to another thing that Arthur Sulzberger told you. Free press belongs to the people who own one and there is a question of ownership of a high school newspaper. Who is the proprietor? Who pays the bill? Who is responsible for what happens? I don't have free speech as editor

of *The Chicago Tribune*, in the sense that I am free to do anything I want to do, any time I want to do it. I have to answer to a publisher or to someone. Ben Bradlee has to answer — all the editors in this room have to answer to somebody. Who does the editor of a high school or college newspaper answer to? I think that's the issue. And I'm not taking a side on it one way or the other, but in an effort to explain what we're talking about, that's the issue, and it's going to be an issue for you. You're always going to answer to the owner.

KOVACH— For our European colleagues who may not be aware of the specific situation, there is a fierce debate on a lot of college campuses as

administrations try to clamp down on publication of anti-Semitic remarks, racial remarks, anti-feminist remarks, anti-gay, homosexual remarks. And the effort to deny free speech, if it's insulting to ethnic, racial or other social groups, is a direct attack on free speech.

SULZBERGER— It struck me, John, as you were going through this list of the American experience, which I found fascinating, that what we are seeing in our 200 years of battling with what the First Amendment means and how we chose to use it, is the inevitable fact that we are part of the American society, not separate from it, and that we, as journalists, simply hold up a mirror to our society; we reflect back to its beliefs. □

The Emerging Press — Possibilities and Limitations

Helena Luczywo, Gazeta Wyborcza; Ivan Baba, Datum; Lev Guschin, Ogonyok; Stefan Tafrov, Demokratzia; Eduard Victor Gugui, Baricada, and Jurgen Weis, Wir in Leipzig

Luczywo Says Everything Is Open

We're asked to talk about the possibilities and limits of the press emerging in Eastern Europe. Well, I can only say that I think that possibilities are unlimited and endless, and so are the limits. Why so?

I think there is some kind of vacuum in Eastern Europe, which can be filled with, well, anything. We don't know yet what kind of newspapers we are going to have. Are they going to be the newspapers that are already there or something new? Are they going to be like *The New York Times*, or perhaps like *Le Monde* or *The Times* or whatever? Everything is open ahead of us.

There is a vacuum also in terms of what we have there. There is no decent

distribution system in my country and I don't know what the one we are going to have will be like, who will build it up, where the money will come from. We don't have decent print shops. The ones we have are mostly 30 years old. Are we going to have new ones? What kind? And so on, and so forth. The same thing with our environment — political, economic, technological. Everything is ahead of us.

This is the aftermath of the revolution. It's interesting and it's scary. The limits are enormous, too. I would, myself, give democracy in Poland something like a 50-50 chance. When I'm in a good mood, I think we'll stay democratic. When I'm in a bad mood, I think, well, this is impossible. The

Poles will not be able to endure any more of this. They will somehow revolt. There will be some kind of anarchy, then some kind of dictatorship. We just don't know what's going to happen.

Now, coming back to our newspaper and its possibilities and limitations. We have, so far, survived something that I would call two major crises. The first one was the start-up of the newspaper itself. We started last May, so we are very, very new. We had only three weeks to start up a daily because we had to contribute to Solidarity's election campaign and, as the election was in June, we had to start up in May, and the decision that we could start up was made in late April. So we didn't have much time. We didn't have a penny and we didn't have any premises or anything and we started. So that was how

the first major crisis was overcome.

The next major crisis came when Poland decided to go through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank economic program, of which you certainly know. For us, that meant that the price of newsprint went up like 10 times — over 10 times. We had to raise the price of the newspaper. We decided to raise it only about five times, because at the same time, the real wages in Poland fell by 40 percent. So we were afraid to raise the price of the newspaper that much, for fear people would not be able to buy us, would not want to buy us. And we had a money problem immediately. That was the time, this winter, when we invented advertising. For the first seven months of our existence we didn't know we could sell advertising space; we thought it was something that was done only in the West. But then it turned out we could do it and we did it and now 40 per cent of our revenues — about 38 percent of our revenues — comes from selling the advertising space.

That's how we went through the next crisis. But we were not that healthy after that. We had to reduce — we did it without even waiting for our readers' response — we reduced our circulation from, roughly, 500,000 copies to slightly over 300,000 copies. Now we are a little bit below 400,000 copies a day, slightly more on the weekends. We ran into debt. We have considerable debt now, and we don't have a penny. We have to do something about it.

At the time of the crisis that I'm talking about, we realized that our greatest competition came from local papers. We are the biggest national newspaper in Poland, but local papers are very tough competition, as everyone certainly knows. So what we decided to do to keep our circulation was to start local supplements and now, in 11 locations all over Poland, we add local news to our newspapers once a week, twice a week, and in Warsaw, six times a week. It depends on how much local advertising we get, because it's supposed to be self-financing, with classifieds and advertising.

What problems are we facing now?

I would say there are three kinds of problems. The first one is financial. I'm sure you cannot build a decent newspaper without any investment. That's what we've been doing till now. That is to say, we've been buying computers and such stuff with the money we earned. But that's why we ran into debt, more or less. That's the basic idea.

We know, more or less, and we are finding out what our needs are now. It's very complicated. We didn't know it would be that complicated to decide how much money you need and for what. We know that we want to add some sections. We are adding the business section now. We know that we would like to have some foreign correspondents. We have only one, in Moscow, now. We know that we would like to get computerized. But there are lots of other things that we don't know and we are using the help of some business consultants from Boston to decide on what we should do and how we should go about it.

The essential question is, whether we should get a loan, which we would like to do, but I suppose it might be impossible because we might need too much money for someone to be eager to give us a loan. I think it will be much easier for us to find someone who would like to invest in us. On the other hand, our price is only five cents per copy and we sell a page of advertising space for \$2,000. We are a tabloid format. So sometimes I wonder what kind of investor might be interested in this kind of very little money. Some people abroad expressed some interest, so maybe we will go through it. This is our financial problem.

We also find it very urgent because we fear the competition from the bad guys that we've been talking about — [clears throat instead of saying the names] — coming into Poland with, well, perhaps a lot of money and doing something very spectacular that would immediately push us out of the market.

I would say that perhaps more serious problems are our political and journalistic problems. The first one is our relationship with Solidarity. It's a very important thing for us. We are not

a Solidarity newspaper, we are a privately owned newspaper. We decided from scratch that we don't want to be owned either by Solidarity or by a citizens' committee or by anything else, that we want to be owned by ourselves. That's what we are. We are now owned by 19 people who are editors and managers and artists in our newspaper — two of them are from outside, but it's not a problem — and the shares are equal.

We are going to transform this company into a stockholding company. We want to sell some stock on the market so that readers could buy it. Frankly, we consider it a good marketing device. We would like to sell some stock to the foreigners and some stock on some kind of privileged conditions to our employees. So we are a privately owned newspaper. But right below our logo, we have the slogan of Solidarity — "There is no freedom without Solidarity," with Solidarity letters. And there is a huge conflict about whether we can use this slogan or not — of which some of you might probably have heard.

What is Solidarity for us? I do not want to give up the logo and I'm going to fight for it with the Solidarity trade union. I think I have the right to it and most of us have. For us, Solidarity is not only a trade union, it's also — it's a movement, it's a philosophy of peaceful transition toward democracy, towards independence, of a sense of social obligation one feels during this transition and we think we should have it. As I say, there is a conflict. It's more. It's also that we are very much attached to Solidarity. It's something we've been fighting for for years. And we just want it, although, as I say, we are absolutely not ready because there have been some offers that we can keep the logo if we do something for Solidarity as a newspaper. And I could do that. I mean, it was not very difficult. I mean, something like publish some statements, and so on, and so forth. But it's against the the principle of press, I mean, this kind of obligation. So we are not going to do that.

Then why is it important for us,

apart from emotional reasons and from well, let's say, ideological reasons, to use the dirty word? It's important for our readers, we suppose. We're not sure, but we think it's important for our readers. Our readers hate the present conflicts within Solidarity. As one of our editors said, they view the conflict between the government, between Prime Minister Mazowiecki and Walesa as kids see a divorce of their parents. And, just as those kids seeing their parents divorced, our viewers don't want to see it, don't want to know anything about it. This is a very difficult position for a newspaper: How to write about something your readers don't want to read about, but it is there. What to do about it? I mean, we waste, I'd say, like four hours a day quarreling about what to do, how we should cover the government, how we should cover Walesa and how we should cover the divorce — and whether there is a divorce or not. Well, I think there is, unfortunately. Or maybe fortunately.

To add up to our troubles is the general — I mean, troubles, it's normal — [laughs] — is the general atmosphere of resentment toward the press within something that I would call political class. Walesa always objects to what the press says about him and what TV says about him. The government, to a much lesser extent, I must admit. But everyone. At some point there was a debate in the Polish Parliament about how Parliament is covered by Polish TV and I couldn't resist giving our story about this debate [the] headline, "Mirror, mirror, on the wall." It's the same in English, I suppose, like Polish. That's exactly what those guys want.

Now the last point is our position in the conflict between the government and Walesa. Unfortunately, we are a side to this conflict and Walesa made us a side, trying to fire our editor-in-chief and trying to take the Solidarity logo off our front page. And it's very bad, I think, for a newspaper to be perceived as a side in the conflict. It makes our position very difficult, because if you are perceived as a side of conflict, what you tend to do — what I at least tend to do — is to give

the other side a little bit better coverage just so that you look kind of objective and impartial, but you don't. Whatever you do, you don't, because people know what they know, and that is that.

This conflict between the government and Walesa, is, at the same time, in a way the conflict between the government and the Solidarity trade union, unfortunately. This is a very painful thing. So in this conflict, I personally am for the government. Why? This government has made a lot of mistakes. It's been too slow in removing the remnants of Communism in Poland. It's been too slow in replacing some of the ministers. It's becoming arrogant, of course, as all the governments do. It makes a lot of mistakes. That's simple. But still I do think that this government and this Prime Minister are for democracy. He is patient with the slow and stupid parliamentary process. This parliamentary process is stupid, I know. Lots of our members of Parliament are not geniuses, but this is a Parliament, I mean.

Well, Walesa says that we would like to rule by decrees. So even though he would be much more effective and clever, it's not democracy, it's not what we've been fighting for for so many years. So that is why, in this conflict, in this divorce, I am for the government. But how to say this, staying an impartial newspaper, I do not know. It's some kind of a case-by-case puzzle that you have to solve.

The last question is with the readers. Our readers are mostly some kind of Solidarity population — middle-aged, in their 30s and 40s; diverse educational background, 20 percent university degree, 50 percent high school and 30 percent below — and we know that this is not necessarily the population best for advertisers, and that we could very easily shift to a better population. That's why we were delaying the introduction of the business page, because we knew it would not necessarily be good for our — well, let's say, Solidarity readers.

Politically also we would like to keep our readers because we are, we think

— well, maybe it's kind of megalomaniac — but we think that the kind of free press we are trying to do is very important for democracy. And that's why we would like to have the readers we have — that is to say, to have the readers that are also the not very educated ones and the ones that are not necessarily the intellectual, political élites. So we don't exactly know what to do about it, because we are afraid that we would scare off some of our readers and, at the same time, we want to say more and more complex things, we want to speak more about the economy and business, and we haven't made up our minds yet how to solve this question.

Baba Calls for U.S. Investment

I would like to prove that Central or Eastern Europe is not a homogeneous territory, but different countries, different societies and different problems.

In Hungary, just some figures. The last year, 1989, [some 400] new publications, new titles, appeared on the market. There had been 600. It meant that the number almost doubled in 1989. Two hundred new publishing houses appeared or were established and there were about 20, 25 of them before. It means that, while in Poland there is a vacuum, in Hungary there is no vacuum in this market. The market is completely full.

Formalized censorship, in a classical way, was functioning in Hungary until 1956. After 1956, it was the role of the editor-in-chief to play censor. In 1989, this structure disappeared and since then it's the responsibility of the editor to publish something or not to publish something.

The most difficult question is the question of the dailies. In Hungary there were four so-called national dailies in the last 20, 30 years. All of them were more or less connected with the Communist Party. The fifth was launched three years ago. *The Datum*, our paper, was launched last year and now there is a new paper called *Courier*.

What about the structure? The four old dailies were more or less successful and they have the opportunity to be successful in this new situation as well. Why? Because, for example, the leading paper of the Hungarian Communist party, *Obachok* — it's the same as *Tribuna Luda*, *Pravda* and all similar papers — has the best financial and personnel background for being successful on the market. Quite a modern printing plant was built for them five or six years ago. It's the most modern printing press in Hungary. They have quite a huge building where the editorial staff works; they have all the modern equipment needed for the modern journalist.

Other papers are in a similar situation and what's interesting is that *Mynop* which was launched three years ago, is in a similar situation. This is the product of a so-called peaceful transition in Hungary, where the Communist leaders and party secretaries transformed their image and became businessmen. This paper is the result of this peaceful transition. Now they are one of the most successful owners of one of the most successful papers. Mr. Maxwell entered into this business. Mr. Murdoch entered into a similar business. He bought 40 percent of the shares of a transformed paper.

Why is it important to know about these things? Because if you speak about the chances of these dailies and of the free press in Eastern Europe, we have to know that the result of this transition is that the old nomenklatura [high-level bureaucracy] is being changed. The members of the nomenklatura are now on the market as successful managers, as directors of joint ventures and as shareholders of joint ventures. And if an investment partner wants to make a good business in Eastern Europe, it is them whom they meet at once because they are the successful partners or the possible successful partners.

On the other side, there are these so-called weak papers, like *The Datum*, *Lidove noviny*, even *Gazeta Wyborcza*. These papers had no similar backgrounds. They were just private enterprises and are in difficult situations.

Some, like *The Datum*, have suspended publication because of a lack of money.

If any bigger Western or American entrepreneur is interested in a serious long-term business, I think that these papers have their chance to be successful. It's not a short-run period that is needed, but one or two years. These papers would need a bigger investment, of \$1 [million], \$2 million, not tens of thousands. And it's not only *The Datum* but the more serious analytical political weeklies. They would need a bigger amount of money to be competitive.

Now let me say a few words about independence. It was discussed several times during the last three days — what independence means in this part of Europe and in this part of the world. I think that the situation of the European press is a bit different from that in the United States. It is quite obvious that even the major dailies are more or less connected to this or that political line, if not party. In Germany, in France or even in Britain, there are some that are independent, but there are many that are not, in the American sense.

The situation is even more difficult in Eastern Europe or in central Europe. Why? Because these papers, these underground papers, were independent in the last decade. They were in the opposition. They were as independent as they could have been. What happened after the revolution or the revolutions or the transitions of the last year?

The editors of these papers or the members of the editorial board became the leading politicians of these countries — not only Mr. Havel, but even Mr. Zantovsky and the others. They can't be independent at this time in a Western or in an American sense, because their role is different and the role of the papers founded by them is different, as well. For example, in Hungary all the dailies are more or less independent of the government and their is almost no daily — or effectively no daily — that would be close to the government. It's a very strange and very dangerous situation. It's not only a moral question, it's a very difficult political question. If there are six or

seven dailies in a country and all of them are only attacking a relatively weak government or a government in a very, very difficult situation, it may cause many troubles in this very fragile democracy.

So the question of independence, I think, has to be raised in a bit different way here in this territory than in the highly developed democracy of the United States.

Well, let's speak a bit about the printing problems and distribution because all these things are connected to each other, I hope you realize it. *The Datum* was printed by two printing plants that are able to print dailies in Budapest. Both are state-owned printing plants and both are involved in this communication business in a very special way. Both are shareholders of one or the other daily newspaper. It was not *The Datum*. You can imagine that in a society and in a market where the notion of conflict of interest doesn't exist and anything can happen. Yet that happened in the case of our printing plant. The modern printing plant of this Communist newspaper is involved with two other daily newspapers. You can imagine how active they were in the printing of ours. This was one of the causes that destroyed *The Datum*.

The other cause was the distribution. The post office was somehow closely connected with the security service, the intelligence service, the army, the police. The same people who served this regime for 15, 20 years are still sitting there. The post office in Hungary, and I'm sure in Czechoslovakia as well, is the same as it was two years ago before the revolution. These people, the leading figures in the distribution, they knew exactly the difference between *The Datum* and the other daily newspapers. They were able to kill *The Datum* by not distributing the paper, by causing an enormous percentage of returns. Because that's a closed structure, we can't control it from outside. They can do anything and they are not forced to give a correct account of costs and incomes and revenues.

While this structure is functioning,

these independent publications have no chance to be successful because they will be completely dependent on this system.

Now we can raise the question, "Why don't we make an independent distribution system?" Because it costs a huge amount of money. We were negotiating with different companies. To build a modern independent printing plant and printing press costs about \$1 to \$1½ million, in Hungary. To establish a new distribution system, costs about \$1 million as well if we want to distribute dailies. In the case of weeklies or monthlies, it's a bit less.

If we speak about the possibilities of cooperation or about the support needed, these are the figures we have to take into consideration. Now comes the question: how the Western or the American entrepreneurs could help the emerging free press in Eastern or Central Europe.

There are different ways. One is direct support. It's the same as if someone gives money for a foundation or to an editorial board just to survive a given period of time. The other way — and I would prefer this one — is investment. I would prefer that Western entrepreneurs invest a given amount of money and become shareholders of these small and weak papers. This fact would provide security for these papers. If such a huge enterprise as *The New York Times*, *L.A. Times*, Tribune Company, and so on, would appear on this market and give just a very, very small proportion of their money it would provide a huge support for these small papers. This would mean not something, but everything, the chance of survival.

I'm sure that these papers have the chance to be profitable, but they need time for this. They need equipment, they need — and this is the next question — all these editorial board staffs need modern equipment as rapidly as possible, PCs, software programs and so on, and so on. Then they would have the chance to be competitive with those daily newspapers that are already modern in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and perhaps Poland.

The next possibility of cooperation is the personnel one. I think that there are excellent intellectuals in these editorial staffs who played a very important role in the last decade of our history, but who are not journalists, who are historians, who are writers, who are politologists. Now they are working as journalists and I think that it would be very useful for them to get acquainted with the highest level of American and Western European editorial work. And this would mean that they would need some fellowships,

scholarships, invitations.

I think that personal contact with the leaders of these papers — I mean, the editors, senior editors, publishers — is most important, because I think that in this meeting you prove that personal contacts give us the chance to reach somehow, if not the top, but at least the average of this communication business, of editorial work. This gives these papers the chance to get closer to the democratic societies and the democratic way of life.

Guschin Urges Aid to Smaller Papers

As with the West, it seems to me our country is gradually becoming a land of illusions. I meet with many Western journalists, read in the Western press articles about the U.S.S.R. These articles, from time to time, are full of legends and well-meaning delusions. I will name but a few of the most popular.

- Everything that's good for Gorbachev is good for perestroika, glasnost and democratization in the U.S.S.R.

- The Soviet Union's Communist Party has practically lost its power and a multi-party haven is soon to be established.

- The main part of the population is very radical and people like Ligachev stay in power, thanks only to the party apparats.

- Gorbachev and Yeltsin are people with opposite points of view.

- And one of them — each year, and especially now, with the adoption of the press law — journalists feel more and more free. Newspapers and magazines have a wonderful, independent and profitable future ahead of them.

Each of these illusions is the subject of a live speech. I'm ready, but we haven't time practically. So let me comment on the last question in more detail.

It's true that the press law, the most radical law in the whole history of Soviet power, was adopted a few weeks ago and, from this autumn political

censorship is abolished. Every organization and even every individual has the right to become a founder of a publication. Publications that have a circulation of not more than 1,000 copies don't need to be registered at all. Editorial boards now become financially independent, they can open accounts in banks, use the money they receive from advertisements, and so on.

It would seem that we should expect a new explosion — the appearance of hundreds of new publications in the near future as we had about two years ago. But it seems to me that it is not certain there will be an explosion. Moreover, those publications already existing, but which are not very cost-effective are doomed. Since even today an offset newspaper, which would charge a traditional price in our country of four or five kopeks, becomes cost-effective starting with 100,000 copies. But most of new and formal papers have a circulation quite less and the typical price just now for new papers is one ruble or 1-1/2 ruble.

The thing is that it was decided to raise the cost of paper three or four times; of printing, two times. The cost of delivery and distribution will rise three to 10 times. That's why the price of all publications should rise sharply. Having raised the price 2-1/2 times, my magazine *Ogonyok* will charge about one ruble a copy, which will reduce the amount of subscribers, but will still guarantee a profit of 15 or 20 million rubles a year.

But what are the smaller publications to do, those whose copies cost a ruble or a ruble and half right now, before prices are raised? We can assume that practically hundreds if not thousands of publications will cease to exist.

The second problem is that even after the adoption of the press law, the Communist Party keeps its monopoly on printing offices. Most printing houses today belong to the party organs, which are in no hurry to part with this monopoly. A typical example is the Pravda Publishing House, which belongs to the Communist Party, the Central Committee. The Party now tries to transfer their property, but practically tries to transfer it to the same hands. The idea of turning the publishing house Pravda over to the *Pravda* newspaper, one of the country's most reactionary papers, headed by Ivan Frolov, a masterdom of party ideology, is being seriously considered. If this project succeeds, it will be Ivan who decided whom to print and whom to fire.

Today *Ogonyok* is printed by this printing house and no one knows what *Pravda* will require from us tomorrow. Most likely, it will be an attempt to play down the aggressiveness of *Ogonyok's* publications.

As for the newspapers and magazines which represent the interests of informal political groups and other parties, they weren't even allowed near. The same things, although on a much larger scale, are going on in the provinces, where, very often, the power of party officials is still unlimited.

The third problem concerns the relationship between the editorial staff and the founder of the publication. At present, practically all the old media organs in the U.S.S.R. represent the interests of some official of some political organization. Again, the only exception is *Ogonyok*, which is both officially and actually an independent magazine. Today, newspapers, including *Moscow News*, fight for complete independence, but the problem is that even if party publications pass into the hands of the Soviets or another party,

it very often will just be the replacement of one master by another — sometimes not a very intelligent one.

For example, one of the leaders in the offices of the Leningrad mayor complained on TV that a party newspaper hadn't published anything about a most important event — how the Leningrad Soviet was visited by a Finnish delegation. I can imagine how, having its own newspaper, the Leningrad Soviet will fill it with similar important announcements. How is this better than the information about party activities that party newspapers are full of today?

Unfortunately, almost every founder and master of a newspaper consider it a servant and we have yet to fight a long, hard battle in order to achieve real independence for the media. And again, this problem is most important for the new emerging press.

The fourth problem I would like to point out is a journalist's freedom of access to information. We discussed this problem some days ago. To this day, enormous spheres of information are inaccessible not only for journalists, but even to most of the media directors. This includes the archives of the KGB, and to some extent, the military archives. To this day, we don't know how many Soviet people actually perished during World War II, how many died in Stalin's camps, how many were tried as dissidents in the trials of the sixties and seventies, eighties.

The archives are owned by the same people as they were decades ago. Take the odious figure of Vaganov. There have been strikes in many archives. Newspapers and magazines have demanded his immediate resignation many times. But he is still there and doesn't let anyone into the institution.

The problem is not only in the archives. We have just now only two new more or less independent news agencies — Post-factem and Interfax and they are founded on the old structure; APN, it's a well-known press agency, with a bad reputation; and Gostel TV, our TV organization. And their services are very costly just now and it's impossible for newer papers to

use this service, to use this information.

All in all, the Soviet press has more than its share of problems even after the adoption of the press law. It has been our hard experience to adopt a great number of laws which should radically change the lives of people in our country, but we have to acknowledge with bitterness, that today not one of them works. If we continue to put our faith in the law, if we stop or slow down the struggle for the rights of journalists and the press, which has been going on in our country for the past few years, we will continue to stumble, to grope blindly.

Today we need help and support. Even *Ogonyok*, with its circulation of about five million and profits that amount to 10 million rubles, claimed by party apparats now, can't really get up on its feet without that support. We need electronic equipment, Western advertisers and, most important of all, at least some alternative to the printing technology. But for us and for maybe *Moscow News*, this question of support is not a matter of life or death.

In my country, the life or death question is for the newer press, for newer papers, for newer magazines. Just now in my country the influence of new publications in society is not too big, but they create a more fully pluralistic picture of the balance of political forces in our society. Just now, I am sure we have to create maybe a special organization or maybe a foundation to support the emerging press in the U.S.S.R., in the Eastern Bloc countries. It's a question about the survival of the small independent press. I'm sure that it may be a joint organization which includes a representative of the Western independent press and maybe the most powerful representatives of the press in the Soviet Union, such as *Ogonyok*, and maybe from another Eastern Bloc country.

We are fed up to the neck with the gray monotonous political life that we have had for the past 70 years in our country. We want new images, new colors and just now, step by step, we are gradually becoming a part of world

society. I think that if we save our new press, the world's political picture will become richer, too.

HORVAT— Just one remark. You might have noticed that though these are Eastern European or Central European countries, there are differences among them, huge differences. I mean, in structure, in system. What is common maybe is that, first, we are in very bad shape, needing assistance. I don't mean investment assistance in every sense of the word.

The other thing is that the structure of the press is completely different. It's a heritage from the first days of the Soviet Union in the Twenties. There is a publishing house, which doesn't necessarily mean that there is an editor working in the publishing house. It might be separate. There is one branch which is the publishing company. Then you have the editorial board, which is completely separate and belongs to another authority. Then again, another enterprise is the printing office. The fourth branch is the delivery system, which has always been a state monopoly of the post office or the post company. So those four are totally separated and this separation is not just voluntary separation. It was meant to control all the stages of newspaper production, publication and distribution.

Tafrov Cites Training Needs

I represent a Bulgarian daily that is very much representative of the present state of the Bulgarian press and Bulgarian journalism, which is in a state of transition. In what sense? For the time being, the structure of the Bulgarian press is conditioned by the existence of two main political poles. The one is the former Communist Party, now called Socialist. The other end is the union of Democratic Forces, which is the Bulgarian unified opposition. All important Bulgarian political parties and organizations, ranging from the Social Democrats to the liberals and conservatives are in this Union of Democratic Forces. And *Demokratzia*

is published by this whole umbrella coalition.

My colleague, Roumen Danov, yesterday told you the story of Bulgaria these last months. I'm not intending to repeat him. Nevertheless, I would stress once again that these last months were months of tremendous changes, although not as spectacular as in other countries. The Communist Party is still in power. We hadn't the dramatic events of Romania. Nevertheless, we are very pleased to know how deep and how irreversible are the changes which are taking place in our country.

Bulgaria will never again be a Communist society, a Communist country. The revolution we are experiencing now, and this revolution is going on, we sometimes call it "the reasonable revolution." We couldn't manage to do a "velvet revolution." In November and October after the dictator Zhivkov fell, the Communist Party proved to be more flexible than in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary. And the opposition was less organized and lacking deep dissident roots, unlike the opposition in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and, especially, Poland.

The lack of these deep dissident roots explains very much why we have this kind of opposition press and not another. Our daily was founded after a decision taken by a roundtable. There was a roundtable negotiations between the opposition and Communist Party, and it was our condition. We wanted to be allowed to publish a daily newspaper in order to be able to balance the Communist press, which was very strong at that moment.

So under the pressure of the streets — there were many mass rallies in Sofia and all over the country — the Communist Party regime was obliged to allow the publication of this daily newspaper. Of course, we had to do something to. We had to organize a daily newspaper in the briefest possible period.

In Bulgaria, which used to be the most isolated country and the country with the most severe dictatorship in Eastern Europe, the profession of jour-

nalist was very much depreciated because the journalists had no choice. They had to work for the official media, which meant they had to work for Communist propaganda. That's why when we started our newspaper we had very few experienced journalists who had worked in the daily press.

The majority of us — we were about 10 or 12, the founders of this newspaper — came from the literary press. Our editor-in-chief is one of the most well-known Bulgarian literary critics. Because the literary press and the literary world was, more or less, separated from politics it was an area of more or less free debate and intellectual life. That's why many people went to this press and made their careers there. Myself, I've studied journalism. I've graduated in the faculty of journalism, the University of Sofia, but I never could work like a political journalist. I was interested in foreign policy because of my family background and because of my political ideas. That's why I had to go to a literary publication where I worked for six years. My case is very typical.

So the first problem we faced was the lack of experience of daily journalism. We had very little money, of course. We had only one room, I believe, in the first period and after that we have been given more rooms. Nevertheless, we succeeded in organizing our newspaper in 10 days. And its first issue came out February 12. It was a tremendous success. Nobody had hoped — even the Communists were very surprised — that we would be able to organize the publication of a daily newspaper in such a short period.

By chance, Secretary of State Baker, who was on visit in Bulgaria the same day, became a kind of godfather of our newspaper. He received the first issue. He was very agreeably surprised and didn't hide his surprise.

So the success of the newspaper was immediate. It disappeared the first 10 minutes after its appearance in newsstands. It used to be sold on the black market for dollars. Of course, the reason was not that we did extremely

good journalism, but we just were selling forbidden, until recently, words. This was our business. We were selling forbidden things. We were writing, we were free of any censorship and we were just saying that Communism is a bad thing. And we were very successful. [Laughter.] It was a very good project. It was a very successful project. In a way, we are still doing the same thing, and we gained a very strong momentum because of that.

Then elections, the first fair and free elections in Bulgarian history for 45 years, were fixed for a day of June. We entered a very long and a very bitter election campaign. Because of the extreme polarization of political life, because the Communist Party in Bulgaria, unlike Hungary or Czechoslovakia, wasn't disintegrated, they stayed together and they are still together. They remained very arrogant, very unfair, and at the same time, very flexible, because they changed not only the name of their party, but they changed the name and the shape of their main daily newspaper. The editor-in-chief of this newspaper became one of the best Bulgarian journalists, unfortunately. Somebody who used to have a liberal reputation during the previous regime, who was more or less considered, if not a dissident, very close to the dissident movement, who gave room in his newspaper — he was editor-in-chief at that time of a cultural weekly newspaper — to some of our dissidents, including the present leader of the opposition.

Because it's a typical Bulgarian phenomenon, unlike the other East European countries, some of the best Bulgarian intellectuals who have been in their time Communist and, after that, took more or less liberal positions, stayed in the Communist Party. So they managed to organize quite a professional, and, of course, very rich daily newspaper.

During the election campaign the professional level went very, very low of this newspaper, because they used really too much slander. The level went really too low, but that was for political not for professional reasons. This is a

personal tragedy of all these people, I believe. Now the editor-in-chief of the Communist paper, who has been quite esteemed, especially among the intellectuals, has become one of the most hated personalities in Bulgaria.

So our newspaper appeared as a publication of an umbrella coalition, of a political organization. It was and is still entirely dependent on the decisions taken by this political force. There is a director of our newspaper who is one of the main leaders of the Bulgarian opposition and used to be at the same time, manager of the election campaign of the opposition. He was at the time director of *Demokratia*, manager of the election campaign and one of the main leaders of the opposition. In that way, the Union of Democratic Forces had a direct control over the editorial opinion of our newspaper. Everybody agreed with that, because at the same time the Communists had the same thing.

So, you see, journalists have become in Bulgaria now more or less servants of policy, and though many of the journalists from both sides are quite unhappy with this situation, I think it will continue for quite a long period because the political situation isn't clarified. The Socialist — the so-called Socialist Party — has won a thin majority in the National Assembly, but because of the very difficult economic situation of the country, they're unable to rule the country without the opposition. And the opposition doesn't want to make a coalition with the Communist Party, although the Communists have proposed it. We refuse and we decided to stay in opposition.

More or less, Bulgaria at this moment lacks stability, lacks clear perspective and the social unrest is tremendous. Now, at this moment, the University of Sofia and the universities in other Bulgarian cities are occupied by angry students protesting against the unfairness of the elections, because there was a lot of intimidation during the election campaign, especially in the provinces, and they wanted dismissal of the director of the Bulgarian Television, who is member of the

Communist Party. The Communist Party still practically controls the television. The television, of course, is state owned.

So the revolution is going on. Polarization of the political life will continue for a good period of time and the structure of the Bulgarian press will remain very much the same. It means dependence on different political groups and organizations.

What is the result of all this for a newspaper like *Demokratia*? We are not satisfied with the quality of the newspaper. We know very well that it is half real journalism and half more or less, political poster because it serves the directed purposes of a political campaign. Intellectuals are very unsatisfied with the quality of *Demokratia*, and are criticizing it bitterly. Of course, they're right. But, of course, it's an unavoidable situation. We have a huge declaration each day that we have to publish, a declaration from the political party. We can't do real journalism. It's very difficult.

I'm afraid we are reproducing — even journalists from the opposition press, are reproducing — more or less, the old mental schemes of Communist journalism. All of us have worked in the official media and we are, more or less, contaminated with the spirit, with the patterns of this Communist press and we are reproducing that and cautiously, with a different political tendency. Many of us realize that sooner or later conditions for real independent journalism will appear in Bulgaria and realize at the same time that we are not prepared. We lack trained people. We lack traditions.

But some of us still think of that future and are preparing themselves for it. And I think that this conference is essential from this point of view, because I have come here very much like a student, not like a teacher. Bulgarian journalism needs very much a kind of intellectual Marshall Plan.

Gugui Appeals for 'Real' Aid

In our country a strange thing has

happened. We have decided to have a revolution because there have been some naives like me who have gone on the streets, believing that the day of liberty had arrived. Some of you asked me where I had been on the day of the revolution. It is fantastic — *The New York Times* published this photo with me, on that day of the revolution, near a tank. [Laughter.] So you can see where I was on that day. But the first night I appeared on TV with three other writers to present the Romanian writers' message to our people.

Day by day, the government and other men who held onto the power tried to make us understand that it was, in fact, only a Romanian perestroika.

These are the conditions in which the true independent press has appeared.

Our publishing house and our review were the first to publish. On December 25, we organized a publishing house and on January 6, the first issue of our review appeared. We have succeeded in accumulating some money, which we invest to edit other publications.

The Communist government doesn't tolerate a free press and through the state newspapers attacks independent journalists and independent newspapers, especially the editors, considering them responsible for the instability of our country. Firstly, were the threats. Secondly, financial taxes. We buy paper from the state. If a state journal pay 6 lei per kilo, we must pay 21 lei per kilo. If the state offices pay eight lei in rent per square meter for their offices, we must pay 80 lei for a square meter. Additionally, we must pay the printing and the paper in advance. And that's not all. We must pay the entire year's bill by October. In such extreme conditions many publications have succumbed.

The [events] from June 13 to 15 are unique in the history of our country. I'm a lucky man because I am here. I received a phone call in West Germany where I was at that time, but I preferred to return to Romania to be present. But I'm sure you know. I am not a

mutilated person. My secretary and assistant chief editors have been caned by the miners.

What can we do when the death is near? One thing, to obtain from the free world a real helping hand. The discussions about security are not new for us. But in Romania, the situation is different, too different. We estimate that 90 percent are working and implicated in the security apparatus. Ninety! It's fantastic.

And for whom are the new independent journalists fighting? Only for liberty. It's a patriotic good, it would have been comfortable for several of us to write only books or to emigrate. But we refused. I have a question for all on the panels: Can you see a way to offer real help to the new independent press from this part of Europe?

Weis Seeking More Revenue

Some words about our history — our newspaper history. On January 10, we talked for the first time about our new newspaper. In the first months we were a weekly. In April we became a daily. Our first meeting was in a psychiatric hospital, the only place in Leipzig we could find a free room. It was a complicated situation. The revolution was ending but the same people were sitting in the Parliament and in the state offices and we were looking for a new

"If any bigger Western or American entrepreneur is interested in a serious long-term business, I think that those papers have their chance to be successful." Ivan Baba, Datum, Budapest

way, and with a new newspaper.

In the first months, we hadn't the technology in Leipzig. We found a partner in West Germany, a young man, our publisher. He's 31-years-old. We wrote in Leipzig and we were produced in West Germany. Now we have our own publishing house. In seven weeks, we have built this. It's a record in East Germany and we are very proud about this. And we have our own printing press. It's old, but it's ours. For new machines, you must wait two or three years.

But the printers came from an official plant and they think in the old ways. "Isn't my newspaper, isn't my machine." Or "I'm a worker and that's all." In the night when our distributors wait for the newspaper, the printer takes a coffee break. For an hour he discusses God and the world. And we wait. And we cannot push him to print in the normal time.

We are a poor newspaper. Well, we do have money. We went to a bank and asked, "Can you help us?" And the banker said, "Okay, but you must show that you have a future." We worked two months and we showed him that we had a future, and the banker gave us credit. In Leipzig the press situation is complicated. We have new newspapers from West Germans and we have new newspapers from East Germans, but the East Germans' papers quickly die. They are not professional and lack money. Only *The Other Newspaper* (*Die Andere Zeitung*) from Jan Peter can stay in the market.

We are a normal newspaper, a commercial newspaper. We now have a 16-page newspaper of three or four or five pages of advertising. I hope it will be better in the future. What the future brings, nobody in Leipzig knows. What can the West German newspapers do? I mean, the people think in old ways. It's a black hole in the press market. We have 50,000 circulation, but it isn't enough. The old Communist newspaper has 450,000. And the readers read the same newspaper. It has changed its political views a little bit but the same journalists write and the same bosses sit in this newspaper. □

The Role of the U.S. Press — Possibilities and Limitations

*Katherine Fanning, Former Editor, The Christian Science Monitor, and
Burl Osborne, President and Editor, The Dallas Morning News*

Fanning Stands on Principles

There are four basic points that I would like to make through giving you a little history of the Alaska situation, which I think is more relevant to Eastern Europe — Alaska is a little like Eastern Europe — at least it's isolated from the rest of the United States and it was an emerging land when I went up there.

The four topics that I want to touch on are pressures on small, financially marginal newspapers; enterprise reporting, especially in regard to the environment; finding appropriate investors — I was faced with that — and some ways to serve and energize a community or perhaps, in your case, a country. If the map of Alaska is superimposed on the United States, it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Mexico to Canada, with mostly a lot of islands strung out and a huge coastline. So Alaska, geographically, is about the size of several of your countries put together, but it had a small population, only about 250,000 in the whole state.

And one other point I would like to make about both of my experiences — and I speak from the point of view of having worked on two papers that were losing money. That is a distinction I would just as soon not have. One of them is now successful — the one in Alaska. *The Christian Science Monitor*, a different decision was made, and which is why I left, that the investment there would be put toward — the major portion of it — toward television instead of toward a print newspaper. Television is, of course, important, but in the long run, I think that print is the means to impart real information,

balanced perspective, context, and a sense of understanding that I think is so crucial to a democratic society.

Back in 1967, my late husband Larry Fanning and I bought *The Anchorage Daily News* against everyone's advice financially. It was about a quarter the size of the major paper there, the afternoon paper, *The Anchorage Times*, which was owned by a family that was the oldest and wealthiest family in the state of Alaska. I could make some parallels perhaps between your emerging papers and the big, established Communist papers that you have to deal with. You have to be printed, many of you, by those papers. In our financial straits, we at one point had to be printed by our opposition, by the enemy, if you will, and we found the same thing that you did — that you didn't get the very best treatment under those circumstances. You get the worst press deadlines, you get the crumbs that are left over from publishing the paper that is the top interest.

A market economy does provide limits that one has to try to transcend. In our case, they were competitive limits. Not only was the circulation of the other paper three times ours, but it had an absolute monopoly on advertising. And because we arrived in Alaska seen as carpetbaggers, that is newcomers or "chichakos," as they call them in Alaska — people who are from the outside — and we had what were considered these wild, liberal ideas — for instance, preserving the environment, we were often called the "Pravda North." [Laughter.]

We were denounced by the business

community for not only our environmental reporting, but for the stands we took on behalf of the Alaska native populations, that is the Eskimos, Indians. After oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay, we published a 36-part series called "Oil on Ice" about the environmental damage to the fragile Alaska tundra as a result of oil development. We also published many editorials saying tankers should have double hulls for carrying oil through the very sensitive areas of Prince William Sound. It's only just turned out now that perhaps that was the right idea, after the Exxon Valdez oil spill.

We also endorsed causes that turned out to have been not very good judgment like gun control — gun control in Alaska, where almost every citizen carried his gun to bed with him. It's a gun-toting area and we backed off that one. I guess the moral of that story is that sometimes it's not good to be too far out ahead of your readers and that it's important to stick by the principles that are important and fight the battle on the lines that really count and be willing to back off occasionally when you find that you're completely out of step with your readers. We also learned after we had bought this little paper and invested our last penny in it and found that we were still losing money and, as I said, from one week to the next didn't know where the payroll was coming from, that it takes investment and good judgment and it takes more than just having the best possible reporters.

In the midst of this, my husband Larry Fanning, who was the editor and publisher of the paper, died very suddenly and overnight I became the

editor and publisher myself with very little experience, as Stefan and some of the others have talked about finding themselves as proprietors of newspapers without being really equipped for it. Well, that was me. And it was a case of on-the-job training and making a lot of mistakes as I went.

I went out and sought some advice and one bit of advice that I got was, investigative reporting, look beneath the surface. Our competition was a paper that had always gone along in a sense — in our sense, the market sense — with the party line. The party line being what the government wanted, what the business community wanted, but not necessarily what was best for all the people. And so we had just a reporting staff of eight people and no money, but we sent one of them to investigative reporting school at the American Press Institute, with the admonition that he must come back and teach all the rest of us. And after he returned, he held seminars for us teaching us how to do it because on our first attempts at investigative reporting, one of the things we tried to investigate was Anchorage's massage parlors.

Now, for our Eastern European friends, a massage parlor is a veiled house of prostitution basically and in these massage parlors, which were rampant in Anchorage, there was extortion and drug-dealing going on as well as the older profession. We started to investigate the massage parlors and I got a phone call in the middle of the night from one of the reporters saying he was in jail. He was arrested in the massage parlor for wanting to talk to the ladies. So I had to go bail him out.

Anyway, we decided we better learn how to do this. And we did engage then on a program of looking beneath the surface, in other words not taking the news that was parcelled out in press releases, in government or business press conferences, but always looking beneath the surface. We were accused of many things. We were accused of negativism. We were accused of not wanting to build the community, that we wanted to undermine the com-

munity. The logo of our paper, *The Anchorage Daily News*, had a line across the top and down the sides and we were told by some of the business leaders, "You're paper wears a frown. You look like you're frowning all the time because you're so negative." And there is that danger. But I think if the good of the general public is what you have in mind as your purpose, that it's possible to get beyond that.

The state had never had the kind of journalism before that we were producing and I think that it's probably true that most of your countries have not had that kind of journalism. And it's probably not something that can be jumped into overnight. But the facts that we dug out were true and we produced them as facts, not opinion. We had, of course, an opinion page, an editorial page, and we tried to open our editorial page and opinions to all shades of opinion. We wanted to make our paper a forum for diverse viewpoints.

To finish the story of our paper, I think many of you know and have experienced that when a paper's existence is threatened, whether by the government or by marketplace pressures and it stands by its principles, the staff is energized, everyone is energized, the community is energized and it makes for exciting, effective journalism.

Well, in our case, after a stormy lawsuit against the very man who was printing and publishing our paper and during which he threatened to throw us out on a 48-hour notice, which would have terminated the paper's existence, we won a federal court injunction to continue him printing us for another six months while we found investment.

And then we found exactly the right investor, a small newspaper chain, McClatchy Newspapers — at that time it only had three papers, now it has more than that — eight or nine daily papers and some weeklies. But it was exactly right because it had goals similar to ours — goals of top quality, goals of informing the public as a first priority. It was an independent but

liberal group and it believed totally in the independence of the publishers, the local publisher, the local editor to reflect that community and to determine its own editorial policy.

So there are some very — we've been talking a lot here about Murdoch and Maxwell, but there are good chains and some of them are represented here and this was one of them. I stayed on there as their editor and publisher. They invested heavily in news resources and in business resources which we greatly needed. And today — I left in 1983, just after we had passed the other paper in circulation — *The Anchorage Daily News* is as much bigger than *The Anchorage Times* as the reverse was the case when we came there. In other words, *The Anchorage Daily News* is now over twice the circulation of *The Anchorage Times*. It's hit 80,000 on Sundays.

The moral of this story, of this on-the-job training were four:

One, the need to be sensitive to where the readers' thinking is, not to get too far out in front of them, but to realize what the general community consciousness is and to make an effort to lead that, perhaps, in the way it should go, but not to get too far out ahead.

Secondly, on issues of principle, if you stand firm and if you really are right, the community and the readers will come around. Maybe it will take time — the process that I have described took about 10 years.

The need to invest in promotion and distribution systems; editorial investment is not enough; and particularly, in our country, in home delivery. The understanding that I have of most of the Central European press is that it's circulated on the street in kiosks, and so forth, and not by home delivery. I don't know what the possibilities for home delivery are here. But in our case, most American newspapers are distributed by — it used to be newsboys, now it's newsboys and girls, who get up very early in the morning and begin their own careers, in a sense, by distributing newspapers.

In Anchorage, we also went to senior

citizens, older people, who helped distribute the newspapers, and it's a distribution system that has worked for a long time in the United States. I don't know whether it's possible in Central Europe or the Soviet Union, but at least it might be worth considering.

And in seeking investment, be sure of your investor's motives. If it's purely the motive to generate cash, if your perspective investor is only a business person, then I would say, "Look for another one." But if the motive is to

provide the best possible information as a primary concern, then you have a chance of fulfilling the crucial role of the press — to inform and impart understanding so that the public can make intelligent decisions.

So I would say, in conclusion, that it is an exciting walk on the high wire, it's a good idea to keep your eyes on the goal, never look down, and if you fall off occasionally, get back up and start all over again.

Osborne Urges Organization

I have to say at the beginning that we sometimes either forget or don't know what our interests really are. Publishers, owners forget. Sometimes we think our interest is merely accumulating more properties, more newspapers, more television stations. Sometimes we think our interest is merely accumulation of financial profit. The public sometimes misunderstands what we're about. It is, as we heard this morning, resentful of our power, of our ability to influence and of arrogance — the arrogance of power that we frequently criticize in our own governments.

The public thinks all we want to do is sell papers. The public frequently thinks all we want to do is make money. And the public frequently would much rather we concern ourselves with what Helena called "the I word," ideology — their ideology, my ideology, not yours.

I would submit to you that the interest of a free press is free expression, period. I would suggest to you, at the risk of offending any economist in the room, that profits — financial profits — exist or ought to exist to support free expression, not the other way around. Now I know that economists tell us that it is the quest for profit that drives all human endeavor. If so, then perhaps we need to redefine profit.

It seems to me that democracy is the greatest profit of any human endeavor. Democracy has been defined here in this meeting as a group of citizens who are willing to be sufficiently informed to govern themselves and having the moral strength to do what is necessary

to accomplish that. Our role, I think, is to provide the information necessary for citizens to make the decisions that democracy requires and to encourage the exercise of the moral strength required to govern ourselves. That's just another way of saying that the interest of the press ought to be free expression and our interest ought to be obtaining a free press and keeping it free once obtained.

I must say that a free press isn't free. It has great value and high price. There is always a high price to be paid for free expression. Many journalists have paid it in the past. Many of you have paid it in the very recent past.

The greatest formal protection that we have in our country is our Constitution, which guarantees freedom of the press, without qualification, or at least it seems to. As you know from your own experience, it is not merely words written on paper that guarantee democracy, but the moral strength, to use that term again, of people and of their government to demand and require the protection of freedom. As John Seigenthaler said yesterday, we don't after 200 years, have a press that is completely free. It is somewhat like climbing a very steep and dangerous mountain. One seeks to inch ahead and climb even higher, while knowing all the time that the forces of nature would have you fall to the ground. We have to keep trying to add to our freedoms — an inch at a time, a piece at a time, a case at a time, and on the other hand, we have to protect ourselves from those who would take freedom away a piece

at a time, a right a time.

There are always people who are ready to dismantle freedom of the press — usually in the name of protecting some other right, usually from the government in power, always in the name of a greater good. Experience doesn't seem to make much difference. After 200 years, our President suggests that we should send to jail those people who express their objections, who take advantage of their right to free expression, by burning a flag, which is the symbol of our right to free expression. Some governments, 200 days old, have come to the same conclusion and so we hear threats to put in jail journalists who would publish the names of people on a list of informers.

As Lev told us this morning, sometimes freedom of the press still seems very, very far away.

I would like to talk just a minute about how we protect ourselves. First, by saying that the large, independent companies in this country do a pretty good job of doing it on their own. The large newspapers, such as *The Times*, *The Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal*, are part of large companies that have the resources to defend themselves, and they do. Many smaller newspapers and the shrinking number of independent small newspapers which remain, frequently do not have those resources and it is about those papers, for the most part, that I would like to talk.

I'd like to divide this into two quick parts. First of all, the way we protect our business interests; and secondly, the closely related question of how we protect our news and editorial interests. In both cases, the central premise is band together, organize, pool, work together. The largest organization in our country is the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The A.N.P.A. is concerned about matters that would regulate the press — the cost of postage, environmental requirements, safety requirements imposed by the government.

[There are regional associations, such as] the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association or the Inland Publishers Group, which represents the

middle part of our country. And there are state associations in many of the states which do much the same thing. We have the Newspaper Advertising Bureau, which purports to concern itself with obtaining advertising for newspapers in general. It does a great deal of research on readership and on competitive media, particularly direct mail and television, which, in the United States, is the major competitor for advertising dollars which otherwise might have gone to newspapers.

There are organizations of circulation directors, distribution directors, who concern themselves with how the newspaper might be best delivered, and so on.

The editors frequently belong to organizations of editors, although some belong to the publishers group. The largest of these is the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which includes directing editors from about 900 of the newspapers in this country.

There is a similar organization which we call A.P.M.E. or the Associated Press Managing Editors, which consists of editors of newspapers which are members of the Associated Press.

I had planned to make a couple of recommendations that seemed to make sense to me. And so I tried them out on Tom Winship who is our mentor in this regard. The first of these was, it seemed to me, that you might wish to consider organizing yourselves, not in the great number of organizations I've described here, but in one organization where publishers and/or editors might meet or exchange information of common concern to you. Tom looked at me and he said, "Gee, that's a good idea. Andrzej has already proposed it."

So I went to my second idea, which was that, given my background in the A.P., I have an interest in news services and news exchanges. So I said, "It seems to me that one should somehow devise a way so that newspapers, particularly the state newspapers in Eastern and Central Europe, should be able to find a way to exchange stories and information with each other easily. With satellites that should be fairly easy to do and the problems of language

translation surely can be overcome." And Tom paused and said, "Well, that's a good idea, too. Vladimir has already suggested that."

So that leaves me with this. If you think those are good ideas and agree with Andrzej and Vladimir, I would suggest, since I wanted to propose the same thing, that that reflects very good judgment on your part [Laughter.]

If you think those are bad ideas and that they won't work and should not be attempted, I would remind you that I was not the first to suggest them. [Laughter.]

I, at this point would like to stop and to ask Andrzej to talk a bit about his proposal for the European Publishers Association.

WROBLEWSKI— The idea, in short, is this: In some of our countries, like Poland, we have an independent journalists association. In some, such associations do not exist, or even worse, the old ones exist. So we suggest that we clean up the house and create the core — it may be informal core — of an independent journalists union or association and to meet again possibly in October this year. I suggest two to five from every nation. By nation, I mean both Czechs and Slovaks, both Russians and Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians who are present here whom I had talked with, possibly other nations of the disuniting Union of Soviet Republics.

Discussion

Q.— I would like to build a question off what Helena Luczywo said in her presentation about the political, economic and reader questions, and ask each of the European representatives to perhaps try to rank what they see as the most crucial factors in the health and survival of their publications over the next five years. And the five that I came up with: political independence; quality; management that is, marketing and all that side; attracting advertising; and investment.

TAFROV— I think the most important thing is political independence, of course. It's the decisive issue, at least

for *Demokratia*. If it remains a party-dependent publication, it won't survive because there are other publications which are not pro-Communist, which are trying to become politically independent, at least to appear like that. And it is a tremendous challenge for us. If we don't succeed in — I don't know — in one year in becoming more or less independent, we won't survive.

LUCZYWO— I'd say the quality of newspaper because this includes everything. You could not imagine a quality newspaper without political independence. And to add to what Stefan said, our Polish experience with the newspapers, I think the most important factor is the formal independence, because in Poland, the last years before the overthrow of communism, we faced something like the Communist press becoming — I mean, the press that was somehow owned by the Communists but it's status was unclear — it was becoming more and more independent. Even the Communist scoundrels, if they are left alone to do the editing and journalistic jobs, they become journalists. It's irresistible because I think in their nature, people want to be what they are supposed to be.

So I think that the important factor is quality, which is political independence, money, and finding the balance between what the readers want and what the editors want.

BABA— Well, I think in the case of the Hungarian independent press, this business side is now more important than the other ones. So that the political independence or the quality is more or less given. That's why I stressed always that the lack of monies is very dangerous and it influences very much the survival of these papers. So I would say that management is the most important in our case and management involves advertising and investment as well, because in the case of a good management, the advertisers can be found and the investors can be found as well.

GUSCHIN— For *Ogonyov*, the main problem is technology and economy problems, because just now, we

are more or less independent in the political sphere. But just now we really need millions for renovation of our printing machine. And our publishing house. *Pravda*, said, "We will give it to you, but you must hear our opinion more and more." And we have a proposal, by the way, from Maxwell, a certain proposal. Yes, I don't know what is better just now — the advice from Maxwell — advisers from Maxwell or advisers from *Pravda*. [Laughter.]

Just now in the Soviet Union we have only one printing technology system that can print such magazines as *Ogonyov*, and its color printing and so on. And I think the most important is a creative alternative base for printing my magazine, because each monopoly — maybe *Pravda*, maybe Maxwell, maybe Murdoch, maybe another organization or people — each guarantees that their masters will require from us certain political changes maybe — maybe not political, maybe economic changes. Maybe changes in our audience, yes. That's why I think that the main problem, and I don't know how can we decide this problem — the main problem is technology and a printing base and economic problems.

GUGUI— For the new newspaper in Romania there is another situation. We want only political independence because it is most important to have in Romania a truly politically independent newspaper. We are in the center, not left, not right. But the government said, who are not with them are in opposition.

Presses are our crucial problem. We haven't them. All printing machines in Romania are state property. We were obliged to print in our paper a notice which specified that the printers did not agree what this paper published. [Laughter.] Yes we were obligated, or I might have been mutilated, yes.

Materials are another problem because the paper we must buy from the state and is expensive.

WEIS— Most important for us is absolutely independence, not only political — financial, too.

SULZBERGER— *Helena, a question. As I understood it, you have*

400,000 readers. Is that right?

LUCZYWO— Yes.

SULZBERGER— *And you charge \$2000 a page.*

LUCZYWO— Yes.

SULZBERGER— *Double it. [Laughter.] That's not a question. It's a comment. I believe you said that you're producing local sections to meet your local competitors and that you are making them self-financing. Could you explain that?*

"In seeking investment, be sure of your investor's motives." Katherine Fanning, former editor, The Christian Science Monitor, Boston

LUCZYWO— The sections are four pages and we calculated that, well, roughly, two pages of advertising pay for two pages of news and information like movies, et cetera. The incentive is for the editors that run those local branches that if they get enough advertising, they will be able to publish more and more frequently. Some of them publish almost every day, while the others only once a week.

SULZBERGER— *Are you carrying that philosophy to your other sections or is this just for those?*

LUCZYWO— No, it's exclusively for the local supplements.

SULZBERGER— *So when you start your new business section, you don't expect that to have to pay its way?*

LUCZYWO— No, in a way we do. That is to say, we have to — we cannot be on deficit all the time. So we always make the adding of new pages dependent on how much revenues we get from advertising. This is the general idea. I mean, we cannot — maybe we should go the other way around. That is to say, to assume that if we do something we will get more advertising. But our situation, I think, is still shaky to allow for this.

SULZBERGER— *If your business section doesn't make money, how soon*

will it be before you decide not to produce it anymore?

LUCZYWO— No, it's the other way around. We first had enough advertising to start the business section. Now we feel we will have enough advertising to start the business section.

SEIGENTHALER— This is a small thing, but it does seem to me that there is some likelihood that in the months ahead there is going to be some repression. And it occurs to me

that — it's a small thing — but one thing that we might do is publicize those acts in this country. And I saw a link between A.S.N.E., Burl. Burl is the President of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and it occurred to me that a link between ASNE and those editors who suffer repression might serve as a good conduit to publicize in the United States those acts of repression so that the United States editors and, in some sense, the public, might react to it.

OSBORNE— I agree. A.S.N.E., as I mentioned, is operated through a committee system. One of the committees is International Communications and what I will have done when I return is to see that information about A.S.N.E. and some of the other groups is sent to everyone who is here, along with information about how to communicate matters of concern that you wish known about in the United States and we will, through A.S.N.E., see that that is given distribution.

WINSHIP— *I have a question. With this wonderful gathering of representatives from the various countries, I would like to have a very quick run-down — I know we've touched on some of it — of the current status of press laws, when they're going to go through*

the parliament or whatever or whether they've been adopted already, just where you stand on some sort of protective laws. Why don't you start off with Bulgaria?

TAFROV— Well, in Bulgaria, there is not such a law. The new national assembly which has been recently elected is to draft such a law and, for the time being, in every newspaper, including *Demokratzia*, we say that only the author has responsibility for what he has written, not the editor and not the publisher. It's a very awkward situation, it's not a normal one. We know that. But with the total absence of regulation, we have to do it in this way, but in a few months we will have a law.

WINSHIP— Where is it legislatively?

TAFROV— The new Parliament hasn't gathered yet for its first session, but it is one of the first things for it to do. And for that reason, we need probably the help of Western lawyers. We are going to have some help from France, I know that. Some French lawyers and journalists are interested in this problem. We would like to discuss with them our project — the opposition represented in the national assembly — in order not to write a silly law.

WROBLEWSKI— Yes, we have press law. As you may know, our authorities for many years, for eight years now, tried to preserve the power, which was about to sneak out of their hands, and some laws like the press law, were adopted. And I can't say it is quite bad. I think it is quite fair, except that in past periods, when the party was the owner of most everything — the distribution system, the printing system, and so forth — the press law was helpful, was instrumental in labor suits and so forth, but it didn't provide too much protection for journalistic freedom. I think the same law now is much more functional and I wouldn't complain. I wouldn't run for modernizing it, let alone changing drastically.

GUGUI— Now in Romania, a new press law does not exist.

BABA— In Hungary the last press law was passed in '86 and it completely

reflects the soft dictatorship. It had its advantages because then it was a first time that it codified the limits and the possibilities. Now there is a new effort. If you read yesterday *The Financial Times*, there was an article about conflicts about this new press law, which will probably include the question of ownership as well as of investment. So it will be much more complicated.

That's why I think that a new press law won't be passed in the next one, two weeks in Hungary. It will be even four months. And what I'm sure as well about is that this question of freedom of press will be discussed in Hungary in Parliament for years.

GUSCHIN— I talked about the new press law in the Soviet Union today, but you know, the press law has not led directly to the independence of press, but it's a great possibility. But with only one condition. When the Communist Party loses its leading role in our country, we will have a good press and it will work.

WEIS— In GDR, this is a time without laws. We have old laws, but these old laws are not used. We had a press law in the past and now we have a minister for media politics. He is incompetent. I think there will be a press law from West Germany in the near future.

OSBORNE— The press law that exists in Czechoslovakia goes back to 1966. It was amended in 1968 before the invasion. After the invasion that amendment was suspended, which went back to the 1966 law. There was a proposal put forward in December this past year to write a new press law, but because it had been drafted under the Communists, it didn't go anywhere. In March, there was a bill that was passed to end censorship and to allow private ownership of the press. The new press law will be drafted by the new Federal Assembly which just started meeting this week and is forming its committee.

VANOCUR— Can any member from the printed press answer what effect down the road — whether it be on the printed press — when television in Europe — and I'm thinking particu-

larly of German television — has the same effect on the other Eastern European countries, that West German television had on East Germany when the GDR was existant? And this presence, whether it comes over the established TV channels or down the road directly from broadcasting entity to satellite into the homes, will this make your lives any easier, having that presence from television on the printed press in your countries?

BABA— I have some experiences in this because in Hungary five western TV programs are broadcast by satellite. Our experience is — and not only mine, but of the distributors as well and of other publishers — that the TV programs do not influence the success on the market very much. There is a given amount of readers in Hungary. It's about 800,000, 900,000 people who read a morning or an afternoon paper. And that's a given amount of people and it's not growing and it's not decreasing, but it's a given and it's not essentially influenced by any TV program or any broadcast.

VANOCUR— I meant the political dimension.

BABA— In Hungary, I think it has no special political dimension anymore. In other countries, it's probably completely different.

LUCZYWO— I agree with my Hungarian colleague. It will not make much difference in Poland either. It's exactly the same.

Q— However, you have to take into consideration that the language is different and, even, interestingly enough, since we have satellite antennas for some time now — wealthy people, not necessarily cultural ones — buy antennas just to demonstrate to the neighbors that they have their antenna and not necessarily to watch the television. [Laughter.] And sometimes they claim that it is good for the children to learn foreign languages, whereas the children switch off the sound and watch whatever goes on —

Q— Wrestling.

VANOCUR— Maxwell and Murdoch are willing to go into these countries investing in satellites and cable,

why would they not be willing to broadcast in your language if there was money involved?

LUCZYWO— They would probably and there is some cabling of some parts of Warsaw taking place now. Once you have the place cabled, you can do whatever you want, as everyone knows. But as I say, I don't think it will — I mean, people do watch — I do watch myself, but then it's kind of separate from — it seems at least now separate from press. It's a different audience, I mean. There is some audience that would stick to the press.

WROBLEWSKI— The question may be right. I mean, we may be in the fog yet. We may not realize what happens. And let me reveal the maybe secret. Just before we left for Prague, both Helena and I independently were

approached by the representative of the group of French financiers and journalists who think of running a commercial TV station in Poland. So that may compete with our TV rather successfully, but so far it is monopolistic. Down the road it may also compete with our publications, especially yours.

VANOCUR— American example. Television changed American news. I won't say for better or for worse, but it changed it.

LUCZYWO— *How?*

VANOCUR— Scotty Reston. I can't give you chapter and verse unless I offer *USA Today*. In fact it's sold in those little machines that look like TV sets. So I just offer it as either a distant early warning or guidance that it will affect you as it grows.

KOVACH— One of the changes

made was very positive, though. When I mentioned Scotty — One of the first reactions of the printed press in America to television was to begin to do more interpretive reporting and more in-depth reporting and to develop the concept of what they call in *The New York Times* the Q head — the piece that went beyond the news in trying to give not opinion, but a background and a context — because one thing television couldn't do was spend a lot of time on a story. So the newspapers began to do more in-depth. Now the second wave of change is the *USA Today* wave, which is, in effect, to reduce television to the printed page and do the shortest. So there are two models out there now. One, more in-depth and context reporting, and the television on paper. □

The Art and Artifice of Visual Satire in Journalism

Doug Marlette, New York Newsday

Discussion

MARLETTE— Really journalism is about fairness and objectivity and evenhandedness. And cartoons are not positioned, do not fit neatly into editorial policies and positions. And I think the wisest editors recognize that there's a kind of a homogenizing that happens when you are slavishly printing editorials and the written arguments, that there's something that happens there and the cartoon gives a leaven to that mix. And the best newspapers are a recipe and cartoons are kind of the spice in the recipe.

Cartoons are kind of visual rock-and-roll in a sense. When Elvis Presley appeared in the 1950s, the parents of the fifties kind of "hurumphed" and called it jungle music because of its

primitive aspects. Cartoons are kind of jungle art. Editors are kind of like the parents of the fifties and they kind of hurumph and are just kind of uncomfortable and do not like the wildness and the provocativeness of the music of cartoons.

Editors are more comfortable, as we all are, with the civilization in words. Words came after pictures in the history of the species. It comes after pictures in the history of an individual. We dream before we speak. Gutenberg came after cave paintings and there is something wild and threatening about that. Cartoons get to people on an emotional level, you know, you feel something about it. Words keep things emotionally distant and, although we value and need that emotional distance, there needs to be a kind of a

mix, I think. But there's a natural built-in tension between the roles of the editor and the roles of the cartoonist.

And again, I think, like the mature democracy that can tolerate dissent, the mature can tolerate the wildness of the cartoon.

Q— *Do you think that a lot of editors put people like you on the editorial page to make that page far more daring than it really is?*

MARLETTE— It certainly performs that function whether they do it consciously. And you know, one of the things that causes problems is that cartoons tend to dominate the editorial pages and the readership polls, because it is, you know, it's what everybody's running into in this age of television. People want the quick take. And the advantage of cartoons over television,

I think, often, is that you can mix substance and style. You have high values. Cartoons can eliminate values and include substance, as opposed to just entertaining. I like entertainment, everybody does, you know, and I like to entertain while I'm saying what I want to say. What's interesting is there's a kind of ambivalence towards drawings just like there always is towards that wildness in the human spirit that's more primitive — towards the id or whatever you want to call it, towards those more primitive aspects of human beings. We want to keep it at a distance. Cartoons have tended to be condescended to traditionally by newspapers. They've always been on the back courts of journalism. It gets readers, they're supposed to entertain and get readers, but not — but that's enough. Then the rest of it is grownup's stuff.

The first year into my career at the *Charlotte Observer* there was a great deal of pressure on the editors to fire me. I only learned this about 10 or 15 years later. Their compromise was to move me off the editorial page, to put distance between me and the editorial policy of the paper. My cartoons were dominating the page. The editors, to their credit, wouldn't do that, but they did move me off the page. I'm glad they kept me, but I also think it wasn't one of their finer moments. [Laughter.] But that's always the tension. And you recognize that's part of the deal, that's part of that tension.

Q.— Do you know anything about European cartoonists? Are there differences between American cartoons, the political cartoons and what's done in Europe?

MARLETTE— I don't know a lot. I know what I've seen in that there's a simpler style. The European style has always been that — isn't that right?

Q.— Wasn't David Lowe the fore-runner of everything that's done in this country?

MARLETTE— Yeah, Lowe was one of the great cartoonists of this century.

Q.— How many of your cartoons get killed every year by those nasty editors?

MARLETTE— You know, really not very many. As a matter of fact, I seldom

had that happen until this year. As the ante goes up, as the power increases — you know, as Havel moves into a position of power, he starts getting, you know, . . . As the stakes get higher, as the pressure groups are stronger and people's jobs are on the line.

I've noticed in New York, there are so many pressure groups. There are so many Catholics and bishops who complain and put pressure. So it takes courageous editors to defend that right.

Cartoons, because they are not editorials, you can't say on the other hand, because you can't defend them with logic. We were talking last night, some of us were talking about "The Simpsons," the TV show. And this elucidates this theme that goes on. A lot of parents are watching their kids being enamoured with Bart Simpson who's this kind of bratty little kid — and there are T-shirts that say, what is it, "I'm an unachiever and proud of it." And all of the parents' values are being eroded by this cartoon character. The kids love it. But as someone said their child said, "Oh, Mom, Dad, you know, we understand. It's a put-on, it's a joke."

What I was saying is that's kind of the role that cartoons play very often. They express human things that need to be expressed. The tension and conflict I run into with editors many times is that, like those parents who are approaching that [T-shirt] as if it's an editorial position on education. They take it literally as if it's the party paper on Bart Simpson on education. You have to give human beings more credit. We need those things that express that. And comic strips, whether it's Garfield, fat and lazy and proud of it; Snoopy; all of these primitive aspects — the animal aspect of ourselves — the cat, the dog, those things that we want to hide and put away because it's so strong in all of us — it's good to have it played out. It's good to have it shown.

And my comic strip, the reason ministers love this character of mine is because he gets to say and do all the things they wish they could do, they all want to do. And you know, the wise editor, I think, recognizes that and recognizes that human beings are com-

plex creatures and we need to have things played out for us to see them and to be clear and objective about things. It's part of objectivity to allow this.

Q.— Doug, some of your religious cartoons hit very close to the line that some people might feel that they were sacrilegious. If you did one like that about Islam perhaps you would be on the Ayatollah's list. Is there any topic, if you were an editor, is there any topic, anything so sacrosanct that you wouldn't print the cartoon?

MARLETTE— Cartoonists, artists can play the canary in the coalmine role — or should, if they're any good. You know, the canary in the coalmine that the coalminers take down to pick up on the poisonous gases. The miners watch the canary to see when it keels over and they know to come out of the mine. Well, that's the role of the artist in society. We're kind of hypersensitive, emotional teabags and things get under our skin and we keel over. Our job is to keel over. But we know to let it be expressed so we can see that and feel it.

As I said in this argument with the editor who killed the Catholic cartoon, I said, "Well, what's wrong with people getting the wrong idea? What's wrong with that, if somebody else can say, 'No, he meant this,' and then somebody else can say, 'No, he meant that?'" Isn't that what this is all about? Free expression.

Q.— Well, I didn't mean any of yours, but I meant, is there such a thing as going too far?

MARLETTE— that's not in my makeup, I think. I know that there are things that I go, "Egghhh." I know there are. I mean, I trust my instincts. I do not want to offend gratuitously. I'm not interested in that because it's hard enough to convey and communicate things that you care about. I like to be on that edge if it's meaningful. It needs to have meaning for me and to be conveying values that I think are important. But of course, it's everybody's call and responsibility is in the eye of the beholder and we're all doing that. But, if you're going to err, I want to err in the direction of freedom. □

Windup

Everette Dennis, Executive Director, Gannett Center for Media Studies; Burl Osborne, The Dallas Morning News, and Jiri Ruml, Former Editor-in-Chief, Lidove noviny

Dennis Reports Survey Results

I'd like to report back to you what you so kindly filled out [in questionnaires] on Monday and spent a great deal of time with.

First, it seems to me that to understand what's happening here and to relate it, us, back to our own system and, you, to yours, we have to really know the relationship between media and the government and the legal constitutional issues. Obviously, the press needs permission from the people to function. And through most societies that's contained in some kind of governmental mandate. And so we wanted to ask those kinds of questions.

First, what's the situation here in Eastern Europe, Eastern and Central Europe? To what extent does the government in your country regulate the printed press — that is, newspapers and magazines — the printed press only? And surprisingly, only one person — I'm not going to just rattle numbers here, but only one person did mention that they thought there was a great deal of formal control. Almost everybody said a limited amount of control. It was mostly a free press, with the exception of such things occasionally as the registration of newspapers and government press offices, it wasn't a tremendous amount. Some said, very little and one person said not at all.

Then we asked, to what extent does the government in your country regulate the broadcast media — television, radio? And here, of course, we have, to a great extent, being the dominant theme, because these have been state-run systems and still are and have not had as much freedom as you've seen in the discussions as have the printed press in these countries. Some people said, to a limited extent. Very

few people said, little or other.

The question of whether or not print and electronic media operate under different legal and constitutional regimes, that broke out about half and half. Half the people thought that, in fact, they really did in their countries and other people said no. So there's really a very strong split on that.

Does there need to be a specific press law in your country? And here almost everyone said yes. Only a couple of people said — one person said no, and a couple of others said something else, talking more about a more comprehensive law and saying that you really can't separate a press law from the law of the land and you have to put it in some kind of context. So that was — but there was almost universal support here for the idea of specific press laws.

Then we wanted to know, of course, what would those press laws be? What kind of form should they take? The vast majority of people thought that a press law should be, in fact, a press code that would have provisions for libel and privacy and other kinds of issues. Next in rank was the people who thought that there ought to be a code that would list the rights and duties of journalists. Third, was a specific constitutional command, like the First Amendment in the United States, that says there should be no law. And then a couple of other people thought there ought to be licensing of journalists and some people, again, thought there ought to be a comprehensive communication law that was more than simply a press law.

What, if any, specific rights for reporters, editors and news organizations should be enumerated in a press law? And almost everyone said some-

thing that, I think, is rather profound in a way. They talked about the right to gather information (obviously, if you can't gather information, you can't do anything with it); the right to edit or process information; and the right to disseminate information — with a little bit of a tilt toward the right to disseminate information. In our country, the United States, there is almost no constitutional law on the rights to gather information, a very little bit on the whole area of editing and a great deal on dissemination. So I think there's a sense of balance here in terms of all three of these great functions being part of the press law of any given country, should it evolve.

Then what ideally should be the relationship between press and government in your country? The press should be independent of government and political parties was the dominant theme here. And then second, coming in a kind of distant second, was that the press should be partly independent of parties and partly controlled by parties. So nobody wanted the press to be part of government, nobody thought the press should be independent of government but an instrument of political parties, et cetera. So that was an interesting finding.

What groups make decisions regarding television programming? This is in the present. Strongly the government does. There are some instances of independent commissions, some instances where political parties do and, in one case, we were told there was a parliamentary commission that does this.

Do you regard this arrangement as an adequate one and permanent? And most people said that they did, they thought there would continue to be a good deal of government control, but

wrote on the questionnaire that there would be privatization as well.

Then came the economic issues. And so what should be the economic basis for media in your country? Let me just tell you the rankings. The first choice was newsstand sales, revenue subscriptions or user fees. That is, the consumer paying through the newsstand or various kinds of broadcast fees. A second was government subsidies. A third was subsidies from political parties. And then there were a whole variety of other suggestions that came along.

What ideally should be the economic structure for the media in your country? And here we had in rank order: First was a mixed government-private ownership — kind of a strong winner there; and then secondly was private ownership; and third was party ownership. No one suggested government ownership.

Are you aware of any independent television or radio stations in your city or other parts of the country? Four individuals said they were. Five said definitely no. And then there were a bunch of questions about licenses pending and ambiguities. And then there were some specific mentions made of that.

As news organizations in your country move more toward a market economy, what are their most pressing needs for assistance, if any? And the rank order for needs, number one was production — the production of newspapers, including print and broadcasting. We got into some newsprint questions later. Number two was circulation development. And a lot of people talked about that and wrote notes about it. Third was general business office operations. Fourth was advertising sales. And fifth was accounting.

Is the newsprint supply in your country adequate? Resoundingly no. Only a couple of instances where people said they thought it was under certain circumstances. And then they were asked what they thought the prospects were for improvement and a resounding grade of poor, compared to fair, good or excellent. Most people are

not very optimistic about the newsprint question.

How are the newspapers in your country distributed? Again, in rank order, most are distributed through government kiosks or through subscriptions by mail or other sorts of approaches. And newsstand sales was listed as a third possibility. And that was essentially what was going on. There were no indications of any kind of home delivery.

Then there was a question of what, if any, proposals there were for changing the present distribution system. And there were a great many possibilities there where people did talk about privatizing of the distribution system. That was the principal theme — moving it away from government control, echoing much of what we heard here this morning.

Then we asked people to talk about the most pressing technological needs of the media in their country, both the print and broadcast media, and there were quite a few of these and they ranged from newsroom technology systems to general electronic equipment to a great many others: paper, electronic equipment, printing equipment, color equipment for newspapers, various kinds of conversion devices in broadcasting, transmitters, cable equipment, that sort of thing, as one perhaps might expect.

Then we asked about education and training issues. How are journalists prepared for careers in your country? And overwhelmingly, people said through a formal system of journalism education at the university level. Second choice was general university education with no special journalism education. That was strong as well. And finally, trade and training school sponsored by the press or journalists unions.

What kind of journalistic skills or techniques most need to be developed among journalists in your countries? Number one, far and away, was investigative reporting. That was followed by news-gathering techniques. Then followed by improved news writing, news editing, graphic design and

makeup, and finally, interviewing skills.

What, if any, areas of reporting speciality most need to be developed by your fellow journalists? And number one was learn to cover business and economics. Number two was improved coverage of government. Number three was international affairs. And number four, science and medicine. And then there was some reference to learning to cover legislative bodies, inasmuch as there are very new, different kinds of legislative bodies and parliaments in this part of the world and they haven't heretofore been covered in, say, the Western fashion and there was a great deal of interest in that.

We asked how news was covered in news organizations. And most people said through beats, specific assignments, such as government agencies, et cetera. Coming in second was general subject matter treatment, such as the arts or the military, and finally general assignment.

By what journalistic standards and practices, informal and formal, do you operate? Well, almost everyone said — there were choices — formal codes of ethics, general understandings about ethical rules and practices, licensure examinations, press councils and citizen review organizations, et cetera. Almost everyone said we have general understandings about ethical rules and practices.

Are there any topics, once taboo, now needing consistent and systematic coverage? Maybe there was one "no" — and the topics were the secret police, the army, the economy, human rights, national security, the environment, the real relations with ex-bloc countries. And somebody said practically everything. And somebody else said ethnic conflicts and political criticism.

Then the big question for the Americans. What is your opinion of the news media of the United States? And this was an interesting range of opinions. Generally, the opinion was fairly high — fairly good, I guess it was described. It wasn't at the top end of the spectrum. If I had to analyze this as a teacher, I'd say it was a B-minus in the

grading scale. From fairly good to too commercial to don't know. There was a great deal of respect for the news coverage of Western media organizations, especially international news coverage and the deployment of correspondents around the globe, at least by the larger news organizations. But people felt — several that responded said that Western media — American media, in particular — were very weak on opinion and analysis, in their opinion, and did not do a very good job in covering Eastern Europe. I guess many of us in America feel that it was one of the great triumphs of reporting in recent years, and yet, I think, someone looking very closely at it, obviously finds problems, and I'm not sure, of course, whether we're talking about one or two news organizations or something more general.

A number of strengths and weaknesses of U.S. media were mentioned. The strengths included, very strongly, investigative reporting. Also the people seemed to appreciate the orientation in American media toward everyday life and ordinary people, as opposed to official sources. The emphasis on local news was hailed, as was financial coverage and the whole area of covering the whole variety of ethnic conflicts around the globe and that sort of thing, there were specific mentions. Then there was a lot of reference to the accuracy of of American media, the independence, the freedom to touch subjects that are taboo in other places, the technical standards we have, the wealth of the media organizations, photojournalism, foreign news, et cetera.

On the minus side of the ledger, again, American media were scored for their superficiality, for their low level of understanding of remote issues, for black and white approaches to Eastern Europe, for a lack of deep analysis, for too many pictures and too much large type, for self-imposed primitiveness. I'm not quite sure what that means, but it was an interesting one. For being too commercial. And then one person said, "Simply monotonous." And so there you have it.

So I think that what comes through here is an interesting portrait. This is, by no means, any kind of a scientific survey. It's the population of the people — almost everyone did sign it, did fill out a questionnaire. So it does represent, I think, the people, the Eastern Europeans in this group, to the extent that they represent their various countries. There are some countries, of course, not well represented here, that have no representation. So we can't make any kind of great generalizations from this, except to say that it does fill in very well with what's been said already, I think, and I think it shows, obviously, a new and emerging media system, one that's in a state of transition, one that's extremely fragile and one that is looking for answers, and

looking not only to Western media, but to its own rich traditions.

I think that that's something else that's come through more, perhaps in private conversations than in the public sessions here, and that is that many countries here have rich traditions, a great institutional history of media. And we in the United States often times don't know our own institutional history, although we were treated to some wonderful presentations here on our history, with a great sense of context. But it seems to me that that's something that we need to understand more about — the traditions that newspapers had going back to before 40 years ago — what's left of that, what can be picked up from that sort of thing.

Osborne Plumbs Possibilities

In listening to the report of the survey, I have tried to categorize what I have heard that might be useful to us in talking about ways in which we might somehow be of help. And I have lumped them, for the sake of brevity, into really three areas. One is, what seems clearly to be need for capital investment and for some solution to the problem of supplies, especially supplies of newsprint. The second category I would call operations — the interest in developing systems for distribution; for advertising and marketing; for research, which we didn't talk much about; for sales; and even accounting. And third — and the area, I suspect, in which most of us have the greatest interest — how we might help, if we can help, to provide some of the training that is needed to improve the level of journalism skills that you have indicated you wish to accomplish.

What if there were a nonprofit foundation or cooperative operated by the newspapers of a country — of this country, perhaps, financed by charitable contributions from U.S. media companies or individuals who might act in a smaller or larger way as shareholders in this "free press foundation," let's call it, that would erect and operate printing facilities perhaps in

several locations, perhaps in two or three, totally free of government ownership, operated by the newspapers for the newspapers, with the status of a nonprofit foundation? It is an idea. It is only an idea. We intend to float [the idea in the United States] as I am floating it now with you. And if it seems to have merit either here or there, then we would pursue it.

On the second and third points, what I would like to do is just go down a list of programs that exist today or are being formed today in the United States that might be of some help. In the beginning, I must say that there is one question to which I don't know the answer and I'm not sure the survey provided it. And that question is this: Is it better for us to find ways to bring journalists from Eastern and Central Europe to the United States for fellowships, internships, visits, seminars, whatever kind of program is appropriate? Or would it be better for us to have people from the U.S., assuming they are invited and wanted, come here and spend a few weeks or months at a newspaper or newspapers where they could observe what the issues and problems are at the scene and where, to whatever extent they can be helpful, the help would be more applicable than

if we tried to fit European problems into an American form?

Having said that I don't know the answer to that, let me tell you what is going on in the United States. In the first place, there are internships available from the American Society of Newspaper Editors. These are funded primarily from contributions from media companies in the U.S. I believe there will be six this year. They may have already been chosen.

We intend to try to have 12 next year, assuming that we're successful in the fund-raising. There is a program called the Friendly Internships that also brings journalists to the U.S. There is a U.S.I.A. program which I am not familiar with at all. There are fellowships at a number of institutions. Among the most notable is the Nieman Foundation Fellowships, which some of you have attended.

There is a Badgett Fellowship on business reporting. Knight-Ridder through the Knight Foundation, has fellowships on business reporting. There is a more general fellowship at Stanford University in California, which they sponsor. There is a fellowship on special subjects at Maryland, which they sponsor. There are fellowships to the Gannett Center for Media Studies, which Ev operates.

There, obviously, is overseas training done by Tom [Winship] and his colleagues at the Center for Foreign Journalists. There are a number of other organizations and institutions that have expressed interest in tailoring some kind of training to whatever the need is. These include a number of journalism schools at several universities. The American Press Institute, which is the training organization by the American newspaper industry, is quite eager to help. I am sure, though I have not had discussions with them, that the Poynter Institute, which is located in Florida, would wish to help. There is a management school for newspaper people at Northwestern University which the Knight family has founded.

There is an organization based in California called the Foundation for

American Communications which does very short-term seminars on specific subjects.

I was particularly interested to hear the results as pertained to investigative reporting. There is an organization in the U.S. called Investigative Reporters and Editors, which concerns itself primarily with issues of concern to those who would do investigative reporting. Bill had just told me that they have established branches already in Sweden and Denmark and are in the process of establishing such a branch in Finland.

In all of these cases, what we would propose to do initially is to compile a list of what we know — the list that I have given you with more detail, with the names of people who should be contacted. And Tom has agreed to coordinate that through the Center for Foreign Journalists. And we will find a way to get it to you. We will certainly see that that information gets to Andrzej for whatever use it may be in your meeting in October.

Secondly, following on John Seigenthaler's suggestion this morning, we will see that A.S.N.E at least serves as a conduit for disseminating information about developments here, whether they be examples of repression or whether they be, we hope, good news.

Q.— I would like to suggest something that hasn't been talked about too much. Journalism education was mentioned briefly in summary. But what seems to me would be useful would be to bring our journalism educators from Europe to the United States for a semester to look at curriculum, to look at what sorts of things we teach. Warsaw University, for instance, is thinking about teaching advertising, which has not been a common feature.

Janos Horvat was talking at lunch today with me about the fact they have decided to have journalism education in Hungary for the first time, but yet they still don't know what to do. If there were money available to bring a couple of journalism educators from each country, a great deal could be done — and that would pay long-term

benefits.

SEIGENTHALER— Burl raised two interesting possibilities. One, having journalists come to our country for those many internship programs, and he ticked off a number of them and there are some others. And he also raised the possibility of having seminars in this part of the world to which we would send editors and journalists. I take it, under those circumstances, you could get larger groups of journalists from Eastern Europe. I'm wondering what the reaction is on the part of the journalists on this side of the Atlantic to that suggestion.

LUCZYWO— We, at least, in our newspaper, get quite a few offers from the United States and from Western Europe — Great Britain and France, in particular — other countries are unavailable because of the language problems — for our journalists to go. And, frankly, I think it's a very costly thing, I mean, to send a journalist abroad. It's very costly and, frankly, we don't have enough young and promising journalists knowing English and French well enough to part with them. Frankly, everyone who has these qualities, at least in my office, has already been there.

Maybe it is just our newspaper that is so popular and has quite a few contacts. I'm not saying that it's not useful. I wouldn't like to speak for anyone but myself. That's obvious. And of course, there will be some use for it. But I think that I like the idea of someone coming to us. But then again it's very costly because that means for a highly qualified person to leave his or her job and come to such a country for at least a month, because a shorter period would not make much sense.

WINSHIP— Just for the sake of argument, speaking of the expense, our center has done that training model that John Seigenthaler was talking about, particularly in Africa and it's a great deal cheaper, from our point of view, from the provider's point of view, sending one person abroad than bringing 10 people to the States.

LUCZYWO— That's what I thought, but I am afraid I will be cursed by all

the possible applicants for training in the United States. So I'm already sorry I said what I said. [Laughter.]

DENNIS— But there are 40 or 50 initiatives by various organizations interested in Eastern Europe that are now ongoing and we're going to put together a catalog of those, and so there will be at least a record of major meetings going on. A twinning of newspapers has been suggested. There are just a host of proposals that are out there. Some of them will come to naught and some of them will be used.

And I've also been talking with our friend Mr. Munteanu from UNESCO about the possibility of some kind of international data base that people could plug into for everything from a specific training in a given area to something else that could be kept up to date.

I think there ought to be first an inventory of all these efforts that are going on and then an indication of whether they need some coordination. Then there might need to be at some point somebody making some judgment calls about quality control of them.

I would also say that with regard to journalism education, we're well aware that the journalism school establishment in Eastern Europe is very much discredited and now falling apart. So the question of how that whole thing connects with some other organizations, something else, is very delicate, because many of our journalism educators in the United States who've had contact with those people, have been through the leftist organizations which are now also discredited. So how this gets down, and under what auspices, in such a way that it's not damaged goods from the start, I think, is very important and it should be done carefully and, I think well, and systematically rather than just a thousand ideas flowing into a cauldron of promises that are unkept. And it would be better to have some specific things that really happen and get done, and some monies allocated for that purpose.

Q.— I think that both kinds of programs are needed. Groups of American

journalists and teachers, educators to go to our countries to spend three, four, five, seven days teaching with good translation, with distribution of some printed material in local languages. That is very important, too. But still programs for journalists from the Soviet Union and other countries of this region are very important.

As it was already mentioned, there is a serious problem with language education. In my country, nearly everybody is studying English, but nearly nobody knows it. [Laughter.] So it should be a kind of one-year school which would give half a year education in English, very intensive, many hours a day. And then half a year of internships. I think that may be a very good way out.

A.— I would just suggest one thing based on the 2½ months I spent in Moscow at *Moscow News*, and this is not so much about being there, but about what I thought was needed. There really does seem to be a problem in getting people freed up to go to the States. Natasha practically had to hold the gun to the head of her editor; a woman from *Moscow News* who had a Friendly Fellowship had to threaten to quit, because the good people really can't be spared, especially now. So it's very hard. It's not that I think such programs shouldn't be offered and people have a chance to fight for them back in Moscow — absolutely.

But there was one idea that came up. The Center for War, Peace and Media Studies is working on an idea to set up some kind of small institute in Moscow where videotapes, research facilities and visiting instructors, who would be able, hopefully, to speak Russian (or at least interpreters would be provided) who could give mini-courses in certain kinds of reporting, would be available. And I think that's an awfully good idea because I think people would really like that kind of exposure — if it were in Moscow. I don't think it needs to stop with one such idea. I think that some kind of mini-center in Moscow probably would give the greatest access to the most people and maybe get the best results.

A.— Tom, could I partly respond to that? There is a fledgling organization in the United States called the Newspaper Satellite Network which is attempting — and it's in a very early stage — to provide at the moment training to American newspapers using a satellite link and beaming programs, I believe weekly. These were originally planned to be programmed programs having to do with sales techniques and marketing, and so on. But they have begun to broaden into questions of journalism. I don't think a television program by itself is a substitute for having someone on the scene at all, and I don't mean to imply that. But it may well be that if there were a place to receive these broadcasts or to receive broadcasts designed for satellite distribution, that might be one organization through which we might be able to do it.

A.— Just one thing that I intended to mention before, but the question for the Americans is, "What's in it for us in all of this?" I think this is an important one. I wrote a column some months ago about exchanges with Eastern Europe that said that we had as much to learn as we had to gain in this bargain. And I got a call from a reporter at *The Boston Globe* saying, "You don't really believe that, do you? And if I didn't believe it then, I certainly do now. I heard an exchange yesterday that was really quite remarkable. You may recall the President's press secretary here the other day describing a case in which he would bring a suit of civil libel in the event of accusations about drinking. And one of the Americans was rather angrily holding forth in the hallway to one of the Europeans about how this is not libel. People in the United States certainly understand that and it's absurd to even consider the fact that somebody's drinking should be libel. And the Eastern European journalists, both unnamed, said, "What about the Carol Burnett case?" And that was a very interesting item, I thought.

The entertainer Carol Burnett was accused of heavy drinking and being a drunk by *The National Enquirer*

newspaper. She sued and recovered about — well, a \$2 million judgment was made and she actually got several hundred thousand dollars. Now this is not a public official, but it was a public person.

Q.— What did she do with the \$2 million?

A.— She gave the \$2 million to two universities to spend on media ethics programs.

Ruml Speaks of Czech Gains

I would like to apologize for coming at the very end of your conference. One reason was that I tried hard to battle against the flu and I had to spend some time in bed. And the other part of the week I spent in the Parliament. You may think it strange that an active or professional journalist gives up his profession and his editor-in-chief post [of *Lidove noviny*] and wants to get involved in politics.

I think this is a little misunderstanding. I'm certainly not giving up my journalist career. On the contrary, I am still a journalist. Nevertheless, I think it incompatible for an editor-in-chief of an independent paper to be at the same time on the state's payroll as member of Parliament. This is not to say that I am no more a journalist.

To prove my point, I would like to inform you about today's journalist's day. I took part as a member of Parliament in the election of President Havel, not only that I voted for him. I interviewed him also, together with my colleague Weis. That was the first interview for the *Lidove noviny* after his election. Two hundred and eighty-six MPs out of the 300 were present there. The others were probably sick, just as I was. Out of the 135 members of the people's House, 25 voted against Havel. Out of the Czech part of the House of Nations where 73 MPs were present and of the Slovak part, 74 were present out of 75. Twenty-five were also against President Havel — nine in the Czech part and 16 in the Slovak part of the House of Nations.

Of course, our first question was, what was the president's opinion of the

The second thing that has not come up at this conference that I think we would be remiss in not mentioning if we left without it, and that is that every country represented in this room has a higher literacy rate than the United States. So we can learn something about literacy and why it is that people read in this society and they don't in ours. I think it would be a nice thing to know.

fact that altogether 50 deputies voted against it? And he rejoiced in it for two reasons. First that it was not 100 percent, because that would not be authentic. And second, because after all, he still got more votes than the first two presidents, Masaryk and Benes, in the democratic Czechoslovakia of the pre-war time.

So this is to show that I can't fail to be a journalist, but I do believe that an independent paper should not be edited by someone who gets a salary from the state.

Now if I should comment on what I have heard here. I believe that an independent paper should be, first of all, independent economically. So now that we are publishing a paper, we have to give great importance to the fact that during the fourth month of our publication as a daily, we have generated a gross profit of 23 million crowns. And that is a very good start for us. Because we haven't only founded our paper, at the same time we founded a publishing house and we have about 223 people on our staff, and the daily is still able to earn money for all the salaries. And when we count the cash from the sale of the various magazines, most of which used to appear in samizdat and now they are legal magazines, we'll be still better off.

We are also publishing books. Besides having published a highly profitable book by Havel — profitable mainly because the author gave up his royalties, we also have published [other books]. Many of these books are not going to be profitable. We reckon with this and we want to compensate for

"Journalistic skill most needed: Number one, far and away, was investigative reporting," Everette Dennis, Gannett Center for Media Studies, reporting on survey

any loss by the publication of our daily and the magazines.

This week we founded the Society for Lidove noviny, a kind of foundation. Maybe the following comparison is too far fetched, but it's just for the sake of comparison — it's something that should be similar to Frankfurter Allgemeiner Foundation or the Independence Foundation. We contemplated the possibility of a limited liability company or a joint stock company. We ruled out a joint stock company because it seemed rather impenetrable. We want to have it as a transparent company, because there were some efforts beginning last December in taking part in investing in *Lidove noviny*, such as Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Murdoch and so forth. And as told at the press conference, we'll gladly accept any donations from these moguls and we'll be thankful for them and we'll publish our thanks, but we want no capital interest from them, because we believe that *Lidove noviny* should remain economically independent and should remain only dependent on the readers' interest, first and foremost.

And if anyone abroad, any one of these big names in the publishing business wants to help us and the Czechoslovak press in general, then he should probably help us along three lines first: by investment in our printing industry which is very antiquated; by investing in our paper and pulp

industry, which is also inadequate; and first and foremost, in helping us develop a distribution system, destroying the state monopoly of press distribution in our country, which we see as the major threat to press freedom at the moment, because the state distribution service tells us everyday how many copies of *Lidove noviny* we can print. We are not limited by newsprint by the state, by anyone except this distribution company. So at present our circulation is 280,000 and it could be 100,000 copies larger, were it not for this limitation.

So we welcome what has been said here — that is, internships, fellowships — so that we can learn something. We need that. I have heard that this meeting here has been little attended by the Czech and Slovak journalists. That is deplorable. I don't want to seek excuses for it, but you have come to Czechoslovakia at a time when our society is still learning what democracy is. So for you it is a kind of archeological trip.

Now you can see here a green turf with some small, shy germs and offsprings of what are grown-up plants in your country. And we've just had our elections. Our Parliament has only met for the first time, and the President hasn't been in his office after re-election for more than five hours. So forgive us, please.

Concerning these fellowships or internships, there is a double problem in that. First, it is rather costly, but there, you could help us perhaps. The problem is that we are a badly, ill-educated society, especially in foreign languages and whoever speaks foreign languages either has been there already or is badly needed at our office, and we are reluctant to send such people away.

So the other way around seems more viable to us, that is, if you could send your people over here to teach us the intricacies of the production of a modern paper. And as has been said correctly, I mean it in European continental conditions, not American or British conditions. And that would also be a chance for your people to learn a lot more about the problems of this

part of Europe, which — and don't take it as criticism, please — your people do not always understand quite well in North America. That is quite understandable due to the long isolation cherished by the totalitarian regimes.

Now believe me, I don't want to become a politician when I am of age. I allowed myself to be elected to Parliament to, again, write about the dealings in the Parliament in my reports and for my work in the Parliament, I set a task for myself to complete the clarification of events in Czechoslovakia on the 17th of November and in those days around the 17th of November, because I don't think the Parliamentary Investigating Commission has completed its job. And I want to do this because at this moment I am perhaps the most objective journalist in Czechoslovakia, given the fact that I was still in jail on the 17th of November.

So this is all I had in mind to tell you. And of course, I am here to answer your questions.

Discussion

Q.— Mr. Ruml, Michael Zantovsky came to lunch and talked about journalists going to jail if they published any of the names on the list of 140,000 informers. I'm curious what you think about those names being forbidden to be published and also what you think about the need for an official secrets act. And also I would like, if you could, if you could tell us what you think President Havel's attitude is towards journalists and whether it's what you might have hoped it would be.

RUML— I'm in a slightly different position. I don't want to boast of that. But we in *Lidove noviny* enjoy a slightly different position than the other papers. Let me explain it. *Lidove noviny* originated as a samizdat publication some three years ago. And the paper used to have an editorial board. And if I name the people, you will understand. The council was chaired by Jiri Dienstbier, now Foreign Minister. Members of the council were Vaclav Havel, today's President; [and others.]

So this is to say that our paper was

intimately linked with people that are statesmen today. So our relation to these people can be naturally critical and they cannot reproach us because they know, after all, that they are doing it only out of goodwill. It is different with the rest of the press, and I don't want to downgrade it, but that's what things are like.

Until the 17th of November, this press published what it did because of censorship or because of self-censorship that this press imposed on itself at least during the last 20 years. Now this press, broadcasting, broke loose and the journalists somehow felt the urge to show that they're also free. As a result, these journalists often tend to be overcritical. Let them criticize, of course, that's all right. But sometimes they are rather narrow-minded. They exaggerate petty affairs and they sometimes give it too little thought and it seems to pester the President now and then and it riles many others now and then, because if one wants to write really freely, he will have to get rid of self-censorship and that's what you can achieve in samizdat.

I got rid of it during the 15 days when I was a scraper engineer. I don't mean that everyone who wants to get rid of self-censorship should drive a bulldozer for 15 years, but the important thing is not to waste one's chance, to expend it by wanting to do too much too fast, and mincing his talents and this chance in general.

And then there is one more thing, and I wasn't there at the lunch so I don't know what the conversation was about exactly, but there is one thing. As it shows during the election campaign, some journalists, are no more as free as they would like to be, because after all, they were told to write the way their publishers wanted them to, and their publishers were political parties. So as it happened, the journalists that didn't want to obey these orders have been working on our staff, for example, or the staff of other independent papers because they were no more willing to listen to their bread-givers.

State subsidies have been mentioned

here. I believe that an independent paper that can't earn its own expenses doesn't deserve to exist. And in this I am quite uncompromising. I think the journalist should earn his own living to be absolutely independent. As for the state-owned media, such as the broadcasting and the news agencies, new legislation will soon be needed so that these media, which are the property of the state, and will continue to be subsidized by the state, should not be subordinated to the government directly. They should rather be subordinated to councils where the federal Parliament, the Czech and the Slovak Parliaments, should be far more influential because they far more faithfully reflect the political spectrum as it has developed in the country.

This new legislation is being drafted and should be enacted as soon as the most urgent legislation is passed, which is on the plank now, such as the government program, and so forth. And this legislation is certainly going to be very helpful.

As concerns the press law, I think the press law should be amended or newly drafted, but I would call it better a law on the protection of press, so that it would not have a repressive character, so that it will not be a supervisor over the freedom of press, but it should be an instrument for helping the dissemination of information throughout the country. And I think this is necessary.

And as concerns radio and TV, I think very soon it will be necessary to allow private broadcasting, both radio and TV, and I also think that the enormous TV studio which was built and, as it is clear now, is too big, I would rent it or lease it to the private companies and by that, the state subsidies could be much reduced.

Q.— *I wonder if as a parliamentarian and journalist whether you're in favor of laws actually restricting foreign investment in the media here. There is a great controversy in Hungary now concerning the same question. Maybe you can comment on that and also comment on the danger of foreign investment into the media. What*

specifically is the danger, and probably lastly, have you had the honor yourself to meet with Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Maxwell and, if so, whether you can talk about what their activities in Czechoslovakia are, whether you're worried about that?

RUML— I haven't met them personally. They only sent some feelers into our newspaper several times and they only expressed a polite interest and we, very politely told them we were not interested, that we do not want them.

As concerns the investments into media, I think that we should see it globally. We are in favor of capital investments. If we want to return to Europe, we cannot avoid capital investments from foreign companies. So that is the global position concerning the national economy. But there should be certain rules of the game, very strict rules for the country to gain most from these investments, the taxation system, so that the state would not just sell out the national wealth to foreigners for little money. So there should be certain barriers or certain rules that would allow the foreign companies to invest here, but also would allow the government to make money on it.

As concerns the media, this is a more sensitive thing because media affect public opinion. But nevertheless, I think that certain participation, certain capital interests in some mass media are not excluded and should not be excluded. The other thing is that we, in our *Lidove noviny*, are not interested. We rely on ourselves and on our friends who have been helping us for three years and only thanks to them, are we able to publish *Lidove noviny* every month regularly as when they were samizdat.

Q.— *Are there things you should be forbidden from publishing and do you believe that the list of informers which the government has should be put under that state secrets law, which is what Michael Zantovsky said was the case? Do you believe you should be forbidden to publish any of those names and if you do should you be tossed in jail?*

RUML— Well, I don't know whether we should be put in jail just because of printing some names, but I think that it would not be the most fortunate way to show to these people who worked with the state police, state security. I am in favor of the proposal by two historians, and that is to set up a sort of civilian tribunal. And each such former informer could contact this tribunal. He would inform them in what way he was hired, to what extent he fulfilled the tasks he was given, because if, as it is said, there were 150,000 people — they have their families, wives, children, relatives — and by scandalizing these names, this would have a very bad effect on the society. It would not be good to make another witchhunt and in 20 years to feel sorry saying, "Well, we harmed someone who was innocent."

So I think that it is necessary to give these people an opportunity to put an end to such a cooperation or collaboration and only if they do not do it voluntarily until a certain time — until a certain date, then it would be possible to individually prosecute them according to the existing laws. Because if we want law and order, we must, first of all, obey laws in this respect.

And as concerns state secrets, if it's not something which would threaten the security of the state, there shouldn't be any more secrets. So this — everything else should be openly published because we must get used to the fact — to what is already existing in the West, and that is that the mass media, in fact, are a sort of research institute in public opinion. That means that it is not enough to check the government work through the Parliament, that is also necessary to check what they do and also what the Parliament does through the mass media.

WINSHIP— Well, that concludes the working sessions of the first Prague conference. I think we can all agree that it's been a noble week for all of us. □



Update

continued from page 2

ed in this edition of the *Nieman Reports*.

Interest of American journalists has continued unabated and a steady stream of fact-finding trips has been taking place since the Prague conference.

In October Burl Osborne led a delegation of 12 members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors on a fact-finding tour of the emerging press in Eastern Europe. During two weeks of interviews and visits to newsrooms in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and what was then East Germany, they found that the basic values of a free and independent press as we define them are beginning to take hold.

In preparation for the trip ASNE compiled a list of members asking for volunteers who would be willing to go to East and Central Europe to advise newspaper executives and staffs. The delegation was able to provide journalists in each of the countries visited with the names of 150 ASNE members who volunteered.

Here is a summary of the conclusions reached by that delegation as described by Bob Haiman, President of the Poynter Institute and vice chairman of the ASNE International Communications Committee:

- The press in each country visited seems free to print what it pleases and in many cases the old docile party press are the most vigorous.
- While new newspapers proliferate—600 in Poland alone last year—almost all are undercapitalized and few will survive long in a free market system;
- Meanwhile the first reaction to freedom is “wide-swinging, blatant editorial opinion which would never make it past a U.S. copy desk.”

This tendency to lecture readers was

described in a November 13 *New York Times* report by Celestine Bohlen as a characteristic of the newly emerging press.

“Yet,” Ms. Bohlen wrote, “many feel the press in much of Eastern Europe has failed at its chief responsibility, to provide people with the information they needed to make the choices they suddenly faced. Instead, with some notable exceptions, readers often got prose so dense that they still had to read between the lines to find out what was going on.”

This report and others picked up another fear expressed time and again during the Prague conference: that authentic indigenous voices can only take root and flourish if the wealthy Western media corporations are somehow held in check. Big European press conglomerates are moving quickly to buy position in those countries, especially Hungary, where there are few government restrictions. As a result, Hungarian laws are being revised to gain some control over these investments. Poland and Czechoslovakia have already drafted legislation to limit the amount of control foreign investors may have in media organizations.

At the same time, governments have clearly decided to retain control of radio and television as in the old system and are able to indirectly control emerging newspapers through their control of newsprint, printing press time and postal delivery of newspaper subscriptions, a control they inherited from the central governments which they replaced. How to effectively and fairly break up these government monopolies will largely determine the shape of the emerging press in each country in the immediate future. As it is now, the strongest press in each country remains the press with access to political advantage whether it be the old government press or the press organized by the opposition which is now in power.

The nature of U.S.-Soviet press relations is changing as well but in a more formal, controlled manner. Journalists from the United States and the Soviet

Union met in Moscow in November for the fourth round of a series of information talks under the auspices of the U.S. Information Agency and the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The journalists attending the talks, meeting separately from the government officials involved, adopted a resolution urging the two governments to improve working conditions for journalists in both countries by opening otherwise public areas that are now closed to visits by journalists and otherwise easing travel and visa restrictions and living conditions for journalists practicing in the two countries.

Burl Osborne, who also took part in these talks as President of ASNE, reports that the fifth round of these talks will take place next spring in Washington, where he hopes action on the resolution will take place.

“A fitting beginning would be a declaration by the governments that journalists will be freer to do their jobs,” he says.

Finally, at the instigation of the U.S. State Department, the International Media Fund, a quasi-government organization, has been created in an effort to use government appropriations and funds raised privately to help fund independent new operations in the region.

Marvin Stone, former editor of *U.S. News and World Report*, who is director of the new organization, has compared its mission to that of the Marshall Fund created after World War II to help rebuild the economy of Western Europe.

As this special edition of *Nieman Reports* goes to press the Polish people are choosing a new government in the first election in which a free press played a significant part and a new chapter in the history of self government and the free flow of information is being written.

If the experience of the East-West Journalists Conference is any guide the journalists of the United States, increasingly distracted by considerations of enhancing profits, have much to learn from the process now underway in Europe and the Soviet Union from journalists “at the creation.” □

Bratislava Followup

Conference Calls for East European Center to Monitor Developments and Problems — Czechs Not There

The first organizational meeting of East European journalists was held near Bratislava, October 12-13, 1990. This was the first conference in the post-Communist era solely for journalists of the region, and was prompted by the East-West Journalists' Conference in Prague last July. The meeting in the Slovak capital included 50 journalists from six nations: Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union (including Lithuania). The Nieman Foundation and the Center for Foreign Journalists were represented at the meeting by C.F.J.'s executive director and vice president, George A. Krinsky. Here are excerpts from his report:

The Bratislava meeting produced a lively professional exchange among journalists of diverse cultures and common political legacy. Given the post-euphoria depression settling on the region, there was a sobering tone to the speeches and discussion, concentrating mostly on how to cope with bewildering freedoms, lingering interference from the old guard, ethnic and nationalistic bickering and economic uncertainty. Among the discordant notes was the absence of any journalist from the Czech Republic, despite an invitation from the Slovak hosts.

Although this meeting was organized exclusively for journalists of the region to hammer out mutual problems, the financial, professional and moral support from the West was highly welcome. There were constant references to the need for Western expertise and resources, but within a framework of local autonomy. Only four Westerners, in addition to myself, attended the conference.

When the respected Polish editor Andrzej Wroblewski proposed the all-

Europe conference in Prague last July, the stated purpose of a second meeting was to exchange among themselves experiences and ideas on a range of issues, such as definitions of independence, foreign and domestic ownership, laws protecting journalists, and free-market innovations. These issues were indeed thoroughly aired, but they leaned more toward a recitation of problems than a search for feasible solutions — not surprisingly for a first regional gathering.

An underlying but unstated purpose of the Bratislava meeting was for the national journalist associations/unions to consider some form of regional association in the interest of solidarity and particularly as a counter-weight to the old Communist-dominated International Organization of Journalists (IOJ). But, the Bratislava participants were swayed by the argument of IFJ General Secretary Aidan White, who urged that the emerging independent national associations work together within the framework of the IFJ's worldwide confederation, and not try to form yet another organization.

"It is a proper first step," said Wroblewski, senior editor of *Gazeta Bankowa* in Warsaw. "As our colleagues wish, we can act together from within such organizations as IFJ and FIEJ," he added, referring also to the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers in Paris.

Another evident reason for not forming a new association was the fact that some of the attending national delegates were not accredited to speak for their associations. There is also continuing disagreement within the media of some countries as to the most appropriate body to represent their workers. There are also ethnic and nationalistic rivalries that discourage regional

solidarity, with the absence of Czech journalists underscoring this problem.

The conference unanimously adopted (with one abstention, for the sake of demonstrating democracy in action) a final resolution that included a proposal to establish "an adequately equipped information center" for East European journalists to learn about media developments and problems in neighboring countries. Dusan Kleiman, chancellor of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, said his organization would like to play this clearinghouse role.

A second Bratislava conference at this time next year was proposed by the hosts.

The rank and reputations of the journalists was generally not as high in Bratislava as in Prague, and only three participants from the previous conference attended this one (Danov from Bulgaria, Peter from Germany, and Wroblewski from Poland). Of the 50 participants, 35 were Slovak journalists. Most of the participants were editors and reporters.

The only representative from Prague was President Havel's press secretary, Michael Zantovsky, who expressed disappointment that no Czech journalist was present. In the apparent interest of not airing internal squabbles in front of foreigners, the hosts brushed over the absence (and were perhaps partially pleased about having center stage to themselves).

Although no clear explanation for the Czech absence was given, it must be noted that the Prague-based press is stretched quite thin at a busy time, and participation in the July conference by Czech journalists was spotty at best.

Bratislava conferees were given ample opportunity to take the microphone, and speaker after speaker bemoaned the tenuous state of the free

press in their countries. A Slovak journalist was prompted to conclude: "I really worry about our future."

The major problems cited were as much generic to all institutions in the region as to the news media. They included:

- Inadequate revenue sources, with disappearing government subsidies and a fragile advertising base.
- Shortages of necessary equipment and daily supplies, such as newsprint.
- Low salaries.
- Continuing interference from government, party and business groups.
- A lack of respect for fact-based information.
- A lack of respect for pluralism.
- New ideological biases — "Bolshevik anti-Bolshevism," as one observer has described it.
- Ignorance of democratic values and free-market methods.
- Vulnerability to foreign exploitation.

Speakers frequently talked about the need for Western know-how but often avoided the term "training," evidently out of professional pride and a sense that they do not need a lot of it.

There seemed to be the perception that advanced techniques can be picked up on a shopping excursion to the West, during which some of the available goods will be avoided as irrelevant. Feelings are highly mixed, for example, about the worth of U.S.-style informational journalism. Interest seems more focused on learning how to set up financially stable systems that will allow them to pursue the more advocacy and interpretive role that is traditional in the European press.

It is also clear there is still lingering discomfort with full independence. "We do not understand the American principle that the best newspaper is not tied to any party or movement," said Miroslav Janek, chairman of the Slovak Publicists' Association.

In public, the journalists tended to dismiss the need for education in the basics of Western news policy and practices, but privately I would get questions from even senior journalists, displaying fundamental ignorance or

misunderstanding about how a free press system works.

There was also little attention given at the conference to the wishes and tastes of the reading or listening audience, in contrast to the concerns of a competitive, free-enterprise marketplace. Only one speaker called for more feedback from the public.

The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, formed only last February, handled the invitations and logistics with competence and courtesy. Communication problems in the region undoubtedly contributed to a fairly small delegation from abroad (15), but the invitations from the Slovak Syndicate were also quite late in getting out (mid-September).

Funds for the conference were donated by an anonymous member of the Rockefeller family.

The Bratislava meeting constituted an important step for journalists toward coping with the highly complex task

of rebuilding an institution that is absolutely vital for the future of democracy in Central Europe. The information sharing and organizational exchanges that took place in Bratislava may be less conclusive than originally intended, but are no less significant for an industry that is not quite sure where it wants to go or how it should get there.

Perhaps the most important result of this meeting was the affirmation of togetherness at a time when ethnic and political divisions, which had been papered over for four decades, are widening dangerously. The new generation of journalists from this highly volatile region had never before met in the same room prior to the Prague and Bratislava conferences.

"It took the Americans to get us together, and now we are continuing the dialogue among ourselves," said Editor Wroblewski. □

Bratislava Conference Participants

BABIC, MARIÁN, Editor, *Nové slovo*, Czechoslovakia.

BACA, IVAN, Editor-in-Chief, *SMER*, Czechoslovakia.

BARTOVIC, GUSTAV, Parliamentary Correspondent, *Rolnicke noviny*, Czechoslovakia.

BRUNOVSKÝ, OLIVER, Editor, *Pravda*, Czechoslovakia.

BEDKOWSKI, LESZEK, Senior Editor, *Spotkania*, Poland.

CHLAPÍKOVÁ, KATARINA, Editor, *Express*, Czechoslovakia.

CHUDINOVÁ, EVA, Editor, *Slovenský rozhlas*, Czechoslovakia.

DANOV, ROUMEN, Editor, *Otechestvo*, Bulgaria.

DESIATNIK, MILAN, Chairman, East Slovakian Journalists Association, Czechoslovakia.

DRÁB, IGOR, Editor, *Výber*, Czechoslovakia.

DROZD, JOZEF, Slovak Syndicate of Journalists.

FUHRER, KATHARINA, Correspondent,

Die Andere Zeitung, Germany.

GORINOV, LUBOMIR, Correspondent,

Svoboden narod, Bulgaria.

HOFFMAN, IVAN, Editor, *Lidove noviny*,

Czechoslovakia.

JABLONSKY, PAVEL, Correspondent,

Nevskij Kurier, Leningrad, USSR.

JANEK, MIROSLAV, Chairman,

Association of Slovak Publicists.

JORDANOV, ALEXANDER, Editor-in-Chief,

Century 21, Bulgaria.

JUCAS, LINAS, Editor-in-Chief,

Respublika, Lithuania, USSR.

KALINA, VLADO, Editor-in-Chief, *SVET*, Czechoslovakia.

KERLIK, PETER, Ministry of Culture, Czechoslovakia.

KERNÝ, DUSAN, Independent publicist.

KONCEK, DUSAN, Editor, Slovak

Television, Czechoslovakia.

KOVACOVA, IVANKA, Editor,

SMENA-ELEKTRON, Czechoslovakia.

MARIANYI, PETER, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, *Vyber*, Czechoslovakia.

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